

“Let us tell all men, the rich, the poor, the lofty, the lowly, the exploited and the exploiters, that human emancipation depends on the degree of morality reserved for us women (...) Let us reject any absurd association with men who want to lead us. We want neither overseers, nor mentors nor bosses. Let us raise our consciousness and we will triumph. We shall not be slaves. We are women.

Commission of Women Textile Workers of Barcelona

“To working women in the Manufacturing Arts,” December 1901

Chapter 1: Just another girl

In November 1885 Alfonso XII died of a common illness. He was just twenty-eight years old. His wife María Cristina of Habsburg, who was pregnant at the time, outlived him. He died in late nineteenth Century Spain, a country in a wretched state that public opinion attributed to its political instability. The nineteenth century had brought with it several changes in dynasties and regimes, military revolts and civil wars. An entire colonial empire had been lost and constitutions were accumulating like anything.

As the nineteenth century was born Spain was on the brink of a Napoleonic occupation and a war that led to the arrival of *el deseado* (the desired), a cruel despotic King who left his throne to his three-year-old daughter Isabella II on his death. This Queen, daughter of Ferdinand VII and María Cristina of Naples, was born in 1830. She often complained of the solitude that presided over her childhood: she lost her father to a natural death in 1833 and her mother María Cristina in 1840, when the liberals, particularly Espartero, the hero who had cast out the Carlist threat, put pressure on her to leave Spain.

Thus, Isabella and her little sister Luisa Fernanda were left, aged ten and eight, to grow up surrounded by courtly and political influences, without the discipline or warmth of a family. In November 1843, Isabella II was proclaimed of age and, as such, Queen of Spain. Once crowned, one of her first actions was to demand her mother's presence at her side. Evidently, María Cristina quickly returned to Madrid and by 22 March 1844 she was with her daughters. Of course, she came back married and with several children from her second marriage.

Isabella, after much kicking and screaming, married her cousin, Francis of Assisi of Bourbon, the Duke of Cadiz. This marriage was the work of her mother, who had need of the services of a singular character, sor Patrocinio. In Madrid this Franciscan nun was known as something of a miracle worker and earned the name the Bleeding Nun because of the stigmata that she claimed to hide beneath mittens she never took off.

The marriage was a disaster right from the start and the Queen soon took her first lover, General Serrano, who was followed by many: the Marquess of Bedmar, José María Ruiz de Arana, Enrique Puigmoltó, Miguel Tenorio, Carlos Marfori and other suspected lovers who cast doubt on the royal parentage of the princes and princesses. Moreover the rumours of her husband's homosexuality were incessant at court. From 1848 to 1866 Isabella II had twelve children, of which only five survived.ⁱ

Isabella combined her irregular private conduct with a position of extreme political conservatism that made it impossible for the progressive party to come into power without resorting to military revolts. In one such revolt, named the Glorious Revolution, the ruling house was overthrown and a period of feverish agitation began with fourteen governments, five regimes and two more revolts in the space of six years. What is more, a King, King Amadeo of Savoy, left because the situation was too much for him. After Amadeo's abdication a brief republic was proclaimed, frightening those who had been in favour of the established order.

A military intervention put paid to the republic in 1873 and another restored the Bourbons, a year later, in the figure of the son of Isabella II. The real architect of the new system, Cánovas del Castillo, promised political stability based on a constitutional monarchy with restricted freedoms and controlled political participation. Cánovas also proposed controlling and subjecting military power to civil power; crucial, with regards to this, was the end of Carlism as an armed movement.

This whole system seemed on the brink of collapse when, ten years after coming to the throne, King Alfonso XII died of tuberculosis. Cánovas understood that to strengthen the system power must be handed over to the dynastic liberals, and in the spring of 1886, Sagasta took power and promised more freedoms, universal male suffrage, trials by jury and obligatory military service. There was much pessimism in the air; everyone saw Spain as a backwards country that would not easily catch the train of industrial progress. Even the monarchy seemed to depend on the birth of a boy and not a girl. When, on the morning of 17 May 1886, the people of Madrid began to count the cannon fire that announced the birth, on reaching fourteen everyone held their breath, because, if it were to stop there, a girl had been born, if not, they would continue firing until they reached twenty-one,ⁱⁱ which is what happened in the end.

Meanwhile in Sabadell there was a cholera threat in 1885 and the local government gave a subsidy to the Servants of Mary, a group dedicated to caring for the sick. Work to build a number of drains also began in the places they were most needed: around public wash houses and textile companies that used a lot of water. Moreover, 1885 and 1886 were years of employment crises and the city council's duty to do something for the unemployed was much talked of in the local newspapers. The *Revista de Sabadell*ⁱⁱⁱ went so far as to say that idleness was immoral and workers would be content if they were given work, even if they could not earn the wage they were accustomed to earning. The city council even asked the civil government about the possibility of giving free passage to a group of eleven workers from the city who were going to Malaga to look for work. The civil government replied that the Royal Decree of 8 August 1882 only referred to workers from Madrid.^{iv}

Therefore, even though concern over the death of Alfonso XII and the birth of his posthumous child reached Sabadell, the people, above all the workers, were more worried about the possible arrival of cholera and unemployment than about the birth of Alfonso XIII.

For Teresa Claramunt, 1885 was the year she began to talk as an orator at public acts. On 9 January 1885, this note appeared in *Desheredados*^v:

“In the last evening event at the Ateneo Obrero [workers cultural association], which surpassed previous events in its attendance and animation, our dear comrade Teresa Claramunt of Gurri read a heartfelt speech channelled towards strengthening the association of women and leaving behind the fanaticisms and concerns that unfortunately surround them.”

A text, considered to be Claramunt's first, appeared in 1885 too. It was an article printed in a weekly Madrid based publication called *Bandera Social*^{vi} written on 16 October 1885 in Sabadell. In this article, Claramunt shows her solidarity with other women, with mothers protesting about a search the police carried out at the registered address of *Bandera Social*. The V. Martínez family lived at this address and the fright of the search had made the woman of the family miscarry.

Therefore, when Alfonso XII died in November 1885, Claramunt had begun to educate herself as a syndicalist and an anarchist and the situation of the working woman worried her. She may have felt concerned about the death of the King and the potential instability that might ensue depending on the outcome of the Queen's pregnancy, but these were not among her main worries, even though her subsequent actions were to be heavily influenced by the political system of the Restoration which, in 1885, was on a tightrope.

Teresa Claramunt was born in Sabadell at eleven in the morning on 4 June 1862 in her house on Calle Lacy.^{vii} Her birth was also registered in the Parish of San Félix in Sabadell, dated 5 June 1862, and this date also appeared in the Civil Register when she was married.

The movements of the Claramunt family were typical of population movements in Catalonia over the nineteenth century. In fact, the population of Sabadell experienced rapid demographic growth because of increasing demand for workers in the textile sector. From 1787 to 1887 the population increased ten-fold, reaching 20,000 inhabitants. Immigrants formed a large part of the population; in 1850, they made up 36 percent of the total population of Sabadell.^{viii}

Immigrants in Sabadell were either born in nearby towns or in other industrial areas; most of them came from industrial areas. As Enriqueta Camps^{ix} states, the prevalence of population movements over short distances and the fact that industrial areas were predominant in the regions in which immigrants to Sabadell were born suggest that, during the transition towards the factory system, population transfers from agrarian sectors to industrial sectors were scarce and geographically limited to nearby rural areas. The previous proletarianization of the manufacturing sector appears to be one of the main factors that can explain the demographic origins of the factory workers.

Enriqueta Camps' affirmations are totally confirmed in the case of the Claramunt family. Teresa Claramunt's paternal grandfather Ramón came from a nucleus of cotton and paper manufacturing in Capelladas and her paternal grandmother Margarita Munier from a woollen textile hub in Limoux in the Aude department in France. Margarita Munier^x was the daughter of a French fuller who settled in Sabadell in 1824, where Margarita later met and married Ramón Claramunt. This couple came to Alcoy around 1829, after spending a few years in Matorell (1827-1828) where their daughter Juana was born. In 1832 Ramón Claramunt, Teresa's father, was born there, as was his sister Purificación in 1838.

As Josep Tormo^{xi} explains, Alcoy, with its precocious industry, was the only Valencian city to enjoy an uninterrupted stream of Catalans. The family remained in Alcoy for twenty years and in 1849 they returned to Sabadell. Ramón Claramunt, Teresa's father, came to Sabadell at seventeen and met Joaquina Creus Masana. She was from Jonquieres, an agrarian industrial parish in the old municipality of San Pedro de Tarrasa annexed to Sabadell since 1904. Joaquina Creus' father and mother were also born in Jonquieres.

So, the Claramunt family worked in the industrial sector, a sector that had great mobility depending on the changes in job opportunities. The chances of getting permanent factory work were scarce and subject to the acquisition of previous experience and qualification. Migration from one city to another was an alternative that did not always ensure economic stability.^{xii} The movements of the Claramunt family suggest that housing and poverty were significant problems for this family. Conversely, the Creus family worked in the agrarian sector, a sector with no migratory mobility and lived close to Sabadell.

Ramón Claramunt and Joaquina Creus got married in Sabadell in the mid-1850s. María was born in 1858 and Teresa in 1862. It was around 1865 that the family decided to leave and set up in Barbastro. Immigrants were typically young people in small families of three or four members, as was the case for the young Claramunt-Creus couple. The family opted to emigrate during its early stages of formation, in this case when the youngest child had outgrown breastfeeding, at three. When the first two daughters were born there was an increase in expenditure accompanied by an increase in domestic tasks which would have made it very difficult for Joaquina Creus to work outside of the home.

Notes for Chapter

ⁱ María Pilar Queralt del Hierro, *Madres e hijas en la historia*, (Madrid: Temas de hoy, 2002), 127-141.

ⁱⁱ José Álvarez Junco, *El emperador en paralelo: Lerroux y la demagogia populista*, (Madrid: Alianza, 1976), 25.

ⁱⁱⁱ 1885. *Revista de Sabadell*, 13 September.

^{iv} From “Negociado de Paro forzoso,” dated March 1885, found in the Ayuntamiento de Sabadell [Sabadell City Hall], in the section called: Sección de Asuntos Sociales.

^v 1885. *Los Desheredados*, 9 January.

^{vi} 1885. *Bandera Social*, 25 October.

^{vii} According to the Registro Municipal [Municipal Records Office], as consulted in the Archivo Histórico de Sabadell [Historical Archive of Sabadell].

^{viii} Enriqueta Camps I Cura, “Migracions I cicle familiar a Sabadell al segle XIX,” *Arraona* 5 (1989), 9.

^{ix} Enriqueta Camps I Cura, “Migracions,” 11.

^x Margarita Munier appears in the Padrón General (General Civil Registry) of 1826 as a girl aged twenty-four who had spent twenty-two months as a resident of Sabadell. This information can be found in this article: Josep Tormo Colomina, 2002. “Josep Claramunt.” *Diari de Sabadell*, 22 January, Sabadell.

^{xi} The information provided about the Claramunt family by Josep Tormo in various articles in *Diari de Sabadell*, is very useful for understanding the Claramunt family tree.

^{xii} Enriqueta Camps I Cura, “Migracions,” 13-14.

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