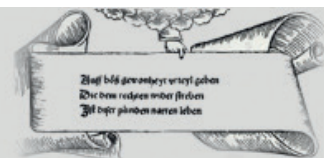




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Manuela Fernández Rodríguez

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AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS
UNDER THE GOVERNMENT
OF EDUARDO DATO

L'ESAURIMENTO GIURIDICO ISTITUZIONALE
DEL MODELLO RESTAURATORE
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Editoriale Scientifica

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Studio dei fattori essenziali che portarono allo scatenarsi della crisi del sistema politico della Restaurazione: il declino del sistema dei partiti della Restaurazione. L'ingerenza politica di Alfonso XIII, l'emigrazione in America Latina, l'insoddisfazione dell'esercito, la crescente importanza dei movimenti regionalisti, i conflitti coloniali, la crescente importanza di ideologie come il socialismo, l'anarchismo e, in generale, il movimento operaio, la neutralità del paese durante la prima guerra mondiale, ecc.

Parole chiave: Restaurazione, Crisi del 1917, Prima guerra mondiale, Sciopero generale, Esercito

Study of the essential factors that led to the unleashing of the crisis of the political system of the Restoration: the decline of the Restoration party system. Alfonso XIII's political interference, emigration to Latin America, the dissatisfaction of the army, the growing importance of regionalist movements, colonial conflicts, the increasing importance of ideologies such as socialism, anarchism and, in general, the workers' movement, the country's neutrality during the First World War, etc.

Keywords: Restoration, 1917 Crisis, World War I, General strike, Army.

1. *Introduction and context of the social and political tensions of the Restoration model*

As all the studies of the time seem to indicate, Spain was plunged into a social, political and institutional crisis in the same period that

Europe was facing the Great War and its effects. Given that Spain was not a belligerent nation, we must start from the initial hypothesis that the causes of the Spanish crisis lie in internal legal, political and institutional processes, apart from the inevitable influence of international events.

We are in the Spain of Restoration. This political time started with Alfonso XII going back to the Spanish throne in the year 1874 and prolonged itself during the rule of his son, Alfonso XIII. When the latter turned eighteen, he found himself amidst a system made of decaying parties. In this situation, the monarch considered that only an active monarchy could put a stop to the rise of republicanism¹, so, unlike his father, he utilised the many constitutional attributions that the fundamental law of 1876 granted him, which resulted in a deterioration of his public image, specially from the year 1917².

The time of the Spanish Restoration was characterised by the prominence of two parties: the conservative and the liberal, who kept a pacific switch of turns by controlling the elections and using electoral despotism. Through accords between state, regional and local politics, votes were bought and census and results were forged with the sole purpose of obtaining the parliamentary majority.

In general terms, the opposition to the Restoration was weak. The leaders of the conservative and liberal parties, Cánovas and Sagasta, took the effort to reinforce the unity of both parties against others, like general's Serrano *Izquierda Dinástica* (Dynastic Left) or Romero Robledo and López Domínguez's *Partido Reformista* (Reformist Party), which had a very short existence and very little significance. Republicanism, discredited by the faulty experience that the First Republic was and divided in multiple parties, never had more than forty-seven seats in Parliament between 1876 and 1923. For its part, socialism had a slow development: it was created in 1879, but it wasn't until

¹ R. CARR, *España 1808-2008*, Barcelona, 2009, p. 394.

² The Spanish monarchy wasn't the only one that faced difficulties. In Portugal, the king befall in 1910 and in Italy, with the rise of fascism in 1922, the king played a marginal role. J. CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista: intentos de renovación del sistema (1902-1916)*, in J. PAREDES, *Historia de España contemporánea*, Sello editorial, Barcelona 2009, pp. 604-605. Sobre el periodo en el contexto internacional ver L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, *El diktat de Versalles y la ruptura de la tradición negociadora europea*, in E. SAN MIGUEL PÉREZ, *Los cañones de Versalles*, FUE, Madrid 2019, pp. 99-122.

1910 that it had any parliamentary representation³ and it wouldn't be until after the revolution of 1917 when their representation was noticeably bigger.

The fundamental law of the period was the Constitution of 1876, a moderate⁴ text that included the doctrine of the internal constitution - the king and the Parliament were the holders of sovereignty - and which made Catholicism the official state religion⁵, in addition to granting broad powers to the monarch⁶.

Emigration was a key phenomenon during these years⁷ but, in spite of it, Spain had a considerable population growth along the 19th Century - a 76 % -⁸ compared to other European countries⁹. This growth

³ Fusi and Palafox found an explication to this in the small industrial development of the country and in the doctrinal stiffness of the party, rigorously unionist, who isolated the rest of the of the political forces and the agricultural sector in a country predominantly rural. They even created their own press like *El socialista* or *Lucha de clases*. J. P. FUSI - J. PALAFOX, *España: 1808-1996. El desafío de la modernidad*, Espasa Calpe, Madrid 2003, pp. 162-163.

⁴ The text would reproduce with few modifications the one from 1845 and it reflected the conservatory morals of Cánovas. FUSI-PALAFOX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 154. Spain's historical constitutional texts and an analysis of their main features can be found in J. M. VERA SANTOS, *Las constituciones de España*, Editorial Aranzadi, Pamplona 2008.

⁵ Through Restoration the Church had a huge control over education and religious orders, mainly feminine, they performed an important social labour in hospitals, hospice, orphanage, assistance centres, etc. FUSI-PALAFOX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., pp. 155-157.

⁶ The «power to make laws resides in Parliament with the King» together with their sanction and promulgation. In him also resided the «power to execute the laws, the appointment of the government, the leadership of the Armed Forces and the direction of international relations». J. SÁNCHEZ-ARCILLA BERNAL, *Historia de las instituciones político-administrativas contemporáneas (1808-1975)*, Dykinson, Madrid, 1994, p. 94.

⁷ Between 1882 and 1920, some 860 thousand citizens left the country, mainly from the Canary Islands, Galicia and Asturias. R. HERR, *España contemporánea*, Marcial Pons, Madrid 2004, p. 161.

⁸ This figure is even bigger in Catalonia, where it goes up to a 129%, and can be explained by the transfer to that region by the Spanish population itself, attracted by the economic growth that was happening there. HERR, *España contemporánea*, cit., pp. 160-161.

⁹ In those years, refugee movements shook Europe; on this subject see E. PRADO RUBIO, *La regulación del estatuto jurídico de los expatriados receptores de un pasaporte Nansen (1922-1928)*, in E. SAN MIGUEL, *Integración, Derechos Humanos y ciudadanía global*, Editorial Aranzadi, Pamplona 2021.

continued throughout the 20th Century: in 1902, more than 18 million Spanish people lived in Spain, which grew to 21.3 million in 1920¹⁰. Economic development and the betterment of hygienic and sanitary conditions were responsible for the continued demographic growth¹¹, despite the Spanish flu in 1918 or the 25,000 deceased because of the Morocco war. Emigration between 1900 and 1914 was mainly directed to Ibero-America and the Spaniards who went abroad were mainly Andalusian, Galician, Canary Islanders, Extremaduran or Asturian. They didn't always leave the country: Old Castile, Galicia, Aragon, Extremadura, Canary Islands and Aragon suffered important population losses. That population mainly went to industrial regions such as Catalonia or Basque Country¹². Madrid also had a positive internal mobility migratory balance¹³.

Another important characteristic from the Restoration period was the dissatisfaction of the Spanish Army. The loss of the last colonies in 1898 brought to light the fact that, maybe ignoring the harsh conditions of the fight in Cuba and Philippines -a war of guerrillas and tropical diseases-, the Spanish population was generally displeased with the performance of the armed forces in Ultramar¹⁴. The consequences of this disaster were greatly amplified in Morocco¹⁵, which again evi-

¹⁰ CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista*, cit., p. 581.

¹¹ The long government of Maura, from 1907-1909, increased the money invested in healthcare exponentially, which resulted in a decrease of mortality. P. MARTÍN DE SANTA OLALLA SALUDES, *La España alfonsina (1902-1931)*, in J. DONÉZAR DÍEZ DE ULZURRUM, P. A. MARTÍNEZ LILLO, J. L. NEILA HERNÁNDEZ, P. MARTÍN DE SANTA OLALLA SALUDES, Á. SOTO CARMONA, *Historia de España Contemporánea. Siglo XIX y XX*, Silex, Madrid, 2008, p. 203.

¹² FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 169.

¹³ CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista*, cit., p. 582.

¹⁴ About the 98: O. I. MATEOS Y DEL CABO (ed.), *La España del 98: política, pensamiento y cultura en el fin de siglo*, Dykinson, Madrid 1999, in which stands out E. SAN MIGUEL, E., *Acerca del 98 y su concepto de España: una propuesta de lectura de las fuentes literarias como materia para la historia de las ideas y de las formas políticas*, pp. 131-140.

¹⁵ After the Spanish-French convention from the 15th of November of 1912, the Spanish protectorate of Morocco was constituted. Studies about the protectorate can be consulted in R. VELASCO DE CASTRO, *El protectorado español en Marruecos en primera persona: Mubammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim*, Editorial Universidad de Granada, Granada 2017. L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, *La Administración del Protectorado de Marruecos en los órganos centrales del Estado (1912-1931)*, in J. ALVARADO PLANAS-J. C. DOMÍNGUEZ NAFRÍA (eds.), *La Administración del Protectorado Español en Marruecos*, Boe, Madrid, 2014, pp. 111-130.

denced the lack of support to the war by the public opinion and led to critic attitudes towards the armed forces and the high expenses that its maintenance entailed¹⁶. This led to a disconnection between the army officers and the parliamentary system which they served. It also led to multiple conflicts. One of the most well-known ones took place in 1905. The incident resulted in the passing of the *Ley de las Jurisdicciones* (law of jurisdictions), a regulation that granted power to military courts to know about offences to the Army and the Navy¹⁷.

The Army played a crucial role in the political changes that occurred in Spain throughout the 19th Century -some authors talk about an «essential instrument of the political change»¹⁸-, but that role started to diminish from the Restoration on, as a consequence of the demilitarization from Cánovas' policy.

Aside from Manuel Villacampa's uprising of republican nature that happened in 1886¹⁹, there weren't any more revolts in Spain during these years, but the fear of one happening was always there. In Carr's opinion, the apparent calm politic life of the Restoration was nothing but a façade, since the Army just let civilians have the politic power under the condition that they would be respected. Some soldiers still had some political influence. That was the case for Martínez Campos²⁰ -consulted by all the governments in power for all relevant political crisis-, for some generals who had a senator seat or also for the fact that the War Ministers was always an army general²¹. The

¹⁶ Concerning the military expenses of the war, at the time it was estimated in 2,300 million pesetas (old Spanish currency), which very much elevated national debt and led war ministers to amortize vacants in a time when thousands of soldiers who had already served overseas were returning back to the peninsula. The defeat of the 98 entailed a surplus of public service military and civil workers, A. BRU SÁNCHEZ-FORTÚN, *Para repensar las Juntas Militares de 1917*, in *Hispania*, n. 252 (2016), pp. 193-194.

¹⁷ HERR, *España contemporánea*, cit., p. 175.

¹⁸ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 163. About the role of the army in the first half of the 19th Century, consult M. FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Hombres desleales cercaron mi lecho. La consolidación jurídico-institucional del Estado liberal (1808-1843)*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2018.

¹⁹ The revolt made the republican side even more divided than they already were, and it split in legalists and revolutionaries. FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 161.

²⁰ A very renowned general during the last Carlist war and a signer of the Pact of Zanjón, which ended the colony war that went on for ten years in Cuba.

²¹ General and former minister Camilo García Polavieja published a manifesto on the 1st of September, 1898 in which he blamed the political class for the country's ills,

budget reserved for the army was untouchable and the military institution was thoroughly defended by the monarch Alfonso XIII. Therefore, some generals and officials made up an important pressure group even in the last moments of the Restoration regime²².

The cultural regionalism of Catalonia resulted in the *Renaixença* in the mid-19th Century. Its starting point was the publication of *Oda a la Patria* by Carlos Aribau in 1833²³. Nevertheless, the surging of political movements of regionalist and nationalist nature was not until the Restoration. In 1879, Valentí Almirall led a political movement, called Centro Catalá, that grouped the defenders of the Catalanian interests. In 1891, for his part, Enric Prat de la Riba founded the Unió Catalanista Party.

The regionalist movement wasn't strong only in Catalonia. It also emerged at the end of the century in the Basque Country, in protest because of the loss of the chartered regime. The law of July 21st 1876 abolished these, but this measure was compensated in 1878 by the establishment of an economic agreement system that allowed them to have tax autonomy until 1937. According to this agreement, the Basque provinces would pay the State an annual fixed amount for each provincial council. The abolishment of the chartered regime resulted in a cultural reaction to defend the suppressed institutions and the Basque culture and language. In the 90s decade, Sabino Arana transformed the chartered regime in nationalism and claimed that the Basque people, because of their race and religion, constituted a nation. Thus, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco was founded in 1894²⁴.

In addition, a certain process of decentralization of the State began when Eduardo Dato authorized, in 1913, the establishment of Province Mancomunidades for administrative purposes²⁵.

which had culminated in the loss of the last overseas possessions. MARTÍN DE SANTA OLALLA SALUDES, *La España alfonsina (1902-1931)*, cit., p. 189.

²² It would be wrong to imagine the Spanish Army as a vast military machine powerfully organised to achieve the highest possible performance in war on the basis of the large proportion of the budget it consumes. On the contrary, it is a bureaucratic machine that spends most of the money it receives on senior generals and officers, a smaller proportion on materiel and an even smaller proportion on technical preparation for war. *In fact, the Spanish Army matters more as an instrument of domestic policy than as a weapon of war.* This picture is still broadly accurate; and the thirty-nine-year dictatorship enjoyed by General Franco was due to the situation outlined therein. S. MADARIAGA, *España. Ensayo de Historia contemporánea*, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid 1989, p. 137.

²³ C. VIÑES MILLET, *La cultura (1808-1939)*, in PAREDES, *Historia de España*, cit., p. 557.

²⁴ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 174.

²⁵ The Mancomunidad of Catalonia, previous aspiration to the nowadays region,

The loss of the colonies had a special influence in the regionalist process that was taking place, especially Cuba, because with the loss of the Caribbean Island a large part of the Catalanian textile industry market was also lost, as well as very important investments in sugar plantations²⁶. In the words of Carr, the disaster that happened in the 98 resulted on catalonialism to stop being a minoritarian belief to turn into the main channel of a generalized protest. Some parties joined in the so-called Lliga Regionalista in 1901, a group of conservative and monarchic beliefs that ended up being the most efficient politic force of catalonialism until 1930-1931²⁷. The republican wing of catalonialism was represented by the party Acció Catalana, whose appearance was in 1922.

Another consequence of the 1898 loss of the colonies was the swerve towards Africa that Spain took²⁸. In 1902 a preliminary agreement between France and Spain was signed to divide the Moroccan territory in two influence zones, it was revisited in 1904 and confirmed, with British participation, in the Algeciras Convention – from January to April 1906-²⁹. In 1912, The French-Spanish Treaty established very thoroughly the administrative limits of both powers³⁰. Morocco was divided into a double protectorate: the more prosper part was under the French control

was constituted in march 1914 and it was a proto autonomy which created common organisms to the four provinces of the region. FUSI-PALAFOS, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., pp. 155 and 183. About the *Mancomunidades*: J. GIFREU I FONT, *Las mancomunidades provinciales en el marco de la reforma de la administración local de principios del siglo XX. El «eslabón perdido» en el proceso de descentralización del Estado*, in *Revista catalana de dret públic*, n. 51 (2015), pp. 34-53.

²⁶ HERR, *España contemporánea*, cit., pp. 173-175.

²⁷ In his opinion, the protectionist tendency of Catalan industrialists in the face of liberal free trade created an image in Spain of a selfish and self-interested Catalonia, while in Catalonia the defence of an interest became a conscience of the Catalan community. «The image of a dying Castilian state which, after forcing its youth to do military service, had lost Catalonia its best market allowed Catalan nationalism to become one of the general forces of regeneration and an effective electoral force. CARR, *España*, cit, pp. 450-457.

²⁸ R. DE LA TORRE DEL RÍO, *Preparando la Conferencia de Algeciras: el acuerdo hispano-francés de 1 de septiembre de 1905 sobre Marruecos*, in *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 2007, vol. Extraordinario, pp. 313-320.

²⁹ In regards of the European importance of this convention, consult L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, *Sic transit gloria mundi. Omnia Mutantur*, Valladolid 2017, p. 123; and ID., *Sic Transit III, Omnia Mutantur*, Valladolid 2021.

³⁰ About this question P. LA PORTE, *Marruecos y la crisis de la Restauración 1917-1923*, in *Ayer*, n. 63 (2006), pp. 53-74.

and the rest under the Spanish one. Except for the Rif mines, the interest of Spain for that region was more of a way to improve their external prestige after losing the overseas territories than a way to obtain economic profit³¹. However, the Moroccan situation gained a lot of importance in Spain at the beginning of the century.

The impact that the crisis of the 98 had on the country shook the Spanish conscience, especially in the intellectual sphere, and generated a desire for change and regeneration. This regenerationist movement crystallised politically in the emergence of the National Union as a third force against the conservatives and liberals, against whom it failed to become a viable alternative to exercise power³². Other political doctrines gained prominence in the country from the last third of the 19th Century onwards. This was the case with socialism and anarchism, both movements differing markedly in their methods of achieving results. While anarchism advocated violent direct action³³, socialism aimed at a gradual evolution through legislative changes.

³¹ The area of Morocco that corresponds to Spain has a geography that complicates the connection between different areas, as well as being traditionally rebellious areas inhabited by warring tribes opposed not only to the Spanish presence but also to the power of the sultan. The poorly trained and equipped Spanish army had enormous difficulties in maintaining control of the territory. The demand for more troops in the area is a constant. At the same time, the Spanish presence there allows members of the army to rise quickly. Meanwhile, from the public's point of view, the Spanish presence in Africa was unpopular due to the high number of casualties among soldiers, who in many cases belonged to the most disadvantaged classes of society, those who could not avoid service through the cash redemption that would remain in force until 1912. CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista*, cit., pp. 600-601; M. FERNANDEZ RODRÍGUEZ *Injusticia social y reclutamiento militar: la redención en metálico*, in M. AGUILAR GIL (ed.), *Construcciones y deconstrucciones de la sociedad*, Asociación Castellano-manchega de Sociología, Toledo 2010, pp. 76-85. L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS-M. FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Problemas sociales manifestados a través de la legislación de reclutamiento del siglo XIX: exenciones, sustitución y redención en metálico*, in M. REQUENA (Ed.), *Luces y sombras de la seguridad internacional en los albores del siglo XXI*, I, Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado de Investigación sobre la Paz, la Seguridad y la Defensa, Madrid 2010, pp. 409 a 426; G. RIVILLA MARUGÁN, *El tributo de sangre: legislación sobre reclutamiento y debate político-social (1800-1912)*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2017.

³² FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 178.

³³ Sobre la represión del anarquismo ver L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, *Orden público y crímenes comunes durante la Restauración: el proceso a Juan Galán*, in *Revista Aequitas. Estudios sobre Historia, Derecho e Instituciones*, n. 17 (2021); ID., *La represión del anarquismo a través de la legislación y los procesos judiciales: origen y consecuencias de juicios contra la Mano Negra*, in E. SAN MIGUEL, *En la Europa liberal: el trienio y el paraíso*, Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 2020.

Throughout the Restoration, the Constitution of 1876 was completed with other norms that regulated the right of assembly, the right of association or the right of printing. Universal male suffrage was also established in 1890, as well as trial by jury. When the Law of Associations was passed in 1887, trade unions were legalised³⁴, which allowed the creation in 1888 of an association of labour unions under the name of the General Union of Workers (Unión General de Trabajadores). After the events of 1898, trade unionism spread widely throughout Catalonia³⁵. The industrial working class became a social reality with a growing weight in the labour and political spheres. In Barcelona in 1907, Solidaridad Obrera was created, an anarchist-inspired trade union that grew out of a newspaper of the same name and which three years later gave rise to the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour)³⁶. The Basque nationalist movement also created in 1911 Solidaridad de Obreros (later Trabajadores) Vascos, a Basque Catholic trade union³⁷. A consequence of the emergence of the industrial working class was the development of labour legislation driven by state bodies that proposed regulations to improve workers' living conditions, such as the Institute of Social Reforms³⁸.

During the Restoration, initiatives were launched that sought to educate and empower public opinion on the country's problems. This was the case, for example, of the Liga de la Educación Política³⁹, linked to the Republican Reformist Party; of the Escuela Nueva,

³⁴ *Gaceta de Madrid*, núm. 193, de 12 de julio de 1887, pp. 105-106.

³⁵ HERR, *España contemporánea*, cit., p. 177.

³⁶ CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista*, cit., p. 591.

³⁷ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 167.

³⁸ Eduardo Dato was one of the promoters of labor legislation. Even before having government responsibilities, he had written numerous articles on labor legislation and, as a minister of the interior, he presented a bill to the Courts on work accidents that was enacted in 1900. This bill was preceded and followed by others such as the law Sunday rest in 1904. M. J. ESPUNY TOMÁS, *Eduardo Dato y la legislación obrera*, in *Historia Social*, n. 4 (2002), pp. 3-14. Regarding the birth of labor legislation in Spain, it can also be seen I. RAMOS VÁZQUEZ, *La formación del derecho obrero en el Reino Unido, Francia y España antes de la Primera Guerra Mundial*, Thomson Reuters Aranzadi, Navarra 2020; L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, *Los inicios de la legislación laboral española: La ley Benot*, in *Revista Aequitas: Estudios sobre historia, derecho e instituciones*, n. 1 (2011), pp. 25-70.

³⁹ In this sense, one can consult I. BARGUR TALTAVULL, *La Liga de Educación Política Española como instrumento de nación: desde la autonomía hasta la reconversión y el fracaso*, in *Tales. Revista de Filosofía*, n. 5 (2015), pp. 139-157.

founded in 1910, linked to the Socialist Workers' Party; or of publications such as the magazine *España*⁴⁰. In this aspect one cannot leave religion out, which in Carr's words means: «The survival, after a hundred years of liberalism, of an officially Catholic state and a Catholic society meant that religion was the prism through which all other conflicts were refracted»⁴¹.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Spain, industrially speaking, was a backward country in comparison with the world's leading powers, as industrialisation throughout the 19th century was very scarce, except in the case of Catalan textile manufacturing, Basque and Asturian metallurgy and the Basque shipping sector⁴². In this aspect, the incorporation of women into salaried factory work was a reality, especially in the Catalan textile industry, with the female workforce in Barcelona rising from 13.25% in 1900 to 32.38% in 1930⁴³.

A majority of Spaniards worked in agriculture or fishing, around 66%⁴⁴, compared with 12% of the population who worked in industry. The rest were engaged in other activities: construction, commerce, transport, etc. But it was not only in industrialisation that there were differences with Europe: income levels, inflation and illiteracy - one out of every two Spaniards - were variables in which Spain lost out to countries such as the United Kingdom and France⁴⁵. The comparison with them is relevant because the Spanish productive drive was closely linked to these nations, being the main suppliers of machinery, capital goods and being the main markets for Spanish mining and metallurgical production⁴⁶.

⁴⁰ I. SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La España contemporánea II, 1875-1931*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 345-347.

⁴¹ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 385.

⁴² MARTÍN DE SANTA OLALLA SALUDES, *La España alfonsina (1902-1931)*, cit., p. 201.

⁴³ In Madrid, the figures for the beginning of the century are lower, although the figure reached 27.62% in 1930, I. SERRALIONGA I URQUIDI, *Motines y revolución. España 1917*, in *Ayer*, n. 4 (1991), p. 170.

⁴⁴ This is considered a factor of backwardness in Spain at the time, given that during the years 1900 to 1930 productivity was 30 to 40% below the average of the most developed European nations. The low level of agricultural productivity kept the diet of the average Spaniard at subsistence level, an effect that occurred in other Mediterranean societies. M. J., CAVA MESA, *La economía en España de 1800 a 1936*, in PAREDES, *Historia de España*, cit., pp. 530-531.

⁴⁵ MARTÍN DE SANTA OLALLA SALUDES, *La España alfonsina (1902-1931)*, cit., pp. 201-202.

⁴⁶ CAVA MESA, *La economía en España*, cit., p. 525.

As a consequence of the delay of the Spanish economy compared to the one of other industrialised European nations: deficient communications, scarce financial resources or limited energy sources; there was a constant pressure coming from Catalanian, Basque and Asturian producers at the beginning of the century against importations coming from other countries. They advocated for the Spanish market to be reserved to national products through the establishment of protectionist tariff rates. This wasn't a good solution for the economic development of the country, since scarce the domestic demand -the majority of population, being of farming background, didn't have enough income to afford products- and protectionism -which rose the prices of technology investments, elevated the production costs and made Spain a not competitive country-, turned Spain into one of the most closed economies of the capitalist world⁴⁷.

2. *Spain's neutrality*

It was Eduardo Dato and his conservative government who, in August 7th, 1914, put Spain in a position of neutrality in the newly started war in Europe⁴⁸. In Martínez Lillo and Neila Hernández's opinion, this stance was in direct correlation to the attitude Spain had throughout the previous century. Spain hadn't involved themselves in continental conflicts, since the interest of the Spanish foreign policy was centred in the overseas possessions. Other reason that might explain the Spanish neutrality was the fact that the interests of the country weren't in centre Europe or internal problems: the gradual disintegration of the Restoration, the social conflicts, the lousy economic situations that prevented Spain from affording the costs of a modern war and the poor overall condition of the Spanish military: it was a

⁴⁷ Ivi, p. 531.

⁴⁸ «[...] S.M.'s government believes it is its duty to order the strictest neutrality to Spanish subjects, in accordance with the laws in force and the principles of international public law...» *Gaceta de Madrid*, n° 219, de 7 de agosto de 1914, p. 306. Spain was the most important neutral European power in terms of population, economy and geostrategic position compared to Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands. J. C. PEREIRA, *España y la Primera Guerra Mundial: una neutralidad impotente*, in Y. GAMARRA CHOPO- C. FERNÁNDEZ LIESA (eds.), *Los orígenes del Derecho internacional contemporáneo. Estudios conmemorativos del Centenario de la Primera Guerra Mundial*, Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza 2015, p. 276.

very antiquated army from the technologic point of view, badly weaponed and concentrated in the Moroccan conflict that engulfed the economic and human resources. The contribution of the Spanish troops was very little compared to the cost that the defence of the peninsula territory would entail. All these reasons led to the coining of the expression «impotent neutrality»⁴⁹.

Despite declaring themselves neutral, Spain had a closer similarity in foreign policies with some powers than with others. The international relations of Spain had been determined since 1834 by the ratification of the Quadruple Alliance Treaty with France, United Kingdom and Portugal⁵⁰. Spain was closer to France and the United Kingdom as a consequence of the Pact of Cartagena of 1907⁵¹. Therefore, the pacts made before the Great War, the commercial and economic interests with the powers of the Entente⁵² and the geographic position of Spain in the French rear back brought the country into the Allies sphere of attraction, making it a neutral ally⁵³. With respect to the other side at war, the fact that William II and Alfonso XIII were on the same wavelength allowed the Spanish-Germany diplomacy relationship to stay amicable⁵⁴.

The Spanish public opinion was then divided in two blocks: pro-Allies, in which those belonging in the liberal, socialist, progressive,

⁴⁹Ivi, pp. 276-278.

⁵⁰About International Relations in History: L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, ... *Y lo llamarán paz. Visión jurídico-institucional de las relaciones internacionales en la antigüedad*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2018. ID., *El invierno. Visión jurídico-institucional de las relaciones internacionales en el Medievo*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2019; ID., *Nolites te bastardes. Historia, Derecho y Relaciones Internacionales*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2019.

⁵¹Through these pacts, the Spanish kingdom sought to secure its insular and coastal territories against the possible threat of other powers at a complex international moment.

⁵²Spain supplied France and the United Kingdom with food and military supplies, and Spaniards could work in French factories, which brought more Frenchmen into the military ranks.

⁵³In this sense it can be consulted M. D. ELIZALDE, *España y Gran Bretaña en la Primera Guerra Mundial: una colaboración buscada y deseada más allá de la neutralidad*, in *Hispania Nova*, n. 15 (2017), pp. 316-349. About the didactical use of games about the First World War: E. PRADO RUBIO-L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, *La Primera Guerra Mundial en los juegos de mesa: dificultades en su uso docente*, in F. MASTROBERTI-S. VINCI (eds.), *Il Mediterraneo e la grande guerra. Diritto, politica, istituzioni* (Quaderni del dipartimento Jonico, n. 4, 2016), DJSGE, Taranto 2016, pp. 195 ss.

⁵⁴PEREIRA, *España y la Primera Guerra Mundial*, cit., pp. 275-281.

anticlerical and antimilitarist currents as well as an important number of the country's intellectuals were grouped. To this group, the Allies represented freedom and democracy. Against them, the pro-Germany current, the one with the more conservative and pro-clerical sectors of society, who saw in this side the clear representation of values such as order, hierarchy or authority⁵⁵. Propaganda turned into a very prominent element during World War I. Both sides used Spanish and foreign intellectuals –Luis Araquistáin, Salvador de Madriaga, Albert Mousset, etc.– so they would write press articles, give conferences or pressure the government in favour of the interests of one side or the other⁵⁶.

The war polarized even more the already divided and tensioned Spanish society⁵⁷. From 1914 on, the role of the press was strengthened in an attempt to boost the public opinion, in this way we can differentiate two main strands in which the media flocked around. On the one hand, the officialist strand, in favour of maintaining the existent political system, including broadsheet newspapers such as *ABC*, *El Imparcial*⁵⁸, *La correspondencia de España*, *El heraldo de Madrid*, *El Liberal*, etc. On the other hand, a kind of press directed to the working sector⁵⁹. In any case, in this beginning of the century, one can see how a new type of newspaper was born, one detached from the political parties, freer, and also constituted as a business which strived to increase its income through an increase of sales and publicity benefits⁶⁰.

From an economic point of view, World War I was an advantage for the country. Spain, as a neutral power⁶¹, saw a considerable and immediate increase in its exports to the countries in conflict: food, minerals – the prices of iron and coal soared⁶², as well as the produc-

⁵⁵ F. DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal (1917-1923)*, in PAREDES, *Historia de España*, cit., p. 630.

⁵⁶ PEREIRA, *España y la Primera Guerra Mundial*, cit., p. 284.

⁵⁷ J. A. LACOMBA, *España en 1917. Ensayo de morfología de una crisis histórica*, in *Saitabi. Revista de la Facultat de Geografia i Història*, n. 18 (1968), p. 146.

⁵⁸ The most influential newspaper. *El Imparcial*, same as *La correspondencia de España* o *El Liberal* were liberal. FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 159.

⁵⁹ SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La España contemporánea II*, cit., pp. 345-347.

⁶⁰ CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista*, cit., p. 594.

⁶¹ Neutrality decided under the conservative government of Eduardo Dato, which expanded from October 1913 to December 1915. CARR, *España*, cit., p. 418.

⁶² The disappearing of cheap coal from Wales benefited the Asturian mines. Ivi, p. 417.

tion of wolfram – or manufactured products – the Catalanian textile industry experience a large growth in its orders –⁶³. The merchant fleet was doubled during the years of the First World War. The economic boom caused by the outbreak of the Great War meant a great increase of the banking sector in Spain since multiple entities were founded. Among those entities we have the Banco de Crédito Industrial (Industrial Credit Bank), the Banco Urquijo (Urquijo Bank) and the Banco Central (Central Bank)⁶⁴. The country became a net exporter, since the exterior sales had a 20% augmentation, which translated into a commercial surplus⁶⁵. However, this increase wasn't a distinctly clear phenomenon, as it sometimes resulted in shortage of products inside the country, some of them being of basic necessity⁶⁶. The industrial benefits from 1915 to 1918 were huge, but so was inflation⁶⁷.

The industrial and manufacturing activity of the years of the war brought rapid profits, but this did not translate into a solid commercial expansion, since new industrial plants were not installed and existing machinery was not renewed, due to the fact that during the war the importation of machines was not an easy task. Profits were obtained through the multiplication of work shifts, with the consequent deterioration of existing installations and equipment⁶⁸. Just as there had been an increase in prices, salaries rose across the board in the industrial North, in the Asturian mines and for unskilled workers in Catalonia. However, workers in other regions did not experience such increases. This lack of concordance, at a time when the industrialists were making substantial profits, provoked an important wave of strikes: 211 in 1914, 463 in 1918 and 1,060 in 1920⁶⁹.

The critical situation of the workers brought about a strengthening of the trade union organizations and a rapprochement between them, giving rise to the signing of joint manifestos or agreements to carry out actions. An example of this was the Zaragoza Pact of July 17, 1916, by

⁶³ HERR, *España contemporánea*, cit., p. 166.

⁶⁴ CAVA MESA, *La economía en España*, cit., p. 526.

⁶⁵ PEREIRA, *España y la Primera Guerra Mundial*, cit., p. 285.

⁶⁶ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 631.

⁶⁷ The first necessity items' prices doubled between 1914 and 1919. FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 185.

⁶⁸ Carr states that what happened in Spain was not exceptional, but a recurring happening when the economic expansión is caused by a war conflict. CARR, *España*, cit., p. 417.

⁶⁹ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 185.

which representatives of the CNT and UGT agreed to promote actions, in view of the effects that the economic situation caused by the war was having on the population, to pressure the government to take measures. These actions were manifested in multiple days of strikes and protests, some of which were widely followed, such as the general strike of December 18, 1916, which despite its follow-through did not result in any measures by the Romanones government⁷⁰.

From a political point of view, the turnist system of the Restoration had been facing important difficulties since the beginning of the 20th century. The system prevented the entry, except in a marginal way, of political groups other than the conservative and liberal. This gave rise to a prolonged crisis, during which specific crises can be highlighted, such as the one that occurred in 1906 as a consequence of the entry into force of the Law of Jurisdictions, or the one of 1909, known as the Tragic Week⁷¹. The outbreak of the First World War seemed to halt the process of decomposition of the system until the crisis of 1917 - during the first three years of the world war there were only two governments: the conservative Dato and the liberal Count of Romanones-, while from mid-1917 there were six, some lasting less than a month. The events of the summer of 1917 showed once again the unwillingness of the dominant oligarchy to democratize political life and to integrate other forces such as republicans, socialists, regenerationists or nationalists, although it no longer seemed possible to maintain the system unalterable⁷².

The end of the 1918 war caused an economic recession that came accompanied by an important tension in the industrial areas, which, in Herr's opinion, heavily influenced the decline of the constitutional

⁷⁰ O. M. FREÁN HERNÁNDEZ, *Crisis social y reivindicación obrera en la España de la Restauración: La Huelga General de agosto de 1917 en Ourense*, in *Minius. Revista do Departamento de Historia, Arte e Xeografía*, n. 5 (1996), p. 117.

⁷¹ About them: C. ROBLES MUÑOZ, *¿Acabó la Semana Trágica con Maura? Algunas claves políticas (1906-1909)*, in *Analecta sacra tarraconensia: Revista de ciències historicoeclesiàstiques*, n. 82 (2009), pp. 75-114. For studies on special jurisdictions, see L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS- E. PRADO RUBIO – E. FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ (eds.), *Especialidad y excepcionalidad como recursos jurídicos*, Omnia Mutantur Valladolid 2017; IID., *Análisis sobre jurisdicciones especiales*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2017; L. MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS- E. RODRÍGUEZ (eds.), *Reflexiones sobre jurisdicciones especiales*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2016; E. FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Estudios sobre jurisdicciones especiales*, Omnia Mutantur, Valladolid 2015.

⁷² CERVERA GIL, *La Restauración post-canovista*, cit., pp. 584-586.

monarchy⁷³. The social and political consequences that the First World War had in Spain contributed to worsen the crisis that already existed in the Restoration system⁷⁴. Carr considers that the Great War's consequences undermined the system, but the thing that ended up destroying it is the Morocco War⁷⁵.

3. *From social unrest to proletarian revolution*

Under Fusi and Palafox's point of view, it was from the contrast between a transforming society and the limitations that the Restoration system had that part of the political problems of the 20th Century Spain surged⁷⁶.

It was the unhappiness that some of the economic sectors manifested since the start of the 20th Century that kickstarted the Spanish revolution of 1917. This affected the political sphere, in the sense of rebuttal against the political turn, the still dominating despotism and the appearing of very aggravated ways of regionalism and nationalism as a reaction to the centralist governments; the army, combined to the problems that the conflict with Morocco caused⁷⁷; the worker or social sector of the population; and the Catholic Church matter, which was a sense of annoyance towards a tendency to greater secularization. These events made several sectors of the population come together –army, industrial workers, bourgeoisie– in the necessity of a system change.

At the end of the year 1916, under the Romanones government, the country's situation was greatly agitated due to the rising numbers of strikes and uproars that appeared as a consequence of the increase of the cost of living⁷⁸. In summer, the UGT presented the possibility

⁷³ HERR, *España contemporánea*, cit., p. 166.

⁷⁴ PEREIRA, *España y la Primera Guerra Mundial*, cit., p. 286.

⁷⁵ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 417

⁷⁶ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 171.

⁷⁷ Morocco had been a problematic issue for the various governments since the beginning of the 20th century for various reasons: public opinion was not favourable - events such as the Tragic Week made this clear -, the constant interventions by the Rifians against the Spanish presence, the lack of an effective and well-equipped army deployed in the area, growing tension between the army and the civilian population, the demand for budgetary funds, etc. LA PORTE, *Marruecos y la crisis de la Restauración*, cit., pp. 60-66.

⁷⁸ SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La España contemporánea II*, cit., p. 348.

for a general strike to demand the increase of salaries⁷⁹. Later that year, the Marxist syndicalism and the libertarian syndicalism, defended by the UGT and the CNT respectively, signed a collaboration pact, which resulted in the calling of a general strike for December 18th 1916. As a consequence of the strike's success, the UGT and the CNT released a nationwide manifesto March 27th 1917, in which they condemned the governmental brutality against the labour movement's protest, they also called out for a revolution⁸⁰, they aimed to call a new general strike of an undefined period of time and for which there was no date specified. Despite the lack of details, the government felt threatened and took measures like closing the Casa del Pueblo de Madrid, the place from which they made the manifesto public; the imprisonment for the people who signed the manifesto, Julián Besteiro and Largo Caballero⁸¹ among them; the cancellation of constitutional guarantees on March 28th; and even in Valladolid, because of the big agitation caused by the labourers, the state of siege was declared⁸². To make

⁷⁹ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 421.

⁸⁰ SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La España contemporánea II*, cit., p. 349. «Continúan las eternas ocultaciones de riqueza; los más llamados al sostenimiento de las cargas públicas siguen sustrayéndose al cumplimiento de ese deber de ciudadanía; los beneficiados con los negocios de la guerra, ni emplean sus ganancias en el fomento de la riqueza nacional, ni se avienen a entregar parte de sus beneficios al Estado, y el Gobierno, débil con los poderosos y altivo con los humildes, lanza a diario contra los obreros la guardia civil, mientras prepara empréstitos de transformación de deuda y ofrece a los capitalistas una colocación lucrativa a sus fondos ociosos, so pretexto de promover obras públicas que jamás se realizan. Y si de los pomposos ofrecimientos de reformas económicas y de promoción de obras públicas no queda más que el rumor de vanas palabras [...] Después de las prolijas discusiones a que la acción de España en Marruecos ha dado lugar, a nadie se le oculta ya que esta reincidencia de los poderes públicos en los antiguos errores bélicos, militaristas y dinásticos bastaría por sí sola para provocar, por parte de la nación, la más violenta de las actuaciones contra los causantes de su desgracia. Estos males, percibidos a diario por el proletariado, han formado en él, tras una larga y dolorosa experiencia, el convencimiento de que las luchas parciales de cada asociación con los patronos, asistidas por la solidaridad de los compañeros de infortunio, no bastan a conjugar los graves peligros que amenazan a los trabajadores. [...]».

⁸¹ P. GUTIÉRREZ-ALVÁREZ, *Centenario de la crisis y/o revolución española de 1917*, in *Viento Sur*, n. 153 (2017), pp. 111-112.

⁸² The suppression of constitutional guarantees affected the whole country because of the nation-wide strike wave and the repercussions of the manifesto from the UGT and the CNT supporting a general strike. The suppression was repealed on April 21st by García Prieto's government. On April 1st the state of siege was declared in Valladolid because of the railway agitation. E. GONZÁLEZ CALLEJA, *La razón de la*

matters even worse, on April 9th 1917, the news that the Spanish paddle steamer *San Fulgencio* sank were made public. The boat, that was coming back from England, was torpedoed by the German submarine UC-71. This occurrence sparked the debate on whether Spain should remain neutral in the Great War⁸³.

The surge of strikes and uprisings and the debate on Spain's neutrality ended up resulting in Romanones quitting the 19th of April of 1917. A new liberal, García Prieto, replaced the government of the count, but their time in charge didn't go beyond the month of June. Among the promises of the new president there were the reestablishment of the constitutional guarantees and the maintenance of the neutrality, in the face of the uncertainty that the sinking of the *San Fulgencio* entailed. The executive government's fall was caused because a crisis surrounding the military juntas. This time, it was replaced by a conservative cabinet lead by Eduardo Dato⁸⁴.

Among the problems in the army there was the fact that the officials, recruited from the middle and more modest classes, were poorly paid and too much in numbers, causing that the perspective to be promoted was very interesting but severely hard⁸⁵. The exception was made up by the «faculty members» of the army: engineers and artillery. Throughout the 19th Century, all the artillery officials had been promoted because of their seniority, at least in their own weapon, which resulted in a double structure, because an artillery captain could be coronel in the general hierarchy. The problems related to the army were manifested through the juntism movement, with the apparition of the Unión de Juntas (Council Union) formed by the Junta de Defensa (Defence Council) of the weapons from infantry, cavalry and artillery. These Juntas de Defensa were made up by officials, from

fuera. Orden público, subversión y violencia política en la España de la Restauración (1875-1917), Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid 1998, p. 70.

⁸³ News from the boat can be seen in the second edition of the *ABC* newspaper, from Tuesday, April 10th of 1917, page number 10. That same piece of news referred to the sinking that took place the previous day. About the sinking: L. M. PÉREZ ADÁN, La Compañía Cartagenera de Navegación, in *Cartagena Histórica* n. 21 (2010), pp. 30 ss.

⁸⁴ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 420.

⁸⁵ Ivi, p. 466. Carr talks about a new official corps that doubled the French one. Salvador de Madariaga gives the following data. In 1927 the army had 19,906 officials (219 generals among them) to 207.000 soldiers. The ratio of officers to soldiers was 10%, while in France it was less than 5% at the same date (30,662 officers and 606,917 men). MADARIAGA, *España*, cit., p. 139.

lieutenants to coronels, leaving aside non-commissioned officers and generals⁸⁶.

The juntism movement started in 1916, in the Catalanian military region⁸⁷, starting in the cavalry weapon but rapidly extending to the infantry as a consequence of the proposition from the War Ministry, general Luque, to establish some kind of exam to promote the officials to try and improve the technical desynchronisation that existed in the Army⁸⁸. The initiative caused a strike by the officials from a medium or low rank, in which they demanded an improvement of the salary, the recognition of the Junta as a valid agent to negotiate with the State, the moderation in the concession of war rewards, the application of fair criteria regarding to promotions and the consideration and respect of seniority⁸⁹. These revindications could be understandable because a large part of the military sector was formed by people from the middle class or the small bourgeoisie, who, even though were ideologically close to the Restoration system, felt relegated and poorly compensated⁹⁰. The military demands, coated by allusions to the regeneration of the country⁹¹, were greatly appreciated by some of the political currents like republicans, radicals and the Catalanian conservatives of Cambó⁹².

The then Romanones governments considered abolishing the Juntas at the beginning of 1917, but never did it. In May, the Junta Superior (Superior Council) was put into operation in Barcelona. It represented the Infantry Officials of Spain. Cavalry and Artillery followed their steps. The count resigned and a new War Ministry, the general

⁸⁶ LACOMBA, *España en 1917*, cit., p. 151. The exclusion of those was due to the need to exclude more or less influential uniform chieftains. They tried to protect the professional career from external interference. Hence the need to be integrated into a hierarchy ordered by seniority that would give them stability. BRU SÁNCHEZ-FORTÚN, *Para repensar las Juntas*, cit., pp. 194-195.

⁸⁷ Atienza Peñarrocha considers that the emergence of the protest in Barcelona can be explained by the fundamental role of the military as guarantors of order at a time when workers' and Catalan nationalist movements were launching an offensive against the government. A. ATIENZA PEÑARROCHA, *Africanistas y junteros: El Ejército español en África y el oficial José Enrique Varela Iglesias*, PhD dissertation, Valencia 2012, p. 235.

⁸⁸ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 632.

⁸⁹ CARR, *España*, cit., pp. 419-420.

⁹⁰ LACOMBA, *España en 1917*, cit., p. 151.

⁹¹ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 631.

⁹² CARR, *España*, cit., p. 420.

Francisco de Aguilera y Egea, sent a notice to all the general captains to forbid the meeting of the Juntas, particularly urging Alfau, as the general captain of Catalonia, to dissolve the ones in Barcelona. Alfau didn't do this immediately and the three juntas joined together in the Unión de Juntas. It was in May 25th that Alfau convened the members from the infantry Junta Superior in his office and ordered them to dissolve the institution in twenty-four hours. The Junta refused to do so, so its members were arrested and taken to a military prison in the Montjuïc Castle. To replace the incarcerated members, a substitute Junta was formed, presided by coronel Echevarría, who published a manifesto in which in addition to the protest he asked for the help of the rest of the Juntas in Spain. Aguilera dismissed general Alfau and in his place appointed general José Marina and ordered to stop the new Junta⁹³.

Simultaneously, the general captains from other regions, following government orders, arrested the Juntas in other parts of Spain. On May 31st 1917 there was fear for an uprising in the Barcelona garrison to free their arrested comrades by force. On June 1st, representatives of the new junta delivered to Marina a document known as the Manifiesto of the Juntas, which demanded the freedom of the members of the Juntas, technical and economic improvements for service in arms, the exoneration and rehabilitation of those arrested, official recognition of the Juntas, and rejection of war merits⁹⁴ and promotions by election. Marina refused to give in and neither did the Minister of War, but the government did give in under pressure from the King. Those arrested were released on the 2nd of June⁹⁵.

The juntarist soldiers, despite their lack of organisation, had demonstrated their power to put pressure on the system. Moreover, they had popular support, as their manifesto blamed politics for the country's ills and called for the restoration of good government and morality as indispensable prerequisites for the country's renewal⁹⁶. Military regenerationism was contrasted with failed political regenerationism.

⁹³ ATIENZA PEÑARROCHA, *Africanistas y junteros*, cit., pp. 241-242.

⁹⁴ A measure introduced by the Canalejas government in 1911 that ended up dividing the Army into junteros, defenders of the closed scale, and africanistas, who defended promotions based on war merits. LA PORTE, *Marruecos y la crisis de la Restauración*, cit., p. 63.

⁹⁵ ATIENZA PEÑARROCHA, *Africanistas y junteros*, cit., p. 243.

⁹⁶ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 186.

The *Manifiesto de las juntas*, which was presented as an ultimatum to the government, has been considered by some as a pretorianist intervention in civilian institutions⁹⁷. Other authors, such as Bru Sánchez-Fortún, do not consider the episode to be a military intervention in political life, but rather a mere vindication of their salary, their professional career and their social relevance, that is, a corporatist movement rather than a movement with concrete political aspirations⁹⁸. In any case, the crisis unleashed by the Juntas led to the fall of García Prieto's government, which was replaced by a conservative cabinet headed by Eduardo Dato, disappointing those sectors that aspired to renewal⁹⁹.

The idea of political regeneration, a constant theme in the juntest manifestos, had raised hopes of general renewal in certain sectors, such as the Catalan nationalists of the Lliga Regionalista, the reformists of Melquíades Álvarez, the republicans, socialists, a good part of the progressive intellectuals, some members of the CNT and some of the Maurist movement¹⁰⁰. All the above grouped together and brought forth to what is known as the July bourgeois revolution, whose aspirations included the idea of democratisation, putting an end to turnism and corruption and the realisation of autonomist aspirations, in the case of the members of the Lliga¹⁰¹.

The events that brought together all the forces of protest in 1917 were the closure of the Cortes and the suspension of constitutional guarantees by Dato on the 25th of June 1917. These measures were taken to prevent the dissemination of a new manifesto by the Junta de Defensa explaining its position and to contain the revolutionary strike threatened by socialists and reformist republicans, who sought to put Melquíades Álvarez at the head of the government. The above was favoured by the fact that Catalonians, workers, radicals and army officers joined together in an assembly movement¹⁰².

Francesc Cambó, the leader of the Catalan regionalist party,

⁹⁷ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., pp. 632-633.

⁹⁸ BRU SÁNCHEZ-FORTÚN, *Para repensar las Juntas*, cit., p. 212.

⁹⁹ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 420.

¹⁰⁰ Socialism, republicans and reformists were reluctant to see a revolutionary movement but agreed in June 1917 that a change of regime and the formation of a provisional government were necessary. For its part, the CNT was in favor of insurgent action. DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., pp. 636-637.

¹⁰¹ *Ivi*, p. 633.

¹⁰² CARR, *España*, cit., p. 421.

took the initiative in the pluralist movement and, taking advantage of the weakness that the system had shown on the occasion of the Juntist demands, called an Assembly of Parliamentarians in Barcelona on July 19th 1917, which aspired to become a constituent Cortes that would put an end to the Canovist system and satisfy Catalonia's demands for autonomy. The parties of the system did not take part in that meeting and it was finally dissolved by the police¹⁰³. The disparity between the members of the group, Antonio Maura's refusal to support the movement and the government's refusal to open constituent Cortes or to encourage separatist demands - the government press described the movement as revolutionary or seditious - spoiled the initial momentum of that movement¹⁰⁴.

The demands led by Cambó were not well received by the juntist movement. The Dato government's approval of the Juntas' regulations, Maura's lack of support for the assembly movement, the officers' refusal to collaborate with Catalanists, Republicans and Socialists, and an incipient movement of troops and non-commissioned officers who threatened to form alternative juntas were the factors that determined the Juntas' support for the government over any other demands¹⁰⁵.

4. *The August revolution*

As we have seen, the crisis of the Restoration system became more evident from the spring of 1917 onwards and exploded with all its virulence in August. The revolutionary explosion was basically proletarian – the peasantry remained on the sidelines¹⁰⁶ –, although other pressure groups intervened, such as the bourgeois force of Catalan regionalism and the army¹⁰⁷. However, these groups faded over time.

The failed bourgeoisie revolution in July 1917 had a second attempt at an assembly. It was called in Madrid and the date was set for October of the same year. Its aims were similar to those of July: to convene a constituent Cortes and to modify the parliamentary system

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁴ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 635.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁶ LACOMBA, *España en 1917*, cit., pp. 154-155.

¹⁰⁷ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 417.

by giving a central role to the electors. By the time the convocation was agreed, part of the movement had already left the coalition because of differences between them. For its part, the junterist movement, which had put the government on the ropes, ended up siding with it and actively collaborated in the repression of the August revolts.

The calling of the August strike was a consequence of a work conflict that emerged between the Valencian railway workers and the Compañía del Norte, but it ended up affecting other production branches¹⁰⁸. The railway workers' strike, which took place in July, ended up being a failure and was put to an end with numerous dismissals made by the Compañía del Norte, which only made matters worse. On August 2nd, the Sindicato del Norte (the National Federation of Railway Workers) suggested calling a general strike for August 10th. On August 4th *El Socialista* appeared, a manifesto signed by Daniel Anguiano¹⁰⁹ and Ramón Cordoncillo – president and secretary of the federation – and was addressed not only to the railway workers, but also to workers from other professions, and, in general, to the public opinion. In this manifesto they set out the situation as a general conflict and they reproached the Juntas de Defensa and the government for rejecting the celebration of the Asamblea de Parlamentarios de Barcelona (Barcelona's Parliamentarians Assembly). The fuse was lit.

Finally, the general strike took place on August 13th 1917 and aspired to achieve the departure of the king, the creation of an interim government and the calling of the Constituent courts¹¹⁰. The strike was irregularly followed and it was only in Madrid, Barcelona, Asturias and the Basque Country – especially the last two territories- where its reach was somehow relevant¹¹¹. Lastly, it was harshly repressed. The war

¹⁰⁸ The follow-up of the events can be found in the ABC newspaper of 3 August 1917. file:///C:/Users/Manuela%20Fernandez/Downloads/ABC-03.08.1917-pagina%20011.pdf

¹⁰⁹ C. LUENA LÓPEZ, *El papel de Daniel Anguiano (1882-1963) en la política española durante el primer tercio del siglo XX*, in *Vegueta. Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, n.18 (2018), pp. 327-346.

¹¹⁰ SERRALIONGA I URQUIDI, *Motines y revolución*, cit., p. 183.

¹¹¹ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 637. The follow-up of the revolution in different areas can be found in various studies, in the case of Huelva, M. A. PEÑA GUERRERO-J. C. DE LARA RÓDENAS-R. M. DOMÍNGUEZ DOMÍNGUEZ, *Huelva y la crisis de 1917*, in *Huelva y su historia*, n. 3 (1990), pp. 449-503.

state was immediately established and the strike's committee was arrested¹¹². The human toll has horrifying: more than sixty lives were lost, more than two hundred people were hurt and two thousand people were arrested¹¹³.

5. Conclusions

This crisis brought forth numerous severe consequences, since it caused the revitalization of the role of the military sector in the country's political life. In the short term, the Juntas de Defensa ended up forcing Dato's government to resign; in the long term, during the majority of the 20th century, the Army went back to dictating the path of the country's politics the same way it happened the previous century.

One of the most important consequences of the 1917 strike was that it exposed the weakness of the regime. It broke the canovist coexistence¹¹⁴. It was the beginning of the end of the turnism. However, the forces that had to build a different system were very divided¹¹⁵.

After the resignation of Eduardo Dato, in November of 1917, García Prieto set up a coalition government, the first government of monarchic concentration, to try and assimilate all parts concerned: liberals, regionalists, maurists, etc. This was named «Horacio's Monster»¹¹⁶. The coalition rejected the repeated revindication of calling the Constituent courts, which earned them the opposition of the reformists, who were organized around Melquíades Álvarez. The coalition wasn't stable and the government of García Prieto resigned in March of 1918, and afterwards there was a new government of national concentration lead by Maura¹¹⁷.

¹¹² The committee, which included figures such as Julián Besteiro and Francisco Largo Caballero, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a military court. They ended up being amnestied after some of them were elected deputies in the February 1918 elections. DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 638. The amnesty Law can be found in *Gaceta de Madrid* n. 129, 09th May, 1918, p. 390.

¹¹³ DE LUIS MARTÍN, *La crisis final de la monarquía liberal*, cit., p. 638.

¹¹⁴ LACOMBA, *España en 1917*, cit., p. 155.

¹¹⁵ SERRALIONGA I URQUIDI, *Motines y revolución*, cit., p. 176.

¹¹⁶ M. A. MARTORELL LINARES, *La crisis parlamentaria de 1913-1917. La quiebra del sistema de relaciones parlamentarias de la Restauración*, in *Revista de Estudios Políticos (Nueva Época)*, n. 96 (1997), p. 157.

¹¹⁷ CARR, *España*, cit., p. 423.

The 1917 crisis caused what Histography calls the «parliamentarism crisis», because the economic recession and the social convulsion prevented the proper functioning of the political system established in the Constitution of 1876. From 1917 to 1923, in which the liberal parliamentary monarchy was put to an end, thirteen governments made up by the most relevant people from that moment took the country's lead, but none of them managed to stay at the government for more than six months¹¹⁸.

The proletariat became radicalized and massively joined in labour organizations¹¹⁹. The UGT, for example, even though it suffered an immediate reduction of about ten thousand members in 1918, had more than two hundred and ten thousand in 1920¹²⁰. More immediately, the Socialist Party's representation figures improved, as the February 1918 elections, called in the midst of the crisis, increased the PSOE's single seat by a sixfold in 1914¹²¹.

¹¹⁸ MARTÍN DE SANTA OLALLA SALUDES, *La España alfoncina (1902-1931)*, cit., pp. 190, y 198.

¹¹⁹ FREÁN HERNÁNDEZ, *Crisis social y reivindicación*, cit., p. 119.

¹²⁰ LACOMBA, *España en 1917*, cit., p. 155.

¹²¹ FUSI-PALAFIX, *España: 1808-1996*, cit., p. 187.