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The international council of women in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century: reception, influence and exchanges

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ABSTRACT
This article explores the connections between the International Council of Women (ICW) and some Spanish women during the first third of the twentieth century. It proposes a broad interpretation of historical feminisms that permits a better understanding of the different forms of connection between these women. On the one hand, it looks at informal networks (affinities relations, friendships, individual contacts, etc.) and formal networks (associations), while on the other, it includes other examples of feminisms that developed in southern Europe.

KEYWORDS
International Council of Women; Spain; feminism; relational feminism

Introduction

This article will refer to the different ways in which Spanish feminists identified with the International Council of Women (ICW). Many forms of contact based on earlier attachments allowed these women to maintain ties with several organisations at the same time. These transnational interactions created a sort of nebula with diffuse boundaries.[1] This contribution aims to shed new light on the Spanish experience utilising a flexible understanding of historical feminisms to highlight discourses and practices that were not always developed within well-defined organisational frameworks and which did not always prioritise a demand for such political rights as women's suffrage.

A number of investigations have paid attention to the different varieties of feminism in the context of the political cultures in which their protagonists participated,[2] the transfers between Spanish feminisms and the women of the international movements, especially in Latin America, as well as the attempts to link Spanish feminisms formally with the international women's organisations that developed during the first third of the twentieth century.[3]

To better understand the peculiarities, discourses and forms of social participation that feminisms developed, we must pay attention to the economic and social structures that existed in Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century.[4] At that time, Spain was on the periphery of Europe, and was governed by the liberal and 'turnist' political system of the Restoration (1874-1923), which ensured the alternation in power of the liberal and conservative parties through a system of electoral fraud. Spain was a mainly agricultural country, with a

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population growth rate similar to that of the *ancien régime* and an illiteracy rate of more than 65%, and up to 80% in some regions.[5] The illiteracy rate for women in 1900 was 71%. People had few democratic rights and freedoms, there was great inequality in the distribution of land, and the Catholic church exerted strong moral and social control.

Spanish feminisms developed a social and civic agenda supported by women of different ideological backgrounds (from free-thinking and secular republicanism to Catholic reformism, as well as middle-class women who wanted to improve the lot of all Spanish women). At the beginning of the twentieth century, feminist freethinkers and secularists predominated, and they were particularly in favour of women's education and instruction and opposed to the colonial war in Morocco.[6]

Our main hypothesis is that some social and cultural conditions of this period, such as the conflict between Catholicism and secularism/anticlericalism (a conflict that was especially significant in southern countries); the importance given to Spanish national identity when articulating feminism; and the delay in the emergence of upper middle class professional women are decisive in explaining the non-existence of a national section of the ICW. During the period before the First World War, the Catholic Church condemned liberal, secular and free-thinking women, the main driving force of feminism, to the margins. Because of the difficulty of creating feminist organisations, individual figures spread word of the ICW at the beginning of the last century. Most of these women were associated with freemasonry and spiritualism, and had a particular interest in female education and instruction.[7] With some exceptions, it was not until after the First World War that clearly suffragist organisations began to appear in Spain.

After the analysis of the informal networks between the ICW and Spanish women, this article discusses the individual contacts between some Spanish women and the ICW and demonstrates how the ICW's ideas were received in Spanish feminist literature. It then explores the formal networks established between Spanish suffrage organisations and international women's movements, initially between 1919 and 1920 with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) and then, at the end of the decade, with the ICW and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

Informal networks between Spanish women and the ICW before the First World War

As historian Leila J. Rupp has shown, the ICW is the oldest international women's organisation, and its ability to bring together women of various ideological tendencies enabled different social movements to coalesce around a common political project that prioritised women's rights in the world.[8] Rupp has noted that the wide general appeal of the ICW's causes (abolitionism, pacifism, social reform, socialism and free thought) helped women with different political profiles – conservative, liberal or radical – to forge connections around the world, thus creating a communications network that was the basis of the Council's international success.

As Concha Fagoaga states, from the end of the nineteenth century there was a clear 'need and desire' to achieve a solid organisational basis for the women's movement.[9] In republican and social-reformist cultural and political circles that were critical of the Restoration system (1874–1923), the political work carried out by women in northern Europe was recognised and respected. From different parts of the country– Madrid,

Barcelona and Valencia– there were calls for a movement against the discrimination suffered by women as a result of Spanish legislation and customs. In Spain, connections with France, Portugal and some Latin American leaders, with whom Spanish feminists shared a social agenda, were fundamental. Women who believed in different ideologies, ranging from republicanism and freedom of thought and secularism to conservative bourgeois and Catholic reformism, called for civic and social advances.

For this reason, although no organisation applied for formal ICW membership, they shared their concerns and began to establish international connections through informal networks.

Individual links with the ICW

From the end of the nineteenth century, some Spanish women developed individual and informal contacts with the leaders of the ICW. These were based on previous relations of affinity among middle- or upper-class women who were able to travel and were highly cultured and multilingual. Feminist writers like Emilia Pardo Bazán, Belén Sárraga and Carmen de Burgos were critical of the unequal relationship between the sexes. As pioneers in speaking out about the discrimination and structural inequality experienced by women in their society, they sought to develop an internationalist feminism in Spain.

The novelist and poet, Countess Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921), was invited by Lady Aberdeen to represent Spain at the ICW congress in London in 1899. She was one of the 'women who fought alone', according to Amalia Martín-Gamero, and the invitation can be interpreted as an acknowledgement of her commitment to feminism.

> The International Women's Congress is held in London, surrounded by solemn apparatus, with the support and sympathy of the highest ladies of the United Kingdom and under the presidency of a vicereine, that of Canada, Lady Aberdeen. I have not forgotten the kind of surprise that caused me the invitation to take part in this Congress.[10]

In her writings, Pardo Bazán noted that she was returning from a trip to France after giving several lectures in Paris in April of that year, so she declined the ICW's invitation, despite her shared belief in the main causes to be discussed:

> I would have liked to accept the invitation of the British ladies and go to London on the appointed date […] I was tempted to do so by my repeatedly proven convictions in favour of the cause of cultural advancement and women's rights. The spectacle of the Congress promised me pleasure, edification and teaching.[11]

Recognition of the ICW's political work can be found in the writings of Pardo Bazán, who published several articles about the ICW, the political objectives of international feminism and the situation of feminisms in Spain in *La Ilustración Artística* (Artistic Illustration).[12]

In 1900, she attended the International Congress on the Status and Rights of Women (*Congrès international de la condition et des droits des femmes*) that led to the foundation of the National Council of French Women (CNFF – *Conseil National des Femmes Françaises*) in Paris in 1901.[13] At that congress, through her friend Maria Pognon, she made contact with women from different countries as well as feminist groups and newspapers, including *La Fronde*. It was founded in 1897, edited exclusively by women, and directed by Marguerite Durand, about whom Pardo Bazán was enthusiastic, as is reflected in her

writings.[14] The congress debated many issues related to international feminisms, among which Pardo Bazán noted women's domestic work and marriage, equal pay for equal work, the situation of domestic work, prostitution, protection of pregnant women, female education and instruction, coeducation, and so on. Pardo Bazán recognised the bravery of the movement at the international level, the strength of its arguments and its comprehensive political objective ('feminists have not forgotten anything'[15]), while regretting she was one of few Spanish women to represent her country individually in a movement that was making headway.

The First International Women's Congress, held in Buenos Aires in 1910, was one of the first international feminist meetings that took place on the American continent. The Spanish feminist, Belén de Sárraga (Valladolid 1874 – Mexico 1951) attended this meeting, which addressed such issues as women's work and health, maternity, and feminism. Persecuted and imprisoned on several occasions, Sárraga (who since 1897 served as president of the General Women's Association [AGF – *Asociación General Femenina*][16] that had been founded in Valencia) decided to leave Spain and settle somewhere where freedom of thought and action was respected.[17] She went on to disseminate her ideals in different Latin American countries, where she became one of the movement's leaders. She attended the Buenos Aires congress as the representative of Uruguay and while there met other prominent leaders of the Latin American women's movements, including Paulina Luisi,[18] the Chilean educator Amanda Labarca and the Argentinean feminist leaders Cecilia Grierson and Alicia Moreau,[19] both active members of the National Council of Women of the Argentine Republic (CNMRA – *Consejo Nacional de Mujeres de la República Argentina,*) which, in turn, was under the aegis of the ICW.[20] At the congress, Grierson was elected president and Sárraga honorary first vice-president, while those endorsing them included Sárraga and her compatriot, the scientist Concepción Aleixandre.[21]

This transnational exchange highlights the importance of the Latin American women's movements in driving Spanish feminism forward. The first organisations from the 'Latin world' to join the ICW were the CNMRA in 1900, the National Council of Portuguese Women (CNMP – *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas*) in 1914 and the National Council of Women of Uruguay (CNMU – *Consejo Nacional de Mujeres del Uruguay*) in 1916, where Cecilia Grierson, Adelaide Cabete and Paulina Luisi featured as leaders of their respective countries.[22] Contrary to what is usually thought in Spain–that Latin America followed in the wake of Europe, and specifically of a country related by history, language and culture such as Spain–the truth is quite the opposite. The Latin American groups connected with the international movement before their Spanish counterparts. And it was largely due to the personal contacts of some of these Spanish women with their Latin American peers that first-person testimonies of what was happening in international movements reached Spain.

Luisi also had close ties with Spanish and Portuguese feminists. She was a frequent visitor to Portugal, a country she represented at a number of international conferences that her Portuguese colleagues were unable to attend due to a lack of funds.[23] On the suggestion of her good friend, Cabete, Luisi was named honorary president of the CNMP, which had been a member of the ICW since 1914.[24]

The exchanges and mutual influence of Spanish and Portuguese feminisms are confirmed by the ties of friendship between women such as Carmen de Burgos and

Ana de Castro Osório, one of the founders of the Republican League of Portuguese Women (LRMP – *Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas,*).[25] Through her quest for Europeanisation and improving women's rights, Burgos found refuge and inspiration in Portugal, where she was able to review and improve the situation of women in Spain. After 1915, she kept in touch with Osório, one of the leading lights of Portuguese associativism who inspired the foundation of the Portuguese Women's Crusade (CMP – *Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas*) in 1916. It is important to stress the significance that this friendship had for Spanish feminism, as Burgos created the Spanish Women's Crusade (CME – *Cruzada de Mujeres Españolas*) in 1920.[26]

In the following section we look at a number of women who disseminated the ideals of international feminisms from their respective origins and political positions and explore how the ideas of the ICW were received in Spanish feminist literature.

The reception of the ideas of the ICW in Spanish feminist literature

The reception of the ICW in Spain can be followed in the publications of women such as Alice Pestana, Dolors Monserdà, Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer and María Lejárraga, who wrote about the international movement and its relevance, while arguing for the construction of a Spanish feminism in line with the European movements.

In 1904, Alice Pestana (Santarém 1860 – Madrid 1929), a Portuguese humanist and liberal feminist and professor at the Free Teachers' College (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza*) wrote one of the first references in the Madrid science and art magazine *La Lectura* (Reading), in which she spoke of feminism as a growing movement that in the late nineteenth century led to the creation of important national and international organisations and congresses.[27] Like Pardo Bazán, Pestana situated feminism within the liberal dogma, the anchor point of which was the appeal to 'universal and inalienable rights'.[28] Feminism, Pestana said, 'comes from a common law'[29] and the existence of an international organisation is 'a large step towards mutual intelligence and a certain standardisation of the general feminist movement'.[30] She gave importance to the 1899 London Congress, which was where 'the International Council was in full force and effect'.[31]

After describing the national councils that had been created and those countries represented in London, Pestana noted the great work of the president, Lady Aberdeen, who used her speech to encourage women of the world to join the ICW project as a way 'to facilitate a common centre for working women of all races, of all beliefs, of all classes and of all parties, who wish to associate, united by the desire to leave the world a better and more beautiful place than they have found it'.[32] She also praised Aberdeen's commitment to printing the seven volumes of the congress report at her own expense.[33]

A second example is that of Dolors Monserdà (Barcelona 1845–1919), a Catalan writer and poet who was ideologically linked to Catholic reformism and who in 1907 wrote about the international movement following a conference entitled 'El feminisme a Catalunya' (Feminism in Catalonia). She claimed that feminism was a movement that was spreading throughout the United States and Europe–a movement that is 'at the gates' in Catalonia and that is 'a new state of affairs that is being imposed'.[34] She then spoke of the ICW and its 'transcendence' – that is, its ability to unite different ideological tendencies in defence of women's social rights.[35]

The third example is that of Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, a writer from Teruel who settled in Mexico in the 1880s. Like Sárraga, she was aware of the activities of the international women's movements and the national sections being created in Latin America. In her magazine *Álbum Hispano Americano* (Latin American Album), she claimed Spanish women were not yet ready to join them, insofar as 'neither were there any feminist groups nor collective work'.[36] Likewise, she noted the progress of the movement in other southern European countries, like Portugal and Italy, as well as the impetus with which some Latin American women had embraced the international movements.[37] In 1914, she published an article entitled, 'Vida intelectual argentina. El Consejo Nacional de Mujeres de Buenos Aires y su Presidenta' (Argentine intellectual life. The National Council of Women of Buenos Aires and its President), in which she accurately described the national council as the most important women's association in the country – an association that, she said, had contributed towards improving 'Argentinean social culture'.[38] One of its emphases, which it shared with many of the Latin American women's associations, was women's education. CNMRA sought to make culture more accessible to working-class women, and to this end, according to Gimeno, it created a public library with books that were distributed at 'workshops, factories and prisons … fostering a marvellous solidarity among ladies and working-class women,' and also organised literary festivals and an annual book fair.[39]

Another example of Spain's relationship with the ICW and the reception of the latter's ideas can be found in a book written by Lejárraga, a pioneering writer who broached the subject of the international suffragette movement during the First World War.[40] Lejárraga was an author who, writing under the pseudonym Gregorio Martínez Sierra (who was her husband), offered the most detailed account of international women's organisations and their activities. As a traveller, she had lived in Paris and Brussels and spoke English, French and German. This allowed her to keep abreast of the movement's progress through the international press. Several articles she wrote for the magazine *La Mujer Moderna* (The Modern Woman) included news on the European women's movement's activities. In her 1917 book, *Feminismo, Feminidad y Españolismo* (Feminism, Femininity and Spanishness), she makes reference to the ICW and IWSA, their origins, main leaders and political objectives, and also mentions the 1915 International Congress of Women at The Hague, which paved the way for the creation of the WILPF.

> Although I have already referred to them on other occasions, I would like to remind you that there are two major international groups that endorse and represent the aspirations of all feminists (men and women, because there are also men who are interested in women being equal to them in rights and obligations) the world over. These two global associations are as follows: the International Council of Women and the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance. The International Council of Women comprises the national councils of 25 countries. Founded in Washington (the United States) in 1888, its objective is to establish constant communication between the feminist associations in all countries and to offer them the chance to meet and to deliberate on issues relating to the common good and the family. It organises a major congress every five years and, in between, two conferences in one of the capitals of Europe or the New World. As to politics and religion, it is absolutely neutral. Its president is Lady Aberdeen.[41]

Spanish feminism was conditioned by the political and social context of the country at the beginning of the twentieth century; it had its own characteristics and its links with

the international women's movements were formed by individual figures who were connected with other European and Latin American women. At the same time, priority was given to a social feminism that emphasised social and civic commitment and was supported by women from different backgrounds. It was a social feminism that identified women's emancipation with the improvement of material living conditions rather than with the extension of political rights.

Spanish feminism's formal networks with the international movements in the 1920s

This section deals with the specific nature of Spanish feminisms after the First World War (the political and social context and the rise of egalitarian feminisms), as well as the formal connections established with international women's organisations throughout the decade. Attention will also be paid to the conditions that influenced the internationalisation of Spanish feminisms in the 1920s: the change of political system in 1923 and the beginning of the military dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923–1930). The loss of rights and freedoms for women and for society as a whole, the rise of Catholic feminisms, represented by the foundation in 1919 of the Catholic Woman's Action (ACM – *Acción Católica de la Mujer*), and the differences among these organisations when it came to leading Spanish suffragism at an international level will be some major themes.

Specific features of Spanish feminisms

Spain did not take part in the First World War and unlike many of its neighbours did not suffer the shock of the collapse of the imperial world system. However, while the Restoration system was not defeated by the First World War, it was this system's inability to offer solutions to the colonial question in Morocco and its democratic shortcomings, weighed down by *caciquismo* and the dominant oligarchies, that led to the regime's demise in 1923. In that year, the 'turnist' system was replaced by a military dictatorship led by Miguel Primo de Rivera. The dictatorship sought to channel feminisms through the Catholic Church, with important initiatives implemented for women's social action, particularly through the creation of ACM. In fact, as the suffragist movements gained organisational weight and international alliances during the 1920s, pressure on it increased and it was targeted by a large section of the Catholic media, which saw the ideals of international feminisms as 'neutral', and therefore 'secular'—a stance that undermined the true Catholic and national values that Spanish feminisms were supposed to embody.[42]

The process of women's liberation and the granting of suffrage in some European countries had an important influence on Spanish women. In fact, during the dictatorship Spanish feminists changed their emphasis from social feminism to a feminism geared towards obtaining political rights.[43] Thus, it was the period from the First World War to the 1930s that became the *belle époque* of the women's suffrage movements in Spain, when groups of middle-class professional women and the so-called modern woman (in France called a *garçonne*) came to the fore.[44] It was this new, transgressive woman who was willing to confront male privileges in the social, political and cultural

spheres. She created a paradigm of womanhood that challenged prevailing gender norms and attempted to modernise gender relations in society.[45]

Formal networks with international women's organisations

The rapid expansion of feminisms at the international level after the First World War influenced changes in Spanish feminisms. During the 1920s, Spain experienced an explosion of suffragist activism that was connected to international women's organisations. Feminist organisations shifted their main objectives from secularism, free thought and women's education to women's suffrage.[46] The National Association of Spanish Women (ANME – *Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Españolas*) and the Union of Spanish Women (UME – *Unión de las Mujeres de España,*), created in 1918 and 1919, respectively, were fundamental to the internationalisation of feminisms in Spain. Most of their members were cultured liberal professionals (journalists, lawyers, writers, etc.) whose politicisation translated into attempts to formally join international feminist associations. The women who led these attempts were the vanguard of feminisms in Spain during the 1930s, and many were prominent political leaders during the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1936), a democratic regime that brought improvements to civil and educational rights for women and recognised a restricted women's right to vote in 1931.[47]

International feminisms were movements formed from multiple personal relationships and based on a flexible organisational model that made it possible for some women to join several organisations at the same time. This was also the case in Spain, since in many cases the same women joined the ICW, IWSA and WILPF. They relied on personal contacts and friendships with some of the leaders of international feminist movements, and in particular with some of the Latin American women, including Elena Landazuri from the Mexican section of the WILPF and Luisi, both of whom attended as lecturers invited by Spanish women in the 1920s.[48]

Spanish feminism's first formal international contacts was established with the IWSA, which was interested in holding its first post-war congress in a neutral country and had its eyes on Madrid (with Chrystal Macmillan, a Scot and one of the organisers of the 1915 International Women's Congress, who was also secretary of the IWSA, who contacted Lejárraga and visited Spain in 1919 with the aim of integrating Spain into the organisation). However, disputes between UME and ANME over who led Spanish feminisms at the international level prevented this congress from being held in Madrid.[49]

The attempts to create Spanish sections of WILPF and ICW crystallised at the end of the 1920s. In both cases, women linked to ANME and the Feminine Lyceum Club (LCF – *Lyceum Club Femenino*) played a major role.[50] The LCF, which was modelled on the International Lyceum Club for Women Artists and Writers that was established in London in 1904, opened in Madrid in 1926. The Lyceum became a place for reflection that sought to promote lectures and debates on current political affairs, and especially on the social and cultural education of women, and to promote women's aid. It was a secular and non-denominational meeting place with no ideological attachment to any party, and its aim was to achieve equality between men and women.

The LCF was criticised in the press and public opinion for its independence and free thinking. One of the most forceful criticisms came from women involved in Catholic

reformism, who perceived the international feminist movements and such associations as the LCF to be a danger because they conformed to the styles of European suffragism. They saw it as a movement that challenged Christian morality and feminine social participation, until then defined by Catholicism, and aimed for a progressive secularisation of the country.[51] During the final crisis of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the expansion of the social basis of republicanism at the end of the 1920s, there were attempts to formalise relations with WILPF and ICW in an attempt to create national sections of both organisations in Spain. With the Congress Pro League of Nations in San Sebastian at the end of 1929, an event attended by many LCF members, the Spanish Women's League for Peace (LFEP – *Liga Femenina Española por la Paz*) was established in Madrid, with Isabel Oyarzábal its president.[52] In 1930, the Catalan League for Peace and Freedom (LLCPL – *Lliga Catalana per la Pau i la Llibertat,*) was created under the leadership of Montserrat Graner.[53]

As for the ICW, the LCF organised a visit by several of its leaders to Spain in the late 1920s. Františka Plamínková, ICW vice-president and president of the National Council of Czechoslovakia, gave several lectures in April 1927. She hoped to continue these contacts during 1928 by organising a series of international conferences in Madrid and Barcelona (within the framework of the two world exhibitions to be held in Barcelona and Seville), the goal of which was 'to found a national women's council in Spain: something that has been hitherto impossible'. [54] By 1933, relations with the ICW members were still active and in October that year, they organised a lecture entitled 'The Spirit and Work of the International Council of Women' at the LCF office. The talk was delivered in French by the ICW's secretary general, Louise van Eeghen.

During the late 1920s, meetings with members of the ICW led to disagreements between the LCF and the Spanish Catholic movement. The ACM launched what it considered to be an 'acceptable feminism' that would revalue women in society without disavowing Spain's national Catholic cultural tradition. They took action on such demands as improving home education for all women, asking for laws to improve women's working conditions and called for reforms to the civil code that would limit the subordination of married women.

In the context of struggles for influence over the female masses, Catholic-leaning newspapers and magazines looked askance at these women's groups, as is evident in the article 'Chronicle of the Catholic women's movement' by ACM member María de Echarri. In this article, the author criticises LCF activities and equates its members, as well as those of the ANME, with European secular feminism, and after the visit to Spain and reception by the LCF of Senator Františka Plamínková with the ICW.

> In the course of the work the feminist ladies sitting on the executive board of the Women's Lyceum in Madrid – who are the same as those of the National Association of Spanish Women, united with the International Council of Women – have undertaken and are going to undertake even more intensely. [55]

Despite the climate of political openness brought about by the proclamation of the Second Republic, during the 1930s the Catholic women's movement maintained a continuous offensive against international feminisms, fearing its loss of hegemony in Spain, which was one of the world's final bastions of Catholicism.

Conclusion

This article is an initial approach to the relationships between some Spanish women and the ICW. The experience of historical feminisms in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century is a good example of the complexity that women's movements acquired during these years, both in their political objectives and in the forms of connections to international movements. This contribution reinforces the need to pay attention to the political and social context in which each feminism developed in order to understand the multiplicity of relationships internationalist feminisms represented. In relation to this, it emphasises the need to attend to the informal networks of affinities that shaped the links between different organisations – links that were undoubtedly a fundamental basis for the success of the international movements.

In Spain, as in other southern countries, the Restoration system and the conflict between Catholicism and secularism had a significant impact on the development of feminisms. During the first years of the twentieth century, a free-thinking and secular feminism stood out, one that had its greatest exponent in female education and instruction. These were women who were committed to secular public education and to ensuring the dignity of women who were politically repressed for taking a stand. With some exceptions, it was not until after the First World War that organisations openly demanding women's suffrage appeared in Spain.

Many of the approaches to the international women's movements were made possible both by the friendly relations with some of the movement's leaders, particularly with Latin American women who led the associations in their countries and by examples of recognised prestige within the international organisations in the Latin world. It was at the end of the 1920s, when the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was losing strength, that approaches were made to create a national section of the ICW, which is evidenced by the visit of several leaders of the ICW to Spain.

As for the reasons for the delay of Spanish feminisms in campaigning for women's vote and in formally constituting itself as a section of the ICW, we cannot leave aside the political and religious conditioning factors within the Iberian context mentioned above. We have also suggested another plausible hypothesis for this delay: the late incorporation of women into higher education and the later appearance of a large group of upper-middle class, liberal professional women may have retarded the progress of feminisms in Spain before the First World War. These are aspects that should continue to be studied in depth and which will provide us with a better understanding of the causes of the complexity feminisms acquired in each country at the beginning of the last century, as well as the many ways of belonging to the international movements.

Notes

1. Sandra Blasco and Carmen Magallón, *Feministas por la paz. La Liga Internacional de Mujeres por la Paz y la Libertad (WILPF) en América Latina y España* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2020).
2. Mary Nash, *Mujeres en el mundo: historia, retos y movimientos* (Barcelona: Alianza, 2004); Nerea Aresti, 'Cuestión de dignidad. Género, feminismo y culturas políticas', in *La Restauración y la República: 1874–1936*, eds., Carlos Forcadell and Manuel Suárez Cortina (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2015), 85–110. Nerea Aresti, *Médicos donjuanes y*

mujeres modernas. Los ideales de feminidad y masculinidad en el primer tercio del siglo XX (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2001).

3. Juan Aguilera and Isabel Lizárraga, *De Madrid a Ginebra. El feminismo español y el VIII Congreso de la Alianza Internacional para el Sufragio de la Mujer (1920)* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2010). Blasco and Magallón, *Feministas por la paz* (see note 1).
4. In this sense, it is necessary to recall Karen Offen's term 'relational feminism' to refer to that feminism which used sexual binarism and the complementarity between the sexes as a basis for demanding the moral and cultural revaluation of women. Karen Offen, 'Defining feminism. A comparative historical aproach', *Signs* 14, no.1 (1988): 119–57.
5. Spain had a parliamentary monarchical system from 1874 to 1923. This system is known as the 'Restoration'. Subsequently, from 1923 to 1931, King Alfonso XIII supported a general, Miguel Primo de Rivera, to rule the country. The so-called dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera lasted until 1931, when the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1936) was established. The system of the Restoration was characterised by a system of electoral fraud through the so-called '*caciquismo*'. This system allowed large landowners and local elites to control votes and rig elections in their territories. At the same time, two political parties alternated in power: the liberal party and the conservative party. Javier Tusell, *Historia de España en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Taurus, 1998), 33, 41.
6. The so-called 'Rif War' ('*Guerra del Rif*') was a confrontation between the Spanish government and the Rifian tribes of northern Morocco that lasted throughout the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The colonial war generated enormous discontent among the population, especially due to the so-called '*quintas*' (the model for recruiting young soldiers) and the legal forms that were created to prevent young men from wealthy families in the country from having to do military service and, consequently, from having to go to war. María Dolores Ramos, 'La República de las librepensadoras (1890–1914): laicismo, emancipismo, anticlericalismo', *Ayer* 60 (2005): 45–74. Luz Sanfeliú, 'Amalia y Ana Carvia Bernal, maestras laicas y educadoras cívicas', in *Arte y oficio de enseñar. Dos siglos de perspectiva histórica*, ed Pablo Celada, (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación D.L, 2011), 807–16.
7. Ramos, 'La República' (see note 6). Luz Sanfeliú, 'Feminisme laïcista: Formació i aprenentatges de les dones en una ciutadania igualitària', *Annals del Patronat d'Estudis Històrics d'Olot i Comarca* 21 (2010): 215–32.
8. Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women. The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
9. Concha Fagoaga, *La voz y el voto de las mujeres* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1985) 111.
10. Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La mujer española y otros escritos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), 250.
11. Ibid., 251.
12. Ibid.
13. Anne Cova, 'Femmes et associations: Le Conseil national des femmes françaises sous la IIIe République', in *Femmes, Familles Filiations. Société et Histoire*, eds, Marcel Bernos and Michèle Bitton (Aix-en-Provence: Presses de l'Université de Provence, 2004), 75–88.
14. Adolfo Posada, *Feminismo* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1994).
15. Pardo Bazán, *La mujer española y otros escritos,* 251. (see note 10).
16. *Asociación General Femenina* (AGF) was a secular and free-thinking organisation that claimed the right to education and instruction for women and created a secular school for girls in Valencia at the end of the 19th century. Sanfeliú, 'Feminisme laïcista' (see note 7).
17. Julia Antivilo and Luis Vitale, *Belén de Sárraga. Precursora del feminismo hispanoamericano* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Cesoc, 2000).
18. In 1914, during her stay in Europe, Paulina Luisi had the opportunity to come into contact with some women of outstanding performance in the ICW. Thus arose the idea of creating the National Council of Women in Uruguay. Elbio Laxalte Terra, 'Paulina Luisi: Otra voz clamando en el desierto', *Razón. La idea libre* 2 (2012): 3–10. Gabriela Sapriza, 'Paulina Luisi. Liderazgo, alianzas y desencuentros de las sufragistas', http://www.1811-2011.edu.uy/B1/content/paulina-luisi-liderazgo-alianzas-y-desencuentros-de-las-sufragistas?page (accessed September 16, 2021).

19. Grierson was a prominent leader of the National Council of Women of Argentina and the first woman in the country to hold a degree in medicine. In 1899, during a trip to Europe, she attended the ICW congress held in London, at which she was named one of the honorary vice-presidents. On returning home, she proposed that her country join that international network. Consequently, in 1900 she was behind the creation of the National Council of Women of Argentina, which, that same year, joined the ICW. Liceo Nacional de Señoritas de la Capital, *Doctora Cecilia Grierson. Su obra y su vida* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta tragant, 1916).
20. Previously, at the International Freethinkers' Congress held in Buenos Aires in 1906, some of the attendees were impressed by the figure and discourse of Sárraga. These included Alicia Moreau de Justo who, after making her acquaintance, even went so far as to state that the world had changed for her, broadening her vision of women's rights and the social world. María del Carmen Binda and Alfredo Buzzi, 'Calle Cecilia Grierson', *ALMA Cultura y Medicina* 1 (2015): 1–8. As a result of that congress, Sárraga and Moreau became friends. Blasco and Magallón, *Feministas por la paz*, 162 (see note 1).
21. Concepción Aleixandre (Valencia, 1862–1952) was one of the first women to graduate in medicine in Spain. She was a committed woman who gave dozens of informative lectures on hygiene and the health of women and children. An internationalist feminist, linked to the Board of Ladies of the Ibero-American Union of Madrid, she participated in the First International Women's Congress held in 1910. She was a member of the Spanish Women's Union (UME) and, since 1926, she was a member of the Club of Madrid. Primer Congreso Femenino Internacional, Buenos aires, mayo 1910. https://archive.org/stream/primercongresofe00buen#page/326/mode/2up/search/aleixandre (accessed December 3, 2020).
22. Anne Cova, 'Para uma história transnacional do associativismo das mulheres (América Latina e Europa do sul, 1888-1918)', in *Perspectivas Transculturais e Transnacionais de Gênero*, eds., Claudia Priori, Cleusa Gomes da Silva and Georgiane Garabely Heil Vásquez, (Porto Alegre: Editora Fi, 2018), 189–213. Katherine Marino, *Feminism For The Americas: The Making Of An International Human Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2019).
23. Anne Cova, 'The national councils of women in France, Italy and Portugal: Comparisons and Entanglements, 1888-1939', in *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective: Networks, Biographies, Gender orders*, eds., Oliver Janz and Daniel Schönpflug (New York, Oxford: Berghanhn, 2014), 46–76.
24. 'It came to pass in 1920, when Luisi was in Portugal on her way to the congress scheduled to be held in Christiania (present-day Oslo), the Portuguese asked her to represent their country at the congress as their delegate. That same year, Cabete invited Luisi to deliver the first of the conferences organised by the CNMP'. Blasco and Magallón, *Feministas por la paz,* 181 (see note 1).
25. Anne Cova, 'Ana de Castro Osório', in *Feminist Writings from Ancient Times to the Modern World. A Global Sourcebook and History*, vol 2, ed., Tiffany K. Wayne (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2011), 372–74.
26. Concepción Núñez Rey, 'Un puente entre España y Portugal Carmen de Burgos y su amistad con Ana de Castro Osório', *Arbour: Ciencia, pensamiento y cultura* 766 (2014): 7.
27. *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (ILE) was an educational project that developed in Spain between 1876-1939. Its pedagogy was inspired by the Krausist ideal. It was an innovative project of great importance for defending academic freedom against the moral and educational control of Catholicism. The ILE had a women's educational centre, the *Residencia de Señoritas*, whose main objective was to promote the university education of Spanish women. Raquel Vázquez, *Mujeres y educación en la España Contemporánea: La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su estela: la Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid* (Madrid: Akal, 2012).
28. Aresti, 'Cuestión de dignidad', 87 (see note 2).
29. Ibid.
30. Alice Pestana, 'Feminismo', *La lectura* (1904): 188.

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 189.
33. Ibid.
34. Blasco and Magallón, *Feministas por la paz* (see note 1).
35. Albert Balcells, *Vuit feministes catalanes entre 1889 i 1976* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau Editor, 2015), 102–06.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Concepción Gimeno, 'El Consejo nacional de mujeres en Argentina como la asociación de mujeres más importantes del país que ha contribuido al perfeccionamiento de la cultura social argentina', *Unión ibero-americana* (1914): 6.
39. Ibid., 7.
40. María Jesús Matilla, 'María Lejárraga y el asociacionismo femenino, 1900–1936', in *II Jornadas sobre María Lejárraga*, ed., Juan Aguilera (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2002), 83–101.
41. Gregorio Martínez Sierra, *Feminismo, feminidad y españolismo* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1917), 259–60.
42. Inmaculada Blasco, *Paradojas de la ortodoxia: política de masas y militancia católica femenina en España (1919-1939)* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2003). Miren Llona, 'El feminismo católico en los años veinte y sus antecedentes ideológicos', *Vasconia* 25 (1998): 283–99.
43. Measures aimed at obtaining political rights for women stood out, such as the Burgos and Mazo bill, presented in 1919, which granted women the capacity to be elected, but not the right to vote.
44. For more information see *The Modern Girl Around the World* Research Group. https://www.dukeupress.edu/The-Modern-Girl-Around-the-World/ (accessed June 05, 2022).
45. Miren Llona, 'Recordar el porvenir: las mujeres modernas y el desorden de género en los años veinte y treinta', *Arenal* 27:1 (2020): 7.
46. Concha Fagoaga, 'De la libertad a la igualdad laicistas y sufragistas', in *Entre la marginación y el desarrollo. Mujeres y hombres en la historia: Homenaje a María Carmen Garcia-Nieto*, eds., Cristina Segura and Gloria Nielfa (Madrid: Ediciones de Oro, 1996), 171–98.
47. Juan Aguilera, 'Para una historia de las asociaciones femeninas en España. La Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Españolas y la Unión de las Mujeres de España: Similitudes y discordancias (1918–1921)', *Feminismo/s* 37 (2021): 131–60.
48. In 1921 Elena Landazuri gave a conference in the Ateneo Barcelonés in which she made known the activity of the WILPF. A conference that will be published and disseminated under the title 'Women in the face of war and peace', *La Vanguardia* 27 (1921): 6. For her part, Paulina Luisi visited Spain on several occasions in the 1920s. In 1921 she gave a lecture at the Ibero-American Union in Madrid where she spoke about the National Council of Women of Uruguay and the ICW. Later, in 1928, when she was a delegate of the Uruguayan government for the protection of children and youth, she was invited by some members of the Lyceum Club of Madrid to give a lecture on prostitution and abolitionism. 'La doctora Paulina Luisi, abolicionista uruguaya', *Heraldo de Madrid* (25 April 1928): 4.
49. Detailed information can be found in the book by Aguilera and Lizárraga (see note 3). Isabel Lizárraga, 'María Lejárraga sufragista. El VIII Congreso de la Alianza Internacional para el Sufragio de la Mujer (1920)', in *III Jornadas sobre María Lejárraga*, ed., Juan Aguilera (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008), 31–78.
50. Concha Fagoaga, 'El Lyceum Club de Madrid, élite latente', in *Les Espagnoles dans l'histoire. Une sociabilité démocratique (XIXe–XXe siècles)*, ed., Danièle Bussy Genevois (Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2002), 145–67. Shirley Mangini, 'El Lyceum Club de Madrid, un refugio feminista en una capital hostil', *Asparkía* 17 (2006): 125–40.
51. We must take into account the impetus given to the international network of Catholic women's associations whose objective was to channel the demands of feminism within Catholic channels in order to distinguish itself from secular feminism and to make

women aware of the existence of the Christian roots of feminism. At the same time, they became involved in an unprecedented social reform project. At the international level, the Spanish women were represented in the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, since its foundation in 1911. Ángela Pérez del Puerto, 'Las redes transnacionales de mujeres en Acción Católica', in *Redes, alianzas y grupos de poder en el mundo atlántico*, ed., Pilar Toboso (Madrid: Síntesis, 2016), 197–221. We can see the mobilisation of Catholic women during these years in other nearby European countries from the contributions for France and Italy by Magali Della Sudda. Magali Della Sudda, 'La politique malgré elles: Mobilisations féminines catholiques en France et en Italie (1900–1914)', *Revue française de science politique* vol 60 (2010): 37–60. https://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-science-politique-2010-1-page-37.html (accessed april 11, 2021).

52. In the 1920s and 1930s, after achieving the vote in some countries, international women's organisations joined together to influence and participate in the League of Nations, where they worked to extend suffrage and improve legislation affecting women, achieve a disarmed world and eradicate the roots of war. This congress encouraged the creation of the League for Peace, as a channel of support for the League of Nations and this is reflected in the League's statutes. Blasco and Magallón, *Feministas por la paz*, 112 (see note 1). Carol A. Miller, 'Lobbying the League: Women's International Organisations and the League of Nations' (PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1992).
53. Sandra Blasco, 'El feminismo pacifista en España en el periodo de entreguerras y sus relaciones con la Women's International League for Peace and Freedom', in *20 años de Congresos de Historia Contemporánea [1997-2016],* eds., Carlos Forcadell and Carmen Frías (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico, 2017), 323–34.
54. 'Movimiento feminista laico', *El siglo futuro* (21 June 1927): 3.
55. María de Echarri, 'Crónica del movimiento católico femenino', *Revista católica de las cuestiones sociales* 388 (April, 1927): 37.

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