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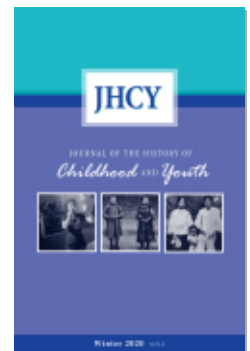
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AN INFANTILE DISORDER? YOUTH, CHILDHOOD, AND THE BRITISH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, 1936–1939

Following the Enlightenment, pedagogical thinkers frequently dismissed children as “empty vessels” whose primary purpose was to learn as much as possible before they reached adulthood, denying them any real agency during their childhood years.¹ On the radical left, the orthodox communist movement, particularly in the Soviet Union during the Stalinist era, increasingly came to view childhood as “preparation for a life of disinterested labour and submissive existence as a co-operative subject of Soviet power.”² Anarchists, in theory at least, place great emphasis on childhood as both an arena for individual self-development and an opportunity to educate children to reject bourgeois hegemonic norms in favor of revolutionary solutions to society’s ills. This was to be achieved through an “integral education” that emphasized the flourishing of all aspects of a child’s personality. In practice, though, this liberationist goal was often sidelined. In Britain in the late 1930s, anarchists routinely used children in much the same instrumentalist way as their non-anarchist critics. Older anarchists also failed to acknowledge the role of young people—those deemed too old to be children but not mature enough to be adults—within the movement, downplaying their involvement and criticizing their views and behavior as little more than “hooliganism.” Although the differences between “youth” and “childhood” are malleable, these differences could be quashed when judged against the “revolutionary maturity” of the movement’s veteran militants.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), children became a centerpiece of propaganda for the Republican cause. The Ministry of Propaganda in Spain used children in their posters regularly to generate sympathy for the fight against General Francisco Franco’s rebellion. In Britain, the most famous

example of the war's effect on children was the evacuation of approximately 4,000 Basque child refugees to homes in Britain to escape Nationalist bombardment.³ What is less well known is the work of groups within Britain to support children's colonies in Spain itself. The anarchist contribution to the Aid Spain movement has been neglected by scholars, possibly because they "stood aloof" from mainstream coordinating efforts such as the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief.⁴ British anarchists provided funds and personnel to help establish colonies run by the Spanish anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor, CNT), Federación Anarquista Ibérica (Iberian Anarchist Federation, FAI), and subsidiary aid organization Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista (International Antifascist Solidarity, SIA) in Catalonia.⁵ Studies of British anarchism during the civil war period usually give only a cursory mention of these fundraising endeavors, which were substantial and largely successful.⁶ Examining these colonies also reveals something about how anarchist pedagogical theory was applied in practice. Although keen to emphasize the liberationist character of education within the colonies, anarchists were guilty of imposing (either explicitly or implicitly) their own particular worldview on children under their care.

The propaganda value of the colonies sat comfortably with the trope of helpless children facing the ravages of war, something the British anarchist movement was keen to exploit for fundraising purposes. This one-dimensional characterization contrasted with the wave of activity generated by young British anarchists who were inspired by events in Spain. They published the newspaper *Spain and the World*, formed groups such as the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union (ASU) and Revolutionary Youth Federation, and offered themselves as recruits to fight in the trenches against fascism. The movement's veterans, however, were unmoved by these young people's efforts. The dismissal of youth by many older anarchists was both unwise and unfair, and anarchist youths showed themselves more than capable of organizing to defy their subordinate status and the gerontocratic hegemony of the movement. The purpose of this article, then, is twofold. It intends, first, to examine an understudied area of Spanish Civil War history—the support of the British anarchist movement for Spanish children during the conflict; and, second, to investigate the wider question of the anarchist attitude to youth and childhood during the 1930s. The central thrust of this argument is that the anarchist emphasis on childhood as a formative stage in the development of revolutionary ideas blinded the movement to the work of young anarchists and underestimated their contribution to the struggle against fascism.

ANARCHISM AND CHILDHOOD

By the end of the nineteenth century, a consensus was emerging on the place of children in Western political thought. Anthropologists, psychologists, educational theorists, and legislators of varying political views maintained that children were particularly susceptible to the perceived dangers (vice, hunger, death) of the outside (adult) world and needed to have their innocence protected and their resistance to corruption strengthened. This led to what Peter Anderson describes as a “cult of childhood.” Children were viewed as pure, unformed individuals (or “unfinished” adults, to use David Archard’s term) and their childhood seen as something precious, a period to be prolonged for as long as was (economically) feasible. The logical end point of this “cult of childhood” was a conscious separation of children from adults, which largely took the form of the abolition of child labor and the encouragement of compulsory schooling up to a certain age in industrialized countries around the turn of the twentieth century.⁷ Benevolent in intention they may have been, but this characterization by reformers gave guardians (such as parents or teachers) considerable control over children’s lives and meant a denial of children’s agency as individuals. Educational campaigner John Holt, for example, describes the family unit—seen as a child-friendly haven by many—as a “miniature dictatorship,” with the parents as masters and children as slaves.⁸

The differences between “childhood” and “youth” are subjective, and the anarchist movement’s boundaries were often equally fluid.⁹ Certainly, the concept of “youth” occupied a liminal space between childhood and adulthood, but quite where was open to interpretation. Russian anarchist Piotr Kropotkin, in his “An Appeal to the Young” in 1880, envisioned his audience to be “about eighteen or twenty years of age,” although he also cautioned those who were “old in heart and mind” from reading.¹⁰ The age range for “children” to be evacuated from the Republican war zones, either to colonies or other countries, was between three and fifteen; at sixteen, they were old enough to be enrolled in the Republican army.¹¹ The British anarchist newspaper *Spain and the World* referred to children as “less than 17 years of age,” suggesting a similar age range.¹² On the other hand, the Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, FIJL), which pledged to “invest young people with a libertarian conviction,” had no strict age limits for membership, unlike other Spanish youth organizations.¹³ Joining the movement at age thirteen was not uncommon, and some FIJL members were in their thirties during the civil war.¹⁴ Indeed, the Anarchist Youth International, formed during the late 1920s and based in Amsterdam, included not only young people but also the more radical wings of the anarchist movement.¹⁵

The attitude of the anarchist movement to youth and childhood was tied to its view of education. Anarchists rejected the existing educational system as little more than bourgeois propaganda designed to justify and reproduce existing class structures. Schools, both state and clerical, sought to instill in children a deference to authority and discipline, stifling the child's individuality and programming them for a life of subservience and misery. Anarchists maintained that education should allow children to flourish as individuals, often using the metaphor of the educator as a gardener tending to a young tree that would thrive given the proper conditions.¹⁶ Russian-American anarchist Emma Goldman wrote in 1906 that "[i]f education should really mean anything at all, it must insist upon the free growth and development of the innate forces and tendencies of the child."¹⁷ The philosophy of *éducation intégrale* (integral education), initially conceived by French anarchist Sébastien Faure, became an influential pedagogical tool in the realization of this liberationist aim. This was a holistic approach that attempted to refine the physical, intellectual, and manual capacities of children's personalities. Lessons sought to abolish distinctions between scholarly and vocational training, instead advocating a "complete education." Several "Modern Schools" were set up by anarchists in Europe and the United States seeking to promulgate this rationalist (or "child-centered") philosophy to counter state or church-run schools. These were coeducational, anticlerical spaces where children learned through cooperation and play, often combining more conventional lessons with excursions and time outdoors. The most famous of these was the Escuela Moderna in Barcelona, founded by Catalan anarchist pedagogue Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia.¹⁸

There was a tension, however, between anarchists' attempts to foster children's individuality and their ideological leanings. Childhood was an important formative phase and children, given the "correct" educational training, were potential recruits for the revolutionary movement. Older anarchists viewed this not as an imposition, but rather the logical conclusion of a truly liberated mind, free from the confines of oppressive state or church institutions. Youth had a certain privileged position in a sense, but there was also a patronizing—even authoritarian—element to older anarchists' views. Young people's ideas were seen to be in development, and as such were more susceptible to deviations than older militants, whose ideology had matured after years of struggle.

For these anarchists, becoming an adult meant "becoming a revolutionary" and was not necessarily related to the age of the militant. "Maturity" meant not age, but self-discipline, trade union experience (meaning young workers could conceivably be considered mature by their older peers), and revolutionary commitment.¹⁹ This argument is teleological, in that it views adulthood as an "ideal

end-state" of a qualitatively "different and higher order" than childhood and ignores the extent to which older anarchists' ideas were also in constant flux.²⁰ The emphasis, to use Harry Hendrick's framework, was on *becoming* ("meaning the future") as opposed to *being* ("in the present").²¹ The logical result of this instrumentalist conception is a greater suspicion among older activists of the extent of the "revolutionary maturity" of the movement's young people.²² Enabling children to flourish was all well and good, but if they chose to become industrial capitalists that oppressed their workers, what was the point?

"IF YOU TOLERATE THIS, YOUR CHILDREN WILL BE NEXT"

British anarchism was in a poor state before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Having received a boost from the general increase of interest in syndicalism before 1914, the movement split over World War I between anti-war anarchists and those supporting the Entente against "pan-German political domination."²³ Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, left-wing radicals became attracted to state socialism at the expense of antiauthoritarian alternatives to capitalism.²⁴ By the 1930s, the movement was small (numbering in the hundreds) and dominated by veteran comrades of the Freedom group, whose enthusiasm younger militants deemed suspect. The group's newspaper ceased publication due to lack of funds in 1927, and the membership was largely restricted to London.²⁵ Albert Meltzer, one of the few young people in the movement before 1936, recalled in his memoirs that the group was "waxing and waning according to birth and death like a doomed Indian tribe."²⁶ Events in Spain injected life into this lackluster movement.

Two individuals were central to the British anarchist movement's response to the Spanish Civil War: sixty-seven-year-old veteran Emma Goldman and twenty-one-year-old Vernon Richards (Vero Recchioni), son of Anglo-Italian anarchist militant Emidio Recchioni. In many ways, they encapsulate both the "instrumentalist" and "liberationist" views of the anarchist conception of youth and childhood. Although famous for her activism in the US around the turn of the century, Goldman made various speaking tours of Britain in the interwar period and obtained British citizenship by marrying Welsh anarchist miner Jim Colton in 1925.²⁷ Goldman spent three months in Barcelona following the war's outbreak in July 1936, but the Spanish anarchists, conscious of the need to combat unsympathetic representations of them in the British press, instructed her to travel to London in December and establish a CNT-FAI London Bureau to coordinate propaganda and raise funds.²⁸ The bureau organized meetings, printed literature on anarchism and Spain, and arranged speaking tours of Goldman and her comrades around the country.²⁹ In a speech to the FAI youth while in

Barcelona in October 1936, she praised the “fiery spirit” and “flaming courage” of those young people who had “articulated in daring action” what she and others had propagated “for well-nigh half a century.”³⁰ In London, however, Goldman used the trope of helpless children to raise money, dismissing efforts by young anarchists to contribute to the wider anti-fascist struggle.

Vernon Richards was responsible for organizing British anarchist support for children’s colonies through his newspaper *Spain and the World*, which he produced with the help of his companion, eighteen-year-old Marie-Louise Berneri (daughter of leading Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri).³¹ *Spain and the World* kept readers updated on developments in Spain and had a circulation of around 4,000 during its run from December 1936 until mid-1939.³² Relatively unknown before 1936, Richards became one of the leading figures of the British movement in the years following the civil war’s end. His initiative showed how young people could further the anarchist cause but, paradoxically, he too slipped into stereotypes of “innocent kiddies” in his pursuit of funds. The success of the newspaper and the work of groups like the CNT-FAI London Bureau and the ASU (discussed below) gave many non-anarchists an introduction to the movement’s theory and history, something unfamiliar to most before 1936. The anarchists were, nonetheless, still much smaller in number than others on the radical left, such as the communists. The Communist Party of Great Britain had a membership of 7,700 in 1935 and almost 18,000 by the start of World War II.³³

In the context of the Spanish Civil War, children were seen largely as innocent victims in the midst of the horrors of modern mechanized warfare. The Spanish Republic used children as a trope to symbolize the cruel and unfeeling nature of fascism and the results of non-resistance to it. One famous poster produced by the Ministry of Propaganda showed a dead child with planes flying overhead and the caption “If You Tolerate This, Your Children Will Be Next.”³⁴ The discourse on innocent children emphasized victimhood and was a means for the republic’s defenders to galvanize broad support for the wider anti-fascist struggle.³⁵ This trope was also used in discussions of Spanish refugee children in other countries, such as France, and was common in the context of war throughout the twentieth century.³⁶ Using children in propaganda attempts to generate a powerful “empathetic response” from the intended audience. It introduces a “didactic simplicity in the war narratives,” pitching good against evil in a Manichean struggle for the hearts and minds of onlookers.³⁷ This narrative is undermined in contexts where children become active participants in war.

British anarchists had no qualms about adopting similar tactics to the Spanish Republican government. Goldman used the perceived helplessness of children to establish a front organization for fundraising: the Committee to Aid

Homeless Spanish Women and Children. This was a move designed to disguise the anarchist nature of the organization—and her own involvement—from the public in order to raise more funds. Sponsors came from the soft-left literary and cultural establishment, and Goldman even referred to herself as “Mrs. E. G. Colton” in group literature to avoid alienating potential middle-class donors.³⁸ The choice of name is also telling: it reinforced the idea that women and children were victims, rather than agents, in the war. The group’s most fruitful endeavor was a musical evening in April 1937 with renowned radical singer Paul Robeson that raised over £200 for the cause. He sang a collection of African-American and Finnish folk songs and received a “smashing ovation” according to American political scientist and diplomat Ralph Bunche, who was in the audience.³⁹ The group also showcased drawings made by children suffering from the Nationalist bombardment of Barcelona at an exhibition in early 1938.⁴⁰ Although Anthony L. Geist claims that children’s drawings from Spain show children as “participants” in the civil war, the exhibition itself had a singular purpose—to raise money.⁴¹

British anarchists contributed £100 of the money they raised to the upkeep of a home for forty-two Basque child refugees in Street, Somerset, the parents of whom were members of the CNT. Set up by the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in June 1937, “The Grange” was the only home in Britain that received anarchist children. Mrs. Clark (of the Quaker Clarks shoes family) ran the home, which had previously been a country house for children with special needs.⁴² At a musical event arranged by Goldman in conjunction with the ILP in April 1938, twelve of the children performed a traditional Basque song and dance to help raise funds.⁴³ This contradicts Anderson’s claim that Basque children in Britain were not “presented as symbols of Francoist atrocity” at political meetings and were in fact utilized readily for their propaganda value.⁴⁴ These anarchist children were an antidote to the favored portrayal of Basque children in the British media, which, as Kevin Myers has shown, was of hard-working and pious Catholics.⁴⁵ The children were also an awkward reality for the CNT in Spain, as they were reluctant to accept that their parents were anarchists despite the protestations of ILP organizer John McNair. The CNT proved unwilling to furnish a monthly contribution for the children’s upkeep, but the British movement helped to fill the breach.⁴⁶ The home remained open until June 1939, when the majority of children returned to the Basque country, with the rest remaining in Britain.⁴⁷

Vernon Richards set up his own fund for Spanish orphaned children that raised significant sums of money to send to Spain. Between April 1937 and December 1938, the Spain and the World Orphans and Refugees Fund sent

over £840 for Spain's beleaguered children, worth close to £50,000 in today's money.⁴⁸ Richards' extensive list of contacts (helped by his association with Camillo Berneri as well as his late father's circle of comrades) allowed him to tap possible sources of funding from across the globe. Max Sartin and Osvaldo Maraviglia, the editors of the Italian-American anarchist newspaper *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*, supported Richards throughout the civil war and contributed over \$300 to the fund in early 1939.⁴⁹

One of the main outlets for funds was the establishment of children's colonies in Catalonia. Children's colonies first appeared in Spain after World War I and, in the 1920s, were primarily a means of removing children from parents deemed a risk to their spiritual well-being. During the Republican years, the emphasis was on children suffering physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, but after the start of the civil war, most children in colonies were refugees from other parts of Spain, particularly those whose parents had been killed.⁵⁰ From mid-1937, most anarchist children's colonies were maintained by SIA. SIA was established by the CNT in June 1937 in an attempt to bypass the mainstream Aid Spain movement, which Spanish anarchists accused of discriminating against their members and of funneling funds away from Barcelona, a CNT-FAI stronghold.⁵¹ Some aid organizations, such as the International Solidarity Fund, controlled by the British Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, were aimed explicitly at the socialist-oriented Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers' Union, UGT) and Spanish Socialist Party, but others were broader in their remit.⁵² Led initially by FAI Peninsular Committee member Pedro Herrera, SIA was later directed by Lucía Sánchez Saornil, co-founder of the anarchist women's organization *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women).⁵³ SIA had an international membership, with branches and organizing committees across five continents sending money, clothing, and foodstuffs. By the end of 1938, some 2,000 children in twenty homes in Republican territory were under SIA's care.⁵⁴ Within its colonies, the organization strove to provide an "integral education," preparing children "for a life full of love, freedom and justice."⁵⁵ One CNT propaganda film shown in Britain during the war claimed that the "homeless children can forget all their troubles, washed away by the gentle murmur of the sea."⁵⁶

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

The British anarchists funded two colonies through collaboration between Richards and the Paris-based Comité pour Espagne Libre (Committee for a Free Spain), an anarchist group that eventually became the French section of SIA. They helped set up a first colony in February 1937 at an old chateau in Llansá, Gerona. Named after the Spanish anarchist revolutionaries Buenaventura

Durruti and Francisco Ascaso, it provided shelter for 186 orphaned children (rising to 300 by the end of 1938), twenty of whom were under the care of *Spain and the World*. The newspaper appealed for supporters to help with money as well as “children’s clothes, sugar, tinned milk and other foodstuffs.”⁵⁷ Run by Paula Felstein and six other women, the colony gave an “excellent impression” to the Gerona health inspector in September 1937, who praised the “magnificent amenities” enjoyed by all its children. Indeed, they described the colony as a “model, which should serve as an example to others.”⁵⁸ *Spain and the World* extolled to its readers that they should “feel happy that you have helped to save 20 innocent kiddies from complete destitution.”⁵⁹ The term “innocent kiddies” highlights the instrumentalist nature of propaganda for the colonies.

Goldman actually criticized Richards for favoring the children of the Ascaso-Durruti colony at the expense of others. Writing in 1939, she complained to him that “I told you when I came back [from a visit] in 1937 that the children of that colony were gorged while other children were starving . . . [y]ou paid not the slightest attention to it, but went on your own sweet way.”⁶⁰ Goldman was probably influenced in her criticism by her shock at the standards of some of the other colonies run by the CNT-FAI (although not funded by the British anarchists), which she witnessed on a tour of Spain in the fall of 1937. In a scathing letter to CNT general secretary Mariano Rodríguez Vázquez in October 1937, she thundered that they were in “a most deplorable condition, most of them filthy beyond belief, the unfortunate children sick and neglected, the whole thing about the worst I have seen in any capitalist country.”⁶¹ Rodríguez Vázquez was apologetic in his response, saying that SIA was busy reorganizing the colonies and that he would send pictures to assure the rest of Goldman’s committee that funds were being used appropriately. It was, nevertheless, a worrying discovery for the British anarchists.⁶²

Perhaps in response to this, Richards decided to push forward and set up another colony funded by the newspaper and its supporters, which he achieved through the establishment of the Spain and the World Colony in March 1938 at El Masnou, northeast of Barcelona.⁶³ The colony made use of an abandoned hotel, which had its own vegetable and fruit patches filled with an array of flowering plants. According to a report made by SIA in July 1938, this gave the visitor “the impression of real hanging gardens.” The colony had a main hall, instrument room, library, two offices and other administrative outbuildings, dining room, kitchen, pantry, storerooms, bathrooms, infirmary (an outside doctor made regular visits to the colony), two classrooms and five dormitories. There was also a large cellar carved into the adjacent mountain that could be used as an air-raid shelter in case of attack.⁶⁴ From March 1938 to September

1938, the colony housed between thirty-nine and sixty-six children ages four to fifteen, with an average age of around ten. The children were mainly from Barcelona and the surrounding areas, although a number had been evacuated from Madrid.⁶⁵ Funds for the colony were collected from England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Palestine, South Africa, Canada, Australia, and Tunisia, meaning that, as Richards wrote to Lucía Sánchez Saornil, head of SIA, “the adoptive parents of the little ones in the Masnou settlement are all over the world.”⁶⁶

SIA maintained the colony, which also had a large communal restaurant serving the children of workers in the area.⁶⁷ According to a SIA report conducted in August 1938, conditions were “satisfactory,” although various buildings required repair and some children showed evidence of calcium deficiency.⁶⁸ At this stage of the war, though, the Republican rearguard was suffering from a lack of resources. Richards was conscious of the need to use the children as propaganda to raise further funds and maintain the colony. He became increasingly frustrated with the lack of information he received about the administration of funds he was sending. Ideally, he wanted monthly updates so he could put them in the newspaper, but SIA was not overly concerned with giving international contacts detailed dossiers on children’s colonies. In response, he lamented that “[i]f I want to make good propaganda for the colony it is obvious that I need to know something about the colony!”⁶⁹

Like other children’s colonies in Spain, the Ascaso-Durruti and Spain and the World colonies also functioned as schools, allowing an insight into anarchist education during the civil war period. For an anarchist colony, life at El Masnou had a remarkably stable structure. Meals and lessons were arranged according to directives sent from SIA headquarters. All children were expected to awaken at the same time and participate in a half hour of “Swedish gymnastics.” The children were permitted twelve hours for rest and toiletries; three hours for meals; and three hours for baths and other miscellaneous activities; allowing seven hours for classes and games (which should always operate “within the established medical-pedagogical norms”). In many ways lessons were quite conventional. Children were split into age groups and allocated lessons accordingly. Children aged between four and five, for example, were expected to spend two hours and fifteen minutes per week learning math, while those aged between eleven and thirteen spent five and a half hours per week on the same subject. The children learned Spanish, science, geography, history and economics, in addition to “sensory education” (involving games both directed and undirected) for younger children. When the weather allowed, lessons were often held outside, utilizing the colony’s natural surroundings. Menial tasks

in the colonies, such as small agricultural work and cleaning, were shared between children and their teachers in order to foster a sense of solidarity.⁷⁰ The Ascaso-Durruti colony had a similar routine, although by September 1937 the children were obliged to attend the government-approved school. Emma Goldman, who visited the colony in 1937, claimed in an article for *Spain and the World* that, despite this, the “most gratifying impression was that the children are free and easy going and that there was no cringing before their elders.”⁷¹

Anarchists resisted attempts by socialists and communists to politically mobilize children and their teachers for the war effort.⁷² There was no overt institutional attempt to indoctrinate children, which characterized communist educational policy in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, for example.⁷³ The anarchist schools and colonies were, however, not immune to the proselytizing tendencies of those who ran them. Among all sides during the Spanish Civil War, as Antonio Viñao notes, “neutrality was outlawed” in the educational sphere.⁷⁴ There was an explicit attempt to instill anarchist values into the children. Segundo Blanco, the CNT member who became minister of public instruction in April 1938, maintained that school life in the colonies should be defined by “camaraderie and mutual help,” in order to prepare children for a “collective lifestyle.”⁷⁵ As the detailed synopsis provided by SIA suggests, children at the colonies were always under the strict supervision of adults. The SIA inspector at El Masnou was clear in their insistence “on the need for teachers and childcare workers to eat and sleep with the children, accompanying them in their recreation, during bath time, on walks and excursions, and, in general, at all times, so that their protective and educational action is constant and effective.”⁷⁶ Little wonder that Geoffrey C. Fidler describes *educación intégrale*, which inspired pedagogy in the colonies, as “full-time surveillance of the child as an adult in the making.”⁷⁷ Prayers were banned, in line with the anticlerical nature of anarchist schools in other parts of Republican territory. Reading for leisure, with no educational purpose, was viewed as brutalizing and unnecessary.⁷⁸ Jenny Patrick, a Scottish anarchist who traveled to Spain under the auspices of the Glasgow-based Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, visited a CNT-run *escuela libertaria* (free school) in Madrid during her time there. In geography lessons she found that “the children are not taught national intolerance, and on that subject we got an experience of another kind.” The war in general was not discussed and there were no toy guns or anything that would “educate the children for war.” Patrick, who was thoroughly impressed by these efforts, believed that “[f]ascism will be wiped out long before they are grown up!!”⁷⁹

This was a novel position for anarchists to take, particularly as so many young people were involved in fighting on the front line against Franco. The FIJL helped form the defense committee of Madrid on the outbreak of the rebellion and arranged their own fighting units, such as the Columna Los Aguiluchos (Eaglets Column) and the Kropotkin Battalion.⁸⁰ This naiveté could be interpreted as a result of the blurred boundaries between youth and childhood, particularly in the anarchist movement. Indeed, there were widespread protests by mothers at the conscription of seventeen-year-olds in early 1938: the so-called *quinta del biberón* (baby-bottle call-up).⁸¹ Equally, it could be reflective of the movement's attitude to attaining maturity. While some young people were deemed "ideologically mature" enough to take up arms against fascism, others (discussed below) were discouraged from activism by older comrades owing to their "immaturity." This instrumentalist emphasis on "becoming a revolutionary" left open the question of who exactly decides what a revolutionary should think or how a revolutionary should behave. The children's colonies sat easily with one conception of youth—that of innocent but helpless bystanders in the conflict—and they did little to challenge assumptions of children's subordinate status. The actions of the British anarchist youth movement during the Spanish Civil War showcased another conception of youth: that of committed activists, willing and eager to make sacrifices for the cause, but who were consistently overlooked by their supposedly more experienced elders.

YOUTH IN REVOLT

There was a conspicuous cleavage in the British anarchist movement during the 1930s between the young and old, with many younger militants unimpressed with the seeming apathy of their more senior comrades. The Freedom group, which had been the mainstay of the movement for decades, attracted particular scorn from younger activists. Vernon Richards recounted that one meeting discussing the publication of the *Freedom Bulletin* was nearly "wrecked" because one young man got up and said that *Freedom* had become a "real washer-women's rag," and that "the sooner the old men gave up the space in personal attacks, the better."⁸² This was a reference to the controversy surrounding the editorship of *Freedom* in the early 1930s; a remnant of the split in the anarchist movement over support for World War I.⁸³ One youth who attended meetings during the civil war period was particularly critical of the group. Writing to veteran anarchist Tom Keell in 1937, twenty-three-year-old Hugh Nicholson maintained that:

I, and many of my young friends, have been very disappointed with the way in which we have been treated [by] the older comrades. No one seem[s] to give us any encouragement, nothing constructive is done to organise youth . . . and I candidly say that out of all the group meetings I have attended, I have never yet been to one which I could invite any of my young friends with confidence.⁸⁴

The anarchist youth sought to overcome this inertia by themselves. Leah Feldman, a veteran anarchist from the Russian Civil War who later moved to London, remembered later how the Spanish Revolution “brought many youths to the anarchist movement,” injecting a sense of vibrancy and purpose to the moribund Freedom group (which she called “an old man”).⁸⁵ The ASU, set up in 1937 and modeled on the CNT, printed its own literature to raise awareness of anarchism in Britain. Membership of the group consisted largely of young anarchists, including Tom (Paddy) Burke and Patrick Monks, both originally from Ireland.⁸⁶ Student anarchist groups formed in various locations during the conflict. One enthusiastic student set up a “CNT-FAI Oxford Bureau” at Trinity College Oxford and used the machinery of the local Labour Party club to distribute anarchist propaganda. The CNT-FAI London Bureau did not “officially” sanction this, but still provided literature.⁸⁷ Richards and *Spain and the World* highlighted the anarchist youth in Spain, publishing excerpts of *Revista Natura*, a newspaper edited by a group of children based at the Escuela Natura school in Barcelona. One article, written by eleven-year-old Liberto Pou, declared, “We little comrades shall fight at [our comrades’] side until fascism is smashed and poverty is destroyed, just like riches [have] been destroyed.”⁸⁸ Another, from Antonio Lopez, aged twelve, maintained that when anarchism triumphs, “it will be a period of Peace and Liberty and the Sun will shine for everybody.”⁸⁹

Inspired partly by the FIJL in Spain, young London anarchists also formed the Revolutionary Youth Federation and the Committee for Workers’ Control, which published the journal *Struggle* between March and June of 1938 and later joined the Anarchist Federation of Britain.⁹⁰ They issued a joint manifesto of their aims in February 1938, calling on British workers to “form, unite in and develop an Anarcho-Syndicalist body of labour unions, an anarchist federation and a revolutionary youth movement, in order that the struggle for freedom and socialism may recommence in the birthplace of free socialism in no uncertain fashion.”⁹¹ Albert Meltzer, the driving force behind many youth groups during the 1930s, was so young at the time (he was sixteen on the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War) that he felt forced to hide his age from the older

comrades. Leah Feldman, for instance, could not understand why Meltzer could not raise more than a few pennies among his "workmates" for Spanish solidarity. Little did she realize that "while she was working as a fur machinist I was spending my working hours mixing with people whose income came from parental pocket money or paper rounds."⁹² The Spanish conflict provided the impetus for a wave of activity by young anarchists, both in solidarity for their Spanish comrades and to build the movement within Britain. This wave of activity, however, was muffled by anarchist veterans.

Older militants, for example, discouraged younger recruits from volunteering to serve in the militias in Spain. This was despite the presence of members of the FIJL at the front throughout Republican territory and the influx of foreign volunteers symbolized by the Communist International-organized International Brigades.⁹³ Goldman sent a list of possible volunteers to Martin Gudell at the CNT-FAI foreign language division in Barcelona in January 1937, but he complained that "hardly any of [the names] can be used." Apparently, the list was filled with older comrades with families (mainly from Glasgow), whereas Gudell was more interested in "the youth and their movement." He maintained that if "there are no such comrades in England, we would rather have nobody from England come here."⁹⁴ There were young comrades, though, who were eager to volunteer for Spain that Goldman was either unaware of or chose to ignore. In his memoirs, Meltzer describes a meeting in Holborn in early 1937 "packed with keen young enthusiasts all raring to pack a bag and be off to Barcelona." One prospective volunteer, Jack Mason, even left his job as a building worker, packed a bag and deposited it at Victoria Station in anticipation. To a "chorus of indignation," Goldman told the meeting that "the CNT was entirely opposed to volunteers."⁹⁵ Freedom group member Shloime Sutton, whose wife Beryl served as a nurse in the war, traveled to Spain under instruction to find one sixteen-year-old volunteer, Alfred Copenbaun, and return him to his mother. When discussing the matter with CNT representative Augustin Souchy, Goldman said that they needed to "keep clear" of the idea that "children are being lured to fight on the anti Fascist side."⁹⁶

Some older anarchists were prone to dismiss any action committed by young people with which they disagreed as "immaturity" or "giving anarchism a bad name." When a member of Meltzer's Revolutionary Youth Front burned down a "fascist centre" that was holding a pro-Franco exhibition, the older anarchists were furious, with Ralph Barr of the CNT-FAI London Bureau claiming it must have been the work of an agent provocateur. Although not responsible, Meltzer took the blame, and Goldman called him "a young hooligan who knew nothing

about anarchism.⁹⁷ Criticism of this kind necessarily lays a subjective oversight on the praxis of the young. The Spanish anarchists were not averse to burning down buildings, but Goldman did not criticize their actions as “hooliganism.” Her critique was a tool used to discredit those pursuing a *different*, not necessarily an *incorrect*, interpretation of anarchism.

Young anarchists sought to bypass Goldman’s oversight by asking for material directly from Spain or France, but her privileged position as the main contact between the British and Spanish movements gave her significant power. Whenever the CNT-FAI or the FIJL inquired about the activities of the British anarchist youth movement, Goldman would reply curtly that “[t]here is no such Youth Movement in England.”⁹⁸ If she admitted that a movement existed, she dismissed it as no more than “a handful of boys who have not the remotest idea of even the ABC of Anarchism.”⁹⁹ Here the correlation between youth and ideological immaturity is explicit. The feeling of contempt was mutual. Meltzer maintained that Goldman’s “knowledge of Britain, for all her visits, was essentially that of a Brooklyn tourist” and that her “desire to entertain the bourgeoisie heavily detracted from her propagandist credibility.”¹⁰⁰ Had Goldman not been such a towering figure in the movement this might have made no difference, but her position meant she could effectively condemn a group’s efforts before they had even started. This happened when she recommended that the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men’s Association (IWMA) refuse accreditation to both the Workers’ Action League (another reincarnation of Meltzer’s) and the ASU (which lacked “clarity” on their position).¹⁰¹ When the ASU requested Goldman attend a meeting to outline her criticism of one its members, she replied that “my time is too valuable for that.”¹⁰² Meltzer felt compelled to write to the CNT-FAI foreign language division to complain about Goldman’s perceived high-handedness. He fumed that

had we our own dictators, we could expel them, but when you appoint them, and see that they have all means of propaganda (beyond allowing us to borrow a platform from a largely mythical source) you act like the Government that allows one to say what one likes, providing the ruling class retains the means of production.¹⁰³

Goldman worked tirelessly for the anarchist movement during the civil war period, and Meltzer’s characterization of her as a dictator is certainly unfair. She did, nevertheless, exhibit at best an impatient and at worse a scornful attitude to the British movement’s young people during her time in London. Quite willing to use children as a fundraising tool, she was, in certain circumstances, less sympathetic to young people who were striving to organize for themselves.

CONCLUSION

Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin infamously called “left-wing communism,” in which he included anarchism, an “infantile disorder.”¹⁰⁴ Far from shying away from this denigrating depiction, anarchists attempted to put children at the center of their educational efforts, setting up schools and colonies that sought to put rationalist pedagogical theory into practice. Often these attempts showed a novel approach toward children’s learning, but there has always been a tension between anarchists’ attempts to use education to foster a child’s individuality and the overarching ideological urge to train new recruits for the movement. This article sought to shed light on this tension.

The British anarchist movement’s response to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War was one of newfound activity and purpose. The CNT-FAI London Bureau and Spain and the World Orphans and Refugees Fund raised substantial amounts to send to Spain, paying for clothes, food, and shelter for those in need. The funding of children’s colonies in Spain was an important endeavor, allowing children to escape from the dangers of Nationalist bombardment and to restore a sense of normality to their daily lives. These children, while being victims of Franco’s forces, were also nevertheless victims of what Juan Manuel Fernández Soria calls “the manipulation of their misfortune by others.”¹⁰⁵ Those maintaining the anarchist colonies were careful to ensure they instilled a sense of anarchist ethics into the children for whom they cared. Anarchists in the Committee to Aid Homeless Women and Children used the trope of helpless children to raise money for the Spanish anarchist cause and were happy to show off the Basque child refugees at the ILP colony in Street as evidence of the worthiness of their intentions.

This is not to dismiss the authenticity of these intentions: anarchists were just as genuine in their support of Spanish children as others who fell under the loose boundaries of the British Aid Spain movement. Vernon Richards, although twenty-one, spearheaded the establishment of children’s colonies funded by *Spain and the World* and was equally susceptible to caricaturing their role in the conflict. This is also not to suggest that the British movement was maintained only by young people; Goldman was almost seventy when the war broke out, and others, such as Ralph Barr and Tom Keell, had years of experience behind them. Young people’s organizing efforts within the movement were, nevertheless, frequently rebuffed as youthful inexperience or ideological immaturity.

As Sandra Souto Kustrín notes, “a common feature of youth organizations in interwar Europe was their more radical character with regard to their respective parties and their burning desire to play a leading political role.”¹⁰⁶

The British anarchist youth movement, although less institutionalized than other youth movements during the period, certainly held similar aspirations, although its “more radical character” is suggestive. It is curious that older anarchists like Goldman praised the revolutionary achievements of the FIJL in Spain whilst simultaneously ignoring or dismissing the efforts of young anarchists on their doorstep. That this was partly personal is likely—Goldman and Albert Meltzer, for instance, were never close comrades. The irony is that this new generation made real progress in creating a stable British anarchist movement in the late 1930s. Following the outbreak of World War II, it was once again young people who organized meetings opposing the war, with Richards, Marie-Louise Berneri, and Meltzer helping to produce *War Commentary*, the successor newspaper to *Spain and the World*, from 1939 to 1945.¹⁰⁷ Goldman died in Canada in 1940. Contrary to her assertions during the Spanish Civil War period, however, she left the British anarchist movement in good hands.

NOTES

1. This “traditional modernist construction” of children owes much to the work of liberal philosopher John Locke: Mariam John Meynert, *Conceptualizations of Childhood, Pedagogy and Educational Research in the Postmodern: A Critical Interpretation* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2015), 127–9.
2. Catriona Kelly, *Children’s World: Growing Up in Russia, 1890–1991* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 104.
3. See Dorothy Legarreta, *The Guernica Generation: Basque Refugee Children of the Spanish Civil War* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984); Adrian Bell, *Only for Three Months: Basque Children in Exile* (Norwich: Mousehold Press, 1996); Hywel Davis, *Fleeing Franco: How Wales Gave Shelter to Refugee Children from the Basque Country during the Spanish Civil War* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011); Oliver Marshall, *Ship of Hope: Carrying 4000 Basque Children* (Hammersmith: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, 1991); Natalia Benjamin, ed., *Recuerdos: Basque Children Refugees in Great Britain* (Norwich: Mousehold Press, 2007); Gloria Toticagüena, *Basque Diaspora: Migration and Transnational Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada, 2005), 340–55; Tom Buchanan, “The Role of the British Labour Movement in the Origins and Work of the Basque Children’s Committee, 1937–9,” *European History Quarterly* 18 (1988): 155–74.
4. Jim Fyrth, “The Aid Spain Movement in Britain, 1936–39,” *History Workshop Journal* 35 (1993): 155.
5. The CNT had its first congress in Barcelona in 1911. Established as an anarcho-syndicalist trade union confederation, it consisted of regional, district and local federations of unions. By 1936, it claimed between 500,000 and a million members. The FAI was founded in 1927 as a peninsular association of anarchist affinity groups. Its membership was smaller, with a pre-civil war peak of 5,500 affiliates in 1933, but more radical and intransigent in its anarchism. See Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868–1936* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977), 160–1; Pierre Broué and Emile Témime, *The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 67; José Peirats, *The CNT in*

- the Spanish Revolution* (3 vols, Hastings: Meltzer Press, 2001), i, 97; Stuart Christie, *We, the anarchists! A study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), 1927–1937* (Hastings: Meltzer Press, 2000), 21, 78.
6. Benjamin Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The means and ends of contemporary British anarchisms* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006), 50–1; Gregory Ioannou, “British anarchism and the Spanish civil war,” νεκατόματα, <http://nekatomata.blogspot.co.uk/2006/11/british-anarchism-and-spanish-civil-war.html>, accessed November 18, 2014; David Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward* (Oakland: AK Press, 2012), 128; David Porter, *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006), 87–8.
 7. Peter Anderson, “The Struggle over the Evacuation to the United Kingdom and Repatriation of Basque Refugee Children in the Spanish Civil War: Symbols and Souls,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 52 (2017): 297–318, 299; David Archard, *Children: Rights and Childhood* (London: Routledge, 2015), 41–5; Louise A. Jackson, “Review Article: Youth and Modernity,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 42 (2007): 639–41.
 8. John Holt, *Escape from Childhood: The Needs and Rights of Children* (Medford: HoltGWS, 2013), 22–3.
 9. Tom Hall and Heather Montgomery note that “childhood” and “youth” are “essentially Western social categories . . . and as such they are culturally and temporally specific”: Tom Hall and Heather Montgomery, “Home and away: ‘Childhood,’ ‘youth’ and young people,” *Anthropology Today* 16 (2000): 13–15, 13.
 10. Piotr Kropotkin, “An Appeal to the Young (1880),” Anarchy Archives, http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/kropotkin/appealtoyoung.html, accessed July 19, 2018.
 11. Verónica Sierra Blas, “Educating the communists of the future: notes on the educational life of the Spanish children evacuated to the USSR during the Spanish Civil War,” *Paedagogica Historica* 51 (2015): 499; Richard Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company: The Spanish Civil War and the World it Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 227.
 12. *Spain and the World*, December 11, 1936.
 13. Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution*, ii, 76–7; Sandra Souto Kustrin, “Taking the Street: Workers’ Youth Organizations and Political Conflict in the Second Spanish Republic,” *European History Quarterly* 34 (2004): 131–56, 133.
 14. Chris Ealham, *Living Anarchism: José Peirats and the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement* (Oakland: AK Press, 2015), 53. This was also reflective of wider political conflicts within the three organizations (CNT, FAI, and FIJL), with each “parent” organization vying for influence within the youth organization: Jordi Getman-Eraso, “Too Young to Fight: Anarchist Youth Groups and the Spanish Second Republic,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4 (2011): 292–6.
 15. *Road to Freedom*, August 1928; Jason Garner, *Goals and Means: Anarchism, Syndicalism, and Internationalism in the Origins of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (Oakland: AK Press, 2016), 228.
 16. Geoffrey C. Fidler, “Anarchism and education: éducation intégrale and the imperative towards fraternité,” *History of Education* 18 (1989): 23–46, 42.
 17. Alix Kates Shulman, ed., *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (New York: Humanity Books, 1998), 139.

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18. See Fidler, "Anarchism and education," 23–46; Judith Suissa, *Anarchism and Education: A philosophical perspective* (Oakland: PM Press, 2010), 75–101; Paul Avrigh, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Matthew Thomas, "No-one telling us what to do: anarchist schools in Britain, 1890–1916," *Historical Research* 77 (2004): 405–36; Carolyn P. Boyd, "The Anarchists and Education in Spain, 1868–1909," *Journal of Modern History* 48 (1976): 129–30.
19. Getman-Eraso, "Too Young to Fight," 294.
20. Archard, *Children*, 45–6.
21. Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical dimensions, contemporary debate* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2003), 210–11.
22. Boyd, "The Anarchists and Education in Spain," 128–9, 147–50; Suissa, *Anarchism and Education*, 81–5; Francisco José Cuevas Noa, *Anarquismo y educación: La propuesta socio-política de la pedagogía libertaria* (Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Libertarios Anselmo Lorenzo, 2003), 108–38.
23. See Matthew S. Adams and Ruth Kinna, eds, *Anarchism, 1914–18: Internationalism, anti-militarism and war* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).
24. See Bob Holton, *British Syndicalism, 1900–1914: Myths and Realities* (London: Pluto Press, 1976); John Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of the British Anarchists* (London: Paladin, 1978); Kevin Morgan, "A 'splendid field'? Emma Goldman in South Wales," *Llafur* 10 (2009): 47–61.
25. Bessie Ward, "Work for Freedom," April 1928 (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam [IISH], Freedom Archive [FA], 342).
26. Albert Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels: Sixty Years of Commonplace Life and Anarchist Agitation* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1996), Spunk Library, www.spunk.org/library/writers/meltzer/sp001591/angelto.html, accessed October 12, 2019.
27. Morgan, "A 'splendid field'? Emma Goldman in South Wales," 47.
28. Augustin Souchy (Barcelona) to Emma Goldman (St. Tropez), August 19, 1936 (IISH, Emma Goldman Papers (EGP), 153); Emma Goldman (London) to Martin Gudell (Barcelona), December 28, 1936 (IISH, EGP, 89).
29. See my article, "Crying in the wilderness? The British Anarchist Movement during the Spanish Civil War," *Anarchist Studies* 27 (2019), 21–40.
30. Porter, *Vision on Fire*, 269–71.
31. Richards was studying civil engineering at King's College London at the time. Camillo Berneri was killed in Barcelona in May 1937: Enrico Acciai, "L'esperienza della Rivista 'Spain and the World.' La guerra civile spagnola, l'antifascismo europeo e l'anarchismo," in *Maria Luisa Berneri e l'anarchismo inglese*, ed. Carlo De Maria (Reggio Emilia: Biblioteca Panizzi/Archivio famiglia Berneri Aurelio Chessa, 2013), 69–91.
32. Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, *Spain: Anarchism* (London: VWH Press, 1937), 11.
33. Robert C. Self, *The Evolution of the British Party System 1885–1940* (London: Routledge, 2014), 198.

34. R. A. Stradling, *Your Children Will Be Next: Bombing and Propaganda in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 13–15.
35. Kevin Myers, “The Ambiguities of Aid and Agency: Representing Refugee Children in England, 1937–8,” *Cultural and Social History* 6 (2009): 29–46, 29–30.
36. Célia Keren, “Spanish Refugee Children in France, 1939: An Insight into Their Experiences, Opinions and Culture,” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89 (2012), 279–93; Kelly, *Children’s World*, 117.
37. Alexis Artaud de La Ferrière, “The voice of the innocent: propaganda and childhood testimonies of war,” *History of Education* 43 (2014): 105–23, 118.
38. Porter, *Vision on Fire*, 13–39; Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow*, 128.
39. Emma Goldman (London) to CNT national committee (Valencia), June 10, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 49); Ralph Bunche in Susan Dabney Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 92; Emma Goldman (London) to Martha Gordon Crotch, April 28, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 71).
40. Emma Goldman to Stella Ballantine, January 19, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 12).
41. Anthony L. Geist, “Children of the Spanish Civil War,” in *They Still Draw Pictures: Children’s Art in Wartime from the Spanish Civil War to Kosovo*, ed. Anthony L. Geist and Peter N. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002): 13–52, 24.
42. John McNair (London) to Emma Goldman (London), April 27, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 60); John McNair (London) to Mariano Rodríguez Vázquez (Barcelona), April 25, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 91); Fenner Brockway (London) to Emma Goldman (Paris), August 7, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60); Emma Goldman (London) to Stella Churchill, April 4, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 63); Emma Goldman (London) to Lucía Sánchez Saornil (Barcelona), July 11, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 92); Gidon Cohen, *The Failure of a Dream: The Independent Labour Party from Disaffiliation to World War II* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 190; Christopher Hall, “The ILP and the Spanish Civil War,” Independent Labour Publications, May 13, 2016, <http://www.independentlabour.org.uk/main/2016/05/13/the-ilp-and-the-spanish-civil-war/>, accessed July 29, 2016.
43. Emma Goldman (London) to Max Nettlau (Amsterdam), May 19, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 46).
44. Anderson, “The Struggle over the Evacuation,” 308–9.
45. Myers, “The Ambiguities of Aid and Agency,” 32.
46. John McNair (London) to Emma Goldman (London), August 10, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 60).
47. Cohen, *The Failure of a Dream*, 190.
48. Statement of Accounts of Spain & the World Orphans & Refugees Fund, April 1937–December 1937 (IISH, Vernon Richards Papers (VR), 136).
49. Carissa Honeywell, *A British Anarchist Tradition: Herbert Read, Alex Comfort and Colin Ward* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 19; Ioannou, “British anarchism and the Spanish civil war”; *L’Adunata dei Refrattari*, April 1, 1939.
50. Anderson, “The Struggle over the Evacuation,” 299–30; Antonio Viñao, “Politics, education and pedagogy: ruptures, continuities and discontinuities (Spain 1936–1939),” *Paedagogica Historica* 51 (2015): 405–17, 412; Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, “La asistencia a la infancia

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- en la Guerra Civil. Las colonias escolares,” *Historia de la Educación* 6 (1987): 97–114, 97; Sjaak Braster and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “Education and the children’s colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939): the image of the community ideal,” *Paedagogica Historica* 51 (2015): 455–77.
51. *IWMA Bulletin of Information*, October 15, 1937; Valentin Cionini, “Solidarité Internationale Antifasciste, ou l’humanitaire au service des idées anarchistes,” *Diacronie: Studi di Storia Contemporanea* 7 (2011): 2.
 52. Tom Buchanan, “Britain’s Popular Front?: Aid Spain and the British Labour Movement,” *History Workshop Journal* 31 (1991): 60–72, 63.
 53. For more on *Mujeres Libres*, see Martha A. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Oakland: AK Press, 2005).
 54. *Challenge*, September 3, 1938; *SIA*, December 1938; Fernández Soria, “La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil,” 116.
 55. SIA plan for children’s colonies, n.d. (IISH, CNT (*España*) Papers (CNT), 100B).
 56. *Amenecer sobre España (Dawn Over Spain)* (1938) was directed by American businessman and anarchist sympathizer Louis Frank; Eulàlia Collelldemont, “Children, education and politics in everyday life: children, education and politics at a time of conflict—the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939),” *Paedagogica Historica* 51 (2015): 395–404, 401.
 57. *Spain and the World*, “The Innocent Victims of Fascist Bestiality,” c. 1937 (Marx Memorial Library, London, Spanish Collection, Box 2, File B/9).
 58. David Berry, “French Anarchists in Spain, 1936–1939,” *French History* 3 (1989): 427–41; “Relacion de Colonias de SIA,” c. 1938 (IISH, CNT, 100B); Report of Inspecció Intercomarcal de Sanitat de Girona on Ascaso-Durruti colony, September 3, 1937 (IISH, VR, 108).
 59. *Spain and the World*, June 4, 1937.
 60. Emma Goldman (Toronto) to Vernon Richards, July 25, 1939 (IISH, VR, 35).
 61. Emma Goldman (Barcelona) to Mariano Rodríguez Vázquez (Valencia), October 11, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 89).
 62. Mariano Rodríguez Vázquez (Valencia) to Emma Goldman (London), October 18, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 89).
 63. *Spain and the World*, March 18, 1938; SIA Circular #4, Barcelona, March 31, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 298).
 64. “Colonie D’Enfants ‘Spain and the World’ de Masnou,” July 26, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 88B.6).
 65. “Relacion de niños. Colonia Spain and the World,” October 4, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 100B).
 66. Vernon Richards (London) to Lucía Sánchez Saornil (Barcelona), August 8, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 88B.3).
 67. SIA Circular #19, Perpignan, January 1, 1939 (IISH, EGP, 298).
 68. Report on Masnou Colony, August 29, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 100B).
 69. Vernon Richards (London) to SIA general council (Barcelona), May 24, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 886.B).

70. SIA plan for children's colonies, n.d. (IISH, CNT, 100B); Distribution of time at colonies, n.d. (IISH, CNT, 100B); "Colonie D'Enfants 'Spain and the World' de Masnou," July 26, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 88B.6); Fernández Soria, "La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil," 102.
71. Porter, *Vision on Fire*, 87.
72. Núria Padrós Tuneu, Isabel Carrillo Flores, Josep Casanovas Prat, Pilar Prat Viñolas, Antoni Tort Bardolet and Anna Gómez Mundó, "The Spanish Civil War as seen through children's drawings of the time," *Paedagógica Historica* 51 (2015): 478–95, 483.
73. Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *Small Comrades: Revolutionary Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 133–59; Kelly, *Children's World*, 93–129.
74. Viñao, "Politics, education and pedagogy," 406.
75. Braster and Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Education and the children's colonies in the Spanish Civil War," 461.
76. Report on Masnou Colony, August 29, 1938 (IISH, CNT, 100B).
77. Fidler, "Anarchism and education," 42.
78. SIA plan for children's colonies, n.d. (IISH, CNT, 100B); Miguel Mur Mata, "Educación libertaria en Aragón, 1936–38," *Aula* 8 (1996), 83; Fernández Soria, "La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil," 125.
79. Jenny Patrick, "Children in Madrid," n.d. (c. 1936–7) (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Guy Aldred Collection, 140).
80. Juan Gómez Casas, *Anarchist Organisation: The History of the FAI* (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1986), 185; Robert Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War, Vol. 1* (London: Janus, 1999), 92; Umberto Marzocchi, *Remembering Spain: Italian Anarchist Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War* (London: Kate Sharpley Library, 2005), 16. See also George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Penguin, 2000), 7–9.
81. Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War 1936–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 375.
82. Vernon Richards (London) to Max Nettlau (Barcelona), September 10, 1936 (IISH, Max Nettlau Papers, 1001); Albert Meltzer, *The Anarchists in London, 1935–1955* (Sanday: Cienfuegos Press, 1976), 15.
83. Although *Freedom* ceased publication in 1927, a rival newspaper, also entitled *Freedom*, was published from 1929 to 1931 by those unhappy with the editorship of Tom Keell. A *Freedom Bulletin* was also published infrequently before 1936. See *Freedom: A Journal of Libertarian Thought, Work and Literature*, May 1930; Bessie Ward, "Work for Freedom," April 1928 (IISH, FA, 342); George Cores, *Personal Recollections of the Anarchist Past* (London: Kate Sharpley Library, 1992), 11–13; Meltzer, *The Anarchists in London*, 9–11.
84. Hugh Nicholson (London) to Tom Keell, March 7, 1937 (IISH, FA, 515).
85. "Leah Feldman Interview (1985)," Kate Sharpley Library, <https://archive.org/details/LeahFeldmanInterview>, accessed July 19, 2017.
86. Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels*; William Farrer (London) to Emma Goldman (London), June 3, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 80).

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87. B. K. Soper (Oxford) to Ralph Barr (London), n.d. (c. May 1938), June 3, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 152); Emma Goldman (London) to B. K. Soper (Oxford), June 7, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 152).
88. *Spain and the World*, February 5, 1937.
89. *Spain and the World*, December 11, 1936.
90. Peter Barberis, John McHugh and Mike Tyldesley, *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups and Movements* (London: Frances Pinter, 2000), 519; Meltzer, *The Anarchists in London*, 18.
91. *Revolutionary Youth Federation Monthly Bulletin*, February 1, 1938.
92. Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels*.
93. Some 35,000 volunteers came from abroad to fight for the Spanish Republic in these units. See Andreu Castellá, *Las brigadas internacionales en la guerra de España* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1974); Michael Jackson, *Fallen Sparrows: The International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994); R. Dan Richardson, *Comintern Army: The International Brigades and the Spanish War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982).
94. Martin Gudell (Barcelona) to Emma Goldman (London), January 20, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 89).
95. Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels*.
96. CNT-FAI Information Service (Barcelona) to Emma Goldman, February 25, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 301); Emma Goldman (London) to Augustin Souchy (Barcelona), February 23, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 153).
97. Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels*.
98. Emma Goldman (London) to Martin Gudell (Barcelona), February 15, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 90).
99. Emma Goldman (London) Helmet Rüdiger (Paris), May 19, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 143).
100. Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels*.
101. Emma Goldman (London) to Helmut Rüdiger (Paris), May 19, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 143); Emma Goldman (London) to Manuel Mascarell (Paris), May 3, 1938 (IISH, EGP, 82).
102. Emma Goldman (London) to William Farrer (London), June 8, 1937 (IISH, EGP, 80).
103. Albert Meltzer (London) to CNT-FAI (Barcelona), n.d. (c. September 1937) (IISH, EGP, 120).
104. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Vol. 31* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 17–118.
105. Fernández Soria, “La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil,” 126.
106. Souto Kustrín, “Taking the Street,” 151.
107. Meltzer, *The Anarchists in London*, 19.