



Rideout, Judith (2017) *Women's writing networks in Spanish magazines around 1900*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/7859/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Glasgow Theses Service

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

theses@ gla.ac.uk

Women's Writing Networks in Spanish Magazines Around 1900

Judith Rideout

BA (Hons), MLitt

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy at the University of Glasgow

School of Modern Languages

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

August 2016

Abstract

As an output of the HERA Travelling Texts project, created with the aim of uncovering the realities of women's literary culture on the fringes of Europe during the long nineteenth century, this study was conceptualised to find out more about the networks of women writers in Spain around 1900, using the digitised corpuses of contemporaneous periodicals as the primary source material. Each chapter of the study centres on a particular periodical, which is used as the starting point for the community of writers and readers, both real and imagined. This thesis looks at the realities of the literary culture for creative women in the late nineteenth century-early twentieth century, exploring the strategies used by women (and men) to support each other in their literary endeavours, how they took inspiration and courage from each other, how they promoted their own names, and how they were received by wider society. The study will also focus on the transnational nature of this literary culture, looking at how women of different nations influenced each other's work, with a view to understanding more about how cultural change takes place. Finally, this thesis hopes to persuade the reader that the periodical is a rich and under-utilised resource for discovering more about the lives of women writers and their network of relationships.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	4
Author's Declaration.....	5
Introduction.....	6
Chapter 1: <i>La Luz del Porvenir</i> : Amalia Domingo Soler and her 'universal family' of women writers.....	27
Chapter 2: <i>Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento</i> and the female networks inspired by Rosario de Acuña.....	85
Chapter 3: <i>El Álbum Ibero-Americano</i> : Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer and her world of female potential.....	130
Final Conclusion.....	178
List of References.....	183

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank Dr. Henriette Partzsch for her unfailing good humour and infinite patience. I honestly think that if I had had any other supervisor on earth that this PhD would not have been completed as satisfactorily, and I will be forever indebted to her for giving me this opportunity. I would also like to thank Dr Jordi Cornellà-Detrell for his enthusiasm to read my work and for his thoughtful comments, at delicate junctures in my writing when kindness and diplomacy were very necessary. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their love and support, as they, like me, understand the significance of having one of the Rideout family reach this level of education.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name:

Introduction

This PhD thesis is one of the many outcomes of the collaborative research project *Travelling Texts, 1790-1914: The Transnational Reception of Women's Writing at the Fringes of Europe* (Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Spain). This Europe-wide project, set out to systematically scrutinise the primary sources of nineteenth-century literary culture, aimed to uncover the contemporaneous reception of women writers on the cultural periphery of Europe, and thus reinsert the women of these countries more fully into the transnational literary narrative. This empirical approach meant, in essence, a setting aside of the preconceived ideas of female literary culture formed in the subsequent century, when the process of canon formation, in Spain at least, had the effect of glorifying a chosen few while erasing the existence of the others. By returning to the primary sources - the historical catalogues from booksellers and libraries, the inventories of translations, the historical press – and using a quantitative, distant reading approach, the *Travelling Texts* project hoped to uncover much of this Atlantis, and in so doing answer many questions about female literary culture. By finding out which women were writing, what they were writing and how they were received by their contemporaries, an empirical history of Spanish literary culture could be constructed, with the female roles more fully reinstated, along with their literary networks.

The PhD studentship of this project was tasked with creating a body of empirical evidence regarding women's writing in Spanish magazines for the period 1890-1914, which corresponded to the last time window of the project. The aim of the PhD was to find not only the women writers themselves, but evidence of their relationships with other writers and clear evidence of the reception of their texts in wider society, with particular interest in any transnational reception. This would result in a thesis which would not only be a useful resource for future qualitative research, but would also provide useful data for the *WomenWriters* database, a permanent European repository which is being developed towards a *Women Writer's Enhanced Virtual Environment (NEWW VRE)*. The data entry resulting from the doctoral research would therefore hopefully ensure that future researchers could access in seconds what might otherwise take months of archival research to uncover, and potentially be cross-referenced or used for analysis alongside other data.

The periodical press was chosen as the area of research for several reasons. Its very ephemerality, resistant to the reprinting and multiple editions of the publishing trade, meant that the material found in the magazines would be likely to be very

contemporaneous to the readership. Books were known to be prohibitively expensive for many readers, so the reality of the literature actually read in the home was the literature of the periodical press, including the serialised novels of newspapers. It is axiomatic that many nineteenth-century male authors were also contributors to the periodical press, as Edward Bulwer-Lytton makes clear in his *England and the English* (1833:226):

It is a great literary age, we have great literary men - but where are their works? A moment's reflection gives us a reply to the question; we must seek them not in detached and avowed and standard publications, but in periodical miscellanies. It is in these journals that the most eminent of our recent men of letters have chiefly obtained their renown.

This quotation lays bare how literary scholarship has historically seen writing in periodicals in terms of the *apprenticeship* model for authors, ‘one step in the maturation process toward production of the more-venerated genre of the novel’ (Patterson, 2015: 66), not as a valuable genre in its own right.¹ It would therefore be of interest to see if what stood true for men was also true for women, and if in the context of my research I would uncover many women writers who had been well-known in their time but since lost to history, not only because of historiographical prejudice against their gender (see below) but because of ‘an unjust politics of reputation that equates shelf space with cultural values’ (Lee, 2005: 199). Certainly, academic research to date suggested that this would be the case in Spain, with Simón Palmer’s 1991 landmark *Escritoras españolas del siglo XIX: Manual Bio-bibliográfico* featuring the names of over a thousand nineteenth-century women writers, most of whom did not appear as authors of published books. Her groundbreaking work suggested that the periodical press would continue to be a treasure trove for the patient archival gold-panner who had been given the luxury of three years to find the nuggets of information from which a new perspective on history could be constructed, however small. Since the publication of the *Manual* many researchers have added new information to what is known about Spanish women and their writing during this period, with many focusing on the journalism of these writers and providing useful secondary information to this thesis. However, no researcher (that I have found) has taken the same quantitative approach as this doctorate to create exhaustive studies of each magazine title, in order to be able to make assertions about its female contributors and the

¹ This model also does not fit the many nineteenth-century writers who published their novels as instalments in periodicals. While this phenomenon was much more common in newspapers due to their periodicity, during this study I did find women’s novels published in magazines, with novels/*novelitas* by Patrocinio de Biedma and Faustina Sáez de Melgar in *Cádiz*, and Mercedes Gutiérrez de Valle in *Asta Regia*.

networks they formed, primarily based around the evidence found within the magazine itself.

This view of the periodical press as a rich source of undiscovered information is also supported by Simón Palmer's (1989b: 54) assertion that, of all of the Spanish women writers of the nineteenth century, less than 20% managed to have a book published. This assertion is supported by the minuscule proportion of female-authored, Spanish-language books in the Biblioteca Nacional de España – of approximately 80,000 books catalogued by the BNE between 1890 and 1920, only just over one per cent are by women (Hooper, 2010: 205). Certainly, it appears unarguable that women are systematically excluded in canon formation, regardless of the overall numbers writing, perhaps to keep the historical constant of women as token writers, the 'isolated and anecdotal incidents at the margins'.² To this end, Joanna Russ and Elaine Showalter have both found that women writers formed a constant 5-7% of the Anglosphere's literary canon, regardless of the epoch.³ As Joanna Russ writes (1984:79) 'what bothers me is the constancy of the imbalance, despite the changes in personnel.' It would appear that to make room for new women writers in the canon, others must disappear: '(s)ince [...] only contemporary women poets are represented in any number, it becomes clear that a woman must be extraordinary to outlive her generation – And that a man need not.'⁴

Although the previous comment refers to issues of canon imbalance in the Anglosphere, the rule certainly holds true for Spanish women writers, especially if they are deemed to have fallen foul of the strict gender rules regarding what is acceptable for a woman to say and to be. Marina Mayoral (2002) describes how Valera excluded Rosalía de Castro from his *Antología de escritoras*, and how Gustave Deville excluded Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's name from his article about Spanish writers.⁵ I myself was unable to find an entry for the once-famous Rosario de Acuña in the 1907?-1930 imprint of the Espasa-Calpe *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana* which, given that the series runs to 82 volumes including appendices, can be taken as a deliberate omission rather than

² Henriette Partzsch, 'Travelling Texts, 1790-1914: A Transnational Approach to Nineteenth-Century Literary Culture in Spain', unpublished paper, given at the postgraduate conference Nature of Connections (1) at the University of Bristol (18th February 2015).

³ It would appear that up until very recently at least, the proportion of Spanish women in the canon was approximately the same, with Janet Pérez (1988: 2) reporting that of the 215 twentieth-century writers listed in a Spanish writers' dictionary only nine were women (4.2%), while another Spanish writers' dictionary listed 30 women writers for over 550 entries (<5.5%).

⁴ Van Gerven, quoted in Russ (1984:77).

⁵ For further information on how women writers were systematically and consciously marginalised during the creation of this Master Narrative by (male) literary critics and historians as late as the 1970s, see Sullivan (1990).

an oversight. If this is the fate of the contemporary literary women, notwithstanding the *Grande Dame* of each generation (the one woman who is allowed to transcend her socially imposed limitations, and who for this period is unarguably Emilia Pardo Bazán), what hope then for the posterity of the women who were obscure in their own lifetimes? Certainly, this process of obliterating intellectual women from the Master Narrative was well-known at the time under study, with Spanish woman writer Sofia Casanova in 1910 describing the process as being ‘like Atlantis swallowed by up the sea’ (quoted in Hooper, 2008: 3). One of the desired outcomes of this study was that by studying such an ephemeral genre, many women writers would be revealed to the readerly gaze for the first time in over a hundred years.

Finally, but most significantly from the perspective of the sheer volume of quantitative data that is required to be studied for this type of empirical research, the periodical press has been the subject of many digitising initiatives that provide unprecedented access to the source material. In the case of Spain, most notably the Biblioteca Nacional de España, access to their digitised *hemeroteca* corpus is free, available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and is accessible from anywhere in the world. The BNE website also makes the access of the relevant issues simple and instantaneous, meaning that research can be done on a constant, ongoing basis, whether for hours at a time, or for a few spare minutes. Unlike a session at the traditional *hemeroteca* which demands time-consuming protocols to access tomes for limited times and which requires the ability to be physically present in the reading room (no small feat when the data is based in another country), the miracle of modern technology enabled me to do informal research while eating and drinking (understandably forbidden in the *hemeroteca*), around friends and family, and even sitting up in bed in the small hours of the morning. This has resulted in the discovery of far more information than I imagine would have been possible prior to digitisation, with the sum total of the quantitative data being available to view separately online, apart from this thesis.⁶

⁶ This is not to say that I did not avail myself of the traditional *hemeroteca*’s services. Indeed, information found in the hard copies of *La Luz del Porvenir* and microfiches of *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* in the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid have provided much needed information for this thesis.

Methodology: Exploring *hemerotecas* and deciding where to focus attention

I began the task of deciding where to look for data by first familiarising myself with the history of the press in the nineteenth century, and by surveying the existing literature on Spanish women writers of the period, paying particular attention to the references to magazines in which they published. As mentioned in the previous section, Simón Palmer's *Manual* served greatly in this regard, which I read in its entirety by way of preparation, paying particular attention to the magazines in which these women published. I then looked through all of the digitised *hemerotecas* available via links on the BNE website, as well as looking for digitised *hemerotecas* in Latin America and France. It quickly became clear that the best *hemeroteca digital* for ease of browsing as well as quantity of data was that of the BNE itself, as its interface was designed for easy filtering by year and region, with an additional date range and, importantly, it had a summary of each individual title, making titles easy to discount as possible sources. As a consequence, this periodicals library became my main source for primary material, and all of the chapters in this study are based on magazines archived at the BNE. Although when looking for specific titles I did check the other periodical libraries online, and browsed through them in the search of potentially fruitful titles, none of the studies I made of magazines via other *hemerotecas* appear in this thesis, although they are referenced where appropriate.⁷

Exploring the BNE Hemeroteca

Given that the Biblioteca's website allows filtering by year, I decided to look initially at periodicals which fell between the period 1868-1914, wider than the time window proposed, but in order to maximise the possibilities of finding appropriate magazines. Into this category fell 99 titles, once the daily newspapers had been discounted. After studying all of these titles in greater depth, it eventually became clear that by far the most promising sources for evidence of female literary participation, and also evidence of literary reception

⁷ Of particular usefulness for sources were the digital *hemerotecas* of the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica, the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, the Junta de Andalucía Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía and Electra: Publicaciones periódicas andaluzas en la red. Digitalised periodical sources have also been occasionally used from the websites of ARCA: Arxiu de Revistes catalanes antigües of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, the Real Academia Galega and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

and relationships between women, came from the titles which were edited by women.⁸ This tendency even held true for the male-edited magazines which were aimed specifically at women, a detail which Simón Palmer (1989:54) admits to finding an intriguing phenomenon. The one big exception I found to this phenomenon was *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, for its own particular reason as being part of a progressive fringe movement, and therefore, like Spiritism, more welcoming of women to swell its ranks.⁹ While originally there were five magazines which had been studied and formed chapters of this thesis, for reasons of space I omitted the chapters on the magazines *Cádiz* (1877-1880) and *Asta Regia* (1880-1883), which could be seen as rather early for the *entresiglos* time period. The remaining magazines outlined below were chosen for the final edit because they are largely contemporaneous, similar in corpus size, and provide a range of ideological thought and literary practices across the periodical press of the period. These periodicals are:

La Luz del Porvenir (1879-1899, here studied up until 1894). A Spiritist magazine with freethinking and proto-feminist elements, edited in Gràcia (Barcelona) by the impoverished Amalia Domingo Soler. This magazine is unique in the study in being the only one which prioritised female writing to the point that the magazine's authorship was almost exclusively female.

Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento (1883-1909). The largest freethinking weekly newspaper in Spain, edited in Madrid by men who had a favourable view towards publishing women's work, and who were keen to build up a network, whether real or imagined, among its readers of both genders.¹⁰

El Álbum Ibero-Americano (1890-1910). A mainstream publication with strong international links edited in Madrid by the middle-class Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer. Featuring authors of both sexes, its ideas about women's rights and capabilities evolved and expanded as time progressed, although the editor was careful to keep these ideas compatible with the social conservatism of her readership, who enjoyed her society pages.

⁸ Female contributors were also found in male-edited magazines, but there was little evidence of literary networks between the writers, perhaps due to the lack of the central female node of editor. The dataset contains the quantitative study of the female contributors/reception in *La Ilustración* (Barcelona), the BNE archive of which was studied in its entirety; it can therefore be seen as a 'control' in this context.

⁹ It was due to finding more women writing in these fringe movements which caused me to explore all of the remaining Spiritist magazines available digitally, data which is not included in this thesis, but which can be found in the online dataset. As a contrast, at the other end of the ideological spectrum the Catholic magazines that I studied contained few or no female names.

¹⁰ The magazine's title was shortened to *Las Dominicales* in 1904, and in the interests of practicality this shortened form is often used throughout the thesis, even when referring to the pre-1904 magazine.

While it was interesting that my preliminary study of the *hemeroteca*'s corpus found that it was the magazines edited by women that contained both the greatest numbers of texts authored by women and the most evidence of reception of women's work, to a certain extent it is not surprising given the prevailing attitude towards women's writing during that period. In Sáez de Melgar's *Las Mujeres españolas, americanas y lusitanas pintadas por sí mismas* (1881), the articles 'La Poetisa del pueblo', 'La poetisa romántica' and 'La marisabidilla' tell of the women who read secretly and fear the social ridicule that regularly comes with female literary self-expression. In her article 'La poetisa en España', Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer gives a devastating idea of the social reality for the average literary woman:

Cuando en una *soirée* recita sus versos una poetisa, obligada por las mil instancias del ama de casa, las risa irónicas de la necias y las miradas sarcásticas de 'los filósofos de salón' se desencadenan sobre ellas.¹¹

Although these women writers are necessarily describing, given the titles of these articles, general situations, there is also concrete evidence of known literary figures having interiorised prevailing social attitudes about female capabilities, and it affecting the perception of their own work. As Pilar Sinués de Marco says of Antonia Díaz Fernández in *El Correo de la Moda* (24/6/61):

La sed de crear la acosaba [...] cuando ocupaba el tiempo en sus piadosas lecturas y, persuadida de que mientras no estudiase algo no podría dar un solo paso en literatura, mil veces tuvo el pensamiento de pedir a su tía algunos otros libros de instrucción, pero nunca llegó a efectuarlo, porque sostenía consigo una reñida lucha: en aquella época muy pocas mujeres escribían. Antonia oía satirizar continuamente a las poetisas, y llegaron a sus manos periódicos en que vio epigramas y sarcasmos contra las producciones femeninas; el temor del ridículo la contuvo siempre en medio de sus aspiraciones, a pesar de animarla su buena madre, para quien eran obras maestras los lindos ensayos de su hija.¹²

Not all family members were as supportive. Concha Espina's husband showed violent opposition to her writing, ripping up the manuscript of one of her first books, which Concha carefully put back together. His act was a reminder that social conventions, enshrined in penal and civil codes, made every woman a legal minor under her father or

¹¹ *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, 22/11/07. Please note that all magazine quotations are reproduced with the original orthography and grammar.

¹² As quoted in Palenque and Román Gutiérrez (2007: 12).

husband's protection and therefore a reflection of him. As a consequence, writing for publication was sometimes perceived as a transgressive, 'feminist' act, an act of opposition to the patriarchy by its very nature, regardless of the writing's subject matter. However, it appears that this institutional opposition (considering the family itself as an institution), only steeled the determination of women like Concha Espina:

Rotas en cuatro trozos, rotas con violencia, estaban en el suelo [...] Y las fue armando de nuevo, como quien arma un rompecabezas. No dijo una sola palabra. Nada preguntó ni su voz se alzó airada. Sólo sentía una gran lástima. Y una decisión, una voluntad inmensa.¹³

Even as late as 1911, these attitudes were still commonplace, as attested by a newspaper article that year which criticised retrograde attitudes towards women writers:

La mujer que escribe es, para la generalidad de las gentes, un caso inaguantable de chifladura o pedantería. El ideal es que las señoritas no sepan nada de nada, fuera de tocar la Rapsodia húngara y cantar las Romanzas de Tosti. (*La Correspondencia de España*, 16/2/11)

More sinisterly, there could be the risk of a woman's name being 'tainted' by her public identity as a writer, as seen through María Lájarraga hiding her work behind her husband's name:

No quería empañar la limpieza de mi nombre con la dudosa fama que en aquella época caía como un sambenito casi deshonesto sobre toda mujer *literata*.¹⁴

Little wonder then that the vast majority of unknown women writers were either more comfortable sending their work to an editor of the same sex, or else it was the case that female editors were much more likely than men to publish work by female writers. It is difficult to know whether the phenomenon that I found, of women writers more commonly found in women-edited magazines, is a result principally of decisions made by the contributors, by the editors, or by both together. Certainly, what were discovered during the course of my research were the strategies that female editors employed to foment a

¹³ Josefina de la Maza, *Vida de mi madre, Concha Espina* (Alcoy: Editorial Marfil, 1957: 79). Quoted in Hurtado (1998: 149).

¹⁴ María Martínez Sierra, *Gregorio y yo* (México D.F., Biografías Gadesa, 1953: 29-30). Quoted in Hurtado (1998: 148).

supportive sense of community and to encourage female contributions.¹⁵ Indeed, not only were women more likely to send their contributions to, or at least to feature in, female-edited magazines, I also discovered that the female editorship of magazines was much more common than might be expected, with many of the women who feature in these magazines as contributors also having had a period of directing their own publication. As might be expected, most of these publications no longer survive: many of them, as was common in the epoch for the periodical press, lasted only a few months, or even weeks. Nevertheless, where I have discovered evidence of female magazine editorship among the writers in this study, I have included it in the thesis, as these are important clues which point to a still greater literary culture that remains to be researched.¹⁶

Qualitative research and existing literature

One of the principal aims of my investigation was to find evidence of female writing networks within the magazines, a continuation of the '*Hermanadad Lirica*' (Kirkpatrick, 1991: 88) which has been documented as existing between the female Romantic poets of the mid-century. However, there was no certainty that I would find any direct evidence of this within the magazines themselves, and a thorough knowledge of the secondary literature would be necessary to support any theories or assertions made on the basis of my primary evidence. Prior to undertaking this archival research, I found Franco Moretti's books *Distant Reading* (2013) and *Graphs, Maps Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (2005) useful primers for this radically new focus towards the topic of literary history, and sources of inspiration regarding how to analyse and present the information. In this vein, Hooper (2010) also gave a good demonstration of how to present quantitative data from a 'distant reading' study.

My first priority with regards to secondary literature was to ensure that I understood the social context in which these texts were written, and to this end I read the general histories of Spain, specifically of the long nineteenth century e.g. Álvarez Junco (2000), Carr (1980), Esdaile (2000), and Shubert (1996). From there I moved to the general histories of

¹⁵ This can also be seen in *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, where female acts of bravery, including the written declaration of freethinking, is lauded by the male editors.

¹⁶ A good source for the names of Spanish female editors and their magazines, as well as their links to other female journalists in Europe during this period is Ezama Gil (2014). Palomo Vázquez (2014) states that she found 47 female editors/owners of Spanish magazines in Simón Palmer's 1991 *Manual* alone, suggesting that overall numbers must have been far greater.

the nineteenth-century press (Desvois [1977], García Rodríguez [2006], Schulte [1968], Seoane [2007], Seoane y Sáiz [1998]), which provided the greater context for the numerous studies into the women's press, both of the genre in general and of individual magazine titles, which have informed this thesis (Charnon-Deutsch [1996, 2008], Ciallella [2006], [Rhian] Davies [2012, 2013], Ezama Gil [2014], Herzig Shannon [2001], Infante Vargas [2008], Jiménez Morell [1992], Pasternac [1991], Perinat y Marrades [1980], Roig Castellanos [1977, 1990], Sánchez Llama [1990, 1998], Segura y Selva [1984], Simón Palmer [1975]). In addition, I also found it useful to consult the numerous compendiums/dictionaries of women writers, (Bordonada [1989], Carmona González [1999], Cejador y Frauca [1919], Criado y Dominguez [1889], Falcón y Siurana [1992], Galerstein [1986], García de Coronado [1926], Nelken [1930], Ossorio y Bernard [1903], Ramírez Gómez [2000], Ruíz Guerrero [1997], Simón Palmer [1991]), for valuable biographical data, especially for the more obscure names discovered during the course of my archival research. I also read more general studies of women writers of the period (Bieder [1992, 1995, 2005], Charon-Deutsch [2003], [Catherine] Davies [1998], Fernández [2011, 2015], Jiménez Morales [1994], Miller [1983], Pérez [1988], Simón Palmer [1989a, 1989b, 2002a], Ugarte [1994]) both for background and potentially useful information.

A large proportion of the secondary literature concerned individual woman writers, which was read not only for background, but for the occasional data or clues regarding associations with other women writers. For chapter one, the key texts covering Amalia Domingo Soler's life and work were Bogo (1971, an apparent Ur-text for later secondary sources), Correa Ramón (2000, 2002), Ortega (2008) and Simón Palmer (1993). Given that *La Luz del Porvenir* was a Spiritist magazine, I also felt it relevant to study the history of Spiritism/Spiritualism in Spain, Latin America and France (e.g. Abend [2004], [Susana] Bianchi [1992], Blanco [2013], Cerezo Paredes [2013], Corbetta [2013a, 2013b], Horta [2004a, 2004b], Infante Vargas [2003], Koss [1976], Mariño [1963], Monroe [2008], Schraeder [2009], Sharp [2006]) for contextualisation of this movement, especially in reference to how Spanish Spiritist women would be perceived, and in search of reception of Spanish women writers abroad. As Amalia Domingo Soler was part of the freethinking movement (which is why she also features in the second chapter), she found herself bound in the amorphous mass of heterodox women, in which Spiritists, Freethinkers, Anarchists, Republicans, Blasquistas, Masons, Suffragettes, Socialists and others could be found, and whose multitudinous associational activities have led to a correspondingly large academic endeavour to document their networks and lives. Indeed, perhaps it is because of their

collective politicised voice that they have attracted so much attention from historians as a phenomenon. In the interests of finding out more about the personalities and the networks of both major and minor participants in these groups who also wrote for *La Luz del Porvenir* and/or *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, I consulted Arkinstall (2014), Espigado Tocino (2002), Fagoaga (1996), Franco Rubio (2004), Muiña (2008), Ortiz Albear (2007), Prada Baena (2006), Ramos Palomo (1994a, 1994b, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008, 2011), Salomón Chéliz (2005, 2006), Sánchez Ferré (1989, 1990, 1998), Sanfeliú (2005), Simón Palmer (2000, 2001, 2002b) and Vicente Villanueva (2005). Of this group, particularly relevant to the study was Arkinstall's recent book *Spanish Female Writers and the Freethinking Press 1879-1926*, given that it traced the relationships between three of the principal women featured in the first two chapters of the study. Ramos Palomo's prominent place in the bibliography is also worthy of note, because although her perspective, like many, is historical rather than literary (i.e. it is often not concerned with writers or writing), her chronicling of the lives of these heterodox women gave me important historical context to their writing. Simón Palmer's 2002 paper 'Progresismo, heterodoxia y utopía en algunas escritoras durante la Restauración' gave several instances of women writing in *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento* and detailing their relationships as part of a network, helpful at the point of deciding which magazines to study in depth. Books, monographs and papers were also read on individual freethinking women, notably for Rosario de Acuña (Arkinstall [2005], Díaz-Marcos [2014], Hernández Sandoica [2012]), Belén de Sárraga (Vitale and Antivilo [2000]) and Soledad Areales (Sánchez García [2005]), information which served for the first two chapters.

There was also a substantial amount of subject-specific secondary literature for the final chapter. Particularly significant were the two studies of the magazine *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* itself (Chozas Ruíz-Belloso [2005], Hernández-Prieto [1993]), both of which provided information regarding issues not included in the digital archive. There was also useful literature written about Gimeno de Flaquer's previous magazine *El Álbum de la Mujer* from which useful information was gleaned (León Corona [2011], Ramos Escandón [2001, 2005, 2006], Servén Díez [2014]). However, most of the studies for the final chapter centred on the figure of Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer herself, with a tendency to analyse her feminism rather than focus on her magazine (Ayala Aracil [2009], [Marina] Bianchi [2007, 2008], Bieder [1990, 1993a], Díaz Marcos [2011], Hibb-Lissorgues [2006], Lacalzada de Mateo [2005], Servén Díaz [2013]). Literature about other contributors to the magazine was also studied for potential pieces of information which could point to

pertinent literary connections, contributors such as Magdalena de Santiago-Fuentes (Muñoz Olivares [2004]), Clorinda Matto de Turner (Matto de Turner [1909], Portugal [1999], Zanetti [1994]), Carmen de Burgos (Núñez Rey [2009], Zubiaurre [2003]), Sofía Casanova (Hooper [2008]), Dolores Correa Zapata (Infante Vargas [2009]) and Pilar Contreras (Ramírez Almazán [2009]). Literature on Emilia Pardo Bazán's life and connections were also studied, given her social stature and her connections to Gimeno de Flaquer during the 1880s. Bieder's numerous papers on Pardo Bazán (1989, 1993b, 2015) provided a rich background source for the literary culture of the period, and along with Freire-López (1991) provided information about Pardo Bazán's literary connections, including her relationship with Gimeno de Flaquer herself.

However, perhaps the single most importance secondary source for the final chapter was the book by Pintos de Cea-Naharro (2016) published only a few months before the chapter itself was written. *Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer: Del sí de las niñas al yo de las mujeres* (2016), a comprehensive study containing much new research from primary sources, managed to clarify the truth behind some incorrect assertions made in other secondary literature. Like Arkinstall's 2014 book about female freethinkers and their relationships, Pintos' admirable work was published after my research began in 2013, which evidences how rapidly the research landscape around Spanish women writers is changing. In particular, the topics of Spanish female journalism and women's writing networks appear to be at the cutting edge of this field of historical research, with Bieder (2015) and Fernández (2015) publishing material about literary networks, and Rhian Davies (2013), Ezama Gil (2014), Servén Díaz (2014), Sotomayor Sáez (2013), Thion Soriano-Mollá (2014) and Vera Rodríguez (2014) concentrating on women's journalism. The very topicality of this project did lead to the issue of finding secondary material online which had not been formally published, and I was careful to ensure that all data found online could be verified through triangulation with primary or published sources before it was used in this study. Given that both the topic and the approach that I have used for this thesis is both a topical and growing area of interest for researchers, I hope that both my thesis and the underlying dataset, available for researchers online, will themselves serve as secondary source material for other researchers' work.¹⁷

¹⁷ This dataset contains far more than a conventional appendix, because, understanding the difficulties of archival research, I wanted it to contain as much objective data as possible for other researchers. This dataset can be found online at the DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5525/gla.researchdata.336>

Quantitative research techniques

Once the magazines for in-depth analysis were selected, they were studied using Moretti's *distant reading* approach, which seeks to aggregate and (creatively) analysis large amounts of quantitative data in order to make hypotheses and draw conclusions about literary culture, rather than about the piece of art itself (as per traditional literary criticism). This desire to see the forest (the literary culture) rather the tree (the literary product) required a focus on the quantifiable non-literary elements in the magazine, the metadata of the literature rather than the literature itself, which ironically meant that my focus was on the elements of the magazines which traditional literary criticism would deem insignificant. Given that the aim of this empirically-minded project was to create as detailed a map of the literary terrain as possible, while heeding Borges' warning that the map can never be the territory, I wanted to ensure that my research was thorough. Like panning for gold, this scrutiny of thousands of pages for details was very time-consuming but incredibly rewarding when new information, unknown to secondary sources, came to light. From a historical perspective, this immersion in the literature was also very enjoyable, as it gave a real sense of what it must have felt like to be alive at the time. In addition, the illustrations provided a sense of the visual culture and the contemporaneous values and preoccupations of the period, and it was of great interest to see how women's writing would have been received by readers alongside the magazines' graphics.¹⁸ I was potentially too thorough in my reading of the magazines, because I read all of the women's writing in *La Luz del Porvenir* (the digitized tomes), *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* and *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, and wrote notes on each of these articles, reproducing interesting quotations and linking authors by theme and language style and usage. Being in historical detective mode, I was also compelled to read all of the news snippets in these magazines, and found myself agreeing with Sotomayor Sáez (2013:335) who stated, in her study of the magazine *Cádiz*: 'Las noticias culturales y locales nos descubren los entresijos de la vida cotidiana; nos hablan de ese tejido oculto, de esa «intrahistoria» que explica los comportamientos colectivos.' This has led to much qualitative data which has not been used in the final thesis, but which was collected partly as an insurance should sufficient quantitative data not be found for a quantitative study (or interesting enough conclusions be drawn), and

¹⁸ I found the work of Charnon-Deutsch (1996, 2008) to be very instructive in helping decipher the visual culture of the magazines I was analysing, particularly in the case of *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*. Although this information was not strictly necessary for my thesis, I do think that if women's writing in magazines is to be studied qualitatively, it should be done so in the context that the reader would have consumed it, i.e. *in situ*, ideologically contextualised with the adjacent pictures and articles.

partly because for the first year I found it difficult to adjust from the traditional methodology of ‘close reading’. The sense of curiosity aroused when making forays into what Moretti (2013: 180) called ‘the archive of Great Unread’, could also be difficult to control at times, when the idea of finding a hitherto unknown literary treasure would prove irresistible.¹⁹ While the extent to which I carried out this close reading was probably excessive given the scope of the thesis, I did find that findings from this close reading added a dimension of human interest and depth to the thesis that would have been missing had I stuck firmly to the ‘distant reading’ method. It is for this reason that in my opinion Moretti’s approach, while undoubtedly a useful conceptual framework for analysing literature, works best when complementing rather than replacing traditional approaches. I would suggest that just as the tree needs the context of the forest ecosystem to be truly understood, so a scientific ‘map’ of the forest (as expressed by one of Moretti’s graphs, maps or trees) would be of limited interest to the reader, ipso facto a literature aficionado, without subjective reference to the literature itself or to the subjective use of humanising detail about the individual authors who are part of the greater literary system.

The systematic approach of going through each magazine page by page was absolutely needed for this type of analysis, and proved that the OCR search, which I suspect is used by many researchers who approach the digital corpus with the mindset that they already know who or what they are looking for, is only partly useful when looking for Spanish women authors in nineteenth-century magazines. There are many reasons for this, but they all vindicate what might otherwise be seen as a methodology which is too time-consuming to be an optimal use of research time.

One of the main reasons for the fallibility of OCR searches is that it can be extremely difficult for a machine to recognise the letters in nineteenth-century newsprint. This was particularly the case with the small-print newspaper *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento* which, if it proved troublesome for a human to decipher in places, was impossible for a computer to do the same.²⁰ There is also the problem of the women writers’ names themselves. In the first instance, it was often the case that at least part of the surname was regularly mis-spelled – for example, it is not clear if the young Spiritist writer from Cuba who features in *La Luz del Porvenir* four times is Natalia Massagué, Natalia Masaguer, Natalia Massaguer or Natalia Masagué, as each time she features, her name is

¹⁹ Although Moretti was talking about the archive of unread (uncanonised) books rather than newspapers, the principle still stands.

²⁰ I know this because I ran many OCR name searches after coming across articles in the digital archive, and in many cases the search results did not bring up the articles that I had found myself.

spelt differently. Nor was this a problem limited to the more ‘downmarket’ publications – *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* also regularly misspells their writers’ surnames, with some writers appearing under various misspellings, and foreign or regional writers particularly prone to being transcribed according to what might be the Castilian typesetters’ understanding of their name, or the best decipherment of a handwritten source. Such was the regularity and often subtlety of these misspellings that the mistakes end up being made ‘official’ in secondary sources, and from there reproduced in tertiary sources. This can be seen with in Simón Palmer’s (1991) misspelling of Eugenia Estopa de Fernández’s name as ‘Estoppa’, and Belén Sárraga being rendered Belén Lárraga (and thus unlikely to be found by a researcher looking for her under the more customary ‘S’). This is particularly problematic when the source in question is (as here) a reference book of women writers and therefore more likely to be referenced by researchers.²¹ OCR searches made under these unusual variant spellings would also be less likely to produce results. The problem is additionally complicated by the fact that a lot of women writers had two different names (their maiden name and the name taken on marriage, and for some, also re-marriage), longer forms of their names, and regional (e.g. Catalan) forms of these names. There was the added complication of the prepositions y/i/de used between surnames, which were gaily omitted, added, or used incorrectly by the editor. Sometimes an additional ‘de’ was added between first name and the surname, just for good measure (Belén ‘de’ Sárraga is one example). Who would think, for example, to look for Salomé Núñez y Topete (alternatively rendered Salomé Núñez Topete) in the form that she was rendered in *La Correspondencia de España* (17/11/01) – Salomé Muñiz de Topete? Or that Dolores Górtazar Serantes would be ‘Dolores Gatacre Serantes’ in the *El País* of 15/6/00? With so many variants and mistakes, plus the side issue of pseudonyms, it is a wonder that research based on OCR searches of digital material manages to find anything at all, especially for the lesser-known writers. Certainly, with some writers it took a certain amount of detective work and intuition to know how under which ‘official’ name to categorise a piece of writing. This was often the case with articles and poems disguised by pseudonyms or (often partial) initials. In these cases, it might take clues elsewhere, plus a familiarity with the writing or its themes, to be able to identify the author.²² Given that it would disrupt the narrative flow of the thesis to list all of these variant forms when each woman writer is mentioned, not to mention the space that this would require, I have generally chosen to use

²¹ Looking under ‘s’ might still not solve the problem, when one considers that Belén’s surname has also been found rendered as Zágarra, Sagarra and Segarra in official sources.

²² For a full discussion of the strategies used by women writers to hide their identities with potential explanations for why this particular strategy is chosen, see Simón Palmer (1989a).

the form by which she is best known, and to put all of the variant forms into the online dataset for those particularly interested in the author concerned. I have also included the mis-spellings in the dataset as, after all, this is the form under which the author was found, and therefore may be a useful way for researchers to try to look for her in future OCR searches.²³

A systematic approach is also required to find the unknown women writers as, without first knowing that these women exist, they cannot be searched for under their name. This may sound obvious but I feel that it must be stated. By focussing on individual women themselves, rather than the publication, there is the risk that researchers will find what they want to find, because their methodology is conclusion-orientated, and risks continuing the canon-based model of literary culture which typifies traditional research and which has been criticised for its 'tunnel vision'. I began this study with absolutely no idea of the overall numbers of women I would find in each publication, whether I would find reception of their work, and whether there would be much evidence of a writing network.²⁴ Naturally, not knowing *a priori* of the existence of what I was to find was nerve-racking from the point of view of doctoral output, but it did mean that I came to the study with a relatively open mind, which in my opinion is important in an empirical study of this type. This open mind was particularly required when I found that my primary sources irrefutably contradicted some of the information found in published books and articles, which had evidently used some (trusted) secondary sources as the basis for their material. I saw the same incorrect facts being repeated across articles, which suggested that the wrong piece of information was taken from the same secondary source (potentially a nineteenth-century compendium of women writers), or even tertiary source, as academics referred to each others' work. Thus, replication of wrong information could turn a factual error into received wisdom without a careful return to the primary sources, which is why I am particularly grateful to have been given the chance to do this type of empirical, archival research. Given that the development of knowledge around a topic is an ongoing process, I do not see it as instructive to point out these numerous factual errors (which affected at least nine different academics' work). Rather, this issue is being highlighted as another reason to justify this otherwise labour-intensive (and therefore potentially expensive) type

²³ For a fuller discussion of the issues surrounding Spanish women's names and naming practices, including the consequent philosophical issues of identity, see Hooper (2010: 201-202).

²⁴ It should be noted that much of the secondary literature regarding the associational networks of heterodox women did give the idea that with systemic study, *La Luz del Porvenir* and *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento* were bound to yield reasonable results.

of research, which helps to ensure that the quantifiable facts used in academic knowledge production are accurate.

Recording and management of quantitative data

Given that this PhD took an unusual quantitative approach for a literary topic, my way of recording data was similarly unusual for a PhD in literature for its use of Excel spreadsheets. For each magazine studied I took the quantitative data from my written notes, recorded in notebooks along with (qualitative) analysis of the writings themselves, and created a separate worksheet for each magazine, with the primary column being the name of each new woman writer found. These worksheets ran to over thirty columns (regarding biographical, literary and research data), and often hundreds of rows, a reflection of the multitude of women writers' names found in the magazines. For the largest magazine in terms of data, *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, the information captured was divided into two worksheets, one for the women writers only mentioned (i.e. received) in the magazine, and the other for those who featured as a contributor. Using spreadsheets allowed me to create the final prose narrative of this thesis through being able to see patterns more clearly within the group by means of filtering for the many characteristics entered into the spreadsheet and otherwise being able to order and manage what would be in standard text format an unwieldy volume of data. This use of spreadsheets also served well for the task of quantifying the nature of the relationships between the women writers found within the magazines, which was done with a view to create visual networks of these writers.

Categorising the nature of the relationships found

The magazines under study did sometimes prove themselves to be good sources for evidence of the underlying relationship between their female contributors, and perhaps predictably the evidence within the magazine portrayed the female editor as the central node of these networks. The exception to this rule was the male-edited *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, where there were several main nodes for female networks, the primary one being the famous writer Rosario de Acuña. Each magazine exhibited slightly different styles of networks, contingent on the editor's personality, her/his desire to insert

this personality into the magazine textually, the ideological nature of the magazine and its geographical reach. Given the hundreds of names involved and the complexities of some of these networks, I found it useful for the thesis, as well as for the purposes of later visualisation software, to categorise the nature of the relationships found between the women into four categories, as follows:

1. No evidence of a relationship or knowledge of each other between the two women concerned.
2. One woman is received/translated by the other but there is no evidence of a relationship between the two nor that the woman being alluded to would know of this reception. This is a unilateral relationship, and is also the category for women being unwittingly placed into the magazine's imaginary through a reproduction.
3. Active contributor to the magazine (bilateral relationship with female editor). One woman addresses/praises another woman directly, in a magazine expected to be read by the other woman.
4. Clear evidence of reciprocated friendship (whether via correspondence or in person), close collaboration between the two women.

Of course, these are ways of categorising the real-life relationships between the women; this model does not take into account the imaginary created in the mind of the reader, who may see the writers as forming a part of a community based around the magazine. This 'imagined community' of writers and readers was, like the nation state, an otherwise anonymous community bound by ritual (in this case, of reading the same magazine issue at the same time) and of which the reader was made to feel a part (Anderson, 2006 [1983]:35-36). This sense of community existed for the readership regardless of whether the magazine's writers knew each other or indeed that their name even featured in the magazine. It is for this reason that the words 'community' and 'network' are used with nuance throughout this thesis, with the term 'community' used to signify an undefined (and undefinable) mass of readers and writers (including the imaginary), while the term 'network' is used to describe a definite set of individual women writers, with an emphasis on the relationships between these individuals. The 'imagined community' will also be discussed in each chapter, as the readers' idea of this community is arguably just as important as the real one of the writers' networks. Readers far outnumbered writers, and they could be influenced by the magazine to the point of this having a tangible effect on individual lives, society and the greater social order (this impact being particularly quantifiable in the case of *Las Dominicales*).

It was important to delineate the exact nature of the relationships between the magazines' women writers due to the difference in types of contribution. One of the key features of these magazines was the constant attempt to evoke a tradition of female writing, in order for women writers to recover 'their matrilineal heritage of literary strength' (Gilbert and Guber, 2000 [1979]: 59). This tradition was achieved by the evocation of great literary foremothers and the reproduction of their texts. The term 'literary foremother' is used here for a woman who is of a preceding literary generation, whose (usually posthumous) literary legacy is seen firmly of another age, although in rare cases she may be still alive.²⁵ These literary foremothers were thus unwittingly placed into the network, in order to help aspiring women writers overcome what Gilbert and Guber call 'the anxiety of authorship', proper to the female condition.²⁶ While these foremothers did not (and in most cases, could not) form part of the real-life network, their ghostly, palimpsestic presence is nevertheless important in tracing female writers' literary influences and sources of motivation and inspiration, and are a key part of the Travelling Texts ambition to map the terrain of female literary influence across time and space.

The second feature that I found in all of these magazines was the enthusiasm to address, reference or praise other women who would be expected to read what was written about them. This could be a useful strategy for a writer to insert herself textually into an established network, by praising an already established node, dedicating the work to her, and/or addressing her as 'friend'.²⁷ If this node was the editor herself, it would maximise the chances of the work being published, and it was a known strategy for contributors to *El Album Ibero-Americano* (see Chapter 3). This strategy could also be used to strengthen an already-existing friendship, a way of making public what would otherwise be private correspondence, with the printed poem/article itself being kept by the addressee. This can be seen with the poem by Joaquina Alcalá dedicated to Joaquina Balmaseda, which Balmaseda cut out of a magazine and stuck into her personal album (thus transforming what should be personal back from public into personal).²⁸

²⁵ My usage is therefore much looser than that of Gilbert and Gubar (2000 [1979]: 51,59), who use the term to denote women writers who are much further back in time than potentially just one generation (certainly, they are not still alive), and whose distance in time may require them to be 'recovered or remembered'.

²⁶ Gilbert and Gubar (2000 [1979]:51) define 'the anxiety of authorship' as 'an anxiety built from complex and often only barely conscious fears of that authority which seems to the female artist to be by definition inappropriate to her sex'. This is not to be confused with the traditional (male) anxiety about creativity.

²⁷ This can also be seen as a hangover from the Romantic period when female poets addressed each other in sentimental, even romantic, terms as a way of creating a legitimate enunciatory space for themselves as female poets (see Mayoral, 2000: 641).

²⁸ Balmaseda's *álbum* can be accessed online at <https://ruidera.uclm.es/xmlui/handle/10578/222> (last accessed 18 July 2016).

Alternatively, the word ‘friend’ was used as a way of expressing shared sympathies, especially common in counter-current movements such as freethinking, though one could argue that women publishing their writing was itself part of a counter-current movement, even as late as Restoration Spain:

No es, pues, de extrañar, que enfrentadas continuamente a un mundo hostil, objeto unas veces de burla y otras de escándalo o desdén, estas escritoras de mediados del siglo pasado, cuando encontraban a otra mujer que compartía sus inquietudes, se entregaran a esa hermandad espiritual, a esa apasionada amistad que tantos rasgos en común tiene con el amor. (Mayoral, 2000: 657)

The problem comes when trying to analyse the exact nature of the relationship which lay behind words like ‘amiga’, which could be used even when trying to initiate a friendship, as can be seen in Amalia Domingo Soler’s first ever contact with Rosario de Acuña (see Chapter 2). Here we can see how, with the rhetorical styles of the age, a sentence like the following can be addressed to a complete stranger:

Adios, amiga mía; espero anhelante su contestación, y le ofrezco mi sincera amistad. (*Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, 1/2/85)

Given the potential pitfalls for the researcher of social networks, I have been exceedingly cautious when categorising the nature of these friendships, and in keeping with the empirical spirit of this thesis, have presented all textual evidence which has led to my conclusions. This will allow the reader to make their own judgements of the nature of the relationships, especially as new evidence will undoubtedly come to light in the course of time. In the preparation for this thesis I have read many academic sources which have made ambitious claims for the level of intimacy between women, claims which (in my opinion) are exaggerated, when one scrutinises the primary sources on which these claims are based. I would prefer to make more tentative but accurate conclusions which do not go beyond the evidence available, so that any future researchers who wish to use my research as a basis for future investigation can do so with the confidence that they are working upon a firm foundation.

Given the framework of the project in which this doctorate is embedded, a firm emphasis is placed on the reception of these women’s works. In many cases, this data informs the thesis if the reception is from another woman, but all reception from both sexes can be found in the online dataset, including all evidence of transnational circulation and

reception of texts.²⁹ In addition, the dataset records every instance found of female participation in literary culture, whether as salonnière, prologuist, writer, translator, playwright, publisher, editor, reviewer or public speaker. I have included these most relevant examples of what Sullivan (1990: 27) calls ‘micro-political power’ in the main body of the thesis, in a bid to show that behind the *ángel del hogar* façade of received history, there lay a real will to power in many nineteenth-century Spanish women to influence the (male) institutions.³⁰

Visualisations of the networks created

As I was able to quantify the relationships between every woman recorded in the magazines, in the spirit of Moretti’s *Graphs, Maps, Trees* I decided to try to create computer visualisations of these networks, to see if literary history could be demonstrated in less conventional ways than the standard prose narrative. To do this I created vast spreadsheets for the women writers of each magazine, cross-referencing the same list of women writers by row/column, and quantifying the nature of each relationship with every other member of the network as a number (out of 4).³¹ The network visualisations that I managed to achieve as a result of these spreadsheets were of limited use due my inexpert knowledge of network software (in this case, Netminer) – I had been unsuccessful in my attempts to represent any nuance in relationship as I had hoped, managing only a binary,

²⁹ The word ‘transnational’ has been carefully chosen within the project framework as a way of underscoring how the literary culture of the nineteenth-century transcended, as today, national borders which were often arbitrary, emerging and fluctuating, and that many women who identified with (transnational) religious or political ideologies similarly saw their identity as going beyond national limitations. It also underscores the transnational identities of many individuals, due to such factors as mixed parentage and international residence (e.g. Caecilia Böhl de Faber), the complications of national identity caused by the movement of people within the Spanish empire (e.g. Belén de Sárraga) and the official nationalities of women being mediated through men, nationalities which could change on marriage (e.g. Sofía Casanova).

³⁰ The *ángel del hogar* (in the English-speaking world, ‘angel of the hearth’) was an immensely popular and persistent transnational literary trope from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, potentially having its origins in an 1854 Coventry Patmore poem. This trope conceives of the ideal woman as being devoted to the sacred home and family, submissive to her husband, and whose actions and interests do not extend beyond the domestic. It denied the economic reality of the time which forced millions of women outside of the home to work, and the reality of women as individual human beings, but given its pervasiveness in art and literature the casual historian could be forgiven for mistaking the cultural ‘ideal’ for historical reality.

³¹ This process was incredibly time consuming, given that I discovered 978 women writers (including pseudonyms) of which 510 had some kind of link with at least one other woman writer in the study. Given that I created seven of these spreadsheets in total (one for each of the original five magazines, plus an additional spreadsheet for *El Album Ibero-Americano* and one which combined the data of all five magazines) had I known their eventual limited use to this study beyond vague object of interest, I might have invested time more profitably elsewhere.

and as a simple printed graphic it was difficult to read the names of the women concerned. However, these network-software spreadsheets still exist should any researcher wish to use them as the basis of future visualisations.

My work in attempting visualisations was not completely wasted, however. I sent my spreadsheets to Aleš Vaupotič of the project's Slovenian partners, who co-ordinated a team at the University of Ljubljana to create an interactive visualisation which demonstrated the personal connections each individual woman writer in a strikingly colourful display. Of course, by its very nature it also requires a computer interface and goes little beyond the point of beautiful novelty when it comes to the reality of having to expound a PhD thesis in text narrative. Nevertheless, with information increasingly being transferred from the traditional printed text to interactive ICT formats (even the text being typed now is capacitated to create hyperlinks automatically, a feature to instantly access references lost to those reading this text on paper), so it was useful as an exercise to express my research in such a novel way, especially fitting for the ethos of the Travelling Texts project.³²

Structure of the thesis

As might be expected, each chapter is devoted to one of the magazines under study, and takes the central node of the network, the magazine's editor, as the chapter's main theme. The exception to this is the chapter on *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento* which, in the absence of an editor, has several main nodes in the network, although primary attention is given to the largest. I have tried where possible to maintain a narrative thread, by linking different aspects of the network thematically (difficult when a network is anything but lineal), and the reader will see that this strategy has varying levels of success. Given that this was a project to rediscover often obscure women writers, or unknown facts about known writers, many anecdotal aspects of my research do creep into the narrative in the form of footnotes and other asides. I realise that these may be seen as superfluous to the 'network' narrative, but these additional names and facts may be of use to a future researcher who is looking for a specific woman writer for their own research. In keeping

³² Some of the outcomes of the Travelling Texts project were aimed at public engagement with the research material, and to this end material was disseminated for the public, through exhibitions, speaking events and online. In keeping with this aim, the visualisations created by the Slovenian team were set up for participants to view at the knowledge exchange workshop *Women's History: Research, Dissemination and the role of the Digital* (Huygens Institute, 29-30 September, 2015). A screenshot of this visualisation, with details of its creators, is available to view at: <http://travellingtexts.huygens.knaw.nl/?cat=26>

with my style of research, I wanted each chapter to be as comprehensive as possible, while (I hope) maintaining the readers' interest. Over the course of the following chapters, I aim to show that the periodical press is a prime source for uncovering the realities of female literary culture in the latter half of the long nineteenth century. From the secondary literature surveyed it would appear that my approach is quite unique and, I hope, innovative. Despite the wealth of information uncovered it should be borne in mind that I have studied only a handful of magazines out of the thousands of titles still conserved in the countless repositories across Spain. I hope to prove to the reader that it would be well worth the trouble for other researchers to continue this work with the periodical press, both to extend these literary networks, and to provide answers to some of the tantalising questions about these women writers which my research has so far been unable to answer.

La Luz del Porvenir: Amalia Domingo Soler and her ‘universal family’ of women writers

La Luz del Porvenir, a rustically produced, single-column, eight-page weekly with no illustrations, was a highly unusual offering for Spanish (and Spanish-speaking) readers of the late nineteenth century.³³ As well as being a magazine for the contentious Spiritist movement, it was also feminist in outlook, and female writers dominated its pages almost to the point of gender exclusivity. Although it was not the pioneer of female Spiritist or even feminist journalism in Spain,³⁴ it stands out from all other female endeavours of the last century which unflinchingly critiqued society because of its longevity, running for over twenty years (1879-1900).³⁵ Its success in forming its own genre, with a strident tone prefiguring the freethinking periodicals of Ángeles López de Ayala and Belén de Sárraga, can be attributed to the magazine’s Spiritist philosophy, which allowed women to conceive of the world in alternative terms to those permitted to them under the competing paradigms of Catholicism and materialism/positivism. Of the twenty years that the magazine was in print, this chapter will concern itself with tracing the female writing network found in the magazine from its first issue on 22 May 1879 until the end of year XV (10th May 1894). The complete set of tomes for these years is available in the Biblioteca Nacional de España

³³ The full name of the magazine was *La Luz del Porvenir: Semanario Espiritista*, and will be referred to henceforth as *La Luz*.

³⁴ The first magazine which was both feminist and Spiritist was *El Pensil Gaditano* (1856-59), although it was strictly speaking Spiritualist (as well as Utopian Socialist/Fourierist), Spiritism itself only being born as a creed in 1857. Roig Castellanos (1977:31) describes it as the first feminist magazine in Spain, however it could be argued that others could compete for that title, if the level of a magazine’s ‘feminism’ could be judged by male ire that it aroused. While there were other women-only magazines during this time, even during the 1840s, we do know that *La Mujer* (Madrid, 1851-52) as well as *Ellas, Órgano Oficial del Sexo Femenino* of Alicia Pérez de Gascuña (Madrid, 1851) also suffered attacked by male critics, with the latter forced into changing its stance (and its name) after the first ten issues. Later ‘feminist’ magazines include the equally short-lived *La Mujer* (Barcelona, 1882) which was edited by the outspoken Terese de Coudray, although male writers did feature, and which folded after nine issues to become *El Album de la Mujer* (Barcelona, 1882), edited by María Luisa de Sañez, but founded and owned by Coudray (under her married name of Madame de Aramburu). *El Sacerdocio de la Mujer* (Barcelona, 1886), directed by the Mason Esperanza (de) Belmar under the pseudonym Lía de Senaar, was also a feminist magazine, leading to speculation about the identity of its proprietor, “D^a T.C.”.

³⁵ ‘Singularly’ is used here with due caution, as there may have been other long-running female-edited ‘feminist’ publications which have been lost to history, and we simply know nothing about. This is a stronger possibility if these were of a Spiritist nature, as much material was destroyed when Franco came to power, Spiritist texts being seen as dangerous contraband. It should also be noted that there is some confusion about when the magazine ended - for example, Simón Palmer (2000: 669) gives 1894 as the last year of the magazine, Arkinstall states that the magazine lasted ‘some fifteen years’ (2014: 192), while Ramos (2011: 33) gives 1898. This confusion may have arisen to the sporadic periodicity of the magazine as its economic crises grew more severe, but the magazine did not end formally until 1900 (Bogo, 1971: 207).

and the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid.³⁶ Given the sheer number of women writers found, it will be necessary for the reader to refer to the dataset if s/he wishes to find additional details of the writings and the authors which could not be included for reasons of space.

Spiritism, with its existing organization and doctrine, validated and provided philosophical strength for women seeking expression in a climate of Catholic dogma and materialist/positivist ideas about female intellectual inferiority, being as it was 'la única secta religiosa en el mundo que ha reconocido la igualdad de la mujer'.³⁷ Arguably born of the Enlightenment ideal of rational subjectivity and the desire for a 'science of God' (Monroe, 2008: 3), the moral precepts of Spiritism, summarised in founder Allan Kardec's *Le Livre des Esprits*, stated that men and women were equal in intelligence, due to the human spiritual essence being indivisible and unaffected by the physical characteristics of the body it inhabited.³⁸ Spiritism also indirectly ratified freethinking, as it was stated that a complete freedom of thought alongside any manifestation of human intelligence must be defended.³⁹ Kardec blamed cultural misogyny for the subordinated position of women in society, and his ideas provided a counterweight to the materialist/positivist views that women's inferior intelligence could be 'proved' by the difference in size and mass between male and female brains.⁴⁰ The practice of Spiritism being social as opposed to individual, another attractive feature for women to Spiritism was that in the extremely socially restrictive climate for women in Spain in the late nineteenth century, Spiritism was 'el único espacio asociativo' (Sánchez Ferré, 1990: 38) in which women participated in complete equality to men, a participation which included public speaking to a mixed audience. Even more notably, women often occupied a privileged place due to perceived superior faculties for the *supranormal* (ibid.). As if to mirror this unprecedented situation

³⁶ Because of the regular periods of stoppage in the magazine's last years due to financial issues, it is not known how many magazines could be considered missing from this study after 1895. However, Arkinstall's 2014 book on freethinking women Amalia Domingo Soler, Angeles López de Ayala and Belén de Sárraga does reference several 1895 and 1896 issues of the magazine, and some of these references will be reproduced here as a complement to the study.

³⁷ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, quoted in Herzig Shannon (2001:21).

³⁸ This view thus shifted the conceptualisation of the person as the abstract spirit rather than the (gendered) body. It should be stated that Spiritualist did not see themselves as mystics, but rather like scientists and mathematicians, as part of the new modernity which sought to prove the existence of the metaphysical realm through empirical, measurable phenomena rather than relying on faith alone (as in the Catholic Church).

³⁹ I use the past tense to cohere with narrative as historical, but it is worth stating that Spiritism is still practised as a creed, especially in Latin America.

⁴⁰ Kardec was in favour of there being full equality of rights between the sexes, with the abolition of male privileges and the modification of the penal and civil codes to abolish sexual discrimination (Ramos, 2005a: 74). His views on female potential would be more easily accepted in the freethinking elements of Spanish society, which were already familiar with Krausist doctrine.

of female predominance, in the 10/7/84 issue *La Luz*'s *directora* Amalia Domingo Soler explicitly states that she favours women's contributions to her magazine over those by men, and that male writing would be included only exceptionally if judged to be of merit, thus forming a neat gender reversal of the realities lived by female writers such as Gómez de Avellaneda and Pardo Bazán.

As has been discussed in the introduction, a woman's very act of making her writings public could be a brave and potentially transgressive act in itself, even without those writings containing contentious themes, at a time when it was taboo for a woman to articulate a political opinion. Given this existing situation, outside of Spiritist and Freethinking circles the act of writing for the anticlerical *La Luz del Porvenir* could be especially problematic for an individual woman given the magazine's early suspension by the authorities and its 'excommunication' by the Catholic Church.⁴¹ Even an innocuous poem about the beauty of nature could taint its author by association, implying that she subscribed to the Spiritist, Freethinking and anticlerical doctrines contained within the magazine. For this reason, a woman's agreement to have her name published in *La Luz del Porvenir* could be seen as no small act, but rather a nailing of doctrinal colours to the mast of heterodoxy, with the social repercussions which that could entail. Freethinking politics aside, even the simple act of affiliation to Spiritism could still be seen as an act of social dissidence, given that it implied a rejection the Catholic dogma which underpinned the 'throne and altar' foundations of the Spanish state. This was a particularly subversive act for a woman who, due to social expectations of submissiveness, would be expected, like a good social conservative and moral guardian, to fulfil her gender role of carrying the torch (or candle) for Catholic religious observance.

In view of this situation, it was crucial for a woman to feel safe within the social circles which empowered her to publish her name in the magazine. Amalia Domingo Soler employed many strategies to help foster this feeling of confidence, by allowing individual writers to feel that they were supported and protected by a larger network of writers, even if the network was to a certain extent an imaginary created by Amalia herself.

⁴¹ The magazine was suspended after the third issue for an article in the first issue questioning the nature of God. The ban, due to last 42 weeks, was lifted by the authorities after only 26 weeks, but in any case was ineffective, as Amalia simply changed the name from the fourth week onwards to *El Eco de la Verdad*, reverting to the original title when the suspension expired, with no break in publishing output.

Amalia Domingo Soler, the heart of the network

Amalia Domingo Soler, an impoverished, orphaned spinster with no siblings, was acutely aware of the power of social capital, and how women's power, arguably to a greater extent than men's given their diminished legal and social status, came from the quality and number of their human relationships. In her autobiography, Domingo Soler describes herself as '[l]a mujer más pobre, la más abandonada, la que el infortunio convierte en hoja seca que el viento arrastra a su capricho' (Ortega, 2008: 235). Her 'hoja seca' metaphor is a leitmotif in her writings, the idea of being 'cut off' from the social body, the human tree of relationships, without whose spiritual and emotional support the individual leaf will wither and die. In another excerpt from her writings (1903: 7-8), she uses a financial/numerical metaphor (to emphasise that she is a woman who 'does not count') to describe the results of her social poverty and how she remedies this situation: 'Antes de conocer al Espiritismo era yo un cero sin valor en la suma social... y yo que no tenía a nadie en la tierra, ¡me creé una familia universal!'⁴² Amalia, then, knew better than anyone that if her magazine was to be a success and its aims achieved, she needed to persuade its contributors and readers that they were part of a spiritual family, and to feel empowered by this newly acquired social capital. And she did indeed create a 'familia universal', with no-one excluded – links with other countries were celebrated, and all human beings, regardless of class, creed or colour, deemed worthy of compassion, charity and respect. Her famously consistent identification with, and description of, the most disenfranchised of society, itself an excoriating social comment on the inequalities and hidden realities within Spain at that time, as well as her candid admissions of her own loneliness, regrets and shortcomings, could help others to see the relative good fortune and strength in their own lives, feel a sympathetic bond of fraternity (or sorority) towards others and be encouraged towards same level of emotional honesty in their own writings.

A strong, confident and charismatic leader who led by example, Amalia Domingo Soler wrote her oppositional texts in the first person, and directly addressed collaborators and adversaries alike, thus helping to keep her network loyal and cohesive. Her

⁴² This creation of a universal family was made possible by the financial and emotional support given to her by Spiritist Luis Llach, who offered Domingo Soler a place in his Gràcia home alongside his family from where the magazine was run. With her writing first published at the age of 18, Amalia's literary reputation had already been established through her collaboration with magazines such as *El Museo Literario* (Seville, 1858), *La Educanda* (Madrid, 1861), *El Album de las Familias* (Madrid, 1866), *El Cero* (Jaén, 1867), and *El Amigo de las Damas* (Madrid, 1873). This reputation was cemented by her early Spiritist writing for *La Revelación* (Alicante, 1873), *El Espiritismo* (Seville), *El Criterio Espiritista* (Madrid), *El Espiritista* (Madrid), *Revista de Estudios Psicológicos* (Barcelona) and *La Revista Espiritista* (Barcelona).

anachronistically immodest ambitions for her magazine, expressed in her characteristically grandiose rhetoric, promised a bright new future. This would have potentially sounded very exciting for her female readers, many of whom were very young, but all of whom were living relatively repressed and restricted lives. This sense of being at the vanguard of a great epochal change, is clear from the very first issue (22/5/79) when she makes the following programmatic statement:

Venimos a decir a los hombres: Mirad el porvenir.

¿No véis entre las brumas del mañana un destello de luz?

¿No véis cómo algunas inteligencias, abrumadas con el sueño de los siglos se van despertando lentamente, miran al sol, cierran los ojos deslumbrados y los vuelven a abrir, mirando en redor suyo para convencerse que no sueñan, y al persuadirse que están despiertos se quedan maravillados antes tanta magnificencia, se levantan, dan un paso, retroceden y emprenden nuevamente su camino, queriendo ver más cerca la luz?

The scene described here is almost of a kind of biblical revelation and has connotations of Domingo Soler bringing the gospel, or salvation, for those who choose to follow. That she sees her work in these proselytising terms is indicated by her statement comparing her work to that of the English Bible societies but it also follows that, being someone with a strong personality who believes that she is in possession of The Truth (references to *la verdad*, *la luz* and the act of ‘awakening’ abound in the magazine), she will attract people to her who have the devotion of disciples.⁴³ She also has the authority to put Spiritist men in their place when she feels that they could have worked harder for the cause - Bernabé Morera recalls his feelings of shame and embarrassment at being given a dressing down by his idol, alongside with his colleague Quentin López Gómez, for letting *El Iris de Paz* of Huesca cease publishing in the face of a cholera epidemic.⁴⁴

⁴³ ‘... si nos fuera posible, haríamos como las sociedades bíblicas de Inglaterra, repartiríamos gratis, no solo LA LUZ, sino las mejores obras espiritistas...’ (8/10/85).

⁴⁴ Morera describes the scene: ‘Con cierta gracia no exenta de verdad, nos fustigó a nosotros dos [...] Quintín y yo permanecemos breves momentos como dos presuntos reos acusados de un crimen. Apenas pudimos articular algunos monosílabos en floja defensa nuestra. Nos sentíamos algo molestos... Indudablemente doña Amalia estaba aquella mañana de mal humor y nos asaeteaba con su aguda ironía...’ (for the full quotation, see Bogo, 1971: 179).

Defining oneself against the Other

One of the easiest ways for a group to define itself is to define the Other, that which the group is not, and it was Catholicism and Obscurantism which provided the dark contrast, the ‘sombrajos negros y espantadizos’ of the priests (10/12/85), against which ‘la luz’ of Spiritism and Rationalism would look even brighter.⁴⁵ The relationship between both creeds was clearly antagonistic, but it was also ‘symbiotic, an ongoing dialogue in which each side used the other to articulate its own values’ (Abend, 2004: 519). Having a defined enemy was crucial to the formation and identity of the Female Spiritist project, because to engage in vitriolic attacks against the Church which still held considerable social and political power not only defined the group’s Spiritist identity, but bonded its members through the shared emotions of being renegades and outsiders, emotions all the more heightened by the frisson of danger at attacking such a powerful institution.⁴⁶ That the anticlerical tirades which pervade the magazine are often repetitive from week to week is beside the point – it is the constant reiteration of the group’s values by different female authors which reinforces the sense of the collective. The Church was not just seen as an enemy of Spiritism, but also of women, so in addition to this Manichean dichotomy between the two groups that the magazine expounded of Light/Dark, Good/Evil, Enlightened/Obscurantist, Future/Past, Dogmatic/Free-thinking, there is the very important category of Female/Male. This formation of identity through direct oppositions, as an ‘us’ and ‘them’, is especially prevalent during times of war (Woodward, 2002: viii-ix), and unsurprisingly the women of *La Luz* made constant reference to ‘la lucha’. Thus, by railing against the evils of the male-led confessional and the insufficiency of a convent education on a weekly basis, these authors were asserting their identity as female and as Spiritists. This anticlericalism was also a hallmark of the ‘feminisme d’homes’ which arose in Catalonia amongst Freethinking men after the Revolution of 1868, with the realisation that in order for Freethinking to gain wider social acceptance and effect change, the power that the Church held over women needed to be reclaimed by secular husbands and fathers. Evidently this was an interested form of feminism, due to its creation for essentially

⁴⁵ This was known symbolism to freethinkers – in their news section ‘Luz y Sombra’, *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento* used a tiny black bat icon to signify ‘bad’ news (i.e. triumphs of the Catholic church/Establishment) and a tiny sun irradiating light (as rays) for ‘good’ news (triumphs for freethinkers).

⁴⁶ Nor was this danger only imagined – aside from the sinisterly symbolic gesture of the 1861 *auto de fe* in which Kardec’s books were ceremonious burnt at the traditional site of Barcelona’s *hogueras*, and the subsequent excommunications of ‘heretical’ magazines and people – religious difference could spill over into violence. The killing of Salvador Jovells, ‘un campeón decidido de racionalismo cristiano’ by the forces of ‘ultramontanismo’ is described in 13/11/84.

masculine goals, and it is difficult to separate the anticlericalism in *La Luz del Porvenir* which comes from this strand of Freethinking (promoted to women in terms of having improved spousal relations on more equal terms), from the anticlericalism born of theological differences with Spiritism. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that many women, including Amalia Domingo Soler, publicly identified with both Spiritism and Freethinking, itself a ‘cajón de sastre doctrinal.’⁴⁷

Mutual praise for moral support

One striking feature of the magazine is that there are no doctrinal differences in any of the female contributors’ articles, and therefore no issues around differences of opinion, in which one woman might allude to another, even in the politest way, as being misguided or mistaken.⁴⁸ There are many references to other contributors, some directly, and all of them are positive, complimenting the individual in terms of their work.⁴⁹ It is important to note, given the greater literary context, that there is *never* any reference made to the writers’ physical attributes.⁵⁰ This positivity can be seen to encourage the writers in their expressive endeavours and strengthens these idealised bonds of spiritual family.⁵¹ Such ubiquitous support also has the effect of discouraging the reader from making oppositional readings, and leads to the assumption that all of the writings featured are doctrinally sound.

⁴⁷ ‘[...] el lliurepensament, calaix de sastre doctrinal on cabien totes les doctrines, amb la condició que professessin la passió anticlerical’, Sánchez Ferré (1990: 35).

⁴⁸ This is not the case in the other magazines in this study. For example, not only are their differences in female opinion in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, but there is an occasional editorial footnote expressing disagreement.

⁴⁹ Interestingly, the only reference that I have found to another woman writer, in which there is disagreement, is Amalia’s lead article in 16/8/83 strongly refuting an article in *La Verdad, Revista católica apostólica romana* by ‘la señorita de Contreras’. Further research has shown that this is Pilar Contreras, who was the *directora* of said magazine (further details of Contreras can be found in Chapter 3, as part of Concepción Gimeno’s social network).

⁵⁰ The same cannot be said of praise for women in other magazines studied during the course of research, who are praised for their physical attributes as well as their talents (eg. the editor Gimeno de Fláquer in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*). This ethos of looking beyond the body does not just follow from Spiritist precepts but also likely stems from the fact that it was widely known (and bitterly acknowledged in her own writing) that the frail and partially-sighted Domingo Soler was herself aesthetically disadvantaged.

⁵¹ Simón Palmer (2000: 670) also credits this solidarity with being the reason for the magazine’s success: ‘La solidaridad con el resto de autoras heterodoxas convirtió a esta publicación en el archivo más completo de trabajos de librepensadoras, con colaboración de casi un centenar de ellas.’ Even allowing for unconsented reproductions of work, ‘casi un centenar’ is a very conservative estimate, given that over 250 women writers were found overall in the magazine.

The ubiquitous first person plural: creating inclusivity

Women writers of *La Luz del Porvenir*, with few exceptions, express personal opinion in the first person plural. While this was a common rhetorical device in the nineteenth century, it also confers several advantages in this context. An important advantage for many writers would be its capacity to deflect agency and attention from the author as an individual expressing a personal opinion, especially relevant when that author is female and her views controversial.⁵² The use of ‘we’ also serves to build up the idea of the cohesive group, and the protection that this will afford the writer. In the editorial function, it serves to strengthen the idea that editorial line has been discussed and written as a group, thus serving to make a periodical look grander than it actually is (which in reality it is Amalia Domingo Soler writing alone and using ‘we’ to grandiose effect). It also serves to give weight to the opinion expressed, that these are the views of a group rather than one person, and therefore of potentially more merit. Related to this idea, the inclusive ‘we’ serves to include the reader in this imagined community, aided by the magazine’s worldview which is presented as axiomatic ‘givens’, while the ‘nosotras’ in the text implies that both the writer and the implied reader are women and of one linguistic and social category, even if the reader is in fact a man (as many were). Not surprising then the inclusive ‘we’ is very common in *La Luz*, and much more common than in the mainstream magazines studied (cf. *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*) which had no overt ‘political’ agenda. As it becomes the unmarked form, it becomes unnoticeable, and therefore can be said to work ideologically on the reader. It is shown to be unnoticeable because when Rosario de Acuña does not include herself when she talks critically of women (15/1/85), but rather talks of them as ‘ellas’, the effect is immediately jarring and alienating in the context of in *La Luz del Porvenir*, and against the warmth of the other contributors it reads as if Rosario were a vaguely misogynistic man talking to other men.⁵³

⁵² As if to prove herself the exception to the rule, Rosario de Acuña writes in the first person singular to share her most intimately naval-gazing thoughts *ad tedium* and in the most ‘un-violet’ way. It is clear that her celebrity and overarching confidence in her own intellect precludes her from seeing herself in the same category as other women writers. Her ‘unwomanly’ displays of ego come at a price, however, and she describes the anonymous letter she received in which she is accused of usurping the destinies of men (4/2/85) and which contains an ominous threat to her person (11/6/85), thus demonstrating to other women writers the dangers of stepping outside of the safety of the group.

⁵³ This is not just due to the article having been taken from *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, where Acuña clearly had a male ideal reader in mind – in the first part of her serialised article ‘En el campo’ (24/12/85), which was written for the female readers of *El Correo de la Moda*, Rosario’s tone is unmistakably condescending, and it is clear that she sees them as beneath her. Ironically, she does not see her unpopularity with some female readers as perhaps symptomatic of this, but actually states that it is due to a character/intellectual failing on their part, describing them as ‘sacerdotisas de la puerilidad’ and ‘nulidades medias’. Even for the section of the female readership she states will want to read her writing,

Exhortations, exclamations, and female public speaking

For all of Rosario de Acuña's problematic gender identification, potentially to survive conscientiously alone in a man's world (she did not sign up to the Spiritist sisterhood, despite appeals for her to do so), her gender became controversial when she became the first female speaker at the Madrid Athenaeum in April 1884. By setting this precedent she caused the normally exclusively male club to become packed with women, which made clear to many men the dangers of letting a woman take to the stage, if only, as was the case with Acuña, to read poetry.⁵⁴ It is not insignificant then that Amalia prefigures this event by three years, if in slightly less prestigious circumstances. The speech in question was made in the Fomento Graciense, and concerned (among other things) historical impediments to the progress of civilisation and the need for female education. It is highly probable that Amalia was aware, like the women who attended Rosario's historic poetry reading, that she was very much in the vanguard of women entering the public sphere, which is why she reproduced the speech transcript in her magazine as well as details of the performative circumstances in the 27/1/81 issue. Letting her readers know about her speeches was a way for them to see that women with a social agenda were not just putting their names into the public arena, but also their voices and their bodies.⁵⁵ This apparent awareness leads her to reproduce many of her speeches, as well as speeches made by other women, whether or not she herself was present, and is a practice she continues with her literary editorship of *Luz y Unión* at the start of the twentieth century.⁵⁶ In this way, she reinforces the sense that female activism does not just exist in textual form, but is a physical reality which intervenes in social events, thus normalising in readers' minds the otherwise extremely recent rise of female oratory in Spain (especially when one considers

she criticises them directly with 'vuestra imaginación frágil y asequible á las asechanzas de la vanidad y de la pereza'(!).

⁵⁴ Not all Athenaeums were as enlightened towards women's public speaking. The Seville Athenaeum, founded in 1887, did not allow the entry of women, although their poems were permitted be read aloud in their absence. This attitude was echoed by the *cordobés* Juan Valera, in his book *Las mujeres y las academias. Cuestión social inocente* (1891), when he argued that women's cultural influence must radiate from the home and not from the public institution (Palenque and Román Gutiérrez, 2007: 13).

⁵⁵ It would be interesting to know to what extent the formal 'political' speeches at Spiritist centres were ways of circumventing the ban on freedom of (workers') association, which was only lifted in 1887.

⁵⁶ She records the public speaking activities of over twenty women and girls, some of whom, local to her, may have given her the transcript directly, which those outside Cataluña are likely to be reproduced from other sources. Certainly, this would appear to be the case for Magdalena Bonet's speech, delivered in the Balearic Islands, and Manuela Díaz's speech in Seville is a known reproduction. There are also reproductions of the speeches of French Spiritist women Mme. Georges Cochet, Sofía Rosen Dufauré, Hortensia Pichery and Augusta de Lassus.

these speeches, of a critical, anticlerical tone, were particularly novel).⁵⁷ The fact that some of these articles were originally public speeches is relevant, as the rhetoric of many of the other articles are styled as if to be read aloud from a podium, full of direct exhortations to the readers and impassioned exclamation. The overall effect of the use of the imperative is to give a sense of imperative to change, that action is required urgently, although this action necessarily limits itself to metaphors and abstract concepts. The following lines, a representative example of this nineteenth-century grand style written by a young *obrero*, would probably be exciting for other young women to read:

¡Adelante racionalistas! ha llegado la hora en que desprendiéndonos de ciertas miras sociales, hemos de luchar frente á frente para arrancar de las garras del fanatismo y la ignorancia, á infinidad de séres que sucumben víctimas de la superstición. (20/8/85)

Even in less vehement articles the link with the (female) readers is still maintained – whether with an address such as ‘Queridas amigas’ (12/11/85) or the formula chosen by Dolores Navas in 24/9/85: ‘A vosotras, las de mi sexo, me dirijo en este artículo’ (perhaps Navas felt that she needed this construction as her topic was on the less than feminine theme of cosmology).⁵⁸

Amalia’s network of writers: the problems of categorisation

There are over two hundred and fifty women writers in this chapter, and organising the references to them into a coherent linear structure for narrative purposes has proved particularly difficult, as writers (when detail about them is known) can be grouped in many different ways, such as nationality, regional identity, ideological/religious creed, age, race, and even state of carnality, as some women apparently also wrote from beyond the grave. The issues around classification are compounded by the fact that Amalia, in her desire to see a wide variety of women on the page, felt no qualms about reproducing work from

⁵⁷ A sense of extra-journalistic community is also built up by the advertising of upcoming social events around Spiritism, lay education, Masonry and Freethinking, followed by articles reporting on these events, so that participants could read about themselves and see their speeches/poetry performances reproduced textually.

⁵⁸ This comment is based on the statement made by Emilia Pardo Bazán (1889: 894), that Spanish men would look on a woman studying astronomy with some suspicion.

other sources, with the following quotation of 14/7/87 revealing her zeal for women's writing that led her to this practice:

La mujer necesita de la mujer [...] las mujeres que escriben sirven de mucho á las mujeres que leen. En los escritos del bello sexo hay algo que conmueve, que impresiona; yo hablo por experiencia. Cuando leo un artículo firmado por una mujer, experimento una alegría inmensa, indefinible; y exclamo con entusiasmo: ¡Una víctima menos de las torpezas humanas! ¡un adalid mas para la lucha que viene sosteniendo el fanatismo religioso y el racionalismo filosófico!⁵⁹

However, the main issue caused by this reproduction is that only sometimes does Domingo Soler credit the source of her material. At other times, as can be demonstrated with articles taken from *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, a publication of which she was an avid reader (and contributor), she does not reveal this appropriation of material. For this reason, where there is a lack of evidence to the contrary, and where I suspect that there is circumstantial evidence for an article being a reproduction from elsewhere (i.e. probably without the original author's consent), there will be women who might legitimately belong to Domingo Soler's real-life network but whom I have chosen to categorise as part of the 'imaginary community' only. As will be seen in my description of each writer, some of these authors do not fit neatly into the arbitrary boxes created, but instead fall into several, an unavoidable consequence of trying to systematise human beings and human relationships.

The local Spiritist circle: Matilde Fernández and Cándida Sanz

While Domingo Soler published writings from female freethinkers, *La Luz del Porvenir* was primarily a Spiritist magazine, and her most assiduous contributors are the Spiritists based locally or in the Catalan region. Her two closest collaborators, present from the

⁵⁹ It might be seen as a point of irony that it was the male financial backer of the magazine, Juan Torrents, who had the idea for 'un periódico espiritista dedicado exclusivamente a la mujer, donde no escriben más que mujeres' (Domingo Soler, 1990 [1912]: 203).

launch of the magazine, were Matilde Fernández y Casanova and Cándida Sanz y Cresini (as they were known in 1879).

Matilde Fernández de Ras: Traces of a personal history

The writer Matilde Fernández y Casanova (also known as Matilde Ras, Matilde Fernández de Ras, and Matilde Fernández de Martínez) is at the centre of Amalia's Spiritist circle, and she is mentioned as a close friend in Domingo Soler's own *Memorias*.⁶⁰ In fact, the information revealed about this particular writer, who contributed throughout the life of the magazine from the very first issue, presents one of the best cases for the periodical as a magnificent source for otherwise unknown historical and biographical information. It is through Amalia's first-hand report in 25/11/80 that we learn of Matilde's civil marriage in Valencia to Antonio Ras, a Spiritist from Tarragona, on the 15th November 1880.⁶¹ Matilde's friend Cándida Sanz also appears to have been present, as her poem written for the occasion, 'A mi querida la Srta. Matilde Fernandez y Casanova en el día de su boda,' was read aloud at the toast (25/11/80). (Amalia would later attend Cándida Sanz's own wedding in 1883, and inform us similarly that the bride wore black.) Alas, the happiness of the marriage which bore two children was fated to be cut short, as a reproduction of an *esquela* appears in 27/12/83 for Antonio Ras y Pons, who had died in Cuba, signed by his widow, mother, in-laws and friends on the 24th of the previous month.⁶² Amalia reacts to the news with the following:

El 15 de Noviembre de 1880 asistimos al casamiento de Matilde Fernandez y Antonio Ras. ¡Cuán breve es la felicidad terrena! Una niña y un niño, quedan para consolar á la joven viuda y recordarle su unión con un hombre de bien. ¡Qué pronto se ha ido Antonio Ras!... (27/12/83)

Cándida Sanz also feels the loss of her 'sincero amigo' Antonio Ras, writing in the following week's issue an *esquela* of her own, entitled 'A la memoria de Antonio Ras y Pons, en su desencarnación acaecida en la Habana el 24 de noviembre de 1883'. In it she addresses him with the following: 'yo siento, amigo mío tu separación', and 'Adios, mi

⁶⁰ Domingo Soler (1990 [1912]: 151) recounts how in May 1879 Luis Llach told her to talk about the setting up of a new magazine with her friends Matilde Fernández and Cándida Sánz.

⁶¹ Poignantly it is only through Amalia's death notice for Antonio Ras in 27/12/83 that we find out the date of the wedding.

⁶² It was a happy marriage, as the love Matilde expresses in the articles written after Antonio's death ('A mi esposo', 19/11/85, 'Amor a mi esposo Ras', 22/11/88) make clear.

noble amigo; recibe de mi alma el fiel afecto', making clear that she was good friends with the couple. Matilde continues to write after her husband's death, with contributions found both in *La Luz del Porvenir* and *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*.⁶³ Most notable among her writings is a book that may be largely autobiographical, called *Concha: Historia de una librepensadora*, which is reviewed in both magazines: Amalia's review (and lengthy excerpt from the text) is so extensive as to take up almost the whole issue. Matilde continues to use her married name during this period. A letter to *Las Dominicales* reveals that she has been forced to move from Barcelona to provincial Alcañiz on becoming widowed, and is no longer able to avail herself of copies of *Las Dominicales* that she used to read in the *sala de redacción* of the *Revista de estudios psicológicos*.⁶⁴ Indeed, it becomes clear that widowhood has caused great financial hardship to Matilde, and Amalia puts out an appeal over three issues (31/7/84, 7/8/84, 14/8/84) to help the young single parent find suitable work to support her family, emphasising Matilde's education, writing experience, high literacy in French and Spanish and willingness to travel. It is unproven that Matilde is 'la jóven viuda con dos hijos' to whom Amalia gives the most generous donations from her charity fund around this time, but given the context, it appears likely.⁶⁵ Her personal situation changes for the better on her second marriage, which appears to take place between March and April 1889. The event is not announced in the magazine, but we see the change in her by-line, from 'Matilde Ras' in 28/3/89 to 'Matilde Fernández de Martínez' in 25/4/89, which accompanies 'Fenecerá el progreso?', a seven-page extravaganza in the trademark style of the writing described previously by Amalia as 'valiosos artículos históricos y filosóficos' (31/7/84). However, after what appears to be her final article on her typical themes Matilde's writing takes a literary turn, and her new married name is found at the bottom of short fiction in the style of great writers, including one most pertinent to this study – 'Historia Terrible. Imitación de Ana Radcliffe' (5/6/90) – which demonstrates the influence of women writers on one another over expanses of space and time. She also publishes what appears to be her first translation from French, and fittingly it is a novel of another woman writer, the central literary node of nineteenth-century women's writing that is George Sand. This is known because there is a formal

⁶³ Although Matilde Fernández de Ras often signed herself simply as 'Matilde Ras' after her marriage and widowhood, she is not to be confused with her daughter Matilde Ras (1881-1969) who was similarly a writer of great intellect and erudition.

⁶⁴ She was also a regular contributor to this magazine (for the three years of 1876, 1877 and 1878 she contributed to almost every issue) and Amalia reports that the *equipo de redacción* attended her wedding.

⁶⁵ It may just be a coincidence that the 'jóven viuda con dos hijos' (31/7/84) and the 'la jóven viuda con dos hijos enferma por exceso de trabajo' (4/9/84) receive 15.50ptas and 22 ptas respectively, when most of the other anonymous needy people (indicated by much shorter epithets such as 'una anciana', 'una desgraciada') receive between 1 and 3 pesetas.

advert in *La Luz del Porvenir* of 3/4/90 for 'Espiridion. Novela Original de Jorge Sand. Traducida por Matilde Ras de Martínez.' Not only are formal advertisements very unusual for this particular magazine, but the novel is also available to buy (for 2 pesetas) from the *Administración*. Worthy of note is also the configuration of Matilde's name, which appears to be an homage to both of her husbands, or perhaps an acknowledgement that she is best known under the 'Ras' name and so wishes to keep this for commercial purposes. This use of the name Matilde Ras could cause additional confusion when, from 1893 onwards, Matilde begins to send her childrens' written work to the magazine, poems and translations which are introduced to readers by Amalia with the following:

Con el mayor placer insertamos una poesía escrita por los hijos de Matilde Fernández de Ras, Matilde y Aurelio Ras; la primera tiene 11 años y el segundo cuenta 10 inviernos. Estos dos tiernos séres, hace más de un año que escriben poesías, cuentos y novelas, desean ser colaboradores de LA LUZ y LA LUZ les dice lo que decía Jesús: Vengan á mi los niños.

¡Matilde y Aurelio! ¡bien venidos seáis! ¡Benditos sean los niños! ¡benditos sean!.. (23/3/93)

Matilde Ras (mother) continues to write for the magazine, quite apart from her children, so when the poem 'A Doña Adela Pardiña en la desencarnación de su hijo' appears in the magazine in 22/6/1893, it is only Amalia's introduction which makes clear that this is the younger Matilde Ras, although we can imagine that it was her mother who had the guiding hand, and indeed the relationship with the grieving fellow woman writer.⁶⁶

Cándida Sanz, Amalia's most regular contributor

The other Spiritist writer who can be considered Domingo Soler's closest friend in this network is Cándida Sanz y Cresini (later 'de Castellví') who, although based in Zaragoza, is nevertheless part of Domingo Soler's greater social circle.⁶⁷ Like Amalia, she is active in Spiritism, being both a medium and the 'vocal honarario' of La Sociedad de Estudios Psicológicos de Zaragoza (18/8/87), the same organisation for which her recent husband is a vicepresident, and she writes for the Spiritist magazines *Revista de Estudios Psicológicos*

⁶⁶ Adela Pardiña de Infante of Zaragoza is not found in this magazine, but she appears twice in *Las Dominicales*, once as a co-writer of a letter alongside Cándida Sanz de Castellví, a mutual friend.

⁶⁷ Her marriage to Bartolomé Castellví is reported in the Huesca Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz* (15/11/83).

and *El Buen Sentido*.⁶⁸ These are magazines for which Amalia was also a regular contributor, and Cándida is the most assiduous contributor to *La Luz del Porvenir* after the editor herself, with 150 articles, including two pieces written to be read out at the inauguration of lay schools. Cándida's freethinking values also influence her personal life, as in 15/11/83, when Amalia warmly describes her experiences as a guest at Cándida's civil wedding in Zaragoza on the 26th October to 'el consecuente y entendido espiritista' Bartolomé Castellví. Cándida then names her daughter Aurora del Progreso, whose existence is only made known due Amalia's poem to the new baby in 1/4/86, a daughter who must have come as a particular joy to a bride who married in 'el otoño de la vida' (15/11/83). Amalia's report of the wedding also gives an insight into how she perceives the relationships with her *colaboradoras*, particularly Cándida:

Consideramos á nuestras colaboradoras como hijas de nuestras ideas, y sentimos por ellas esa afección poderosa y desinteresada que sienten las madres por sus hijos, interesándonos vivamente en su felicidad; y este cariño innato en nuestra alma, ha sido más intenso para Cándida, por las condiciones especiales de su carácter, por la intimidad en que hemos vivido, y por multitud de circunstancias que nos han unido durante algún tiempo con un afecto verdadero. (15/11/83)

Cándida also writes a piece for Amalia's literary evening of 16th May 1885 (*Velada literaria y musical en memoria de Allan Kardec, Antonio Escubós y Tomás Padró*, described in 23/7/85), although it cannot be presumed that she was present to recite it.⁶⁹ We do know however that Amalia and Cándida met in person again after the wedding, as *El Iris de Paz* report on both reciting poetry together at a lay school in Zaragoza (31/1/85), and both were present at the Primer Congreso Internacional Espiritista of 1888, held in Barcelona. More unusually for a female Spiritist writer, especially one who had an article denounced ('Los obreros' of 21/8/79), and who was part of a committee for a worker's mutual aid society (13/11/79), she is also found in a mainstream publication, writing about Spiritism in Faustina Sáez de Melgar's 1881 *Las españolas, americanas y lusitanas pintadas por sí mismas*. It is probably because of this latter collaboration that she features,

⁶⁸ There is also a mention of an 'Emilia Sanz de Castellví' writing for a special Giordano Bruno edition of *Un periódico más* in the 22/2/85 issue of *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, which is worthy of mention due to the similarity of name and political leaning of the newspaper.

⁶⁹ We cannot presume the presence of the literary contributors, given that two of the evening's pieces were from inmates of the Spanish penal system.

also very unexpectedly for a freethinking Spiritist, in Criado y Dominguez's 1889 compendium *Literatas españolas del siglo XIX*.⁷⁰

Others in the local Spiritist network

As well as Matilde and Cándida, there are many other local female Spiritists who are part of Amalia's circle of friends.⁷¹ One of Amalia's closest collaborators is the 'joven obrera' Rita Arañó y Peydro/Peidro (later 'de Baldrich' when she marries around June 1885), whom Amalia tells us 'ha trabajado todo el día atendiendo después a sus faenas caseras en las primeras horas de la noche, y de las que había de dedicar al descanso, ha empleado en escribir y en instruirse todas las que ha podido disputer el sueño' (21/5/85); a rare insight into the daily realities for Spanish working-class literary women. Rita is also very young and embedded into a freethinking family – in 3/7/84 Amalia announces that Rita's mother has just named her new baby 'Progreso, Actividad y Armonía'. From Rita's second contribution in 3/4/84, which comes with a warm editorial introduction, it is clear that Amalia holds her in high esteem as she singles her out for praise in her end-of-year review of the sixth year of the magazine, highlighting Rita's work ethic which 'deben imitar todas las mujeres que amen el progreso' (21/5/85). This culminates in an epithalamium dedicated to Rita a few weeks later (11/6/85), in which Amalia says to her young protégé 'Tu realizas de mi sueño toda su ilusión dorada; tú eres la mujer soñada de mi más bello ideal' and a later poem to Celia Baldrich y Arañó (16/5/89), whom we must presume is Rita's new baby. It may be because of this strong praise from Amalia that Rita begins to adopt Amalia's literary style in year VII, beginning her article about a church visit in issue 20/8/85 with a discussion of an axiomatic truth and using the writerly 'we' throughout, even when nonsensical (both trademark features of Amalia's writing). Her articles evolve from the *cursi* descriptions of the seasons to vehement anticlericalism, directly addressing the reader in exhortations and exclamations. It should be noted, however, that Rita's writings end a year into her marriage, and a year before Amalia's poem to the new baby, suggesting that Rita's writing ambition may have been sacrificed on the altar of married

⁷⁰ Criado y Dominguez (1889: 152). Her collaboration with Faustina Sáez is the only piece of data that comprises her entry. The only other known Spiritist writer to feature in this book is Amalia Domingo Soler. Similarly, both she and Domingo Soler are the only female honorary members of the Argentine Spiritist group *Constancia*, their names found inscribed (in the male members' book!) alongside the year 1879 (Corbetta, 2013a: 121). Cándida sends the 'Constancia' group an open letter thanking them for their warm reception of her writings in 22/4/80.

⁷¹ For a discussion of Antonia Amat, María Trulls, Amalia Carvia and Concha Serás, please see the section on Amalia's local freethinking network. Although these women were clearly Spiritists, they were also heavily involved with freethinking activities, and their relationships to Ángeles López de Ayala make it easier to classify them as freethinkers.

life. Nevertheless, their friendship was a personal and long-standing one: Rita was both present and active at the aforementioned charity night of the 18th May 1885 (described in 23/7/85), and almost twenty years later, in 1902, the French Spiritist magazine *Le Progrès Spirite* reports on Amalia Domingo Soler, Rita Baldrich and Ángeles López de Ayala being among the funeral cortège for the Viscount Torres-Solanot (*Le Progrès Spirite*, 20/3/1902).⁷²

Another attendee of the charity night of the 18th of May 1885 was the Spiritist writing medium Enriqueta Garcia de Almendro, whose spirit messages and occasional translations from French magazines feature in 42 issues (and the strident anti-Catholicism of some of these messages may lead to questions of to whom to attribute authorship for Spiritist texts). She appears to be a fixture of Amalia's local La Buena Nueva circle, though her writerly voice be mediated through her spirit messages.⁷³

A later literary event, held in the Calvo Vico theatre by the Centro Barcelonés de Estudios Psicológicos on the 31st March and described in the 1/5/90 issue, is attended by Amalia and the *señorita* Pilar Rafecas Cassy of Barcelona, who had contributed seven times to the magazine up until that point, and who was described by Amalia as a 'jóven sonámbula' (young somnambulist medium) in 24/1/84. Both read poetry at this event, the snappily titled 'velada espiritista-científica literaria-musical, conmemorativa del 42º aniversario de la divulgación del Espiritismo en América y del 21º de la desencarnación de Allan Kardec' as well as reciting poetry at a later event in 1/1/91 alongside Ángeles López de Ayala. From a literary network standpoint, it is interesting to note that Pilar co-authored mediumistic music books with poet Avelina Colon/Colom y Gutiérrez, of Jumilla (Murcia), who contributes seventeen times to the magazine, mostly on Spiritist themes, and whose work featured at the charity night of 18th May 1885, but whose connections to Amalia or any other writer are otherwise obscure.

Other writers whom we can be assured that Domingo Soler knows socially are Concepción Llach and Concepción Serás, both of whom are referred to by Amalia as 'Concha'. Llach is the daughter of her Spiritist benefactor Luis Llach, who lives in the same home as Amalia, while Concha Serás contributes two articles in 1893 (one of them given the front page). Amalia twice mentions Serás' presence at Spiritist meetings, one of which involved

⁷² The '(señora) Fernández', also listed, may or may not be the aforementioned Matilde Fernández.

⁷³ Other mediums whose messages feature in the magazine are Concepción Castilla de Rebollo, 'Desdémona', 'Clotilde', and 'una médium holandesa', whose apparent inability to write Spanish is no barrier for the spirit world.

both Conchas speaking publicly (7/1/92).⁷⁴ Aurea Amigó (y Folch), a ‘joven escritora’ described by Amalia as ‘casi una niña’, is introduced with ‘[u]na nueva estrella brilla en el cielo del racionalismo Cristiano’ (15/3/88) and is likely to be the ‘Aurea’ of 25/6/85. Her writings are found on four occasions, and her name and tender age for publishing, as well as her taking the lead spot for half of the 2/10/90 issue, would suggest a relationship to Domingo Soler’s friend and benefactor José Amigó Pellicer, Spiritist author and editor of *El Buen Sentido*, a magazine to which Domingo Soler regularly contributed.⁷⁵ Dolores de Murga de Usich, wife of Facundo Usich, the president of the Centro de Estudios Psicológicos, writes to Amalia in 15/11/88 and it is highly likely that they knew each other socially, if for no other reason but that Amalia was a regular speaker at the centre. There is also clear evidence for Amalia having met 18-year-old Asunción Pérez, whose sudden blindness at the age of 15 is discussed by the editor before Asunción’s speech is reproduced in 26/11/85. As might be expected from a woman with her own intermittent sightlessness and who discussed the tragedy of child blindness in much of her writing, Amalia feels great sympathy for Asunción *la ciegucecita*; she is the only transcribed female speaker who receives such an introduction.

Less is known about how the other local orators are connected to Amalia or her friends. Of Joaquina Ferrer de Borrás, the speaker at the Centro de Progreso in Fraga who talks of the benefits of women being educated (but not overeducated) for the good of the family, it was discovered that she was born Joaquina Ferrer y Galcena in Mora d’Ebre, the daughter of a poor sculptor, and that she married the cloth merchant Spiritist José Borrás.⁷⁶ Other female speakers at Spiritist centres are even more of a mystery and of these only fleeting details concerning Rosario Moltó, Dolores Aymerich and María del Milagro Gadea Martínez were found during research.⁷⁷ Moltó is reported as being present at a civil wedding with Asunción *la ciegucecita* in 22/12/87, and *La Fraternidad Universal* (issue 1/1894) informs that Moltó has been named *contador* in the 1894 Junta Directiva de La Paz de Alcoy (the centre where she had given a speech that Amalia reproduced ten years before). Amalia

⁷⁴ Serás would also reported as sitting at the presiding table of a lay school celebration in Mataró, alongside Amalia, Antonia Amat, Ángeles López de Ayala and Dolores del Pino (*Las Dominicales*, 12/10/94).

⁷⁵ Aurea Amigó herself contributed to Domingo Soler’s good causes, with mention of a donation from her in 12/12/89. José Amigó Pellicer also signed a letter to Amalia in the 28/5/91 issue.

⁷⁶ This description comes from a Chilean clerical magazine in 1915, which appears to mistake this writer for Belén de Sárraga. See Vitale and Antevilo (2000: 112).

⁷⁷ Nothing could be found in *La Luz del Porvenir* or other sources about local Spiritist orators Elvira Vila, Florentina Serra, Josefa Sal-lari (nine years old at the time of her first speech in 1883), Teresa Roig y Armengol, Adela Parra, (medium) Teresa Olivé, Francisca Galí, Antonia Davés, Rosa Armengol, Dolores Aballó, Josefa Bover, Josefa Pavia or Conchita Casanovas, but details of their speeches and where they spoke can be found in the online dataset.

prints a generic epithalamium to Aymerich in 13/2/90, while a letter written by a (male) Republican freethinker in *Las Dominicales* (6/7/89) describes at length the civil marriage of María del Milagro Gadea Martínez to a fellow Alcoy Republican freethinker, and she is referred to as the ‘inspirada autora’ of ‘Paralelos entre la mujer del claustro y del hogar’.⁷⁸

The Spiritist writer Carmen Piferrer, whose epistolary correspondence with Amalia is published in Amalia’s book *Sus más hermosos escritos*, may also be a part of Amalia’s personal network given that a letter to *Las Dominicales* (her letter of adhesion in 31/10/85) reveals that she resides in Lérida, a relatively local town for the highly mobile Amalia. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that fellow writer and friend of Amalia, Ramona Samará de Dominguez of nearby Artesa de Segre, reveals that they are friends.⁷⁹ In a similar way, although I have found no network connections with Francisca Bosch de Casagran (‘F.B. de C.’) of Palamós or Teresa/Teresita Constán of Lérida, their relative proximity does suggest that if Amalia does not know them personally, she will know someone who does.⁸⁰ It is less likely, given their separation by water, that Amalia will be personally familiar with María Macías de Parés Llanso of Mahón, whose ‘¡Paso a la verdad! ¡Camino al progreso!’ takes up the first six pages (almost the whole issue) of 30/11/93. However, given that María was a member of Centro Espiritista of Mahón and a regular public speaker, with her speeches and her writings about poverty published in the Masonic magazine, they would certainly have enough interests in common to be good correspondence friends.⁸¹

Perhaps the most tantalising local Spiritist connection to Amalia is that of prolific writer and Hellenist Josefa Pujol de Collado, who features thirteen times, mostly as declared reproductions. It is not known if the articles which do not declare their source have been sent directly by the writer. Certainly, it may be that the Catalan Pujol de Collado did write for Spiritist magazines; the article ‘Una palabra sobre espiritismo’ can be found in the Barcelonan *Revista de estudios psicológicos* - 9/1876 under the initials J. P. de C., a byline

⁷⁸ These traces of a close-knit freethinking community are further explored in the next chapter.

⁷⁹ The article which reveals Ramona’s friendship with Carmen can be found in the 1/3/88 issue of *La Luz del Porvenir*, but has all the hallmarks of being reproduced from *Las Dominicales*, including a reference within it to said publication itself. That this is a reproduction does not negate the friendship between Amalia and Ramona, which the latter describes in her letter to Esperanza Pérez (*Las Dominicales*, 8/12/88).

⁸⁰ I have inferred that Teresa Constán is from Lérida or the surrounding area due to her subject matter; criticism of a Spiritist sect in Lérida (12/6/84) and a description of a fiesta mayor in Montroig de Pallargas (13/11/84) indicate residence in the surrounding area.

⁸¹ She was found in secondary literature under the name ‘María Macías Pons de Parés’ where she is described as Cuban-born, married to a military doctor, and a 30° member of the *Karma* Masonic lodge of Mahón (further details about her life, including her sentencing under Franco, can be found in Ortiz Albear 2007: 261-2).

which Pujol de Collado is known to have used.⁸² The case for the unattributed articles being contributions from the writer is also strengthened by the fact that Amalia does her utmost to promote Pujol de Collado's new magazine *El Parthenon* to her readers in 20/11/79, giving them all the details that could facilitate a growth in subscription, and detailing the contents of later issues in 1/1/80 and 26/2/80. Though these promotional articles do not betray any personal relationship with the 'laureada escritora', they do evidence Amalia's admiration for the young writer, and help to explain why Pujol de Collado's articles are so assiduously reproduced.

Amalia's real-life freethinking network

It is perhaps not a coincidence that *La Luz del Porvenir* was based in Gràcia, the centre of female heterodoxy in Spain during the last third of the nineteenth century, and the place of the greatest sisterhood of Spanish female writing and sharing of ideas since the mystic women authors of the Siglo de Oro.⁸³ Its location does mean, however, that there was a great deal of association between various dissident groups, with much complicated overlap, but given that at least two nodes in this group are not Spiritists, I feel it necessary to attempt to separate the strands. As previously stated, many of the female connections and biographical detail surrounding the principle female protagonists of freethinking – Amalia herself, Ángeles López de Ayala, Belén de Sárraga, Rosario de Acuña and Teresa Claramunt – have been extensively documented by historians (see introduction), which would make it redundant to reproduce details found in existing research. Rather, I will limit myself to what is found textually in *La Luz del Porvenir*, only recurring to alternative sources when requiring support for a supposition.⁸⁴

Ángeles López de Ayala is a regular contributor to *La Luz* from September 1889 until March 1896.⁸⁵ Unusually for a *La Luz* contributor who also writes for *Las Dominicales*,

⁸² See, for example, the January 1887 issue of *El Mundo de las Damas* (digitised by the Hemeroteca Municipal of Madrid), where she writes the lead article under her full name and then the 'explicación de los grabados' under 'J.P. de C.' She was clearly happy to play with her own by-line, with *Evelio del Monte* being a pseudonym (see her biography in *La Ilustración de la Mujer* 15/5/84).

⁸³ At least, this is the opinion of Simón Palmer (2000: 666).

⁸⁴ It should be noted that Belén de Sárraga's name is seen in many formats, but 'Belén de Sárraga' is the simplest form of her original unmarried name, and the name she returned to on separating from her husband, hence why I have chosen to use this form here. However, the form 'Belén Sárraga', the short form of her married name, is also very common, and is seen in many quotations used in this study.

⁸⁵ The March 1896 end date is provided by Arkinstall (2014: 64), however, she also erroneously states that López de Ayala began writing for *La Luz* in July 1891, which is incorrect. She does however, mention

she actually begins to write for the Spiritist magazine first, only beginning to write for *Las Dominicales* (with a poem to Rosario de Acuña) in May 1891. Ángeles and Amalia were already real-life friends at the time of Ángeles' first collaboration, with the Sociedad Autónoma de Mujeres reported to have been set up by Amalia, Ángeles and Teresa Claramunt during this year.⁸⁶ Amalia also reports on the events she attends with Ángeles, whether sitting beside her at a funeral (4/5/91), going to a Masonic temple together where Ángeles gives a speech (14/4/92), or listening to Ángeles speak about social questions at Spiritist groups, in a bid to politicise the gatherings:

Ángeles López de Ayala, libre pensadora de ideas avanzadísimas, á la que se le puede llamar la encarnación de la revolución, honró la fiesta espiritista con un discurso trascendentalísimo, puesto que aconsejó á los espiritistas, (en los cuales confesó ingenuamente que reconocía grandes virtudes) que no sólo se ocuparan en sus sesiones de evocar espíritus y estar en relación permanente con los invisibles, sino que dedicaran sesiones especiales á estudiar los problemas sociológicos. (22/5/93)⁸⁷

Ángeles is reported as present with Amalia alongside other women known to be in the network, including Antonia Amat (both Ángeles and Antonia collected funds for the poor after the former gave a speech, 21/4/92), Pilar Rafecas (she, Amalia and Ángeles all read poetry at a gathering, 1/1/91), and Concha Serás (*Las Dominicales*, 12/10/94). A regular writer as well as speaker, Ángeles' contributions to *La Luz* and other magazines may be seen as early preparation for the launch of her own magazines *El Progreso* (1896) and *El Gladiador: Órgano de la "Sociedad Progresiva Femenina"* (1906), titles to which Amalia in turn later contributed. It should be stated, however, that while the two women collaborated on projects together, they had some pointed differences of opinion, and with both being strong-willed individuals, it is evident that neither could persuade the other of the correctness of her opinion, and that each stood firm in her respective position.⁸⁸

Ángeles' strong personality clearly has an effect on the women in her company: Leonor Ortiz, whose 'El Águila y el topo' features in 11/6/91, is described as 'una niña de trece ó

Ángeles' poem to Amalia 'A mi querida amiga Amalia Domingo Soler en su cumpleaños' (10/11/95), and Ángeles contributed in late 1895 (Arkinstall, 2014: 89).

⁸⁶ See, for example, Ramos Palomo (2006: 37).

⁸⁷ A few months before she spoke here she had spoken in the Congreso Espiritista in Madrid (20-24 October 1892), despite not being a Spiritist herself, where she gave a talk entitled 'Sobre la conveniencia de la redención de la mujer' (Ramos Palomo, 2005a: 81). Amalia also describes her reaction to Ángeles' oratory in 7/12/93.

⁸⁸ A discussion of a pointed exchange of opinions between the two women, printed in *Las Dominicales* in 1898, can be found in the next chapter.

catorce años, discípula aventajada de la conocida escritora Ángeles López de Ayala'.⁸⁹ Amalia Torres de Maresma, meanwhile, in her third article for the magazine ('Consideraciones sobre el orden social', 7/12/93), describes her emotions on hearing Ángeles speak for the first time:

Al tener el gusto de oír por vez primera á la elocuente oradora doña Ángeles L. de Ayala, encontrados sentimientos agitáronse en mi alma.⁹⁰

As has been indicated above, Amalia was also friends with fellow Spiritist Antonia Amat de Torrens who writes twenty pieces throughout the 1880s.⁹¹ Although direct evidence of their personal relationship is not found in *La Luz del Porvenir*, it can be traced through mutual friend Ángeles López de Ayala's letters to the editor of *Las Dominicales*, in which she describes two occasions which link Amalia and Antonia as well as other significant women. The first such occasion is the formal gathering to celebrate the end of exams at the lay school Progreso in Mataró on the 30th September 1894, which Ángeles reports on in the 12/10/94 issue. At the presiding table of the gathering Ángeles sat with Amalia, Antonia Amat, Concha Serás and Dolores del Pino. A second significant gathering took place on the evening of the 24th November 1894, to celebrate the inauguration of the girl's lay school Socrates in Barcelona, of which 'nuestra hermana' Antonia Amat, Ángeles' fellow Mason, was the new headmistress. The three women reported at the presiding table, Ángeles, Amalia and Belén de Sárraga all spoke (there is no report of Antonia Amat speaking, though we can assume her presence), and Ángeles recited one of her own poems. In front of an audience that included 'hermosas niñas' with 'caritas de rosas y azucenas', she spoke in her usual forthright manner, advising them that in this school they would not find the 'cura ignorante que evoca á Satán'.⁹²

⁸⁹ If she is the same Leonor Ortiz whose work was published ten years later in the Puerto Rican Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz* with the poem 'La mujer' (May 1901, reproduced in Herzig Shannon, 2001: 110-111), then she has indeed been a keen disciple of López de Ayala.

⁹⁰ Little was found about this writer, but from the subject matter of her articles she appears to be a pedagogue concerned for the welfare of young *obreras*. An article found in *La Vanguardia* (18/6/12) reports on her requests for funds from the *ayuntamiento* for the installation of an 'Escuela de Anormales'.

⁹¹ Given Amat's married surname, she may be the wife of fellow Spiritist Juan Torrents, the financier and original named editor of *La Luz*, who handed Amalia the magazine's official editorship when the magazine became solvent in 1884 (although Amalia had day-to-day editorial control from the beginning). Certainly, she appears as a widow at the end of 1889, which may be a contributing factor to the cessation of her writing.

⁹² Ángeles' poem of that evening is reproduced in *Las Dominicales* (21/12/94). Her prose report of the evening is found in 'De enhorabuena' (*Las Dominicales*, 7/12/94), while another poem describing that night tells how an orphan girl present a posy to Amalia, whom she describes as 'mi buena amiga' (*Las Dominicales*, 1/3/95). Interestingly, the Catholic writer Carolina de Soto y Corro reports in her own magazine (*Asta Regia*, 24/10/81) about a speech she made at *La academia hispalense de Santo Tomás de Aquino* which demonstrates just how the two Spains are already living in parallel but separate communities.

Belén de Sárraga's presence on this occasion beside Amalia may be particularly significant here, as Socrates was known to be Belén's first teaching job, and as she sat on Amalia's right at the presiding table (Ángeles sitting to Amalia's left), this may have been the occasion when Amalia and Belén de Sárraga first became acquainted. While Belén does not actually feature in the magazine volumes of this study, she did write for the magazine in its seventeenth year (from 23/5/95 to 23/4/96).⁹³ Her place is also merited here due to her prominence as a freethinking public speaker and writer, as well as the fact that she was a member of Amalia's Spiritist circle, La Buena Nueva. Indeed, given Amalia's tendency towards associating with much younger women and encouraging them to write (Belén would have been between twenty and twenty-two years old at the time of their proposed first meeting to Amalia's fifty-nine), it is quite feasible that Amalia helped to nurture Belén's talent.⁹⁴ As Belén's writing and speaking career develops, it then becomes Amalia's turn to become the contributor to Sárraga's *La Conciencia Libre*, which was published intermittently from 1896 to 1907. Although Belén professed as a Spiritist, there is evidence that her enthusiasm for the creed waned over the years, and it is interesting to wonder what Amalia, who lived for Spiritism, would have made of the younger women's apparent betrayal of the cause at the Congreso del Libre-Pensamiento, which took place in Buenos Aires in 1906. Certainly, the Argentinian Spiritist Cosme Mariño, who recounts the incident in his memoirs, enjoyed a close correspondence relationship with Amalia, so one can assume that she would have come to hear of the incident.⁹⁵ Further research may uncover evidence of her reaction to this incident which, if her reaction to Bernabé Morera's irresolution serves as a precedent (see above), promises to be very interesting.

As the cases of Antonia Amat and Belén de Sárraga demonstrate, the endeavour to divide Amalia's networks into Spiritist and Freethinking groups in an attempt at narrative

⁹³ These dates come from Arkinstall, 2014: 141. As can be seen there is a discrepancy with Ramos Palomo's assertion (below) about Belén's first appearance in the magazine.

⁹⁴ Ramos Palomo (2005a: 78) goes further, being categorical that it is Amalia who engineered Belén's entry into public life in 1895, with the poem 'A Kardec' (*La Luz del Porvenir*, 6/6/95). This assertion is most ably disproved by looking at Belén's writings for *Las Dominicales*, the first of which, '¡Pueblo, despierta!' is found in 23/11/94. As an even more radical departure from Ramos' statement, Chilean academics Vitale and Antivilo (2000: 30) assert that Belén was already a propagandist in 1889, when she mobilised the student body to defend Odón de Buen's university position.

⁹⁵ Mariño (1963: 222): 'Doña Belén Zarraga y Mateos y don Fernando Lozano, director este último, de "Las Dominicales del libre pensamiento", de Madrid... en quienes los señores Ugarte y Aguarod habían depositado toda su fé y confianza en el éxito, por haber sido animados por aquellos a que presentaran el Informe Espiritista, fueron los primeros en desertar de la Sala, uno a uno y con el mayor disímulo, sin pretender defender a los espiritistas, pues probablemente algo habría conseguido, dada la autoridad que estas personas tenían sobre la masa brava e intransigente allí reunida. Así que estos señores se esfumaron entre bastidores, la algarabía subió de punto de nuestros animosos correligionarios salieron de la Sala corridos y contrariados; media docena de espiritistas que se abrieron paso en medio de los dicharachos y risotadas de los llamados libre pensadores.'

coherence is in reality fallacious, because while there is tension between elements of the two oppositional groups, there is also companionship as they unite against a common foe, and some women are allied to both causes. Another writer who falls into the latter category is María Trulls Algué of Igualada, whose three freethinking articles reveal the history of church corruption and freethinking martyrdom. Given that Ossorio y Bernard (1903: 454) only mentions that she writes for Belén's *La Conciencia Libre* in 1896 and *La Mujer moderna* (Manresa) in 1904, it would appear that she was a non-Spiritist freethinker.⁹⁶ However, articles of hers found years later in the Spiritist magazine *Luz y Unión* reveal that not only did she hold Spiritist beliefs, but that she had had a late marriage, for which she is very grateful. This marriage evidently took place between 1900, when Trulls Algué still wrote under her maiden name, and the February 1908 issue when she proudly signs 'María Trulls de Rubio'.⁹⁷ Although not explicit, her peer group can be inferred from her poem 'A las obreras del progreso' reproduced by Christine Arkinstall (2014: 89), given the first-name terms she employs for the most well-known female freethinking writers who associated with others, at least two of whom editing magazines to which she contributed.

Amalia, Ángeles, Belén,
Y todas las que escribiendo,
la luz estáis difundiendo
de las ciencias y del bien.
[...]
grato es veros avanzar
dando ejemplo de energía,
a aquellos que en su apatía
no se atreven a luchar. (*La Luz del Porvenir*, 14/11/95)

Like María Trulls, Amalia Carvia is more prominent as a freethinker than a Spiritist, and all four of her articles found in *La Luz* were originally in *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, although their original source was not attributed.⁹⁸ It is not known what the

⁹⁶ She was clearly recognised as a woman of substance, as a street bears her name in Igualada.

⁹⁷ We know that she is grateful to have her partner as she writes to the now deceased Domingo Soler in the June 1909 issue of *Luz y Unión*, to express how much she understood Amalia's sadness at being alone, as after so many years of her own spinsterhood she had become resigned to only meeting her soulmate in 'los mundos ultraterrestres' (clearly, this was before meeting 'el alma buena que ahora me acompaña'). Given that she is described by her maiden name for her 1904 writings in Ossorio y Bernard, her marriage may have taken place after 1904.

⁹⁸ All have the original titles, except the poem 'A mi buen amigo Don Eduardo de Riofranco' (*Las Dominicales*, 25/4/86) which is found a few weeks later in *La Luz del Porvenir* as 'Al Librepensamiento'

relationship was between Domingo Soler and Carvia during the 1880s, if indeed there was any, but we know that by Domingo Soler's death in 1909 Domingo Soler and Carvia had become firm correspondence friends and Carvia said that she felt the huge grief of a loss of her 'hermana del alma' (*Las Dominicales*, 25/6/09, see also Chapter 2). She has been placed in Domingo Soler's freethinking network due to her relationships with other freethinking women (see next chapter) but evidence of Carvia's later writing shows that Carvia was also a Spiritist, an aspect of her life which has not been mentioned in the secondary literature used in this study.⁹⁹ All three of her articles and one poem for Domingo Soler's *Luz y Unión* during 1900-1901 are written on Spiritist themes, one of which was published in the doctrinal section, which signal that Carvia was very well versed in the philosophy underlying the Spiritist creed.¹⁰⁰

There is no such ambiguity with the final woman writer in this category, the declared atheist and anarchist Teresa Claramunt. She is not found as a contributor to the magazine, but there is an echo of her public speaking, as we see in the 1892 poem by Amalia, 'A Teresa Claramunt (oradora anarquista)'. This substantial poem of six ten-line stanzas, begins with the first two verses revealing Amalia's reaction to hearing Teresa speak the previous night:

Teresa, anoche te oí
y con placer te escuché,
tu buen sentido admiré
y tu valor comprendí
lo que yo anoche sentí
no lo puedo ahora espresar;
no es ocasión de tratar
filosóficos problemas;
dejaremos esos temas
para otro tiempo y lugar.

Acepto mi admiración,

(3/6/86). Had her personal friendship with Amalia not been known, she could easily have been placed into the 'reproductions from *Las Dominicales*' category.

⁹⁹ Relatively little is known about her from secondary literature. Her full name is Amalia Carvia Bernal, although the Bernal is very rarely used. Simón Palmer (1991: 164) refers to her as Amalia Carbia, but in all primary source materials, and all other secondary sources (barring Simón Palmer herself) I have only seen the 'Carvia' spelling used.

¹⁰⁰ Further information on these and other women's writings found in Spiritist magazines such as *Luz y Unión* and *El Iris de Paz* can be found in the online dataset.

y si quieres.... mi amistad;
por que las dos la verdad
buscamos en la razon.
Hay una misma intención
en nuestro modo de hacer,
las dos para la mujer
queremos honra y trabajo;
que no haya arriba ni abajo
mas que virtud y saber.

What is particularly intriguing is that, if the poem is taken literally, at this point (21/1/92) Teresa and Amalia are not actually known to each other, and that this offering of friendship would be the first communication between the two. Given that secondary sources indicate that Amalia and Teresa had already collaborated on the formation of the Sociedad Autónoma de Mujeres (see above), this would appear to be a purely rhetorical device. However, given that this fact regarding the Sociedad's creation is repeated across academic texts with no reference to the primary source of this information, it is not impossible that Amalia and Teresa became friends in 1892 rather than the previously cited 1889.

Finally, the poem also gives a window onto Amalia's worldview, and how this articulates with the more radical worldview of Teresa. What is interesting in this poem is how she is accepting of Teresa's anarchism and atheism:

¿Qué importa que con desden
exclames: Yo soy atea...
Si no tienes otra idea
que hacer el bien por el bien.
Si tu anhelas el sosten
para los niños y ancianos;
si á todos llamas hermanos
y con generoso anhelo,
tu espíritu, en su desvelo
dice ¡atrás!...á los tiranos?

This verse is important because in my opinion it shows Amalia's completely different reaction to Teresa's anarchism and atheism to the one she had of the poem by the (male)

atheist-anarchist called 'Yo', which is reproduced in 28/8/84. His poem is not particularly radical but eschews Spiritism in favour of real-world action, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

Yo en espíritus no creo,
Porque soy anarquista y soy ateo
[...]
Para el feróz explotador que roba
Dinero, ciencia, tiempo y alegría,
no queda mas remedio que anarquía,
y nadie coma, ya, la sopa-boba.
[...]
Que el que está bien en los espíritus crea
lo encuentro natural; pero el hambriento
ni aplaza su bulimia con un cuento
ni al cabo de unos días de menea.

These would appear to be quite reasonable sentiments, but Amalia responds with a social conservatism which preaches that inequality is divinely ordained, and that suffering is needed to lead souls to the succour of Spiritism. Her poem 'A un anarquista' (28/8/84), extends to 33 stanzas of four lines each, and excerpts are reproduced here to highlight what are apparently differences in worldview between Amalia and her freethinking sisters Ángeles and Teresa. In the first excerpt she lays bare the idea that she personally believes equality to be impossible, due to the inherent differences in human beings, an idea she expounds over several stanzas:

Tu quieres el absurdo, el imposible.
Pretendes que aquí reine la *igualdad*.
¿Podrá haberla entre dos, uno sensible
Y el otro en quien domine la impiedad? (stanza 2)

In stanza six, while suggesting that there it is impossible to get something for nothing, her words could alternatively be taken as the siding of with the capitalists, who were proven to be exploiting the urban poor of Barcelona:

Qué no queden mas clases que una sola
Dices que anhelas en tu loco afán;
Qué en todo lo demás rueda la bola
Y que trabajen los que quieren pan.¹⁰¹

She also, in stanza ten, sets up the idea of wealth as being divinely ordained or ‘deserved’, surely something that would cause virulent disagreement with her ‘sisters’ Ángeles and Teresa:

Y como no mereces la riqueza,
Por eso no la tienes, y en tu afán,
Contemplas á los ricos con tristeza:
Y hay en tu mente el cráter de un volcán.

While this may appear to be an excursion into textual analysis, I would argue it is important to show how Amalia’s intransigence in her Spiritist beliefs may have strained her relationship with her atheistic, radical sisters, a group in which we may usefully include Belén. Certainly, it may well be that her 1892 poem to Teresa is the product of the emotional rapture produced from hearing *la Luisa Michel española* the night before, a reaction which would be commensurate with Amalia’s well-documented sense of justice and compassion for the poor, especially for suffering children. It is likely the speech that Amalia had heard was full of the passion and righteous indignation for which Teresa’s public speaking was famed, and this would explain the otherwise uncharacteristic aspects of Amalia’s poem.¹⁰²

Despite this panegyric, we can imagine that there must have been doctrinal disagreements between Amalia and Teresa Claramunt, as Amalia disagreed with both Ángeles López de Ayala (via poetic exchanges in the pages of *Las Dominicales*, described in the next chapter), and Rosario de Acuña (in letters published in the pages of the book *Sus más hermosos escritos*). These disagreements centre around Amalia’s loathing of destruction

¹⁰¹ Given that the ‘social question’ is still unresolved, I am aware that this statement could be taken as my subjective opinion. However, if we are to take the ‘Catastrófe en Vilumara’ incident, on which Teresa bases her article in *Humanidad Libre* (1/2/02, reproduced in Prada Baena, 2006: 271-272), where an exploding industrial boiler killed and injured up to forty men, women and children (*La Epoca*, 19/1/02) as typical of the conditions endured by workers at the turn of the twentieth century, then I think it is quite reasonable to state that the Spanish working classes were worked to the bone for their *pan*.

¹⁰² Historian Laura Vicente Villanueva (2005: 38-39), taking a first-hand witness as her primary source, describes Teresa speaking as ‘una oradora enérgica, fogosa y elocuente, sin pelos en la lengua y con un poder cautivador sobre las masas que las conmovía, levantaba y arrastraba a su causa [...]’.

for its own sake, and the fear of destroying a social structure without having previously built something in its place. Her call for restraint may come from her being older and wiser than her younger freethinking allies, and this is discussed further in the next section, alongside her difference of opinion with Rosario de Acuña.

Rosario de Acuña: the famous freethinker who stands alone

The most famous freethinking woman writer in Spain, at least during the epoch itself, is Rosario de Acuña. Her work is reproduced in the magazine and Amalia is lavish in her praise for her, recognising Rosario's bravery in announcing her departure from mainstream fame and glory in order to embark on the difficult path of notoriety and anticlerical freethinking, a path which would see her mocked as *La Demente*, *La Bruja* and *La Diabólica Ciega* (Muiña, 2008: 131). At the time of the reproductions (1885-88) she is in transition between the centre and the margins, between the court and 'la otra España', as she declares her adhesion to freethinking and Republicanism. Only the decade before, she had dedicated her book, *Un ramo de violetas*, to Isabel II, and eight months before her public adhesion to freethinking had spoken publicly at the social apex of literary enunciation, the Ateneo of Madrid.¹⁰³ The later scandals of her anticlerical play *El Padre Juan* and the publication of her letter 'La jarca universitaria. Los chicos de la Facultad de Letras son hijos de dos faldas: las de su madre y las del confesor', the latter requiring exile for her own safety, were still years away. Although at the start of Amalia's reproductions of Rosario's work the relationship between the two women is an imaginary one, Amalia does come to initiate a friendship through the pages of *Las Dominicales* (see Chapter 2). Acuña's eventual acknowledgement of Domingo Soler, albeit as part of a wider group of female writers, is likewise printed in *Las Dominicales*, which is reproduced in *La Luz del Porvenir* a few weeks later, as would be expected, in 5/1/88. Acuña's articles in *La Luz* are given long laudatory introductions from Domingo Soler, which extol Acuña's genius, glory and other virtues, and describe her as 'el tipo perfecto de la mujer del porvenir' (4/6/85) and 'una de las mejores escritoras del presente, y una legítima y hermosísima esperanza del porvenir' (10/12/85).¹⁰⁴ Rosario shows no evidence of absorbing or

¹⁰³ This enthusiastic book dedication, made in 1874 was, according to Simón Palmer, a source of later regret. The book is still to be found in the library of the Royal Palace of Madrid. (Simón Palmer, 2002a: 48).

¹⁰⁴ The use of the phrase 'la mujer del porvenir' is particularly interesting, as it provides direct intertextual evidence of Amalia being influenced by Concepción Arenal's book of the same title. Given that it was a book which Amalia admired (see below), it may also have influenced her when choosing the name for her magazine.

acknowledging this sisterly ethos and, given that Acuña gave a categorical ‘no’ to Domingo Soler’s request for her to join Spiritism’s ranks, insisting on her right to independence (Simón Palmer, 2002b: 124), it is unlikely that she ever wrote specifically for *La Luz del Porvenir*.

As a final note regarding their later correspondence relationship (the beginnings of which are described in the next chapter), it is clear that while Amalia held Rosario in high esteem, her Spiritist belief system took priority above all else, and she did not hesitate to disagree openly with Rosario. In *Sus más hermosos escritos*, letters between the two published in the book show Amalia’s total opposition to Rosario’s insistence that social systems needed to be completely demolished, including their foundations, before the reconstruction of society could begin. Amalia writes to Rosario:

Nosotros dos [Amalia and *Violeta*] divergimos de ese sistema, que usted defiende, de la previa total destrucción, apartamiento de escombros, socavaciones más hondas y desaparición radical de lo existente. Queremos instruir al propio tiempo que destruimos [...] Nos resistimos, sí, a la idea de destruir a uno la casa y dejarlo luego en la calle sin albergue en el que pueda guarecerse. No es éste para nosotras, los espiritistas, el recto procedimiento. [...]

Pues la creencia es aún más sagrada que la casa, y nadie tiene, según nuestro sentir, derecho para atropellarla. El que ingenuamente imagina que le es lícito arrancar unas creencias, cualesquiera que sean, sin sustituirlas con otras, sean también las que fueran, se halla en gravísimo error; substitución es ineludible, es sacratísima obligación. (Domingo Soler, 1923 [1909]: 149)

Previous writings by Amalia evidence that she understood how the absence of an overarching belief system or metanarrative could be disastrous for the wellbeing of the poor and lower classes, people with which she had long first-hand experience, not least when, temporarily blind, she herself had had to rely on charity for food rations (Domingo Soler, 1990 [1912]: 24-26). These people were more likely to be seen in abstract terms by the educated, wealthy and middle-class radicals (such as Acuña and López de Ayala) who were calling for the destruction of society, the same class background as the twentieth century’s most radical (and atheist) Marxists.

Amalia strongly believed that the only successful social change would be that which came about through an increased moral integrity and self-awareness of individuals *en masse*. In a

speech given at the Centro La Alianza which takes up the entire issue of 20/11/84, Amalia expounds her worldview, and thus this issue can be a useful point of comparison when contrasting Amalia's writings to those of the more radical freethinkers, as the following excerpt shows:

En España, que desgraciadamente el proletariado carece por ley general de instrucción, el ateísmo ocasiona su completa ruina. Pide el pueblo libertad, pero no basta pedir, ni tomar por violencia, se necesita merecer, el antiguo adagio de que los pueblos no tienen mas gobierno que el que se merecen, es una gran verdad; y España, ¿sabeis lo que ha hecho con la libertad? pues ha hecho lo mismo que hace una niña de tres ó cuatro años cuando le regalan una hermosa muñeca, de esas que dicen papá y mamá y abren y cierran los ojos.

La niña, primero, se encanta mirándola y oyéndola, después se despierta su curiosidad, y comienza á decir: ¿que tendrá dentro? y tanto le tira de los brazos y de las piernas, tantas vueltas le dá á la cabeza que al fin la rompe, y como no tiene inteligencia suficiente para conocer el valor del mecanismo que funcionaba en el juguete, se queda sin la muñeca y con la misma curiosidad.

Pues esto mismo ha hecho España con la libertad cuando las revoluciones le han concedido sistemas de gobierno en que el pueblo ha ejercido la soberanía: éste, en su ignorancia, ha roto el juguete del poder en mil pedazos y se ha quedado sin libertad y sin autoridad gubernativa.

This excerpt gives an insight into why Amalia felt that Rosario, Ángeles and other radicals were making a mistake when they called for violent, revolutionary change. It also goes part of the way to illustrating how, while the circles of freethinkers, anarchists and Spiritists overlapped in many respects, there were also profound differences between them that could cause division.

Other freethinking contributors

Of the apparently freethinking (and not obviously Spiritist) writers who we know are not reproductions from elsewhere, most are a myriad of occasional writers about which little or nothing is known, in many cases not even their full or real name. Thus we have Pascuala Cobos Caballero of Rute (Córdoba), María Jofra de Jordi of Palafrugell, Victoria Real, and

Manuela Castillo of Alcira.¹⁰⁵ The three remaining freethinking women writers whose work appears more than once and whose work has not (yet) been traced to other sources are Gabriela Ortiz, described as a ‘distinguida librepensadora’ by fellow freethinker Adela Pardiña in *Las Dominicales* (5/2/87), Joaquina Pascued, and Ramona Samará de Dominguez.¹⁰⁶ Of these three Ramon Samará de Dominguez has the clearest links to Domingo Soler’s network, although it is only in the magazine *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento* that we see that she and Domingo Soler are good friends – in *La Luz del Porvenir*, Samará de Dominguez’s seven articles are unaccompanied by any text which indicate a relationship with Domingo Soler or her magazine, although her article of 1/3/88 does reveal that Carmen Piferrer is a mutual friend of both Ramona herself and Amalia.¹⁰⁷ Joaquina Pascued, with two articles, has no obvious links to the magazine beyond her contributions, but given her political activities e.g. writing for *La Guerra Social*, and making rousing speeches in Mataró (*El Socialista* 1/4/92 and 8/1/92), ‘comrada Pascued’ was evidently a strong character whom I imagine would have been known to the circle of female freethinkers already discussed, despite the absence of her name in secondary literature. She is described in *La Región* (Guadalajara, 28/5/01) as ‘la acreditada y distinguida Cirujana Comadrona’, ‘esposa del muy conocido Ortopédico Sr. Aznar’ in news that, after the success of her previous visit to the capital, she would return again to offer such medical treatments as orthopedics, *curas uterinas* and massages. It may be that these articles have been reproduced out of admiration for this singular woman, a Marxist midwife of nineteenth-century Spain. Even if Amalia did not know her personally, I suspect that the two women would have been closer by association than either of them realised.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Isabel Zwonar also features as a one-time freethinking writer, and even though her work has been reproduced from the Masonic magazine *La Concordia*, she merits a footnote due to her unusual background. An Italian national, she spoke various languages (at least Spanish, Italian, French, German and English) and was a teacher and translator (at the time translating Victor Balaguer). In 1889, at the age of 40, Zwonar tried to set up a worker’s cooperative that would provide work for women at home, to prevent them having to ‘echarse al abismo de la vergüenza.’ That same year she entered into the *Concordia* lodge of Barcelona alongside her husband, and caused a scandal by reaching the rank of *Orador* (Sanchez Ferré, 1989: 935). See Ortiz Albear (2007: 383-385) for further details of her Masonic career.

¹⁰⁶ Pardiña quotes one of Ortiz’s verses in this letter to *Las Dominicales*, although she does not appear in *La Luz del Porvenir* herself. She also has links to Matilde Fernández de Ras (see above).

¹⁰⁷ As stated previously, this article is likely to be a reproduction from *Las Dominicales*. See the next chapter for Samará de Dominguez’s contributions to the freethinking newspaper.

¹⁰⁸ As well as a member of a Marxist group (*El Socialista*, 1/4/92, p.3), Pascued can also be found to have written about eclampsia in three 1894 issues (20, 21, 23) of *El Eco de la Matronas* (Ortiz Gómez, 1999: 72).

Amalia's female Spiritist network elsewhere in Spain

It is difficult to know to what extent Domingo Soler was physically acquainted with the Spiritist women further afield, but we do know that she maintained close correspondence friendships with several women Spiritists in Spain. One of these particularly close and long-lasting friendships was that between Amalia and the much younger Isabel Peña of Cádiz, with details provided by Argentine writer Cesar Bogo, who cites the private correspondence given to him by Isabel Peña's daughter on her mother's death.¹⁰⁹ He recounts how the 27-year-long friendship began, when engineer Juan Marín y Contreras, Amalia's friend and Isabel's godfather, sent Domingo Soler a piece of writing by his goddaughter entitled 'El Amor', written when she was sixteen years old, and which was published in the 14/9/82 issue when she was seventeen (Bogo states that she was born in December 1865).¹¹⁰ The thirty-year age gap was no barrier to the friendship of these women writers and over the course of 34 contributions we see Isabel get married and move from the extreme South to the extreme North of the country. From the 4/11/86 issue onwards she signs her work Isabel Peña de Córdoba and her places of writing (and public speaking) changes from Cádiz to Ferrol, before she then moves to Argentina, when her collaboration ceases.¹¹¹ Ironically, it is due to her friendship with Amalia that Isabel met her future husband – Amalia wanted to get some gifts to Isabel, and asked her friend Felipe de Córdoba to be the messenger, an errand which led to him falling in love with the recipient of Amalia's gifts. Bogo recounts how the married couple emigrate to Argentina, and Amalia used her respected Argentinian Spiritist contacts, who were apparently already aware of Isabel's work, to smooth her path to writing for Argentine publications.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ One of Domingo Soler's letters, written in 1883, is reproduced in the book, revealing Domingo Soler to praise Peña's writing, encouraging her to send more 'sin reserva', and signing off 'Adios niña mía, quíereme mucho, tanto como à ti, tu Amalia' (Bogo, 1971: 159).

¹¹⁰ Amalia states in her introduction to the piece that it was written by 'una hermosa niña que ha visto florecer los almendros quince ó diez y seis veces' and that Isabel sent a poem which wondered if she and Amalia had been connected in a past life (14/9/82).

¹¹¹ One of Peña's articles, published over two editions, was written in a Cádiz cemetery ('En el cementerio' 28/1/86, 4/2/86) and concerns philosophies of life and death. Of course, such a topic may be expected given the nature of Spiritism, but it may also be due to recent bereavement – *El Iris de Paz* (15/12/84) reports the death of her father and his civil burial.

¹¹² The editorial board of the Argentine magazine *Constancia*, headed by Cosme Mariño, held Domingo Soler in such high esteem that in 1882 the Spiritist group of the same name arranged a monthly pension for her of 50 pesetas and sent her charity collections. Amalia was able to use this social capital to help launch Isabel's productive literary career in Argentina, and she wrote for the Spiritist magazines *Constancia* and *Fraternidad* (Bogo, 1971: 166 and Bianchi, 1992: 124). Isabel was an active member of *Constancia* in 1907 and became vice-president of the *Confederación Espiritista Argentina*, before her eventual demise in 1932 (Corbetta, 2013a: 380). Domingo Soler was held as a model to imitate by Spiritist groups such as *Constancia*, and this is reflected by the fact that the group, which is still practising, holds two years' issues of *La Luz del Porvenir* (1888-1889) in its archive.

Another Spiritist from the Southern edge of Spain is the cultured and multilingual poet Eugenia (N.) Estopa Fernández of Gibraltar, who had studied all of Kardec's books in depth. Like Amalia, Estopa also became a magazine editor, of *El Altruisme* (as stated in *La Conciencia Libre* of 1/1/97, a magazine of which she was a contributor), although it is the evidence found in Amalia's magazine which reveals that there was private correspondence between the two.¹¹³ In one of her numerous contributions ('A Elena - ¿Por qué?', 15/9/87) Eugenia answers Amalia's friend's problem in the same issue as Amalia herself prints both this problem and her own solution. This would indicate that Domingo Soler had told Estopa about the problem in private beforehand. As Estopa states to Elena (the bearer of the problem) in 15/9/87:

[...] Tu amiga, la escritora, Amalia Domingo y Soler, apóstol de la fe moderna y bienhechora á quien amo y admiro, pudo habértelo explicado con más sencillez de estilo que arrebató y seduce, que encadena y convence. ¡Quién sabe! [...]

Con tu permiso Amalia, y contando con tu indulgente benevolencia y la de todas las escritoras que colaboran en LA LUZ DEL PORVENIR voy a atreverme, sin ser citada, a explicar ese pensamiento que, de propósito, dejastes un cabo en el aire que yo he procurado asir.

Interestingly, Eugenia Estopa was also a good friend of Ángela Grassi, and it may well be that Estopa was the point of introduction between the two women.¹¹⁴ Certainly, we can see in a published letter from Amalia to her friend Soledad, in the later Spiritist magazine *Luz y Unión* (15/11/01), that there was a precedent for Estopa to introduce her friends to each other:

Querida Soledad: Hace bastante tiempo que la malograda escritora espiritista Eugenia Estopa me puso en relación contigo inspirándome profunda simpatía tus epístolas dulces y cariñosas. Murió Eugenia, tú te fuistes muy lejos, y

¹¹³ Bogo (1971: 161) states that she was born on 19th December 1859 (compare the date of birth of 1854 given by Simón Palmer (1991: 263), who also spells her surname 'Estoppa'). A prose piece of hers is found in Faustina Sáez de Melgar's *Paris Charmant-Artístico* (15/7/82) as Eugenia V. Estopa (the name corresponding to her middle initial, seen in various sources as an H. N. and a V, is unknown).

¹¹⁴ See Estopa's effusive carta íntima to Grassi in Grassi's *El Correo de la Moda* 2/3/81, as well as Estopa's tributes to her in *ibid.* 2/11/83 and 26/9/84 (note that her name is spelt 'Estoppa' in this magazine).

parecía natural que nuestra amistad se entibiara roto el *lazo* que la formó y yéndote tú fuera de España con tu familia. Más no fue así.¹¹⁵

I have been unable to ascertain the date of Estopa's death, but it appears to be between 1897 and 1901. However it is clear that Amalia and Eugenia corresponded until the end, with open letters between Amalia and Eugenia published in the 19/11/93 and 7/12/93 issues of *La Luz*, and Amalia dedicating two poems to Eugenia Estopa, and printing them in *La Luz* near the end of 1895.¹¹⁶

The magazine also provides evidence for Estopa's friendships with other women writers – as an epigraph to her 'Una hoja en blanco' (17/10/89), Eugenia quotes Carolina de Soto y Corro, whom we know to be her friend because in 8/3/94 Amalia reproduces Carolina's warm and extensive biography of Eugenia which was originally published in a Cuban Spiritist magazine (*La Revista Espiritista* of Havana).¹¹⁷ Eugenia's contributions also reveal that she shared a mutual friend with Carolina, the *Asta Regia* contributor and *gaditana* Rosa Martínez de Lacosta, as can be seen with the poem 'A mi queridísima amiga la distinguida poetisa Srta Doña Rosa Martínez de Lacosta con motivo de la muerte de su amada sobrina. ¿Existe la muerte?' (21/1/92). Martinez de Lacosta was a conservative Catholic, to judge from her writings, but as with Caroline, the bonds of friendship appear to have transcended any religious differences.¹¹⁸

While Spiritist women had differences of opinion with their Catholic sisters, their views of French anarchist Louise Michel had more in common than those of freethinking women on the same divisive figure.¹¹⁹ Whereas principally freethinking women admired Michel (see

¹¹⁵ I could not verify the identity of this Soledad, although it should be stated that there is also a Soledad Pérez de Gordillo who writes two pieces in *La Luz del Porvenir* and about whom absolutely nothing is known.

¹¹⁶ Ramos Palomo (2005a: 79) reports that the poems are 'Un día de gloria (A Eugenia Estopa)' (26/9/95) and 'Días de lucha. A Eugenia Estopa' (7/11/95).

¹¹⁷ This locality of this magazine is mentioned to highlight the extent to which texts travelled in the nineteenth century, considering that both women were Andalusian, and lived on the Spanish Peninsula.

¹¹⁸ Carolina, while she had at one point edited a Church-sanctioned magazine, full of Catholic texts, was tolerant in her religious views, as can be seen from her openly respecting her Spiritist friend Eugenia Estopa's right to her beliefs in the 3-page-long profile about the latter's life and work: 'Respetando sus apreciaciones en materia de religion, como debemos respetar siempre las opiniones y las ideas de cada individuo, por más que éstas difieran de las nuestras, copiaré, para mayor validez del caso, de una carta suya un párrafo en que hace á mi sincera amistad la siguiente confesión, que ha hecho de su propia pluma, la dá á conocer en este sentido con más exactitud que pudiera hacerlo yo.' (In the quoted paragraph of 8/3/94, Eugenia says that she has been a 'cristiana racionalista espiritista' for at least four years.)

¹¹⁹ For example, the Catholic conservative Carolina de Soto y Corro makes her feelings on Michel clear in her magazine *Asta Regia*: 'Si hubiera muchas mujeres (buscando el ejemplo en la época actual) como Luisa Michel, la sociedad caminaría ligera y delirante á un fin repulsivo y desastroso...' (21/5/83).

Chapter 2), Spiritist women did not feel the same way, as Eugenia Estopa makes clear in 13/12/87:

Luisa Michel es una revolucionaria, una loca que escoje y reúne para protagonistas de sus obras á los desesperados y asesinos; á todos los que están bajo la acción de la ley para ofrecerles luego el porvenir exclusivo de los buenos. ¿Porqué la silba la multitud y la encarcelan sus jueces? Es una pobre visionaria digna de lástima. ¿Y te atreves á llamar á esta mujer libre-pensadora? [...] Comparar á Rosario de Acuña con la Michel es... una atrocidad; si yo fuera católica diría que es un pecado mortal; que ni el fuego eterno del infierno sería bastante á extinguir.¹²⁰

Another of Amalia's Spiritist allies, whose journey towards freethinking meant that she was 'camino de convertirse en la repugnante figura de Luisa Michel' before a radical change to Catholicism on marriage, was the poet Leonor Ruiz Carabantes.¹²¹ In this magazine sample, it is clear that she is still a single woman on the path to perdition, and contributes a total of 13 poems, dedicated to, amongst other topics, freethinking, Allan Kardec, and Amalia Domingo Soler herself, the latter poem (29/4/86) addressing Amalia and expressing the poet's wish to have a soul like that of her 'hermana en creencias'. Domingo Soler meanwhile responds to Leonor's poem about her mother's death with an empathetic poem of her own in 21/1/86, and places two advertisements for Leonor's poetry book *Crisálidas* in 8/9/87 and 29/9/87, a poetry book for which Amalia herself wrote the prologue.

The writer *Violeta*, who writes regularly for the magazine, may conceivably be the young freethinker Consuelo Álvarez Pool (born 1866) who wrote under this pseudonym, although this would make her around thirteen at the time of her first contribution in 1879.¹²² Given

¹²⁰ Estopa clearly did not espouse anarchy, and rejected joining the ranks of Socialism due to its doctrine, but she declared herself to be socialist in her thinking, as the socialist ideas of fraternity were echoed in Spiritism (in this regard her worldview, which did not support an overthrow of societal structures, was similar to that of her friend Amalia). She gave a speech on these parallels between Spiritism and Socialism to the Spiritist Congress of 1892 in Madrid, where it is likely that she met Amalia in person. She may also have met Ángeles López de Ayala who, as discussed, was present at the event. Like López de Ayala, she was also a member of the Sociedad Autónoma de Mujeres (Ramos Palomo, 2004: 34).

¹²¹ Leonor Ruiz Carabantes de Fraile (in *La Luz*, misspelled Carabantes), born in Soria but resident in Valladolid, was described in this way by the Augustine Conrado Muiños Saenz in his prologue to her book *Flores y espinas* of 1890 (Simón Palmer, 1991: 603). She can also be found in *Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento*, in which one of her poems (which had been recited at a freethinking meeting in Valladolid), is printed in 18/4/86, and Spiritist Salvador Sellés writes a poem dedicated to her new poetry book in 27/5/88.

¹²² If this particular *Violeta* is indeed Consuelo Álvarez Pool (as asserted by Simón Palmer [2002b: 125] and Arkinstall, [2014: 47], despite no evidence being presented for this assertion), it may interest readers to

that the violet is a common trope for the modest female writer, we do have to consider that there may be more than one writer using this pseudonym, especially when she is seen to be writing from both San Sebastián and Madrid in 1880. Certainly, it is unlikely that this *Violeta* is Carmen Piferrer, who also hid behind this name, as there is an exchange of letters between *Violeta* and Piferrer in Amalia's book *Sus más hermosos escritos*.¹²³ *Violeta* also reveals her literary influences (Mme. de Staël, Rosario de Acuña) in said book, and epistolary exchanges are published between *Violeta* and Amalia, Rosario de Acuña and Amalia, and Trinidad González and Carmen Piferrer.¹²⁴ *Violeta*'s letters reveal no personal information except widowhood and a young son, but we know that at least one of the letters, the letter asking Rosario to reveal her beliefs, was originally printed in *El Buen Sentido* and reproduced in *Las Dominicales* in 1885. It should also be considered that the other *Violeta*, Carmen Piferrer, may sometimes use her pseudonym as well as her real name when writing for the magazine, leading to added complications in identifying the author behind each piece of writing which carries this pseudonym.¹²⁵

Other Spiritist writers address Amalia in affectionate terms within their writings, so we can be sure that these are not reproductions from elsewhere, but in other respects they remain a mystery. Into this category we can place the writers 'F^a', Teresa Z. de B. of Zaragoza, Joaquina Cepeda de Torres of Ciudad Real/Mérida, Amalia Villegas Montes, María de la Paz Moreno, and the *médium señorita* D.M. of Madrid. How relationships are conceptualised between women can be very revealing of the social realities of the time, as seen in Genoveva Sancho's letter from Tarragona ('Sombra y luz', 18/12/90):

Querida hermana Amalia: Dulce, dulcísima es el nombre que mis labios pronuncian; pero permítame V. apropié otro más sagrado y concédame el derecho de llamarla madre, por haber sido V. la primera que ha imprimó un prolongado beso en mi casta megilla.

know that Consuelo Alvarez Pool, born in Barcelona in 1866 to a Spanish father and English mother of liberal stock, was a Republican who would later become a great friend of her contemporary Carmen de Burgos, whose *tertulias* in Madrid she attended regularly. She was described by Casinos-Asséns (1982: 192), one of her fellow *tertulianos*, as 'una mujer menuda, frágil, rubia y de ojos azules, que hablaba con una voz dengosa'.

¹²³ 'Violeta' was a common pseudonym for the modest woman writer, and even Domingo Soler herself wrote under 'Violeta' when writing for the evangelical Christian magazine *La Luz* (before discovering Spiritism).

¹²⁴ Note that every woman except Rosario in this network is linked through letters to at least two other women. Acuña, perhaps wishing to distance herself from the network, only ever writes to (and addresses) Amalia, even when obviously responding to *Violeta*.

¹²⁵ A good analysis of this correspondence network can be found in Arkinstall (2014: 47-59).

No recuerdo á mi madre legítima, ni conozco el impresionable efecto que produce, un beso y una caricia materna, por el motivo, de que á la tierna edad de cinco años me dejó abandonada al amparo de la Caridad Oficial; por eso afirmo, que su primer beso me produjo tanto efecto, semejante al de la linda mariposa, que al asomar el Astro magestuoso por el Oriente, deposita un beso en la corola de la humilde violeta.

The many other Spiritist women of the Peninsula are too numerous to be listed here but can be consulted in the online dataset, although it should be mentioned that two of these women, Concha Curiel Flores of Loja and Josefa Riquelme of Zaragoza, dedicated articles to each other with much affection in August and September of 1890.¹²⁶ Fittingly, further research showed that Concha joined her town's Masonic lodge *Luz del Porvenir* in 1888 as an unmarried 26-year-old under the name 'Staël', a fitting tribute to a literary foremother for a woman presented to her fellow Masons as an 'escritora' the following year (Ortiz Albear, 2007: 175-176).¹²⁷

Perhaps the most intriguing of the Spiritist writers is África Méndez, whose message appears in the Domingo Soler article 'Querer progresar' (28/4/87) after she has disincarnated. Issues of authorship aside, she is included here because she was a Spiritist writer during her life in Madrid, as can be seen in letter to *La Revista Espiritista* (July 1875, 'Carta íntima'), and Amalia's introduction to her article gives much insight into the value of the pious Spiritist woman.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ In addition, attention may be drawn to Antonia Pagés y Garriga of Barcelona, who features nine times in 1881, with her first article about how the death of her son brought her to Spiritism. After 1881 she is no longer found, perhaps only needing the movement to get herself through the grieving process. Regina Goyanes Capdevila of La Coruña, who features four times, is noteworthy for her relatively unusual Galician origin. The Mason and lay school teacher (ex-head of an *escuela normal*) Adela [Adelaida] Sánchez (de) Pinedo of Madrid, who writes here 'Lo que son los ateos. Carta de una espiritista a un hermano en creencias' (23/11/93) is interesting because of her connections to Teresa Mañé and *Las Dominicales* (see next chapter).

¹²⁷ Interestingly, the contributor Concepción Ruíz Mata(s) joined the same lodge in the same year as Curiel. Ortiz Albear (2007: 336) describes Concepción as unmarried, economically inactive and 47 years old, and she is part of the same social group as Curiel – in *Las Dominicales* both women feature as signatories on two group letters from women (19/4/84, 17/9/87), the first of these letters being addressed to Rosario de Acuña, congratulating her for her work.

¹²⁸ Other disincarnated writers are Josefa Martínez (6/1/86, see section on Puerto Rican writers), whose mediumistic messages were included in earliest years of the magazine, María Marcelina Guijarro, a Socialist spirit (22/7/86), and Trinidad González (19/7/88, see section on Andújar writers), who contributed to the magazine in life but appears to have one final message from the grave, communicated through Isabel Terren of Molinos, Teruel.

Amalia's Andújar Spiritist connection

As a supplement to the information about Amalia's Spiritist connection within the wider Spanish peninsula, worthy of mention is a small knot of Spiritist women writers living in the small Andalusian town of Andújar – Carmen Burgos, Trinidad González (viuda de González) and Elisa Emiso de Cabello.¹²⁹ It is clear that they are all close, as both Carmen and Elisa collaborate on Trinidad's obituary in 5/4/88 and Carmen confesses how she cried beside Trinidad's death bed. All of the writers were active contributors to the magazine. We know this because in a letter to *Las Dominicales* of 3/3/88 Carmen mentions *La Luz del Porvenir* as one of the 'periódicos libre-pensadores de provincias' to which she has contributed work, and indeed seventeen of her works are found.¹³⁰ Trinidad is almost as prolific, with eleven pieces of work, one of them published posthumously and she, like Elisa, both address Amalia directly on occasion and respond to her work. Trinidad is, like Amalia, keenly aware of the psychological effect of women's writing on women readers, and a few months before the announcement of her death in the 29/3/88 issue, she can be seen rousing her fellow women writers to action:

Animo queridas hermanas todas las que colaborais en los periódicos, que cada una lleve la ilustración y moralidad en los grados de conocimiento que posea. Violeta, Carmen Piferrer, ¿Dónde se ocultan esos dos seres que no dejan ver hace tiempo sus escritos tan llenos de moral y elocuencia que tanto conmueven y entusiasman? hermanas del alma, no os ocultéis que necesitamos todos leer vuestros bien escritos artículos, haced lo que nuestra querida hermana Amalia, propagandista incansable es un apóstol del progreso, vosotras como ella poseéis vastos conocimientos y debéis esparcirlos con profusión; oid el ruego de una hermana del alma que desea que toda la humanidad se ilustre para que las condiciones del planeta tierra se mejoren. (2/9/87, notice the separate identities of *Violeta* and Carmen Piferrer here)

For her part, Domingo Soler announces Trinidad's death as part of her lead article in 29/3/88 and publicises the cause of Trinidad's remaining elderly female relatives living in destitution, appealing to readers for help with charity donations. It is tantalising to think

¹²⁹ In a happy coincidence, on a few of the pages of one of the tomes studied in the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid (Año XI), I found that someone had used the official stamp of the 'Centro Andújar Espiritista La Esperanza', which consisted of the Masonic compass and square, inside the edges of both of which the words of the society were traced, with a pentagram in the centre of the design.

¹³⁰ See Chapter 2 for details of this letter. Other Spiritist magazines that Burgos attests to have written for are *La Luz de Cristianismo*, *La Luz del Alma* and *La Fraternidad*.

that Amalia was a crucial part of the famous Carmen de Burgos' early writing career (if indeed it is *the* Carmen Burgos, then her writing for the Spiritist magazine would have begun around the age of eighteen).¹³¹ I have found no academic evidence of Carmen de Burgos ever being based in Andújar, although there is a street named after her in this town. Carmen also had an interest in the occult, diabolic, and spiritualist matters, and wrote the Spiritist novel *El retorno: novela espiritista (basada en hechos reales)* later in her career.¹³² For this reason, the early (teenage) writings of the author found in this magazine, if it is indeed the famous Carmen, may be of interest to researchers who wish to study the evolution of her philosophy and literary style.

The female writers of Latin America and the Caribbean

Given that Amalia Domingo Soler was a well-known figure among Spiritists of the Spanish-speaking world, it is unsurprising that she receives contributions from Latin America and the Caribbean. The countries with the greatest links to her magazine are, as might be expected, Spain's two remaining New World colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico, but there are also links to Argentina and Mexico, which have their own strong Spiritist movements.¹³³

Cuban women writers

There are a total of thirteen Cuban female writers found in the magazine, although we know that at least one contribution is a reproduction without the writer's consent (Julia Pérez y Montes de Oca would be unaware of her poem being reproduced in 15/9/87, having died in 1875). There is very little evidence regarding these writers' relationships

¹³¹ Sánchez Ferré (1989) asserts that this is THE Carmen de Burgos, but does not provide any evidence beyond pointing to the existence of the article in 17/6/86. Christine Arkinstall (2014: 202) also makes this assertion, pointing to several of the articles in the magazine, none of which provide evidence that the 'Carmen Burgos' here is Carmen de Burgos. To complicate matters, other academics in their writing about Burgos, (e.g. Simon Palmer [1991], Janet Pérez, Catherine Davies, Concepción Núñez Rey) do not mention any of her writing activity or her Spiritism prior to her new life in Madrid, nor mention Andújar in her early biography. It is not known whether this is due to ignorance of this information, or because they do not believe 'Carmen Burgos' of Andújar to be the same person as their subject.

¹³² Occult and diabolic themes are explored by Burgos in *Los espiritados* (1923) and *Los endemoniados de Jaca* (1932) respectively (Pérez, 1988: 15, 24).

¹³³ There are also tenuous links with Guatemala and Chile, via a poem each from Dolores Montenegro ('Julio y Julia', 14/12/82) and Delfina M. Hidalgo ('A la luna', 24/12/91). However, with nothing published regarding the place of writing of these poets, the generic themes, and the lack of any evidence suggesting collaboration, I am inclined to suppose that these are unconsented reproductions.

with Amalia or indeed anyone else in the network, so it may well be that several of the writers have had their work copied from other sources. Writers such as the feminist Angelina Bello y Cisneros of Havana, Sol Dobé of Sagua, Lola Rodríguez de Tió (Puerto Rican by birth, but writing from Cuba), and Hortensia Evangelina of Matanzas, are printed without editorial comment, while the celebrated poets Mercedes Matamoros and Sofía Estévez y Valdés both have poems printed occasionally, but the generic subject matter of these poems suggest reproduction.¹³⁴ The four pieces by Theosophist Francisca Hernández de Zamora, printed between 1887 and 1892, may well have come from her own magazine *La Buena Nueva*, which was founded in 1886. The remaining Cuban writers are all evidently Spiritist writers, but with the exception of Ana M. Cabrera de Cornet of Havana, who dedicates her two of her poems to her ‘distinguida amiga la escritora espiritista Amalia Domingo Soler’ and references the magazine (15/6/82, 24/8/82), the others – Luisa Molina, Aurelia Puente(s) de Soler of Pinar del Río, María Dolores Bonet of Sagua La Grande and the young medium Regla González of Havana – have nothing written about them nor have evident links to a greater literary network.

Fortunately, more information was found about the Spiritists Avelina Ortega de Gómez of Jagüey Grande and Natalia Massagué of Fomento, even if we can’t be sure of the spelling of the latter’s surname (see introduction). Some information about Avelina Ortega de Gómez’s female literary influences could be deduced from her use of a quotation by Ángela Grassi to introduce one of her articles (9/9/86) and her *Las Dominicales* letter to Rosario de Acuña which extols her idol for being an inspiration (see Chapter 2). One of her articles, the socially conservative ‘Combatir el mal’ (31/12/85), is reproduced over twenty years later in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* (14/9/08), demonstrating how apparently niche authors can nevertheless be found in more mainstream publications (and vice versa). Of the nine Cuban writers, only Natalia Massagué receives any comment from Domingo Soler, and it is clear that the four Spiritist speeches by Massagué which are reproduced in the magazine at almost yearly intervals (7/5/85, 1/7/86, 8/3/88, 27/6/89) have been sent directly to Amalia, potentially by Massagué herself:

Nos escriben de Fomento, (Isla de Cuba) que hay en dicho punto un centro espiritista donde se obtienen curaciones admirables, y para mejor inteligencia de nuestros lectores, copiaremos los párrafos mas interesantes de dicha carta que dicen así: ...

¹³⁴ As well as publishing books of poetry, Sofía Estévez y Valdés also co-founded Cuban women’s magazine *El Céfire* in 1866 with fellow writer Domitila García de Coronado.

At the end of the text Domingo Soler tells readers that she reproduced it in full, in part because ‘fue pronunciado por una jóven que si mal no recordamos, solo cuenta catorce primaveras.’ She then goes on to describe Natalia as ‘una dulcísima esperanza para el porvenir, ella indudablemente será una de las Redentoras de la mujer’ (7/5/85). This would indicate that Amalia received private correspondence alongside contributions which she chooses not to publish. Although we have very little such paratextual evidence about these Cuban women writers, it is very interesting to see that contributions come from all over the island (Havana, Matanzas, Fomento, Jagüey Grande, Pinar del Río, Sagua la Grande), which would suggest that *La Luz del Porvenir* enjoyed a strong circulation on the island.¹³⁵

Puerto Rican women writers

As with the Cuban women writers, the same scattered provinciality can be seen in the contributions from Puerto Rico, with none of the women writing from the same place. The most assiduous Puerto Rican writer to *La Luz del Porvenir*, with 45 contributions, is Simplicia Armstrong de Ramú, who writes from Humacao during her first two years of collaboration (1881-82), and then Guayama until her last article in 1890. She is one of the two known Spiritist writers of colour to write for the magazine, although, as with Ida Edelvira Rodríguez, there is no reference to her ethnicity within the magazine.¹³⁶ She was a black Spiritist leader, apparently from Ponce, who was on the board of the Puerto Rican Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz*, which featured her work alongside that of Domingo Soler (Herzig Shannon, 2001:82-83).¹³⁷ Indeed, Amalia appears to have enjoyed private

¹³⁵ Donations were also received from Cuban subscribers, as seen in 21/11/89 for example.

¹³⁶ It should be noted that Puerto Rican society was relatively progressive in the nineteenth century in terms of race relations. A very large population of free people of colour lived harmoniously alongside whites in Puerto Rico, if at some social and legal disadvantage, and the transition to manumission was peaceful, with free people of colour enjoying the right to bear arms. Discrimination was based more on class and culture than biological race *per se*, with the social hierarchy based on a continuum of shades (or ‘castes’), shades which could often be negotiated, rather than the binary black/white model of the USA. It was the US annexation of Puerto Rico that introduced hypodescent, or the ‘one-drop rule’, on race, and introduced the ‘alien and deeply odious’ brand of biological racism that made the autochthonous prejudice up until that point look like ‘an innocent game of children’ (see Kinsbruner, 1996: 6-15).

¹³⁷ If Herzig Shannon is correct in her assertion that Simplicia was from Ponce, Puerto Rico’s second city, then we can use literacy statistics for that city from a slightly earlier period to suggest that Simplicia’s status as a writer was very unusual – in 1860 in Ponce, only 2.9% of free females of colour (aged eight or over) could read and write (see Kinsbruner, 1996: 122-123). I have found nothing about her personal life outside of the magazine, which reveals marriage and an adoptive daughter (‘A mi querida hija adoptive Pilar Amalia’ 26/5/87). Her writing career lasted decades, with a contribution to Amalia’s later magazine *Luz y Unión* in 1901 (15/8/01), regular contributions to the Puerto Rican Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz*, and a book in 1908 entitled *Ramo de Azucenas*. Bogo (1971: 161) mentions a ‘Julietta Armstrong’ of Ponce, Puerto Rico as a *La Luz del Porvenir* contributor, who must have written for later issue if at all, but it may well be that, if this is not an error on Bogo’s part, Simplicia was not the only woman writer in the family.

correspondence with Simplicia when she makes the comments such as the following, which indicates that the Puerto Rican had been actively sending Amalia her written work:

Recomendamos á nuestras lectoras que lean detenidamente el artículo que nos ha remitido nuestra queridísima colaboradora Simplicia A. de Ramú, dice grandes verdades, está escrito con la valentía de la convicción; si hubiera muchas mujeres como nuestra compañera de redacción, la ola del fanatismo religioso no encontraría playa donde extender su manto de espuma. (26/5/87)

This idea of private correspondence is supported by the news reported in 7/6/83 of Simplicia's Protestant wedding to Fernando Ramú, the only compromise available to the self-proclaimed freethinker who was prohibited from marrying with the Catholic Church, in a country where civil ceremonies were not available.¹³⁸ It is clear that Amalia values Simplicia's writings, and they appear to have been published as soon as they were received. For example, her piece 'La ola sube', for which Amalia wrote her introduction above, was written only a few weeks earlier, on the 31 May 1887. Amalia's admiration for her friend is reciprocated, with Simplicia dedicating the article 'Ser feliz' (12/9/89) to 'mi distinguida hermana y amiga Srta. Amalia Domingo y Soler'. As a sidenote, her article of 31/1/84, 'El Lujo', can be found months later in the mainstream *La Ilustración* of Barcelona (4/5/84), which invites speculation that *La Luz del Porvenir* may be an unattributed source of other magazines' copy, or that Simplicia sends her work to more than one publication.¹³⁹

Coincidentally, the second most assiduous collaborator from Puerto Rico, Josefa (G.) Esparolini y Carrión, also has a *La Luz* article ('El corazón', 29/11/83) reproduced in *La Ilustración*, the issue following Simplicia's reproduction (11/5/84), although hers is under the mis-spelled 'Josefa Elparoline y Carrión'. In *La Luz del Porvenir* she authors twenty articles, none of them with an evident Spiritist bent (rather, she tends to write about women), and she writes from three different places within Puerto Rico - Ponce, Gurabo and Sabmoa. There is no comment from Amalia or any other writer about her, and all that can be found about her is that, apart from being alternatively known as Josefina, she wrote

¹³⁸ It may interest readers to know of Amalia's 7/6/83 report on the social reaction to Simplicia's wedding, as a useful piece of social history: '[...] Nuestra amada colaboradora fue objeto de una verdadera ovación: el pueblo de Ponce en masa, invadió la iglesia dándole las más vivas demostraciones de simpatía: todas las clases sociales saludaron á la mujer noble y racional que ha sabido sostener su credo separándose de una iglesia tan pequeña.' Simplicia writes only one article prior to her wedding, which she signs 'Simplicia Armstrong'.

¹³⁹ Although much of her writing could be described as *cursi*, she was not a woman who was frightened of challenging authority, with news in 7/6/83 of a letter written by Simplicia to the bishop on separating from the Catholic Church, a copy of which was sent to Amalia.

an article, 'La mujer y la política', in the Puerto Rican magazine *La Pluma de mujer* in 1915 (Rivera Martínez, 1992: 205).

The third Puerto Rican to feature most regularly in the magazine is, however, much more commented upon, perhaps because of her unusual circumstance of being a young blind girl from rural Puerto Rico with no formal education, but with much talent as an aural medium. Such was Josefa Martínez Torres's gift that a fellow Spiritist had seen fit to create a short book of some of her communications and send this to Amalia, who introduces the first text with a long description the teenage medium's life (1/7/80). However, the dates given to subsequent articles make clear that not all of the contributions come from the original 84-page *opúsculo*, and Amalia gives the strong suggestion that the medium is an active collaborator of the magazine, when on reporting the medium's premature death at 19 she describes how happy she felt when she first received contact from *la ciegucecita de la Cantera*:

[...] nos alegramos entonces de haber adquirido una colaboradora, que con muy buena voluntad, nos enviaba sus sencillos y delicados pensamientos, saturados de poesía y de ingénuo sentimiento, prometiéndonos con su adquisición una poderosa ayuda, pues esperábamos un gran desarrollo en sus inspiraciones; Mas ¡ay! nuestros planes, (por el momento), han sido vanos, por que la ciegucecita de la Cantera, ha dejado la tierra el 7 de diciembre de 1881.¹⁴⁰

Indeed, Amalia was so saddened by the news that she sent money for a bouquet of poppies to be placed on Josefa's grave. Cándida Sanz and Simplicia Armstrong de Ramú also felt moved on the news, and wrote about her in poetry and prose respectively.¹⁴¹

The remaining Puerto Rican writers are unfortunately more obscure. Dolores Díaz de Merles (Ponce/Mayaguez), Antonia Silven de la Torre (Guayama) and Carmen Martínez (Vega Alta) feature as contributors, but there is no evidence of their relationship to Amalia or the magazine. More is known about the Spiritist and feminist Lola Baldoni of Utuado (see footnote), while Tomasa Pastor's speech in Mayagüez is overtly reproduced from elsewhere.¹⁴² Juana G. de Porrata (Hormigueras) writes a letter of admiration to her

¹⁴⁰ 14/1/82. Notice the phrase 'por el momento', perhaps anticipating the communications that would come from Josefa from beyond the grave.

¹⁴¹ It should be noted that, although also in Puerto Rico, Simplicia indicates that she had never met Josefa in person (perhaps due to being on a different part of the island – Humacao being over 100km from Ponce).

¹⁴² Tomasa Pastor's speech (11/2/92), reproduced from the *Centro Unión de Mayagüez*, reveals that she was the *presidenta* of the 'Caridad y Consuelo' asylum in Mayagüez. Herzig Shannon (2001: 133) states that she attended events with the female editor of the aforementioned *El Iris de Paz*, Agustina Guffain, and may have been a contributor (a likely supposition, as most of its writers were women). Lola Baldoni (Casta

‘hermana en creencias’ Amalia in 12/11/84, and Amalia returns the compliment by calling her ‘la mujer que nosotras soñamos’, but as a woman she remains obscure to the reader and researcher. The Guayama medium Carmen Castro de V. (also seen as Carmen C. de F.) also writes a letter to Amalia in 8/1/81, although this does not receive an editorial response. Finally, there is the equally unknown Vicenta Labrador de Ramírez who writes the short piece ‘Soñar es vivir’ (22/12/87). Despite there being no location of writing for her in the magazine she has been categorised as Puerto Rican because she may be the woman found in the US census of 1910, the fifty-year-old Vicenta Labrador y Puentes de Ramirez who resides in Catedral, San Juan, Puerto Rico. The census describes her as a white widow with two grown up daughters, and estimates her date of birth as 1860.

Mexican women writers

A parallel life being lived in Mexico is glimpsed through the poems and leading article of Spiritist writer and medium Laureana Wright de Kleinhans, in many ways a ‘New Spain’ equivalent of Amalia. Although there is no direct evidence of a relationship between Laureana and Amalia within the pages of the magazine beyond Laureana’s four contributions, both women at least knew of each other. This is unsurprising, given that Laureana was a prolific author, women’s magazine editor (*Las Hijas de Anáhuac/Violetas de Anáhuac/Mujeres de Anáhuac*) and journalist with parallel views to her Iberian counterpart, principally with regards to Spiritism, anticlericalism and feminism. As might be expected of a woman with these concerns, Laureana was also not frightened to speak her mind against the status quo, a fearlessness which, despite her middle-class status and friendship with the First Lady, threatened to see her exiled from Mexico. Like Amalia, Laureana was the only female to reach a position of power in her country’s Spiritist association (as president of the Sociedad Espírita Central de la República), and both women were assiduous contributors to Mexico’s *La Ilustración Espírita*, with Amalia contributing over 100 articles (Infante Vargas, 2003:292).¹⁴³ Laureana kept abreast of female freethinking currents in Spain, and in an 1890 article in *La Ilustración Espírita*, classed both Amalia and Rosario de Acuña as ‘rebeldes en ideas’ (ibid.).

Dolores Baldoni Pérez) was definitely a contributor to this Mayagüez title, and also contributed to feminist Ana Roqué de Duprey’s magazine *La Mujer*, a magazine authored by women which was printed by female typesetters. Baldoni never married, wrote at least two books, and campaigned against the death penalty (ibid. 82-83).

¹⁴³ For a further discussion of Amalia’s writing in *La Ilustración Espírita* and her reception in Mexico see Schraeder (2009: 106-117).

Another interesting Mexican contributor is the Spiritist poet, playwright and novelist Soledad Manero de Ferrer, who writes from Orizaba. Like Laureana and Amalia, she too has experience of directing a magazine, in her case the Veracruz title *Violetas*. It is not known how Amalia came into possession of Soledad's work, six pieces of which are published in *La Luz del Porvenir*, but tantalisingly, she responds to Soledad's poem 'A la luna' (20/10/81) with her own poem in the same issue. Another Orizaba writer, Carmen Fuentes Álamo, dedicates two of her three pieces with 'A mi hermana Amalia Domingo y Soler', although nothing else is known of her. Meanwhile, not even the full name is known of the poet 'R.M.', of Mérida de Yucatán, whose only contribution, a poem, features in 23/5/89, but it is likely that s/he had read Amalia's work in the local Spiritist magazine, *La Ley de Amor*.¹⁴⁴

Argentinian women writers

There are four writers who we know write from Argentina, although it must be said that two of these women were born in Uruguay.¹⁴⁵ The first is Spiritist poet Ida Edelvira Rodríguez who, like Simplicia Armstrong de Ramú, is a woman of colour, and in her case is described by other sources as *mulatta*. Her race is mentioned purely from a current research perspective regarding the participation of non-white women in literary culture, as the magazine itself, when printing her three poems and prose piece on Spiritism, makes no comment on the writer herself or her relationship to any other writer.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, it was

¹⁴⁴ Amalia wrote regularly for the magazine *La Ley de Amor* of Mérida de Yucatán, and we know that these were not reproductions, as the editorial of the 22/8/77 issue reports on receiving a letter from her, and asks her when the magazine will be honoured by receiving an *original*. Amalia appears to respond to this invitation, as we see the first article from her in issue 23/11/77, followed by (at least) eight contributions in 1878. She is also regularly mentioned in the magazine, alongside news from Spain. (Copies of this magazine can be accessed at the Hemeroteca Nacional Digital de México website).

¹⁴⁵ Given her aforementioned friendship with Cosme Mariño, president of the Spiritist group Constancia, it is unsurprising to learn that Amalia collaborated with the group's eponymous magazine from 1879, a magazine which she refers to reading in the 10/12/85 issue, and whom she still appears to write for in 1905, to judge from the June issue of the French Spiritist magazine *Le Progrès Spirite*. Amalia's influence can also be seen in the Argentine Spiritist group *La Fraternidad* (who published a magazine of the same name), as their female members set up a group in 1891 to help newborn babies named *La Luz del Porvenir* in Amalia's honour. Letters were also published from Buenos Aires in *La Luz del Porvenir* (a group of female Spiritist setting up a charity in 20/8/91 and a Buenos Aires prison in 21/9/93).

¹⁴⁶ Frederick (1998: 148-151), presents all sides of the debate regarding the extent to which modern scholars should take into consideration Rodríguez's race in their analysis of her work, when the writer clearly wanted her work to be regarded on its own merits (i.e. a formalist approach), without knowledge of her class background or ethnicity, a natural desire in a racialised society obsessed with class. Frederick does point out, however, that while Euro-Argentine society appeared to assume her to be white and middle-class, the tiny but culturally very active Afro-Argentine community in Buenos Aires was aware of her race, and regarded her mainstream success with great pride, as seen from the praise of her in the middle-class black newspaper *La Broma*. Her race, class and literary talent make her a very rare writer indeed,

known that the *bonaerense* Rodríguez, a ‘desperately poor’ but highly cultured woman who was a proof-reader for one newspaper, and news-writer for another, was careful to make no mention of her race or her class in her work.¹⁴⁷ She does not, however, always hide her gender identity behind a male pseudonym (*Everardo* is one), a move towards visibility which caused controversy when she dared, like Amalia herself, to write on topics which were seen as ‘unsuitable’ for a woman, in her case politics, foreign affairs and patriotism.¹⁴⁸ Particularly interesting is the fact that she writes on the topic of Spiritism in this magazine, as she is not mentioned as a Spiritist in any of the scant secondary literature about her. However, in his memoirs Cosme Mariño (1963: 143) does mention that ‘la distinguida poetisa y literata señorita Ida Edelvira Rodríguez’ acts as secretary for *Constancia* magazine in September 1887, which makes it very feasible that it is this magazine which was Amalia’s source for the poems (as a regular literary contributor and recipient of monetary donations Amalia would undoubtedly have a complementary subscription), although the possibility remains that Ida sent her work to Spain directly.

There are two articles written by the established author Lola Larrosa de Ansaldo (here ‘Dolores Larrosa’) one of which is called ‘La mujer y el hogar’ (2/6/87). However, given that this was published at least once before, four years earlier in the Barcelona weekly *La Ilustración* (30/9/83), there is the possibility that Domingo Soler may have copied the article from this (local) source. Although the Uruguay-born Lola Larrosa was an anti-emancipationist, believing that women should dedicate themselves to being submissive and self-effacing angels of the hearth, this piece in *La Luz* takes a more progressive tone, advocating for the education of women so that, if necessary, they could do determined jobs to support the family while staying close to home. Curiously, this article perfectly mirrors Lola’s own far-from-ideal life, as her personal circumstances required her to be the

considering that people of colour accounted for only 2% of the Buenos Aires population in 1887, i.e. 8,000 people, with numbers continually dwindling, in a white-majority society which refused to see them as equals, and looked to exclude them, even genocide them in the long term (Branche 2006: 21). As a comparison to Armstrong de Ramú’s situation it should be noted that in Argentina the ‘caste’ system of colour faded in favour of US-style binary racism after 1850, so that all people of color, regardless of shade, were bluntly ‘negro’ (Andrews, 1979).

¹⁴⁷ She was an intellectual woman, with a great curiosity for Classical culture, especially Greek, but her profound poverty (resulting in her inability to afford books) prohibited her from accessing that cultural space as successfully as she would have liked (a useful comparison might be made to her contemporary, the Catalan Hellenist Josefa Pujol de Collado).

¹⁴⁸ Her patriotic work was attacked with great vitriol by a male writer in Argentina, clearly due to her gender, and unlike in the case of Amalia, the criticism appears to have been effective in silencing her politically conscious voice (Frederick, 1998: 122-123). If the critic was also aware of her ethnicity (it is not known if he was), this would likely have fired his hatred still further, given that blackness and national identity were overwhelmingly seen as conflictive categories in the foundational discourses of Latin American nations during the nineteenth century (Branche, 2006:18).

breadwinner of the family, supporting a mentally ill husband and their son through her writing before dying of tuberculosis at the age of 38, a far cry from the romantic ideals she propagated in her work.¹⁴⁹ More interestingly from the perspective of female networks is the poem dedicated to her fellow Uruguayan living in Argentina, Adela Castell, ‘Meditación. A mi dulce amiga, la tierna poetisa Zulema’ (11/9/79), with a poem from Adela herself featuring fifteen years later, in 15/2/94.¹⁵⁰ Lastly, there are contributions from the celebrated healing medium of the Constancia Spiritist society Juana A. de Navajas and her fellow Spiritist María Pujol de B., who was also known to be a contributor to the *bonaerense* society’s eponymous magazine. Indeed, this may be a reproduction from *Constancia* given that, as previously discussed, Amalia was likely to have a complementary subscription.

The writers of the imaginary community and issues around reproduction

It is extremely difficult to define the limits of Domingo Soler’s real literary network from her imaginary one, as evidence has shown that she is fond of reproducing women’s work from other sources without admitting to doing so, and using paratextual elements in such a way as to suggest that the writer has written her piece with Domingo Soler’s magazine in mind. It is for these reasons that, without conclusive evidence, I have included some writers as part of her imaginary, basing my judgement upon existing knowledge of these writers’ literary circles, although of course the logic behind these decisions may be flawed due to incomplete knowledge. Only information discovered through further research will clarify if some of my decisions were indeed correct.

¹⁴⁹ The irony of her situation is mirrored by that of Pilar Sinués de Marco, whose work, which circulated widely in Argentina (Frederick, 1998: 47), would undoubtedly be known to Lola. Like Lola, Pilar also promoted the romantic, domestic ideal for women, and yet it was she who financially supported her husband and stepdaughter, even after their separation and sometimes even without her knowledge, through the royalties of her literary work (Palenque and Gutiérrez, 2007: 102-105).

¹⁵⁰ Amalia would also be known to Uruguayan Spiritists through her contributions to the Montevideo *La Ilustración Espírita*, and the 21/11/89 issue of *La Luz* shows donations from Montevideo.

The literary foremothers and the ‘mainstream’ writers

Although she was only fifteen years older than Amalia, Concepción Arenal usefully could be considered Amalia’s foremother, as there is strong evidence that Arenal is the single greatest female ideological influence on Amalia’s writing, with her book *La mujer del porvenir*. Bogo (1971: 154-155) states that Arenal was for Amalia ‘buena parte del norte que daba a su acción acometida durante toda la actividad llevada a cabo en el campo espírita’, and certainly, this assertion is seen in Amalia’s article ‘Nuestro deseo’ (26/5/81), in which she reproduces fragments of *La mujer del porvenir*, of which she says:

Por centésima vez los hemos leído, y hemos dicho: - He aquí traducido nuestro deseo. Concepción Arenal no creemos que pertenece á nuestra escuela, y sin embargo, ¡qué iguales son en el fondo nuestras ideas! Su bello ideal es nuestra aspiración: Todos los que aman el progreso van por un mismo camino.

If Arenal is Amalia’s foremother for ideological texts, then her literary foremother is *Fernán Caballero*, whom she quotes in 5/5/87 and 18/8/87, and who is the only female she lists among the great writers that are her unattainable ideal of literary style (17/5/88). Later still she reproduces one of *Caballero*’s works, although using the writer’s real name of Cecilia Bol (sic), and significantly making ‘La calumnia. Ejemplo moral’ her lead article of 10/7/90. There is no indication given in the magazine that this is a reproduction, but given that *Cabellero* died in 1877 she may be considered a foremother, and in this sense joins Mme. de Staël and Juana Inés de Asbaje whose work has been reproduced to create a foremother imaginary.¹⁵¹

Clearly an admirer of Carolina Coronado (quoting her in both 3/7/79 and 1/4/80) Amalia does state that she has taken Carolina Coronado’s poem ‘Los niños’ from *El Diario de Barcelona* in 14/1/86, but does so to create an imaginary dialogue with the famous poet. She cleverly does this by responding to Coronado’s poem with her own ‘Los niños del porvenir’ in the same issue, which contains a direct address to the poet (‘no temas, Carolina’), thus creating an illusion of literary parity in the minds of readers.¹⁵² With her reproductions of Emilia Pardo Bazán’s work, she adopts another strategy, making it appear

¹⁵¹ While these are the only foremothers’ work to be printed (if we disregard spirit messages from Teresa de Avila), over twenty women writers, primarily French, of the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries are quoted in the ‘Pensamientos’ section of the first six months of 1880 (see dataset for full list).

¹⁵² Isabel Peña also uses the same Coronado quotation that Amalia does in 3/7/79 (‘¡Gloria! cantan los ángeles en coro. / ¡Oro! gritan los hombres: ¡Oro! ¡Oro!’) for an epigraph to her article of 3/1/84.

as if Pardo Bazán may have a similar Spiritist/freethinking mindset to Amalia's readership, and in this sense co-opts Pardo Bazán into her network. This can be seen in the way she frames Pardo Bazán's texts with her own introductions:

Recomendamos á nuestras lectoras el artículo que copiamos á continuación, por que en él está pintado magistralmente el horrible sufrimiento de un espíritu. (10/2/87)

Retiramos con placer nuestros sencillos escritos, para enriquecer LA LUZ, con artículos valiosísimos como el de Rosario de Acuña y el que copiamos á continuación de la eminente escritora Emilia Pardo de Bazán; y al insertarlos tenemos dos ideas, la primera es demostrar á nuestras lectoras que el racionalismo filosófico se abre paso en todas las esferas sociales, y que lo mismo las escritoras demócratas, que las aristócratas, comprenden que el culto y el formalismo de la religión católica apostólica romana ha llegado al grado máximo del ridículo, y el ridículo es el encargado de derribar sus altares. La segunda idea que nos alienta para grabar nombres ilustres en nuestra humilde Revista, es por unir en estrecho lazo á todas las mujeres que trabajan en favor de la civilización. (17/11/87)

She continues to create an imaginary of all women writing together, unfettered by class, wealth or formal education, united in a common cause, and her clever framing of the article manages to conflate Pardo Bazán's article, which mocks the anti-aesthetic and embarrassing primitivism of a Galician church, with Domingo Soler's additional favourite causes of deism and female emancipation. In this way she deftly presents the notoriously elitist (and resolutely Catholic) Pardo Bazán as being part of her united front of Deist women writers:

¿Qué importa que las unas habiten en palacios y sean notables por su erudición, mientras las otras se alberguen en modesta vivienda y escriban con la sencillez y facilidad con que brotan las amapolas en los campos sembrados de trigo y cantan los jilgueros en las enramadas? unas y otras, están consagradas á una misma causa, al progreso de la humanidad, al engrandecimiento de los pueblos, al advenimiento de la RAZON. Hora es ya que las mujeres rompan las cadenas de su ominosa esclavitud y digan en todos los tonos que las religiones han empequeñecido el sublime ideal de Dios, y que la verdadera religión, la que reconoce á Dios en las maravillas de la naturaleza, se levanta magestuosa en la

conciencia y la razón despierta de su letargo, elevando las mujeres su plegaria no es el templo oscuro y sombrío, sino á orilla de los mares y en la cumbre de las montañas.

Ya ha comenzado felizmente este renacimiento del racionalismo, las escritoras españolas van allanando el camino de la civilización, *escuchemos á Emilia Pardo de Bazán en sus impresiones de viaje*. (17/11/87, my italics)

It is not known if Pardo Bazán was aware of her work being used in this way, but we do know that at least one written piece by Amalia was found in Pardo Bazán's library, in the form of the prologue to Leonor Ruiz de Caravantes' poetry book *Crisálidas*.¹⁵³ While it is not known what Pardo Bazán thought of Amalia's writing *per se*, she is on record (Bieder: 1993b: 24) as being disparaging about sentimental and Spiritist writings of the type which abounds in *La Luz del Porvenir*: '[A]sí Dios me salve como me iba hartando de historietas sentimentales o tontamente licenciosas, y de pujos morales; y de extravagancias espiritistas, con otras malas hierbas y flores cursis del erial femenino – que no quiero llamar *literario*.' Given this opinion, and the fact that Pardo Bazán was good friends with Padre Fidel Fita, one of the priests whose sermons Amalia excoriated in her editorials, it is unlikely that Amalia's carefully crafted imaginary of female solidarity would be one which was shared by the countess.¹⁵⁴ In addition, it is equally improbable that Amalia's closest allies would share this vision for such a universal sisterhood, given that Ángeles López de Ayala disliked Pardo Bazán enough to express her antipathy towards her in a poem and send this to the freethinking press.¹⁵⁵

The same idea of solidarity is created with the royal Carmen Silva (Elizabeth zu Wied), for whom Amalia clears the first three pages of the 22/11/83 issue, welcoming the Queen's aphorisms with a long introduction. She states that Carmen Silva's regal status is primarily deserved because of her talent, and by addressing her readers as 'obreras del pensamiento', although a standard phrase at the time, cleverly melds the urban working-class identities of many of her female readers with the potential she sees in them for creativity and intellect, creativity and intellect (*talento*) which are implied to transcend class barriers. In the

¹⁵³ The book in question also carries a hand-written dedication to Pardo Bazán from Caravantes herself (oral information from Henriette Partzsch, based on data collated during a research trip to Pardo Bazán's library).

¹⁵⁴ Emilia Pardo Bazán maintained warm correspondence with the noted Jesuit priest and historian (Freire López 1991: 99) so it is unlikely she would sympathise with the Spiritist who used nine issues of her magazine (26/3/85 – 21/5/85) to aggressively deconstruct the content of his Easter sermons held in the Cathedral of Barcelona.

¹⁵⁵ López de Ayala writes the poem 'Figueras', based on Pardo Bazán's apparent dismissal of the town as a 'poblacho', which Ángeles attributes to the fact that 'allí no halló vasallaje / su título ó sus riquezas; / porque allí á tales *grandezas* /no se les rinde homenaje.' (*Las Dominicales*, 7/12/99)

following excerpts, she evokes her magazine as the eternal record of an imaginary of women which, as the reception of Carmen Silva demonstrates, stands outside of space, time and social class:

Ya que LA LUZ DEL PORVENIR es la encargada de publicar los escritos de humildes obreras, hoy va á engalanar sus modestas páginas con los brillantísimos pensamientos de la reina de Rumania, que escribe con un pseudónimo puramente español. [...]

He aquí una série de pensamientos dignos de ser estudiados por la verdad que encierran y la belleza de su forma. Isabel de Rumania es reina por su talento antes que por su cuna y por el nombre de su esposo que la elevó al trono. Reciba Cármen Silva nuestro sincero parabien. Si todas las reinas de la tierra fuesen como ella, algo mas grande seria la humanidad. [...]

LA LUZ DEL PORVENIR, con el tiempo, será un álbum que contendrá pensamientos de todas las mujeres que se han dedicado á la contemplación de todo lo grande y de todo lo bello.

Venid, obreras del pensamiento; y dejad en sus humildes páginas impresiones y recuerdos, que sirvan de útiles lecciones á las niñas que hoy duermen en la cuna. Trabajad para vuestras hijas: la mujer de hoy es un bonito juguete, y las mujeres de mañana deben de ser algo más.¹⁵⁶

There is evidence that Amalia's young *obreras* are indeed taking inspiration from other women writers, as we see young Spiritist *Lélia* respond to Sofía Pérez Casanova's poem 'Un recuerdo á Toledo' (reproduced from *El Nuevo Ateneo*) with additional verses of her own, in which she addresses Sofía and tells her not be upset for the decline of Toledo, as the centuries of *grandeza* that Sofía looks upon wistfully, were centuries of oppression (15/7/80). It is not known if Sofía was aware of her poem being used to form this textual dialogue, and it is similarly unknown if the socially conservative writers Faustina Sáez de Melgar, Patrocinio de Biedma, María Orberá and Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer were aware that their work was being reproduced from the original sources.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ López de Ayala's view of Carmen Silva is at this point unknown, but we could imagine that the Republican would take a dim view of the royal writer's literary status. Amalia's acceptance of social hierarchies, due to her Spiritist beliefs of karmic reincarnation was, as previously discussed, a point of difference between herself and her more radical colleague.

¹⁵⁷ Other mainstream writers whose work is clearly reproduced from elsewhere are: Emilia Cálle y Torres de Quintero, Aurelia Castillo de González, Clemencia Larra, Aurora Lista (Luisa Torralba de Martí), Blanca de

The ‘mainstream’ writers Julia de Asensi, Ángela Mazzini, Rosa Martínez de Lacosta, Ángela Grassi, Jesusa Granda y Labín, Gregoria Urbina y Miranda, Adela Galiana de Osterman, Delfina Pujol, Pilar Pascual de San Juan, Pilar Sinués de Marco, Suceso Luengo de la Figuera and Joaquina Balmaseda also all occasionally feature in the magazine without attribution of the source, but it would be a mistake to assume that their articles are necessarily unconsented reproductions, because further research may throw up interesting evidence of unexpected relationships. For example, on the last page of Joaquina Balmaseda’s personal album, there is a hand-written poem entitled ‘A Joaquina’. Undated, it is signed by Amalia Domingo Soler, and the hand-writing is similar to that of her letters to Isabel Peña.¹⁵⁸ This certainly suggests that Balmaseda and Domingo Soler were personal friends, although no clue is given in *La Luz del Porvenir* itself, nor was any reference found in secondary sources. Similarly, in Eugenia Estopa, Amalia shared a mutual friend with Rosa Martínez de Lacosta, so there is a real possibility that this is a genuine contribution from Rosa, either directly or via Eugenia. Eugenia Estopa was also a mutual, perhaps intermediary, friend of both Amalia and Ángela Grassi, so for the same reason we cannot be sure that the posthumous Grassi poem (5/1/88) is an unconsented reproduction. Amalia and Ángela were also both collaborators on the magazine *La Educanda* during the 1860s, which may have served as a point of introduction. This is especially plausible given the period of collaboration, as during the Isabelline period at least, it was common for the relatively few female poets who appeared in the literary magazines to initiate epistolary contact with each other, perhaps via the editor, out of a desire to establish a sisterhood of solidarity and friendship.¹⁵⁹

Riviere, Ana Elgueta, Purificación Camelia Cosiña de Llansó, Sofía Tartilán and Emilia Mijares del Real. The dataset gives details of their works plus original periodical from which they were taken.

¹⁵⁸ Balmaseda’s album is online to view at <https://ruidera.uclm.es/xmlui/handle/10578/222>. The poem would appear to have been written after July 1874 (the date of the poem of the penultimate page), and the hand-writing is virtually identical to that of the letter printed in Bogo’s biography (1971: 159). Tantalisingly, the album also contains a hand-written poem, signed by Ángela Grassi and dated 8th Oct 1863, adding circumstantial evidence to the idea that Amalia and Ángela were once friends.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Sin conocerse personalmente mantenían entre sí una correspondencia copiosa y efusiva, saludándose al principio y al fin de las cartas con el dulce título de hermana. Cada nueva firma femenina al pie de alguna poesía aparecida en las revistas literarias, intrigaba a las otras poetisas, que se ponían en relación epistolar con ella’ (Antonio Manzano Garías, referring to the female poets of the decade 1845-55, quoted in Kirkpatrick, 1991:88).

Dolores Navas, Esperanza Pérez, Luisa Cervera and other unaccredited reproductions from *Las Dominicales*

If it is hard to ascertain whether mainstream writers had actively contributed to the magazine, it can be even harder to know whether more marginal, freethinking writers were in fact reproduced from other sources. Certainly, without having studied *Las Dominicales*, it would be easy to assume that Dolores Navas (Delgado) of Córdoba was a regular contributor to the magazine, with 18 prose articles to the magazine about scientific, philosophical and freethinking matters.¹⁶⁰ However, a close study of Amalia's beloved *Las Dominicales* shows that all of these pieces were published in this newspaper first, which leads naturally to the hypothesis of reproduction. However, to the casual reader, it would appear that Dolores was writing directly to *La Luz*, due to her numerous addresses to women readers, and due to Amalia's own footnote to Dolores' assertion in 'La muerte y la vida' (2/2/88). Dolores' statement – 'El espiritismo con sus derivaciones metafísicas, así como las diversas escuelas que de él dimanar, al dejarnos traslucir alguna vez el error, no dan lugar á la convicción.' – is marked for reference to an editorial footnote, which reads '(1) La directora de la LUZ DEL PORVENIR aconseja á la joven y entendida escritora que estudia profundamente la Filosofía espiritista, y entonces tal vez adquiera la convicción que han adquirido muchos sábios de que morir es renacer.' This footnote creates the impression of contact between the writer and editor, which is likely in fact to be completely fallacious. However, given that Navas is also found in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* ('El estudio', 14/9/01) and wrote from Córdoba directly to the director of the Huesca Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz* (see the 15/6/85 issue of this magazine), it is also possible that she sent her work directly to Amalia as well as to Ramon Chies (editor of *Las Dominicales*) for maximum exposure.

Similarly, all of the numerous articles and poems by Esperanza Pérez and Luisa Cervera y Royo were previously published in *Las Dominicales*, but Amalia gives no indication of their prior publication elsewhere. The freethinkers Soledad Areales, Justa González, Ramona B. de Díaz and Ana Moreno may also not be aware that that their work is occasionally reproduced from *Las Dominicales*.¹⁶¹ Secondary sources [Bogo 1971:161,

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 2 for further discussion about this young writer.

¹⁶¹ Aurelia Mateo Terrida, Palmira de Bruno, María Josefa Herrán and Concepción Ruíz Mata(s) also appeared previously in *Las Dominicales*, and it is highly likely that the one-off articles present in *La Luz del Porvenir* originally featured in the aforementioned newspaper, despite not being found in BNE archives of the newspaper itself. This is especially likely with Aurelia Mateo Terrida (found in *Las Dominicales* as Aurelia Mateo de Alonso, having evidently married in the meantime), with one-off contribution from *La Línea de la*

Ramos 2005a: 75] state that Soledad Gustavo (Teresa Mañé) and Julia Aymá/Aymat Mensa feature in *La Luz*; one must presume that these authors appeared after May 1894 as their by-lines do not appear in any of the issues up until this date. Given that Soledad Gustavo writes most regularly for *Las Dominicales* after July 1894, it is very likely that her appearance in the *La Luz* was a reproduction from the former. Similarly, as Julia Aymá was a Mason and radical freethinker who founded the girl's lay school Gutember in Barcelona, who counted Teresa Claramunt a close friend, and who later wrote for López de Ayala's *El Progreso*, I also suspect that any contribution of hers would be a reproduction from *Las Dominicales* or another freethinking magazine, but of course this is supposition.¹⁶²

Amalia's imaginary mistaken for a real writers' network

As has been shown, *La Luz del Porvenir* is characterised by unaccredited reproduction from other sources, and this can lead to false ideas of active collaboration. There is no evidence, for example, that Rosario de Acuña wrote specifically for *La Luz del Porvenir* (and indeed it is unlikely she would write specifically for a Spiritist publication, given that this would ally her to a doctrinal group and thus violate the 'sagrado é inviolable asilo de mi conciencia').¹⁶³ Similarly, with what is known about Pardo Bazán's elitism and isolationist attitude towards other women writers, at least in her early career, it is even less likely that she was an active contributor. Yet due to their appearance in the magazine, writers such as these are attributed with the quality of 'colaboradora', giving an impression of a literary network that may be in fact quite erroneous.

For example, the following assertions were taken from academic papers (I have put in bold type the active verbs/adjectives suggesting agency):

[...] *La Luz del Porvenir* (1879-1894), en cuyas páginas **colaboraron** numerosas librepensadoras y escritoras del mundo ibérico, espiritistas o no: desde las más famosas como Rosario de Acuña, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Carmen de Burgos, Ángeles López de Ayala, Amalia Carvia, Antonia Amat (viuda de

Concepción 'En la noche de mi iniciación de la logia Verdad' (7/4/87), as the years 1886 and 1887 of the newspaper were not available for the present study.

¹⁶² In any case, it is unlikely that there is much of her writing to discover, as Claramunt, writing in *La Revista Blanca* after her friend's death on the 4 June 1904, stated that Julia did not feel comfortable writing or exposing herself to the public gaze, preferring actions to words (Prada Baena, 2006: 302).

¹⁶³ See Acuña's 'Ecos del bello sexo' (*Las Dominicales*, 27/12/85) for her stance on remaining philosophically independent, wishing to be neither follower, nor followed.

Torrents) y la propia Amalia Domingo Soler, a otras menos conocidas, como Natalia Casanova, Joaquina Pascual, Carmen Fuentes o Pilar Rafecas.¹⁶⁴

Algunos nombres se repetían una y otra vez. Rosario de Acuña **solía publicar** en la revista sus conferencias y discursos: “A las mujeres del siglo XIX”, “Convencionalismos”, “Consecuencias de la degeneración humana”, Ángeles López de Ayala también: “Desde la cárcel. El reo en capilla.”, “El Congreso de Librepensamiento”, “A los sostenedores de las escuelas laicas”.¹⁶⁵

However, the periodical mostly, but not exclusively, published contributions by women, whose articles and poems centred on the importance of reason and secular education in combating Catholic dogma, the role of women in society, and the purpose of Spiritism in fashioning a more equitable world. Among its contributors featured Coronado, Pardo Bazán, and Burgos. An especially **assiduous** columnist from 1885 to 1888 was Acuña, who at times **practically co-wrote** the periodical with Domingo Soler.¹⁶⁶

Certainly, the women writers who did write for the magazine appeared to be aware that the editor enjoyed copying work from other sources – Ramona Samará de Rodríguez, in her letter to Esperanza Pérez in *Las Dominicales* (8/12/88), advises Esperanza that her work has also featured in *La Luz del Porvenir*, just in case Esperanza herself had not been informed (see Chapter 2). We cannot know why Amalia did not attribute so much of the appropriated material from other periodicals, but we may assume a certain innocence of spirit and nobility of motive – it was well-known that *La Luz del Porvenir*, being an expression of Amalia’s own character, was run as part of a charitable enterprise to inform and console the poorest sections of society, and not out of any *ánimo de lucro*. Indeed, any funds that Domingo Soler had in her possession tended to find themselves donated to her charity appeals, and Bogo (1971: 141) even tells of Amalia selling gifts from well-meaning admirers so that she might donate the proceeds to the poor. It was her lack of hard-headed business acumen that led to a constant chasing of monies from subscribers, and many issues come with an *advertencia* advising of the parlous state of the magazine’s finances. Such is the revealing nature of these notices that they almost merit a separate study of their

¹⁶⁴ Ramos, 1991: 91. Note also that she believes that Carmen de Burgos wrote for the magazine, in common with other academics (see earlier section).

¹⁶⁵ Ramos, 2005a: 75. This suggests an active collaboration when in fact at least half, if not all, of these articles were first published in *Las Dominicales*, and we know that Amalia had once admitted to Acuña in print that out of homage she would reproduce Acuña’s work (*Las Dominicales*, 1/2/85 – see Chapter 2).

¹⁶⁶ Arkinstall, 2014: 29. The last sentence particularly evokes mental images of the two women sitting down together to make editorial decisions, when the evidence strongly suggests otherwise.

own, but during the course of these messages, some addressed to the numerous subscribers who owe over two years of subscriptions, Domingo Soler emphasises repeatedly that the magazine is losing money, and that her reasons for publishing the magazine are not commercial:

[...] Si nos fuera posible repartir LA LUZ gratis, lo haríamos; pero somos muy pobres, y si los suscritores no cumplen con su deber, tampoco nosotros podremos continuar su publicación, á la cual consagramos nuestros desvelos sin retribución alguna, porque nuestra humilde revista con sus ingresos, solo cubre sus gastos de impresión. (16/4/85)

The myriad pleas for material support from the less scrupulous members of the *familia universal*, whose eternal line of credit Domingo Soler obviously extends as an article of faith in human nature and is therefore reluctant to cut, also reveal at one point (March-April 1887) that the magazine is running a deficit of 1,300 pesetas of unpaid subscriptions, when the monthly running costs are 300 pesetas per month. This financial precarity is being emphasised to show that Domingo Soler's motivations for running the magazine were not those of personal enrichment or literary glory, but rather borne out of a sense of selflessness and fraternity. It is this attitude, I think, that lead to her appropriation of other women's writings – as shown by her attitude to her recalcitrant subscribers, her sentiment and rather naive worldview would assume that other women writers would have the same fundamental attitude of self-abnegation for the common good as she did, and would be therefore happy to see their work reproduced in a magazine which had as its aim the education, inspiration and moral improvement of the most marginalised in society.

It was exactly this economic precarity, combined with disastrous foreign wars at the close of the century, which lead to the magazine's 'death', as subscriptions and communications were lost from the countries which contributed to the magazine's income.¹⁶⁷ Contact with Melilla was lost in 1894, the Philippines in 1896-1897, the USA and Puerto Rico in 1898, and Cuban communications were plagued with intermittent issues after 1895 (Bogo, 1971: 212). With the international profile that this magazine enjoyed, the loss of foreign subscribers would be a particularly hard blow to *La Luz del Porvenir*. Puerto Rican and Cuban women writers were well represented in its pages, and Melilla and Uruguay had their subscribers (deducible from the charitable donations which were periodically announced). Even a location as remote as the Chafarinas Islands penal colony had at least

¹⁶⁷ The terminology of death ('la muerte') was used during the period to describe magazines which had ceased publication (Carmona González, 1999: 43).

one reader, as a (male) prisoner sends a letter to the magazine in 11/9/84. While it is unknown if literary contributions came from the Philippines or the USA, at least up until May 1894, there is evidence of a readership in the Philippines, with a charity donation from Manila in 22/3/88. Amalia does bring the USA into her writers' imaginary, by reproducing a spirit message from Spiritist medium Laura Kendrick of Boston which was originally printed in the *Banner of Light* (1/10/85), and with a partial reproduction of a Jenny P. d'Héricourt article from a Chicago newspaper.¹⁶⁸ As with so many *incógnitas* surrounding this magazine, it may be that further research will find stronger connections with the *ultramar*.

Conclusion

As has already been stated, Amalia wanted for her magazine to be 'un álbum que contendrá pensamientos de todas las mujeres que se han dedicado á la contemplación de todo lo grande y de todo lo bello', and we have seen how she created the imaginary of women writing together as a universal group regardless of their social distance, or their distance in time or space. While *La Luz* was first and foremost a Spiritist publication, it was also a place where many freethinking women writers were found, as befitted the heterodox circles in which Amalia moved, and the periodicals which she read. Amalia's magazine did occasionally contain strident articles (most notably seen from Rosario de Acuña and Ángeles López de Ayala), but it was also an accommodating home for hundreds of flowery, sentimental contributions in prose and poetry by what were likely to be private women who wished to be part of Amalia's innovative project. While there were a large number of women who wrote for Amalia's magazine, it is also clear that Amalia was the equivalent of a literary magpie, collecting shiny gems from a range of different titles, whether because of her desire for a new or glamorous author's name gleaming out from the pages, or because the writing concerned a topic which was close to her heart. Like a magpie, she also appears to have been indifferent to any sense of prior ownership, therefore it is difficult to ascertain to what extent these women are aware of their 'collaboration', or if indeed she has permission from the source magazine. Her strategy however, is a very successful one, as she manages to inspire many otherwise unknown women to write, if in many cases it is only one piece of writing. This empowerment of the

¹⁶⁸ For those who may be interested in the life of this remarkable French-born political agitator and feminist who practised midwifery, her article ('La moral bajo el punto de vista de la moralidad', 1/11/83) was found under the name Juana P. de Héricourt (sic) of Chacayo (sic) and concerned reincarnation.

humble, the violet, would have been particularly gratifying for a woman who had suffered social liminality, even invisibility, for much of her own life. Her literary ambition was bold and noble for a middle-aged single woman in poverty and ill-health, and yet one which I hope to have shown was largely achieved.

Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento and the female networks inspired by Rosario de Acuña

Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento, already mentioned many times in the previous chapter, began its life in Madrid as soon as Sagasta's government ended previous censorship legislation in 1883, and lasted, with occasional suspensions, up until 1909.¹⁶⁹ As 'the leading freethinking weekly of the Restoration period' (Arkinstall, 2014: 10), it provided a platform for heterodox thinkers, many of whom were united only by their anticlericalism and their opposition to the status quo, an opposition which provoked an oppressive response from the authorities in terms of fines, imprisonment, violence and even death. Women who wrote for this newspaper were therefore doubly rebellious - not only by publicly voicing their opinions as women, but by means of an anticlerical newspaper which allied itself to groups challenging the social order, groups such as rationalists, republicans, Masons, Spiritists and supporters of female and lay education. The newspaper was well known to both its friends and its enemies; with a circulation of at least 40,000 copies and an international profile, it became the official newspaper of the Federación Internacional de Libre Pensamiento en España, Portugal y América Latina in 1902.¹⁷⁰ This chapter, based on the BNE's archive of 1,218 issues, will describe how women's writing was cultivated from the beginning of the publication, and how the female sense of community, with its various leading lights, evolved over time.

The first two years: women's issues, but few women writers

Las Dominicales del Libre Pensamiento (henceforth, *Las Dominicales*, as it was re-baptised in 1904) is unique in our sample in that it shows evidence of female writing networks without itself having a female editor; as this highly unusual case proves, a female

¹⁶⁹ The legislation reversing all previous censorship laws of the 1870s, a new state of the free press which lasted up until the civil war, came into force on the 23rd January 1883, and the first issue of *Las Dominicales* came out two weeks later, on the 4th February that year (see Seoane Couceiro, 2007 [1968]: 64-65, for a history of these press censorship laws). It is not as clear, however, which year the magazine ended, with Fagoaga (1996: 175) giving 1911 and Ramos Palomo (2004:27) stating 1913. It should also be noted that despite the freedom of the press being legally enshrined, states of exception could still be declared (an abuse of article 17 of the constitution) and 23 states of exception were issued between 1898 and 1921, by both conservatives and liberals (Seoane Couceiro and Saíz, 1998: 63).

¹⁷⁰ This circulation figure comes from a statement made in a letter to Chies 2/5/91. To put this figure into context, *La Ilustración Artística* claimed a circulation figure of 26,000 copies in 1899, a figure that it maintained made it the biggest selling illustrated magazine in Spain (Charnon-Deutsch, 2010: 290).

editor is not always required in order for a magazine to form a female literary network.¹⁷¹ From its first edition on the 4th February 1883 the newspaper takes a Krausist stance in its view of women and their education, as it gives a quarter of its last page (the fourth page) to a free advertisement for the Asociación para la enseñanza de la mujer.¹⁷² This early progressive attitude towards women's affairs is also seen in novelist Remigio Vega Armentero's open letter to aristocrat Julia de Hellwig in support of her organisation, the Federación Británica Internacional contra la Prostitución [British and International Federation against the State Regulation of Vice], a letter to which Julia Hellwig replies in the 8/7/83 issue.¹⁷³ A few months later (7/10/83) the editors reproduce a Concepción Arenal article from her magazine *La Voz de la Caridad*. However, despite this reproduction and the regular articles by men about female emancipation, female education, and the injustice of the civil code towards women, there are no female signatures on articles or letters until Plácida Martínez (Cervera del Rio Pisuegra) writes a letter of adhesion to the freethinking cause on the 18th March 1884, and includes 2 pesetas to the editors to help settle their government fine.¹⁷⁴ It is in this same issue (23/3/84) that editor Ramón Chies writes to female friend 'A...' to persuade her to join the freethinking cause, which lets us know that women are expected to be readers of *Las Dominicales* alongside their menfolk, even if at this point they are not active contributors. Of course, there is always the possibility that women are writing under a male pseudonym, and this supposition is strengthened by the early letter of adhesion from a 'Luis Cervera' of Valencia (30/3/84), whom we can speculate is actually the Luisa Cervera of Valencia who writes a total of 21 articles, poems and letters to *Las Dominicales* between May 1885 and November 1893.¹⁷⁵ Equally interesting is that if this 1884 letter of adhesion *is* from her, this suggests that she first decides to sign with her real name only after Rosario de Acuña has begun to contribute, and she does so with a letter to Chies which disagrees with Acuña's stance on women (whom Acuña sees as 'inmoral' and 'malvada', rather than as the unconscious victims of society). The editorial's sympathetic attitude towards women

¹⁷¹ The editors (co-founders) are Ramon Chies and *Demófilo* (Fernando Lozano Montes). Although Ramón Chies is the official editor, it is clear that decisions were made jointly.

¹⁷² It reads 'Estos anuncios proceden de la Redacción, y su inserción es gratuita. No se admiten anuncios de pago, ni redactados por los interesados' (4/2/83), showing that all of the advertisements in the newspaper align with editorial ideology.

¹⁷³ One of Hellwig's letters was apparently published in a supplementary issue of *Las Dominicales* (26/6/83, now unavailable), but it was also reproduced in the 2/8/83 issue of *La Luz del Porvenir* (which is available to view in the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

¹⁷⁴ See Enrique Sánchez in 30/12/83, Juan Frías in 3/2/84, and Doctor Pablo Lozano y Ponce de Leon in 2/3/84 for their work on these respective women's rights matters.

¹⁷⁵ The full list of her writings, as with all female magazine contributors mentioned in this thesis, can be found in the online dataset.

continues, with the newspaper running a free advertisement for a young female schoolteacher looking for work in 15/6/84, but the next female signature to appear (not withstanding those who feature in the lists of names of donors to good causes) is that of Matilde Ras, the friend of Amalia Domingo Soler, who features in Chapter 1.¹⁷⁶ Her letter of adhesion to freethinking, dated 19th August 1884 and published in the 24/8/84 issue, coincides with a move back to Alcañiz from Barcelona after being widowed, as her new provincial status requires a subscription to access the magazine (previously she had read *Las Dominicales* while in Barcelona working on the *Revista de Estudios Psicológicos*), a subscription request we can assume accompanied the letter. She uses the letter as an opportunity to talk about her writing, commenting to Chies that he may have seen some of her *REP* articles and explaining her recent literary silence as due the upheavals caused by widowhood, although she reveals that she has recently written an article on Socrates. This taking of any opportunity for self-promotion, common in writers such as Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer (see Chapter 3), is unusual in female letter-writers to *Las Dominicales*. However, in the context of the issue of *La Luz del Porvenir* of a few weeks earlier (31/7/84), in which Amalia Domingo Soler publishes an advertisement to readers asking to help ‘la joven viuda de Antonio Ras’ find work as she fights to keep her family together alone, we can see that self-promotion is *un gaje del oficio* for the struggling writer.¹⁷⁷ However, months go by without another literary contribution from a woman, not withstanding the contribution from ‘Josefa’ of Medina which takes the form of two letters from a mother to a son (26/11/84).¹⁷⁸ This paucity contrasts with the fertile soil for female collaboration being prepared by more enlightened male articles about women (Demófilo in 21/9/84, Eduardo de Riofranco in 28/9/84, 5/10/84). Perhaps it is out of desperation to see female by-lines that editors publish a schoolgirl’s story to get some kind of female participation to their newspaper.¹⁷⁹ However, this situation changes radically when Rosario de Acuña begins to write for *Las Dominicales*.

¹⁷⁶ Later adverts for situations wanted include an advert for an *institutriz* (12/11/87) and, interestingly, an advert which has obviously been worded to be gender neutral (13/12/90).

¹⁷⁷ The newspaper later obliges her with a favourable review of her book *Concha: Historia de una librepensadora* (14/6/85), a review which is reproduced by Amalia Domingo in *La Luz del Porvenir* (see Chapter 1).

¹⁷⁸ In the meantime, monetary contributions come in thick and fast from individual women, only some of these anonymously, for the families of the ‘fusilados de Gerona’, so there is clearly a female readership (or at least, in the cases of female illiteracy, it strongly suggests that the articles are being read to them).

¹⁷⁹ María Josefa Herrán of Santander, ‘Historia de un grano de trigo contado por él mismo’ (24/11/84). Given that this lay school pupil is the daughter of freethinker Herrán Valdivielso, the article may have been published more as a favour to a friend than a show of commitment to female education, coming as it does outside of any feminist context. However, editorial sympathies towards female writing do appear to be

Rosario de Acuña and the mass *conquista de almas*¹⁸⁰

The crucial moment regarding female participation in *Las Dominicales* comes when the famous writer Rosario de Acuña puts pen to paper. Considered in retrospect, she begins modestly: in the 11/12/84 issue, she publishes a letter to say that she will pay the university fees of the medical student with the best grades affected by recent student protests. The letter shows that she sympathises with the cause, but is firmly on its margins. In the subsequent issue (21/12/84) she pens an article regarding a university freethinking banquet which she presided, and evidently a night in the company of ardent young men was enough to persuade her to declare herself publicly, as in the next issue (28/12/84) the front page is cleared for her long letter of adhesion to freethinking, for which the editors knowingly give the headline ‘Valiosísima adhesión’.¹⁸¹ Later issues show that the editors made the correct decision in making Acuña front-page news: they report that their exclusive was reproduced in *El Eco de Extremadura*, *La Antigua Union* of San Martin de Provensals, *La Voz Montañesa* of Santander, *El Combate* of Barcelona and, as was discussed in the previous chapter, *La Luz del Porvenir*. In addition, an extra 100 copies of the Acuña adhesion letter issue, paid for by enthusiasts, were distributed to the ladies of Santander. As we shall see, *Kasabal*’s 1884 remark about Rosario de Acuña in the *Revista de Madrid* (quoted in Galerstein, 1982: 4) – ‘La señora Acuña es para los hombres una literata, y para las mujeres una librepensadora, y no inspira entre unos y otras simpatías’ – proves to be wide of the mark, at least within the freethinking community.

Acuña’s adhesion letter is not just valuable for the newspaper’s circulation figures – from the point of view of women’s writing, it marks a turning point in the analysis of female contributions to the newspaper. In standing up for her beliefs in a country where anticlericalism and republicanism could lead to ostracism and violence, Acuña gives courage to other women (and men) to declare their freethinking stance. Sofía Tartilán writes a short poem in the subsequent issue and over the coming weeks letters flood in, from both men and women, leading the editors to state that they cannot possibly publish them all, including schoolteacher Alberta Vacas de García from Tudela de Duero (11/1/85,

strong, as two other schoolgirls’ essays are published years later (N. Steel, 12/10/06 and Ruth B. Esparza, 23/11/06, both pupils of a school in Puebla, Mexico, who write about the Mexican president Juárez’s life).

¹⁸⁰ This expression is taken from the editorial title given to a long letter addressed to Acuña from Emilia Sala, Francisca López and Julia de Gabriel of Madrid (25/4/88).

¹⁸¹ Ramos Palomo (1994: 317) puts Acuña’s letter of adhesion to freethinking as 1886, but close reading of the primary text shows that her adhesion in fact took place earlier.

who unusually waits thirteen years to write another short letter to the periodical in 20/11/98) and María Josefa Obertín of Ferrol (25/1/85).¹⁸²

The effect of a celebrity such as Acuña on the readership cannot be overestimated, and her popularity is such that it is rare that her articles are anywhere but the front page, even when these which have little or nothing to do with the freethinking cause. A striking example of this is the series of articles entitled ‘En el campo’, originally written for the female readers of *El Correo de la Moda* and published over twenty parts. It is exactly a week after Acuña’s long letter of adhesion is published that Amalia Domingo Soler sits down to write her first ever letter to Acuña, to offer her friendship. We can assume, given that it would take time for the magazine to be delivered after the date of publication, that Domingo Soler wrote her letter within a day or two of reading Acuña’s article, an indication of how immediately she was affected by Acuña’s writing. Her letter is published on the 1st February 1885, and clearly shows that she is a great admirer of both Acuña and her work, stating her intention to reproduce it in *La Luz del Porvenir* (which she does) and her hopes of establishing a relationship with her. Although she acknowledges the age gap between them (‘maternal alegría’), she does not see this as a barrier to friendship (which is to be expected, given her friendships with Isabel Peña and Rita Arañó y Peydro, both thirty years her junior). Her letter does, however, highlight a pitfall for the researcher tracing social networks, which is that the rhetorical style of the age allowed for the appellation of ‘friend’ even to those who were still technically strangers to each other, as is the case here:

Con el mayor placer, amiga mía, he leído su admirable carta, inserta en LAS DOMINICALES del 28 de Diciembre último.

Hace más de quince años que escribo en la prensa libre-pensadora, y he seguido vuestros triunfos con maternal alegría, pero el que más me ha complacido es vuestra última carta, que reproduciré en *La Luz del Porvenir*, periódico semanal, que cuenta seis años de vida y es de mi propiedad. Deseo que nos pongamos en relaciones, porque sois un génio, y los genios se asemejan á los soles, que con su calor vivifican.

Adios, amiga mía; espero anhelante su contestación, y le ofrezco mi sincera amistad. (1/2/85)

¹⁸² Acuña praises Obertín (spelling her name Overtin) amongst others, in her letter to *Las Dominicales* almost three years later – ‘A las mujeres del siglo XIX’ in 10/12/87.

Acuña's only public comment on this offer of friendship (in *Las Dominicales* at least) is made almost three years later, when Domingo Soler is praised, alongside thirteen others, in Acuña's letter 'A las mujeres del siglo XIX' in 10/12/87.¹⁸³ Indeed, aside from this letter praising all of her admirers in list form, it is clear that Acuña stands alone in the *Las Dominicales* female network despite being its central node; she does not comment on other women or their work (at least in public), but is rather the woman who receives all of the attention. Indeed, she could be described as a catalyst stimulating other women to write while herself remaining unaltered, or else the pivotal point, the 'sun' around which all other women writers orbit, even when they in turn pull their own small coterie of orbiting fans.

Acuña's star attracts large group letters of adhesion from both men and women, who write to her to pledge their commitment to freeing women 'del yugo teocrático' and crediting her with giving them the bravery to stand up and be counted.¹⁸⁴ The general admiration for Acuña finds expression in an article by the editor Chies placed directly after another headline article by Acuña herself (15/3/85) which focuses on Acuña and her relationship with *Las Dominicales*. The public praise for Acuña is by no means limited to Peninsular writers/freethinkers, with Avelina Ortega y Gómez (who also features in *La Luz del Porvenir*), writing to Acuña at great length in 1/7/88 to tell her of how she inspired this 'humilde y oscura escritora':

Enseñarme para enseñar: déjame oír tu voz para inspirarme escuchándola: haz que beba es ese manantial de agua viva y cristalina, que sabes verter bajo la presión de tu bien cortada pluma y dejarme conducir por su tranquila y mansa corriente.

Her language is pseudo-religious, and introduces the idea of Rosario as the stable 'sun' around which the other writers revolve in order to bask in her brilliance (pun intended):

Tu armonioso lenguaje halla eco en mi corazón y llena mi alma de un santo entusiasmo: yo te ayudaré hasta donde me lo permitan mis alcances: seré el satélite que gira alrededor del sol interior de tu despejada inteligencia para envolverme en el foco de su luz.

¹⁸³ Some of the correspondence between the two women, published in Domingo Soler's *Sus Más Hermosos Escritos*, is discussed in the previous chapter.

¹⁸⁴ See the online dataset for details of over fifty letters from women who write about Acuña's adhesion, both individually and in groups. Most write directly to Acuña, and all of them praise her and her articles.

Nor is Acuña's foreign reception limited to women – three male heads of a freethinking group in Cuba write to Chies in 12/8/92 to inform him that they have named their group 'Rosario de Acuña' and made their eponymous heroine their honorary president.

This perception of Acuña as a leader, even a messiah figure, is made explicit in the letter from Angela Naveras from Torelló (6/5/88), who begs Acuña to accept her as a 'discipulo fervoroso de sus nobles y grandiosas ideas'. In fact, almost all of the more well-known women writers over the 26 years of *Las Dominicales*' existence, as if to justify their own writing, feel that they have to introduce their first contribution to the magazine by referencing 'she who has gone before', perhaps to establish a sense of continuity, of their being part of a greater tradition.

Amalia Domingo Soler: Like Acuña, an already established writer.

Perhaps Amalia Domingo's aforementioned speed in responding to Acuña's adhesion letter was due to the fact that, as an established heterodox writer with the weight of the Spiritist community behind her, she was already 'out' to mainstream society as a non-Catholic and would not suffer the same repercussions that later writers did (for example, Dolores Navas). However, her contributions in the newspaper are not as prolific as might be expected, and she does not write again to *Las Dominicales* (or at least is not published) for another seven and a half years. Not counting this letter to Acuña of 1/2/85 and a posthumously printed letter to the newspaper, her eleven contributions are all poems, including a reply in verse to Ángeles Lopez de Ayala's poem to her, in which she discusses their ideological differences (24/2/98, see later section). There are positive reactions to her work, but it is not certain to what extent these are the result of her work in *Las Dominicales* or the results of her Spiritist writing generally. Soledad Areales (as 'una andaluza') dedicates a poem to her in 1895 ('A mi querida amiga Amalia Domingo Soler', 24/5/95) in which she writes 'Viril tu voz á mi retiro llega', 'Piensas como yo', 'sincera amiga, noble hermana', although given the physical distance between them (over 500 miles between Villa del Río and Gràcia) it is likely that this is solely a correspondence friendship.¹⁸⁵ However, it appears that true bonds of friendship and affection could still be

¹⁸⁵ As described in Chapter 1, Amalia Domingo Soler's writings were also received much further afield, in Latin America and the Caribbean, and there is also evidence of this also within the pages of *Las Dominicales*, with an article reproduced from *El Estudio* of Mayagüez (Puerto Rico) in which Francisca Suárez, on behalf

formed between women who did not know each other personally – Amalia Carvia of Valencia, for instance, whose friendship with her namesake was created and maintained entirely by correspondence, describes how she grieved for her like family:

Ha muerto. Ni una sola vez tuve la satisfacción de verla, de abrazarla, y, sin embargo, nos queríamos como verdaderos hermanos. [...] ocho días después me llegó la noticia de su muerte, y la lloré como á una hermana y como á una madre. (25/6/09).

There is the stronger chance that Ramona Samará de Domínguez who in her 8/12/88 letter to Esperanza Pérez describes herself as a ‘buena amiga’ of Amalia Domingo, a reader of *La Luz del Porvenir* and who we know contributes to her magazine, has actually met her friend in person, as both Mollerussa and Artesa de Segre (the towns where she wrote from) are almost three times closer to Gràcia than Valencia.¹⁸⁶ This thesis is strengthened by many women writers’ capacity for geographical movement within the associational culture of freethinking and Spiritist circles, as well as individual/collective migration for economic reasons. The pages of *Las Dominicales* do tell us however, that Amalia Domingo Soler met fellow freethinkers Belen de Sárraga and Ángeles López de Ayala personally, having all attended the same inaugural opening of the Barcelona lay school Socrates on the 24th November 1894, with Amalia sitting between Belén and Ángeles at the top table (see Chapter 1 for details of this meeting, covered in issues 7/12/94, 21/12/94 and 1/3/95).

Women’s participation in *Las Dominicales* in context: the dangers of heterodoxy

In order to understand the bravery required of writers, the outpouring of public adhesions to the freethinking cause must be seen in the context of real and perceived persecution of heterodox elements of society. Not only were there the standard problems of clerical opposition, as described by Adelaida Garrote de Péres of Leon in 5/10/89 – she found her family excommunicated, her husband deprived of work, and the town hall refusing to bury

of her predominantly women’s group ‘Jesús’, nominates Domingo Soler to be their representative at the upcoming freethinking congress. That she also talks of Chies and Demófilo admiringly strongly suggests that she regularly read *Las Dominicales* (16/10/92).

¹⁸⁶ Incidentally, another of Domingo Soler’s friends and contributors, Carmen Piferrer, writes a letter of adhesion to *Las Dominicales* in 31/10/85. It is her only known contribution to *Las Dominicales*, though she is later mentioned by Acuña in her ‘A las mujeres del siglo XIX’ article of 10/12/87.

her son's body and threatening to dump it in the rubbish – there were the very real threats of violence, echoes of which can be seen in the pages of *Las Dominicales* itself.¹⁸⁷ The brilliant young polymath (and regular writer for *Las Dominicales*) Antonio Rodríguez García-Vao was stabbed to death in a Madrid street by an unknown assailant on the 19th December 1886, causing an outpouring of grief and indignation from the freethinking community, and the magazine itself went into a state of mourning, with a supplementary tribute edition printed two days after his death.¹⁸⁸ Less publicised was the 'bárbaro atentado' against the lay-school founder Bartolomé Gabarró in Balaguer (letters, 29/10/87). There was also the case of Pedro Barrantes, a regular contributor to *Las Dominicales*, who as the 'straw man' for the incendiary articles of *El País*, made himself the target of persecution. During one spell of imprisonment, he was tortured so badly with strappado and forced ingestion of rat poison, which caused intestinal rupture and stomach ulcers, that he was assumed to be dead. He did however miraculously escape after regaining consciousness while in the communal burial pit (Barreiro, 2001: 186). The threat of violence against freethinkers can also be seen in *La Luz del Porvenir*, which refers to the murder of Christian Rationalist Salvador Jovells (and the exile of his friend Mariano Torres under threat of the same fate) by 'mano oculta' after they had become the 'blanco de iras clericales' (Teresita Constán, 13/11/84). Even employees of the freethinkers' printing press could suffer this violence – in his description of state oppression of *La Conciencia Libre*, founded by Belén de Sárraga, E. de Mateo Avilés tells how 'los agentes de la autoridad [...] abofetearon bárbaramente a un empleado de la imprenta.'¹⁸⁹ Less extreme, but still as traumatising, were the monetary fines, prohibitions and imprisonments to which freethinkers were regular subject (cf. 'Nuestro director en la cárcel' in 19/5/98 and the confiscation of 24,000 copies of issue 524 of the magazine, reported in 22/12/88).

It would be a mistake to assume that female freethinkers would be immune to these dangers, as chivalry did not apply where political ideas were concerned. Acuña was arrested in Valdeorras for riding on horseback, potentially in an attempt to intimidate her (a special edition of 26/10/87 was dedicated to the matter, which provoked much reader

¹⁸⁷ The problem of civil burials is a regular theme of readers' letters. Melchora Reveri of Santa Tomé (8/8/91), tells of how clergy, with her husband in Latin America trying to find work to move the family abroad, buried her son in wasteland, leaving his body open to wild animals and men of 'torcida voluntad' due to her request for a civil burial, all of which added to her agony of grief. (See also the letters of María González, Barbens, of 9/7/09 and 30/7/09, Francisca Rosell's letter of 28/3/07, and the group letter from San Carlos de la Rápita of 11/10/92).

¹⁸⁸ The hundreds of letters which followed in the subsequent weeks and months, all expressing grief and anger, helped to unite this geographically and otherwise diverse 'imagined community'.

¹⁸⁹ Quoted in Ramos Palomo (1999: 96). Ramos also reports that *La Conciencia Libre*, founded in Valencia in 1896, transferred to Málaga in 1897 and ran (with sporadic breaks) until 1907.

outrage), and her play *El Padre Juan* was banned from the public stage (prompting the special issue of 8/4/91). Later in her life she was imprisoned various times in Valencia and Barcelona, and her farm in Santander was destroyed. Aurelia Mateo de Alonso, who founded liberal magazine *La Idea* in Algeciras in 1877, as well as the magazine *La X* in Castellón in 1889, faced a court case for publishing infractions in Algeciras (3/3/88). Soledad Areales' loss of her teaching job was documented in *Las Dominicales*, as were some of López de Ayala's imprisonments (she was tried on seven occasions and imprisoned after three of these trials). More sinisterly, López de Ayala's Santander home was set alight while she was inside, and she was shot at by paramilitary forces. Like López de Ayala, Belén de Sárraga was imprisoned and also suffered attempts on her life. She almost died after being poisoned during a Bilbao meeting in 1893, and later, on a train journey from Málaga to Linares, she was accosted by a knifeman who snuck into her compartment, only managing to thwart his attack (he threw himself off the moving train) by pointing a revolver at him (Vitale and Antevilo, 2000: 34, 44).

Strategies to mitigate the sense of danger: strength in unity and the creation of imagined communities.

Living in this atmosphere of terror, it is understandable that freethinkers found it so important to forge a sense of community, even when that community was largely an imagined one. This sense of community would be fomented by the pages and pages filled solely with lists of the donors to the cholera fund during June, July and August 1885. These issues not only informed the readership of their own generosity, but the thousands of donors' names helped to show the readership the extent of the freethinking network or, at least, those sympathetic to the freethinking cause. Many donors donated under the name of their Masonic lodge, under their workgroup (e.g. the steelworkers of Juan Bou), their occupation (e.g. 'un sargento', 'María Elola, sirvienta', 'unas sastras'), their beliefs (e.g. 'una espiritista libre-pensadora de Zaragoza') and with donations grouped by family and town/region, there is an overall effect of cohesion and brotherhood despite the heterogeneity. Female names are common in this imagined community and feature alongside men's on equal terms, so that even women who perhaps do not have the will or capacity to write can still feel themselves to be a part of this community.¹⁹⁰ The awareness

¹⁹⁰ Examples of female illiteracy not precluding participation in the literary culture can be seen with the aforementioned Melchora Reveri's letter, which is written for her by her brother-in-law (she cannot even

of their oppressive circumstances means that women writers themselves are keenly aware of the necessity to make other women feel that they have the support of this imagined community if they decide to write, to counterbalance ‘la pérdida de amistades queridas, miradas de soslayo, excomunicaciones terribles, críticas embozadas y directas.’¹⁹¹ Examples of this include Josefa Alonso of Oviedo asking the editors to print her letter ‘para animar á otras de mi sexo, á ser libre-pensadoras’ (7/3/91) and ‘Juana de Arco’ of the Audacia Masonic lodge writing a feminist, anticlerical and republican article entitled ‘A mis hermanas’ (28/4/93).¹⁹² The teenage Encarnación López Fernández of Ronda, meanwhile, appears to paraphrase Acuña (cf. the 5/1/88 article ‘Las mujeres del siglo XIX...’) when she says in 5/8/88 – ‘a ver si pierden el miedo mis paisanas, y llegan á ser «las verdaderas mujeres del siglo XIX»’.¹⁹³ This loss of fear chimes with the militant language used by other female letter-writers. For example Encarnación Avellaneda of Cartagena wishes to add herself to ‘la falange de mujeres de LAS DOMINICALES’ (22/7/88), Carmen Apeizoso Fleire of Ferrol wishes to do the same in her letter of adhesion to ‘la falange de las adictas al racionalismo’ (16/12/92), imagery which is also echoed in the letter by Francisca Cañizares López of Granátula (3/3/88), who writes ‘Las mujeres debemos, asociadas, secundar los esfuerzos de esa pléyade de valientes que combaten el fanatismo católico, para emancipar la patria y emanciparnos nosotras mismas.’ Group letters help to form this idea of existing real-life networks of like-minded people, with some resembling petitions due to the list of signatories. They are particularly prevalent around the time of the freethinking congresses, when the newspaper is filled with letters signed by dozens of individuals, leading to seas of names on the pages, their textual closeness in the tiny print implying a real-life connectedness.¹⁹⁴

write her name), the San Carlos de la Rapita group letter of 11/10/92, where twelve of the women have their names signed for them in the presence of witnesses, and the group letter from Blanes (4/8/05), in which Isabel Burcet has someone sign on her behalf.

¹⁹¹ Luisa Cervera (13/5/88). This silent but damaging ostracism is also described in Acuña’s ‘¡Ateos!’ series.

¹⁹² I have not been able to discover the identity of this female Mason, who was a member of the Audacia lodge. This additional piece of data discounts the twenty-one female Masons listed in Ortiz Albear (2007) who held the Masonic name ‘Juana de Arco’.

¹⁹³ Worryingly, Encarnación says how she was introduced to freethinking via a female friend, who lent her a copy of *Las Dominicales*, saying ‘Lee, Encarnación, lee ese periódico y llegarás a ser una verdadera mujer,’ thus potentially creating the idea in her adolescent mind, still trying to comprehend adulthood, that freethinking equated with womanhood.

¹⁹⁴ This phenomenon was not limited to the ‘Left’ – at the other end of the ideological spectrum, the ultraconservative Carlist newspaper *El Siglo Futuro* can be seen creating a similar imaginary community by dedicating its front cover of 22/2/90 to the huge list of names of people who had signed a mass petition to protest the erection of a statue of the ‘erecrable y pérfido apóstata’ Giordano Bruno. By contrast, Bruno was a hero to the freethinkers and Spiritists, and his memory was much celebrated within in the pages of *Las Dominicales* and *La Luz del Porvenir*.

Women using *Las Dominicales* as a noticeboard to publicise their group activities

The letters page also gives existing organised groups of women a chance to publicise their existence and their social and political activism. One small group letter, from *zaragozanas* Cándida Sanz de Castellví, Valentina Muñoz de Maynou and Adela Pardiña de Infanta, tells Chies in 26/11/87 of their forming a ‘Comisión de señoras’ to collect signatures and donations in response to his appeal for a free Italy: ‘Nosotras, en representación del elemento liberal femenino, nos adherimos á su pensamiento, uniéndonos á la Italia libre y protestando una y mil veces contra el papado [...]’. This is an early example in the magazine of women acting on behalf of other women.¹⁹⁵ The only other organised women’s group letters in this decade are those from the female Masonic lodge *Creación* in Valle del Barcino (20/7/88), mentioning Acuña (other Masonic letters are signed by both sexes), and the letter to Acuña from the Congreso Femenino Universal (1/3/85), which praises her and request her collaboration for their next conference. It is only at the very end of the century that the mass wave of female *asociacionismo* begins, with Amalia Carvia writing a poem to her ‘queridas hermanas’ of the ‘Union Femenina’ in Huelva (2/6/98), the society she herself founded in 1888, and Ángeles López de Ayala writing about her Sociedad Progresiva Femenina of Barcelona (30/6/98, 9/3/99). In the new century, the ‘grupo feminista’ Grupo de Mujeres de San Martín de Provensals proclaims its existence to readers (8/3/00), La Unión - Sociedad Femenina de Resistencia y Socorros Mutuos of Elche, formed by 416 *obreras*, writes a series of letters and articles (25/6/01, 27/9/01, 3/10/02, 25/6/09), ‘la asociación femenina á los amantes del laicismo’ in Valencia writes an article (26/9/02), and La Sociedad Femenina (city not stated) writes a letter of adhesion (26/4/04). In 1905 there is a letter from the Fraternidad de Obreras Republicanas del Distrito de la Inclusa asking women to join them (24/3/05), a letter from the Mujeres Obreras de Barcelona informing of their latest news e.g. donations to its neediest worker (19/5/05), and a letter of adhesion to the Paris Congress from ‘La agupación de librepensadoras «Obreras del Porvenir»’ of Linares, asking that Belén de Sárraga and López de Ayala represent them (11/8/05). Finally, in 1906 there are letters of adhesion to the Buenos Aires conference from both the Comisión Librepensadora Femenina of Buenos

¹⁹⁵ All three were named for praise in Acuña’s ‘A las mujeres...’ article, suggesting that she had read this letter. See previous chapter for details of Cándida and Adela’s appearances in *La Luz del Porvenir*. It is also likely that Cándida wrote for the Bruno edition of *Un periódico más* although the name listed in the advertisement (*Las Dominicales*, 22/2/85) is ‘Emilia Sanz de Castellví’.

Aires (introduced in a letter to the editor from its secretary, the Paraguayan Ramona Ferreira, 25/5/06), and the Union de Mujeres Españolas (7/9/06, 14/9/06), whose president, Sixta Carrasco, will be discussed later as an author in her own right.¹⁹⁶

The imagined community in micro and macro

The creation of an ‘imagined community’, with its long-term potential for political uses, was a deliberate strategy on the part of the editors.¹⁹⁷ We can see this in the editorial headlined ‘Falange Invencible’ (8/3/07):

Lo acabáis de ver.

Formamos la falange más numerosa, más entusiasta y más unida que existe en España.

Entre nosotros no hay divisiones, no hay querellas, no hay rivalidades ni odios. En nuestro campo no ha echado raíces jamás la discordia. Vivimos en una íntima cordialidad. Somos una familia, pero una familia unida. Y sin jefes, sin directores, sin programas, el Libre pensamiento español se mueve en un día, en una hora, por una orden telegráfica, como se mueve una compañía de soldados.

¿Qué basta para ello? Una paternal indicación de un periódico.¹⁹⁸

One of the ways in which they did this was by harnessing the energies which came from the pride of Spaniards for their *pueblo* or ‘*patria chica*’, which made them desirous to see the name of their town in print and associated with freethinking. Perhaps it is due to

¹⁹⁶ All of the female signatories to these letters can be found in the dataset.

¹⁹⁷ I say editors, even though there was only ever one official editor, as it is clear that the newspaper was co-founded and had a strong collaborative, egalitarian ethos, and it is likely that decisions were taken bi-laterally between Chies and Lozano, or even multi-laterally, with people such as Odón de Buen and Antonio Rodríguez García-Vao also consulted.

¹⁹⁸ Women writers also saw the power of the newspaper to unite people. Amalia Carvia, in her article ‘Salutación’ (29/3/01), says how ‘LAS DOMINICALES... han dado vida á la nueva España’ and talks of it like a form of evangelism: ‘Casi todos los que hoy batallan en el campo racionalista han sido reclutados por LAS DOMINICALES, las cuales eran recibidas con regocijo en hogares, talleres y fábricas, en donde vibraban dulcemente sus ecos de hermosa enseñanza’. She also credits the publication for the regeneration of women, making it integral to their collective identity: ‘¿Cómo hubiéramos tomado parte en la obra bienhechora de nuestra regeneración, nosotras, las que con orgullo nos hemos llamado «las mujeres de LAS DOMINICALES», si la redentora voz de este querido periódico no nos hubiera sacado de la profundidad de la ignorancia en que yacíamos?’.

Spain's predominantly rural character at this time that this desire appears to be directly proportionate to the *pueblo*'s provinciality and its obscurity to other Spaniards. Having a letter printed was a way for the heterodox to put their town on the freethinking map, and almost a way of declaring an act of war with their civil authorities – María Velasco of Tarancón (18/2/88) is keen to tell Acuña that 'en este pueblo jesuita tiene una correligionaria...', while Aurora Arriata of Burgos says to Chies of her letter 'le ruego su inserción para que se vea que en esta ciudad, tan dominada por el clero, hay también mujeres que tienen el valor de sus convicciones' (29/5/86). Perhaps the smallest of these towns is that of Pascuala Cuenca and Purificación Ruíz of Casa de Peña (Albacete), who begin their joint letter of 2/11/89:

Hasta esta pequeña aldea, que apenas cuenta veinte vecinos, ha llegado la luz que irradia ese foco de emancipación que se llama LAS DOMINICALES [...]

As can be verified by consulting the online dataset, the number of women writers from provincial small towns and villages abounds, which goes against the expectation that women would only write from the relative safety of more cosmopolitan cities (i.e. the centre). The editors clearly take great joy in welcoming these peripheral writers as evidence of the extension of freethinking into *la España profunda*:

Ahora bien, ¿sabéis alguno de vosotros dónde se encuentra Torrelapaja?

Difícilmente habrá un solo lector que lo sepa, como que se trata de una aldea aragonesa que no llega á tener cien habitantes.

Tal es la vasta, profunda extensión que abarca el Librepensamiento español.
(8/3/07)¹⁹⁹

The editors are also pleased to publish letters and articles from elsewhere in Europe, as it fosters the idea of an international freethinking community, with letters published from England, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland and France.²⁰⁰ It is sometimes difficult to know to what extent the author's intent was to write for *Las Dominicales* specifically, as the editors reproduce letters and articles from other sources to create this imaginary of a

¹⁹⁹ Incidentally this letter, signed by both men and women, describes the reciting of a Domingo Soler poem ('A una religión') that had been taken from *La Luz del Porvenir* and memorised by heart.

²⁰⁰ There are four letters from French female writers and a Spanish expatriate. Marie Deher de Chapel of Paris explains that she translates *Las Dominicales* into French as she is learning Spanish and agrees with its anticlerical and feminist sentiments (29/7/92), Mme. Deatriché of Sarthe, Chateau-en-loi, an 'officier d'académie' sends the Congress 'un salut fraternal' (11/10/92), A. Tessier, a 'directora del pensionato anticlerical de Montreuil sobre el río (Sena)' (11/11/92) and Teresa Cugat (esposa Gainard), the expatriate from Tortosa, now in Moissac (29/1/04).

cohesive global community in the reader's mind, but I will mention those that, although not evidently part of the 'real' female networks, are nevertheless effective in forging this sense of community. This is important because, real or imagined, these transnational communities of freethinking women may have inspired female readers to write themselves. There is no doubt that the editors of *Las Dominicales* were keen to recruit female talent to write for the magazine, and encouraged prospective writers. This is seen in the letter from the female 'T.M.' of Lorca who writes in response to the editor's previous (private) letter to her, in order to decline his offer to write for *Las Dominicales*. She cites her own perceived lack of talent or instruction, but states that she may review this decision in the future (22/7/88).²⁰¹

The conscious creation of an imagined transnational community of women

There is an editorial attempt to actively inscribe Spanish freethinking women into an international context, and this is seen in the comment made by Lozano (7/4/05) regarding the exiled Paraguayan Ramona Ferreira's recent letter from Buenos Aires: 'No dudamos que las agrupaciones femeninas españolas al enterarse de ese salvaje atropello cometido en una valiente compañera americana, se apresuraran a enviarle sus cordiales sentimientos de solidaridad'. Lozano's call to his readers does not go unheeded.²⁰²

To study the formation of this imagined community of sympathetic female writers, I will first look at the articles reproduced from other sources by or about women writers who, while clearly not part of the *Las Dominicales* writers' network, add to the imaginary of women writing around the world. Their inclusion by the editors is part of the reason why *Las Dominicales*, despite being male-edited, is such a rich source for female contributions. Perhaps female readers felt compelled to write after reading articles such as 'Las mujeres en el periodismo' (30/10/86, taken from a Missouri newspaper about the multilingual 'Mrs. Frank Leslie', the American magazine editor and journalist in Paris), or that of the

²⁰¹ There is strong circumstantial evidence that this is Teresa Mañé, as this letter comes a year after Mañé's letter of adhesion and a long series of articles do begin from Mañé from 1894 onwards, but only under the pseudonym of Soledad Gustavo, which suggests a reluctance to sign her own name to her views (see dataset for full list).

²⁰² Thirty-six women of Puente de Vallecas write a group letter (17/8/06) expressing admiration for Ramona Ferreira and ask her to represent them at the Buenos Aires congress. With exhortations such as '¡Vivan nuestras hermanas argentinas! [...] ¡Viva doña Ramona Ferreira!' their letter evokes the idea of a transnational sisterhood.

American Dorotea Dix with her tale of Mrs William Connell of Staten Island, an example of moral strength and self-sacrifice (3/8/06).²⁰³ They may have felt empowered by Ella Wheeler Wilcox's 20/8/09 article (taken from the *Evening Standard* of New York) which argued in favour of US female suffrage, using New Zealand as a precedent to follow. Just as motivating would have been the unsigned article 'La mujer en los Estados Unidos', reproduced from the *Revista Masónica de Perú*, which discussed women's employment and political rights in the United States and which ends by saying that a woman might one day be President (26/5/93). Meanwhile, inspiration from mainland Europe came in the form of Madame Renée Marcil's article 'Libertad, Igualdad, Fraternidad' on female emancipation (7/4/93, taken from *L'Esprit de la Femme*, of which Marcil is the *directora*), and also the statement reproduced from the *Comisión de la Liga de la Paz*, whose female signatories were the Austrian Baroness Bertha von Suttner, the Swiss Marie Goegg, and the French Julie Toussaint (23/12/92).²⁰⁴

It should also be stated that the inspiration for women readers of *Las Dominicales* came not only from the West, in the common understanding of the term, but from the East, with excerpts of writing from Sofía Tolstoi (29/3/01, part of a letter to the high procurator of the Orthodox church in the face of her husband being excommunicated) and the Russian María Tserbrikova (5/4/90, part of letter to the Tsar to protest against tyranny before she too was exiled). There is also the letter of appeal (12/10/06) from 'las polacas de Moscú' to French women (and through them, at Europe's cultural centre, to the women of the rest of the world) to help raise their voice of protest against the Russian authorities for their torture of María Spiridonoff (Spiridonova), the heroic killer of the tyrant Longenowsky, with the aim of publicising her ordeal and bringing her torturers/rapists to justice. The description of such bravery in the face of extreme violence and oppression must have been deeply thrilling to the idealistic and headstrong young women in sleepy Spanish villages; as we will see, young women are indeed very influenced by the freethinking press.

Given that the editors consistently emphasise the bravery of women, especially Hispanic women, the conjecture becomes even stronger that they are aiming to inspire their female

²⁰³ This article was taken from Puerto Rican Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz* (mentioned in Chapter 1), which supposes quite a journey for a text we can assume was originally published in the USA. Ramon Chies' open letter to the Puerto Rican Olivia Paoli de Braschi (12/8/92) in reply to her letter informing him of her freethinking husband's death, does not mention Olivia's beliefs or activism, but instead, as a letter of condolence to a grieving widow, focuses on the life of her deceased husband.

²⁰⁴ Elena Guell's 14/8/08 report on the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in Amsterdam (taken from *La Publicidad* of Barcelona) also brings Carrie Chapman Catt, Käthe Schirmacher, Anna Howard Shaw, Catherine van Rennes, Aletta H. Jacobs, Chrystal Macmillan, Dora Montefiore, Anita Augspurg, and Martina Kramers into the imaginary.

readers to follow the examples given. We can see this editorial approach most clearly in such headlines as ‘Valientes mujeres mexicanas’ (19/4/01), which amongst other things reports on Elvira Colisi’s propositions made at the Congreso de San Luis de Potosí, the editorial stating how her bravery puts Spanish men to shame.²⁰⁵ Uruguayan María Abella de Ramírez’s 12-point plan for women’s rights, which she handed to Lozano as he was leaving Buenos Aires with the request that he publish it, was printed with lavish editorial praise in 4/1/07.²⁰⁶ Mexican Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza sends a letter to Lozano to inform him that she is back from her exile in the USA, with fresh determination to re-start her magazine *Vésper* with her friends Elisa Acuña y Rosete and Lara Estela Ramírez.²⁰⁷ Ramona Ferreira, meanwhile, writes to Lozano to tell him that she was forced to flee the country for Argentina after armed guards burst into the office of her newspaper, *La Voz del Siglo*, and threatened her life. Lozano praises all of these women for their bravery and energy in the same issue that he prints both letters in a section (‘Por la mujer Ibero-Americana’, 7/4/05) which takes up the entire front page.²⁰⁸ This is a typical excerpt of the editorial, which expounds at length Lozano’s views on gender equality and women’s rights:

Hay que arrojar al desprecio cuanto diga y escriba toda esta reata de hombres afeminados, que pretenden negar á la mujer derechos para intervenir en todo, hablar de todo y gozar de todo como el hombre. Ahí está el ejemplo de la turba de hombres afeminados del Paraguay, que se han quedado allí sufriendo los azotes de los clérigos mientras la intrépida doña Ramona Ferreira es perseguida de muerte por haber sabido sostener con más energía que los demás, la bandera de las libertades públicas. Señores abogados, vocingleros que predicáis que la mujer no sirve para las luchas políticas y sociales: vosotros defendéis el derecho con la lengua, y mujeres como la Srta. Ferreira lo defienden con su sangre, á más de con su lengua.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ The article states that her speech was printed in a previous edition but it could not be found.

²⁰⁶ This is likely to be the plan she outlined at the 1906 freethinking congress in Buenos Aires, given that she was an active feminist and freethinker who co-founded (with Dr Julieta Lanteri), *La Nueva Mujer*, the official magazine of the Liga Nacional de Mujeres Librepensadoras (Lavrin, 1997: 76).

²⁰⁷ She says she had to flee from Porfirio Díaz’s government reprisals, which is ironic given Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer’s high praise of him (see Chapter 3).

²⁰⁸ This article had an impact on readers, with José de la Hermida writing a letter to Gutiérrez de Mendoza (5/5/05) to say how affected he was by her letter, ‘saludando’ her and the ‘valientes señoritas’ Elisa Acuña y Rosete and Lara Estela Ramírez (5/5/05).

²⁰⁹ A few months previously (16/12/04), Lozano printed another of Ferreira’s letters ‘para ofrecer ejemplo de la energía y el ardor con que aquella digna hija de la tierra americana defiende sus ideales’, revealing the motivation behind his editorial decisions.

This idea of the brave and enlightened *mujer ibero-americana* is reinforced by a large group letter adhering to a freethinking congress from 35 female Masons belonging to two different lodges in the Valle de México. Contemporary readers might have been familiar with the three names at the beginning of the letter 3/2/93: Laureana Wright de Kleinhans, ‘notable poetisa’, her daughter Margarita Kleinhans, ‘notable poetisa and gran artista filarmónica’, and Matilde Montoya, Mexico’s first female doctor.²¹⁰ There is also a huge group adhesion letter from the freethinking men and women of a small town in provincial Colombia (21/9/04) and women of Buenos Aires also add their names to an adhesion letter (1/6/06). Other Latin American women writers include Cora Pacull from Uruguay (Montevideo, 22/3/07), who writes a long letter to Lozano congratulating him and giving her own thoughts on herself as a freethinker and mother, a letter from her friend María Esther Barraco and her husband, thanking Lozano for the newspaper (22/3/07), and a letter from Margarita Flores of Talca (Chile) who writes the story of a monk's abuse and neglect of a poor washerwoman's son (14/6/07).²¹¹ Peru is represented in this imaginary through the reproduction of an article from journalist ‘Rosa Mercedes’ from Peruvian newspaper *El Departamento de Chiclayo* (22/8/02), and through an article in 5/5/98 about the illustrious Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera which reproduces part of one of her staunchly anticlerical articles from Peru’s most popular newspaper, an article which reportedly provoked the ire of the Church, and which was published the year prior to her being permanently admitted to an insane asylum, one suspects involuntarily (see Chapter 3).²¹² Guatemala is represented by schoolteacher Maclovía M. Molina’s speech about the sacrifice required for freethinking (19/12/02), and Paraguay is represented by the aforementioned Ramona Ferreira. It might also be noted that two Spanish women write from New York (Marta Bonilla, 23/2/87 and Dolores L. Arús 1/2/07), while runaway Cuban nun María Sánchez writes from an undisclosed country, probably Italy; all add their voices to this imagined transnational community.²¹³

²¹⁰ See Chapters 1 and 3 for further discussion of Laureana Wright de Kleinhans’ involvement with the magazines *La Luz del Porvenir* and *El Álbum Ibero-americano*. Matilde Montoya is also discussed in Chapter 3, due to being the subject of a profile by Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer.

²¹¹ It is also a Chilean Angela de Liza (seen in Acuña’s article ‘A las mujeres del siglo XIX’ as ‘Angela de Sira’) who praises Acuña’s writing in 22/10/87, although she is living in Spain at the time of writing.

²¹² The article itself states that Mercedes had been ‘pensionada opulentamente’ by the government to study abroad, and it may have been this State endorsement of her talents, also seen through the literary prizes that she won for her writings, which subsequently made her an embarrassment and liability for the authorities. Given that she had made powerful enemies, I would be disinclined to believe any of the various explanations for her asylum admission – syphilis, choral abuse and ‘melancolia’ have all been proffered as reasons – until I had seen convincing evidence, based on primary sources.

²¹³ Her letter, unlike those of the New York women was not directly sent to *Las Dominicales*, but reproduced from *El Comercio de Havana*. In it she protests her innocence at the fraud charges she is

Finally, while Hispanic women, as one might expect, dominate the editorials, editorial praise is not limited to women from the Spanish-speaking world; the militant activities of English suffragettes Annie Kenney, Annie Knight, Teresa Billington and Jane Sharbaro (?) are described admiringly in 20/6/06: ‘Con luchadoras así no hay poder que resista. Ella triunfarán. ¡Bravo por las valientes mujeres inglesas!’ Other English suffragette activities, including a mention of *Mistress Pankerts* (Emmeline Pankhurst) can be found in 27/3/08 and 24/7/08.

Well-known women writers as points of reference

It may have been a deliberate strategy on the part of the editors, or simply coincidence, but the inclusion of book reviews and adverts from mainstream women writers, could have had the effect of adding them into the imaginary in the minds of the readers. Through favourable book reviews, Sofía Casanova (25/4/86), Luciana Casilda Monreal (12/11/87, 22/4/92), Matilde del Nido (26/10/87) and Zénaïde Alexeïeva Ragozin (28/12/89) appear as if by consent in the imagined community. Of these names, Matilde del Nido (who also has a contribution in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*) is most likely to be aware of her appearance in the newspaper, as it is Republican general Manuel Villacampa del Castillo’s daughter Emilia, a well-known figure in freethinking circles and friend of Matilde, whom we are told instigated the review. There are brief magazine reviews which have an advertising function, such as that of *La Ilustración Artística* of Barcelona (12/2/87) where we can see the names of Mercedes de Velilla and Isabel Cheix. The great Emilia Pardo Bazán is evoked in a review for the third edition of the *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, a magazine which she edits (28/3/91), and she is also discussed in the article ‘Dos mujeres opuestas’ (13/9/07), in which she is compared to the equally great Concepción Arenal, whose place in the imaginary might also be as constructed, if it is the case that both of her articles in *Las Dominicales* were reproduced without her knowledge.²¹⁴ There is also a reproduction from *Las Noticias* of Barcelona by the writer and artist Rafaela S. Aroca (whose writings are also found in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*) about Francisca Fontova, a Lérida woman who gained her degree in Medicine and Surgery in Barcelona in 1903 (27/3/07).

accused of after being arrested in Naples, though admits to an affair, an elopement and having a child with her Dominican friar lover, who was beaten senseless and is only now recovering his sanity (10/4/08).

²¹⁴ Rosalía de Castro is the third Galician woman writer to be brought into this imagined community, when *Melibro* of La Coruña writes the poem ‘La Perla de Galicia – A Rosalía Castro, en su muerte’ (19/9/85).

As an even more tenuous link into the imaginary community, there are advertisements for Carmen Silva's book *Flores y perlas*, translated by Faustina Sáez de Melgar (18/5/89), as well as Joaquina García Balmaseda's translations of Emilio Gaboriau's *La Canalla Dorada* (13/7/89) and *El Crimen de Orchival* (20/7/89). Even the tangential appearance of these mainstream women writers' names in *Las Dominicales* might lend it a greater air of mainstream respectability for women who were considering whether to add their names in print to this imagined community of writers.

Issues surrounding the extreme youth of many of these 'women writers'

Perhaps due to the editors' enthusiasm to have as many women participate in the pages of *Las Dominicales* as possible, or perhaps because of the susceptibility of the young to Acuña's call to stand up and be counted regardless of the consequences, a large number of the letters published in the pages of *Las Dominicales* come from young women, and many of these women are technically children (even more so when we consider that the age of emancipation for a woman at the time was 23). It is difficult to guess at the ages of these writers when they describe themselves simply as 'joven', but there are at least twenty contributions from women who are still clearly teenagers. There appears to be no notion of editorial responsibility for publishing letters from the very young (who would be identifiable in small towns), such as the anticlerical and republican letter from 12-year-old Eva Mathieu García of Minos del Lagunoso (14/4/93) or the garbled but dangerously anticlerical letter to Acuña from 13-year-old Encarnación Mula Sanabia of Cartagena (22/4/88).²¹⁵ Even when it is clear that the young writer does not come from a freethinking family and there may be social consequences, the editors find no qualms in publishing their writing: 18-year-old Agustina Durán of Chiva (21/7/93) states that she has been reading *Las Dominicales* for 3 years, and declares herself 'librepensadora y socialista' (as well as a republican) despite having Catholic parents. Indeed, the editors almost seem to take pleasure in printing these letters from children, as the title given to Rosita Mosoll's exclamatory, excitable letter of 16/6/05 would attest: 'A la mujer libre - Canto de «Primera

²¹⁵ Other examples include 'una extremeña' (de catorce años)' in 9/10/03, 23/10/03, and 6/11/03; and María de la Paz Moreno of Rubite (16 years old) in 9/2/89.

Comunión» Libertadora'.²¹⁶ That said, there *are* some letters which the editors acknowledge but do not publish, which suggests that there may be some quality control or ethical concerns about content; this might explain why Catalina J. Sánchez, 'una joven' of Valencia, does not see her letter published (editors allege a lack of space), despite her express request for it to be printed.²¹⁷ However, the editors clearly do not see the irony or hypocrisy in their stance towards 'el caso Ubao', in which they support the mother who wishes to take the Jesuits to court to prevent her daughter entering a convent, with the argument that at 19 years old, being under the age of emancipation, she is too young to know her own mind.²¹⁸

There are also echoes within these letters of the attitudes that mainstream society holds towards young and single women's freethinking writings, attitudes which may cause these writers problems in the future. Eighteen-year-old 'V.G.T.' of Madrid (22/7/92), a reader of *Las Dominicales* since the age of sixteen, tells of how a gentleman lawyer in a hotel, concerned at seeing her read a freethinking book by *Demófilo*, tries to get the owner of the hotel to persuade her back to Catholicism, as he fears she will not find a good husband (a concern she does not share, as she states 'entiendo que dar la mano á un católico sería lo mismo que unirme á una momia'). Elsewhere, several young women sign a group letter of adhesion in Tarifa which states 'las jóvenes solteras que antes se asustaban de los libre-pensadores no tienen inconveniente en figurar en la agrupación' (9/12/92). Censorious mainstream attitudes are also echoed in schoolgirl Esperanza Pérez's article 'Ecos de un corazón sencillo' (3/6/88) in which the priest who is charged with supervising her, states of freethinkers that '(s)on peligrosos porque halagan á la juventud en sus pasiones'.

However, it would be a mistake to think that only the young are brave or impulsive enough to declare themselves in public. Letters of adhesion also come from 67-year-old Cayetana Siles of Ronda and from Josefa Caro y Sánchez of Nerva, who, at 70, is the oldest of the women writers who state their age. Their seniority does not preclude them having the same passion in their writing as their spiritual granddaughters. This can be seen in Josefa's long letter of adhesion (14/1/88), the first and last paragraphs below giving a flavour (and

²¹⁶ '¡Adelante, mujeres españolas! ¡A defender nuestra dignidad y nuestro decoro! ¡Imlitemos á las infatigables apóstoles de las ideas regeneradoras doña Ángeles López de Ayala y doña Belén Sárraga de Ferrerol!' is a representative excerpt.

²¹⁷ Other examples of unpublished letters include Pilar de Figueras of Barcelona (30/3/94) and Vicenta Aso y Salvo's first letter (7/9/89).

²¹⁸ In an open letter to la señora viuda de Ubao (2/3/01), the newspaper talks of 'la religión que le ha robado su hija'.

lasting testament) of one old woman's desire to speak her mind regardless of what even her own family might think of her:

Respetables ciudadanos: Soy una anciana con setenta años de edad, he vivido por lo menos sesenta y cinco asistiendo á misas, rosarios, novenas y demás subterfugios que practica el ejército de curas y frailes en las iglesias católicas, y al cabo me han convencido de una sola verdad, y es que todo cuanto enseñan es una solemne mentira.

[...]

Me despido de ustedes, suplicándoles la inserción de estas desaliñadas líneas para que llegue á conocimiento de mi fanática familia este acto, que ejecuto emancipando mi conciencia de la cárcel en que estaba encerrada por la acción de mi enseñanza católica, y para que pase como testamento á mis dos hijos y siete nietos este grito, que sale de lo más íntimo de mi alma. ¡Viva la República! ¡Viva el libre pensamiento!

The cohesive community: imagined erasure of divisions

It has already been stated that reading and writing for women was frowned upon by certain sections of conservative Spain.²¹⁹ This censure was particularly strong regarding the freethinking press, and Acuña's example of baring her soul in print, telling her personal story in a confessional, intimate style, obviously strikes a chord with oppressed women in provincial towns and villages who, in the years of Acuña's most prolific writing (1885-1888), rush to write to her to tell their own personal stories, their conversions to freethinking (sometimes due to reading her writing), and the persecution they have received as a result.²²⁰ This sharing of stories, in the letters of adhesion which formed

²¹⁹ Echoes of this censure can be seen in the suggestion to Riofranco from Luisa Hidalgo of Bilbao (17/5/95) that he continue to write 'nuevos sermones ú otros artículos dedicados á señoras solamente, los que leería con sumo gozo, *cuando mis ocupaciones de esposa me lo permitiesen.*' (my italics)

²²⁰ See for example, Luisa Royo Martínez of Puertollano (24/3/88), Enriqueta González Rufo of Madrid (28/1/88) and the very young Pilar Crespo of Valencia (28/1/88), who all write to Acuña to tell her of how they were 'converted' by her writings. Aurelia Mateo de Alonso tells of the social ostracism which paradoxically gave the bravery to add her name to the many women who honour themselves as freethinkers and praises 'la ilustre sacerdotisa Acuña' in the passing (3/3/88). María Velasco of Tarancón's letter (18/2/88) tells Acuña of clerical persecution, while Isabel Galindo y Osuna of Lucena tells Acuña in 25/2/88 of the problems of living in a deeply fanatical town 'refractaria á toda idea liberal y progresiva' and informs Acuña that she can 'disponer de mi modesto hogar, de la estimación y respeto de mi esposo é hijos, y sobre todo, del corazón, de todo el corazón de su apasionada admiradora.' (This last letter caused acerbic

every issue, also helped to keep the idea of community constant, and blurred any line or hierarchy between writers and readers into one of simply ‘participants’, especially as many of these women went on to write articles, modestly formulated as letters to the editor.²²¹ Nor can any sharp line be drawn between the writing networks of each gender, as many men react positively to women’s writings, especially those of Acuña. A typical example of such reception is the young (potentially still teenage) Ángel Peche who writes in 27/5/88:

Al leer la carta que la Srta. Doña Encarnación Mula, mi paisana, insertó con fecha 21 de Abril próximo pasado en las columnas de ese digno semanario, me he sentido orgulloso de que la mujer del país en que nací y me eduqué, interprete de una manera fiel y exacta los ideales del libre pensamiento.²²²

Another important distinction between people in real society, but which has no weight in the imagined community, is that of class and education. In *Las Dominicales*, there are no class barriers, at least in the typographical sense, with letters from the poor, working class and (as they define themselves) ill-educated printed alongside articles from the educated middle classes. Many of the female writers see no problem in admitting their poverty. Teresa Alonso de López, a mother of four from Ferrol writes in 31/5/90: ‘Somos muy pobres, tan pobres que el jornal apenas alcanza para pan de maíz y berzas con unto; así es que muchas veces no me queda el domingo un céntimo para gobernar la semana; pero el perro grande para LAS DOMINICALES no me ha de faltar, aunque me prive de otras cosas...’, while in 3/7/03 Clemencia González of Granada is proud to explain how her donation of 50c in stamps was saved from her husband’s *jornal* of 2 pesetas (her husband being ‘un obrero republicano librepensador convencido’). Indeed, the working-class status of the women writers is stated with pride, as can be seen from the letters from organised groups of *obreras* previously discussed.

Others on the margins of society include the ‘pobre mujer’ Dorotea Gras de Hernández (Madrid, 21/1/88), the ‘pobre mujer sin instrucción’ Joaquina Castillo de Llasera (Ontiñena, 5/9/85), the ‘jóven y sin ilustración’ Luisa Royo Martínez (Puertollano, 24/3/88) and the ‘viuda, pobre y desamparada’ Tomasa S. Fernández (Bilbao, 3/9/87). Most interestingly from the perspective of the imaginary community, is the letter from

criticism from the town’s clergy, but she was sent a letter of support from the town’s Masonic lodge, as reported in 31/3/88.)

²²¹ The ideas that letters to the editor are really letters to the readership can be seen (for example) with Evarista Gallego de Fernández’s letter to Chies which praise the events at a Madrid lay school, as she asks for the letter to be printed (12/7/90).

²²² All male receptions to women’s writings can be found in the dataset, in the interests of further research.

‘pobre ciega’ Enriqueta A. de Muñoz from Andújar (11/2/88) as a few weeks later, Carmen Burgos also writes her letter of adhesion from this town (3/3/88). However, if this was the middle-class Carmen de Burgos of later Spanish literature there would be social differences which would make it unlikely that they would know each other in real life.²²³ Nevertheless, the inclusion of evidently working-class women writers contrasts markedly with the typical profile of contributors to mainstream publications, such as *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*.

Dolores Navas and the consequences of bravery

The early example of bravery that Acuña gives to other women for them to speak out, as Angela Naveras of Torelló says in her letter of adhesion to Acuña (‘el ejemplo que usted nos dá a todas me infunde valor’, 6/5/88), is not without its real-life consequences for some, which schoolgirl Dolores Navas Delgado of Córdoba finds to her cost after her letter of adhesion was published in the 15/3/85 issue.²²⁴ Her anticlerical letter, addressed to Chies, but which congratulates Acuña for being ‘la honra de nuestro sexo’, leads to her being ostracised by the headmistress of the *escuela normal* that she attends, and the priest throwing her out of the church during a school service, when he tells Navas’ friends that she is a lost soul whom they should shun (see ‘En Defensa’ of 10/5/85 and the 23/6/85 Masonic letter of support to her).²²⁵ Clearly, the support received from the readers of *Las Dominicales* helped her to overcome any setbacks caused by her adhesion to freethinking, as over the course of the next five years she writes an additional seventeen articles for the newspaper, on themes as diverse as deism, the nature of the soul, cosmology, the abolition of the death penalty and plans for a girls’ school that she is founding in Córdoba.²²⁶

²²³ See Chapter 1 for the argument that Carmen Burgos is Carmen de Burgos. Nevertheless, even if this is the case, Burgos’ Spiritist connections mean that they may indeed know each other if her poor, blind counterpart is also a Spiritist, given Spiritism’s famously egalitarian ethos.

²²⁴ On the date of publication, she would have been 15 or 16 years old, given that when she sat the entrance exam of the Instituto Provincial de Córdoba on the 27th September 1884 she was 15 years old, and the first female to enrol in the school. Records now held by the modern high school I.E.S. Séneca also show that she was originally from Baeza, give her second surname of Delgado (she never uses this second surname as a writer), and give details of her exemplary school record and address in Córdoba. See Hurtado Jurado (2008), available at: <http://www.iesseneca.net/revista/spip.php?article154&artpage=4-6>. Scanned copies of Navas’ documents, including her prize-winning essay on Carlos V, are found at the same website: <http://www.iesseneca.net/revista/spip.php?article156>.

²²⁵ See also the Huesca Spiritist magazine *El Iris de Paz* (15/6/85) for editorial comment on the case, which assumes that its readers are also readers of *Las Dominicales*, and for a letter from Dolores Navas to its editor, revealing her defiant stance towards her critics.

²²⁶ It is interesting that in her article on cosmology, which as a science is a traditionally ‘masculine’ subject, she states that she is writing for women (‘A vosotras, las de mi sexo, me dirijo en este artículo’, 29/8/85),

Fittingly, for a woman who writes about the science behind the solar system, if Acuña is the star of the solar system of *Las Dominicales*' women writers, Navas herself becomes a small planet with her own moons of admirers. As well as being named *presidenta honoraria* of the Sociedad Amigos del Progreso of Córdoba (alongside Acuña), she herself has a small following of women, as seen from her featuring in Acuña's list of 'Mujeres del siglo XIX', the reproduction of her articles by Amalia Domingo Soler in *La Luz del Porvenir*, and five letters from women who greet her.²²⁷ Her influence extends into the Masonic lodges, where two women, one in Mahón in 1888 and the other in Salamanca in 1890, take the name 'Dolores Navas' (Ortiz Albear, 2007: 126, 201). She is not the biggest of the planets in this solar system of female writers who begin their official writing career (at least in *Las Dominicales*) by referencing Acuña, but she is the first.

Luisa Cervera Royo of Requena

Like Navas, when Luisa Cervera writes her first (verifiable) letter to the newspaper (10/5/85) she refers to Acuña's writing, but what makes Cervera unique in this regard is that Cervera writes to disagree with her. From this point Cervera writes most assiduously, a combination of articles, letters and poems, up until June 1889, although her last contribution - to express grief at Chies' death - is as late as 1893. Some of her work is reproduced in *La Luz del Porvenir* and is a clear indication of her political stance and her social activity, with some articles detailing her visits and speeches to freethinking groups and lay schools.²²⁸ Her advice to men about their womenfolk in the article 'En el grupo libre-pensador «El Independiente de Valencia» (Después de la velada)' (24/6/88) is certainly very interesting from a female writer/thinker perspective:

implying that her school will not see any subject as 'off-limits' to girls. The newspaper also congratulates her for finishing her first year of the *bachillerato*, informing readers that she gained a *Notable* in Latin (another traditionally masculine subject cf. Pardo Bazán, 1889: 894), a *Sobresaliente* in Geography, and the Prize (5/7/85).

²²⁷ She is greeted alongside the ubiquitous Acuña in three of the five cases - Juliana Barrios of Madrid (16/10/86, herself later praised by Acuña in her 'A las mujeres...' article), Dolores Brouard de García of Ubrique (26/10/87), 17-year-old Salustiana Santia of Avila (22/10/87, who also mentions Cervera) and Carmen Soler of Alicante (7/1/88, in her letter to Acuña). Interestingly, in the case of 17-year-old Encarnación Castells of Castellón, the equally young Navas is listed alongside Aurelia Mateo de Alonso, Luisa Cervera and Esperanza Pérez, but the older Acuña is absent (8/7/88). Acuña's influence is also not seen in the letter from Francisca Batiste and Josefa Rives of La Cava, Tortosa, who credit Esperanza Pérez and Navas' writings ('vuestras exhortaciones brilliantísimas') with converting them to the cause (15/12/88).

²²⁸ Little is known about Cervera. Ortiz Albear (2007:163) states that she was an orator in her Masonic lodge, the Hijas de la Acacia of Valencia, which she joined in 1892, as a 44-year-old widow with no given profession ('su sexo', the standard term for women of no profession, was used in Cervera's case).

No la dejéis abandonada en su debilidad á su irreflexión y á su ignorancia, que en todos casos determina el alejamiento del deber por las sugestiones perniciosas de la sombra. Como sér más débil, necesita un apoyo; como espíritu más impresionable, una razón que la guíe. Y nadie tiene el deber de formarla más que vosotras, anteriores á ella en el trabajo de la inteligencia.

Yo he oído decir á muchos hombres, obligados por su instrucción, por sus ideas y su cargo social á honrarse con sus juicios en este punto: «Yo dejo á mi mujer en entera libertad de ir adonde la lleven sus inclinaciones.» Error gravísimo del hombre, dado el estado actual de la mujer. Dejad á un niño de pocos meses solo, para que ande, y le veréis que, sin dar un paso, tropieza y cae. De la misma manera la mujer puede precipitarse sin dare cuenta de la caída: si el niño carece de fuerzas físicas para sostenerse, á la mujer la falta de luz de entendimiento para apercibirse al peligro del abismo.

However, the irony of a freethinking woman instructing men not to let women think for themselves, in so doing being just as dogmatic as any Catholic priest (the ideas she expresses have ironically been used many times by religion as a method of persuasion and control) appears to be lost to her audience, who receive her warmly. Teresa Mañé acknowledges her in her adhesion letter of 23/7/87, Acuña praises her in 10/12/87, and she is mentioned in three other adhesion letters.²²⁹ The anonymous ‘una libre pensadora’ also reports in 25/7/86 that she attended the same lay school event in the Centro Republicano, at which Cervera read two poems. This writer, ‘una libre pensadora’, may be the same ‘una libre pensadora’ of *La Luz del Porvenir* who is Amalia Domingo Soler’s (correspondence) friend, but given the common nature of the pseudonym, it is probably impossible ever to know for certain.

Amalia Carvia of Cádiz, the longest-standing contributor

Although she is not the most prolific writer (this is, unsurprisingly, Rosario de Acuña), Amalia Carvia (y Bernal) is the longest-standing female contributor to *Las Dominicales*, with 37 articles, letters and poems spanning 24 years (1885 to 1909, the last year of the magazine). Fittingly for this study, her career in the magazine both begins and ends with

²²⁹ She is mentioned in the group adhesion letter of Emilia Sala, Francisca López and Julia de Gabriel (25/4/88), she is greeted in Salustiana Santia’s adhesion letter (22/10/87), and Encarnación Castells praises her (8/7/88).

tributes to other women writers. Her first contribution (28/6/85), from the Cádiz of her birth, is a long letter to Rosario de Acuña to express admiration for her work:

¡Con qué ánsia, al tomar un número de LAS DOMINICALES, buscan los ojos su tan amada firma de V.! Verdad que todos los talentos que en ella colaboran, son admirables, pero V. es mujer, y como mujer, habla más á nuestras recónditas fibras, despierta con más suavidad nuestras íntimas aspiraciones.

It is clear when Carvia talks of the envy she feels for the people who know Acuña personally that, at this point in time at least, she has never met her:

¡La admiro á V. con toda la efusión de mi alma; quisiera poder explicarme con la misma fuerza que sé sentir, para hacerla comprender toda la intensidad de la respetuosa simpatía que hácia usted me arrastra! ¡Cuánto envidia á los que tienen la dicha de conocerla! Si hubiera tenido, una sola vez, la ventura de verla, estoy segura que á pesar de mi poca inspiración, valiéndome de mis (aunque pobres) artísticos conocimientos, habría ya tenido el imponderable placer de hacer su retrato, por la imagen que quedara grabada en mi alma.

She also speaks on behalf of her sister, likely to be her younger sister Ana, equally star-struck by Acuña:

Tengo una hermana, cuya admiración por usted llega á los mismos grados que la mía; pero su alma es más elevada y aunque no tan grande como la de V., aseméjase á la suya en algunos rasgos; ocupada en sus constantes estudios no dispone del tiempo que yo uso tal vez en molestarla, distrayéndola de asuntos de más valor, por lo que en su nombre, hago presente su adhesión; adhesión de más valor que la mía, y ambas le suplicamos lo que ya muchos habrán rogado, y es ver siempre que la sea posible en las columnas de LAS DOMINICALES la preciosa firma de V.

She then evokes the imagined community of women and girls who also become sisters through their adherence to the religion of Acuña, *la gran sacerdotisa*:

Hay una pléyade femenina que tienen puestos los ojos en su digna legisladora. ¡Haga, por compasión, todo lo posible por sus hermanas, mientras estas la bendicen! Acoja V. á las pobres neófitas que tienden las suplicantes manos hácia la gran sacerdotisa de las más bellas ideas.

We can therefore only begin to imagine Carvia's disappointment on reading Acuña's 'A las mujeres del siglo XIX' in 1887 and finding that in Acuña's mass praise of the women who have written to or about her (thirteen names in total), her own name was not listed. However, within a few years, Carvia herself is also gaining fans: she is mentioned (as 'la enérgica señorita') by Teresa Mañé, alongside Acuña, Navas and Cervera in Mañé's adhesion letter of 23/7/87, and her increased activities – writing further articles for *Las Dominicales* and other periodicals, making public speeches, and creating societies – means that she gains a lot of male reception, including from Cuba.²³⁰ The most extensive female reception of her work comes from Justa González of Castromocho (Palencia), who, in her fourth of five contributions to *Las Dominicales*, writes:

Usted, como yo, siente lástima hacia la mujer por su ignorancia, por su atrofiamiento y por su mal gusto de pasarse la vida á los pies de frailes y curas que la enferman: Sí, conmiseración grande nos inspira á las pocas mujeres que tenemos la dicha de poseer una conciencia tranquila, para, sin sombras ni mistificaciones y sin ser objeto de repugnantes comedias: lástima grande inspiran esas desgraciadas que pierdan tan precioso tiempo en la iglesia [...] y á V. le ruego que escriba mucho dirigiéndose á la mujer, por aquello de que una gota en la piedra hace mella. (16/9/04)

Ironical then that Carvia began her writing career by beseeching a woman writer to write more for women, and almost twenty years later, another woman is asking the same of her.

It is clear from Amalia Carvia's writings that she has a very sensitive, emotional nature, and it is therefore no surprise that she has friendships with other women writers in the freethinking arena. She would appear to be acquainted with fellow Andalusian Soledad Areales ('una andaluza'), who describes her as 'mi ilustrada compañera' (17/3/98), and she praises Consuelo Alvarez Pool (*Violeta*) in 11/1/07, although using repetitive language which suggests that she knows no more about this particular *Violeta* than that which she

²³⁰ This male reception can be found in the online dataset. Of her activities, we know that she wrote for Domingo Soler's *Luz y Unión* and Belén de Sárraga's *La Conciencia Libre*. With Sárraga she formed La Union Femenina del Librepensamiento in Huelva (1897-1906). After moving to Valencia with her sister Ana in the same year she also formed the Asociación General Femenina in Valencia on 10th July 1897, with Sárraga as president and Ana as the secretary (letters regarding this event are printed in *Las Dominicales* in 15/7/97 and *El País* 26/7/1897). With her sister she also founded the 'revista feminista' *Redención* in Valencia, and later ran a lay school (26/9/02). Both sisters also signed a pact of solidarity and mutual support in the feminist freethinking cause with Sárraga and López de Ayala, printed in *Las Dominicales* in 15/6/97, although this issue is sadly not available digitally (Ramos Palomo, 2011: 41). Both Carvia sisters' extensive Masonic activity is covered in Ortiz Albear 2007: 151-158.

has read in the pages of *Las Dominicales* (specifically the 21/12/06 article written about *Violeta*).

As well as setting up women's societies together, Carvia and Belén de Sárraga are also close friends, as can be seen from Carvia's exhortation to female readers to pledge their (financial) support for Belén's trip to Rome (5/8/04), and from her description of comforting Belén on the death of her daughter ('Con fraternal cariño he tratado de enjugar las lágrimas de la madre', 18/8/05). As described in the previous chapter, she is also close friends with fellow Spiritist Amalia Domingo Soler despite never having physically met her namesake, and describes her huge grief on hearing of Amalia's death in her last piece to *Las Dominicales* (25/6/09). One public communication, potentially the first epistolary contact between the two Amalias, is that of December 1895, in which Carvia and fellow female freethinkers write to Domingo Soler and Sárraga in the open letter 'Cádiz a Barcelona' (13/12/95). To this letter Domingo Soler writes a poetic reply ('Barcelona a Cádiz', 27/12/95) addressing it to 'nuestras hermanas del librepensamiento Amalia Carvia y demás compañeras'. Carvia also describes her adoration for Concepción Arenal, whom she sees as 'un ser querida' (14/2/08). An extract of this long article is reproduced here as it gives an insight into how women writers' foremothers still played a great psychological role in the imaginary, regardless of whether they were ever active in the real-life network:

Mis ojos contemplan su noble imagen con la misma adoración con que la devota se postra ante el altar de la que llaman madre de Dios.

Yo quisiera que en todos los pechos se rindiera culto al alma magnánima que animó al cuerpo de la señora Arenal; que, grandes y pequeños, tuvieran conocimiento de su santa vida, de sus geniales trabajos, de sus piadosas empresas.

Por eso, por donde quiera que he ido me he acompañado de su retrato que he hecho colocar en las sociedades á que he pertenecido, como hoy ocupa el lugar preferente de mi modesta clase. Mis pequeñas discípulas me preguntan: ¿Es su madre? Y yo les contesto: Es mi santa. [...]

Quince años se cumplen ahora de su muerte; quince aniversarios que España no ha sabido solemnizar con el amor debido: pues no se trata simplemente de una eximia literata, no; sus obras la acreditan de gran penalista, de filósofo insigne, de admirable sociólogo, y el mundo político conocía bien sus nobles iniciativas, nacidas al calor de su alma hermosa. ¡La ingratitud humana!

Indeed, Carvia's memory of her *compañera* in spirit does not fade with the years, as a 1932 speech given in thanks of being made honorary president of woman's group Entre Naranjos attests. In this speech, the now seventy-year-old Carvia honours her 'queridas compañeras de propaganda que ya no existen', describing at length the work done by Acuña, who in her opinion began the women's freethinking movement, Domingo Soler and her work with *La Luz del Porvenir*, and López de Ayala and her escape from the arson attack. She also praises the deceased Soledad Areales and María Marín, before going on to honour those still alive, Belén de Sárraga and her own 66-year-old sister Ana, who is present at the ceremony. Concepción Arenal is also mentioned in her speech, as a 'immortal' foremother not forgotten.²³¹

Teresa Mañé, the anarchist who feels more confident writing as Soledad Gustavo

Teresa Mañé is, like Amalia Carvia, a writer who contributed over a long period (1887-1907) to *Las Dominicales*, which makes her the second longest-standing female contributor. Unlike Carvia, however, she also spans different genres of magazines, being unique as a regular contributor to both *Las Dominicales* and *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*. This spanning of such ideologically disparate communities is highly unusual, and none of the regular contributors to *Las Dominicales* share this honour (Carmen de Burgos' only contribution to *Las Dominicales* is a letter of adhesion, if indeed it is the same woman). Her appeal across ideological lines may be due to the fact that while she champions education for women, many of her views about gender are surprisingly traditional for a lay teacher and freethinker and unlikely to cause a stir in the more mainstream *Álbum*.²³² Her early contributions to *Las Dominicales* are tentative, in the form of letters from her residence in Villanueva y Geltrú, sometimes written jointly with her husband. It is only when she begins to write under the pseudonym Soledad Gustavo in 1894 that she finds her authorial voice and begins to contribute regularly, using this pseudonym until her last article in 1907 (interestingly, the three articles printed in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* over

²³¹ *El Pueblo: Diario Republicano de Valencia*, 17/1/1932. Both this issue (the transcript of her speech) and issue 13/1/1932, which describes the ceremony itself, are available to view online at the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica website.

²³² Her sometimes reactionary views regarding women's education are especially surprising given that she had co-founded an anarchist magazine, *La Revista Blanca* with her husband, and was one of its main contributors.

the 1899-1901 period are under her real name; the reasons why this might be are discussed in the next chapter). She was also confident enough to be a public speaker, giving two speeches in 1901 – ‘La cuestión social’ and ‘Cuestiones de enseñanza’ – at the Ateneo Científico de Madrid (Roig Castellanos, 1977: 201).

Aside from the mention of women writers Acuña, Navas and Cervera in her letter of adhesion (23/7/87), the only other evidence of connection to other women writers is her dedication of an article in 12/7/95 to ‘la distinguida profesora Adelaida Sánchez Pinedo’, a fellow lay teacher whose book, ‘Catecismo laico y deberes de la mujer’, was reviewed in *Las Dominicales* in 26/5/93 and whose article, ‘El Carnaval’ (a Spiritist criticism of the carnival's corrupting effects), was published in (under Adela Sánchez Pinedo) in *Las Dominicales* in 1/3/95.²³³

The provincial Spiritist Carmen Burgos – is this the famous Carmen de Burgos?²³⁴

Another Spiritist who engaged in writing was Carmen Burgos of Andújar, whose first (and only) contribution to *Las Dominicales* is a letter to Acuña in which she states particular admiration for her article ‘A las mujeres del siglo XIX’, a group of women she not only identifies with but feels a part of, showing that women writers did indeed influence their readers.²³⁵ Her letter to Acuña (3/3/88) is reproduced here for its potential historiographical interest:

Con el más vivo placer vengo leyendo sus elocuentes artículos de LAS DOMINICALES, y la felicito calurosamente por aquel que dirigió *A las mujeres del siglo XIX*. Aunque incapaz de expresar debidamente lo que aquel hermoso trabajo me hizo sentir y pensar, declaro mi firme adhesión á cuantas ideas en él expone á la meditación de nuestras hermanas, que poco á poco van desligándose de la rutina, y emancipándose de la funesta influencia clerical.

²³³ As stated in Chapter 1, one of Sánchez Pinedo's articles also featured in *La Luz del Porvenir* (23/11/93).

²³⁴ This headline is framed as a question because, as stated in Chapter 1, no incontrovertible evidence has yet been published to support the academic assertion that this is the Carmen de Burgos who became the famous journalist in Madrid.

²³⁵ It might be worth pointing out the irony that Acuña has touched a reader in Andújar, the birthplace of Acuña's own parents, and the town where Acuña spent her infancy and long periods afterwards (Carmona Gonzalez, 1999: 40).

Yo me considero una de ellas, y es tanta mi confianza en que la mujer sacudirá sus cadenas, que he procurado y procuro con mi modesta pluma contribuir al anhelado triunfo, colaborando en periódicos libre-pensadores de provincias, como *La Luz del Porvenir*, *La Luz del Cristianismo*, *La Luz del Alma* y *La Fraternidad*, así como deseo conste en las columnas de sus DOMINICALES mi fervorosa adhesión á los nuevos ideales que usted tan brillantemente expresa, pues aunque joven, ni temo la opinión de los hipócritas, ni oculto la mía.

Cuénteme usted, pues como una humilde pero entusiasta y firme cooperadora en esa grande obra de LAS DOMINICALES en que usted representa el elemento, al parecer, más débil, pero en realidad más necesario; pues el día en que las mujeres abandonemos la Iglesia, ¿qué será de la religión católica?

Here can see not only Carmen Burgos' journalistic zeal, writing for four different periodicals, but also, in her anticlericalism, a capacity for questioning the social order. This supports the supposition that this woman is in fact Carmen de Burgos, as these are all traits which are seen when the latter writes for Spain's biggest newspapers in the next century. From a historiographical point of view this letter is important because it shows that Carmen Burgos had been actively sending her work to these Spiritist magazines, rather than it being reproduced passively from elsewhere, and it gives us information, if this is indeed the famous author, on her early literary influences. Would Acuña have read this fire in this letter from an unknown provincial girl and suspected that she would be Spain's first professional female journalist? Perhaps this supposition of identity is false and the result of the researchers' enthusiasm to clarify mysteries, but if it is correct, this letter is crucial in giving the historian information about this under-researched early period of Carmen de Burgos' life, prior to her move to Madrid.

Esperanza Pérez, the teenage aspirant to Acuña's glory

Contrasting with Carmen Burgos' letter to Acuña, and indeed almost all of the regular writers to the magazine who begin their career by name checking at least one woman writer who has gone before them, young Esperanza Pérez Vizoso of Málaga del Fresno (Guadalajara) apes her idol in the most perfect way, by writing as if she was an already

established (and famous) writer.²³⁶ Her style has none of the self-effacement or the brevity of other minor women writers, but instead is extremely intimate and confessional, dwelling in every thought and emotion, a perfect calque of Rosario de Acuña's writing. Perhaps it is exactly because Pérez makes such a great, if slightly adolescent, study of Acuña that the inspiration herself is never mentioned, as Pérez the newcomer, the upstart to the pantheon, might fear inviting unwelcome comparison.²³⁷ She writes prolifically from 1888 to 1895 with 37 letters, articles and poems, thus outreigning her idol by three years, as Acuña's regular contributions end in 1892.²³⁸ While during this time she does not reference any other established woman writer in an attempt to ingratiate herself or contextualise herself within a greater field of women's writing, she nevertheless has the largest reception from women readers after Acuña, and by thanking Chies for printing letters from her admirers (29/7/88) ensures that the fan mail keeps flowing.

Many women show a particular preference for Esperanza Pérez as the recipient of choice for their letters, perhaps due to her youth and confessional style. Agueda García of Seville (15/12/88), Pura Decorpas of Ciudad Rodrigo (6/4/89), Dolores Alvarez Barrio of Ecija (22/6/89) and a group letter of eleven women of Ronda (20/4/89) write their letters of adhesion directly to Pérez, taking the opportunity to congratulate her on her writing, while Francisca Batiste and Josefa Rives of La Cava, Tortosa, write a joint letter of adhesion to both Pérez and Navas, leaving us to speculate if these two new adherents are as young as their idols (15/12/88). Ramona Samará de Dominguez (Artesa do Segre, 8/12/88) writes a letter of adhesion to Esperanza Pérez and in doing so informs her that her articles have also been printed in *La Luz del Porvenir*, where Samará saw them (she points this out in case Pérez herself was unaware that her work had been reproduced). Other women write to Pérez on various matters, including Dolores Terán of Ciudad Rodrigo (27/4/89), who writes to her about anticlericalism, to which Pérez replies in 11/5/89.²³⁹ Pabla Contel Rojo of Barcelona (22/2/90) sends a 'saludo fraternal a la digna señorita Esperanza Pérez', while

²³⁶ Interestingly, her second surname is only ever printed once (14/6/95) as is her place of writing (7/11/91). They are included here as clues for future researchers, as nothing else has been found about this writer.

²³⁷ A good article to compare with Acuña's first person navel-gazing is her 'Meditaciones' (19/1/89).

²³⁸ It is likely that the slowdown in writing, which begins in 1889, is due at least in part to the decline in Acuña's eyesight as, according to Carmen Ramírez Gómez (2000:48), these events coincide: '(s)u carrera literaria, truncada a los 38 años por una absoluta ceguera, se extiende desde los años 80 del pasado siglo hasta principios del siglo XX' (Acuña was born in 1851).

²³⁹ Further information about Dolores Terán, a Mason, can be found in Ortiz Albear (2007: 361).

Pilar Reyner y Martínez of Ceuta (30/5/91) writes to Pérez to declare herself ‘un alma gemela’ and gives her advice on her writing.²⁴⁰

Perhaps more interesting, however, is the evidence that Pérez’s influence is both transnational and transgenerational.²⁴¹ ‘Sofía’ of La Plata, Argentina, writes to Chies in reply to his comments about her article in *El Intransigente* of Montevideo, which was dedicated to ‘la insigne escritora Esperanza Pérez’ (7/6/95), while the 50-year-old Braulia Igea y Rubio of Ávila (8/12/88) talks of how Esperanza Pérez’s article influenced her to write her letter:

He tenido el gusto de leer en LAS DOMINICALES el hermoso artículo de la señorita Esperanza Pérez, dirigido á las que aún dudan y temen apartarse del catolicismo, y, como yo hace ya muchos años que ni temo ni dudo, tengo el honor de expresarle mi pública y firme adhesión al libre pensamiento.

This letter shows that older women are just as influenced by the young as the young who see older women writers as mentors and models to follow.²⁴² The article which inspired this letter of adhesion, ‘A las que dudáis ó teméis’ (10/11/88), is not unusual in its address to other women in an attempt to convince them of freethinking – Amalia Carvia’s ‘Reflexiona’ (13/6/91), for instance, tries to persuade her erstwhile female friend that freethinking is not so bad, while Loreta Rovana of Cartagena (29/10/87) uses the public space of *Las Dominicales* to write to her friend Luciana Moreno, a state schoolteacher from Alguazar, to persuade her to stop going to be confessed by the local priest, who bullies and insults her. There is also a small network of female writers of Écija, with Concepción Núñez (who is so keen to adhere to the cause that she writes a total of three letters of adhesion, two with her brother Pablo) clearly having an effect on her friends – Dolores Álvarez Barrio of Écija (22/6/89) writes about being influenced by conversations with ‘la señorita de Núñez’ while Dolores Martínez of Écija (22/2/90) tells of her propaganda activities with her ‘consecuente y decidida amiga la señorita Concepción Núñez, que con su franco é ingénuo carácter, publica con acierto á las muchas pobres de espíritu que existen aquí’. These letters hint at the cultural and political activities carried

²⁴⁰ ‘...templad, hermana mía, el dolor y la desesperación que late en vuestros escritos; vuestra juventud y vuestra bondad os preparan tal vez un porvenir venturoso. Esperadle al menos, puesto que le merecéis.’

²⁴¹ Her influence is also shown in the news that a freethinking couple in Cala de Bonalgalbán (Málaga) have named their baby Esperanza in her honour.

²⁴² Acuña, the prime example of this ‘older generation’, clearly approves of Braulia Igea’s letter, as she names Braulia in her ‘A las mujeres del siglo XIX’.

out by provincial women, far from the metropolitan fame of Ángeles López de Ayala and Belen de Sárraga, but still having an impact at a local level.²⁴³

Ángeles López de Ayala, the inheritor of Acuña's crown

Although Rosario de Acuña was by far the biggest female personality of *Las Dominicales*, her writing was most prolific in the 1880s, and had effectively come to an end by 1892. By the time of her last letter in 1902, she had not written for the newspaper in ten years, and her impact on the publication had become almost a distant memory to readers, who lamented her disappearance. However, just as Acuña was winding down her participation in April 1891, another writer was drafting her first of a total of 69 contributions to the magazine. Fittingly, this was a tribute to Acuña herself. This tribute, a poem ('A Rosario de Acuña', 16/5/91) implied that Acuña was a giant amongst dwarves ('¡¡¡Tanto más colosal es el gigante, / cuanto más le circundan los enanos!!!'), an ironic statement, given that Ángeles López de Ayala herself becomes the women's writing giant of the second half of *Las Dominicales*' time in circulation. Her reign as the new star of women's writing is characterised by details of her freethinking activism and the introduction of new writers to the magazine who share her activist ethos. However, what *is* surprising is the relative lack of reception from women readers. She is mentioned only twice in letters of adhesion from women, and only then alongside Belen de Sárraga (Rosita Mosoll's letter in 16/6/05 and a group letter from Herrera women in 1/9/05). Perhaps it is precisely her militancy which dissuades some women from being associated with her, as she proudly publicises her spells in prison, twice giving her place of writing as 'Cárceles de Barcelona' (see 'Mis noches en la cárcel' of 24/6/92 and 'El patio de los corderos' of 8/7/92).²⁴⁴ While not receiving a

²⁴³ Another example of this localised political activity is the report of the speech given by Carmen Burgillos Morlesin to the Centro Republicano of Cala in front of 200 men and 50 women in 6/1/05 (see dataset for details of all public speaking by women reported within *Las Dominicales*).

²⁴⁴ This supposition is backed up by Acuña's letter to the male editor of *El Buen Sentido*, reproduced in *Las Dominicales* of 27/12/85, in which she says that she is pleased by *Violeta's* careful, dignified and eloquent language, and not the *lenguaje* 'atrabiliario, destemplado y con formas descompuestas', a statement which Simón Palmer (2002: 125) calls an allusion to 'colegas como Ángeles López de Ayala'. (Note that Acuña does not respond to *Violeta*, but refers to her in the third person, thus distancing herself from the women's network.) This is not to say that Acuña disliked López de Ayala; in *El Gladiador del Librepensamiento* in 19/5/17 she described how in 1887 she had befriended López de Ayala: 'Una mujer que allá en mi juventud conocí breves días pero cuya amistad quedó sellada por un pacto recíproco: el de vivir y morir fuera de todo dogmatismo religioso...' (quoted in Fagoaga 1996: 182). Both Acuña and López de Ayala also took to the stage together on the 24th June 1888 to inaugurate a school for the children of Masons and attended the same Masonic banquet later that year (*El País*, 4/11/88). Given that López de Ayala later writes a poem of support to Acuña in 1891 (main text), its suggest cordiality between the two women. (See also Arkinstall

massive response from the female readership, she is nevertheless part of the network of the most active female freethinkers. In the wake of the *El Padre Juan* affair, in which Acuña saw her play banned after the first night, López de Ayala writes her a poem of support (16/5/91). She is friends with Antonia Amat (see Chapter 1), and is known to Palmira de Bruno, a fellow writer for *Las Dominicales*, who invited her to a freethinking meeting in Calella to give a speech (16/4/98).²⁴⁵ As previously discussed, her friendships with Belén de Sárraga and Amalia Domingo Soler can be seen in *Las Dominicales* with all three attending the same lay school event in Barcelona, and Belén also talks about her in ‘Pseudo-liberalismo’ of 25/11/04 (see below for details). Interestingly, *Las Dominicales* is the site for López de Ayala and Domingo Soler to play out their ideological differences in public, which can be seen through the poems dedicated to each other in 27/1/98 and 24/2/98. The first poem, dated 18th January 1898, appears to be a reply to Domingo Soler, suggesting that these two poems capture their dispute in media res. It consists of twenty quatrains, and shows López de Ayala to be quite upset that Domingo Soler disagrees with her political approach, which Domingo Soler sees as overly bitter and stoking latent hatreds. Domingo Soler’s desire to soften language, to sweeten the bitter pill of truth and to construct new social structures before destroying existing ones, is met with scorn by López de Ayala, who argues that the old must be destroyed before the new can be built, and that the situation of human suffering is too severe to proscribe strong measures. Domingo Soler replies to her in an undated poem in 24/2/98 with 25 quintains, telling her that she (Amalia) remains unconvinced, telling her friend that she (Ángeles) is seeing the horrible effects without knowing the causes, and that the ultimate cause of her anger is the imperfection of humanity. She extols Ángeles’ sentiment of wanting to get rid of rancid Catholicism and *la vieja sociedad*, but she warns against the violent, destructive methods planned, given that the hatred that these could provoke would inevitably lead to death and war. She advises the younger woman to leave behind her violent style, as she has the talent to ‘enseñar deleitando’, and because it saddens her that Ángeles would only increase the general discontent in society. Given the almost prophetic nature of her words, I shall reproduce a few of her stanzas here (stanzas 14-18). This excerpt also serves to show that

2014: 92-94 for their warm exchanges via *El Motín* in 1920, in which the old women reminisce about their lives and lament each other’s precarious states of health and financial situation.)

²⁴⁵ Ossorio y Bernard (1903: 68) also informs that Palmira de Bruno was a writer for Sárraga’s *La Conciencia Libre* in 1896. Given the popularity of Volney’s *Las ruinas de Palmira o meditaciones sobre las revoluciones de los imperios* among freethinkers and their idolisation of the figure of Giordano Bruno, I strongly suspect that this is a pseudonym. Palmira de Bruno also gave a speech at an event at Barcelona’s Federal Republican Casino to protest Odón de Buén losing his university chair, an event presided over by López de Ayala on the 17th October 1895 (reported in *La Luz del Porvenir* of 7/11/95), and one at which Belén de Sárraga and Teresa Claramunt also gave speeches (Arkinstall, 2014: 154).

the women writers of *Las Dominicales* were not all of the same mind, and that there could be profound differences of opinion between them.

Pero en vuestra propaganda
vais los odios avivando;
al pueblo le decía: ¡anda,
anda, sí (pero matando);
tu salvación te lo manda!

Y la sangre que se vierte
al regar la dura tierra
se coagula, y se convierte
en la diosa de la guerra,
en la sombra de la muerte.

Y matando, no se avanza;
matando, el odio se crea;
pesa el odio en la balanza,
ésta se inclina, y la idea
del odio sus rayos lanza.

Y cual la bola de nieve
que crece cuanto más rueda,
así crece el odio aleve,
y el odio social enreda
al que paga y al que debe.

Given the vast amount of Spanish blood that would be spilt less than forty years later over the profound ideological differences between Left and Right, one could consider as extremely wise Domingo Soler's advice to her younger 'sister', even if, in the event, it went unheeded.

Soledad Areales, ‘una andaluza’ of Villa del Río

A week after Ángeles López de Ayala publishes her first letter to *Las Dominicales*, Soledad Areales (Soledad Flora Areales Romero) makes her first contribution to the magazine at the age of 41, a poem entitled ‘A Pedro Barrantes’ (23/5/91). Well aware of the dangers of writing under one’s own name (dedicating a poem to Barrantes would certainly suggest this) she signs her first works under the pseudonym of ‘una andaluza’. It is only from 1/12/93 that she signs with her real name, with a letter to Chies that she signs with both her name and her pseudonym, as if to leave her audience in no doubt that ‘una andaluza’ and Soledad Areales are one and the same person. She makes over 30 contributions, but is referred to only once in a letter from another woman.²⁴⁶ However, this letter (15/11/01), addressed to Areales herself from an anonymous woman in Palencia, is so effusive in its praise for her that it does show that Areales had an impact on the freethinking scene:

Muy señora mía: como mujer que piensa y siente y se identifica con sus nobilísimas ideas, no puedo pasar en silencio el entusiasmo que me inspira la preciosa carta abierta que dirige á un compañero suyo desde las columnas de LAS DOMINICALES. ¡Precioso documento! [...] Me entusiasma que esté escrita por una mujer con un valor sin igual, desafiándolo todo. ¡Cuántas como usted hacen falta en esta sociedad corrompida por miasmas frailunos - jesuitícos que han hecho de la mujer un ser abyecto, degradado en alto grado! [...] ¡Qué feliz me consideraría yo si viviera cerca de usted, pues es tan triste vivir sin poder comunicar con nadie que le comprenda á una! [...] Mando ésta a LAS DOMINICALES por si el amable Demófilo quiere hacer uso de ella, pues yo espero ser amiga de verdad de usted para algo bueno.²⁴⁷

Areales’ links to the established female network are found in the form of a poem in 24/5/95 entitled ‘A mi querida amiga Amalia Domingo Soler’ in which she tells Domingo Soler that ‘Viril tu voz á mi retiro llega’, ‘piensas como yo’ and in which she calls her ‘sincera amiga, noble hermana’ and ‘amiga mía’, all of which suggests (though by no means denotes) that there has been previous contact between the two.²⁴⁸ She also praises Amalia

²⁴⁶ This is not to say that her work was not received by men – it was. See the online dataset for the full list.

²⁴⁷ The open letter she refers to was Areales’ letter to Ramón Hernández, maestro de primera enseñanza de Santa Tomé (see 25/10/01 and 22/11/01 for his reply) in which Areales talks about her suspension without pay from own job as *maestra de primera enseñanza* in Villa del Río (Córdoba).

²⁴⁸ This may be due to a shared belief in Spiritism, as according to Ramos Palomo (2005b: 67) Areales was a Spiritist. There is no evidence for this in Sánchez García’s 2005 biography, who states that she is a deist.

Carvia in 17/3/98, saying how a written piece was read out at a freethinking meeting from ‘mi ilustrada compañera Amalia Carvia’.

While there is no evidence of reciprocity in Areales’ praise of Carvia, reciprocated admiration clearly exists between Areales and Belén de Sárraga, who, during a visit to Areales’ home town of Villa del Río, makes a speech which refers to Areales as ‘mi entrañable amiga’. This friendship is corroborated by Villa del Río historian Sánchez García (2005: 44) who states that Sárraga had stayed with Areales in her home for a month in April 1901, while the latter lived in Córdoba (indeed, it is at this point that the two plan the future Villa del Río visit on which Areales reports). Elsewhere, Sárraga is on record as saying of her friendship: ‘Siento una especie de atracción hacia este pueblo, identificado con mi entrañable amiga Soledad Areales, no sólo por la comunidad de ideas que nos une, sino también por los vínculos de la más íntima y fraternal amistad’ (Ramos Palomo, 2005b: 73). Areales, like Carvia, had also been an assiduous contributor to Sárraga’s locally published magazine *La Conciencia Libre*, and it is unlikely to be a coincidence that *La Conciencia Libre* published from Villa del Río for a period during its persecution in Málaga (ibid.). Both were also prominent members of the libertarian society Los Amigos del Progreso of Córdoba (Sánchez García, 2005: 191). Areales, who reports her friend’s visit in the 28/4/05 issue of *Las Dominicales*, uses her article to return the sentiment of friendship made by the charismatic figure on the podium, but it is a public association which would cost the public schoolteacher dearly.²⁴⁹

Soledad also involves at least two of her younger sisters, Concepción (b. 1864) and (Carmen) Eugenia (b. 1867), in her freethinking activity. Concepción signs two joint letters of adhesion (to the Rome and Buenos Aires freethinking conferences) with Soledad in 30/9/04 and 7/9/06, while Eugenia Areales reads out her sister’s poem in a meeting held for Belén de Sárraga in the Circe theatre of Córdoba on the night of the 6th of November 1899 (reported 23/11/99). Sánchez García (2005: 70) reports that Soledad herself could not be present for the meeting due to teaching commitments, but unfortunately her attendance by proxy was enough for her enemies in positions of authority to be able to open their first investigation into her freethinking activities.

²⁴⁹ Sánchez García (2005: 46) reports that it is this visit by Belén to Soledad’s town of employment in 1905 which triggered the second and definitive persecution of Areales, a years-long *calvario* which culminated in her being dismissed from her teaching job in 1909. She died the same year.

Belén de Sárraga, more of a speaker than a writer

For what was a small number of articles for *Las Dominicales* (in this relatively complete sample only seven pieces of writing by Sárraga could be found), there was substantial reception from other women of Sárraga's words. This may be due to the fact that while she did not publish much in *Las Dominicales*, she was very influential in terms of public speaking, and her public events, in places as diverse as Paris, Geneva, Orense, Seville, Rome and Buenos Aires, were very much discussed by others in the newspaper. An excerpt from the report on her speech at the Congress of Rome (4/11/04) gives a flavour of what people said about her:

Belén Sárraga se levanta entonces á hablar y vuelve á producirse en la sala el mismo movimiento de atención que al comenzar. Todos se convierten en oídos. Nadie interrumpe. Nadie disiente. Con gran delicadeza y flexibilidad de espíritu, después de hacerse aplaudir de los revoltosos, les da una lección de prudencia que cautiva á cuanto tiene reflexión y peso en la Asamblea.

Habla luego de la mujer, de la instrucción popular, de las esperanzas republicanas del pueblo español, y aumenta por grados el interés y las simpatías del auditorio.

Su cuerpo flexible y delicado se encorva inclinándose hácia el público; habla con los ojos, con los brazos, con el cuerpo entero y no hay quien no entienda aquel lenguaje que se completa con manifestaciones tan variadas, convirtiendo en verbo vivo y palpitante la idea.

El público que le ha aplaudido repetidamente hace una ovación al terminar.

As we have seen, through their contributions made to her magazine *La Conciencia Libre*, Amalia Domingo Soler, Ángeles López de Ayala, Amalia Carvia, Soledad Areales and Palmira de Bruno give textual evidence of their connection to Belén. Of the few articles Belén writes in *Las Dominicales*, she discusses an event involving Ángeles, using language which makes clear how she feels about her friend, as well as the situation of women in Spain. The following excerpt of a longer article of 23/11/94, the title of which ('Pseudo-liberalismo') indicating that this will be another of Belén's articles about the hypocrisy and backwardness of Spanish society, describes what happened at a meeting in Madrid which had been convoked with the aim of obtaining a reassessment of the Montjuïc trial. It has been reproduced in such detail as a reminder that even from the Left itself women faced

many obstacles, and not all attempts at public speaking were as successful as that of Belén at the Congress of Rome:

Una mujer, Ángeles López de Ayala, conocida por más de veinticinco años de trabajo en favor del oprimido, del humilde; una mujer que no orla su cabeza con el encaje de la blanca mantilla, pero orla su alma con todas las bellezas del sentimiento, que no se embriaga con la sangre de la bestia ni del hombre convertido en bestia en la plaza de toros, pero es capaz de dar su sangre, como dio muchas veces su libertad por la redención del pueblo, asiste y pide hablar en nombre de más de cincuenta sociedades obreras catalanas, que la han confiado la honrosa misión de exigir en su nombre libertad y dignificación para cientos de compañeros de desgracia.

Ante su petición, los demócratas que presiden se miran asombrados. ¿Con qué derecho se mezcla una mujer en aquella reunión de hombres? ¿Con qué derecho interviene en asuntos políticos? ¡Esas ridículas feministas!

La palabra pedida se niega terminantemente, Ángeles López de Ayala, con las mejillas encendidas por la indignación, apenas sí puede expresar sus protestas entre los murmullos del público y la sorda hostilidad de la mesa.

Belén's writing and oratory clearly had a positive impact on the readership of *Las Dominicales*, as four separate groups of women write letters to her, asking that she be their representative at various freethinking conferences. Along with Ángeles López de Ayala, she is described as one of 'las infatigables apóstoles de las ideas regeneradoras' in Rosita Mosoll's letter of 16/6/05, Ambrosia D. de Gómez of Astillero (Santander) praises her 'talento y constancia en la lucha' (5/5/05) and Petefilla Barrios y Crespo of Isla de San Antonio (26/4/95) quotes from Sárraga's 'A la república'. Juana Gote de Hermida ('una ferrolana') writes her first letter in 22/6/99 to say that she wishes a subscription could be opened up to get Sárraga to Ferrol for a speaking visit. Although there are relatively few articles by Sárraga in the newspaper, what few there are contain much interest for their impassioned belief and curious subject matter. One example of this is the 5/10/06 '¡Esas son las madres!', which heaps calumny onto the head of young *sevillanas* for sending blank postcards to the serial killer Aldije (of the Huerto del Francés murders), so that his replies can be added to their albums, and his autograph admired by visitors of their *salones de buen tono*. Sárraga uses this fantastically lurid anecdote to argue for the imperious need for better female education in Spain, as poor education leads to confused or non-existent

moral values, and a more backward society overall. If this article is at all indicative of her speaking style, it is unsurprising that she had such an electrifying effect on the crowd.

Sixta Carrasco of Madrid

This author writes a total of fifteen letters and articles for *Las Dominicales* over five years (1902-1907). Her first article (14/3/02), is a long description and advertisement for the girls' school that she runs with Isabel Carrasco, probably her sister, is signed by both women. By her second article of 1/8/02, however, there are echoes of Esperanza Pérez, in the sense that not only is she not interested in referencing other women writers, but is also clearly aware of her audience, stating that she will welcome any constructive comments on her work from readers. Her plea for reception of her work is answered with established author's María del Pilar González's poem 'A Sixta Carrasco' (18/7/02), a poem about feminist advances.²⁵⁰ Interestingly from the perspective of finding links between different publications, in her capacity as president of the Unión de Mujeres Españolas Carrasco also writes a joint letter in 14/9/06 with the university-educated Pilar G. Coronado, the group's general secretary, who is also a contributor to the Spiritist magazine *Luz y Unión* (17/9/00), which as previously mentioned was co-edited by Amalia Domingo Soler.²⁵¹

Some interesting 'chain receptions' and final points

I shall call 'chain receptions' the instances of women who receive others' work and whose work is turn received, and while they may not be part of any greater network nevertheless show the influence of women on other women across time and space, with often unrelated women being connected by intermediate readers/writers. An example of a chain reception is that formed by Louise Michel of France, Vicenta Martínez of Valencia, Ramon Ferreira of Paraguay/Buenos Aires and the women of Puente de Vallecas.²⁵² Louise Michel was profiled by Vicenta Martínez of Valencia (27/1/05) to mark Michel's passing on the 9th of

²⁵⁰ María del Pilar González's book *Emancipación Religiosa de la Mujer* is favorably reviewed and partially reproduced in 21/11/02.

²⁵¹ Ramírez Gómez (2000: 157) describes Pilar G. Coronado as a 'doctora en Filosofía y Letras por la Universidad de Granada'.

²⁵² Belén de Sárraga was also an admirer of Louise Michel (Vitale and Antevilo, 2000: 31). Given the discussion of the previous chapter, this would align her more firmly with the freethinking than the Spiritist worldview, and might help explain her dismissive attitude towards the Spiritists at the Freethinking Congress of 1906 (see Chapter 1).

January, and it informed women that they should follow Michel's example. This article was received warmly by Ramona Ferreira in Buenos Aires, who wrote on the 2nd of March 1905 (a letter which eventually reached Spain for the 19/5/05 issue) how much it cheered her in her gloomy exile:

Las primeras lineas han reflejado verdaderas convicciones de un alma entusiasta; me fijé en la firma y la leí: Vicenta Martinez. Me excitó simpatías esta mujer, porque siento en sus líneas la convicción de un alma virgen.

A ella quisiera, como á la hermana en ideales, empujarla adelante. Ven que esta joven siente lo que su pluma deja trazado.

¡Adelante, Vicenta! Aunque debo pronosticarla que tendrá que trepar áridas montañas de calumnias, seguir horizontes de desesperación, derrochar muy abundantes lágrimas, sin que encuentre quien las enjague, pues existen falsos amigos pero perseverando todo se vence, y luego se olvida de las penurias del pasado.

Yo he sido perseguido á muerte, motivo porque me encuentro en Buenos Aires; pero si momento amargo tuve, siempre me halaga la lucha por la emancipación de la idea.

¡Adelante, Vicenta Martínez; pues que eres la mujer del Porvenir soñada por mi!

The extract shows not only an older woman encouraging a (perceived) younger woman in order to mentor the next generation of female freethinkers, but that the ghost of Concepción Arenal could also be argued to feature in this imaginary, due to her phrase 'la mujer del porvenir' which she made famous (and which became a common meme in subsequent writings by other women). Ferreira in turn is praised by the women of Puente de Vallecas (17/8/06), who ask her to be their representative at the Buenos Aires Congress.²⁵³

Another example of a 'chain' reception is that of poet Gabriela Ortiz, whose poem is reproduced in a letter by Adela Pardiña de Infante of Zaragoza in 5/2/87 (and the poet praised as a 'distinguida librepensadora'). Adela Pardiña is in turned praised by Rosario de

²⁵³ This example is also a good reminder in our days of instantaneous communications just how long it could take for information to pass between countries and continents, with Vicenta having to wait almost four months to receive that piece of positive feedback for her writing.

Acuña in her article ‘A las mujeres del siglo XIX’, and Acuña in turn is received by dozens of women, as we have seen.²⁵⁴

Other occasional but noteworthy women writers

Finally, there are occasional women writers who, while they do not enjoy connections within the magazine itself, have backgrounds which nevertheless make them worthy of mention. For example, the astronomer, teacher, journalist and feminist Isabel Muñoz Caravaca of Madrid has one of her articles published in *Las Dominicales* (‘Sobre instrucción primaria y sus agentes’, 8/5/03). As an accomplished woman and an established freethinking personage, her presence here is significant, as is that of her later *compañera* in suffragist militancy, Amparo Martí, who writes the anticlerical essay ‘Explotadores místicos’ in 10/11/98.²⁵⁵ Similarly, María Marín of San Fernando, who writes the incendiary ‘Sermones de Cuaresma’ (28/9/04), is known to be part of Amalia and Ana Carvia’s Asociación General Femenina, in which Sárraga and López de Ayala were also involved (Sanfeliú, 2005: 99-101), while rationalist schoolteacher Amparo Lorente, as the new *presidenta* of said organisation, has her letter reproduced in 26/9/02.²⁵⁶ The federal republican Aurelia Muñiz also does not appear to be part of a network when her essay ‘Meditaciones’ is printed in 8/6/99, but its geopolitical content, highly unusual for a woman, makes her worthy of comment, while feminist poet Elisa Ros de Jaramate (here ‘Eliza Ros de Juramate’) appears in 17/2/05.

By contrast, what is equally as interesting is the absence of a woman who might be expected to be a fixture in the list of contributors, especially given the ubiquity of her contemporary Ángeles López de Ayala. In this instance I am referring to Teresa

²⁵⁴ Gabriela Ortiz’s poems are also found in *La Luz del Porvenir*. Another poet of *La Luz del Porvenir* who features in *Las Dominicales* is Leonor Ruiz Caravantes (here: Leonor Ruíz de Carabantes), whose poem ‘Al libre pensamiento’, read at the *Velada librepensadora* in Valladolid on the 15th Feb 1886, features in the 18/4/86 issue.

²⁵⁵ Both were described as ‘figuras más representantes del feminismo socialista en provincias’ in the 5/7/1914 issue of the periodical *Renovación*. Quoted in Moral Vargas (2005: 252).

²⁵⁶ Ramos Palomo (2006:41, 2011: 35-37) states that the *republicana federal* María Marín was a *gaditana*, resident in San Fernando, who began writing for Sárraga’s *La Conciencia Libre* in 1905 and López de Ayala’s *El Gladiador del Librepensamiento*. In 1909-1910 she managed to relaunch the feminist movement in Valencia, before moving to Barcelona to collaborate with Ángeles López de Ayala and her Sociedad Progresiva Femenina. The daughter of a profoundly religious mother, who paid scant attention to her neighbours’ cries of ‘herejota’ and ‘excomulgada’, she recommended the reading of Tacitus as a political gospel.

Claramunt, whom research shows often featured in the press.²⁵⁷ The only evidence of writing from Claramunt is a letter reproduced from *El Liberal* 14/3/02, a reproduction she might not even have been aware of. The absence of her writing in her case is very interesting and is worthy of explanation. It certainly supports historian Vicente Villalonga's assertion that after her incarceration in Montjuïc in 1896, Claramunt's anarchist views became increasingly orthodox and intransigent and she found it difficult to compromise with other ideologies, even refusing to collaborate with freethinkers after the failure of the 1902 general strike (Vicente Villanueva, 2005: 43). Certainly, it would appear that she kept a certain distance from the female freethinking network, even in the face of female freethinkers trying to bring her into their circle by writing letters and dedicating poetry to her.²⁵⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has given a comprehensive overview of the women writing for *Las Dominicales*, their names, their towns, their social backgrounds and their ages, as well as the greater social factors which influenced their writing. I have also demonstrated that there was a huge imagined community of women writers which from the outset was conceived of and nurtured quite consciously by the editors, and using *Las Dominicales* as my primary source, I have traced the real-life and imagined connections that existed between the women writers whose names feature within its pages. In terms of possibilities for further research, it would be interesting to look at how these women were received by male readers, as the dataset attests to the women writers who were acclaimed by many men. Similarly, with over three hundred separate entries for writers of single and group contributions recorded in the online dataset, many of whom did not feature in this chapter, there is ample room for a more in-depth study of the temporal and geographical factors of female participation, for example (after Moretti) the plotting of the places of writing on a

²⁵⁷ Although she might be seen as more of a speaker/agitator than a writer, she worked to revive the magazine, *El Productor* in 1901, to which she contributed. She contributed, alongside Teresa Mañé, to the Valencian fortnightly newspaper *Humanidad Libre* (1902), written by and for women, documenting socialist news and conflicts, and contributed to the anarchist press titles such as *La Huelga General* (Barcelona), *El Rebelde* (Madrid), *El Libertario* (Gijón), *Fraternidad* (Gijón) and Mañé's *La Revista Blanca*. She also wrote the socialist play *El mundo que muere y el mundo que nace*.

²⁵⁸ Simón Palmer (2000: 663). This is not to say that Claramunt did not have a feminist consciousness, as her booklet *La mujer. Consideraciones sobre su estado ante las prerrogativas del hombre* (1905) shows a clear understanding of the oppression of women. If it was a feminist tract, however, it was one of feminist anarchism, with the anarchism being the most important aspect of her ideology.

map, or plotting a graph to look for patterns of female participation (either collectively or individually) over the 26 years that *Las Dominicales* was published.²⁵⁹ With every article catalogued with its date, the dataset shows that there is plenty of scope for a more traditional thematic study of the writings themselves, whether in their totality, or by the individual. Finally, and perhaps most fruitfully in terms of amplifying the findings of this chapter, it would also be instructive to study other freethinking newspapers and magazines of the period to get a fuller picture of the female literary participation in the heterodox community.

²⁵⁹ For the 256 women (or groups of women) whose city, town or village is stated, I plotted their locations onto a map as a graphic for my presentation at the research colloquium *Mujeres traductoras en la otra Edad de Plata* at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid (28th January 2016). I found that the Mediterranean littoral, Catalonia, Andalusia, Barcelona and Madrid were particularly well represented by contributors. There was, however, a remarkable silence from the regions of Galicia, (east) Extremadura, (north) Murcia and (east) Castilla y León (between Madrid and Burgos), and from the provinces of Guadalajara and Teruel.

El Álbum Ibero-Americano: Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer and her world of female potential

The mainstream magazine *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* is by far the largest publication of this study by volume. It ran for almost twenty years, from the 7th August 1890 until at least 28th February 1910, and the archive comprises 895 digitised/microfilmed copies of at least twelve pages per issue, beginning with the first issue of 1891 (7/1/91) and ending with the last issue of February 1910 (28/2/10).²⁶⁰ Despite the technicality that more than half of the magazine's content was actually authored by men – when space was not taken up with lavish monochrome engravings – due to the sheer volume of data this magazine has proved to be a rich source for women's writing. This is the case even when women writers, with the exception of the editor herself, were usually found in the second half of the magazine. Equally importantly, the editorial which made up the first page(s) of the magazine often concerned itself with what might be described as 'women's news', a section known latterly as the 'Crónica femenina y feminista'. This editorial concern for women is also reflected in some of the topics covered by the magazine's writers of both sexes, who enjoy writing about women's concerns, women writers and the Woman Question.

The female focus of *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* is unsurprising, given that the magazine was the Iberian incarnation of Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer's Mexican magazine *El Álbum de la Mujer*, whose length of publication faithfully evidences the *aragonesa's* stay in Mexico from 1883 until 1890, the year in which she returns to her native Spanish soil and immediately re-starts the new magazine (the transition is almost seamless, with only a few weeks between the first magazine ending and the second beginning).²⁶¹ Nor was she a

²⁶⁰ Although there are differences on opinion regarding the magazine's end date, Servén Díaz incorrectly stating 1909 and Íñigo Sánchez Llama stating 1910, it will certainly not be later January 1911, because Gimeno left Barcelona for Buenos Aires on Feb 3rd 1911, the city where she died on April 11th 1919 (Pintos, 2016: 221). Although the four months of the 1890 issues are not available via the BNE or the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, I have used the data from a study of the magazine, which conveniently covers the years 1890-1911, from Chozas Ruiz-Belloso (2005), in which he lists all of the women writers (and their works) that he found. This data, together with an analysis of the indices of tomes (published in the magazine annually), means that my study is comprehensive and that assertions can be made confidently, as there are only four missing issues from the digitized/microfilmed 20-year period.

²⁶¹ The term 'restarts' is used here because her husband once edited a magazine of the same name. To give a sense of Gimeno de Flaquer's work ethic, the last issue of *El Álbum de la Mujer* found in the Hemeroteca Nacional de México is dated 29th June 1890, and *El Álbum Ibero-americano* begins on 7th August 1890. This short period between magazines across countries can be explained by Gimeno arriving in Spain alone at the beginning of May to set up the new magazine, while her husband stayed in Mexico to finish off with the old one and finalise the couple's return (Pintos, 2016: 122). Even though there are mere weeks between both publications, it is still clear that Gimeno had originally intentioned for there to be no break at all between

stranger to Spanish publishing, having founded the successful magazine *La Ilustración de la Mujer* in Madrid on the 1st March 1873, the directorship of which was passed to Sofía Tartilán on June 15th, 1875.²⁶² Prior to this she had edited Faustina Sáez de Melgar's *La Mujer* during its first year (1871). It is clear that having created several long-running women's magazines from an early age, at a time when periodicals might only last a few months, Gimeno de Flaquer was a shrewd woman who understood her audience and what they wanted. By studying a magazine published over twenty years, I have been able to trace the evolution of the magazine's ethos in line with the creeping modernity of Spain, as well as the evolution of a widely read woman who was constantly battling to keep herself at the forefront of European and world events where these concerned women's rights. The imaginary she creates in the minds of her readers, when considered over a twenty-year period, is simply too huge and complex to describe in one chapter, a complexity which is represented visually in the introduction. With over 150 female contributors and over 500 contemporaneous (or near contemporaneous) women writers discussed during the life of magazine, it would require a book-length text to discuss this magazine in exhaustive depth. Nor is there space to analyse Gimeno de Flaquer's evolving feminist philosophy, which has been discussed in more general terms elsewhere.²⁶³ However, within the scope of this chapter, I will endeavour to highlight the most remarkable aspects of this network, going from her closest circle to the most indirect connections, reminding the reader that a comprehensive overview of all the women who feature in this magazine can be found in the online dataset. Before trying to trace some of this complexity, however, it is worth looking more closely at the woman who is at the centre of this vast, if largely imagined, landscape of literary women, María Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer.²⁶⁴

issues; the last issue of *El Álbum de la Mujer* informed readers that the first issue of the new magazine would be available from the 6th of July, the following week (ibid, 82).

²⁶² This is not to be confused with the Barcelona magazine of the same name that according to Pintos (2016: 33) was launched by Gimeno on June 1st 1883, and which passed to the control of Nicholas Díaz de Benjumea. I have however, found no evidence for Gimeno's involvement.

²⁶³ For an analysis of Gimeno's feminism and how this fit into the more general discourses, see Hibbs Lissourgues, (2006), Marina Bianchi, (2007, 2008), Lacalzada de Mateo (2005) and Ayala Aracil (2009).

²⁶⁴ Her full name is María de la Concepción Pilar Loreto Laura Rufina Gimeno y Gil. Although some researchers use the modern spelling of 'Jimeno', Gimeno herself never used this variant spelling of her own name, and others used it in reference to her very rarely, apparently people to whom she was a stranger.

Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, the ultimate social networker and self-promoter

While little is known about the life of Gimeno de Flaquer, a lot can be gleaned about her background and value system from her substantial literary output, as over her lifetime she wrote at least twenty books and contributed assiduously to periodicals which, as might be expected, were mostly her own.²⁶⁵ Her first contribution to a local Zaragoza newspaper, *El Trovador del Ebro*, in 1869 at the age of eighteen, marks the beginning of a writing career lasting fifty years. Fittingly, given the trajectory of her career, this debut article was concerned with the *Querelle des femmes*.²⁶⁶ Her literary career in the 1870s, which included two book publications and numerous articles in several different magazines, was cemented by a move to the Court, as well as marriage in 1879 to Francisco de Paula Flaquer y Fraise, himself a magazine editor. It is likely to have been her husband who provided her with the *savoir-faire* of magazine editing – certainly, he provided his name as the official *director*, as was legally necessary at the time. However, it is clearly her hand on the literary tiller of *El Album Ibero-Americano*, with the exception of occasional sojourns abroad, when her husband takes over. This can be seen not only from the feminine and feminist focus of the magazine, and the women writers it features, but the way that she uses the magazine as a very necessary tool for self-promotion, which helps to keep the magazine itself in existence.²⁶⁷ It is through her faithful recording of her social/literary activities and her references to important people that we can rebuild an idea of the contemporaneous impact that she had, not only on Madrid society, but also in Latin America and Latin Europe. Such is the extent of this self-promotion that not all of it can be listed here, but more salient points will be discussed.

²⁶⁵ Pintos (2016: 13), through personally checking Gimeno's birth certificate, is able to put the academic debate to rest surrounding Gimeno's date of birth, stating categorically that it was the 11th December 1850. It is clear that Gimeno would have been unhappy about this information being made public, as 1860 was the birth year that the ever-politic Gimeno gave herself (a lie supported by the date given by the Mexican Miguel Bolaños Cacho in his profile of Gimeno in her own magazine, *El Álbum de la mujer* of 15/1/88, which is the 8th of December 1860, the year also given by Eduardo del Valle in his 1890 biography of Gimeno, which forms the prologue of the Mexican edition of her book *¿Culpa o expiación?*). As might be expected for the time, Gimeno was coy about her real age until the end of her life, as her death certificate reports her to be four years younger than her authentic age (of 68).

²⁶⁶ 'A los impugnadores del bello sexo', *El Trovador del Ebro* (7/11/69).

²⁶⁷ A good example of her husband taking over editorship is during the latter half of 1893, when both he and Eugenio Prat y Gil write the 'Crónicas' and the leading articles. No women writers feature at all during this time, focus on women's issues is minimal, and Gimeno herself features only occasionally. This is why, despite Francisco Flaquer officially giving his name as the editor from the first issue, perhaps for convenience if his name was already registered for the earlier magazine of the same name, circumstantial evidence points to Gimeno herself maintaining editorial control of her (rebaptised) magazine.

Firstly, it becomes clear that Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer is firmly embedded in the greater (male) literary culture, as she proudly reproduces the praise received from literary men of Spain and Mexico of the time. Men such as Jose Fernández Bremón (7/8/03), José María Matheu Aybar (30/3/91), Antonio Balbin de Unquera (30/5/07) and her old friend from Mexico Indalecio Sánchez Gavito (22/1/04), write letters and articles about her or quote her, as do those who are also regular writers for the magazine (Juan Tomas Salvany writes a profile of her in 7/6/06, while Ramiro Blanco [14/6/01] and Eugenio Prat y Gil [22/6/03] report on banquets held in her honour). Male readers, many from Mexico, write unabashed letters and poems exalting her genius and beauty.²⁶⁸ This emerging cult of personality is reinforced by her editorial decision to make a special feature of reproducing the press reception to her social events, such as the press round-up in 4/7/91 of her speech at the Ateneo on the 25th of March that year (about women of the French revolution).²⁶⁹ Later speeches were similarly given the extensive ‘press review’ treatment (30/5/03), as well as reviews by in-house writers such as *Palmerin de Oliva* (Luis Ruiz Contreras) in 30/5/03, and Ernesto de la Guardia in 7/6/05. These favourable reviews were given leading article status in the magazine, and of course the speeches were advertised elsewhere as available for readers to buy in book form.²⁷⁰ The speech of the 26th of March 1903 was particularly successful due to the attendance of the Infanta Doña Eulalia. It is notable that of the eight newspapers which covered the event, most were concerned more with the royal glamour than the content of the speech.²⁷¹

Gimeno de Flaquer is also careful to print reception from her female admirers, whether these be dedicated poems, reader letters responding to her work or favourable reports of

²⁶⁸ Examples are Carlos Pruna (14/6/01), Enrique Pérez Valencia (14/9/01), Álvaro de Larroder (22/6/03) and Pedro Teodosio Labastida of Mexico (30/1/03), the latter using verse to offer his soul in eternal admiration.

²⁶⁹ Chozas Ruíz-Belloso reports that the very first issue of her magazine used two pages to reproduce press reports on her first Atheneum speech, including press details of her ‘elegante traje de raso blanco, escotado’, showing that Gimeno de Flaquer worked to carefully cultivate her image (or ‘brand’) in the minds of readers from the very beginning. This speech, of 1890, made her the third woman to speak at the Atheneum, after Rosario de Acuña and Emilia Pardo Bazán.

²⁷⁰ A full list of her public speeches can be found in Marina Bianchi (2007: 95).

²⁷¹ Gimeno de Flaquer clears the first pages to make space for the *Palmerin de Oliva*’s report of the event, and for reproduction of eight newspapers’ reports. As might be expected for a speech concerning women and their rights in Restoration Spain, seven of the eight newspapers spent more time reporting on the princess herself rather than the reason for which she was present. The only exception to this was from the Republican Progressive newspaper *El País* (1887-1921), which eschewed the reigning celebrity obsession to give the fullest report of the speech itself, and made no mention of anyone who was there. Interestingly, the report by Carmen Burgos Seguí (as ‘Colombine’) for *El Diario Universal* on the other hand, while by far the longest review, used this length to describe the beautiful dresses that notable female guests were wearing, and was more concerned with an analysis of the ‘hermosa fisonomía’ of the princess herself as a way of gauging her emotional reaction to the event, rather than engaging with any of the intellectual ideas expressed by the speaker.

her speeches. The (fourteen-year-old) Josefa Codina Umbert of Barcelona glorifies Gimeno de Flaquer in dubious poetry (14/11/90), as does Guadalupe Orozco y Enciso of Oaxaca, Mexico (14/10/01).²⁷² This hero worship is seen most strongly from the Latinist and pedagogue Dolores Gortázar Serantes of León, with ‘A Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer’ (30/3/00), and ‘A La Ilustre Escritora Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer’ (14/6/01).²⁷³ These poems address the older woman as ‘Concha’ (Gimeno de Flaquer’s familiar name to her friends) and describe her physical likeness, which suggest a personal acquaintance with the subject. The latter poem was reported by Ramiro Blanco (same issue) as being read out at Gimeno’s banquet of honour and Gimeno de Flaquer refers to the poet in her article about *pedagogas españolas* (7/5/01).²⁷⁴ While it is not known from this magazine if Gortázar Serantes was at this particular banquet, there is evidence from another press source that the two did in fact meet, with *El País* of 26/1/00 revealing that the ‘aristocrática y jóven escritora leonesa’ had been invited as a special guest to one of Gimeno’s *tertulias*, where she read aloud one of her dramas in verse.²⁷⁵ There is also a press notice of the decision for the *juegos florales intercontinentales*, organised by *El Mundo Latino*: Gimeno will be *presidenta*, and Gortázar Serantes one of the *vocales*.²⁷⁶ The Peruvian Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, in her award-winning eight-part essay ‘La Novela Moderna’ (22/5/92), quotes Gimeno in her discussion about *Fernán Caballero* (a quotation which praises literary foremother *Fernán Caballero* herself) while on the same page extolling the talents of Emilia Pardo Bazán, thus placing Gimeno’s name in textual proximity to these great novelists. This validation-by-association is also seen in Logroño

²⁷² Orozco y Enciso’s sonnet from Oaxaca, ‘A la renombrada señora Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer’ was originally published in *El Álbum de la Mujer* in 24/10/86. A comment about Gimeno’s tendency to recycle older material will be made in a later section, but reproducing this poem suggests an aim of self-promotion.

²⁷³ Gortázar Serantes also writes an extensive and favourable review of Gimeno’s book *Los Evangelios de la Mujer* for the *Revista Gallega* (15/4/1900), although the review contains no personal information or hint of personal acquaintance. More details on Gortázar Serantes’ own life and work can be found in Ramírez Gómez (2000: 177).

²⁷⁴ She refers to Gortázar Serantes with ‘Ilustrada maestra que ha hecho su carrera en León es la distinguida latinista Dolores Gortázar Serantes’ and Gortázar’s book ‘Arte poético de Horacio’ is favourably reviewed by M. de la Torre in 30/4/01. The praise poems written by Sofía Casanova, María Pilar Contreras y Alba and Carolina de Soto y Corro, women with whom Gimeno de Flaquer is seen to have shared a communicative dialogue, are discussed later.

²⁷⁵ There is also a notice in *El País* of 15/6/00 that Dolores Gatacre Serantes (sic) is about to launch her own magazine the *Revista Madrileña de Señoras*, with the writers to feature in this magazine heavily coinciding with Gimeno’s own circle. Carolina de Soto y Cano (sic), Filomena Dato and Blanca de los Ríos were to form her *redacción*, while Emilia Pardo Bazán, *la Reina de Rumania* (Carmen Silva), Sofía Casanova, Carolina Valencia, Patrocinio de Biedma, Joaquina Balmaseda and Gimeno herself were to be *colaboradoras*. As I have found no other mention of this magazine during my research, it may be that it was particularly ephemeral, even by nineteenth-century standards, or that sadly it never did launch.

²⁷⁶ The *Diario Oficial de Avisos de Madrid* of 17/11/01 also informs us that the other women taking part are Carmen de Burgos Seguí (as general secretary), and Salomé Muñiz de Topete (sic) and Teresa Gil de Lara (as spokespeople). Literary competitions were a good way of promoting one’s work in the nineteenth century – even just an *accésit* meant publication and free publicity (Simón Palmer, 2002a: 52).

reader's Dolores de Velasco's letter of 14/7/03 to the editor, to congratulate her on her books *Evangelios de la Mujer* and *La Mujer Intelectual*, when she calls her a '(d)igna sucesora de D.^a Concepción Arenal'.²⁷⁷ Naturally, as would be expected for a commercially aware businesswoman, Gimeno formally advertised her works in the back pages with the regularity that she published sample chapters from her books in the front pages, but letters like these could be argued to be more valuable than advertisements due to their apparently disinterested nature. They could be considered as the references (as Ezra Pound describes it) for her 'literary capital' in the world of letters.²⁷⁸

Given that Gimeno was happy to publish reader recommendations, it is no surprise that every favourable press review of her books also appears to have been reproduced in her magazine. Such is their number that it is impossible to list them all here, but mention should be made of a prestigious report on her book *Mujeres de regia stirpe*, written for the Real Academia Española by Eugenio Sellés, at the request of the Minister for Public Education (7/9/08). Similarly, Gimeno is keen to highlight the international press reception of her books in countries such as Mexico (22/5/07), Italy (7/5/07), France (14/7/07), Cuba (14/10/07), and Argentina (22/9/08). She fundamentally understands that she is promoting herself as a brand, as a woman worth reading, and in wealth and class-obsessed Spain, that means being associated with the right people, with beauty and glamour, a truism ironically proved by the glamour-obsessed coverage of her Ateneo speech on *El problema feminista*. Association with the socially admired works best on a personal network level, but was still effective if only a textual strategy, as will be seen later in the chapter. Her successful journalistic and literary career characterised by unbroken longevity is the best evidence for her profound knowledge of how nineteenth-century Spanish society operated, and of how to satisfy her readers' deepest yearnings for glamour, admiration and status, while informing them about women's potential for progress.

²⁷⁷ After her praise of Gimeno de Flaquer, Dolores de Velasco then expounds her own views on feminism, more advanced than Gimeno de Flaquer's at that time, and it is a point of contention to what point praise for the editor is seen as an easy way to see one's own work in print. Certainly, Juan Valera urges fellow writer Meléndez to exploit Gimeno's weakness of vanity by the insertion of a flattering dedication to ensure publication (Bieder, 1990: 461). This is a strategy which works for male writer Germán de Argumosa, who writes to Gimeno to say that he wrote his tale ('El Alma Humana', 7/12/08), after being inspired by her own tale, 'El Espejo Mágico', of 14/11/08.

²⁷⁸ 'You do not accept a stranger's cheques without reference. In writing, a man's "name" is his reference. He has, after a time, credit.' (Pound, 1961: 25) I think it is fair to say that this rule also applies to literary women.

Women in Gimeno's real-life network: notable absences

A point of irony worthy of mention is that, despite Gimeno's editorial preoccupation with women, their writing and their general progress in society, there is less textual evidence for a supportive, 'personalised' women writer's network than in other magazines of this study. In her *El Álbum de la Mujer* article of 20/5/88, Gimeno tells of being introduced, as an adolescent (!), to the Duquesa de la Torre in 1875 and, through this introduction to 'la vida social', the author describes how she met Juan Valera in Carolina Coronado's Lisbon palace.²⁷⁹ She also participated in the literary and cultural activities initiated by Patrocinio de Biedma, Faustina Sáez de Melgar, Josefa Pujol de Collado and Sofía Tartilán (Bieder, 1993a: 220).²⁸⁰ Indeed we can trace some of these relationships through the magazines of the 1870s and 1880s, with a poem by Carolina Coronado to Gimeno found in *La Ilustración* of Barcelona ('En el álbum de la distinguida escritora Concepción Gimeno de Fláquer' 21/5/82), and evidence of warm correspondence from Biedma to Gimeno in her magazine *Cádiz* (1877-1880), who esteemed Gimeno's writing enough to place it on the front page (30/1/80).²⁸¹ However, by 1890, with the exception of Carolina Coronado (and Sofía Tartilán, who died in 1888) what can be deduced from the printed evidence of the magazine is that her relationships with the other women writers appear to have greatly diminished.²⁸² Faustina Sáez de Melgar was still alive until 1895, and she had previously appeared in Gimeno's *El Álbum de la Mujer* of 1883, while Gimeno as a young writer had appeared in Sáez de Melgar's *La Mujer*. However, she does not appear at all as a contributor to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, and her name only appears as part of a list of women magazine editors in an article written by Gimeno years after the former's death (30/12/00), as if she were a complete stranger to the editor.²⁸³ Patrocinio de Biedma and Josefa Pujol de Collado, meanwhile, feature only once in the magazine as contributors,

²⁷⁹ 'Acababa yo de llegar á Madrid en el año de 1875, cuando fui presentada en su *hotel*: esta presentación coincidió con mi entrada en la vida social, pues hallábame en la adolescencia. [...] Después de las afectuosas atenciones que debo á la Duquesa, lígame á su salón literario un grato recuerdo, el haber conocido allí á Juan Valera, al cual traté después en Lisboa, en el palacio de Carolina Coronado.'

²⁸⁰ Gimeno's friend Julia de Moya (Julia Moya y Jiménez) is also notable for her absence, despite their close friendship during the 1870s which saw them attending theatre plays and tertulias together, acting in plays together (Pintos, 2016: 36-38) and Moya contributing to Gimeno's *El Álbum de la mujer* in the 1880s.

²⁸¹ We also know that the two met at least twice, when Patrocinio reports of meeting being visited by Gimeno during a hotel stay in Madrid (*Cádiz*, 20/5/79), and both visit the theatre with Mme. Rattazzi (*La Época*, 14/12/99), a few months after Biedma's contribution to the magazine.

²⁸² Unfortunately, we have little to go on but the magazine, as none of her letters or diaries have been found, a situation which may have been exacerbated by her having no children, who might have wanted to preserve their mother's legacy. She does however, appear to have had a sister, given the title of the poem 'A mi adorada hermana Rosario' (*El Correo de la Moda*, 2/10/72).

²⁸³ She is also briefly profiled by Ramón de la Huerta Posada in 'La Mujer' of 7/6/96.

with Pujol de Collado in the magazine's first year of 1890 (an article entitled 'Alejandria en los primeros tiempos del Cristianismo VIII', exact date unavailable), and Biedma with her 'La comedia y el drama' of 30/9/99. Like Biedma and Sáez de Melgar, Josefa Pujol de Collado is only mentioned once by Gimeno in the twenty-year span of the magazine, as editor of *El Parthenon*, in the same list of female magazine editors of Spain (30/12/00). Gimeno herself had contributed to this magazine in 15/3/80, although she omits to mention this detail.²⁸⁴ There is no clue to any of them once enjoying a collaborative, let alone personal relationship with the editor, to judge from the magazine.

One explanation may be that Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, a woman with social and literary aspirations, was trying to avoid being seen as part of the once 'popular' Isabelline generation of *literatas*, a generation which was now moribund in the most literal sense, and whose flowery, non-realist style had fallen out of fashion in favour of new trends now discussed in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* by writers such as Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera. Certainly, this would explain why Faustina Sáez de Melgar's contemporary, María Pilar Sinués de Marco, is never personally mentioned by Gimeno de Fláquer in the twenty-year span of the magazine, despite being a magazine editor like the others (and despite being briefly profiled by Ramón de la Huerta Posada in the 22/5/96 instalment of his 'La Mujer' series). However, the specific absence of Sinués de Marco may also be explained by a potential antipathy between the two writers that had its roots in a literary clash in 1886 over Emilia Pardo Bazán's work – Sinués de Marco had criticised Emilia Pardo Bazán in writing, and Gimeno went to print in her own magazine of the time (*El Álbum de la Mujer*) to defend Pardo Bazán from this 'injusto ataque' that she characterised as 'inconveniente' y 'de muy mal tono'. In her eyes, its originator had dishonoured herself and let down the sisterhood with her words.²⁸⁵ It is clear from Gimeno's glowing profile of Pardo Bazán in *El Álbum de la Mujer* of 1884, as well as a cover photograph which must have been sent by the Galician herself alongside permission to serialise her novel *Viaje de novios* in 1885, that Gimeno was a great admirer of Pardo Bazán.²⁸⁶ This praise culminates

²⁸⁴ The piece was called 'Historia de una flor contada por ella misma', an allegory about the life of Carolina Coronado, was simultaneously published in *Cádiz* (30/1/80) and *El Mundo Ilustrado* (Barcelona). Pujol de Collado was also a regular contributor to Gimeno's *El Álbum de la Mujer* in the 1880s and acted as a correspondence intermediary between Gimeno and the great Menéndez Pelayo, when the former wished to send the latter copies of *El Álbum de la Mujer* which featured his portrait (Pintos 2016: 107).

²⁸⁵ For more details of this impassioned defence, and Gimeno's idolisation of Pardo Bazán during the 1880s, see Servén Díaz (2014: 197-203).

²⁸⁶ Freire López (1991: 153-4, 156, 174) reproduces an undated letter from Gimeno to Pardo Bazán, which must have been before her move to México (1883), but after 1879 (it is also marked only 'Valladolid, 3 de Abril' but signed with her married name). Perhaps at this point in time Gimeno had a higher profile than Pardo Bazán, as Pardo Bazán sends her a book (*Pascual López?*), apparently for feedback, and the feedback she receives, while positive, is generic enough to suggest that Gimeno did not read the book. (Contrast this

in a report on Pardo Bazán's speech at the Ateneo in 22/5/87.²⁸⁷ However, as it becomes clear during the 1880s that Pardo Bazán's star is on the rise, so by the 1890s she moves in different, more prestigious (read: 'masculine') literary circles to Gimeno, or 'la aristocracia del talento'.²⁸⁸ It may be exactly because of this real-life social detachment that Pardo Bazán's life or work ironically never appears in a magazine otherwise devoted to documenting notable women.²⁸⁹ In fact, Gimeno mentions her only twice in the passing: in 22/7/00, and in the aforementioned article about female magazine editors of 30/12/00. The absence of Pardo Bazán could be taken as evidence that there is a certain rivalry between the two women, or an attempt at emulation on the part of Gimeno, a dynamic that did not go uncommented by others.²⁹⁰ Tantalisingly, two of Emilia Pardo Bazán's female friends and one of her acquaintances (Sofía Casanova, Blanca de los Ríos and Carolina Valencia respectively) feature in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, but never the great woman herself.²⁹¹

Another notable omission from the magazine, especially in the interests of this study, is the writer Rosario de Acuña, Gimeno's exact contemporary (Acuña being born only weeks before). The ambitious Gimeno would undoubtedly have been aware of Acuña when the latter shot to fame in 1876 for her play *Rienzi el Tribuno*. Indeed, Rosario de Acuña features in *El Álbum de la mujer* and Gimeno's 1877 book *La mujer española*.²⁹² Yet the

lukewarm response with the high praise that Gimeno lavishes on Pardo Bazán only a few years later.) It is also clear, via Emilia Calé y Quintero's letter to Pardo Bazán (which mentions the familiar 'Concha'), that there was epistolary contact between all three which continued after Gimeno left for Mexico. Gimeno also sent Pardo Bazán the first issue of *El Álbum de la mujer*, via mail through mutual friend Juan Salvany.

²⁸⁷ 'Emilia Pardo Bazán es uno de los primeros talentos de nuestros días; su nombre ha de figurar dignamente entre los muy eximios de Jorge Sand, Gertrudis Avellaneda y Madame Staël....' (She continues in this vein, praising Pardo Bazán's thought, style, books, physical appearance and demeanour. *El Álbum de la mujer*, 22/5/87).

²⁸⁸ Ezama Gil, quoted in Bieder (2015: 170). For full details of Pardo Bazán's female literary relationships see *ibid.* pp. 175-176.

²⁸⁹ Pardo Bazán and Gimeno de Flaquer did coincide socially over this period, with *El Globo* (17/4/98) and *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* (22/4/05) reporting them as guests at high-society gatherings. Both were also *vicepresidentas* of the Centro Ibero-Americano para la cultura de la mujer (along with la Condesa del Val and Carmen Rojo, see 30/3/05). It should be noted however, that in the report of Pardo Bazán's banquet for Blanca de los Ríos (*La Época*, 7/5/06), organised to celebrate the latter's triumph at the Ateneo on the 5th of May 1906, the other female guests were listed as Concepción Sáiz, Magdalena Fuentes and Pilar Contreras, with *María Belmonte* and *Sofía Casanova* sending their regards. All of these guests were contributors to Gimeno's magazine, though she herself does not appear in this list.

²⁹⁰ Emilio Bobadilla (Fray Candil 1862-1921) cynically contrasted each woman's *tertulia* with the following: 'ambas señoras se disputan a los hombres de letras, con el fin de dar más brillantez a sus respectivas tertulias. Valera prefiere el *pulque* de la Flaquer y Campoamor (1817-1901) el *caldo* de doña Emilia'. (Bieder, 2015: 177).

²⁹¹ It might be a stretch to describe Carolina Valencia as a friend given that Pardo Bazán makes clear in her prologue to Valencia's 1890 *Poesías* that they had no previous personal connection, however hers was the only prologue Pardo Bazán ever wrote for a living Spanish woman writer and the only time she addressed a woman directly and publicly about her writing. The same book and poet are praised by Gimeno in 14/8/90.

²⁹² Acuña was reasonably regular presence in *El Álbum de la mujer*, with substantial pieces published (for example, her comic poem recited in her Ateneo appearance is reproduced in 1884 over six pages). Her portrait graces the front cover of the 25/1/85 issue; under her name is the legend 'poetisa española' which

only woman to have preceded Gimeno at the podium of Madrid's Atheneum never features as a writer in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, nor is she even mentioned by the editor in the life of the magazine. I would suggest that Gimeno's omission of her contemporary in her real-life network or even her imaginary is very much a deliberate strategy, as by 1890 Acuña had not only become part of *la Otra España*, the antithesis to the Spain of Gimeno's cosy bourgeois magazine but, as Chapter 2 shows, Acuña had become the Other Spain's female figurehead.²⁹³

Friends from the 1870s who contribute to her new magazine

Despite the changing landscape of *colaboradoras* over the decades, there remain female friends from the 1870s, with whom Gimeno continues to collaborate into the 1890s and beyond. The Madrid-based Julia de Asensi and Emilia Calé Torres de Quintero are both found regularly in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, with Julia de Asensi being found in over fifty issues of the magazine. There is, however, no paratextual evidence that would suggest any previous personal interaction with this editor, although other press sources give evidence of these relationships.²⁹⁴ It may also have been through Julia de Asensi that *María Belmonte* (to be discussed later in the chapter) was introduced to the magazine, as a poem published in the album evidences their friendship ('A la mano de mi querida amiga Julia de Asensi', 30/7/92). Ermelinda Ormaeche, who was a colaboradora of Gimeno's *La Ilustración de la Mujer* in the 1873, and whose familiarity with Gimeno is also seen in the poem reproduced in Ramón de la Huerta Posada's profile of her in 14/2/97 (which is addressed simply to 'Maria de la Concepcion Gimeno', the authorial by-line Gimeno used

is a few weeks after Acuña's famous letter of adhesion to freethinking. However, given that Acuña's work was published in *El Álbum de la mujer* until at least as late as May 1888, it may be any scandal surrounding Acuña had not yet crossed the Atlantic. Certainly, Gimeno appears unaware that Acuña loathed the term 'poetisa', as she was reported to have said of the word 'Si han de ponerme nombre tan feo, todos mis versos he de romper' (quoted in Bieder, 1995: 109).

²⁹³ Pintos (2016: 28) states that Rosario de Acuña was one of the women writers (alongside Gimeno, Rattazzi and Pardo Bazán) to be invited to *la Duquesa de la Torre's* personal theatre, the Ventura, to view Tirso de Molina's *El vergonzoso en Palacio*, to which were also invited diplomatic and political figureheads. Pintos does not give the source of this information, but this must have taken place between 1887-1889 given other known historical facts, suggesting that Acuña was still part of polite society at this time, despite her 1883 adhesion to freethinking.

²⁹⁴ The magazine *Cádiz* prints Emilia's poem 'Á la eminente escritora señorita Doña Concepción Gimeno, con motivo de la reciente publicación de su erudita obra *La mujer española*' (30/6/77) in which the poet addresses her as 'amiga mía', their friendship likely cultivated during Emilia's years in Madrid (1871-1875), when she held meetings of the Galicia Literaria society in her home, alongside her partner Vesteiro Torres, the society's founder (Pintos, 2016: 49). *El País* of the 27/10/92, meanwhile, reports on Julia de Asensi reading verses at Gimeno's *soirée* of the previous night.

before marriage), has numerous poems printed in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*.²⁹⁵ However, by the 1890s the female object of her poetic attention has become fellow contributor Matilde Russiano ('A mi querida amiga Matilde Russiano devolviéndole un álbum de autografos' [30/6/91], 'En el álbum de la inspirada poetisa calpense Matilde Russiano' [14/7/91]). It is intriguing to speculate to what extent women introduced their friends to Gimeno as new contributors to the magazine, as there are no glimpses of private correspondence or reports of personal meetings in these cases. Certainly, these instances of women writers dedicating poems to another literary woman in the magazine is a phenomenon also noted by Chozas Ruiz-Belloso (2005: 10), who describes Delfina María Hidalgo's poetic dedication to Adela Castell in 14/2/91 (who herself features in 1890) with the evocative: 'La comunicación de dos poetisas a través del *Álbum* se imagina como dos mujeres que cantan y se escuchan a una distancia inmensa en el silencio de la noche. Se deja sentir la soledad de las intelectuales y el gran papel de las revistas para ponerlas en contacto.'

As previously mentioned, Carolina Coronado's writing continues to be favoured by Gimeno until the end of the magazine, and it is likely to be this favour that leads to a sonnet of Carolina Coronado's daughter, Matilde Perry y Coronado, also being published ('En la muerte de Nathercia', 7/6/95). Tantalisingly, Gimeno describes Carolina Coronado's literary salons, as well as others, but without putting herself in the picture she evokes:

Reina de *salón* fue Carolina Coronado, hermosa, elegante, distinguida; inspirada como una musa. Cuantos literatos y artistas célebres llegaban á Madrid, hacíanse presentar en aquella hospitalaria casa de la calle de Alcalá, en donde Ayala, Alarcón, Castro y Serrano, García Tasara y Campoamor recitaban composiciones poéticas presididos por una diosa.

El *salón* literario de la Duquesa de Rivas fue brillante.

El *salón político y mondaine* de la encantadora Duquesa de la Torre, creadora de la moda, alcanzó una época de esplendor en la cual estuvo animadísimo. Los estadistas españoles discutían en el hotelito de la calle de Serrano los sucesos actuales. ('Reinas de salón', 22/9/99)

²⁹⁵ Ormaeche was also the directora of *La Mariposa* (1873), Cantabria's first women's magazine, in which she shared Gimeno's sentiment about the importance of education for women.

This problem is also complicated by the fact that, as this passage is found in an article about famous French *salonnières* of history who are described in similar terms, it is difficult to know to what extent these descriptions of these Spanish salons come from first-hand experience.

One Isabelline writer who is found in the magazine, and mentioned in a social context, is Joaquina García Balmaseda (b.1837), who is twice found in the magazine under her pen-names *La Baronesa de Olivares* and *La Condesa de Olivares* with the articles on etiquette ‘Los huéspedes en el campo’ (14/09/06) and ‘La vida en sociedad’ (14/10/08).²⁹⁶ Gimeno also name-checks the author in her ‘Crónica Veraniega. Desde Guadarrama’ (22/8/07), in which she states:

Hay una colonia madrileña muy numerosa: entre los intelectuales he visto á la inolvidable Joaquina Balmaseda y á su marido, á Carmen Blanco, á Caballero de Puga y al pintor Lamela.

It might be seen as evidence of the regard in which García Balmaseda is held by Gimeno that she is described as ‘inolvidable’ and is placed at the start of the list of ‘intelectuales’. This excerpt also suggests that *granadina* Carmen Blanco Trigueros (spelt Triguerras within the magazine), a contemporary of García Balmaseda, was personally known to Gimeno, not just through her work, which featured in the magazine (‘La cárcel de Cervantes en Argamasilla’ [7/5/05], ‘La religión’ [30/3/07]). This supposition is strengthened by the fact that both Blanco and Gimeno had a mutual friend in María del Pilar Contreras (see below), and both moved in similar literary circles.²⁹⁷

Major female figures in Gimeno’s real-life network:

Carolina de Soto y Corro and María del Pilar Contreras

Like Julia de Asensi, Carolina de Soto y Corro is found in over fifty issues of *El Álbum*, with poetry for the most part, but she has the strongest evidence for friendship ties of any of the women writers in the magazine. Her collaboration begins in the second half of the

²⁹⁶ Balmaseda was also a regular contributor to *El Álbum de la Mujer*, so their collaborative relationship is a longstanding one.

²⁹⁷ Carmen de Burgos writes a profile of Blanco in *Feminal* 24/11/07 (p.772) with a description of her physical demeanour in conversation which suggests a personal knowledge of the subject. (This is available to view digitally at the *Arxiu de revistes catalanes antigues* website.)

magazine's run, with the poem 'En el banquete en honor de la eximia escritora Doña Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer' (14/6/01), celebrating the glories of the occasion, and at which it is assumed that both Gimeno de Flaquer and Dolores Gortázar Serantes were also present. It appears that it was this occasion which precipitated the very fruitful collaboration between the two women, and Gimeno de Flaquer likewise obliges her with favourable book reviews for two of her publications (*Album de Bodas* [30/6/03] and *Odas, Poemas y Leyendas* [7/5/07]). There is obviously more to their relationship than simple contributions to the magazine, whether this is private correspondence or meetings in person, as attested by the poem 'Autobiografía – Yo', dedicated 'A la insigne y culta escritora Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer' (30/7/09). Soto y Corro implies that she is penning the trajectory of her life in response to Gimeno's request for this very work. The poem itself describes a quiet, unmarried life of flower cultivation and poetry, marked by family tragedy (potentially a father's death), and her love of God and her mother. From a perspective of bibliographical interest, the poem also lists the books that she has published to this date, as well as details of her erstwhile magazine *Asta Regia*.²⁹⁸

In addition to having her own books reviewed by the magazine, she herself also reviews works by fellow contributor María del Pilar Contreras y Alba (de Rodríguez), unsurprising, given that the contemporaries (born within months of each other in Andalusia) were known to be close friends who later wrote many musical plays together.²⁹⁹ Her first review, of Contreras's zarzuela 'La Ciudad del Porvenir' (14/9/06), reveals that 'la notable intelectual' has written and directed the play, written the score, and is 'la primera mujer que en un teatro español se atrevía á ocupar el puesto del director de orquesta'.³⁰⁰ The extensive review describes the rapturous audience reception at Ciudad Lineal, although gives the plot in so much detail that it is effectively a 'spoiler'. Her second favourable review, of Contreras' poetry book (*Entre mis muros*), itself takes the form of a poem of the same title (22/10/07).³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ For further details on the life and literary achievements on the woman also known as *una hija de Nazareth* (Simón Palmer, 1989b: 51), see Díaz Toleda (1994), Sotomayor Sáez (2013) and Carmona González (1999: 246).

²⁹⁹ For example, *Teatro para niños*, 6 vols. 1910-1917; *La buena obra*, 1912; *Pasado, presente y futuro*, 1913; *Los Santos médicos*, 1914; *Un premio a la virtud*, 1915; *Los niños toreros*, 1916; *El cocinero de Mister John*, 1917; *Paco el Trianero*, 1917; *Los tres defectos de Rita*, 1917. Both had also edited their own magazines, with Soto y Corro editing *Asta Regia* (1880-1883, Jerez de la Frontera) and Contreras editing *La Verdad* (c. 1883, Jaén) and *El Amigo del Hogar* (1890, Madrid).

³⁰⁰ Contreras also wrote the music for operas, zarzuelas and anthems, and had won prizes for her waltzes (for further details see Simón Palmer, 1991: 200).

³⁰¹ Another of her poetry books, *Páginas sueltas*, is reviewed in the more standard prose form, by José M. de la Torre in 30/1/04.

It is clear that Gimeno de Flaquer is happy to print Soto's reviews for her friend Contreras' works, as Contreras is part of the same literary circle.³⁰² Her contributions begin a few years after Soto y Corro's first appearance (1904). It may be Soto y Corro's role as mutual friend of both women which inspired Contreras' collaboration with Gimeno, a collaboration which includes a poem to Gimeno herself ('Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer – Semblanza', 28/2/07) and a glowing review of Gimeno's speech at the Sociedad Española de Higiene, at which Contreras herself was present (22/4/08). In turn a photograph of Contreras is printed alongside those of other women under the title 'Centro Ibero-Americano de Cultura Popular Femenina' (30/6/06), a photograph which is repeated in a larger format as an individual portrait in 14/6/09.³⁰³ Gimeno also makes the briefest of references to Contreras' speech at the aforementioned venue in 22/3/06, its brevity being worthy of comment, given that details about the event were easily obtainable in the press, had Gimeno not herself attended or received a personal report.³⁰⁴ Despite her relatively late debut in the life of the magazine, Contreras' contributions are regular, with twenty pieces up until the publication's last year, a mixture of poetry and prose reviews, both genres featuring items worthy of note from a social perspective. Like Soto y Corro, a fellow social conservative, Contreras's royalism is seen through her poetry (in her case a poem of 14/2/06 to the Infanta Maria Teresa on her wedding day), but the first woman to receive praise from Contreras is fellow musician Rosa Luna, a concert pianist and graduate of the London conservatory, whose concert she reviews in 14/6/05.³⁰⁵ Her praise of female talent continues with her poem to Carmen Blanco Trigueros (22/7/06), who, as we have seen, was also known to Gimeno de Flaquer and a fellow contributor to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*. Here Blanco Trigueros is mentioned as the *cronista* who 'ha conquistado EL GLOBO con su talento'. Other writings reveal her relationships to Concepcion Aleixandre

³⁰² Note that Soto y Corro and Contreras were two of only three women writers invited to Gimeno's home at the last 'reunión de la temporada' (see section on Rachel Challice).

³⁰³ It should be noted that this is the only magazine of the study, probably for technical/financial reasons, which reproduces any likenesses of its female contributors, an editorial decision which is clearly a continuation of Gimeno's similar practice with *El Álbum de la Mujer*.

³⁰⁴ *El Álbum* barely remarks on her speech and musical extravaganza of the 15th March 1906, which is ironic when it was much more extensively commented in the daily newspapers, including the fact that it was so heavily subscribed that with the 300 seats of the hall filled with women, the remaining extra male and female guests had to resign themselves to listening to the music while standing in adjacent rooms and corridors. The songs she composed for her child choir, entitled 'Patria', 'Religión' and 'Caridad', give a sense of Contreras's conservative worldview (see *El Día*, 14/3/06 and *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 17/3/06).

³⁰⁵ Contreras was, however, more stridently Catholic in her views than Soto y Corro, as Contreras had been directora of the anti-Spiritist *La Verdad, Revista Católica Apostólica Romana* (Ramírez Almazán, 2009:170). She had written anti-Spiritism articles in the early 1880s (this is known due to Amalia Domingo Soler's refutations of Contreras' arguments in her own *La Luz del Porvenir* in 16/8/83, which mentions 'la señorita de Contreras'). Soto y Corro, on the other hand, while she ran her own contemporaneous Church-sanctioned magazine, was much more tolerant in her religious views, as can be seen from her openly respecting her Spiritist friend Eugenia Estopa's right to her beliefs (see Chapter 1).

and Clorinda Matto de Turner (see below). Contreras also devotes time to a book review regarding literary foremother Concepción Arenal (14/3/08). Of special importance is her relationship to Eduarda Moreno, seen through an article about the death of a young soldier killed in Morocco ('Un recuerdo', 30/10/09). In this article, Contreras describes Moreno, the *granadina* a generation older than Contreras, whose poetry had inspired the young woman to take up the pen herself, and whom she eventually met in person and befriended when Moreno moved to Madrid, before the older woman's death in 1885. It was due to her friendship with Moreno that Contreras personally knew the fallen battalion commander, the subject of her article, as he had been Moreno's only son.

Concepción Aleixandre, an idol and occasional contributor

Concepción Aleixandre, the widely celebrated doctor of medicine, is naturally fêted by Gimeno de Flaquer, who sees in her the perfect example of accomplished womanhood. To illustrate this admiration, Gimeno devotes the front cover of 22/6/04 to Aleixandre's portrait, and the whole of the first page to a profile in which she herself extols Aleixandre's achievements and virtues.³⁰⁶ There is nothing within this text to reveal a personal involvement with Aleixandre however, and the pieces from Aleixandre (a paragraph about Don Quijote in a collection of various authors' views, 7/5/03 and the article 'Para las futuras madres', 14/07/05) may well have been reproduced from other print sources. Her two conference speeches at the Unión Ibero-Americana were both commented on in the magazine, the first very briefly, in 22/3/06, and the second extensively in 30/11/07, with the original portrait used in 22/6/04 repeated in this issue. It may well have been that the reporting on the first speech was scant due the fact that, despite the report of the speech having taken place, at the time of writing it was still to occur. It may also have been that the subject (tropical medicine) did not interest Gimeno greatly, not being women-focussed, although it was evidently a prestigious event – *La Correspondencia de España* of 24/3/06 notes that the speech, of the 22nd March, was presided over by Emilia Pardo Bazán and the Marquise of Ayerbe. However, the second conference, of the 28th November, entitled 'La salud del niño y la Patria – Conferencia dedicada á las mujeres españolas y americanas', could be seen as suitable for review in Gimeno's 'Crónica femenina y feminista' due to its subject matter. Given the extensive detail of this review, plus the report in *La*

³⁰⁶ Concepción Aleixandre is not the only female doctor in Spain who is also a writer – Gimeno also reviews Manuela Solís's book *Para las madres* and writes her biography in 14/5/08.

Correspondencia Militar (2/12/07) that among ‘la concurrencia [...] se hallaban más de un centenar de señoras que descuellan en Madrid por su ilustración, por su talento y por su belleza’, there is the strong likelihood that Gimeno was present. Gimeno had close links to the Unión Ibero-Americano, through being a vicepresident of one of its sub-groups, the Centro Ibero-Americano para la cultura de la mujer, while Aleixandre was president of its Comisión Ejecutiva de Damas (30/8/05). Additional evidence that they met socially is provided in Clorinda Matto de Turner’s *Viaje de Recreo* (see later section), which tells of Gimeno taking her to Aleixandre for a medical consultation.

Sofia Casanova: collaboration from afar, but mutual acknowledgement and admiration

Gimeno had a tendency to favour socially high-status women of an international profile when portraying women writers, but it is not always possible to know if this admiration was in any way acknowledged or corresponded. However, one transnational writer, Sofia Casanova (de Lutoslawski), whose work appears regularly in the magazine from 1896 until 1909, does appear to have at least a correspondence friendship with Gimeno de Flaquer, and they met in person at least twice.³⁰⁷ Evidence of their relationship begins with Gimeno reporting briefly on Casanova’s visit to Madrid, in which she takes the opportunity to welcome the writer in the following general terms:

Ha llegado á Madrid, donde pasará una larga temporada, la inspirada, la brillante poetisa Sofía Casanova. En Polonia, su segunda patria, hace vibrar muy elocuentemente armoniosas notas de su acendrado españolismo.

Merece Sofía Casanova, por sus grandes méritos intelectuales, por su noble y delicado espíritu, que se le preparen aquí entusiastas agasajos. Enviámosle la más cordial bienvenida, lo mismo que á sus bellas é ilustradas hijas. (‘Crónica femenina y feminista’, 22/6/07)

³⁰⁷ The twelve contributions to the magazine, beginning with a spirited defence of French woman writer *Séverine* (Caroline Rémy de Guebhard) against her male critics in 30/1/96, testified to Casanova’s pan-European lifestyle, with some places of writing stated as ‘Señorío de Drosdowo, Polonia rusa’, ‘San Petersburgo’ and ‘Varsovia’. However, even though her 1896 articles on feminism chime broadly with Gimeno’s ideas of the same period, it is not possible to know to which extent any of these pieces are originals sent expressly to Gimeno, or reproductions from elsewhere. Casanova’s two known meetings with Gimeno are described in this and the subsequent section.

However, this does not infer any personal acquaintance with the writer. Indeed, the idea for this welcome may have come from newspaper reports of Casanova's recent arrival to Madrid (*El Liberal* 17/6/07, 18/6/07, *El Heraldo de Madrid* 18/6/07), rather than a personal notification from Casanova herself. However, it appears that Carmen de Burgos belatedly had the same idea (or heeded Gimeno's call) to prepare the *agasajos* for Casanova, as several newspapers reported a year later:

VELADA Y AGASAJO

Con objeto de festejar á la ilustre poetisa Sofía Casanova se reunieron ayer tarde en casa de nuestra compañera Carmen de Burgos gran número de escritoras, entre lo que descollaba lo más florecido de los poetas españoles.

Leyeron hermosas poesías la señora doña Pilar Contreras y los Sres. Salvador Rueda, Tomás Morales, Fernando Fortun, Enrique Díez-Canedo, Gonzalo Molina y Emilio Carrere. [...]

Entre los concurrentes vimos á la notable pintora Rafaela Sánchez Aroca... (*El Liberal*, 12/9/08)

It is difficult to believe that this occasion took place without Gimeno being present, especially as we know that Carmen de Burgos, Pilar Contreras, Rafaela Sanchez Aroca and Salvador Rueda are all contributors to her own magazine.

However, in all of the newspaper reports of this gathering that I found, Gimeno's name is not mentioned, although other female names, such as Carmen Blanco Trigueros, are. It is equally interesting that Gimeno's name is also not listed in any of the reports of a later *té literario* in the offices of the *Revista Crítica*, again organised by Carmen de Burgos, in honour of Casanova and Salvador Rueda (see, for example, *El Liberal*, 29/9/08). Certainly, the newspapers do report that Gimeno was present at Casanova's farewell banquet of the 14th November that year to read aloud a 'primorosa silueta' of the guest of honour, and was accompanied by Carmen de Burgos, Blanca de los Ríos and Consuelo Álvarez Pool (*Violeta*), while Salomé Núñez Topete sent her regards.³⁰⁸ This occasion was followed by the printing of Gimeno's *silueta* of Casanova in 30/11/08; the article itself is dated the 14th November, the night of the farewell banquet and a week before Casanova's planned poetry

³⁰⁸ See *Gaceta de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes* (20/11/08) and *El Liberal* (15/11/08). A photograph of the event can be found in *Nuevo Mundo* (26/11/08).

reading in the Ateneo (which according to the newspapers took place on the 21st of November). This paean to the writer, full of classical illusions, leaves the reader in no doubt of Gimeno's admiration for her subject and her 'femininity', her love of the beautiful, eternal and sublime and her rejection of the vulgar, crude and impure (i.e. naturalism). It may be on reception of this issue in January 1909 that Casanova, now back in Warsaw, is inspired to dedicate one of her poems to Gimeno in response ('A la genial y gloriosa Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer,' 7/2/09).

Clorinda Matto de Turner, a visitor from the far south

Coincidentally, it is in the same week that Gimeno attends a banquet for the Polish resident Sofía Casanova that both of these women also attend a banquet for the Peruvian writer Clorinda Matto de Turner. Matto de Turner, normally resident in Argentina for political reasons but at that point in Madrid, was about to commence her return voyage from a tour of Europe's capitals, including those of France, Switzerland and Italy.³⁰⁹ Newspapers from this period report on Matto de Turner's speeches at the Ateneo on 1st November and the Unión Ibero-Americana on the 4th, with one (*Caras y Caretas* of Buenos Aires, 5/12/08) reproducing two photographs of the latter event.³¹⁰ The newspapers of the day also report on the banquet, and these reports usefully mention many of the literary women who were present apart from the speaker herself: Gimeno, Sofía Casanova, Carmen de Burgos, Carmen Blanco, Carolina de Soto y Corro, Pilar Contreras, Consuelo Alvarez Pool (*Violeta*) and Blanca de los Ríos.³¹¹ Prior to this banquet there is no evidence in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* of any network links with Matto de Turner beyond the contribution of two essays, which could easily be reproductions from elsewhere.³¹² The 22/10/08 issue sees an article written by Gimeno dedicated to Clorinda Matto de Turner and her literary,

³⁰⁹ Reports of this trip to Europe, on which she was accompanied by Argentine writer Emma Llanos de la Barra, is noted in *La Correspondencia de España* (7/7/08) and *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* (22/7/08), as well as Matto de Turner's own *Viaje de recreo* (1909).

³¹⁰ These photographs (page 68 of the magazine) are available to view at the BNE website.

³¹¹ See, for example, *La Ilustración española y americana* (15/11/08), *Nuevo Mundo* (19/11/08) and *La Época* (10/11/08). There is some confusion in the reporting, but it appears to have taken place on the 8th or the 9th, and is also a farewell banquet for the writer, who was returning to Argentina that week. As *La Época* notes 'cosa que sucede pocas veces, predominaba el elemento femenino', reminding us of the secondary role that women usually played at social events.

³¹² These two articles are 'La promesa – costumbres peruanas' (22/5/99, repeated in 14/8/08, perhaps in anticipation of Matto de Turner's visit), and 'Plumas y lapices' (14/07/08). Her articles were also found in magazines such as *La Ilustración*, so without knowing the provenance of these pieces, I will not assume a correspondence with Matto de Turner at this stage. However, it should be noted that Gimeno herself appears as a colaboradora in the 15/5/08 issue of Matto de Turner's *El Búcaro Americano*.

feminist and socio-political achievements, and mentions Matto de Turner's own feminist foremothers (Policarpa Salavarrieta and Maria Bellido) in the passing. Given Clorinda's later description of her friendship with 'la ideal Concepción' during her residence in Madrid, it is highly probable that at least some of the information for this article must have come from face-to-face conversation between the two women.³¹³

However, it is not until the 7/11/08 issue of *El Álbum* that we see unequivocal evidence of direct involvement with the writer, when Gimeno reports on the triumphal success of both of Matto de Turner's speeches, a report which describes the ovation and the award of a trophy, accompanied by a photograph of Matto de Turner at the Ateneo. In the same issue Pilar Contreras writes a poem 'A Clorinda Matto de Turner', directly addressing the Peruvian and referencing one of Matto de Turner's newspapers (*El Búcaro Americano*) in an admiring tone, which would suggest that she too had attended at least one of the events. Carolina de Soto y Corro is similarly star-struck, as her poem of the subsequent week's issue ('A la ilustre escritora Americana Clorinda Matto de Turner' 14/11/08) describes the poet's emotions the moment that she spoke to the author and shook her hand. The transcription of Matto de Turner's Ateneo speech is printed over four issues a few weeks later, when Matto de Turner was known to have returned to Argentina ('Conferencia en el Ateneo de Madrid. De América Sur. Perú.' 30/11/08, 7–22/12/08). Given its length it would be likely that this transcript was given (or sent) directly to the magazine editor on her request, as Matto de Turner's own travel memoir, *Viaje de Recreo* (1909), reveals that she became good friends with Gimeno on meeting her in Madrid, with Gimeno promising to visit her on a future trip to America.³¹⁴

³¹³ Included in this article by Gimeno de Flaquer is praise for Matto de Turner's book *Aves sin nido* about the indigenous peoples' lack of rights, a book which is ironically also praised in *Las Dominicales* (14/2/91) for its anticlerical sentiment. The feelings aroused in Peru by Matto de Turner cannot be overestimated, as she found herself excommunicated, her home broken into, her effigy set ablaze, and her books banned and burned (Pintos 2016: 197). Like her fellow Peruvian Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, Clorinda Matto de Turner transcended the sociopolitical spectrum.

³¹⁴ This memoir gives intriguing detail of the real-life women's network behind the printed page, with Matto de Turner mentioning meeting, among others, Concepción Aleixandre, Carmen Rojo, Magdalena Santiago Fuentes, Carmen Blanco Triguerras, Consuelo Alvarez, Carolina de Soto y Corro, Pilar Contreras, Salomé Núñez y Topete, Carmen de Burgos, Blanca de los Ríos, Concepción Saiz and Sofía Casanova (pp. 46, 313, 316). She also describes being taken by Gimeno to be attended medically by Concepción Aleixandre and discusses how Gimeno and Aleixandre 'estas dos incomparables amigas', prepared her physically and mentally for her upcoming public conference (p. 313). Details of her friendship with Gimeno can be found on pages 44–46, and Gimeno's offer to introduce her by letter to her women writer friends in France and Italy (p. 45) gives tantalising clues as to how the international network functioned. Incidentally, Matto de Turner contracted bronchitis during her trip to Europe from which she never recovered (she eventually died of pneumonia), which may explain her need to visit Concepción Aleixandre in a professional capacity.

Sadly, Gimeno could not keep her promise, as the last entry of Matto de Turner's name in the magazine concerns her death the following year, with Gimeno providing a eulogy (7/12/09) in which she uses a quotation from Uruguayan woman writer Dorila Castell de Orozco. She also includes an article from Matto de Turner's close male friend Carlos López Rocha in Buenos Aires ('Clorinda Matto de Turner – In memoriam', 7/12/09) and a few weeks later (30/12/09) publishes a poem by Mercedes Pujato Crespo of Argentina with the title 'Lágrimas - en la tumba de Clorinda Matto de Turner'.³¹⁵ Gimeno herself may have taken comfort from the fact that she had dedicated her 1909 book *Una Eva moderna* to 'la notable escritora peruana Clorinda Matto de Turner', a copy of which one can hope managed to reach the ailing woman before she died.³¹⁶

Miss Rachel Challice, a visitor from the far north

While the English author Rachel Challice is not an actual contributor to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, her name merits discussion due to mentions of her within the magazine (primarily within a 14/3/07 article about her written to Gimeno as a letter) and her impact on the literary society of the time, including Gimeno's own friendship group.³¹⁷ The newspapers report her various movements within Spain during her visit, including two gatherings, one on the 17th February 1907 (at the Café Inglés) and the other on April 1st 1907 (at the Centro Gallego). Perhaps significantly, both events were organised by Carmen de Burgos and at neither event was Gimeno reported to have been present.³¹⁸ This absence is particularly striking when one considers that the presence of Pilar Contreras was reported at these events (having composed both music and poetry for each one), while both Carmen Blanco Trigueros and Carolina de Soto y Corro were present at the first banquet, if

³¹⁵ Carlos López Rocha is the husband of poet Adela Castell, and the Flaquers would become good friends with the couple on their move to Buenos Aires (Pintos 2016: 209-214).

³¹⁶ There is no information as to whether Gimeno met another of her Peruvian idols, Zoyla Aurora Cáceres, who was visiting Madrid at the point that Gimeno wrote a glowing profile of her with photograph (30/5/09), as well as writing an extended review of her book *Mujeres de ayer y hoy* (22/12/09). Carmen de Burgos wrote a similar review of the same book in *El Heraldo de Madrid* (4/1/10), and it is tempting to speculate if any social activities took place with Cáceres (and Juliette Adam, who was her travelling companion in Spain, cf. *El Liberal* 11/3/09) although nothing was found in the general press to suggest such a meeting.

³¹⁷ This article framed as a letter is 'Una escritora inglesa' by Luis de Figuerola Ferreti, which details Challice's literary achievements and links throughout Europe.

³¹⁸ See for the February meeting - *La Ilustración española y americana* (22/2/07, which notes the *baja sensible* of Pardo Bazán), *El Heraldo de Madrid* (16/2/07, in which Colombine announces the banquet of the following night), and the *Gaceta de instrucción pública* (12/3/07, Carmen Blanco's account). For the April meeting, see the *Gaceta de instrucción pública* (12/4/07), *La Correspondencia de España* (3/4/07).

not the second.³¹⁹ Certainly, it appears that Carmen de Burgos is particularly close to this English writer, with the press reporting them together at various events.³²⁰ Perhaps it is because of a touch of envy, or a wish to re-assert her social position vis-à-vis this socially coveted personage, symbolic of European progress, that the following piece can be found in the anonymous *Informaciones* section of the 7/5/07 issue of *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*:

Leemos en *La Correspondencia de España* y en otros periódicos:

«Ayer se verificó en la morada de la señora D.^a Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer la última reunión de la temporada, viéndose entre la gran concurrencia á las Marquesas de la Laguna, Villamagna, Retortillo y Tenorio; Generales Bayle, Rich y Campos; señoras y señoritas de Cánovas del Castillo, Clavé de Fiter, Seguí, Alonso del Real, Vizcarrondo, León, Elizalde, Mesía de la Cerda, Navarro, Cuevillas, Valdés, González de la Revilla, Gómez Ruíz, Autrán, Padilla, Marché, Keller, y las distinguidas escritoras Rachel Challice, Soto y Corro, Nadal y Pilar Contreras. Cantaron admirablemente las bellas damas Marquesa de Villamagna, María Luisa Padilla, Vicenta de Gómez Ruíz y el distinguido tenor Serna. Recitaron inspirados versos los Sres. Palau y Olmedilla.»

Of course, this may simply be a coincidence, and Gimeno de Flaquer was invited to attend Carmen de Burgos' functions for Challice but could not, or else her presence was not reported. However, given the coincidence of her absence at the Burgos-organised gatherings for Sofia Casanova, the hypothesis of a social rivalry between the two high-profile female journalists bears consideration.³²¹

³¹⁹ Carolina de Soto y Corro recited poetry composed for the occasion at the first event, but it is not known if her poem for the second event, 'A la excelente escritora inglesa MISS RACHEL CHALLICE (Poesía leída en la velada artístico-literaria que en honor de esta escritora celebró, el 1^a. del presente Abril, el centro regional gallego)' found in the 30/4/07 issue of this magazine, was recited by Pilar Contreras due to her absence (see *Gaceta de instrucción pública*, 12/4/07). It is not surprising that Contreras was reported at both when one considers the encomiastic profile Carmen de Burgos writes about her in the Catalan women's magazine *Feminal* of 28/7/07, in which she describes Contreras as an 'excellent amiga, sense orgulls ni pretensions'.

³²⁰ *La Correspondencia de España* reports in 10/2/07 that Carmen de Burgos, in a white mantilla, accompanied 'la escritora inglesa Miss Rachel Challice' as part of the organising committee of the royally attended Festival Bético. Burgos is clearly talented at winning the company of highly-prized women: proudly presenting Sofia Casanova to *tertulianos* in her own home (Cansinos-Assens, 1982: 212), and as a reporter managing to get a face-to-face interview with Emilia Pardo Bazán, reproducing the dialogue in a very twentieth-century way in *El Liberal* (19/2/11).

³²¹ This hypothesis of rivalry is also given weight by the fact that both women's books and articles in the 1900s shared many common themes and perspectives, and both were very sociable women who enjoyed international travel and understood the power of social networking for self-promotion and commercial success. See Volume 1 of Cansinos-Assens' memoirs (posthumously published in 1982) for tales of Carmen

Carmen de Burgos Seguí: a productive commercial alliance, if not friendship

With nineteen articles featured in *El Álbum Ibero-americano*, the aforementioned Carmen de Burgos Seguí is a contributor worthy of note in her own right. As was well-known at the time, Burgos was Spain's first female 'roving reporter', a teacher trainer, and an extremely prolific and versatile writer with a keen sense of what her audience wanted. Despite having socialist, Republican and philosemitic leanings (all potential reasons for her obscurity post-Civil War), the savvy Burgos used aristocratic pseudonyms (*Condesa de C****, *Duquesa Laureana*) for her social instruction books, knowing that in status-obsessed Spain, an aristocratic title (i.e. evidence of social success) would carry more authority with women looking for advice on how to be beautiful, elegant, admired and loved. As a woman who had transgressed Spain's social mores in her own life by leaving her husband in the provinces and taking her young child to the capital alone, Burgos had had to learn to survive financially, through the shrewd balancing of different self-created identities and job roles. Such a juggling of her duties led to her taking leave from her school (her steady income against the instability of writing) in order to travel for her reporting role, to the apparent annoyance of her teaching colleagues (Núñez Rey, 2009: 361). Like Gimeno, Burgos understood the importance of social identity for social/commercial success, and in her case expediently took twelve years from her real age when discussing herself.³²² Her popular touch and daring forays into burning social questions evidently paid off financially, with Burgos (as 'Colombine') reportedly paid 125 pesetas per month for her journalistic work, when (male) journalists on the same newspaper were being paid 75/100 pesetas (Seoane, 1998: 45).³²³

In *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, Carmen de Burgos features under her own name at least seventeen times. These are typically long prose pieces, usually short stories or sociological analyses which chimed with Gimeno's views in their progressive stance towards women, prostitution, the death penalty and the social question (Burgos is unafraid to openly criticise government policy as it impacts the poor, describing at length the Dickensian poverty in Madrid, and Gimeno is unafraid to print her articles in 7/9/02 and 14/7/03). Her

de Burgos' capacity to be the flirtatious centre of her own *tertulias*, and Núñez Rey (2009) for details on her preoccupations, travel and literary trajectory over the period in question.

³²² Later in her life she promoted an 1879 birth date, as opposed to the reality of 1867.

³²³ Seoane does not specify the newspaper, but it is most likely to have been either *Diario Universal* or *Heraldo de Madrid*.

pieces written under the journalistic ‘Colombine’ pseudonym are also reproduced, especially those which report favourably on Gimeno’s ‘Mujeres de raza latina’ (22/1/04 and 7/2/04). Gimeno responds in kind to this promotion by publicising Burgos’s new works through favourable book reviews, and we see reviews of her poetry collection (7/9/01), and her books *La protección y la higiene de los niños* (14/9/04), *El divorcio en España* (30/11/04), *Historia de mi vida* (her translation of Helen Keller’s autobiography, 22/12/04), and *Alucinación* (14/4/05).³²⁴ This exchange in publicity for each other’s work may have been out of female solidarity, or it may have been simply a commercial exchange.³²⁵ This possibility should be especially considered when we see that Burgos writes what we would now denominate ‘advertorials’ (‘Los trousseaux’, 14/01/04 and ‘Boda próximas’, 22/6/04), under the pseudonym *Marianela* which Gimeno prints as if they were ordinary articles for female general interest rather than the careful product placement for L. Herce of Madrid that they are.³²⁶ Gimeno’s decision to feature these articles prominently in the contents, rather than the adverts section, may be due to a financial agreement between the two women. Certainly, the two articles pander shamelessly to the wealthy woman’s desire for luxury and social admiration, and is a clear demonstration that Burgos, like Gimeno, through her profound understanding of Hispanic culture, which she knows how to exploit for her own literary and commercial success, is by that very knowledge acutely aware of the hypocrisy and inequality of her own society.³²⁷ Beyond the inclusion of each other’s works in their respective periodicals, there is no

³²⁴ It may of interest to note that this review of Carmen de Burgos’ translation of Helen Keller’s autobiography, also praises the female publisher of the book (la viuda de Rodríguez Serra), which shows how women played a strong role in every part of the literary system.

³²⁵ There may have been a system in place whereby original pieces of work were sent in an understanding, tacit or otherwise, that a new book would be reviewed in exchange. A potential instance of this occurring is with the writer María de Echarri, whose only contribution, a profile of Ramón Surinach Senties (22/3/04), was followed by a review of her new book two weeks later (7/4/04).

³²⁶ The concept of ‘advertorials’ is not a new one to Gimeno, as we see her commend the use of life assurance in her articles on women’s wellbeing (14/2/97, 14/4/97, 7/10/00), while also running adverts for companies such as The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States and A Equitativa Dos Estados Unidos Do Brazil in the advertisements section (for example, in 22/10/01, 30/11/07).

³²⁷ Burgos discusses the plight of single working women in her novel *La Rampa*, while Gimeno takes up the cause of the poor pay and sweatshop conditions for seamstresses, which lead to illness, disability and prostitution, in ‘La mujer en la industria’ (14/12/05). It should be noted that Gimeno ends this article with the description of L. Herce’s company, which is reported to employ 300 ‘honradas mujeres’, offering stable contracts, decent wages and good working conditions, an assertion confirmed by Gimeno herself who interviewed one of the workers. This does lead one to wonder if this leading article, dressed up as a ‘social conscience’ piece, is simply a very sophisticated advertorial, much more subtle than those of *Marianela* (which placed the emphasis on luxury rather than moral justice), and foreshadowing the ‘ethical consumption’ marketing of this century. However, ethics will only persuade so much in *entresiglos* Spain, and Gimeno cleverly gives the social seal of approval to L. Herce with the casual mention in the last line that his company is sewing the trousseau for ‘la inteligente y simpática infanta María Teresa’ (!).

evidence of any friendship links between them, and there is the possibility that neither held much affection for each other, certainly in the latter stages of the magazine (see above).³²⁸

Their relationship may have been a more capitalistically-advanced, *entresiglos* version of the Isabelline reciprocal arrangement that existed between Pilar Sinués de Marco and her erstwhile idol *Fernán Cabellero*, as described by the former in a letter to Antonía Díaz de Lamarque (Palenque and Román Gutiérrez, 2007:107, the italics are mine):

A Fernán Caballero creo que ya no se la envía el periódico [Pilar's magazine *El Ángel del Hogar*], pues una vez que le pedí algo, me respondió que la ocupase en cuanto quisiera menos en escribir. Esta contestación me pareció por demás desatenta, y como yo ni por admiración, ni por homenaje, ni por amistad le enviaba el periódico, y ella se niega a darme nada para él, *se acabaron los negocios entre las dos*.

The 'outer circle' of contributors

As has been shown, only a small number of women writers have proven real-life links with Gimeno de Flaquer, whether in correspondence or in person, and it is therefore difficult to ascertain the exact number of those female authors in her magazine (over 150 in total have been counted) who have actively contributed to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, as opposed to those who have simply had their texts reproduced from elsewhere. Given the posthumous and foreign entries to the magazine, there is strong evidence that Gimeno is prone to lifting texts from other sources, unknown to the author. Servén Díez (2014:196) describes this process as 'una suerte de piratería textual', and provides evidence that 'Gimeno trasegaba textos personales de un medio a otro sin empacho' while editing *El Álbum de la Mujer*. Another potential indicator of the editor's lack of familiarity with certain authors is the regular mis-spelling of names, including incorrect names, such as Refugio Barragán being re-named Rufina, Concepción Sáiz being re-baptised as Carmen and Laura Méndez de Cuenca rendered as 'de Guinea'. However, given that this tendency to misspell is

³²⁸ A potential hint of this can be seen in Carmen de Burgos's 1904 book *El Divorcio en España*, in which she reproduces the epistolary responses to her requests for personal views. She prints Pilar Contreras's letter of response to her in full (which takes up three pages of the book), her typical strategy with contributors, but with Gimeno she reproduces only a paragraph, and even then it is not clear if this was part of a genuine correspondence between the two women.

especially seen in French names, and surnames of foreign origin, it may simply be that these are simply errors at typesetting level.³²⁹

Given that we cannot know to what extent this ‘unauthorised reproduction’ took place, it is useful to look at the magazine from the readers’ point of view, who would see the women writing in the magazine as united through their ties to the magazine, even as they stretch out over vast distances of space and time.

Strong links with Latin America

As befits a publication with the title *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, whose original mission began: ‘EL ÁLBUM IBERO-AMERICANO dedícase especialmente á estrechar las relaciones entre América y España, presentando todas las novedades de ambos Continentes...’, a high proportion of the women writers featured in the magazine are from Latin America.³³⁰ While it is impossible to go into each of these writers in depth given the scope of these chapters, I will nevertheless highlight any potential evidence of international movement of women writers’ texts, both in terms of these authors’ texts reaching Spain, and *El Álbum*’s reach in Latin America. While the following sections list the names of all of the women whom I have been able to identify, it should be stated that there are over twenty Hispanic women’s names in the magazine about whom I have found nothing; as I have been unable to ascribe these women a country or region, their names can only be found in the online dataset.

Mexico

As might be expected for a magazine with Mexican links through its editor and proprietor, the Latin American country with the greatest number of female contributors is Mexico, with twelve contemporaneous women found in the archive.³³¹ Given how texts were

³²⁹ This mis-spelling is especially important for researchers using digital search tools to look for authors, as the regular misspellings would prevent many texts in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* from being found by OCR searches.

³³⁰ This phrase is found in the advertisement for *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, found within the back pages of the magazine itself, and repeated dozens of times within the early years (see, for example, 4/9/91). The second part of this phrase is ‘...y haciendo conocer los retratos y biografías de las personas más notables’, which can be seen in Gimeno creating her greater imaginary of notable women (see later section).

³³¹ These are: Refugio Barragán de Toscano, Dolores Correa de Zapata, Nicolasa Durán de Méndez, Josefina Lindley de Phipps, Dolores Mijares, Cristina Farfán, Mateana Murguía de Aveleyra, Laura Méndez de Cuenca, Guadalupe Orozco y Enciso, Ester Tapia de Castellanos, Manuela Eugenia Torres and Laureana

circulated in the nineteenth century, it is sometimes difficult to know how to ascribe ‘nationality’ to a writer or an article, especially for women who, given the recent history of Latin America, might not see themselves in national terms. For example, the writer ‘Josefina Lindley de Phipps’ writes about the role of women in the great exhibition of Chicago (7/9/91), with the place of writing given as Mexico City, although the subject and author’s name suggest that the author may be North American and the piece may have originally been in English (and translated into Spanish). Similarly, many women writers moved around the continent (some for political reasons, as we have seen with Clorinda Matto de Turner), which is why, for example, Mercedes Alvarez de Flores, although sometimes writing from Mexico and Ecuador, is categorised here under Colombia. An interesting point about Mexico is that it would appear that Laureana Wright de Kleinhans can be seen as the key node in this magazine’s Mexican network, with ties to both Gimeno and the other Mexican writers. Not only did Wright de Kleinhans welcome Gimeno to Mexico with a dedicated poem in *El Centinela Español* (15/7/83), but she contributed to her *Álbum de la Mujer*, to which Gimeno reciprocated with a contribution to Laureana’s magazine *Violetas de Anahúac*.³³² Indeed, many of these contributors knew each other through their contributions to *Violetas de Anáhuac* (1887-1889), but also through the world of female education. Certainly, Dolores Mijares’ article in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* of 7/11/01 (‘La Instrucción de la Mujer’), was first published by Gimeno in *El Álbum de la Mujer* (19/2/88), and may have originally come from *Violetas de Anáhuac*, as Mijares was a known *colaboradora* of Wright de Kleinhans’ magazine. Another of Wright de Kleinhans’ contributors, Dolores Correa de Zapata, a teacher at the Escuela Normal de México, has her schoolbook recommended in 7/7/00, while Correa de Zapata’s cousin Cristina Farfán features with a poem in 7/11/93.³³³ The poetry of Ester Tapia de Castellanos found in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* may also be reproductions from *El Álbum de la Mujer*, as she did collaborate with Gimeno’s Mexican magazine in the 1880s (indeed, her portrait graces the cover of the 8/2/85 issue).

Wright de Kleinhans. (Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz/Juana Asbaje and Isabel Prieto de Landázuri are not counted here due to being posthumous entries).

³³² Margarita Pintos maintains that Gimeno and Wright de Kleinhans accompanied each other to many social occasions, alongside Baronesa de Wilson, with the three working together on *El Diario del Hogar* and *Violetas* (Pintos, 2016: 90), although unlike Wright de Kleinhans, the Baroness appears not to have contributed to the later *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*.

³³³ Wright de Kleinhans also wrote biographies on both Dolores Mijares and Dolores Correa Zapata (Pasternac, 1991).

Guatemala

It is likely to be due to a combination of Gimeno's seven years in neighbouring Mexico and her visit to the country itself in 1885, that Guatemala, despite its small size and cultural weight, is also well represented by women writers in the magazine. Of the four Guatemalan women writers, at least three are part of the same female literary circle (Vicenta Laparra de la Cerda, Dolores Montenegro and Carmen P. de Silva), while at least two were contributors to *El Álbum de la mujer* (Carmen P. de Silva and Sara María G. de Moreno), and in fact most if not all of their texts found in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* have simply been reproduced from Gimeno's magazine of the 1880s.³³⁴ This comes as no surprise to the careful reader of *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, as Gimeno de Flaquer shows no scruples about 'recycling' her own work over different magazines, and even in the same magazine every few years. However, this phenomenon does go some way to explaining the anachronicity of some of the views expressed by some of these Guatemalan women when read in this Madrid magazine at the beginning of the twentieth century, an anachronicity (discussed in a later section) which would only otherwise be explained by their 'provincial' geographical location.

Cuba and Puerto Rico

Of the seven women writing from Cuba and assumed to be alive at the time of publication (the writings of Mercedes Matamoros, Úrsula Céspedes de Escanaverino and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda are clearly posthumous), one is Puerto Rican (Lola Rodríguez de Tió, writing from exile in Havana) and the other, Concepción Boloña, although writing from Cuba, is described by Cejador y Frauca (1919: 121) as *barcelonesa*. It is this Spanish woman, Concepción Boloña, or *Coralia*, who most notably provides evidence of knowing Gimeno, or at least knowing of her. She writes a positive review in 14/10/07 of Gimeno's book *Mujeres de regia stirpe*, referring to the author with the familiar 'Concha', calling her 'la autora porta-estandarte de la reivindicación de la mujer en el mundo latino' and ending the review with 'nos honraremos en seguir, aunque de lejos, las huellas de tan brillante escritora de la ruta que con tanta maestría ha empezado y con tanto brío recorre en pro de la mujer.'³³⁵ It is also through Boloña's writing (fourteen articles in total) that links

³³⁴ Examples of this phenomenon are Silva's 'La Suegra' of 4/3/88 (14/5/01), and Moreno's 'El Lujo' of 6/5/88 (30/5/01).

³³⁵ Gimeno's writing was clearly circulating in Cuba, as a black woman writer, former slave María Ángela Storini, quotes Gimeno in a 30/11/88 letter to the Havana magazine *Minerva: Revista quincenal dedicada a*

are made with other Cuban women in the magazine, with Boloña writing a homage to Mercedes Matamoros after her death ('Mercedes Matamorros, Notable Poetisa Cubana', 7/3/07), a homage which addresses her directly and which links Boloña indirectly to contributor Nieves Xenes, Matamoros' close friend. She also writes a detailed biography of her close friend, writer Domitila García de Coronado (7/11/09) which, as well as listing the magazines to which she contributed and the books she published, also reveals Domitila's friendships with Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda and Sofía Estévez y Valdés (the latter founding with Domitila the women's magazine *El Céfiro* in Camagüey during the 1860s).

The second contributor to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* who references Gimeno is the writer Avelina Correa, likely to be Avelina Correa de Malvey, who links herself to Gimeno by dedicating the article 'La importancia de la instrucción de la mujer' (30/1/98, repeated 7/5/08) to her.³³⁶ Regarding the remaining Cuban contributors - Corina Agüero de Costales, Avelina Ortega de Gómez, Luisa Pérez de Zambrana, and María Antonia Reyes (de Herrera) - no interpersonal links could be found within the magazine itself.³³⁷ What is notable is that, for all the evidence of women contributing to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* from Cuba, there does not appear to be a single contribution from Puerto Rico during the twenty years of the magazine.³³⁸

Peru and Argentina: erudition, progressive thinkers, and exile in Buenos Aires

What is interesting about the next group of women found the magazine is that, of the five Peruvian writers, three are based in Buenos Aires, and the writings of these three within the magazine can be considered particularly progressive and iconoclastic for the time.³³⁹

la mujer de color. The sentence used in the text – 'La prosperidad y la fuerza creciente de los pueblos se debe a la superioridad intelectual de sus mujeres' – suggests that Gimeno was influential in empowering the most marginalised of women (García Zequeira, 2009: 121-124).

³³⁶ Given the synchronicity of dates with Avelina Correa de Malvey's life (1875-1927) and her position as Cuba's first professional female newspaper journalist, I would argue that this is the Avelina Correa of the magazine, hence her inclusion here under Cuban writers. Please also note that there are variant spellings of her name, with Malhey, Malehy, Malvey and Malvhey all being found during my search for her, but Malvey being the spelling used by Cejador y Frauca, and Malehy used most for her book titles online. NB: I was unable to find her in the Biblioteca Nacional de España's catalogue under any of these name variants.

³³⁷ Outside of the magazine, it is known that Domitila García de Coronado founded the weekly *La Crónica Habanera* (1884), which featured at least two of the Cuban women listed (Corina Agüero de Costales and Luisa Pérez de Zambrana) (García Zequeira, 2009: 6).

³³⁸ Less surprisingly, there is also no evidence of collaboration of women from the Philippines, but this is mentioned only because there was a *corresponsal* in the Philippines, therefore we can assume that the magazine enjoyed a circulation there.

³³⁹ The two writers who remained in Peru, Amalia Puga de Losada and Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, contributed long articles analysing literature, articles for which both win awards. Mercedes' controversial writings, including an attack on the corruption of urban Lima society in her novel *Blanca Sol*, and her

One of these writers supported indigenous rights and criticised the institutions of state and church (Clorinda Matto de Turner, see above), another used sophisticated modern fiction to portray how the institution of marriage can trap and degrade women (Carolina Freyre de Jaimes, 22/7/99) and the third, a medical doctor, criticised Christianity's cultural influence of the status of women and posited Theosophy as an alternative (Margarita Práxedes Muñoz, 30/11/02). That at least two of the three are in political exile points to Buenos Aires as being a particular beacon of free speech for women in *entresiglos* Latin America, and it is highly likely that they knew each other socially, as well as knew the Argentinian women writers whom they lived alongside.³⁴⁰

In terms of the Argentine contributors, only the contribution of Mercedes Pujato Crespo, the poem 'Lágrimas – en la tumba de Clorinda Matto de Turner' (30/12/09), points to any connection to a literary network, as there is no information in the magazine (or indeed elsewhere) that I could find to connect the remaining Argentine writers, Carlota Gómez de Plaza and María M. Pedemonte, to any of the other women writers or indeed to each other.³⁴¹

Representatives of other Latin American countries

Other countries to be found in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* are Colombia (Soledad Acosta de Samper and Mercedes Álvarez de Flores), Uruguay (Adela Castell and her sister Dorila Castell de Orozco), Panama (Amelia Denis de Icaza, writing from Nicaragua, although her contribution, the poem 'A mi Guatemala' of 22/5/01 is actually a reproduction from *El Álbum de la mujer* 6/5/88), Ecuador (Ángela Carbo de Maldonado), Chile (Delfina María Hidalgo) and Bolivia (Lindauro Anzoátegui de Campero, her article 'Los quince años' of

anticlerical journalism (see Chapter 2) are not reflected within the magazine. Her decision to remain in Peru (rather than choosing the exile of her contemporaries) may have cost her dearly; she spent the last ten years of her life (1899-1909) in an insane asylum (Tierney, 1999: 1352).

³⁴⁰ Certainly, fellow Peruvians Carolina Freyre de Jaimes, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera and Amalia Puga de Losada were contributors to Matto de Turner's *El Búcaro Americano*. Other women writers who appear in this study who write for said magazine include Colombians Soledad Acosta de Samper and Mercedes Álvarez de Flores, Mexican Laura Méndez de Cuenca, Uruguayans Dorila Castell de Orozco and Adela Castell, Puerto Rican Lola Rodríguez de Tió and Spanish Carmen de Burgos (Portugal, 1999; Zanetti, 1994).

³⁴¹ Gómez de Plaza's article of 30/9/05 gives her place of writing as Buenos Aires, but her article of 22/1/05 reveals her to be a teacher at the Asociación para la Enseñanza de la Mujer in Madrid. However, it must be borne in mind that as neither piece is dated, it is not certain where the author was actually based at the time of publication.

30/6/94 being repeated in 4/7/07).³⁴² With the exception of Adela Castell, who in 1910 sends a poem from Buenos Aires dedicated to Gimeno, there is no conclusive evidence that these women are aware of their contribution to the magazine.³⁴³ We do know however, that Soledad Acosta de Samper was an admirer of Gimeno's work, inserting a passage from Gimeno's *La mujer española* into one of her own 1895 articles, to illustrate contemporary social attitudes to literary women (Pintos, 2016: 142).

French women writers in the magazine

France is by far the most represented country of foreign female influence from Europe within the magazine, and this influence is generally seen through three separate elements – the fictional short story (usually under the regular section *Cuentos Breves*), the political (usually, the feminist), and the presence of the famous woman writer. All elements are very likely to be reproductions from French sources, as opposed to originals sent to Gimeno, and Gimeno herself is seen to translate texts from French (as in 22/12/99).

The 'Cuentos Breves' from France

The 'Cuentos Breves' from French female authors, mostly of a dark fairy tale quality with a moralistic and sometimes philosophical edge, are found from 1904 onwards, with the two exceptions to this being the posthumously published 'El Palacio de la vanidad' (22/10/96) by Mme. Emile de Girardin (Delphine de Girardin, profiled in 22/6/94 and 30/6/94), and 'Los tres amores' (22/7/95) by the Polish-French María Kryszinska.³⁴⁴ Like these two authors, the remaining Yvonne de Deulin, Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, Mathilde Alanic and Louise Diard, only ever contribute the magazine once, with the exception being Marie Thiéry, who has two short stories published (reproduced).

³⁴² The Costa Rican 'Rosa de Chavarría', with her poem 'Yaya' (30/5/05), is actually the pseudonym of male writer Lisímaco Chavarría, a rare example of a male writer using a female pseudonym (in this case, the name of his wife).

³⁴³ Castell's poem, printed in 28/2/10, is called 'La Hora' and carries the dedication 'A Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer (Pensadora y literata española)'. It is written under Castell's married name, Adela Castell de López Rocha, and is textual evidence for the closer friendship that the two women will enjoy when Gimeno arrives in Argentina the following year (Pintos, 2016: 209-214).

³⁴⁴ Although Kryszinska is Polish-born, she identifies with France and the French language for her expressive work, as does Polish Marya Chéliga-Loevy, found in this magazine as 'María Chélida'. Like Sophie Swetchine, who is Russian although French-speaking, it would be interesting to know the impact of the East on what is taken to be 'French' culture.

French feminist writings

France, especially in the later years of the magazine, becomes synonymous with feminist progress in mainland Europe, and Gimeno regularly looks to the French press for reports of feminist developments in Europe and beyond, so that she, in turn, can report these to her readers. It is no surprise then that the article 'Las diputadas de Finlandia' (14/7/07), written by Marya Chéliga-Loevy in Brussels, is reproduced in the magazine.³⁴⁵ Although other feminists are reported upon and quoted within the magazine (to be covered in the subsequent section), this is the only full article on feminist developments. Significantly, the only overtly 'political' piece of writing by a woman within the magazine also comes from France ('Una opinión sobre la guerra española-americana', 14/5/98), which was very unusual for its strong criticism of Anglo-Saxon foreign policy. However, given that this came from the revered pen of 'Julieta Lambert' (Juliette Adam), Gimeno de Flaquer was happy to give it a remarkable first billing in her 14/5/98 issue.

France as a symbol of cultural admiration

One of the ways in which it is possible to measure the esteem in which Gimeno holds a writer is to analyse any commentary she makes on the individual in question, and it can be seen that French women writers form a proportionally high number of these commentaries, perhaps because they form part of the 'centre' of high culture. Hence Gimeno's profiles of Juliette Adam in both 30/12/00 and 7/12/05, as well as a report of Adam's 50th publishing anniversary in France (22/6/09). Judith Gauthier is also profiled in 1890 by Gimeno, with her texts 'Una fiesta en el Mikado' (7/2/04) and 'La fiesta de los poetas' (14/4/04) giving the impression to the reader that she is one of Gimeno's contributors.³⁴⁶ The famous actress Sara Bernhardt also has a piece in the magazine ('El Cómicó', 14/12/02) which, alongside regular mentions of her name, helps to provide a sense to the reader that she is somehow linked to Gimeno. In addition, due to France's status as the capital of fashion it is no surprise to see that the two fashion writers of the magazines have both French and

³⁴⁵ Although this is written in Belgium by a Polish woman, it can be counted as French as Chéliga-Loevy wrote in French and spent most of her life in France. I imagine that this was originally printed in a French-language periodical, and may have been translated by Gimeno herself.

³⁴⁶ It should be noted that the translation 'La fiesta de los poetas' is itself a translation of the twelfth-century Chinese woman poet Ly-Y-Hane. In fact, Ly-Y-Hane is the attributed author (with her epoch and Gauthier's name as translator relegated in the footnotes), and by so doing Gimeno brings this medieval Chinese woman into the contributor imaginary, the only example of a non-European/American woman to feature this way.

aristocratic names. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, there is the strong possibility that the authorial titles 'Vizcondesa de Chateau d'Eau' and 'Vizcondesa (de Chateau) de Clairmont' are expedient pseudonyms for humbler Spanish women writers.³⁴⁷

The small Anglo-Saxon presence in the magazine

Although it is highly likely that the articles from English-speaking women writers are reproductions from elsewhere, and are in no way part of the Gimeno's real-life network, they are nevertheless interesting from the perspective of being able to trace the journey of texts (and ideological influence) across national borders. The first writer to appear from the English-speaking world is the transnational Tennessee Celeste Claflin, whose by-line in the magazine appears as 'Viscondesa de Monserrate (Lady Cook)', reflecting the radical American's marriage to an English aristocrat. It remains unknown whether Gimeno would have been as willing to publish this article had she known the colourful background of this social *parvenue*, but it is perhaps because of the winning combination of the article's well-considered, well-written feminist argument alongside her aristocratic by-line that sees Gimeno print the Viscountess' article 'La modestia' twice (22/9/94 and 7/11/07), if slightly changed.³⁴⁸ The second contributor 'Lady Belgravia' also boasts an English aristocratic title for her short story ('Historia que parece cuento', 7/11/95), however, this is clearly a pseudonym for someone who is likely to be Spanish, as 'Lady Belgravia' is a regular writer for *La Moda Elegante*, and in fact this story was first published by this magazine the previous year (22/8/94).³⁴⁹ The third writer, 'Miss Corzón' ('Como se guisa un marido', 30/1/05) is in fact only in reference to US cookery writer Juliet Corson, because the article itself is a report on Juliet Corson's speech at an event, with the article's author unknown. Finally, the two-part essay 'El papel de las enfermeras visitadoras en la lucha antituberculosa en América' (30/06/09 - 7/7/09) shows evidence of texts travelling from the US, although the woman writer in question ('Mlle. Johnson') remains obscure.

³⁴⁷ My personal theory is that the Vizcondesa de Clairmont (if not the Chateau d'Eau) is Gimeno herself, based on an analysis of Clairmont's article 'Conversaciones con las damas en el cuarto tocador á puerta cerrada' (30/10/93, available on microfilm at the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid), in which the themes, style and Mme. Recamier quotations are identical to those used by Gimeno herself in other articles.

³⁴⁸ The only difference between the otherwise identical articles is that an omission of a sentence which is found in the 1894 version, which appears to have been deemed unsuitable for the 1907 edition: 'La reserva no es modestia; si no la mujer turca será la más modesta, y con todo es la más depravada'. This editorial change may be ascribable to Gimeno's increasingly cosmopolitan and feminist outlook.

³⁴⁹ This mystery author may have been inspired to take the name 'Lady Belgravia' as the quintessential signifier of English wealth and status. The name may have been taken from the character in Thackeray's 1848 *Vanity Fair* (Lady Belgravia Green Parker), from the 1891 English stage play *Love and Law*, or from the 1889 book *Matron or Maid* by Edward Kennard.

Transnational Royalty

It is almost an oxymoron to say ‘transnational royalty’ given European royal bloodlines, but especially in the case of Carmen Silva (Elisabeth zu Wied) and Madame Rattazzi (Marie-Lætitia Bonaparte-Wyse), with their tendency towards international travel and residency, multi-lingualism and mixed ethnic heritage, this is by far the most sensible description. ‘Carmen Silva’, the pen name adopted by Elisabeth zu Wied, Queen of Romania, was likely to have been read by Gimeno in French, and like fellow editor Amalia Domingo Soler (see Chapter 1) Gimeno holds the *Reina de Rumania* in great esteem, with two extensive book reviews and a flattering profile of the royal writer in 22/2/99. This profile, which affirms that ‘Carmen Silva aboga por la emancipación de su sexo’, is a strange statement for Gimeno to make, given that in Silva’s numerous fictional and philosophical writings which Gimeno prints over the years, there is a certain retrograde flavour to the status of women. This sense of abjection culminates in the Queen’s ten commandments for a happy marriage, reproduced by Gimeno in 30/6/09 and praised highly by the *aragonesa*: ‘Este decálogo conyugal, de encantadora sencillez, encierra gran fondo de filosofía, un perfecto conocimiento del sér psíquico masculino. Preconiza la autora la sumisión femenina, la abnegación, como base de felicidad’ (30/6/09). One wonders if the Queen’s social superiority had not conflated with intellectual superiority in Gimeno’s mind, when one considers Gimeno’s own writings around the same period. What cannot be debated is that the editor holds all female royalty in great esteem, as the sycophantic profiles of the Infantas Eulalia (7/4/04) and Victoria Eugenia (22/5/07) attest.³⁵⁰ She combines her royal hagiographies with dedicating work to royalty (for example ‘Feminología’ of 30/4/04 is dedicated to the ‘la Infanta Eulalia, entusiasta feminista’) which, aside from being a way to signal sympathy, is also a clever textual strategy, as it gives the impression of Gimeno receiving the all-important royal sanction (and therefore social acceptability) of her feminist views. Certainly, we know that this sanction had been publicly given, when the princess attended Gimeno’s 1903 public

³⁵⁰ She describes doña Eulalia as ‘Esbelta y flexible como un lirio [...] La Infanta Eulalia será eternamente joven, semejante á la Hebe mitológica; jamás tendrá que colgar su espejo en el altar de Venus [...] La luz de su mirada y el calor de su sonrisa hacen reverdecir las agostadas flores de aquél regio palacio.’ (7/4/04). Princess Eugenia she worships like a goddess (or ‘hada bienhechora’) ‘La presencia de la bella Princesa fue astro refulgente iluminando tenebrosa noche; apacible ráfaga balsámica tras furioso vendaval, rocío refrigerante, rayo de esperanza [...]’ (22/5/07). Other contemporary royal women, such as the Queen Mother María Cristina of Habsburg (7/1/95, 22/10/06) and the Infanta María Teresa (14/10/04) are also profiled by royalist Gimeno.

speech on *El problema feminista*.³⁵¹ The Infanta Paz, a writer in her own right, is also profiled (14/1/00 and 14/4/04), her book *De mi vida* reviewed (30/11/09), and four of her poems published between 1899 and 1904. Through the descriptions of royal women's literary activities, and by publishing their work in her magazine just as Amalia Domingo Soler did sixteen years before, Gimeno cleverly conflates talent and creativity with social status, and makes the act of expressing oneself a regal example for her readers to emulate.³⁵²

The royal figure Madame Rattazzi, who wrote in numerous languages, has articles written by Gimeno to glorify her (7/1/00), her daughter (14/1/99) and to review her book *La fin d'une Ambassadrice* (14/12/00).³⁵³ In 22/12/99 Gimeno also translates part of Rattazzi's original article about Sarah Bernhardt's visit to Madrid from the French (and her mentioning this fact helps to create a rarefied world of transnational high culture in the minds of readers). She also publishes Rattazzi's profile of the Queen of Holland (7/12/99) and her Christmas tale in 22/12/01. Most importantly for the aim of tracing networks, in 7/1/00 Gimeno publishes the speech that she herself made at Rattazzi's farewell banquet in Madrid the previous night. She also attended the theatre with Rattazzi on at least one occasion, with *La Época* of 14/12/99 reporting on Gimeno's presence at the premiere of *La duquesa de La Valliere* with Rattazzi and Patrocínio de Biedma (both of whom had been close friends for over twenty years), as 'un triunvirato de escritoras'.³⁵⁴

Assiduous female contributors: evidence for their active collaboration?

As a final note on the subject of contributors, I would like to comment on some Spanish women whose sole evidence of a relationship with Gimeno, her magazine and/or her network is the sheer number of their contributions. Into this category fit Soledad Martín y

³⁵¹ Prior to this occasion, it was reported in other press sources that on the 6th December 1890, Gimeno had also visited the Infanta Isabel in her Madrid home, where they discussed contemporary literature (*La Correspondencia de España*, 7/12/90).

³⁵² In her article 'S. A. R. la Infanta Paz de Borbón' (14/1/00), an essay praising the literary endeavours of Europe's royal women, Gimeno reveals that her greatest admiration is for talent, wherever in society it is found, and that it takes primacy over social status: 'la corona del genio vale más que una corona imperial' (cf. Domingo Soler's 'Isabel de Rumania es reina por su talent antes que por su cuna').

³⁵³ Born María Leticia Bonaparte-Wyse, successive marriages resulted in her being known as Maria de Solms, María Leticia de Rute, and Madame. Rattazzi (first names here being spelt according to the Spanish style). She is referred to as Mme. Rattazzi here as this is how she was referred to in the magazine.

³⁵⁴ Evidence of Biedma and Rattazzi's long-standing friendship can be found in Vega Rodríguez (2014), Arénega Castilla and Serrano García (2012), and Jiménez Almagro (1989).

Ortiz de la Tabla of Llerena (Badajoz) who writes sixteen poems and stories, Jesusa de Granda y Labin, the Asturian pedagogue in Madrid who appears a total of 22 times with stories, poetry, and essays on how to live well, and Elisa Casas Vigo, the Madrid actress and pianist whose poetry and prose appear twenty times over a twelve-year period.³⁵⁵

The greater imaginary of notable women writers

If the whole of *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* was, as Chozas Ruiz-Belloso (2005) asserts, ‘una extensión de la personalidad y la voluntad de su directora’, then it is clear from an analysis of the magazine over its twenty-year span that Gimeno’s will was to create a universe of female possibility and potential in the minds of her readers, by presenting them with the stories of dozens of notable women throughout world history, and adding to these examples of contemporary women in all fields of achievement. These were mostly women of political and cultural influence (as queens, princesses, aristocrats, heroines and salonnières), but she also profiled women of Art, science, medicine, music, and of course, literature. The portraits were visual as well as textual, as Gimeno was clearly aware that her engravings and photographs of these subjects, returning the readers’ gaze, would help to bring her imagined community to life.³⁵⁶ Gimeno’s apologetic and encomiastic portraiture of great women, recovering for them their place in history and using their story to further her feminist aims by refuting the misogynistic ideas of female inferiority (with their example) or female ‘exceptionality’ (with their sheer numbers), was part of a greater nineteenth-century tradition espoused by both male and female writers.³⁵⁷ Women writers who preceded Gimeno in this endeavour included Pilar Sinués de Marco, who published nine volumes of female biographies in her *Galería de mujeres célebres*, and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, who published a section of the same title in her *Álbum de lo bueno y lo bello* (1860), the first female-edited magazine in Cuba. Gimeno profoundly understands the traditional nature of Spain, and constantly rails against ‘el espíritu de

³⁵⁵ Also worthy of mention are the husband-and-wife writing team Gregorio and María Martínez Sierra, who appear five times under the names ‘Gregorio Martínez Sierra’ and (mis-spellings of) María Lejárraga during the years 1898 and 1899, as well as the Sevillian painter Regina Alcaide de Zafra, who has five short stories published in 1907 and a report on Esperanto published in 1908.

³⁵⁶ For a further discussion on the role of women writers’ images in literary culture, see Bieder (2005). Bieder argues, with reason, that Gimeno has a keen awareness of the power of visual images and graphics (p. 316). For example, by printing her flamboyant signature at the bottom of some articles, it would not only help to trademark her brand (Carmen de Burgos did the same), but it would also create a sense of intimacy between herself and the reader, giving readers the feeling that they had received a personal letter.

³⁵⁷ For a detailed history of this tradition and Gimeno’s place within it, see Díaz Marcos (2011).

regresión, el misoneísmo,’ which cause the Spanish to be ‘refractarios á toda innovación, contra la cual luchan hasta que ésta se impone por su propia virtualidad’ (7/5/08). It is for this reason that she knows that she must show that a woman being in control of her own personhood (and her own subjectivity as a writer) is part of a historical tradition, not in any way an innovative concept, if her female readers are to accept the idea, given that the Spanish tendency is to ‘buscar antecedentes para todo.’³⁵⁸ This praise of other women in ‘semblanzas biográficas, próximas al paradigma hagiográfico ejemplarizante’ (Fernández, 2105: 30) gives Gimeno great pleasure, as she herself writes in 7/6/91: ‘Nada debiera ser tan satisfactorio para una mujer, como ensalzar los esclarecidos talentos de otras mujeres’. Given that there are over five hundred mentions of nineteenth-century women writers who are referenced in the magazine, a number in addition to the female contributors of the previous sections, only a small fraction of these women can practicably be discussed here.³⁵⁹ From the perspective of women’s networks, the women referenced solely in the serialised articles ‘Apuntes para un diccionario de escritoras americanas del siglo XIX’ by Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, and ‘La Mujer’ by Ramón de la Huerta Posada, will not be included in this chapter.³⁶⁰ Rather, due to the constraints of space I will instead focus only on the women writers discussed by Gimeno herself, as they extend into time (as foremothers), and space (by geography). In addition, as even the number of non-contributing women that Gimeno mentions herself is extensive (with 173 names at the last count) I will only focus only on those whom Gimeno de Flaquer profiles, as the remaining references to other women writers can be found in the online dataset.

³⁵⁸ When talking of strategy to overturn the sexist civil and penal codes she states in 14/5/05: ‘Si se buscaran antecedentes para dar personalidad á la mujer, como solemos buscarlos para todo en España, pues más que por innovadores nos distinguimos por tradicionalistas, en la tradición encontraríamos justificaciones de la propaganda de los campeones del sexo femenino, de los adalides de sus derechos.’

³⁵⁹ This number therefore does not include women who were outstanding in other fields, but were not noted for their writing per se, meaning that the dozens of queens, heroines, *salonnières*, doctors, scientists, mathematicians, artists, actresses, musicians etc are excluded from this study, despite forming the majority of the women whom Gimeno profiles.

³⁶⁰ Details of the ‘Apuntes...’ series, which ran over eight issues between 7/7/92 and 30/8/92 and containing 135 women, can be found in the dataset, as can details of the monumental ‘La Mujer’ series, which ran regularly, almost every issue, from 7/11/95 – 7/5/99 and covered many hundreds of notable women all over the world from antiquity onwards (the dataset lists 168 nineteenth-century women writers from this series).

The literary foremothers: Constructing a genealogy of women writers

As might be expected, the great Spanish literary foremothers are profiled by Gimeno: María de Zayas (14/9/98), *Fernán Caballero* (14/9/98), Gómez de Avellaneda (7/6/91), Concepción Arenal (22/11/05), Beatriz Galindo (22/6/98 and 7/12/01), and the Marquesa de Guadalzar e Hinojosa (22/6/98 and 7/12/01). The (Mexican) Juana Inés de Asbaje and Rosalía de Castro are not profiled, but their work, alongside that of Gómez de Avellaneda and Arenal, is reproduced in the magazine.³⁶¹ Santa Teresa de Jesús is not profiled nor her work reproduced, but she is quoted (in 22/5/96) and, like the others, is incidentally mentioned in other contexts.

Perhaps it is due to Gimeno de Flaquer's fluency in French that French foremothers also feature prominently, with profiles written of Madame de La Fayette (30/1/95, 7/2/95), Christine de Pisan (7/10/99), Madame de Staël (7/3/96-14/3/96, 7/1/09), the translator Émilie du Châtelet (22/6/96, 7/10/02), Marguerite de la Sablière 22/4/01, Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans (7/10/04), Marie de Rabutin-Chantal (14/1/05), Jeanne Louise Henriette Campan (7/7/05), Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (22-30/8/05), and of course, *George Sand* (7/12/05), who is also referred to throughout the life of the magazine.

By way of comparison, only one Italian foremother is profiled: María Gaetana Agnesi (14/11/99 and 22/11/08). In keeping with Gimeno's previous European travels as a newlywed and her capacity for Romance languages, Latin Europe is the greatest foreign influence, with other countries much less represented – profiles of other European literary foremothers are limited to Cristina, Queen of Sweden (30/1/02) and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (30/8/06).³⁶² This is likely to be due to Gimeno simply lacking the information about other literary figures to be able to compile profiles, perhaps due to language barriers, rather than any kind of Latin or Eurocentric prejudice, as she is keen to write articles about the situations of women from non-Latin countries such as England, Germany, China, Japan, Russia, Turkey, Hungary and India, and promotes knowledge about individual

³⁶¹ An essay by the lesser-known painter Leopolda Gassó y Vidal is also published posthumously over two parts ('La mujer artista', 30/7/91 and 7/8/91), perhaps because she had been a collaborator of Gimeno's *La Ilustración de la Mujer* and *El Álbum de la Mujer* before her death in 1885, or perhaps because that same year (1891) Gimeno had written the obituary-prologue for a posthumous anthology of her writings, in which Gimeno describes at length the talents and motivations of her 'amiga cariñosa' (Pintos, 2016: 133).

³⁶² She was known to have resided in France and Portugal after her marriage, and Bieder (1993a: 220) states that she visited 'various European capitals', although of these only specifies Paris. Certainly, we know that she understood French and Italian (given her translations and featuring of Italian within her own magazine articles), as well as Portuguese.

women wherever she can. For example, she attributes the translated article by Judith Gauthier to the original author Ly-Y-Hane (14/4/04), and Pan-Hoei-Pan is quoted in 30/10/04.³⁶³ In addition, her quotations from famous Paris salonnière, Mme. Swetchine, are given the title of ‘Pensamientos de una escritora rusa’ (30/11/07).

The contemporaneous imaginary

Gimeno’s profiles of other women writers are much more geographically varied when these are of contemporaneous women, and we may ascribe this to both the unprecedented number of women writers working in the late nineteenth century, and unprecedented facility for the transnational circulation of texts, both in book and periodical form, aided by new technologies. As might be expected with the predominance of France in the literary culture, Gimeno’s French contemporaries are heavily represented, with profiles of the Duchess of Uzès (14/10/00), *Séverine* (Caroline Rémy de Guebhard, 30/12/00), *Gyp* (Sibylle Riqueti de Mirabeau, 30/12/00), Marie Martin (30/12/00), Marie Louise Gagneur (22/3/02), Clémence Royer (30/4/02) and Anna, Comtesse Mathieu de Noailles (30/03/06).

However, it is Italian women who feature most regularly in Gimeno’s contemporaneous imaginary, and this is most probably due to her travels to Italy in April 1906, at which she spoke at Rome’s Press Association. Prior to this trip, only two Italian women are profiled – Gemma Ferrugia (30/6/99, repeated 30/6/08) and Matilde Serao (30/5/02), although Carolina Invernizio’s books are twice extensively reviewed (22/12/01, 7/8/02). This situation changes after her tour of Italy, when in 22/5/06 she reports her visits to Olga Lodi (*Febea*) ‘una periodista romana de gran ingenio’ and Grazia Pierantoni Mancini, the latter receiving Gimeno very affectionately and telling her that she has read translations of Gimeno’s work in a Paris magazine published by Madame Rattazzi.³⁶⁴ *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* after April 1906 becomes very focussed on Italian women writers, and Gimeno’s feminism becomes much more strident after this point. Careful reading of the magazine shows that her views towards female suffrage have clearly been influenced by the arguments she encountered from the feminists in Italy, whose struggles for the franchise she describes in her writing, whom she openly admires and to whom she

³⁶³ We also know from the magazine that Gimeno had actually met Judith Gauthier (Louise Charlotte Ernestine Gauthier) twenty-two years before this article was published. Gimeno reports in 14/8/90 of having been part of a literary gathering at Victor Hugo’s home in 1882, where she witnessed the public battle of wills in Gauthier’s troubled marriage to fellow writer Catulle Mendès (Pintos, 2016: 60).

³⁶⁴ Pintos (2016: 178) states that Grazia held a banquet in Gimeno’s honour.

dedicates her work, e.g. her ‘Italianas del Renacimiento’ of 7-14/1/07 is dedicated to ‘la notable periodista italiana Olga Lodi (Febea)’. It is at this time that her weekly editorial section ‘Crónica femenina y feminista’ begins, which seeks to inform her readers of the latest progress in women’s rights and literary achievements around the world. In terms of Gimeno’s literary profiles, Olga Lodi and her campaign for female suffrage is unsurprisingly featured in 30/5/06, and while Gimeno does not directly discuss their meeting in this profile, the detailed and subjective physical description, including the nature of the light in her eyes, has the qualities of a personal testimony. This is followed in 14/6/06 by Gimeno’s profile of Gracia Pierantoni Mancini, which includes a description of their meeting of feminist minds in Pierantoni’s home. The profiles continue with Condesa Codrochi-Argeli (*Esfinge*) (14/12/07), Sofia Bisi Albini (30/1/08) and Marquesa Clelia Pellicano (*Juana Grey*) (7/11/09).

Contemporaneous Portuguese women writers are also represented, with a profile being found for Alicia Pestana (30/7/00) and book reviews for Ana de Castro Osorio (14/11/02, 22/3/03), although there is no evidence of Gimeno having correspondence or meeting either of these women.³⁶⁵ Other contemporaneous women writers who are profiled are the American Harriet Beecher Stowe (30/11/99, 22/11/05), the Czech-Austrian Bertha von Suttner (Baronesa de Suttner, 7/3/06), the German María von Linden (22/2/04), the Greek Kalliroi Parren (here ‘Caliroé-Parin’, 7/7/07), the Peruvian Zoyla Aurora Cáceres (30/5/09), and the Lebanese/Syrian Alejandra Avierino (22/4/04), whom readers are informed has launched a feminist magazine in Arabic. What is interesting is that in all of these profiles, the subjects are praised in the highest terms, as ‘sisters’ – at no time are they ‘Othered’ but rather readers are encouraged to see these foreign women as themselves. An example of this can be seen in the 22/11/09 book review for Romanian poet Elena Văcărescu, who is described as ‘nuestra hermana latina del Oriente, pues [...] piensa y siente como nosotras’. It is clear then that gender identity is being used to transcend national boundaries between women. As a point of interest regarding how national identity is conceptualised, when Carmen Karr (and her Catalan feminist magazine) is profiled in 22/9/09 along with other Catalan women writers, none of whom ever feature as contributors to *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, they are discussed as if part of a separate ‘nation’ (which could be argued to be the case).

³⁶⁵ She was, however, familiar with other Portuguese writers from her travels as a newlywed, having written profiles of Portuguese writers Guiomar Torrezão, Maria Amalia Vaz de Carvalho, Amelia Jenny, Ana Plácido and Maria Ribeiro de Sá when in Portugal in the late 1870s, as well as establishing a friendship with Guiomar Torrezão, who opened her door to aspiring women writers (Pintos, 2016: 56).

Although all of this serves to demonstrate that Gimeno created a rich imaginary with her profiles, it should also be borne in mind that she herself mentions at least 173 nineteenth-century women writers from all over the world, as well as numerous women from previous centuries, and if all of these women are taken into account in addition to the hundreds of women who are mentioned by other writers in the magazine, the ingenuous reader could be easily be forgiven for imagining that most of the world's women were in some way involved in literary activities.

Unexpected women writers found in the magazine

Unlike the views expressed in the Spiritist magazine *La Luz del Porvenir*, there is no uniformity of feminist voice in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, unsurprising when one considers that Gimeno's writing is itself a mass of self-contradiction.³⁶⁶ However, despite Gimeno's own brand of 'conservative' feminism, most prominently seen in the 1890s and used to distinguish herself from more 'strident' Anglo-Saxon feminists, there are nevertheless women writers whom Gimeno chooses to publish who can only be described as 'anti-feminists'. Other voices are unexpected, whether for belonging to a woman associated with freethinking or other challenges to the social order, or because the darkness with which they write sits incongruously in this family-friendly magazine.

The Anti-feminists

While Gimeno's early views on women would be deemed anti-feminist today, the label anti-feminist itself is problematic in a period and culture which had a widely different worldview to today's modern Europe. For the purposes of this study therefore, I will deem anti-feminist to be the writings which espouse a view which Gimeno herself criticises in her own work. There is no doubt that *María Belmonte* (María Montes de Oca) is the most extreme of the anti-feminists, given that she reports the views of the anti-feminist 'Miss Leawel, la atrevida norte-americana' in a favourable light (30/3/92). These views, about the innate inferiority of women to men in all fields of endeavour, is so extreme that Gimeno distances herself from them with an editorial footnote, incidentally, a footnote she

³⁶⁶ Good example of this are her 180-degree change in viewpoints on single women (compare 'La solterona', 30/7/92 and 'Crónica semanal', 22/12/09) and female suffrage (compare 'Necesidad de instruir a la mujer y sus facultades para la instrucción', 22/5/95 and 'El Sufragio Femenino', 22/8/06).

does not add to Dr. Sánchez de Castro's equally misogynistic piece in 14/12/92.³⁶⁷ Inocencia García's exhortation to women to become the surrendered wife, eschewing education and the will to action in favour of submission and the darning needle ('El valor de la mujer', 14/12/94), is in direct contradiction to Gimeno's own views on *la calceta*, and her effusive praise of eminent female scholars and doctors, yet is printed without editorial comment.³⁶⁸ Similarly, Dolores Mijares of Mexico ('La instrucción de la mujer', 7/11/01) does not believe that women should receive an equal education to men, and the idea of a female doctor is repulsive and an affront to the sex, a sharp contrast to Gimeno de Flaquer's spirited defence of Mijares' compatriot Manuela Montoya, Mexico's first woman doctor (22/11/92), and to her praise of Spanish medics and writers Concepción Aleixandre (see above) and Manuela Solís (14/5/08).³⁶⁹ Gimeno also finds no problem in publishing Concepción Boloña's 'Deber de esposa' (30/10/06) in which *Coralia* lives up to the image of herself as the 'paladín del hombre', excusing adultery and domestic violence, and telling female readers to be as equally forgiving with their husbands.³⁷⁰

One particularly startling challenge to the female imaginary sisterhood Gimeno has worked to build up comes from Guatemalan Carmen P. de Silva, whose view on prostitutes, or 'mujeres bacantes', is in direct opposition to other female writers in the magazine – the American suffragist Tennessee Celeste Claflin exhorts female readers to help their fallen sisters, while both Carmen de Burgos and Gimeno rail against the structural social and economic inequalities which cause prostitution, presenting the penniless, desperate widow who needs to feed her starving children.³⁷¹ Contrast this view with that of P. de Silva, who

³⁶⁷ It may be that such an ideologically dubious piece was published due to *Belmonte's* social and literary status at the time. A friend of Julia Asensi, *Belmonte's* work was published in the prestigious *Revista Contemporánea*, including two articles on 'Feminismo' (Año XVII, Tomos CV y CVI – Ene-Mar 1897, Abr-Jun 1897), the latter article being translated for the equally prestigious *Review of Reviews* in London, which presents her writing to their anglosphere readers as on a par with that of Emilia Pardo Bazán and Adolfo Posada. Ramírez Gómez, (2000: 238-239) gives more on the life and work of *Belmonte*.

³⁶⁸ *La calceta* itself is criticised by Gimeno at length in 22/1/92 as 'una fastidiosa labor poco higiénico, es trabajo que irrita el sistema nervioso, produciendo muchas veces histerismo. [...] Tal vez quieren poner ese grillete á la inteligencia de la mujer sus retrógradas adversarios [...] La mujer inteligente no debe malograr su existencia consagrándola á la calceta'. The article 'El valor de la mujer' may have been reproduced from elsewhere, as it was also found years earlier in *La Ilustración* (17/11/89) and *La Luz del Porvenir* (13/10/92).

³⁶⁹ This piece appears to be especially anachronistic given its year of publication (1901), but it should be borne in mind that this article was written much earlier, as it is a reproduction from *El Álbum de la Mujer* (19/2/88). As with articles from the Guatemalan Carmen P. de Silva, it appears that Gimeno reproduces older articles without consideration for their content.

³⁷⁰ It is because of articles such as this that Cuban researcher Raquel Vinat describes Boloña as one of the women writers who, 'anquilosadas en la tradición, inhibidoras del progreso y, por consiguiente, retardadoras del lógico proceso emancipador, levantaban sus lanzas retrógradas para reforzar el distanciamiento ético-social entre sexos...' (Vinat de la Mata, 1991-1993: 27).

³⁷¹ Burgos' views on prostitution can be found in 14/7/03 and like Gimeno de Flaquer's views (found in 30/5/98, 30/5/00, 14/8/04, 30/5/06, 22/7/07, 22/10/07 and 30/12/07) and those of Tennessee Celeste

sees prostitutes as sinful women who have wilfully sought luxury, and therefore deserving to live in isolation from the rest of society, their *casas infestadas* having to be accessed by clients via a ‘walk of shame’ (‘ínfame trayecto’) and being prevented by police from leaving their ghetto. In the absence of prostitutes having to wear a *sambenito* or other such identifying mark (which the writer espouses), then these women should at least be forced to use separate public transport, lest honourable women be ‘infected’ by their ‘lepra’.

Unlike Gimeno, who sees women as the innocent victims of calculated male seduction, P. de Silva instead sees male clients as the victims of prostitutes (!).³⁷² Given such diametrically opposed views from the other writers, how could Gimeno publish such reactionary material in 1903, the same year that she publishes Carmen de Burgos’ views on the subject, and almost ten years after the progressive ‘Lady Cook’? Certainly, the danger is for the researcher to assume that this ultra-conservative view is a result of the Guatemalan writer’s point of perspective, that Guatemala has somehow been shielded from the currents of new ideas of the new century.³⁷³ However, further research shows that all three of Carmen P. de Silva’s articles found in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* at the start of the twentieth century were actually first published in *El Álbum de la Mujer* in 1888, with no alteration of their contents, except some changes to the title in their second incarnation, and the year of writing (1888) being judiciously removed (the place – Guatemala – was retained).³⁷⁴ This, and other anti-feminist articles, would suggest that Gimeno at times may have been struggling to find ‘content’ for her long-running magazine, especially content with a female by-line, and was less concerned with the actual contents of the ‘content’. It is therefore not impossible to suggest that many if not most of the articles which appear anachronistically conservative or *cursi* are actually a result of careless recycling of material from prior decades. What is certain is that this phenomenon is seen consistently with the writers discussed in the following section.³⁷⁵

Claflin (22/9/97 and 7/11/07) form part of a wider discourse on issues such as inequalities and hypocrisies in prevailing social and economic norms, health and job opportunities for women.

³⁷² ‘[...] los jóvenes pierden su inefable inocencia y disecan su corazón, huyendo de ellos las primeras ilusiones, comenzando á ser viejos á los quince ó veinte años [...].’

³⁷³ This is not to say that her attitudes about prostitutes were confined to reactionary Catholics – the freethinking idol Rosario de Acuña, in her whole-page essay ‘La Ramera’ (*Las Dominicales*, 28/5/87), sees prostitutes as animals and not truly human (‘se desliza desde su guarida’, ‘anillo intermedio en la cadena humana’, ‘un organismo rudimentario’). She even goes as far as to say: ‘Intelectualmente, cualquier joven gorila, educado con precaución, alcanza tantas cualidades de reflexión como la ramera’.

³⁷⁴ The three articles – ‘La suegra’ (14/5/01), ‘Justicia á la mujer’ (30/6/01) and ‘La moral y la civilización’ (22/4/03) – can be found in *El Álbum de la Mujer* as ‘Piedad para la mujer’ (22/1/88), ‘La suegra’ (4/3/88) and ‘La moral y la civilización’ (10/6/88).

³⁷⁵ The idea of careless reproduction is also supported by the latter reproduction of her own reactionary article ‘La Solterona’ (originally of 30/7/92 in this magazine, but potentially previously published elsewhere) in which she proposes that there should be subsidised bride auctions for unwanted single women (to ‘pay’

Heterodox voices

When the Spanish conservative and religious newspaper *La Unión Católica* recommended *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* to its readers in 25/11/90, describing it as ‘una de las mejores revistas españolas’, there would be the expectation on the part of conservative husbands and fathers buying the magazine that the magazine’s contributors would have no connection what they would perceive as the destabilising forces of Spain, for example, Freethinking, Republicanism and Spiritism.³⁷⁶ Nor would they expect ‘inappropriate’ subject matter from the ‘brillantes plumas’ promised by *La Unión Católica*, as they had been assured that the magazine, published in Madrid ‘con tanto acierto’ by ‘la señora doña Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer’, had been read by the newspaper editors. Indeed, while there are no overtly freethinking articles, there are traces of subversion within the magazine which are worthy of exploration, and a reminder to researchers to make no assumptions about the range of magazines where an individual women writer’s work may be found.

Spanish freethinking women

Many women found in the magazine have been identified with the freethinking movement, even if their articles in this particular instance are relatively conservative. Given Teresa Mañé’s links with freethinking, anarchy, secular schooling and socialism, one would not expect to find her writing three articles under her real name as late as 1901.³⁷⁷ One might also doubt that this was indeed the Teresa Mañé who took part in public demonstrations when one reads the anti-feminist statements in her last article, ‘Lo que es la ilustración para el sexo femenino’ (7/09/01), which encourages women to get enough education to be a good *madre de familia*, an education which will enhance her all-important beauty. An excerpt:

men to marry them!) and promotes the idea that the spinster ‘no pertenece al hermoso sexo’. This article is reproduced as late as 30/12/08 despite her having denounced similar views from others in the intervening years.

³⁷⁶ According to Chozas Ruiz-Belloso (2005), Gimeno de Flaquer ridicules Louise Michel in 30/9/90, which a good point of comparison between magazines, given the Frenchwoman’s positive reception in *Las Dominicales*.

³⁷⁷ The three articles are ‘Enfermedades morales’ (22/9/99) (about how a rejection in love can kill), ‘El mejor confidente es el papel’ (7/8/01) and ‘Lo que es la ilustración para el sexo femenino’ (7/9/01).

Sin embargo, la mujer, representación fiel de la sensibilidad, del afecto, de la abnegación y de la caridad, no puede ni podrá ser nunca lo que algunos pretenden, si quiere conservar su dicha.

El intentar igualar al hombre en sus facultades y derechos es una vana pretensión, pues sólo alcanzarán hacer de ella un retrato grosero y repugnante del hombre.

«Las mujeres sólo son creadas para embellecer el hogar doméstico y para completar la felicidad del hombre», ha dicho un sabio escritor.

It seems impossible that at the time of publication the author of this piece had founded one of the country's first secular schools ten years before (1891), translated Louise Michel, and had returned from political exile in England with her husband under a false name.

However, a closer investigation shows that all of these writings are in fact reproductions from *El Album de la Mujer* from the mid-1880s, this particular piece being originally printed in 1886, and I have no doubt that this was in turn a reproduction from another source. Given that Mañé was born in 1866, it is therefore a certainty that this piece was written while Mañé was still a teenager, new to writing, and yet to develop her own individual worldview. This does demonstrate however, that the researcher can make no assumptions about where or when a potentially relevant source for a writer under study might be found.³⁷⁸

Another Spanish freethinking woman found writing conservative pieces in the magazine is Aurelia Mateo de Alonso, whose piece 'Los niños' (published twice, in 7/10/93 and 14/12/03) looks like a throwback from another age ('¡Que hermosos son los niños! Tiernos capullos del plantel de la vida, embeleso de las madres, alegría del hogar.') Certainly, it seems unimaginable that by the first time this piece was published, the author was a practising Mason (cf. her article in *La Luz del Porvenir*, 'En la noche de mi iniciación de la logia Verdad', 5/4/88) who had founded two liberal magazines (*La Idea*, Algeciras, 1877 and *La X*, Castellón, 1889), had written anticlerical poetry to *Las Dominicales*, and praised 'la ilustre sacerdotisa' Rosario de Acuña. Again, the natural assumption is that this piece is

³⁷⁸ Simón Palmer (1991) does not list any of Teresa Mañé's writings prior to 1894, and all but two of these entries are for articles in the anarchist *La Revista Blanca*, which she founded with her husband and where her name would be expected. Mañé is also reported to have featured in *La Luz del Porvenir*, although she does not feature in the magazine from its inception to May 1894, so we must conclude that if she did indeed appear in the magazine, she appeared after this date.

a reproduction from a much earlier age, and it is certainly a reproduction, being also found in *La Ilustración* in 27/4/90 (but which I imagine dates from even earlier).

However, there is one Spanish author who was known to be a freethinker at the time of writing, and whose article reflects these beliefs. Dolores Navas, who declared herself a freethinker while a school student in Córdoba (see Chapter 2), puts her name to the article 'El estudio' (14/09/01). It is clearly another of Gimeno's reproductions from her Mexican magazine, this time from 1886, and it is likely to have been a newly written article when first published by Gimeno, as Navas only began writing in 1885. However, it appears that Gimeno knows nothing of this author, as the place of writing is given as 'Córdoba, México' (a natural mistake to make if first received by Gimeno in Mexico), and perhaps it is because of this ignorance about the author herself that the piece is published, a very progressive piece which is unusual in that it advocates female study for its own sake, for nothing more than a chance to glimpse the sublime. This advocacy of study for 'selfish' motives, for a woman's own intellectual pleasure and personal happiness rather than for her husband or children, is actually a very unusual position among women writers of the period, and in this entire study only Rosario de Acuña has been seen to take such an individualist position. Navas also asserts to her women readers that no subject is out of bounds for them, and presents the wondrousness of a range of subjects, from astronomy to zoology. What is also particularly interesting about this piece is that it was not found in the archives of *Las Dominicales* where, with the regularity of Navas' literary contributions to its editor, it would be most expected to be seen. This again serves to underline the importance of not making assumptions as to where texts might be found.

Latin American freethinking women

There are at least four Latin American freethinking women in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, three of whom can be found in *Las Dominicales*. As might be expected, there is no indication that Gimeno, who condemns 'el demoledor feminismo *librepensante*' is aware of their subversive background.³⁷⁹

The poet Laureana Wright de Kleinhans, like Gimeno, was a magazine editor with an interest in female emancipation, and an innocuous little poem, 'La Carnaval', is printed in 30/1/94. However she differed from Gimeno in her Spiritism and Anticlericalism, and an

³⁷⁹ This quotation comes from the 14/10/03 issue in which she denounces doctrines which separate 'el progreso' from the Catholic Church.

issue of *Las Dominicales* the previous year (3/2/93) sees her name take pride of place in two group letters from two separate lodges in the Valle de México, in support of the Congreso Librepensador.³⁸⁰ Indeed, it is her outspoken comments against the government which almost leads to her expulsion from the country by president Porfirio Díaz, the same Porfirio Díaz whose leadership and values Gimeno de Flaquer lauds in her magazine.³⁸¹ Another political exile, the writer Lola Rodríguez del Tió, who was expelled from Puerto Rico for criticising the Spanish authorities, writes the poem ‘Añoranza’ (14/10/94) from Havana.

More moderate in the expression of her freethinking is the Cuban Avelina Ortega de Gómez, whose articles ‘La vida’ (7/10/05) and ‘Combatir el mal’ (14/9/08) give no indication of her Spiritist beliefs or her freethinking tendencies (see Chapter 2 for her letter of adhesion to *Las Dominicales*, addressed to her literary inspiration Rosario de Acuña). In fact, the ‘mal’ of the latter article refers to the women who do not understand the importance of good home management or maintenance of their personal appearance for their husband’s happiness. Again, however, these articles are clearly reproductions from decades before, likely from the 1880s, when Ortega de Gómez also regularly featured in *La Luz del Porvenir*. Indeed, the very article ‘Combatir el mal’ is found in the 31/12/85 issue of *La Luz del Porvenir*, some 23 years before its publication in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*. It remains a moot point to suggest that this was Gimeno’s source for the material but it certainly warns the researcher against jumping to conclusions about the contemporaneity of periodical writings, or their validity as reflections of the discourses prevalent at the time of publication.

The final Latin American freethinking writer to be discussed, and potentially the most interesting from the point of view of content, is Theosophist and medical doctor Margarita Práxedes Muñoz, whose feminist piece ‘Triunfos Femeninos’ (30/11/02) exposes the misogyny of Christian doctrine and ritual as responsible for normalising views of women as inferior. Writing from political exile in Buenos Aires, she refutes these ideas of female inferiority, describing the achievements of great female scientists, mathematicians and philosophers. Of this last category, her extensive praise of Theosophist Helena Blavatsky,

³⁸⁰ Interesting to note that Mexico’s first female doctor, Matilde Montoya (whom Gimeno de Flaquer has profiled in her magazine) is also a signatory of both of these letters, and both Montoya and Wright de Kleinhans show themselves to be very involved with the Masonic movement – both at grade 14, and both with titles (Montoya being both ‘La Venerable Maestra’ and ‘Sapiente Maestra’, while Wright de Kleinhans is ‘La Oradora’ and ‘Gran Oradora’).

³⁸¹ An example of this is Gimeno dedicating the front page of 14/8/94 to her profile of the general, with his portrait, in an article entitled ‘Americanos Ilustres’. She also dedicates her book *Civilización de los antiguos pueblos mexicanos* (1890) to him.

‘la más colosal obrera del pensamiento que haya producido el siglo XIX’, is particularly worthy of note given that the same Catholic newspaper which recommends *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, which describes Blavatsky’s books as ‘bestialidades’.³⁸² It would be interesting to know if this newspaper’s *redacción* would have endorsed Gimeno’s magazine so readily had the issue it had been given to review been the 14/7/94 issue, in which Virriato D. de la Herrería presents a history and portrait of Blavatsky over three pages, or the 22/10/91 issue, in which Gimeno de Flaquer herself, with her characteristically diplomatic desire to find the middle ground, begins the death notice of Blavatsky in ‘Crónica policroma’ with an impartiality befitting the news item that it is: ‘Ha muerto una mujer cuya existencia fue tan original que no se sabe si colocarla entre las embaucadoras vulgares ó darle un lugar en la historia como premio á su talento’. Almost two decades later, in 7/12/09, Gimeno does not sit on the fence when reporting on the actions of the president of the Theosophical society, writer Ana (Annie) Besant. She lauds her significant educational work in India ‘que ha dejado honda huella’ and of a ‘trascendencia social inconmesurable’, as well as praising her ‘hermosas doctrinas de fraternidad, de abnegación, de altruismo’, and implying that it is Besant’s gender which has created this success (‘La mujer, más espiritualista que el hombre, es incansable en su propaganda antimaterialista’). Gimeno betrays her pragmatic thinking when she sees the philanthropic successes of Spiritualism (or at least ‘spirituality’, given the double sense in Spanish) when she ends her piece, ‘¡Hermoso triunfo del espiritualismo!’, a modern pragmatism unlikely to have been shared by the Catholic Church in Spain. Her reporting of Annie Besant’s actions in India and Paris demonstrates that while Gimeno protests at the idea of women who step outside of the bounds of the Catholic worldview, at heart she is a pragmatist, who is clearly open-minded towards freethinking women when these can effect positive social change.

Dark and violent texts

Given the longstanding debate regarding what was seen as ‘suitable’ reading matter for women, who were considered both physically and mentally susceptible to ‘dangerous’ reading material, it is also worth remarking on some of the darker elements in female-authored texts which might not be expected in such a mainstream publication.³⁸³ While

³⁸² See *La Unión Católica*, ‘Un templo pagano en París’ (22/11/94).

³⁸³ Ortega (2008: 226-227) discusses the popular discourse seen in nineteenth-century Spanish periodicals during the 1860s (e.g. *El Cascabel* of 1868) of the nefarious physical effects on women caused by reading

French writer and notorious free spirit Lucie Delarue-Mardrus uses her morbid tale ‘La negra cortesana’ to expound her philosophy on death and how the human perception of time can only be, by its very nature, fallacious (22/6/08), the Peruvian Carolina Freyre’s ‘Un Hombre Feliz’ (22/7/99), describes a husband’s indifference to his wife’s suicide, prompted by the horror of being made to consummate a loveless marriage. Julia de Asensi mirrors Freyre’s work when in ‘Ensayos’ (30/8/07) the female protagonist, bored in her marriage, prays for her actor husband to shoot himself dead and is disappointed to see him still alive. However, perhaps the darkest piece of women’s writing to be found in the magazine comes from *sevillana* Gloria de la Prada (Navarro), whose *cantares*, found at the back of the magazine in the space typically reserved for flowery poetry, contain the following verse:

Cuchillo quisiera ser
para meterme en tu carne
para sentirte morir
y ser yo quien te matase. (‘Mis Cantares’, 22/7/09)

Perhaps the appearance of this *cantar* is not surprising, despite the magazine’s line of no female direct action (let alone erotic violence) in the public sphere, when one considers that Gimeno is found praising a woman on trial for shooting dead a man who attempted to slander her, justifying the killing, and appearing to instruct the jury to think of their daughters when deciding on a verdict.³⁸⁴

Finally, the dark side of human nature is most ably understood by women writers, who do not hesitate to explore the seamier side of the human psyche. The Argentinian María M. Pedemonte delivers a short fable ‘¡Así es la vida!’ which demonstrates that the strong always find an excuse to devour the weak, even though they in turn end up being devoured. Dolores Gonzalo Morón, a schoolteacher from León, delivers darkly moralistic tales to

salacious novels, effects which included extreme weight loss, ravaged or gaunt looks, and a loss of energy for everyday tasks. This ‘drying-up’ effect on femininity and internal organs, leading to the cruel name of ‘resecas’, was also attributed to women who wrote poetry and practiced onanism (though presumably not at the same time).

³⁸⁴ The following was found in ‘Crónicas’ (22/8/91): ‘Espérase en Granada con gran curiosidad el fallo de la Audiencia en la causa de María Alfonsea, por haber disparado un pistoletazo contra Antonio Morente, que intentó deshonrarla con sus calumnias. El fiscal ha pedido cadena perpetua para la acusada, calificando su delito de asesinato. Indudablemente ignora el fiscal que para muchas mujeres vale más el honor que la vida; así es que en vez de castigo, esa valerosa y digna mujer, merece elogio. Si es lícito defenderse contra el que atente á nuestra vida, también debe serlo contra el que atenta á nuestro honor. Apelo á la opinión de los jurados que tengan hijas.’ Given the violence towards women at the time (cf. José Fernández Bremón’s letter of 7/8/03, which talks of the new Madrid ‘moda’ of murdering women ‘por amor’), it could also be seen as Gimeno’s way of promoting gender equality in the right to kill for the sake of honour.

readers with ‘Lo insaciable’ (22/3/02), a story of demons reporting back to the devil regarding their successes in trapping human souls, and ‘La buena nueva’ (22/5/02), which describes how the arrival of capitalism (in the form of a railway) unleashes a village’s greed and causes disease to both individuals and the social body. Still on the subject of society and capitalism, the erudite *conquense* Magdalena de Santiago-Fuentes, in ‘La nivelación social’ (1902), one of her six short stories published in the magazine, imagines the rise of a communist state through insurgency, the building of an ‘iron curtain’ to separate this state from its capitalist neighbour, then the eventual collapse of said state (and the tearing down of the wall).³⁸⁵ This piece of fiction, published over two parts (7-14/6/02), is significantly published on page two of the magazine, an unusual place for both a woman and for the genre, reflecting Gimeno’s esteem for the work. Like Amalia Domingo Soler, Gimeno appears keen to showcase female voices, and does not hesitate to foreground particularly interesting or accomplished women writers who write on ‘masculine’ topics.

Conclusion

Although I have provided a comprehensive overview of the female literary connections within this chapter, given the sheer volume and variety of women’s writing found within *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, as well references to women writers throughout history and throughout the world, it can still only be the most salient aspects of the data. I hope to have shown that for the reader of Gimeno’s magazine, especially one who subscribed over many years, the overall impression would be that women were part of their own great tradition of intelligence and culture, a tradition which transcended epoch and (often arbitrary) national boundaries. This impression of a great tradition would also have been reinforced by the male writers whose notes about prestigious women and women writers complimented Gimeno’s own work, as well as the regular references to female literary icons which peppered other women’s writing. Gimeno also ensured that the magazine appeared a welcome space for women to contribute their own work, whether this be a philosophical essay or a short poem to a friend. Most significantly, while Gimeno recuperated the memory of notable women (the history of women writers) and included female contributors (the ‘present’ of women writers), perhaps most importantly, with her editorials and news items, she made it clear that she wanted to inspire the *future* of women’s writing.

³⁸⁵ Significantly, this short story is not listed in the bibliography of Carmen Muñoz Olivares’ otherwise exhaustive 2004 study of the life and works of Santiago-Fuentes, which helps to demonstrate the thesis that the periodical is a rich source of undiscovered literary material for the careful researcher.

Through her inspirational exhortations to female greatness, and the creation of an imaginary community created with the pages of her magazine, Gimeno clearly hoped that female readers would see within themselves their potential as agents of the social change necessary for female empowerment and expression, and would take up the pen.

Final Conclusion

Given the data expounded over the past three chapters, it might be hard for the reader to believe that at the beginning of my doctoral study I was genuinely apprehensive about not finding a sufficient female writerly presence in Spanish periodicals to form a thesis. It is ironic then, that in the event I ended up with too much information for the scope of this study, and to my sorrow had to omit two completed chapters totalling over 30,000 words, which traced two other women's networks based around their respective magazines.

In fact, it is significant, given my previous apprehension, that it has taken 90,000 words to describe with sufficient depth the women's writing networks of only three Spanish periodicals, as well as the fact that in every case not all of the women who were found could be included in each chapter. Given the thousands of extant periodicals which have still to be studied by researchers, this suggests that the potential for uncovering previously unknown aspects of Spanish literary culture, including as yet undiscovered women writers, is incalculable.

What became overwhelmingly clear during the course of my research was that, with few exceptions (e.g. Rosario de Acuña) the women who wrote for Spanish periodicals firmly saw themselves as part of a greater community, and used the idea of this community as a way to justify their own writing practices and embolden themselves in what was a relatively new medium for women. This evocation of the community took various forms, which can be described as the *historical*, the *contemporaneous* and the *imaginary*.

The historical tradition of women writers was evoked, in some cases, even deliberately re-created in its entirety. This recollection of the literary foremothers could take the form of an epigraph at the beginning of an article, a reference or a quotation within the article itself, or a literary response to a foremother's work (all features seen in *La Luz del Porvenir*). Alternatively, the evocation of a tradition might be more overt, with profiles rendered of illustrious literary women, so that women readers might take inspiration from them to become writers themselves. This technique is used to great effect in *El Álbum Ibero-Americano*, and it should be noted that the women who are profiled are not just literary women, but women who are famous for their greatness and bravery, with the inference to female readers that if women are capable of defending their city from foreign military forces (María Pita is profiled in 14/3/92) then female readers should not shirk from submitting their poems to a magazine. The women most commonly evoked in *La Luz del Porvenir* and *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* are the Spanish *grandes dames* of the Isabelline

period – *Fernán Caballero*, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, and Carolina Coronado (considered a foremother in this context, although still living at this point). Interestingly, perhaps because of the relatively recent tradition of Spanish female freethinking (and because *Las Dominicales* is not a literary newspaper), only Concepción Arenal is evoked as a Spanish foremother among female freethinkers, who otherwise have to look abroad for their inspiration, in the form of Louise Michel.

Another strategy of making writing a group activity was for contemporaneous writers to acknowledge, praise and support each other, often using the very presence of the other to inspire one's own writing. This acknowledgement was usually due to genuine admiration, but the possibility must also be considered, especially when the writer being praised is the editor, that this strategy was used to ensure the publication of the article/poem in question. This name-checking of existing writers in one's own work is very common in the freethinking community, and is particularly understandable when, even before their adhesions to freethinking, these women are already on the fringes of mainstream society. The heterodox woman writers in these communities often have humble backgrounds, with (by their own admission) little in the way of education or income, and in *Las Dominicales* at least, it is rare that a writer does not begin her writing career with a tentative letter in which she praises or offers friendship to an already established female writer. This can be seen as wishing to avoid criticism by immediately placing oneself in a subordinate position to the established sisterhood, perhaps in a desire not to be perceived as a rival for attention. While such inter-connectivity is less obvious in the texts of *La Luz del Porvenir*, with articles in the form of letters very rare, Amalia Domingo Soler's personal introductions to the articles make clear that she receives private letters with many contributions and that she knows the local writers personally. While all three periodicals are platforms for friends to dedicate poetry to each other, the focal point of most dedicated writing is the editor, the symbolic female figurehead of the magazine, the queen to whom both men and women render homage. In the case of *Las Dominicales*, this role is taken by Rosario de Acuña, whose declaration in 1883 puts her at the vanguard of female freethinkers. Dedications are an interesting way of looking at how women negotiate their social status within the writing network, as it can be instructive to look at who dedicates work and to whom. Given the lavish and interested use of the word 'friend' within this historical context, I considered it important to distinguish where possible the real-life friendships from those who were technically strangers (even if there was a unilateral or mutual desire for friendship). Rarely are there differences of opinion between women writers within the same publication, but it does happen, with Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer making clear that she disagrees with

María Belmonte's anti-feminism, Amalia Domingo Soler disagreeing with Ángeles López de Ayala's anarchism and Luisa Cervera bravely disagreeing with what she sees as Rosario de Acuña's unfair stance towards women. A woman's status within the network, or how valuable her work is perceived by the editor, can sometimes be gleaned from where her work is placed within the periodical. Unsurprisingly, Rosario de Acuña is always on the front page of *Las Dominicales*, and while just as predictably both female editors put their own writings first, they do occasionally cede ground for others.

Finally, there is the 'imagined community' formed within the pages of the magazine between writers and readers. Writers appear associated by their proximity on the page, or by being discussed by the editor, thus making the editor's perceived literary network to be much greater in the minds of readers than it actually is. The editors of all three magazines make no secret of their intent to create an imagined community, and foster many strategies to create this effect, whether it be publishing letters, listing names of donors and signatories to causes, use of the inclusive 'we', directly addressing the reader (who are often 'las lectoras') or reproducing a woman writers' work from elsewhere. In all three magazines there are comments about a woman writer's work, often in an introduction before the text itself, making it clear how the editor wishes this writer to be perceived by the reader. This acts to give the new writer the editorial 'seal of approval', the way that an introductory letter would serve in a real-life community. Similarly, many of the texts in all three magazines have a confessional style, with female readers sharing their most intimate thoughts, as if to a friend. The readers' response to these strategies, in the form of their letters to the editor, show that for all three magazines that the readers firmly feel themselves as part of the imagined communities, sharing the ideologies that the magazines espouse, ideologies strongly shaped by the personalities of the editors.

While these magazines give much important historical data in their own right, they also help to point towards further historical research in other sources. For example, all of the magazines contain news of the social events which take place outside of the printed pages, in many cases evidencing the real life associational activities that these women participate in alongside their fellow writers/readers. The activities take various forms according to the magazine in question, with Spiritist meetings, political meetings, speeches given at lay schools, civil weddings, civil funerals, banquets, conferences, literary gatherings or simple *fiestas*, all reported to varying extents. Sometimes these reports can be only a few lines long, but their existence makes it then easier to check mainstream press sources for further details. Given that it is impossible to go through the vast daily press archives manually in

the hope of relevant data, knowing approximately which dates might be more useful to concentrate on when searching can be a great time-saver, and in this case the magazines were particularly helpful in signposting relevant events. Their mention of other magazine titles as sources, places and dates of an article being written, news snippets and book reviews could also be very helpful to the researcher looking to find further data on a particular woman writer or her work, as in this way apparently ‘new’ information did come to light during this study. Usually this took the form of a tiny piece of information, such as a writer’s place of writing at a particular time, the date of her marriage, the circumstances of her death, her new name after marriage, a short story not listed in previous bibliographies, but these tiny pieces of information might be important clues to future researchers, and help dispel myths or clarify mysteries.

Another important fact which this study revealed was the transnational nature of all of these literary networks, with all three magazines circulating in Latin America, and receiving literary contributions from women outside of Spain. While it might not be surprising that upper middle-class Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer had an international literary network, having travelled in France, Italy and Portugal and having lived in Mexico for years, where she edited a magazine, it might be more surprising that the partially sighted Amalia Domingo Soler, who had never travelled outside of Spain and who lived on the charity of others, had nevertheless through the force of her will and hard work built up a wide network of connections in Latin America, particularly Cuba, Puerto Rico and Argentina. While she did not travel as extensively as Gimeno, she nevertheless travelled regularly throughout her region, and like Gimeno was very active in public speaking and other associational activities. All three magazines attest to the great will to power of many women of this period, who were determined to travel, to express their thoughts, and to experience life to its fullest. Perhaps surprising is the fearlessness of the women in the provinces, the women who did not have the assets of an exquisite education or independent wealth, the ‘ordinary’ working women whom traditional histories would have assumed to be silent. Evidence from these magazines, particularly *Las Dominicales*, suggest that where a woman had something to say and could express herself in writing, she would take that opportunity. Not even being illiterate was a barrier for some women, who got family members to write on their behalf. In a similar vein, events at which women spoke publicly were heavily oversubscribed by women, with reports of the audience not finding sufficient room at the talks given by Rosario de Acuña and Pilar Contreras. A photograph taken of the audience at a talk given by Peruvian Clorinda Matto de Turner in Madrid in 1908 (see Chapter 3), showing a packed hall in which women make up the entire front row and

whose giant hats obstruct the view of those seated behind, gives an indication as to how unapologetically women inserted themselves into the public space when the chance afforded itself.

When I began this study, I was hoping that I might discover some of the hidden truths about Spanish women writers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and some of the secrets of the literary culture in which they were embedded. Through a careful reading of this archive material, I hope to have presented a new perspective on the lives of these women, their ambitions, their views of the world and their relationships with each other. This study shows that the numbers of women putting pen to paper were far greater than conventional histories would suggest, even greater than the research of the last thirty years has revealed, and that the women of the period were far more spirited than the hegemonic narrative of the time liked to portray them. Of course, not all women were anticlerical freethinkers, but even the mainstream *El Álbum Ibero-Americano* contained women writers whose writing subtly subverted the patriarchal order and whose fiction invited readers to ponder social injustices. Given that a woman's writing was far more likely to be published in a magazine than in a book format during this period, I firmly believe that the future for research into women's writing and women's literary culture of this period lies in the systematic study of the 'ephemeral' press, and I hope that my doctoral thesis has done something to persuade the reader of this conviction.

List of References

Primary Sources

The DOI of the dataset which underpins this thesis can be found at:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.5525/gla.researchdata.336>

(Various authors). 'Album de la señorita D^a Joaquina García Balmaseda (manuscrito)' <https://ruidera.uclm.es/xmlui/handle/10578/222> [21 July 2016].

Belmonte, María de. (1897) 'Feminismo', *Revista Contemporánea*, Año XII, Tomo CV, Enero-Feb-Marzo, pp.398-403.

Belmonte, María de. (1897) 'Feminismo', *Revista Contemporánea*, Año XII, Tomo CVI, Abril-Mayo-Junio, pp. 225, 410-414.

Bolaños Cacho, Miguel. (1888) 'Siluetas españolas: Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', *El Album de la Mujer*, 15/1/88. Available at the Hemeroteca nacional digital de México of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México website.

Bulwer-Lytton, Edward. (1834) *England and the English*. Paris: Baudry's European Library. Available to view on Google Books.

Burgos Seguí, Carmen de. (1904) *El divorcio en España*. Madrid: Viuda de M. Romero. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/eldivorcioenesp00burggoog> [21 July 2016].

Burgos Seguí, Carmen de. (1907) 'Carme Blanco Trigueros', *Feminal*, 24/11/07, p. 772. Available at the ARCA (Arxiu de revistes catalanes antigues) website.

Burgos Seguí, Carmen de. (1907) 'Pilar Contreras', *Feminal*, 28/7/1907, p. 485. Available at the ARCA (Arxiu de revistes catalanes antigues) website.

Cansinos Asséns, Rafael. (1925 [1917]) *La Nueva Literatura II. Las escuelas (1898-1900-1918)*. Madrid: Editorial Paz.

Cansinos Asséns, Rafael. (1982) *La novela de un literato. Vol 1 (1882-1914)*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Cejador y Frauca, Julio. (1919) *Historia de la Lengua Castellana Comprendidos Los Autores Hispano-Americanos (Época Regional y Modernista: 1888-1907) (Segunda*

Parte), Vol. XI, Madrid: Tip. de la Rev de arch., bibl. y museos. Available at:
<https://archive.org/details/historiadelaleng10ceja> [23 June 2016].

Criado y Dominguez, Juan Pedro. (1889) *Literatas españolas del siglo XIX. Apuntes bibliográficos*. Madrid: Dubrull. Available at:
<https://archive.org/details/literatasespao00criauoft> [23 June 2016].

Domingo Soler, Amalia. (1903) *Ramos de Violetas*, Vol. 1. Barcelona: Imprenta de Carbonell y Esteva S. en C.. Available at:
<http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1028173>
[18th July 2016].

Domingo Soler, Amalia. (1923 [1909]) *Sus más hermosos escritos*. Barcelona: Maucci. Available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000108585&page=1> [23 June 2016].

Domingo Soler, Amalia and Cristobal Fernández. (1990 [1912]) *Memorias de una mujer*. Barcelona: Amelia Boudet. Available at:
<http://www.espiritismo.cc/Descargas/libros/Amalia/memorias-de-una-mujer.pdf> [23 June 2016].

García de Coronado, Domitila. (1926) *Álbum poético fotográfico de escritoras y poetisas cubanas*. Havana: El Figaro (3rd edition). Available at:
<http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/ref/collection/chc9999/id/9743> [23 June 2016].

Gimeno de Flaquer, Gimeno. ‘La Duquesa de la Torre y su salon literario’, *El Álbum de la Mujer* (México, D.F.), 20/5/88.

Gómez, Hámlet. ‘Una conferencia sobre la República Argentina’, *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires), 5/12/08 (p. 68).

Gortázar Serantes, Dolores. ‘Reseña de Evangelios de la mujer’, *Revista Gallega* (La Coruña), 15/4/1900. This magazine is available at the *Hemeroteca Virtual* of the Real Academia Galega website.

Guerrero, Teodoro. ‘Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer’, *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 30/9/1890. Available at the *hemeroteca digital* of the BNE website.

Hurtado Jurado, Cristóbal. (2008) ‘Una mirada a la educación de la mujer en el siglo XIX’, *Séneca digital. Revista digital del IES Séneca*. No 1. Issn: 1988-9607. Available at:
<http://www.iesseneca.net/revista/spip.php?article154&artpage=4-6> . Scanned copies of

Dolores Navas' documents, including her prize-winning essay on Carlos V, are found at the same website: <http://www.iesseneca.net/revista/spip.php?article156> (23 July 2016).

Mariño, Cosme. (1963) *El Espiritismo en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Constancia.

Matto de Turner, Clorinda. (1909) *Viaje de recreo: España, Francia, Inglaterra, Italia, Suiza y Alemania con más de 250 grabados ilustrativos*. Valencia: F. Sempere y Compañía. Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcv1v0> [23 June 2016].

Nelken, Margarita. (1930) *Las escritoras españolas*. Barcelona-Buenos Aires: Editorial Labor.

Nombela, Julio. (1976) *Impresiones y recuerdos*. Madrid: Ediciones Giner.

Ossorio y Bernard, Manuel. (1903) *Ensayo de un catálogo de periodistas españoles del siglo XIX*. Madrid: J. Palacios.

Pardo Bazán, Emilia. (1889). 'The Women of Spain', *Fortnightly Review*, June 1889, pp. 879-904.

Sáez de Melgar, Faustina (ed.). (1881) *Las españolas, americanas y lusitanas pintadas por sí mismas*. Barcelona: Juan Pons. Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/las-mujeres-espanolas-americanas-y-lusitanas-pintadas-por-si-mismas--0/> [23 June 2016].

Salvador, Luciano. (1893) 'Bocetos literarios: Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', in *Revista Contemporánea*, 91, july-sept, pp. 277-280. Available at the *hemeroteca digital* of the BNE website.

Salvany, Tomás. (1895) 'Biografía de la autora', in María de la Concepción Jimeno Flaquer, *Madres de hombres célebres*. Madrid: Alfredo Alonso, pp. 7-14. Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/madres-de-hombres-celebres---con-retrato-y-biografia-de-la-autora/> [24 June 2016].

Serna, Ramón de la. (1917) 'Prólogo' in Burgos, Carmen de. *Confidencias de artistas*. Madrid: Alrededor del Mundo. Available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000098146&page=1> [24 June 2016].

Valle, Eduardo del. (1890) 'Biografía de Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', in Gimeno de Flaquer, Concepción. *¿Culpa o expiación?*. Mexico City: Ofic. Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 4th edition. Available at:
<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc3f4n4> [23 June 2016].

Additional Primary Sources (Newspapers/Magazines)

It is impossible to list every periodical that I have consulted during my research but which has not been required for the final thesis. However, the following issues of the following newspapers and magazines are those (other than the three titles under analysis) that have been referenced in the main thesis. The vast majority of references are unauthored, untitled news snippets, or simply the remarking of the existence of women's names (or the reproduction of a text) within the magazine in question. Authored texts whose contents are used in the main narrative or which are quoted are in the main list of references.

El Álbum de la Mujer (Mexico D. F.) – 24/10/86, 22/5/87, 7/11/01, 8/2/85, 25/1/85, 6/5/88, 19/2/88, 22/1/88, 4/3/88, 10/6/88

Asta Regia (Jerez de la Frontera) – 24/10/81, 21/5/83

Cádiz (Cádiz) – 30/1/80, 20/5/79, 30/6/77

La Correspondencia de España (Madrid) – 16/2/11, 17/11/01, 24/3/06, 7/7/08, 3/4/07, 10/2/07, 7/12/90

La Correspondencia Militar (Madrid) – 2/12/07

El Día (Madrid) – 14/3/06

Diario Oficial de Avisos de Madrid (Madrid) – 17/11/01

La Época (Madrid) – 19/1/02, 14/12/99, 7/5/06, 10/11/08, 14/12/99

La Fraternidad Universal (Madrid) – 1/1894

Gaceta de Instrucción Pública (Madrid) – 12/3/07, 12/4/07

Gaceta de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes (Madrid) – 20/11/08

El Globo (Madrid) – 17/4/98

El Heraldo de Madrid (Madrid) – 17/3/06, 16/2/07, 18/6/07, 4/1/10

La Ilustración (Barcelona) – 31/1/84, 11/5/84, 30/9/83, 21/5/82, 27/4/90

La Ilustración de la Mujer (Barcelona) – 15/5/84

La Ilustración Española y Americana (Madrid) – 15/11/08, 22/2/07

El Iris de Paz (Huesca) – 15/11/83, 31/1/85, 15/12/84, 15/6/85

La Ley de Amor (Mérida, Yucatán) – 22/8/77, 23/11/77, (1878)

El Liberal (Madrid) – 17/6/07, 18/06/07, 12/9/08, 29/9/08, 15/11/08, 11/3/09, 19/2/11

Luz y Unión (Barcelona) – 6/1909, 2/1908, 15/11/01

La Moda Elegante (Cádiz) – 22/8/94

El Mundo de las Damas (Barcelona) – 1/1887

Nuevo Mundo (Madrid) – 26/11/08, 19/11/08

El País (Madrid) – 26/7/97, 4/11/88, 27/10/92, 15/6/00, 26/1/00, 15/6/00

París Charmant-Artístico (Paris) – 15/7/82

Le Progrès Spirite (France) – 20/3/02, 06/1905

El Pueblo: Diario Republicano de Valencia (Valencia) – 13/1/32, 17/1/32

La Región (Guadalajara) – 28/5/01

Revista de Estudios Psicológicos (Barcelona) – 9/1876

El Siglo Futuro (Madrid) – 22/2/90

El Socialista (Madrid) – 1/4/92, 8/1/92

La Vanguardia (Barcelona) – 18/6/12

La Unión Católica (Madrid) – 25/11/90, 22/11/94

Secondary Sources

Abend, Lisa. (2004) 'Specters of the Secular: Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century Spain', *European History Quarterly*, 34, no 4: 507-534.

Aguilera Sastre, Juan and Isabel Lizarraga Vizcarra. (2010). *De Madrid a Ginebra. El feminismo español y el VIII Congreso de la Alianza Internacional para el Sufragio de la Mujer*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Álvarez Junco, José and Shubert, Adrian (eds.). (2000) *Spanish History since 1808*.

London: Hodder Arnold.

Anderson, Benedict. (2005 [1983]) *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Andrews, George Reid. (1979) 'Race Versus Class Association: the Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1850-1900.' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 01, May: 19-39.

Aramburu y Pacheco, Alfonso de. (1945) *La ciudad de Hércules*. Cádiz: Establecimientos Ceron y Librería Cervantes.

Aránega Castilla, Francisco Miguel and José Antonio Serrano García. (2012) 'La Princesa de Solms, Condesa Rattazzi y Marquesa de Rute, Marie Laetitia Bonaparte-Wyse: Genealogía de la princesa rebelde', *Trastámara*, 9, enero-julio: 127-152.

Arkinstall, Christine. (2005) 'Writing Nineteenth-Century Spain: Rosario de Acuña and the Liberal Nation,' *MLN*, Vol. 120, No. 2, Hispanic Issue, March: 294-313.

Arkinstall, Christine. (2014) *Spanish Female Writers and the Freethinking Press 1879-1926*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Arkinstall, Christine. (2016). 'Domestic Fiction and Cursilería in the Fin-de-Siècle Novellas of Salomé Núñez y Topete', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 23rd February. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1148310> [23 July 2016].

Ayala Aracil, María de los Angeles. (2009) 'Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer: El problema feminista', in *Vivir al margen: mujer, poder e institución literaria*, ed. by María Pilar Celma Valero and Mercedes Rodríguez Pequeño. Segovia: Fundación Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, pp. 291-301.

- Barcia Zequeira, María del Carmen. (2009) *Mujeres al margen de la historia*. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.
- Barreiro, Javier. (2001). *Cruces de bohemia*. Zaragoza: Unaluna ediciones.
- Bianchi, Susana. (1992) 'Los espiritistas argentinos (1880-1910). Religión, ciencia y política' in *Ocultismo y espiritismo en la Argentina*, ed. by Santamaría, Aruj, Georges, Leone and Bjerg. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, pp. 89-128.
- Bianchi, Marina. (2007) 'La lucha feminista de María de la Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer: teoría y actuación' in *Escritoras y pensadoras europeas*, ed. by Mercedes Arriaga Flores. Sevilla: ArCiBel editors, pp. 89-114
- Bianchi, Marina. (2008). 'Los artículos "a lo femenino" de María de la Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer' in *Papel de mujeres, mujeres de papel. Periodismo y comunicación del siglo XIX a nuestros días*, ed. by Margherita Bernard et al, Bérnago: Bérnago UP, pp. 21-49.
- Bieder, Maryellen. (1989) 'Emilia Pardo Bazán y las literatas: las escritoras españolas del XIX y su literatura', in *Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. by Antonia Vilanova. Barcelona: PPU, pp. 1203-1212. Available at: http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/aih/pdf/10/aih_10_2_031.pdf [23 June 2016].
- Bieder, Maryellen. (1990) 'Feminine Discourse/Feminist Discourse: Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', *Romance Quarterly* 37.4 (Nov.): 459-477.
- Bieder, Maryellen. (1992) 'Woman and the Twentieth-Century Spanish Literary Canon. The Lady Vanishes.' *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*, Vol. 17, 1/3: 301-324.
- Bieder, Maryellen. (1993a) 'Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer (1852?-1919)', in *Spanish Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Source Book*, ed. by Linda Gould Levine, Ellen Engelson Marson, Gloria Feiman Waldman. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pp. 219-229.
- Bieder, Maryellen. (1993b). 'Emilia Pardo Bazán and Literary Women: Women Reading Women's Writing in Late 19th-Century Spain,' *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, Año 46, No. 1 (June): 19-33.

- Bieder, Maryellen. (1995) 'Gender and Language: The Womanly Woman and Manly Writing' in *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth Century Spain*, ed. by Lou Charnon-Deutsch and Jo Labanyi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 98-119.
- Bieder, Maryellen. (2005) 'Picturing the Author: The Private Woman Meets the Public Gaze', *Revista de estudios hispánicos*, Vol 39, no.2: 301-330.
- Bieder, Maryellen. (2015) "'Eminencias hembras": Emilia Pardo Bazán y las redes literarias, sociales e intelectuales de mujeres de letras.' in *No hay nación para este sexo. La Re(d)pública transatlántica de las Letras: escritoras españolas y latinoamericanas (1824-1936)*, ed. by Pura Fernández. Madrid: Iberoamericana, pp. 167-190.
- Blanco, María del Pilar. (2013) 'Mexico's *La Ilustración Espírita*: Towards a Transatlantic Understanding of a Spiritualist Archive', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Paranormal Cultures*, ed. by Olu Jensen and Sally R. Munt. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 269-280.
- Bogo, Cesar. (1971) *La cronista de los pobres: Amalia*. Buenos Aires: Edición CEA.
- Bordonada, Angela Ena. (1989) *Novelas breves de escritoras españolas (1900-1936)*, Madrid: Editorial Castalia.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (2001) *Masculine Domination*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Branche, Jerome C. (2006) *Colonialism and Race in Luso-Hispanic Literature*. Missouri: University of Missouri Press.
- Cantos Casenave, M. (1994) 'Hacer calceta' in *De la Ilustración al Romanticismo: VII Encuentro: la mujer en los siglos XVIII y XIX: Cádiz, América y Europa ante la modernidad*, ed. by Cinta Canterla González. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, pp. 423-442.
- Capdevila-Argüelles, Nuria. (2014) *Elena Fortún y Matilde Ras – El camino es nuestro*. Madrid: Fundación Banco Santander.
- Carmona González, Ángeles. (1990) *La Mujer en la novela por entregas del siglo XIX*. Seville: Caja San Fernando.
- Carmona González, Ángeles. (1999) *Escritoras andaluzas en la prensa de Andalucía del siglo XIX*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz.
- Carr, Raymond. (1980) *Modern Spain, 1875-1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Casanova, Pascale. (2004) *The World Republic of Letters*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Cerezo Paredes, Alicia. (2013) “‘Cada espíritu es un libro’: Spiritualism in Turn-of-the-Century Spain’, *Decimonónica*, Winter 2013, Vol.10, Num 1. Available at: http://decimononica2.usu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Cerezo-Paredes_10.1.pdf [23 June 2016].
- Charnon-Deutsch, Lou. (1996) ‘Ficciones de lo femenino en la prensa española del fin del siglo XIX’ in *Breve historia feminista de la literatura española (en lengua castellana)*, vol. IV, ed. by Iris M. Zavala. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 49-80.
- Charnon-Deutsch, Lou. (2003) ‘Gender and beyond: nineteenth-century Spanish women writers’ in *The Cambridge Companion to the Spanish Novel from 1600 to the Present*, ed. by Harriet Turner, Adelaida López de Martínez, pp. 122-137.
- Charnon-Deutsch, Lou. (2008) *Hold That Pose – Visual Culture in the Late Nineteenth-Century Spanish Periodical*. Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
- Chozas Ruíz-Belloso, Diego. (2005) ‘La mujer según *el Álbum Ibero-Americano* (1890-1891) de Concepción Gimeno de Fláquer’, *Espéculo. Revista de estudios literarios*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, no. 29, marzo-junio. Available at: <http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero29/albumib.html> [23 June 2016].
- Ciallella, Louise. (2006) “‘Entre nosotras’ and ‘Otras cosas’: Notes on Feminine and Feminist Narrative Discourse in Women’s Columns in ‘El Imparcial’, 1899—1902’, *Letras Femeninas*, Vol. 32, No. 2: 35-55.
- Cibotti, Ema. (2011) *Historias mínimas de nuestra historia*. Buenos Aires: Aguilar.
- Contreras Gila, Salvador. (1993) ‘Escritores giennenses en «Cádiz»’, *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, N° 150: 215-236. Available at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/autor?codigo=1129163> [24 June 2016].
- Corbetta, Juan Manuel; Juan Manuel Gimeno and Andrea Fabiana Savall. (2013a) *Cuando hablan los espíritus. Historias del movimiento kardeciano en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Antigua.

Corbetta, Juan and Fabiana Savall. (2013b) 'The Kardecian Spiritualist Movement in Argentina', *Paranthropology: Journal of Anthropological Approaches to the Paranormal*, Vol. 4, no. 2: 54-59.

Correa Ramón, Amelina. (2000) 'Librepensamiento y espiritismo en Amalia Domingo Soler, escritora sevillana del siglo XIX', *Archivo Hispalense* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla) Vol. LXXXIII, 254: 75-102.

Correa Ramon, Amelina (ed.). (2002) 'Amalia Domingo Soler, una escritora en la sombra' in *Cuentos Espiritistas* by Amalia Domingo Soler [1926]. Madrid: Clan Editorial, pp.7-50.

Crespo Gutiérrez, María Victoria. (n.d.) *Consuelo Alvarez Pool (1867-1957)*.
<http://www.telegrafistas.es/index.php/telegrafistas-ilustres/biografias-historicas/178-1-consuelo-alvarez-pool-1867-1957> [23 June 2016].

Davies, Catherine. (1998) *Spanish Women's Writing 1849-1996*. London: The Athlone Press.

Davies, Rhian. (2012) "'La cuestión femenina" and *La España Moderna* (1889-1914)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies: Hispanic Studies and Researches on Spain, Portugal and Latin America*, 89:1, 61-75.

Davies, Rhian. (2013) 'Las escritoras en *La España Moderna* (1889-1914)' in *Escritoras españolas en los medios de prensa 1868 – 1936*, ed. by Carmen Servén and Ivana Rota. Seville: Editorial Renacimiento, pp. 61-94.

Desvois, J. M. (1977) *La prensa en España (1900-1931)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores.

Díaz Marcos, Ana María. (2011) 'Querellas decimonónicas: Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer y las mujeres de regia estirpe', in *La querella de las mujeres en Europa e Hispanoamérica*, ed. by María Dolores Ramírez Almazán, Milagro Martín Clavijo, Juan Aguilar González, and Daniele Cerrato, Vol. 1. Sevilla: ArCiBel Editores, pp. 319-336.

Díaz-Marcos, Ana María. (2014) 'Misiones del racionalismo: Rosario de Acuña en la prensa librepensadora.' *Arbor*, Vol: 190, (767): a134. DOI:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2014.767n3005> [23 June 2016]

Díaz Toleda, David. (1994) 'Una escritora gaditana singular: Carolina Soto y Corro', in *De la Ilustración al Romanticismo : VII Encuentro : la mujer en los siglos XVIII y XIX :*

Cádiz, *América y Europa ante la modernidad*, ed. by Cinta Canterla González. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, pp. 443-458.

Esdaile, Charles J. (2000) *Spain in Liberal Age 1808-1939: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939 (A History of Spain)*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Espigado Tocino, Gloria. (1996) *Aprender a leer y escribir en el Cádiz del ochocientos*. Cádiz: Servicio de publicaciones. Universidad de Cádiz.

Espigado Tocino, Gloria. (2002) 'Las mujeres en el anarquismo español (1869-1939), *Ayer*, 45: 103-118.

Ezama Gil, Ángeles. (2014) 'Las periodistas españolas pintadas por sí mismas.' *Arbor*, 190 (767): a136. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2014.767n3007> [23 June 2016]

Fagoaga, Concha. (1996) 'De la libertad a la igualdad: laicistas y sufragistas' in *Entre la marginación y el desarrollo: Mujeres y hombres en la historia*, ed. by Cristina Segura and Gloria Nielfa. Madrid: Ediciones del Orto, pp. 171-198.

Falcón, Lidia and Elvira Siurana. (1992) *Catálogo de escritoras españolas en lengua castellana (1860-1992)*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid. Dirección General de la Mujer.

Fernández, Pura. (2011) 'Geografía culturales: Miradas, espacios y redes de las escritoras hispanoamericanas en el siglo XIX' in *Miradas sobre España* ed. by Facundo Tomás, Isabel Justo y Sofía Barrón. Barcelona: Anthropos, pp. 153-170.

Fernández, Pura. (2015) 'No hay nación para este sexo. Redes culturales de mujeres de letras españolas y latinoamericanas (1824-1936)' in *No hay nación para este sexo. La Re(d)ública transatlántica de las Letras: escritoras españolas y latinoamericanas (1824-1936)*, ed. by Pura Fernández. Madrid: Iberoamericana, pp. 9-57.

Franco Rubio, Gloria A. (2004) 'Los orígenes del sufragismo en España', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie V, H.^a Contemporánea, t.16: 455-482. Available at: <https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/docs/995-2015-01-09-sufragismo.pdf> [23 June 2016].

Frederick, Bonnie. (1998) *Wily Modesty: Argentine Women Writers, 1860-1910*. Arizona: Arizona State University.

Freire López, Ana María (ed.). (1991) *Cartas inéditas a Emilia Pardo Bazán (1878-1883)*. La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrie de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa.

Galerstein, Carolyn L. (1986) *Women Writers of Spain: An Annotated Bio-Bibliographical Guide*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

García Rodríguez, Oscar. (2006) *Historia del periodismo espiritista en España: Desde El Libro de Los Espíritus hasta la Guerra Civil*. An unpublished study, available at: <http://grupospiritaisladelapalma.wordpress.com/2010/01/03/historia-del-periodismo-espiritista-en-espana> [23 June 2016].

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. (2000 [1979]) *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

González Arrili, Bernardo. (1950) *Mujeres de nuestra tierra*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones La Obra.

Hernández Prieto, María Isabel. (1993) 'Escritores hispanoamericanos en "El álbum Iberoamericano" (1890-1899)', *Documentación de las ciencias de la información*, No. 16: 115-154. Available to view at: <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/DCIN/article/viewFile/DCIN9393110115A/20154> [23 June 2016].

Hernández Sandoica, Elena (ed.). (2012) *Política y escritura de mujeres*. Madrid: Abada.

Herzig Shannon, Nancy. (2001) *El Iris de paz: El espiritismo y la mujer en Puerto Rico, 1900-1905*. Rio Piedras: Ediciones Huracán.

Hibbs-Lissorgues, Solange. (2006) 'Itinerario de una filósofa y creadora del siglo xix: Concepción Jimeno de Flaquer,' in *Regards sur les Espagnoles créatrices (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*, ed. by Françoise Etienvre. Paris: Sorbonne Nouvelle, pp. 119-135.

Hooper, Kirsty. (2008) *A Stranger in My Own Land: Sofía Casanova, a Spanish Writer in the European Fin de Siècle*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Hooper, Kirsty. (2010) 'Between Canon, Archive, and Database: Spain's Women Intellectuals, 1890-1920. Notes on a work in progress', *Siglo Diecinueve. Literatura Hispánica*, 16: 195-218.

Horta, Gerard. (2004a) *Cos i Revolució*, Barcelona: Edicions de 1984.

Horta, Gerard. (2004b) 'Espiritismo y lucha social en Cataluña a finales del siglo XIX', *Historia, Antropología y Fuentes Orales*, 31: 29-49.

Hurtado, Amparo. (1998) 'Biografía de una generación: Las escritoras del noventa y ocho', in *Breve historia feminista de la literatura española (en lengua castellana)*, ed. by Iris M. Zavala, Vol. 5 of *La Literatura escrita por mujer: Desde el siglo XIX hasta la actualidad*. Barcelona: Anthropos pp. 139-154.

Infante Vargas, Lucrecia. (2003) 'De espíritus, mujeres e igualdad: Laureana Wright y el espiritismo kardeciano en el México finisecular' in *Disidencia y disidentes en la historia de México*, ed. by Felipe Castro Gutiérrez and María Marcela Terrazas y Basante. México D.F.: UNAM, pp. 277-294.

Infante Vargas, Lucrecia. (2008) 'De la escritura personal a la redacción de revistas femeninas. Mujeres y cultura escrita en México durante el siglo XIX.' *Relaciones*, XXIX, 113: 69-105.

Infante Vargas, Lucrecia. (2009) 'Tabasqueña de nacimiento. Poeta, maestra y escritora por vocación: Dolores Correa Zapata (1853-1924)', in *Mujeres en la literatura. Escritoras*, ed. by L. Vonder Walde y M. Reinoso (eds.). México: Destiempo pp. 188-208. Available at: <http://www.destiemplos.com/n19/vargas.pdf> [23 June 2016].

Jagoe, Catherine; Alda Blanco, and Enríquez de Salamanca (eds.). (1998) *La mujer en los discursos de género*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Jiménez Almagro, A. (1989) *Bio-bibliografía de Patrocinio de Biedma y la Moneda: (1845-1927)*. PhD thesis. Universidad de Granada. Available at: <http://digibug.ugr.es/handle/10481/6208> [23 June 2016].

Jiménez Morell, María Isabel. (1992) *La prensa femenina en España (desde sus orígenes a 1868)*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre.

Jiménez Morales, María Isabel. (1994) 'Marisabidillas y literatas del XIX español: jalones literarios en la lucha por la emancipación e ilustración femeninas' in *Femenino Plural. Palabra y memoria de mujeres*, ed. by Dolores Ramos Palomo. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, pp. 51-72.

Kinsbruner, Jay. (1996) *Not of Pure Blood: The Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico*. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press.

Kirkpatrick, Susan. (1991) *Las románticas: escritoras y subjetividad en España, 1835-1850*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra.

Koss, Joan D. (1976) 'Religion and Science Divinely Related: A Case History of Spiritism in Puerto Rico', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (April): 22-43.

Lacalzada de Mateo, María José. (1999) 'La intervención de la masonería en los inicios de la ciudadanía femenina' in *Género y ciudadanía: Revisiones desde el ámbito privado*, ed. by Margarita Ortega, Cristina Sánchez and Celia Valiente. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 243-258.

Lacalzada de Mateo, María José (2005) 'Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer en la emancipación de las mujeres' in Manuel Pérez Ledesma, Marta Elena Casaús Arzú (eds.) *Redes intelectuales y formación de naciones en España y América Latina (1890-1940)*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 369-386.

Lavrin, Asunción. (1997) 'Cambiano Actitudes sobre el Rol de la Mujer: Experiencia de los Países del Cono Sur a Principios de Siglo', *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe / European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, No. 62: 71-92.

Lee, Judith Yaross. (2005) 'From the Field: The Future of American Periodicals and American Periodicals Research', *American Periodicals*, Vol. 15, No. 2: 196-201.

León Corona, Gabriela. (2011) *Una periodista española en México. Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer y el Album de la Mujer (1883-1890)*. PhD thesis, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo. Available at: <http://www.museocjv.com/grabadosantiguos/El%20Album%20de%20la%20Mujer.pdf> [23 June 2016].

Marrero, Juan. (1999) *Dos siglos de periodismo en Cuba*. Havana: Pablo de la Torriente.

Matto de Turner, Clorinda. (1909) *Viaje de recreo: España, Francia, Inglaterra, Italia, Suiza y Alemania con más de 250 grabados ilustrativos*. Valencia: F. Sempere y Compañía. Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcvt1v0> [23 June 2016].

Mayoral, Marina. (2000) 'Las amistades románticas: un mundo equívoco' in *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente. 4, El Siglo XIX.*, ed. by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot. Madrid: Santillana, pp. 640-658.

Mayoral, Marina. (2002) 'El canon a la violeta. Normas y límites en la elaboración del canon de la literatura femenina' in *La elaboración del canon en la literatura española del*

siglo XIX. Barcelona: PPU, pp.261-266. Available at:

<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcs4719> [23 June 2016].

Miller, Beth Kurti. (1983) *Women in Hispanic Literature: Icons and Fallen Idols*. London: University of California Press.

Monroe, John Warne. (2008) *Laboratories of Faith: Mesmerism, Spiritism and Occultism in Modern France*. London: Cornell University Press.

Moral Vargas, Marta del. (2005) 'El Grupo Femenino Socialista de Madrid (1906-1914): pioneras en la acción colectiva femenina', *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, vol. 27: 247-269.

Moretti, Franco. (2005) *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History*. London: Verso.

Moretti, Franco. (2013) *Distant Reading*. London: Verso.

Muiña, Ana. (2008) *Rebeldes periféricas del siglo XIX*. Madrid: La Linterna Sorda.

Muñoz Olivares, Carmen. (2004) *Los rincones de la vida. Mujeres comprometidas: Magdalena de Santiago-Fuentes*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla La Mancha.

Nash, Mary. (2004) 'The Rise of the Women's Movement in Nineteenth-Century Spain' in *Women's Emancipation Movements in the 19th Century*, ed. by Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Núñez Rey, Concepción. (2009) 'Carmen de Burgos, Colombine (1867-1932), entre España y Europa' in *Vivir al margen: mujer, poder e institución literaria*, ed. by María Pilar Celma Valero and Mercedes Rodríguez Pequeño. Segovia: Fundación Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, pp. 359-374.

Offen, Karen. (2000) *European Feminisms 1700-1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ortega, Marie Linda. (2008) 'Amalia Domingo Soler: la escritura "plus ultra", entre deseo y comunicación', in *La mujer de letras o la "letraherida". Discursos y representaciones sobre la mujer escritora en el siglo XIX*, ed. by Pura Fernández, and Marie Linda Ortega. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. pp. 221-41.

Ortiz Albear, Natividad. (2007) *Mujeres masonas en España: Diccionario biográfico (1868-1939)*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ediciones Idea.

Ortiz Gomez, Teresa. (1999) 'Las matronas y la transmisión de saberes científicos sobre el parto en la España del S. XIX.' *Arenal*, 6:1, 55-79.

Owen, Alex. (2004) *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Owen, Alex. (2004) *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Palenque, Marta and Isabel Román Gutiérrez. (2007) *El Silencio será nuestra poesía: Antonia Díaz de Lamarque, una escritora sevillana del ochocientos*. Seville: ICAS.

Palenque, Marta and Isabel Román Gutiérrez. (2008) *Pintura, literatura y sociedad en la Sevilla del siglo XIX: El Álbum de Antonia Díaz*. Seville: Diputación de Sevilla.

Palomo Vázquez, María del Pilar. (2014) "Las revistas femeninas españolas del siglo XIX. reivindicación, literatura y moda". *Arbor*, 190 (767): a130. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2014.767n3001> [23 June 2016].

Parente-Čapková, Viola and Henriette Partzsch. 'Reading with a Sense of Place: The Transnational Circulation of Women's Writing during the Long Nineteenth Century at the Fringes of Europe', *Travelling Texts in the long nineteenth century: The Transnational Reception of Women's Writing at the Fringes of Europe*. Forthcoming.

Partzsch, H. A. M. (2012) 'Violets and abolition: The discourse on slavery in Faustina Saez de Melgar's magazine *La Violeta* (1862-1866)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 89, no. 6: 859-875.

Pasternac, Nora. (1991) 'El periodismo femenino en el siglo XIX: Violetas del Anáhuac' in *Las voces olvidadas: Antología crítica de narradoras mexicanas nacidas en el siglo XIX*, ed. by Ana Rosa Domatella and Nora Pasternac. Mexico: Colegio de México, pp. 399-418.

Patterson, Cynthia Lee. (2015) 'Magazines as Historical Study Subjects: Reflecting the Sociocultural Reality' in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*, ed. by David Abrahamson and Marcia R. Prior-Miller. London: Routledge, pp. 65-85.

Pérez, Janet. (1988) *Contemporary Women Writers of Spain*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Perinat, Adolfo and María Isabel Marrades. (1980) *Mujer, Prensa y Sociedad en España 1800-1939*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Pintos de Cea-Naharro, Margarita. (2016) *Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer: Del sí de las niñas al yo de las mujeres*. Madrid: Plaza y Valdés.

Portugal, Ana María. (1999) 'El periodismo militante de Clorinda Matto de Turner' in *Mujeres y género en la historia del Perú*, ed. by Margarita Zegarra. Lima: CENDOC (Centro de Documentación sobre la mujer), pp. 319-330. Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmchh730> [23 June 2016].

Pound, Ezra. (1961) *ABC of Reading*. London: Faber and Faber.

Prada Baena, María Amalia. (2006) *Teresa Claramunt, la virgen roja barcelonesa. Biografía y escritos*. Bilbao: VIRUS editorial.

Ramírez Almazán, María Dolores. (2009) 'Pilar Contreras de Rodríguez: nuevas indicaciones bio-bibliográficas.' *Elucidario*, 7: 169-182. Available at: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3077389.pdf> [23 June 2016].

Ramírez Gómez, Carmen. (2000) *Mujeres escritoras en la prensa andaluza del siglo XX (1900-1950)*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.

Ramos Escandón, Carmen. (2001) 'Concepción Gimeno de Fláquer: identidad nacional y femenina en México, 1880-1900,' *Arenal*, vol. 8, no. 2 (July-Dec): 365-378.

Ramos Escandón, Carmen. (2005) 'Género e identidad femenina y nacional en "El Álbum de la Mujer" de Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', in *La república de las letras: asomos a la cultura escrita del México decimonónico, Vol 2*, ed. by Belem Clark de Lara and Elisa Speckman Guerra. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, pp. 195-208.

Ramos Escandón, Carmen. (2006) *Espacios viajeros e identidad femenina en el México de fin de siecle: El Álbum de la Mujer de Concepción Gimeno 1883-1890*. Available at: <http://maytediez.blogia.com/2006/032201-espacios-viajeros-e-identidad-femenina-en-el-mexico-de-fin-de-siecle-el-album-de.php> [23rd June 2016].

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (1994a) 'Feminismo y Librepensamiento en España. Contra las raíces de la sociedad patriarcal', in *De la Ilustración al Romanticismo: VII Encuentro: la mujer en los siglos XVIII y XIX: Cádiz, América y Europa ante la modernidad*, ed. by Cinta Canterla González. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, pp. 423-442.

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (1994b) 'Herederas de la razón ilustrada: Feministas librepensadoras en España (1880-1902)' in *Femenino Plural. Palabra y memoria de mujeres*, ed. by María Dolores Ramos Palomo. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, pp. 85-104.

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (1999) 'Mujer, asociacionismo y sociabilidad en la coyuntura de 1898. Las afinidades con el fin de siglo europeo', in *Sociabilidad fin de siglo: Espacios asociativos en torno a 1898*, ed. by Jean-Louis Guereña, Isidro Sánchez Sánchez, and Rafael Villena Espinosa. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, pp. 73-99.

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (2000) 'Identidad de género, feminismo y movimientos sociales en España.' *Historia Contemporánea* 21, pp. 523-552. Available at: http://revistahc.com/includes/pdf/21_09.pdf [23 June 2016].

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (2002) 'La cultura societaria del feminismo librepensador (1895-1918)' in *Les Espagnoles dans l'histoire: Une sociabilité démocratique: XIXe-XXe siècles*, ed. by Danièle Bussy Genevois. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, pp. 103-124.

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (2004) 'Hermanas en creencias, hermanas de lucha. Mujeres racionalistas, cultura republicana y sociedad civil en la Restauración.' *Arenal*, 11:2, 27-56.

Ramos, María Dolores. (2005a) 'Heterodoxias religiosas, familias espiritistas y apóstolas laicas a finales del s. XIX: Amalia Domingo Soler y Belén de Sárraga Hernández', *Historia Social*, 53: 64-83.

Ramos, María Dolores. (2005b) 'La República de las librepensadoras (1890-1914): laicismo, emancipismo, anticlericalismo', *Ayer*, 60: 45-74.

Ramos, María Dolores. (2006) 'Radicalismo político, feminismo y modernización,' in *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina IV: Del siglo XX a los umbrales del XXI*, ed. by Isabel Morant. Madrid: Cátedra, pp. 31-53.

Ramos Palomo, María Dolores. (2008) 'Republicanas en pie de paz. La sustitución de las armas por la justicia, el arbitraje y el derecho (1868-1899)', *Pasado y Memoria: Revista de Historia contemporánea*, 7: 35-57.

- Ramos, María Dolores. (2011) 'Feminismo Laicista: Voces de autoridad, mediaciones y genealogías en el marco cultural del modernismo', in *Feminismos y antifeminismos: culturas políticas e identidades de género en la España del siglo XX*, ed. by Ana M. Aguado and Teresa María Ortega López. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, pp. 21-44.
- Rivera Martínez, Mildred. (1992) *El Modernismo en el Caribe insular hispánico (1898 – 1915)*. PhD thesis. Stanford University.
- Rodríguez Gutiérrez, Borja. (2004) 'Una revista jienense: Una revista jienense: «El Crepúsculo» (1842). Estudio, índice y antología.' *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 189, Jaén, Instituto de Estudios Giennenses: 417-469. Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmch99k8> [24 June 2016].
- Roig Castellanos, Mercedes. (1977) *La mujer y la prensa. Desde el siglo XVIII a nuestros días*. Madrid: Mercedes Roig Castellanos Editora.
- Roig, M. (1990) *La mujer en la historia a través de la prensa. Francia, Italia y España. Siglos XVIII-XIX*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- Román, Reinaldo L. (2007) *Governing Spirits: Religion, Miracles and Spectacles in Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1898-1956*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Ruíz Guerrero, Cristina. (1997) *Panorama de escritoras españolas*, vol. II. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz.
- Russ, Joanna. (1984) *How to Suppress Women's Writing*. London: The Women's Press.
- Salomón Chéliz, María Pilar. (2005) 'Las mujeres en la cultura política republicana: religión y anticlericalismo', *Historia Social*, No. 53: 103-118.
- Salomón Chéliz, María Pilar. (2006) 'Laicismo, género y religión. Perspectivas historiográficas', *Ayer*, No. 61: 291-308.
- Sánchez Ferré, Pedro. (1989) 'Mujer, feminismo y masonería en la Cataluña urbana de la Restauración', in *Masonería, política y sociedad*. Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios de la Masonería Española, vol. II, pp. 929-945.
- Sánchez Ferré, Pere. (1990) 'Els orígens del feminisme a Catalunya (1870-1920)', *Revista de Catalunya*, No.45 (October): 33-49.
- Sánchez Ferré, Pere, (1998) 'Els orígens del feminisme a Catalunya 1870-1926'. *L'Avenç*, núm. 222: 8-13.

- Sánchez García, Catalina. (2005) *Tras las huellas de Soledad Areales*. Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba.
- Sánchez Llama, Íñigo. (2000) *Galería de escritoras isabelinas. La prensa periódica entre 1833 y 1895*. Valencia: Cátedra.
- Sánchez Llama, Íñigo. (2001) *Antología de la prensa periódica isabelina escrita por mujeres (1843-1894)*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz.
- Sanfeliú, Luz. (2005) 'Familias republicanas e identidades femeninas en el blasquismo: 1896-1910', *Ayer*, No. 60: 75-103.
- Schmidt, Aileen. (2003) *Mujeres Excéntricas: La escritura autobiográfica femenina en Puerto Rico y Cuba*. San Juan: Ediciones Callejón.
- Schraeder, Lia Theresa. (2009) *The spirit of the times: The Mexican Spiritist movement from reform to revolution*, University of California, Davis, Proquest, UMI Dissertations Publishing.
- Schulte, Henry F. (1968) *The Spanish Press 1470-1966: Print, Power and Politics*. London: University of Illinois Press.
- Segura, Isabel, and Marta Selva. (1984) *Revistes de dones, 1846-1935*. Barcelona: Edhasa.
- Seoane Couceiro, María Cruz and María Dolores Sáiz. (1998) *Historia del periodismo en España. Vol.3*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Seoane Couceiro, María Cruz. (2007 [1968]) *Historia del periodismo en España 2: El Siglo XIX*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Servén Díez, Carmen. (2013) 'El "feminismo moderado" de Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer en su contexto histórico', *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, 47 (Oct): 397-415.
- Servén Díez, Carmen. (2014) 'Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer y los escritores españoles: *El Álbum de la Mujer* mexicano entre 1883 y 1888', *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo*. XC: 191-212
- Sharp, Lynn L. (2006) *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century France*. Plymouth: Lexington Books.
- Shils, Edward. (1972) *The Intellectuals and the Powers, and other essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shubert, Adrian. (1996) *A Social History of Modern Spain (A Social History of Europe)*. Oxford: Routledge.

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen (1975). 'Revistas españolas femeninas del siglo XIX' in Homenaje a D. Agustín Millares Carlo, tomo I, Las Palmas: Cajas de Ahorro, pp. 401-445.

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (1989a) 'La ocultación de la propia personalidad en las escritoras del siglo XIX', in *Actas del IX Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, 18-23 August 1986, Berlin, ed. by Sebastián Neumeister. Frankfurt am Main: Verveuert Verlag. Vol. II, pp. 91-97. Available at: http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/aih/pdf/09/aih_09_2_011.pdf [24 June 2016].

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (1989b) 'Mil escritoras españolas del siglo XIX', in *Crítica y ficción literaria: mujeres españolas contemporáneas*, ed. by Aurora López and María Ángeles Pastor. Granada: Universidad de Granada, pp. 39-59.

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (1991) *Escritoras españolas del siglo XIX: Manual Bio-bibliográfico*. Madrid: Castalia.

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (1993) 'Amalia Domingo Soler, escritora espiritista (1835-1909)', in *Ex Libris. Homenaje al profesor José Fradejas Lebrero*, ed. by Antonio Lorente Medina, José Nicolás Romera Castillo and Ana María Freire López. Madrid: Universidad de Educación a Distancia, pp. 731- 44.

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (2000) 'Mujeres rebeldes' in *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente. 4, El Siglo XIX*, ed. by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot. Madrid: Santillana, pp. 659-672.

Simón Palmer, Carmen. (2001) 'Puntos de encuentro de las mujeres en el Madrid del siglo XIX', *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, Vol 56, No 1. Available at DOI: 10.3989/rdtp.2001.v56.i1.227 [23 June 2016]

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (2002a) 'La mujer en el mundo editorial español', in *Escribir en España entre 1840 y 1876*, ed. by Marie-Linda Ortega. Madrid: Visor Libros, pp. 35-56.

Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. (2002b) 'Progresismo, heterodoxia y utopía en algunas escritoras durante la Restauración' in *Las mujeres escritoras en la historia de la Literatura Española*, ed. by Lucía Montejo Gurruchaga and Nieves Baranda Leturio. Madrid: UNED, pp. 123-140.

- Sotomayor Sáez, María Victoria. (2013) 'Carolina de Soto y Corro: mujer y prensa especializada' in *Escritoras españolas en los medios de prensa 1868 – 1936*, ed. by Carmen Servén and Ivana Rota. Seville: Editorial Renacimiento, pp. 318-348.
- Sullivan, Constance A. (1990) 'On Spanish Literary History and the Politics of Gender', *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Autumn): 26-41.
- Tierney, Helen. (1999) *Women's Studies Encyclopedia, Volume 3 (Q-Z)*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Thion Soriano-Mollá, Dolores. (2013) 'Emilia Pardo Bazán, la forja de una periodista (1871-1880)' in *Escritoras españolas en los medios de prensa 1868 – 1936*, ed. by Carmen Servén and Ivana Rota. Seville: Editorial Renacimiento, pp. 349-372.
- Ugarte, Michael. (1994) 'The Generational Fallacy and Spanish Women Writing in Madrid at the Turn of the Century', *Siglo XX = 20th Century*, Vol. 12: 261-72.
- Valis, Noël. (2002) *The Culture of Cursilería: Bad Taste, Kitsch, and Class in Modern Spain*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Vega Rodríguez, Pilar. (2014) 'Periodismo y empresa periodística: El Cádiz de Patrocinio de Biedma', *Arbor*, 190 (767) a143. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2014.767n3014> [23 June 2016].
- Vicente Villanueva, Laura. (2005) 'Teresa Claramunt (1862-1931). Propagadora de la causa de los oprimidos', *Historia Social*, No. 53: 31-46.
- Vinat de la Mata, Raquel. (1991-1993) 'El tema femenino en el discurso social del siglo XIX en Cuba', *CONTRASTES, Revista de historia*, n°7-8, pp. 19-30. Available at: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=112431> [23 June 2016].
- Vitale, Luis and Antivilo, Julia. (2000) *Belén Sárraga: precursora del feminismo hispanoamericano*. Santiago: Ediciones Cesoc.
- Vollendorf, Lisa (ed.). (2001) *Recovering Spain's Feminist Tradition*. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Woodward, Kath. (2002) *Understanding Identity*. London: Arnold.

Zanetti, Susana E. (1994) 'Búcaro Americano: Clorinda Matto de Turner en la escena femenina porteña' in *Mujeres y cultura en la Argentina del siglo XIX*, ed. by Lea Fletcher. Buenos Aires: Feminaria Editora, pp. 264-275.

Zubiaurre, Maite. (2003) 'Double Writing/Double Reading Cities, Popular Culture, and Stalkers: Carmen de Burgos' "El perseguidor",' *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 56.1: 57-70.