The Popular Will in Hispanic Antifascist Graphic Art in the United States, 1936-1977

Montse Feu*

Graphic art in the New York antifascist Spanish-language periodicals *Frente Popular* (1936-1939) and *España Libre* (1939-1977) denounced Spanish fascism with news from workers' resistance networks associated with the Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas (Confederated Hispanic Societies, or SHC). Advocating for unity between means and ends, *Frente Popular* and *España Libre* sustained an open submission policy that invited workers to contribute to the antifascist discourse. This uncompromising direct action created a culture of participatory politics that allowed editorial caricatures to picture attractive and accessible antifascist rhetoric. It mocked fascists and deciphered the meaning of fascism with the medium conventions of simplification and deformation. Also, illustrations recreated a visual language of solidarity and memorialization by foregrounding bodies acting in concert in barricades, demonstrations, and popular commemorations. This visual protest celebrated the collective exercise of the popular will, in interdependency and vulnerability, successfully counteracting the fascist narrative of power. The images examined here are curated in the open-source digital project Fighting Fascist Spain –The Exhibits (FFSTE), which thematically recovers and contextualizes the story of the antifascist organization Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas (SHC), its activism, and print culture.

---

* Montse Feu is an Associate Professor of Spanish and the Integrated Studies Coordinator at Sam Houston State University. She has published peer-reviewed articles, chapters, monographs, and critical anthologies about U.S. Hispanic primary sources, including The Antifascist Chronicles of Aurelio Pego. A Critical Anthology (2021) and Fighting Fascist Spain. Worker Protest from the Printing Press (2020), and Correspondencia personal y política de un anarcosindicalista exiliado: Jesús González Malo (1943-1965) (Universidad de Cantabria). She has co-edited Histories and Cultures of Latinas: Suffrage, Activism, and Women's Rights (2023), Serving Refugee Children: Listening to Stories of Detention in the USA (2021), and Writing Revolution: Hispanic Anarchism in the United States (2019). She is the curator of Fighting Fascist Spain – The Exhibits.

Research Methods

Disregarded by governments and institutions of learning, workers themselves have preserved and memorialized their collective histories, educational and cultural practices, and knowledge through their periodicals and associations' archives. Yet, because they contested power and had limited funds, many of their records often were destroyed, censored, deemed irrelevant, or unworthy of institutional care or research attention. Consequently, much antifascist culture and history has been lost, and the remaining is not always widely accessible.

Preservation and dissemination are the goals of FFSTE, following the path of the *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* project, a program founded in 1992 that works with scholars, librarians, archivists, and communities to "constitute and make accessible an archive of cultural productions by Hispanic or Latino peoples who have existed since the sixteenth century in the areas that eventually became part of the United States." FFSTE is housed in the University of Houston Digital Collections to ensure its development and sustainability. The Recovery project and the FFSTE are long-term responsible custodians of people's histories. With an interdisciplinary methodology, the FFSTE features and contextualizes digitalized primary sources and invites the community to contribute to the exhibits, engaging in accessible and cooperative research.

Historical Context

Thousands of Spanish workers arrived in the United States around the turn of the twentieth century, searching for work and escaping poverty. From the 1920s, they also fled political turmoil surrounding the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), the draft for the Rif War (1921-1927), and the growing fascist culture in Spain. Many brought radical traditions rooted in their homeland and created cultural, labor, and mutual aid societies that fueled anti-authoritarian and emancipatory practices for workers. Also, they participated in the already established transnational radical organizations. Upon hearing news of the military coup in Spain on July 18, 1936, about 200 people formed the Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas to

aid victims of fascism with direct action during the war. They continued these efforts throughout the subsequent dictatorship until elections were held in Spain in 1977.

The SHC antifascist cause followed the principles of the Spanish anarchist union—Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor, or CNT)—and the Spanish socialist union—Unión General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workers, or UGT). Beyond ending fascism, SHC members believed in the coherence between means and ends. Therefore, the SHC found this coherent praxis by supporting people and their political and cultural legacy through collective action while remaining independent from party or government lines.[1] In sum, the SHC's goal was to end the fascist invasion of Spain and continue working independently for a just and free society for workers.

The antifascist organization sent aid to Spain and refugees around the world and published *Frente Popular* (1936-1939) and *España Libre* (1939-1977), with an average of eight to twelve pages per issue and print runs of 3,500 to 4,000 copies per issue until the 1950s. *España Libre* then changed to either once or twice a month, depending on the availability of funds. *Frente Popular* (*FP)* and *España Libre* (*EL*) were distributed in Hispanic kiosks and businesses or by subscription. Hundreds of issues were smuggled into Spain thanks to the underground resistance. Sales and the advertisements of Hispanic American businesses paid for printing. Several U.S.-based unions helped pay printing costs when necessary, including the United Automobile Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The SHC cooperated with other antifascist efforts, sharing contributors and news. This was the case with the periodical *Ibérica for a Free Spain* (New York, 1953-1974), with an average of fifteen pages. *Ibérica* (*IB*) printed approximately 900 issues each month, financed by the Spanish Socialist politician Victoria Kent and her partner Louise Crane.

Authors and Styles

Although the SHC supported numerous artists, the conditions of exile still mark antifascist research today. The *FP, EL,* and *IB* shared some artists, but the authorship of grassroots newspapers such as *FP* and *EL* differed from that of *IB*, which was privately financed. Submissions were from various artists and members because of the open submission policy of *FP* and *EL.* Some artists obtained professional prestige in exile, like Sergio Aragonés, Josep Bartolí, and Juan Eugenio Mingorance, while most survived exile with economic difficulties. Despite research efforts, the biographical information of an artist might be limited or unknown because of anonymous submissions. Consequently, the FFSTE sometimes contains numerous drawings by one artist, while only a few by another.[2] The conditions of exile also restricted the possibilities of illustrating solidarity, protest, and worker's history because photographs were expensive to print. In this sense, graphic art was an affordable and available, albeit mediated, pictorial journalism, visual chronicle, and visual campaign documenting the progressive and radical resistance to fascism. Artists-reporters donated their drawings, which would be reprinted in several antifascist periodicals and campaigns. Antifascist newspapers also reprinted the work of numerous Hispanic and North American artists. However, this article does not specifically examine the common practice of reprinting cartoons from other progressive and radical newspapers but focuses on artists closely related to *FP, EL,* or *IB*.

Before the Spanish Civil War, there was a rich Spanish workers' print culture. Spanish anarchists saw art as intrinsic to the social fight for justice because to them art helped people understand humanity, documented a particular era, made viewers think, and articulated the peoples' thoughts.[3] SHC-affiliated organizations built on earlier migration patterns, in which cultural, radical, and progressive legacies integrated education and the arts as essential for workers to emancipate from oppressive states and employers. Members were trained in SHC associations and other radical associations of U.S. cities, such as the Ferrer Center in Spanish Harlem. Moreover, social realist printmaking arose in community-based projects, offering many opportunities for experimental education in New York in the 1930s.[4]

SHC members were avid readers, contributed to *Frente Popular* (FP) and *Espana Libre* (EL), performed in fundraisers, attended conferences in SHC associations, and created libraries exchanging periodicals and books with organizations in other states and countries. They responded to the Escuela Neutral proposed by anarchist Ricardo Mella Cea (1861-1925), who advocated for scientific and diverse education.[5] In an anonymous article in *FP*, an author asserted that art is part of "our revolution in the rear guard – in our milieu, genuinely popular, we ventured into art, and we have not destroyed it as some paid writers like to say. On the contrary, we have cultivated art carefully, and plays, songs, music, and graphic art have blossomed. Most importantly, we have unearthed artists that our bourgeoisie would have kept hidden."[6] On Feb. 3, 1939, Eleuterio Blanco stated that art had been a tool of oppression to dominate the working class and emasculate artists until the day the artists started to blossom and fought for their freedom. According to Blanco, a genuine artist is free in creativity and thought. Consequently, their art can shed light on the oppression of the working class: "If we can fraternize with art… we will wake up from a nightmare that prevents us from seeing the meaning of beauty, feeling, reason, and truth."[7] José Rodriguez Pérez agreed a few weeks later: "We cultivate the arts because art ennobles the soul and sharpens the perception of what is beautiful, humane, and fair."[8] Additionally, some graphic artists had served in the Republican propaganda efforts in Spain in the 1930s.[9] Some drawings in *FP* and *EL* are reminiscent of the Republic poster campaign or were reproductions of those posters.[10]

Bodies

Drawings of militiamen's muscular bodies often represented the people against and under fascist oppression. The imposing bodies visually responded to the fascist occupation. Spanish generals who had served in the Foreign Legion and the protectorate of Morocco invaded Spain in 1936 with the goal of creating a fascist state. Their experience in the protectorates made them believe that the "armed forces were the repository of the true essence of Spain" – an essence that, according to them, had been corrupted by democracy.[11] The Rif War (1921-1927), an armed conflict between the occupying colonial-

ists of Spain and the Berber tribes of the mountainous Rif region of northern Morocco, was a catalyst for fascist Spain, just as World War I was for German Nazism and Italian Fascism. These military men despised "the softness of civilian life and [had] a disdain for democracy."[12] Colonial violence and army discipline extended to Spain, triggering a war that ultimately would impose a fascist regime.


Nueva York, Julio 22 de 1938

¡Ay, Rinconcito de Asturias!

¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias,
cuna de la España madre!
—cada hombre vale por cien,
cada "mauser" por cien "maú-
(seres"—
Con el mapa ante los ojos
busco tus rutas de sangre,
aún sin conocer tus cielos
ni tus sierras ni tus valles;
sólo esta cosa tan fría
—manos de delineante—
donde he de poner la lumbre
de mis ojos para hallarte.

Por aquí van los mastines...
—quieto, corazón, no estalles;
¡nada importan sus colmillos
si está el minero aguardándoles!
Por aquí vuela la muerte
ceñida de estrellas...—¡Madre,
qué hombres, los hombres de As-
(turias!
A los pájaros más grandes
porque les roban más cielo,
y más ensueños lunares
y más miradas de novias,
son a los que han más coraje
y con una bala chica
como un meñique, mi madre,
—entraña de su fusil—
les basta para matarles.
Mapa que me desesperas,
laberinto inextricable
de líneas rojas y azules
y nombres indescifrables,
quisiera ver tu papel
retorcerse, chamuscarse...
¿Mi mano está sobre tí
y no te quemas? ¡Ay!... ¡Ar-
(de!
Arde... Necesito verlo,
mapa de Asturias, ¡Cobarde
tú no retratas mi Asturias
donde los míos se baten
en cuatro palmos de tierra
hechos corazón gigante.
¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias,
cuna de la España madre,
mientras en tí aliente un hombre
nadie podrá esclavizarte!
Tengo puesta en tí tal fe,
tal firmeza inquebrantable,
¡que va mi vida en apuesta
si alguno tiene coraje!

Lucía Sánchez SAORNIL

Figure 1 Vieja. *Frente Popular*, July 22, 1938.

However, the people barricaded the streets and organized themselves in troops to defend democracy and freedom for three years (1936-1939). One artist, "Vieja o Viejo," signed a drawing illustrating Lucía Sánchez Saornil's poem "Ay, Rinconcito de Asturias" (Oh, small corner in Asturias, FP July 22, 1938; **Fig. 1**). Sánchez Saornil's poem was addressed to Asturian men. The anarchist poet assured that she trusted *milicianos* (militiamen) with her life because each counted as one hundred soldiers and one hundred rifles. They measured this much because they were defending freedom. A tall body of a militiaman in the background is defending a woman and a baby in the foreground. The visual narrative foregrounding the broad shoulders of a miliciano and the protective disposition of a woman asserts the power of the people.

Muscular milicianos were also featured in fundraiser illustrations. For instance, a drawing with an illegible signature (*FP* Aug. 26, 1938) illustrated the planned activities announcement of the SHC-associate organization Juventudes Españolas (Spanish Youngsters) in Brooklyn. A miliciano is pictured with a rifle in one hand and the dove of peace near him, reinforcing the liberating power of the people. Like other SHC organizations, Juventudes Españolas participated in the fundraising to aid the resistance while providing educational and entertainment activities to members. This particular program included Spanish and English-speaking classes and the representation of an antifascist play "written in Spain."[13] The play was a historical review of the labor movement, which included Mateo Morral's attempted assassination of King Alfonso XIII in 1906, a criticism of Jesuit education in Spain, the 1917 general strike, the execution of the leaders of the Jaca uprising Fermín Galán and Ángel García Fernández, objections to the labor deficiencies of the democratic Republic, the 1934 Asturias strike, the 1936 war, and how the people would win the war.

Another militiaman kills an enormous fascist eagle in Alfred Monrós' drawing (*EL* July 3, 1964), exposing his body in action. The drawing depicts the Eagle of Saint John, added to the Spanish fascist flag to represent Queen Isabella of Castile's heraldry, thus invoking the empire. The drawing announces the artist's drawing collection of *Reflejos de España* (Spain Images), published by the CNT in Montreal to fundraise for sick and injured exiles in France. A similar front page prints Mingorance's drawing of an enormous miliciano protecting Spain (*EL* Nov. 17, 1939; **Fig. 2**). The drawing recreates Francisco Goya's The Third


España Libre

ORGANO DEL COMITE ANTIFASCISTA ESPAÑOL DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE NORTE AMERICA

GRANDIOSO HOMENAJE A MADRID

S. H. C.

PALM GARDEN

HOY!

PROGRAMA ARTISTICO

AL PALM GARDEN HOY VIERNES

Figure 2 Juan Eugenio Mingorance. *España Libre*, November 17, 1938.

of May 1808, commemorating the people's resistance to Napoleon's occupation. Mingorance parallels Napoleon's occupation with the 1936 occupation by fascist forces. The caption explains that the SHC commissioned the drawing to illustrate the Palm Garden theater event announcement commemorating Madrid's resistance to the fascist army. The caption asked for funds because milicianos were the descendants of the 1808 people who were defending their freedom. Like their forefathers, milicianos would die defending liberty because "it is bigger than life itself." Decades later, a Monrós reprint features the people fighting a phantasmagoric fascist knight, recreating the collective fight of the people, like that of Goya's (*EL* June 1, 1962). Graphic art was often reminiscent of the depiction of war by Spanish painter and printmaker Francisco Goya (1746-1828). Specifically, his Disasters of War prints (1810 – 1820), depicting the people suffering King's wars, inspired antifascist artists who adopted his characteristic dark tones to represent the people's resistance and solidarity in ways visually recognizable by their Hispanic readers. Like Goya, antifascist artists emphasized the political value of action when people defended their freedom. They sketched the destruction of freedom with the people's bodies and their gestures of resistance to military force, "showing both its precarity and its right to persist."[14]

However, male fighters were also depicted as vulnerable because they were responsible parents, tortured prisoners, or hungry resistance leaders. An unsigned illustration shows a miliciano kissing his son goodbye before departing to the front. The caption asks for funds to support men forced to abandon their families to defend freedom. The drawing illustrated the announcement for a fundraising picnic organized by several SHC organizations at Staten Island (*FP*, August 19, 1938; **Fig. 3**). Decades later, Bartolí would draw a diminutive Franco standing on a tortured body, which signifies the people under fascist Spain (*EL*, May 17, 1961).[15] Similarly, Monrós visually conceptualized vulnerability with a fascist, black, phantasmagorical eagle about to devour the naked and emancipated body of an antifascist prisoner (*EL*, March 2, 1962). The motto "Una, Grande y Libre" appears behind the eagle, expressing the indivisible (Una), imperial (Grande), and free of foreign influences (Libre).

Nueva York, Agosto 19 de 1938 FRENTE POPULAR 9

La Inteligencia toma Partido

(Para el Sr. Wenceslao Fernández Flores).

Hace algún tiempo que el Sr. Wenceslao Fernández Flores, catedrático fascista, publicó un artículo en el "UNIVERSAL" de Caracas, Venezuela con el título que encabeza este artículo y sosteniendo que los escritores estaban al lado del fascismo y que los "rojos" habían matado un sinnúmero de escritores y que no tenían a nadie de su parte.

No podemos creer que todo un catedrático sea tan imbécil y tan ignorante que crea semejante disparate. Lo atribuimos más bien a que tiene alma de esclavo y que le gusta más librea que el hábito universitario. Aunque lo suponemos enterado de que las cosas son completamente distintas a sus elucubraciones, nos vamos a tomar el gusto de refregarle la Verdad por las narices... para que rabie él y toda su casta de prostitutas de la pluma.

Recientemente, "The League of American Writers", pidió a casi todos los escritores americanos que expusiesen su opinión respecto al fascismo y que se declarasen en favor del Gobierno Republicano de España o de Franco. De los 418 escritores invitados, 400 se declararon abiertamente en favor del Gobierno Constitucional de España, unos pocos se declararon neutrales y solo uno, Gertrude Atherson se ha declarado en favor de Franco, a pesar de que dice que no tiene ninguna simpatía por él, pero odia a los comunistas y espera que Franco los liquide.

Otro cuestionario sometido a 148 de los escritores más distinguidos ingleses ha dado iguales resultados. El 86% se declararon en favor del Gobierno el 11% neutrales y solo el 3% confesaron favorecer el fascismo.

Las contestaciones de los escritores americanos, son interesantes y para el deleite del Sr. Wenceslao y demás catedráticos de la Universidad de Salamanca, vamos a copiar algunas.

Franklin P. Adams, autor y famoso periodista: "En contra de Franco, del fascismo, como también estoy en contra de los mosquitos y los tiburones".

Sherwood Anderson, autor de varios libros: "Seguro que estoy en contra de todos los condenados fascistas y de cualquier otra forma de dictador".

Maxwell Anderson, famoso dramaturgo: "Franco es la figura más despreciable en el momento, un español que hace la guerra a sus propios compatriotas con armas, dinero y hombres provistos por dictadores extranjeros que aspiran a hacer de España una colonia de ellos".

Louis Bromfield, autor de varios libros: "Es imposible para mí comprender cómo una persona sensitiva, sensata y civilizada puede ser un soportador de la teoría fascista de gobierno. Este es una contradicción de todas las aspiraciones por las cuales ha luchado la humanidad en los últimos cinco mil años y significa un retroceso a las Edades Negras. Me parece que es el deber de todo ciudadano civilizado tanto europeo como americano el combatir su influencia con todos los medios posibles.

Durante mis doce años de residencia en Europa he tenido oportunidad de observar de cerca la maligna influencia del fascismo."

Pearl Buck, autora del famoso libro "The Good Earth" del cual se ha sacado la película del mismo nombre que tanto éxito ha tenido: "Sin tener especial conocimiento de España, estoy completamente opuesta al fascismo y por lo tanto a Franco y en favor del Gobierno Republicano de España".

Morris Cohen, Expresidente de la American Philosophical Association y autor de varias obras filosóficas: "Naturalmente que estoy opuesto contra cualquier camarilla militar que se rebela contra un gobierno democráticamente elegido. ¿Qué americano leal a los principios de gobierno enunciados por Jefferson y Lincoln puede tomar otra posición?"

El General Franco y sus secuaces, no sólo son traidores a su Patria por haber invitado a los moros, a los italianos y a los alemanes a venir a España a matar a sus propios compatriotas, sino que también son traidores a la humanidad por la manera que hacen la guerra contra mujeres y niños".

Marck Connelly, famoso dramaturgo: "Mis simpatías están con la España Leal'.

Jerome Davis, autor y Presidente de la Federación Americana de Maestros de la American Federation of Labor: "Franco y el fascismo son diametralmente opuestos a nuestra herencia de Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad. Aquellos que soportan el fascismo han traicionado ya a la América que nosotros amamos. El Gobierno legal y el Pueblo de la República Española en realidad están luchando por la democracia y por nosotros".

Paul de Kruif, autor de varios libros: "Indudablemente que estoy con el Gobierno legal y el Pueblo de la República Española y contra Franco y el fascismo lo mismo que está todo escritor americano que no está asustado del Palma Cristi (aceite de ricino)."

Theodore Dreiser, famoso autor de varias novelas de reconocido valor social y literario: "Yo estoy en contra del fascismo en todos sus aspectos. Porque creo que el fascismo significa la ausencia de Libertad intelectual, un control militarista y represivo ligado con la continuación y el reforzamiento de las falsas ideologías religiosas y raciales generalmente hablando una antítesis a cualquiera esperanza de un tratamiento equitativo que otras formas de gobierno ofrecen al individuo.

Por lo que toca a Franco específicamente, yo creo que él aspira a la continuación de la Edad Negra en España, donde la Iglesia y la casta militar controlan la riqueza y el bienestar del país con la consiguiente esclavitud de las masas. No creo que Franco o los fascistas jamás dejarán la iglesia recuperar el inmenso poder económico que ella ha tenido en el pasado, pero sí creo que bajo Franco la iglesia sería lo que es bajo Mussolini, un instrumento por medio del cual las grandes masas de la población pueden ser mantenidas en la ignorancia y sometidas a un sistema que nada bueno les promete".

(CONTINUARA)

¡BOICOT! A los Productos de Origen FASCISTA

Figure 3 Anonymous. *Frente Popular*, August 19, 1938.

Women were often portrayed as caring for injured bodies and protecting children. For example, the unsigned drawing of a nurse beside an injured miliciano illustrated the Juventudes Españolas program of August 1938. Another announcement, a Comités Femininos' fundraiser for iron, had a drawing of a mother protecting a child with the rallying cry, "We fight for a happy future for your children. Help us!"[16] Two of Juana Francisca Rubio's drawings depicted women protecting children. The first illustrated an article about the peoples' exodus to the French border with a mother holding her children (*FP*, December 30, 1938). The second illustrated Federica Montseny's article about solidarity. In it, a mother protects her child by embracing it (*FP*, March 10, 1939).

Less common but also revealing are drawings about women's care for men. A woman comforts a militiaman with an embrace in Huerta's illustration, "La despedida" (The farewell) (*FP*, December 23, 1938).[17] Another unusual take was Aragonés' portrayal of the brutality waged against women's bodies in Franco's prisons (*EL*, November 11, 1963).[18] In a Spanish jail, an effeminate Civil Guard watches while another shaves a woman's hair. An imprisoned woman with a child implores a Civil Guard to stop the torture against a prisoner. The caption reads, "The Franco's Spain that tourists do not see. What intellectuals condemn."[19] Readers processed pictures of prisoners and refugees faster and remembered them longer than they would have remembered a text, and thus, illustrations were persuasive in constructing the public's understanding of the war, the dictatorship, and the resistance.[20]

The legacy of Chicano and Black art movements of the 1960s and 1970s can be seen in an unidentified wood-engraved artwork (possibly Elizabeth Catlett's?), which illustrated José Rubia Barcia's article. The artwork shows suffering working bodies to visually reinforce Rubia Barcia's article about the economic, intellectual, military, political, and social drawbacks of fascist Spain.[21] The visual strategy of displaying fighting and suffering bodies engendered a visceral self-understanding in readers about their relationship with collective resistance. Leticia Sabsay explains Judith Butler's political conceptualization of vulnerability, "to be vulnerable implies the capacity to affect

and be affected."[22] According to Sabsay, Butler locates vulnerability at the core of resistance and entangled with agency, with "the potential of performing a plural and interdependent popular will" precisely because it acknowledges and accepts vulnerability.[23]

Barricades and Demonstrations

Drawings of the peoples' barricades were a recurrent visual strategy, with a mixture of strong bodies and minds, their fears, and their vulnerabilities. According to Judith Butler, vulnerability is the starting point for the resistance and the collective agency of those who claim freedom and oppose violent power.[24] With an elegant stroke, Francisco Rivero Gil drew the people's barricades to stop fascist troops on July 19 in Barcelona (*EL*, July 19, 1940). Published on the front page, the drawing illustrated a chronicle by José Castilla Morales (1893-1961), one of the founders of SHC and *EL* editor. [25] The chronicle narrated the resistance of six milicianos under fascist gunfire. They took cover as fascists got closer. A miliciana called them back to the barricade. Finally, they kept fascists away, and the militia took over a nearby convent where the fascists had established their base. The freedom flag was now on the altar, and workers sang "Hijos del pueblo te oprimen cadenas" (Children of the people, shackled with chains).[26] The barricade on the 1940 front page remembered the popular resistance in Barcelona streets extended to the United States during exile. Like in Spain, SHC members organized in what Félix Martí Ibánez called the "Transatlantic trenches." To the anarchist doctor, the press would be one of the fronts to fight for people's freedom during the long exile in the United States.[27] By evoking barricades, SHC members extended their "time of interval," according to Judith Butler, when people resist oppressive power and violence "not yet codified into law," and the people's demands are performed in the street with "bodily action, gesture, movement, congregation, persistence, and exposure."[28]

Bodies assembled in demonstrations continued to be drawn during Franco's rule. For example, Aragonés published a cartoon about students' demonstrations commemorating April 14, the day of the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936). A young student who identifies with the legacy of the Republic calls for an in-

ternational proletarian identity to be passed onto the next generation (*EL*, March 2, 1965).[29] With a torch in his hand invoking the power of the people in the Republic, the exposed young body of the student is also conjuring the assassinated, the exiled, and the injured by fascism. As Judith Butler argues, the political potential of the people in the streets lies in occupying public space and remembering absent ones because of exile, prison, or death.[30] SHC political mobilization and representation of vulnerability resisted hegemonic views of fascist power.

Solidarity and Fundraising

Solidarity was translated into fundraising necessary to aid fighters, survivors, prisoners, and their loved ones. SHC launched several campaigns for sending funds to provide Spanish shelters with iron, cement, medicines, and food. SHC put together cultural festivals where two million dollars were raised to send aid to Spain and to offer refugees the help denied by the United States. Photographs were the medium most often chosen to prove how money was spent, as veracity was required. Decorating the stage was one way that artists helped in fundraising efforts. Mingorance often decorated the SHC antifascist stage and headquarters with murals. Equally significant were his front-page illustrations for SHC's solidarity campaigns. For example, his *FP* drawing featuring two large militia bodies carrying cement bags illustrated the SHC's campaign to send cement to Spain (*FP*, June 17, 1938). Other artists also illustrated the aid campaigns. A Huerta illustration promoted the fundraising campaigns for iron needed during the war. In the drawing, a man moves an iron beam in a shelter with "SHC NY" written on it (*FP*, September 2, 1938).[31]

In December 1938, Couto illustrated a call for aid to help Spanish children (*FP*, December 2, 1938).[32] Packets of clothes, milk, supplies, toys, medicines, and donations pile up behind an *FP* issue in the drawing. Injured children were in the foreground, and Stuka bombers filled the Spanish sky in the background with the ghosts of death, hunger, poverty, and freezing weather.[33] Similarly, Huerta announced SHC's fundraisers to evacuate children from Spain to safe countries. His drawing pictured a little girl killed by bombs.[34] A girl's body lay

beside a history book, and Stuka bombers cast shadows near her. The caption states, "Eternal scenes from people who suffer" (*FP*, September 23, 1938). The history book alerts readers that workers must write their own history.

Upon arriving in New York, Spaniards faced difficult circumstances as they did not receive legal refugee status despite fleeing Spanish fascism. The drawing of a refugee sitting with a bundle of clothes was reprinted over the years to incite donations and to illustrate announcements and articles.[35] Also, SHC's aid was extended to refugees in France.[36] In May 1939, Julián Gamoneda's art illustrated the essay "United for Refugees" about refugee camps in France (*FP*, May 19, 1939).[37] Five refugees lean against the camp's fence while a colonial military guard watches on the other side. The foreground depicts a wounded antifascist soldier, his face showing democratic pride. Next to him, a woman nurses her son and holds another child. A little farther away, an older man leans on his cane. Their faces show exhaustion and weakness, and their only possessions are small bundles of clothing. Another front page portrayed Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas to celebrate the 132nd anniversary of the independence of Mexico and thanked Mexico's aid to Spanish refugees (*EL*, September 18, 1942).[38] Drawings exposed the conditions of refugees and the help they received to alleviate their suffering.

Ultimately, solidarity meant caring about others. Bartolí translated solidarity into a cartoon about two men fleeing Spain in a ship with the flag "Freedom" (*EL*, February 3, 1961). Solidarity is visually recreated with two bodies mimicking each other: both men look afar, contemplating the sea and holding similar postures and facial expressions. The repetitive body patterns describe the seeds for freedom: our interdependence and emotional empathy. Bartolí creates a visual narrative that disrupts fascist violence by shifting the attention to the affective.

Memorialization

The SHC advocated for the unity of means and ends, which was achieved by members writing their own histories. The SHC commemorated several dates of labor history. For instance, several illustrations were printed over the years to celebrate May 1st. An unsigned drawing of hands that held a hammer, a sickle, a rifle, and a pen asked intellectuals and workers to fight for freedom.[39] Similarly, Huerta drew two strong workers breaking chains over Spain with hammers (*FP*, May 6, 1938).[40] The lettering asked workers to unite. The Asturias strike of 1934 was often remembered. "Asturias la indomable" (Asturias the indomitable), an original antifascist play written and performed by SHC members, opened in the Manhattan Center in October 1940. Mingorance decorated the stage with renditions of factories and mines referring to the revolutionary uprising of miners.[41]

Several front-page illustrations also remembered July 19, when Spanish people protected democracy and freedom on the streets against the fascist uprising. A special issue of *FP* commemorated the first year of the popular resistance with a front-page drawing of a calendar page of July 19 with two milicianos protecting the Republic barricaded in the calendar (*FP*, July 19, 1937; **Fig. 4**). Although workers were critical of the democratic state, the Second Republic was a unifying force among progressives and radicals in U.S. exile. The drawing was reprinted in the 1940s to reiterate that the Republic was not dead, at least in the hearts of exiles. To this end, exiles annually remembered July 14—when the Republic was proclaimed in Spain in

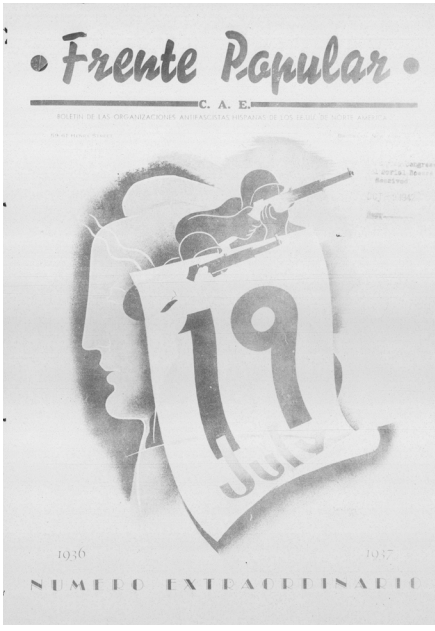

Figure 4 Anonymous. *Frente Popular*, July 19, 1937.

Figure 5 Anonymous. *Frente Popular*, April 14, 1939.

Figure 6 Iván José. *Frente Popular*, November 7, 1937.

1931—with fundraisers. An unsigned front-page illustration pictured the Republic holding a woman and a man by their shoulders. The lettering read, "Before, now, and always, SHC is with the Spanish people" (*FP*, April 14, 1939; **Fig. 5**).[42] It announced nine speakers at the Royal Windsor Hotel in New York. The drawing was reprinted in 1945 to promote the SHC yearly commemoration, this time at the Central Opera House in New York.[43]

The Republic was depicted as a Delacroix-inspired liberty following the French revolutionary influence. For example, Iván José's drawing of the Republic illustrated an article asking members to help the Madrid resistance. The drawing of the Republic looks like Liberty Leading the People and throwing a hand-made bomb (*FP*, November 7, 1937; **Fig. 6**). Similarly, one of Mingorance's front-page illustrations featured an iconic militia man smashing Fascist Spain with the Coats of Arms of the Second Republic (*FP*, July 19, 1938). Before the artist moved to Monterrey, Félix Martí Ibáñez wrote an article to thank him for having decorated the SHC commemorations. The anarchist

doctor and professor asserted that Mingorance had the light of Spain in his gaze. Therefore, this nostalgia for blue and golden Hispanic colors made him move to Mexico.[44] According to Martí Ibáñez, Mingorance's was universalist art serving freedom and humanity. His protagonists were humans in heroic protest, fighting with nothing but their own will against injustice. For these reasons, Martí Ibáñez compared Mingorance's truth to Goya's. The doctor said that Mingorance was a stoic, humble, and polite artist who left behind his artwork and his spirit in the SHC.[45] Similarly, Bartolí caricatured a Delacroix figure with the Phrygian cap representing the concept of liberty charging and toppling Franco (*IB*, June 15, 1958).[46]

Graphic artists also illustrated texts dedicated to progressive and radical thinkers, poets, and writers. In this respect, *FP* and *EL* provide some insights to add to the incomplete anarchist archive today. For example, a portrait of Jacinto Torío Rodríguez or "Jacinto Toryho" is an open door to his North American exile, not yet documented (*EL*, January 19, 1940).[47] In Spain, Toryho was one of the leading members of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (Iberian Anarchist Federation, or FAI). He directed the anarchist paper *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) from 1936 to 1938 and invited writers such as Federica Montseny and Diego Abad de Santillán to contribute. He ran the CNT-FAI propaganda office in the city during the war. In New York, Toryho wrote for *EL* and spoke at numerous fundraisers. His activism and publications, which included books about anarchism and the war with anarchist presses Tierra y Libertad and Publicaciones Libertarias de la América Latina, among others, were reviewed and discussed in New York anarchist periodicals *Cultura Proletaria* and *Vía Libre*. Eventually, he moved to Buenos Aires, where he became an established journalist.[48] From Buenos Aires, he continued to support the SHC.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the SHC commemorated the resistance in exile. SHC members and allies had columns written about their activist lives, often with a picture or portrait illustrating them. For example, Fermín Rocker, son of Rudolf Rocker, sketched the portrait of *España Libre*'s editor, Jesús González Malo, for his eulogy.[49] A supporter of SHC, the Rocker family became close to González Malo's family,

which often translated for Rocker in their correspondence with CNT groups. In similar fashion, allies were often paid homage, as was the case of Bartolí's drawing of George Orwell (*IB*, July 15, 1956).[50]

Some drawings would be reprinted over the years and become iconic. This was the case, for instance, of the antifascist fist smashing the swastika (*EL*, December 27, 1940). It became the colored SHC stamp sold at fundraisers—an emblem of resistance by a single body fighting a state. It is a depiction of what Basak Ertür understands as resistance "not just despite vulnerability, but perhaps because of it and for its sake."[51] Antifascist artists remembered the precarity of their freedom with depictions of their vulnerable antifascist bodies and their strength in the political will to resist.

Conclusions

Although the Allies defeated fascism elsewhere in Europe, the SHC's periodicals claimed Spain remained fascist until 1977. While fascism ruled Spain, SHC graphic art grew in the cultural and political richness of transnational, migrant, militant, and horizontal workers' organizations, which were critical in worker self-representation and the history of antifascist aesthetics in the United States. Graphic art consolidated workers' journalism that disseminated self-reflective and participatory approaches against fascism in transnational networks.

The SHC's uncompromising direct action created a culture of solidarity and politics in their organization and beyond. Militant art in *Frente Popular*, *España Libre*, and *Ibérica* showed strong freedom fighters in titanic fights, claiming the popular will despite being made vulnerable by fascism in the trenches and prisons. Artwork of assemblies of bodies in trenches and demonstrations showed the power of collectivity and interdependence, further exemplified by commemorative images of historical days when the people defended together democracy and freedom. Equally important, worker art illustrated the life of antifascists to be acknowledged and remembered.

Appendix: Artists' Biographical information

Francisco G. Algibay (1901-1975), or Couto, worked at the Luciano Meat Market in the Bronx and was a member of the SHC-affiliated organization Grupo Antifascista del Bronx, often serving as emcee in their fundraisers.[52] *FP* called him a "revolutionary cartoonist" ("Jerónimo Villarino" *FP*, October 15, 1937).

Sergio Aragonés (1937–) and his family arrived in Mexico in 1942. His uncle, Manuel Aragonés, served as the Secretary of Manuel Martínez Feduchy, the Spanish Second Republic government-in-exile Consul in Mexico. He was in contact with anarcho-syndicalist Jesús González Malo, editor of *EL,* to help provide Mexican visas to arriving Spanish refugees in the United States. In 1962, Aragonés moved to New York in search of job opportunities, which he soon found in *Mad Magazine*. He responded to the news on fascist Spain with his editorial cartoons thanks to González Malo's communication channels with the anarchist undercover resistance in Spain.

Josep Bartolí i Guiu (1910–1995) was affiliated with the anarchist group Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI). He was one of the founders of the Socialist Cartoonist Union before the war and illustrated articles against Nazism in Última *Hora* (Last Minute). Bartolí drew war posters and defended Zaragoza on the frontline with Caridad Mercader, a Cuban communist.[53] He escaped French concentration camps and the Gestapo to arrive in Mexico. With Narcís Molins i Fàbrega, the artist published his drawings about the French concentration camps, *Campos de concentración, 1939-194*? (1944).[54] Bartolí also published with the socialist exile periodical *Mundo. Socialismo y Libertad* in Mexico.[55] He arrived in the United States in 1945 and illustrated *Holiday,* a magazine on traveling, from 1946 to 1970. From 1955 to 1972, Bartolí illustrated the magazine *Mexico This Month,* published in Mexico for American readers interested in traveling to the country. From 1969 to 1970, Bartolí illustrated *La Capital,* published in Mexico as well.[56] He became part of the 10th Street Group, designed Hollywood sets, and won the Mark Rothko Prize in 1973.[57]

Juana Francisco Rubio (1911–2008) fled to Mexico after participating in the poster campaign in Madrid during the war. She published in several antifascist periodicals, and some of her posters were collected in *Mi Patria Sangra* (1936).[58]

Julián Gamoneda ("YO") (1900–unknown) is an elusive historical subject because of his use of common alternative names, a strategy that antifascists used to avoid surveillance by Spanish diplomats in the United States. In 1920, Gamoneda exhibited sixty-four high-quality caricatures illustrating the city's doctors at Madrid's Palace Hotel, suggesting he could have been trained in the city.[59] A decade later, his illustrations in *FP* depicted French concentration camps and the Spanish fascist social cleansing campaigns.

Francisco Huerta (unknown–1944) was a member of the Brooklyn SHC-affiliated worker organization, Centro Andaluz, in the 1920s. He was also a member of the New York Ateneo Hispano, an offshoot of a previous social center—the Centro Instructivo y Recreativo (Instructional and Recreational Center)—which served as a meeting place for Spanish, Italian, and Anglo-American anarchists and labor activists. Numerous Ateneo members joined the SHC in 1936. Huerta participated in the festivities of these New York associations as an actor and decorator of the set. Reviewers praised his talent.[60] Huerta also illustrated Lirón's *Bombas de mano* (*Hand Grenades*), a collection of satirical poems that mocked fascists and antifascists alike, published by the SHC in 1938. His obituary in *EL* remembered him as an artist and contributor to many radical periodicals.[61]

Juan Eugenio Mingorance Navas (1906–1979) trained in Madrid and was often featured in the Andalusian press before the war. He fought alongside militiaman and SHC member Luis Zugadi Garmendia, who traveled from the United States and died in combat. The SHC helped Mingorance Navas get to New York, where he designed sets for SHC antifascist theatre and rallies. The artist had a studio in Greenwich Village in the forties before settling in Monterrey as a fine arts teacher a decade later. He exhibited his work in New York and Los Angeles, as well as in Ireland, England, and several Latin American countries. From Mexico and as a renowned painter, he continued to submit his illustrations to EL and sent regular financial contributions.

Alfred Monrós i Julià (1910-1956) went to Montreal in 1951 after escaping fascist Spain via Toulouse. He was a member of the city's CNT and illustrated the group's publications. Monrós illustrated Federico de Arcos' *Momentos. Compedio Poético* (Detroit, 1976) and Jose Peirats' *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* (Detroit, 1974).[62]

Francisco Rivero Gil (1899-1972) published his artistic production in several Spanish newspapers. He designed propaganda posters before leaving for France, where he was a "maquis" (guerrilla member against fascists) and "against the Nazis."[63] Socialist exile Rodolfo Llopis, in communication with the SHC, saved him from the concentration camps. Rivero Gil worked in newspapers in the Dominican Republic, Colombia, and finally settled in Mexico, where he contributed to several magazines. Throughout his life, he illustrated numerous books and movie posters. He mailed his cartoons to the editor of *EL*, anarcho-syndicalist González Malo, both from Santander.

Notes

1 Jesús Arenas, "La interpretación que S. H. Confederadas da al deber colectivo," *Frente Popular* [hereafter cited as *FP*], Oct. 21, 1938; "Guerra a la Intolerancia," *España Libre* [hereafter cited as *EL*], Jan. 28, 1944. Sometimes, the SHC cooperated with other antifascist movements, such as the Government of the Second Spanish Republic, which continued to be active in exile following the victory of Francisco Franco's forces.

2 Please find the artists' biographical information at the end of the article.

3 See Lily Litvak, *Musa Libertaria. Arte, literatura y vida cultural del anarquismo español (1880-1913)* (Madrid, Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 2001), 306-7.

4 Helen Langa, *Radical Art: Printmaking and the Left in 1930s New York* (University of California Press, 2004).

5 Ricardo Mella, *Cuestiones de enseñanza* (Madrid: Acción Libertaria, 1911). https://es.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/ricardo-mella-cuestiones-de-ensenanza. Mella and Eleuterio Quintanilla proposed this educational neutrality opposing Ferrer y Guardia's model in the 1919 CNT national congress. Francisco José Cuevas Noa, *Anarquismo y educación. La propuesta sociopolítica de la pedagogía libertaria* (Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Libertarios Anselmo Lorenzo, 2003).

6 "Ana Maria" *FP*, Oct. 15, 1937.

7 Euleterio Blanco, "El arte" *FP*, Feb. 3, 1939.

8 José Rodríguez Pérez, "¡Qué bello es mi mundo!" *FP*, Feb. 17, 1939.

9 For the artistic legacy, see Antonio Marín, "La historieta española de 1900 a 1951," *Arbor Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura* (CLXXXVII 2Extra, 2011), 63-128. See also, Manuel Morales Muñoz, *Cultura e ideología en el anarquismo español (1870-1910)* (Málaga: Cedma, 2002); Francisco Madrid Santos, *La Prensa anarquista y anarcosindicalista en España desde la I Internacional hasta el final de la Guerra Civil* V1 T1. (Tesis de Doctorado, Universidad de Barcelona, 1989).

10 *Carteles de la guerra: catálogo de la colección de la Fundación Pablo Iglesias* (Madrid: Fundación Pablo Iglesias, 2008). https://fpabloiglesias.es/wpcontent/uploads/2021/09/CATALOGO_DE_CARTELES_FPI.pdf

11 Justin Crumbaugh and Nil Santiáñez, *Spanish Fascist Writing* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press 2021); Nil Santiáñez, *Topograhies of Fascism. Habitus, Space, and Writing in Twentieh-Century Spain* (University of Toronto Press, 2013).

12 Justin Crumbaugh and Nil Santiáñez, *Spanish Fascist Writing*.

13 "Juventudes españolas," *FP*, Aug. 26, 1938.

14 Judith Butler, *Notes toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 2015), 83.

15 Josep Bartolí i Guiu, (1910-1995), "El Imperio de Franco," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*. https://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/exhibits/show/fighting-fascist-spain--the-ex/item/3725. FFSTE features a series of Bartolí's drawings depicting the tortured bodies of prisoners

that nonetheless show resistance with their body language (a fist, a staring gaze, a head turn).
16 "Comité Femeninos Unidos," *FP*, Sept. 20, 1938.
17 Francisco Huerta (fecha desconocida-1943), "La despedida," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*. http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3333.
18 About gendered torture in fascist prisons, see Paloma Rodríguez Rubio, "Violencia sexuada y represión en la Guerra Civil española y en el Franquismo," *Cuadernos Republicanos*, no. 107 (Fall 2021), 91–125.
19 Serio Aragonés Domenech Sergio (1937-), "La España de Franco. Franco's Spain," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*. https://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/exhibits/show/fighting-fascist-spain--the-ex/item/3289.
20 Linus Abraham, "Effectiveness of Cartoons as a Uniquely Visual Medium for Orienting Social Issues," *Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*, 2009, 123.
21 Rubia Barcia was a professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, *EL* writer, and member of the SHC-affiliated association Leales Españoles de California (Loyalist Spaniards of California). He first fled to Cuba, where he helped refugees Carmen Aldecoa and Jesús González Malo in their transit to New York to become *EL* editors.
22 Leticia Sabsay, "Permeable Bodies. Vulnerability, Affective Powers, Hegemony," *Vulnerability in Resistance*, eds. Judith Butler, Zeynep Gambetti, and Leticia Sabsay (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016): 278-302.
23 Ibid., 278-302.
24 Judith Butler, "Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance," in *Vulnerability in Resistance*, eds. Judith Butler, Zeynep Gambetti, and Leticia Sabsay (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016): 12-27.
25 Francisco Rivero Gil (1899-1972), "Amanecer del 19 de julio," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*. https://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/exhibits/show/fighting-fascist-spain--the-ex/item/3335.
26 Anarcho-syndicalist song by Rafael Carratalá Ramos composed for the First International.
27 Félix Martí Ibáñez, "Sinfonías del español anónimo," *EL*, Nov 3, 1939.
28 Butler, *Notes toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, 75.
29 Sergio Aragonés Domenech (1937-), "14 de abril," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*. https://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/exhibits/show/fighting-fascist-spain--the-ex/item/3291.
30 See Butler, *Vulnerability in Resistance*.
31 Francisco Huerta (fecha desconocida-1943), "Hierro para refugios. Iron for Shelters," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*, http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3327.
32 Francisco "Couto" G. Algibay, (1901-1975), "Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*,

http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3314.

33 The Legion Condor, an air force unit of Nazi Germany, served in the war, aiding Franco with Stukas. Stuka bombers were first used in the Spanish Civil War against the population.

34 Francisco Huerta, "Niña," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*, http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3328.

35 "El momento presente." *EL*, March 20, 1942.

36 In 1939, around 500,000 people crossed the border, and the French government detained the defeated Spanish refugees in several camps. During the Nazi occupation of France, Jews, Romani, and homosexuals, joined the original prisoners in these camps.

37 Gamoneda, Julián, "Refugees" *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections* http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3321

38 "La independencia de México," *EL*, Sept. 18, 1942.

39 "Arriba los pobres del mundo," *FP*, May 1, 1938. Communists and anarchists participated in *Frente Popular,* but communists who followed party lines were asked to abstain from participating in *España Libre*.

40 "Después del primero de mayo," *FP*, May 6, 1938.

41 "S.H.C. celebró con éxito el octubre asturiano," *EL*, Oct. 11, 1940.

42 "8º aniversario de la Proclamación de la República," *FP*, April 14, 1939.

43 "La República no ha muerto," *EL*, April 13, 1945.

44 Unfortunately, the black and white periodicals could not reproduce his use of color.

45 Félix Martí Ibáñez, "Despedida a Juan Eugenio Mingorance," *EL*, May 21, 1943.

46 Josep Bartolí i Guiu (1910-1995), "Republic. República," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*, http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3762.

47 Illegible signature. Thanks to Basque journalist Miguel Fernández who remembered this drawing of artist Jorge Franklin Cárdenas, first published in CNT Barcelona (1938).

48 Basque journalist Miguel Fernández is writing his biography.

49 Fermín Rocker, "In Memoriam. J. González González Malo," *EL*, 6 May, 1966.

50 Josep Bartolí i Guiu (1910-1995), "George Orwell," *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Digital Collections*, accessed November 1, 2023, http://usldhrecovery.uh.edu/items/show/3752.

51 Basak Ertür, "Barricades. Resources and Residues of Resistance," *Vulnerability in Resistance*, eds. Judith Butler, Zeynep Gambetti, and Leticia Sabsay (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016): 118.

52 "Nuestras Fiestas," *FP*, Feb. 15, 1938.

53 Jaume Cañameras, *Conversa amb Bartolí* (Montserrat: *Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat,* 1990).

54 Narcís Molins i Fàbrega and Josep Bartolí. *Campos de concentración, 1939-194*? (México, D.F: Ediciones "Iberia," 1944).

55 *Josep Bartoli. Un creador a l'exili. Dibuixant, pintor, escriptor*, ed. Pilar Parcerisas (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2002), 11. Aurel's animated movie *Josep* (2020) portrays Bartolí's experience in the French concentration camps. See Aurélien (Aurel) Froment, *Josep* (Le Film, 2020).
56 *Josep Bartoli*, 13.
57 Cañameras, 92-97.
58 Pilar Muñoz López, "Mirada de género en la creación plástica de artistas españolas," *Feminismos e interculturalidad.* V Congreso Internacional AUDEM (Madrid, ArCiBel Editores, 2008): 315-316.
59 Francisco Alcántara, "Las Caricaturas de Julián Gamoneda," *El Sol* (Madrid), May 14, 1920.
60 "El baile de máscaras del 'Centro Andaluz' logró un éxito brillantísimo," *La Prensa*, Feb. 15, 1922; "Las Veladas Teatrales del C. Andaluz Continúan con Éxito," *La Prensa*, Oct. 17, 1922.
61 Sebastián Palmer, "In Memoriam. Francisco Huerta," *EL*, March 31, 1944.
62 "Our fallen Anarchist Comrades." *Fifth State*, 348 (Fall 1996); "Alfred Monrós Julià (1910-1995)" Ateneu Llibertari Estel Negre. https://www.estelnegre.org/documents/monrosjulia/monrosjulia.html.
63 Federico Moreno Santabárbara, "Humoristas gráficos en el exilio mexicano," *Quevedos.* XIII (2006), 25.