

Carmen de Burgos (Colombine) in the *Heraldo de Madrid*:

A Pioneer of Spanish Women's Literary Journalism

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I've devoted myself to lively, active, militant journalism. I've been the first woman to be seen in the editorial office; to have done features, organized surveys, and lived and breathed, at the end of the day, combative, nimble, unsettling, non-conformist journalism.¹

The woman who wrote these words, Carmen de Burgos Seguí (Almería, 1867–Madrid, 1932), is one of the most chameleon-like Spanish writers of the 20th century. A tireless traveler, committed teacher, true feminist, pacifist and republican to the core, “Colombine” (her best-known journalistic alias, or “the red lady,” as she was branded by her detractors²) was a courageous and committed woman who challenged conventions and, as Roberta Johnson rightly points out, was one of the earliest dreamers in modern Spanish society.³ She was a genuine pioneer in her work as a journalist: the first woman to form part of the editorial staff of a mainstream newspaper in Spain, as well as the first to work as a war correspondent. Her journalism career spanned more than three decades.

During the second half of the 19th century, especially in its waning years, strict information journalism (details, facts, political opinion) ceded more and more column space to an emerging entertainment journalism (human-interest stories, interviews) that favored more literary traits that included a personal tone and a dramatic narrative voice.⁴ The sensationalist style of this “new” journalism, as it was derogatorily referred to in Victorian England, was used to attract a wider market of readers, particularly women,

whose emotive sensibilities were more than caricatured at the time. This style of writing opened up the journalism profession to women who had limited access to the field up till then. As Chambers, Steiner and Flemming explain, “this was the very moment when women journalists began to be appreciated for their ability to attract readers through their style of writing and approach stories.”⁵ That is, the new journalism not only gave women opportunities to get into the profession by conducting interviews and writing stories about women, but it also made them the subjects of articles and features, as their drive for independence made them the perfect protagonists of the social change that fueled this new type of journalism.

While journalism scholarship has largely demonstrated the advantages these changes in press interests and topics had for women in the print cultures of Great Britain and the United States at the beginning of the 20th century,⁶ the fact remains that, in Spain, few women were professionally engaged in journalism at that time, and, consequently, even fewer practiced literary journalism until well into the century. This absence of women in Spanish literary journalism contrasts with the extraordinary development of this field during the first third of the 20th century, which was dominated by men.

As the century began, the Spanish press had managed to become the vehicle for the dissemination of knowledge and culture. In fact, many of the books by the most important writers of the time were compilations of articles published in newspapers and magazines, which at the time were the only means in Spain to express public opinion. As Mari Cruz Seoane summarizes,

The Spanish journalism of these years, deficient in the informative aspect, is at an extraordinary height in the intellectual and literary aspect, because it is nourished to a great extent by the pens of writers and intellectuals, in an

exceptional period of Spanish culture. [...] It can be said that the writer's natural environment is the newspaper rather than the book.⁷

The development of Spanish periodicals in these early years of the 20th century was exceptional, especially in Madrid and Barcelona, where the major newspapers such as *El Imparcial*, *El Liberal*, *el Heraldo de Madrid*, *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* saw an increase in the number of pages and sections that embraced the development of the different Spanish aesthetic and cultural movements of the moment. Numerous writers and journalists who published in them, such as Juan Ramón Jiménez, Manuel Machado, Miguel de Unamuno, Azorín, José Echegaray, Ramiro de Maeztu, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, resorted to literary journalism for two essential reasons: to reach a wider readership and thus make a name for themselves in the press, but also to disseminate culture and bring the national reality closer to the European model. Many of them exercised political or social criticism, defended the rights of the most disadvantaged and, at the same time, acted as reporters and correspondents to bring to Spain the great advances and the most relevant events that were occurring outside their borders. Although some of these writers and journalists were involved in the press out of necessity, the truth is, as Ana Cuquerella states, that “many of them helped to build journalism and communication as a profession worthy of social and economic recognition and as a responsibility, as a shaper of opinion and culture.”⁸

Among this group of writer-journalists was Carmen de Burgos, a rare female figure in the Spanish press and a literary journalist for more than a quarter of a century. She is currently known in Spanish academia as a novelist and a feminist, and much less as a literary journalist. Concepción Núñez's *Carmen de Burgos, Colombine, en la Edad de Plata de la literatura española* (2005), for instance, has provided exhaustive

coverage of her life, and Helena Establier's *Mujer y feminismo en la obra de Carmen de Burgos "Colombine"* (2000), Anja Louis's *Women and the Law: Carmen De Burgos, An Early Feminist* (2005), and Louis and Michelle Sharp's *Multiple Modernities: Carmen de Burgos, Author and Activist* (2017) have studied her vast fictional output and her status as a teacher and feminist, respectively. Her substantial work in literary journalism, however, has thus far received little critical attention.

Fortunately, that lacuna could soon be filled thanks to an extensive compilation of Carmen de Burgos's journalistic work recently edited by Núñez Rey, *Carmen de Burgos, Colombine. Periodista universal*,⁹ a very useful collection for gaining an overview of Carmen de Burgos's dedication to that field over several decades. Still, though, very few studies analyze her contribution to literary journalism as it appeared in various newspapers,¹⁰ and none of them focuses specifically on her stories for the *Heraldo de Madrid*, the daily for which she wrote for a quarter of a century. This chapter hopes to correct that oversight.

Among the extensive corpus of Burgos's literary journalistic work, her contributions to the *Heraldo de Madrid*, whose circulation and visibility in the Spanish capital were extremely high during the first three decades of the 20th century, were the most numerous and varied. She published there countless *crónicas*, reports and articles in pursuit of the news and current affairs, but she always did so as a pretext for tackling profound subjects from a singularly personal position, making use of the literary techniques she put into practice in the numerous novels and short stories she wrote at the same time (over a hundred in her career). In fact, her articles successfully combine information and critical reflection, sometimes in a blunt and direct way, at other times with humor and optimism, but always displaying an eminently literary style. She presented the facts in the form of scenes or brief narratives of great descriptive intensity,

almost poetic, or narrated the news as personal experiences or anecdotes in the form of a story, with detailed descriptions with a certain “costumbrista”¹¹ flavor and colorful dialogues to facilitate the transmission of the underlying message and capture the empathy of her readers.

Carmen de Burgos’s contribution to the literary journalism of her time adopts different formats, from current affairs news stories to “costumbrista” reflections, travelogues, war reportage, and narrative fiction, and takes in numerous topics that concerned her, such as social injustice, poverty, the backwardness of Spain, educational deficiencies, childhood, the gap between Spain and Europe, political corruption, the death penalty, and war. Among all these topics she addressed throughout her three decades as a journalist, one stands preeminent: the condition of women in the modern world. As no other Spanish female writer had done up to that time, Carmen de Burgos wrote literary journalism as means to render visible the demands for women’s rights that a fledgling Spanish feminism was starting to voice in these early years.

The following chapter will briefly introduce Burgos’s main achievements in the field of Spanish journalism and then focus on how her articles in the *Heraldo de Madrid* exercise a reflective and critical literary journalism committed to her progressive ideology and gender equality – a female literary journalism, innovative in a country in which women were still subjected to strict socio-sexual stereotypes that did not include professional practice.

A Pedigree Journalist in Early 20th-century Spain

Carmen de Burgos’s career as journalist began in the years of her youth,¹² and developed more fully after she arrived in Madrid in August 1901.¹³ In the capital, Burgos alternated her duties as a teacher at the Women Teachers’ College with her

literary activity,¹⁴ especially her journalism, to such an extent that for the next three decades her signature would appear continuously at the foot of columns in numerous newspapers and magazines in the capital and throughout the provinces. *La Correspondencia de España*, *El Globo*, *El País*, *ABC* and *El Pueblo* are just some of the most important newspapers in which in the early years of the new century saw Burgos publishing her articles under different pseudonyms, such as Perico el de los Palotes, Gabriel Luna and, of course, Colombine, which, as indicated, became her *nom de plume* until the end of her career.

On January 1, 1903, she joined the *Diario Universal*, which was linked to the Liberal Party in Spain, with a permanent column “Lecturas para la mujer” [Readings for women]. It represented a large step for her in the world of the press in Madrid, as until then no Spanish woman had formed part of the editorial staff of a daily newspaper. She herself explained this in the following words almost three decades later to her colleague, José Montero Alonso:

You have no idea what at that time – twenty-five years have gone by– what it meant for a woman to be a journalist and be interested in progressive ideas. There were women who wrote, it’s true [...] but they weren’t really journalists, who did the same work, in the office and on the street, as men. I was the first female editor of a daily newspaper [...].¹⁵

The first decade of the 20th century was particularly important for the writer, not just because it was at that time that she acquired the pseudonym “Colombine,”¹⁶ but also because it enabled her to establish herself as a journalist and show Madrid society, which was somewhat suspicious of this unmarried woman,¹⁷ that her femininity did not undermine her professionalism.

Her commitment to journalism led her, in fact, to become the fifth woman admitted to the Madrid Press Association, an institution with little sympathy for feminism.¹⁸ This is how the paper's editors captured her popularity and merits in the first few years of her career at the *Heraldo de Madrid*:

In just a few years Carmen de Burgos has established a solid literary reputation for herself. Her chronicles and articles, which are utterly charming, and written in an artful, effortless manner, have earned her the great renown that she enjoys, and have made the pseudonym of *Colombine* popular in newspapers and magazines.... Carmen de Burgos is, first and foremost, one of the most important figures in Spanish journalism. Her talent, proven in years of fruitful labor, and her activity, which is absolutely necessary as far as daily news duties are concerned, have earned her the reputation that she enjoys, and cannot be praised more highly.¹⁹

In the first decade of the new century, she launched from the pages of the *Diario Universal* (1903) her notorious controversial survey on divorce, a subject that concerned her throughout her life and that she also reflected on in essays and novels. It earned her a torrent of letters containing a wide variety of opinions on the matter. Although the survey did not achieve any practical results, it did manage to spark the controversy that had been absent from the Spanish social scene, which had still clung to the eternal indissolubility of the institution of marriage. The work of a separated woman with leftist leanings, Colombine's participation in this entire controversy spread like wildfire among the Madrid intelligentsia, who soon began spitefully referring to her "the divorcer."²⁰

From the first decade of the century onwards, she wrote for other publications in Madrid and the provinces, and some of them, such as the *Heraldo de Madrid*, *Por esos mundos*, *Nuevo Mundo* and *Mundo Gráfico*, also gave her a column of her own.²¹ In the

same years, she would also begin contributing regularly to the illustrated magazine, *La Esfera*, in which Colombine's stories, features, *crónicas* and interviews, especially the ones she wrote as a result of her numerous journeys around Europe and America, would continuously appear until the 1930s.²²

Carmen de Burgos's activity in journalism thus continued unabated, even if the rise of her literary career slowed the pace of her contributions to the press during certain periods. As the century advanced, she published opinion pieces at the same time as narrative pieces of varying length in magazines and literary anthologies, such as *El Cuento Semanal*, *Los Contemporáneos*, and *La Novela de Hoy*, or as sections devoted to literature and literary criticism (in *La Esfera*, for example), with special emphasis on the presence of women in the art world. She was founder and editor of the *Revista Crítica* (1908–1909), where she published a great many articles on social issues.²³ She contributed to *Prometeo*, the journal her friend and partner, the avant-garde writer Ramón Gómez de la Serna, wrote for, and was responsible for a literary column in the *Heraldo de Madrid*, "Literary Impressions: On the Margins of Books," and another one about Portuguese literature in *Cosmópolis*, the journal of Spanish Ultraism: "Literary Chronicle of Portugal," later known as "Portuguese Literature."

From the 1920s onwards, the range of publications in which it was possible to find Colombine's signature extended to the international sphere, and her name regularly appeared in magazines from New York (*Cine-Mundial*, the Spanish edition of *Moving Picture World*), Mexico (*Feminismo Internacional*, founded by Elena Arizmendi), Cuba (*Diario de la Marina*), Chile (*Zig-Zag*) and Portugal (*O Mundo*).²⁴ By and large, her writing exhibits a sound pedagogical and radical spirit, although on many occasions her articles reflect descriptive and *costumbrista* points of view or address typical "female interest" issues, with comments on fashion, beauty and social etiquette. Many of her

articles venture into the terrain of social criticism, steeped in egalitarian, liberal and republican ideologies that were present from her early years in Madrid, through her hesitant flirtation with left-wing associations and parties, as well as in her participation with clearly progressive newspapers,²⁵ to the end of her life, when she became a member of the Radical Socialist Republican Party. Exposing and fighting injustice and defending basic human values were her missions. Colombine covered topics as militant and wide-ranging as economic inequality, the lack of security in working conditions, neglect in educational matters, the downgraded socio-occupational status of women, the problems of childhood, the death penalty, the ravages of wars, etc.

In short, Colombine's relationship with the press was long and fruitful, especially with the *Heraldo de Madrid*. It was precisely in this newspaper that the author developed with particular persistence her dual commitment to literary journalism and gender vindication. The following section explores the different ways in which Carmen de Burgos's double commitment is demonstrated through the pages of this historic Madrid daily.

Colombine in the *Heraldo de Madrid*: Committed Literary Journalism

Heraldo de Madrid,²⁶ a liberal-leaning, large-circulation newspaper, contained the largest number of articles written by Carmen de Burgos, whose signature regularly appeared in its pages for more than twenty-five years.²⁷ In October 1905, as the author was about to embark on a journey around Europe that would keep her out of the country for an entire year,²⁸ the newspaper announced Colombine's forthcoming recruitment as "one of the most important figures in Spanish journalism" on its front page.²⁹

From this moment, and with astonishing regularity until 1930, Burgos made her presence felt in *Heraldo de Madrid* by contributing articles where she reflected on war,

current affairs, ecology, fashion, literature, society, ethics, philosophy, art and, of course, on the situation of women in the modern world. In her long passage through its pages, she wrote various permanent columns: “Femeninas” [Females] from 1906; “Confidencias de artistas” [Artists’ secrets], which began to appear in 1915 and included interviews with Spanish actresses;³⁰ “El problema de la enseñanza” [The problem of education], where during several months in 1917 she published her conversations with significant figures in Education in Spain; and “Impresiones literarias. Al margen de los libros” [Literary impressions: On the margins of books], a space where, from the same year (1917) and under the pseudonym of Perico el de los Palotes, she included reviews of various books that had just been published and interviews with important figures on the contemporary book scene.

Many of the stories that she wrote for *Heraldo* for more than two decades were the result of her insatiable curiosity for “otherness.” She had in her an irrepressible wanderlust, just like other Spanish female writers of her day, such as Emilia Serrano de Wilson, María Lejárrika, Emilia Pardo Bazán or Sofía Casanova, who were driven by a restless spirit of exploration. The places Colombine visited and the stories that she produced about them for the Madrid newspaper varied considerably: France, Switzerland and Italy in 1905;³¹ and Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg in 1912.³² An extensive tour in 1914 that began in Switzerland, and continued through Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Russia, was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I.³³ Between 1916 and 1917, at the height of the War, she toured around France and Italy, and, on various occasions, Portugal (1915–1916, 1920).³⁴

Contrary to the passive image that seems to be associated with women in her day, Carmen de Burgos accepted the transgression of norms involved in traveling as a woman. In her articles, she authoritatively adopts the position of a female narrator–subject, whose

aim was to observe her surroundings objectively but subjectively and reflectively interact with them. She acts as an observer–narrator, who describes “otherness” with regard to a broad range of international, social and political subjects, and comments on this from a specific ideologically progressive and feminist stance,³⁵ and on many occasions even becomes an active character in her own reporting.

During her first trip to Europe in 1906, for example, she sent various *crónicas* to the *Heraldo de Madrid* in which she focused, with a clear gender perspective, on the women of the countries she visited and on those who, like herself, took on the role of lone travelers, transgressing the sexual roles that constrained them to move under male protection. In her article “Viajes de señoras solas” [Travels of single women] published on February 17, 1906, we can see how, after describing with great expressive richness the city of Pisa, Burgos focuses her attention on a group of American female students visiting the monuments. She takes the point of view of a privileged spectator to narrate the encounter between the young girls, symbols of the modernity of the New World, and the historical beauty of the Italian monuments, and her description of the scene she witnesses, impregnated with subjectivity, leads to a reflection on Spanish prejudices about traveling, on her own condition as a woman traveler, and on the possibilities for single women to travel in Italy:

I have been in Pisa for four days now, four sunny days spent in the Piazza del Duomo contemplating these admirable buildings, where the ancient glory of the Tuscan city lives on, flaunting its columns and marble lace between its green carpet and its blue canopy.

During this time I have seen many foreigners come, guide in hand, to visit the “Mecca of Art”; an American professor, accompanied by seven young Yankee girls, passed several times before me, while the pupils took

in views of the “Leaning Tower,” the “Batisterio” and the “Duomo.” The delicate, blonde ladies had crossed the ocean to admire these wonders, and were touching the walls, as if sight alone were not enough to appreciate all the beauty of the form. They were not the only women that, alone or with their families, I met during my trip.

In Spain there are few excursions of this kind; it is believed that one needs a large capital to travel in beautiful Italy; it is a mistake, from which I was saved by a series of articles published in a French newspaper, and I do not judge it useless to say something about it to the readers of this magazine.

[...] We can divide the women travelers into two classes, those who come to Italy for pleasure and those who seek to complement their studies; all can live comfortably and modestly for seven *pesetas* a day. By sacrificing some comforts, one can live for up to five *pesetas* a day.³⁶

On the same trip to Italy, Colombine visited the well-known writer Matilde Serao – novelist, journalist, and founder with her husband Edoardo Scarfoglio of *Il Corriere di Roma* – at her home in Naples. In the reportage she wrote for the *Heraldo* in April 1906, the extensive descriptions of Matilde Serao, her family, and work environment, are imbued with the reporter’s subjectivity, with her enthusiasm for this modern, hard-working Italian woman, who is a mother and a professional writer at the same time. The bond of intimacy that is generated between the two women, with similar backgrounds, serves to introduce Carmen de Burgos into her own narration as another character:

The beautiful house she lives in, facing the admirable Neapolitan gulf, is furnished in a way that reveals her artistic imagination. One room is a

Turkish cabinet; the one beyond, a Japanese room; this one is decorated in *Liberty* style and the other recalls the elegance of the Empire.

[...] Matilde Serao [...] has the spirit of a fighter; with astonishing activity she runs her great daily newspaper, one of the first in Italy [...].

It is a beautiful spectacle that of this woman in the editorial office of her newspaper, composed entirely of intellectual and enlightened men, who obey her leadership, not only willingly, but with pleasure, without for a moment thinking that it is depressing for them to be led by a woman, all recognizing the superiority of her brain.

Matilde Serao is not just an intellectual: she is a very strong-willed woman. In her intimate life she has been able to break down prejudices and worries to attend to her affections with unequalled courage [...].

Today I asked her to favor the *Heraldo* with her authoritative news on the social question of women in Italy and she gave in to my wish while our daughters were playing with their dolls, oblivious to the great problems we were dealing with [...].³⁷

During these years, Colombine made use of her “Femeninas” column in *Heraldo*, just as she had her “Lecturas para la mujer” column in the *Diario Universal*, not only to raise awareness among her readers about the asymmetrical status of the sexes in contemporary society, but also to announce the changes that had resulted from women being able to enter new spaces. The column became a platform in what would later become a genuine struggle for women’s rights. In the first few years, her articles in *Heraldo* devoted to women from the lowest social classes (washerwomen, seamstresses, beggars, hairdressers, convicts, etc.) provide a gallery of contemporary female portraits in which meticulous and objective description coexists alongside the gathering of information

and testimonies focused on social and gender-related demands that match Colombine's clearly progressive ideology.

This can be seen in her reportage "Por los lavaderos," published in September 1906, on the laundries of the Manzanares River, which she visited accompanied by a photographer. The information on the pitiful situation of the washerwomen emerges from the combination between the actual interviews that the author carries out on the spot and the descriptions that she provides, following her visit, of their living conditions and family circumstances:

Under a hut of old mats covering the murky stream of the anemic Manzanares, kneeling inside wooden crates, among piles of dirty rags, buckets of bleach and crumbling boards, the army of washerwomen watches the summer days and the freezing winter mornings go by.

[...] The women, with their brightly colored dresses, their strong, brown arms in the air, their heads sporting the thick mass of dark curls with which nature endowed Spanish women [...]; a multitude of terracotta-colored children run along the banks of the river [...], the hens peck happily at the door of the poor little windows, and many men lie on the ground waiting for the end of the heavy labor with which their wives support them; [...] Without giving importance to the privations, to which they are accustomed, they told me the conditions of their life; in the washing places, from six in the morning to seven in the evening; the food, in a cheap tavern, [...] the house abandoned; the unmuffled bed that awaits them at night; the clothes, which are not mended; the boys, who do not comb their hair; the man, who goes to work and to the tavern or wanders around the washing place to share the poor meal.³⁸

Two other reportages, for example, “Costureras” and “Las obreras de la aguja,” published in October and November 1906, respectively, demonstrate Burgos’s desire to meticulously reflect the ins and outs of the seamstresses’ work, such as the prices of their services, the workers’ salaries and working hours, with the ultimate goal of denouncing the exploitative conditions in which these jobs were carried out and boosting the female workers’ union movement:

Have my readers ever thought of the time and labor that has gone into making a suit or a coat when they first wear it? [...] Perhaps not, and yet there are few things so interesting, for the sewing industry is the one which employs the greatest number of women and where the work is most irregular.

[...] In spite of laws and agreements, forced by the necessity of submission in order not to be dismissed, the women workers labor in the workshops up to twelve hours, and in times of work overload they keep working at night, from nine o’clock in the evening to five o’clock in the morning. [...] Their work is very hard: in cramped quarters, on backless stools, they sew by hand or by machine all day long in a sad monotony, and the air they breathe is foul and unhealthy.

[...] Poverty forces many of them to submit to exploitation. Those who work in private homes are better off: 2,50 *pesetas* and food per day as a rule, and they enjoy more freedom and more spacious premises.[...] Work in the workshop obliges them to spend more on footwear and clothing [...]. Those who earn good wages are rare; the norm is no more than 1,50 to 2 *pesetas*, minus Sundays and public holidays, for which their bosses are careful not to pay them.

[...] It would be good to start thinking about liberation and setting up collective workshops.³⁹

Later, the development of feminism outside Spain,⁴⁰ women's education⁴¹ or the new roles that women were starting to play in modern Europe,⁴² became just some of the subjects that filled her articles and reportages in the years close to World War I.

Support for female suffrage remained a priority, and a recurrent issue, throughout Burgos's professional relationship with *Heraldo*. She made use of the survey she launched in the column "El voto de la mujer" [The woman's vote] in October and November 1906, for example, to sound out what distinguished figures thought about this controversial issue. Although this campaign did not have the same social impact as her first survey on divorce in the pages of the *Diario Universal*, it did obtain a great many replies – nearly five thousand, according to the author,⁴³ although only seventy were published – most of which were against female suffrage. In the early years of the century, Spanish society was clearly sexist, not yet ready to tolerate the presence of women at the ballot box, but at least Colombine had managed once again to bring the issue to the fore.

In fact, the issue of women's suffrage continued to preoccupy her columns in *Heraldo* in the two decades that followed. In 1921, the Cruzada de Mujeres Españolas (Spanish Women's Crusade), a suffragette association chaired by Carmen de Burgos, went to the Congress of Deputies to present its demands to the members of the national parliament. With this excuse, Colombine wrote a reportage for the *Heraldo*, in which she described with humor the curious scenes that took place at the door of the Congress between the deputies, some more progressive than others, and the young women who were handing out propaganda in favor of women's suffrage:

It is the dawn of a serious feminist movement, and this first act of the Spanish suffragettes surprised the deputies, giving rise to funny scenes

between them and the large group of pretty young girls at the door of the Congress who were handing out propaganda sheets.

Mr. Allendesalazar stopped to chat amiably with them, and the Count of Romanones said to them:

– You will have the vote, no doubt about it! Lerroux, smiling, offered to be the one to give it to them.

[...] Most of the Members of Parliament, polite and courteous, offered their support, among them the distinguished Mr. Francisco Bergamín.

There were some who, frightened, did not dare to approach the propagandists. One of them rejected the manifesto, and the audience, interested in the event, chanted:

– That one doesn't know how to read.⁴⁴

In opposition to Colombine's feminist *crónicas* were her war reportages (some of the most sensationalist examples of her literary journalism) on the Spanish–Moroccan conflict in the Rif and on the outbreak of the Great War. In 1909, in fact, we find her in Melilla, covering the war in the North African Rif region right from the front lines⁴⁵ and periodically sending her dispatches back to the *Heraldo de Madrid*. It was the first time a woman had served as a war correspondent in Spain, a posting for which she would later be followed by Teresa de Escoriaza and Sofia Casanova.⁴⁶ This is how Burgos acknowledged her experiences years later:

In 1909 I received an offer that I couldn't turn down. At the *Heraldo de Madrid* they needed information about the war with Morocco on the North African front, which was advancing dangerously, and there were very few journalists prepared to go into battle. They promised me a bonus, paid

expenses and that they would publish a book with my best reporting. I would be the first female war correspondent, a dangerous aspect of journalism that up to then only men had the right to undertake. So I grabbed my sister Ketty (Catalina) and we went off to Melilla.⁴⁷

Between August 9 and September 27 of that year, Carmen de Burgos wrote fourteen reportages for *Heraldo* about her first experiences of war, first from the Spanish coastal cities of Málaga and Almería, then from Melilla after August 25, and one last one possibly from Madrid. As she drew closer to the danger zone of the conflict, Colombine's texts grew longer and gained more prominence, and she even made the front page of the newspaper on six occasions, carrying the headline "Colombine in Melilla."

Read as a whole, these articles undoubtedly provide a fascinating chronicle of her experience in the Rif region, in which the author, fully involved in the events she witnesses, describes in a fairly restrained dramatic manner the situation of the soldiers, the care for the wounded and the conditions in the camps. In the following three separate examples of her reportages from Melilla, Burgos's feelings and impressions provide the cornerstones on which her narrative is constructed:

I am overcome with a deep sadness. The soldier in the field inspires a feeling of respectful tenderness, which we do not feel when we contemplate him in peacetime. Every day, as I see them leaving with the convoy, brown, sweaty, dusty, I experience something like the tender pity that seems to come from the atmosphere of love and tears with which the memory of mothers and distant mistresses surrounds them. The farewell of two friends is wrapped in the uncertainty of seeing each other again. There is no certainty at any moment.⁴⁸

It was only today that I finished my visit to the military hospitals in Melilla. [...] The one that currently has the largest number of wounded [...] is the central hospital, which has 205 beds, almost all of which are occupied. Yesterday I paid them my last visit [...]. Two seriously wounded were lying on their stretchers, and a gunner was in agony, his head shattered by a bullet. Walking through those rooms of pain, I saw the unhappy deaf-mute cornet, who is regaining his hearing and speech by means of hypnotism [...]. Many, with their legs and arms amputated, suffer immobile in bed [...].⁴⁹

One of those uncomfortable cars from Melilla has taken us to one of the most advanced positions of the Gurugú mountain, where the soldiers of Llerena have their camp [...]. The road is difficult; the burning, blinding light of a flaming sun envelops us; the dust and the earth prevent us from breathing, and those terrible flies of the Rif, which are the scourge of the army, bite us furiously. They are flies that we cannot get rid of no matter how much we shoo them away; at Cabo Moreno's inn I have seen the soldiers wrapped in gauze to get rid of this torment.⁵⁰

Of particular interest, for their descriptive prolixity and picturesqueness, are the reportages she devotes to describing the spaces and customs of the local inhabitants, with an especially close look at, not without a critical spirit, Arab women:

Those who come to this part of Morocco dreaming of beautiful Arab legends will find their hopes completely dashed.

Under the hot African sun, similar to our Andalusian sun, we no longer see the caravans pass by with camels laden with rich fabrics; the mournful eyes of impatient Moorish women do not appear behind the lattices in the streets, nor do horsemen in white dressing gowns flock to a mosque when the voice of the priest calls them from the minarets.

[...] As we walked through the uneven streets, full of straw and dung, where a herd of blackish and dirty children play, alarm spread among the inhabitants; we saw the women pass by, light as white ghosts, and hide in the houses, similar to corrals [...].

Most of them are of medium height, light and well-shaped bodies, dark in color [...]. The principal beauty is in the eyes: black, intense, which stare with thoughtful fixity or move like butterflies. On the contrary, their hair, so beautiful from afar, makes me feel disenchanted.

Those magnificent black plaits are skeins of cotton wool!⁵¹

Burgos's war reportages, though, were not devoid of certain controversies, as Brad Epps explains:

the contradiction is that of the "colonised" as coloniser, of the subject – here, importantly, the female subject – in whom the crisscrossing signs of gender, race and nationality, sexuality, ethnicity and class, generate a far from monolithic or straightforward identity.⁵²

On the other hand, reading these articles today also makes it quite clear that the strict censorship imposed by Antonio Maura's conservative government (1907–1909) prevented Colombine from expressing the fiery pacifism she would later display, save her depictions, from a deeply Eurocentric perspective, of the suffering of Spanish soldiers and their families. Only after the fall of Maura's government in October 1909

and just before the end of the Second Melillan campaign a little over a month later would Colombine venture to express her pacifist views in print.

On October 29, 1909, she published her novella *En la Guerra* in the *El cuento seminal*, the “first weekly literary magazine on the Spanish market,”⁵³ and at the same time wrote the prologue to the book *Por los que lloran (Apuntes de la guerra)* by journalist Pedro Luis de Gálvez, who had been a correspondent for the *El liberal* newspaper in Melilla. In *En la Guerra*, Alina, the protagonist of the story, accompanies her husband to the Moroccan front, and although she is expressly excluded from the public sphere because she is a woman, she suffers the dire consequences of the war by tragically losing the two men she loves, her lover and her husband. Alina’s loss clearly represents the threat to a world that does not listen to women’s message of peace, and serves as an excuse for the author to reveal in narrative form the most sordid details of the war, which were mostly silenced in her censored journalistic reportages: the unburied and mutilated corpses in Barranco del Lobo, the ignorance of the soldiers on their way to battle, the suffering of the wounded, the panic, the pain, the loneliness, and the death. Continuing this argument in her prologue to Gálvez’s book, Burgos makes her message of peace explicit on the basis of an irrefutable argument of authority: as a woman and as a mother who has experienced war first hand, she stands up for all women and all mothers to defend their right to preserve the lives of their children: “If we women do not want to mourn this injustice forever, let us fight against it.”⁵⁴

Both texts now quite clearly reflected the author’s ideological positions on the recent Moroccan campaign, categorically expressing her rejection of the war and focusing on the conflict from its more intimate, familiar side, the one considered more “feminine” because of its affection and emotional sensibility. In tune with some of the arguments defended by international feminists at the time, Carmen de Burgos presented

the cause for peace as a task intrinsically linked to the essence of women and their reproductive capacity, as a natural extension of the ethics of care in which women have traditionally recognized themselves and have taken on as their own. Although beyond the Spanish borders, the women's pacifist movement had been flexing its organizational muscle since the late 19th century,⁵⁵ in Spain the movement was not really widespread until the outbreak of the Great War.⁵⁶ As such, Burgos's forceful public antiwar stance expressed in the press and through her literature in the first decade of the 20th century made her – together with Rosario de Acuña and Concepción Arenal – one of the movement's pioneers in Spain.⁵⁷

From 1914 onwards, there were more Spanish feminists who spoke out about the women's pacifist movement, such as Clara Campoamor, Carmen Baroja, Isabel Oyarzábal, and Sofía Casanova. Coincidentally, at this time Carmen de Burgos was once again working for the *Heraldo* as a war correspondent. She was caught by surprise while she was traveling through Europe in search of the midnight sun. Forced to return to Spain by crossing Germany, she witnessed the early events of the war. Even in her very first reports, sent from London between August 25 and 30, while she was waiting for a passport to be able to get back to Spain, and published in the *Heraldo* on that same month, Colombina expressed her disapproval of the generalized irrationality that seemed to have suddenly afflicted European civilization, especially with regard to the attitude that the Germans showed in the war, in particular their cruelty toward the Russians.⁵⁸

The war, and her opposition to it, was a leitmotif in Burgos's literary and journalistic works for four long years, in the dozens of articles she wrote for the *Heraldo* and in four short novels that she published in the “Los Contemporáneos” and “La novela corta” collections between May 1917 and September 1919.⁵⁹ In “Los niños

sin patria” [Children without a country] “Los hospitales” or “Hospital de ciegos” [Hospitals for the blind], she focuses on the consequences of the war on the children and the infirmed. En “Balance de balances,” published at the height of the war in January 1916, Colombine takes bitter stock of the current situation in Europe:

The balance sheet that has not been possible to draw up is the one providing an appraisal of the war. It would have been too vast, and a newspaper article doesn't allow for this [...]. We have seen that the very least such an appraisal of the war needs, its written index, would be a volume running 400 pages. Only by first being given an assessment of the enormous scale of events can we really appreciate the astonishment felt when faced with the unfeasibly huge figures of the casualties, misery, death and destruction, in which it seems, they are so enormous, that there has been a differential error, as if two or three zeros had been added without us noticing [...].⁶⁰

Faced with such a harsh reality threatening the Old World, Colombine remained totally faithful to the Allies, paying special attention to the work their women carried out in and with regard to the war, as well as to the ways the war changed their lives. Her affirmation of women's solidarity and common sense, in contrast with the barbarism and senselessness of men that the war represented, became a fundamental trope of Burgos's work, and her articles focus on three basic female spheres of action: logistical support, which stressed women's ability to take on male tasks in their absence; combatant care, physical and moral alike, which upended the supposed incompatibility of women in public life with the female care ethic; and tireless pacificism.

In 1915, *Heraldo* serialized Berta von Suttner's *Die Waffen nieder!* (*Lay Down Your Arms*, 1889) under the title *¡Abajo las armas!* In the same years, Colombine

explained to the readers of her “Femeninas” column the various ways in which the war had settled the controversy about women’s suitability to play a role in public life:

The war has been a revelation for modern women [.]. [T]his war in 1914 requires the spirit of the modern woman, who doesn’t resign herself to sitting about in a corner of her home waiting for peace that is still remote, thinking that she is being useful to her country because she sews a piece a clothing intended for the soldiers.⁶¹

Colombine praised the work that allied women had carried out in a variety of fields of action, which ranged from the “female” sphere of care as nurses or providers of spiritual rest for soldiers, to the professional areas that until that time were exclusively male, such as carrying out hard labor, practicing medicine, writing war literature or committing to the war effort.

In “La era de las mujeres,” for example, published in the *Heraldo* in May 1916, she described with admiration, enthusiasm and a little bit of envy some of the trades that English and French women had taken up in the years their countries’ men were absent, such as firemen or blacksmiths, factory workers or station porters:

Necessity, which has forced women to take part in all industries and in all jobs, is going to profoundly change customs [...].

The services which women are rendering in factories, in workshops, in agricultural work, and in car and tramway service are well known. On the railways they have taken the place of men in almost every occupation, even the rough work of station porters.

In London, women firemen have taken the place of men, and every day they practice exercises with manly agility and determination [...].

In Marseilles, women have made another conquest in the mastery of manual work. The woman blacksmith appeared in an establishment run by Françoise Sigaud, where the workers hid their hair under a flirtatious little cap, strapped on the leather apron, traditional in their trade, and handled the heavy hammers to strike the anvil of reddened iron. The skill and dexterity of these workers, some of whom do not have the biceps of Lhermitte's figures, but on the contrary are often small in stature, is astounding.⁶²

In other articles, she adopts a more subjective tone, recounting in first person some of her own experiences traveling in wartime Europe, where she had witnessed acts of recognition for women who had distinguished themselves for their courage. At the Sorbonne, for example, she attended the tribute to the young French heroine Marcelle Semmer, who was recognized for her fierce resistance to the German army and her charitable actions:

She was recognizable, not only in her face pale with emotion, but also because on her chest, on her dark and simple costume, the *Croix de Guerre* and the *Médaille Légion d'Honneur* shone with dazzling brilliance. She is the youngest legionnaire in France.

[...] She aroused the tenderness that should be felt for children returning home after victory. She was like a foretaste of victory. A winner. The women closest to her kissed her hands in tears.⁶³

The moving act of homage, which Colombine describes in a wealth of details and highly emotional tone, leads her to a personal reflection on the positive and stimulating effects such a recognition of valor could have on women:

The room was full of women and I thought about the beneficent effect, the moralizing effect that the speech had on all souls. Undoubtedly, under the speaker's words, a stronger sense of dignity arose in these women. I felt the desire to be heroic grow in the women around me. Exceptional moments always have an admirable fruitfulness.⁶⁴

In another piece, entitled "Cosas de actualidad" [Current events] and published in November 1915, Carmen de Burgos stresses how "this disastrous war has demonstrated the work and importance of women to such an extent that it will no longer be possible to sneer about feminism."⁶⁵ She concludes in yet another *crónica*, "Espiguelo" [Gleaning] from July 1916, that "it is undeniable that the Codes have to be transformed after the war, just as the events that women have taken part in demand."⁶⁶ In view of the "official" neutrality of Spain, she called for the emotional involvement of her fellow countrywomen to join in unity with women who were enduring the war on the front line: "Neutrality isn't selfishness."⁶⁷ "Our neutrality has to be filled with tears, sensibility, and aspirations," she writes elsewhere, "that, even if they come to nothing, try to find a way to improve the miserable situation of other women who are suffering."⁶⁸

The status and the work of women in the period just after the Armistice was the theme that structured a large part of Colombine's journalism in the early 1920s, where she once again took up the basic tenets of her feminist creed, interrupted by the pressing needs of the war: women's rights and female suffrage. Thirteen years after the aforementioned campaign in the *Heraldo* in support of women's suffrage, to mark the meeting of the National Council of French Women in Strasbourg (1919), she went on the offensive again in the pages of the newspaper with several articles,⁶⁹ where she recalls her

campaign in 1906, claims the credit for having launched the fight for the vote in Spain,⁷⁰ and defends the work carried out by socialist women in the national suffragette movement:

the announcement that women are to have political rights has been an inducement for Spanish women to arouse them from their apathy and make them think about the struggle. The bold Socialist women are girding themselves up for this, and are ready to give battle to the Right in due course, with the confidence that comes from their strength in numbers and their enthusiasm [...]. While all women are fighting for the vote, we as Spanish women mustn't be the only ones who are afraid to obtain a right and accept the responsibility that this entails.⁷¹

Conclusion

This chapter has taken a close look at the literary journalism written by Carmen de Burgos Seguí, or Colombine as she was known, for the *Heraldo de Madrid* newspaper during the first quarter of the 20th century (1906–1930). Although her career in journalism had begun five years earlier, it is in this daily that she found fame. Burgos worked out of the news room – the first Spanish woman, in fact, to do so for a mainstream newspaper – but she also chased up news stories on the street. She observed, investigated, gathered information, listened to and interviewed people, and all of that contributed to her columns' testimonial nature. However, she also indulged in reflecting on issues and in opinion pieces and, above all, placed her prolific and meticulous narrative skills at the service of the press, leaving for posterity a corpus of literary journalism that is both extensive and varied.

As these pages have shown, her contributions to this Madrid newspaper – and, by extension, to the Spanish literary journalism of the first third of the 20th century – were much more varied and copious than her war reportages would give us reason to believe.

This chapter covers a wide variety of subjects and types of articles that Colombine wrote for the *Heraldo de Madrid*, an incomparable platform from which she could voice her intellectual and ideological concerns and raise awareness about gender equality. That is why, regardless of the subject and structure of her articles (travelogues, educational essays, social criticism, digressions on contemporary customs, antiwar discourse, etc.), the situation of women is a constant feature in each. She worked tirelessly not only to denounce the injustices visited upon women daily in Spain but also to suggest new paths to follow that were in keeping with the feminist demands of her time and with the models provided by neighboring European countries.

Notes

¹ Burgos, “Introduction,” 1: “He hecho el periodismo vivo, activo, de batalla. He sido la primera mujer que se ha visto ante la mesa de la Redacción, que ha hecho reportajes, que ha organizado encuestas, que ha vivido y sentido, en fin, el periodismo de combate, ágil, nervioso, bohemio.” All translations from Spanish to English in this chapter, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

² See Cansinos Assens, “La novela,” 191. The “Red Ladies” of Madrid was a radical women’s group, linked to the Republican Party, which worked closely with the Socialist Women’s Group in the capital (1906–1914). In the early 1910s, Carmen de Burgos worked actively with both groups. See Del Moral, “El Grupo Femenino Socialista de Madrid,” 247–68, and “Acción colectiva femenina,” 541–66).

³ Johnson, *Gender and Nation*, 228.

⁴ Griffiths, *The New Journalism*, 1–19; Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News*, xi–xix.

⁵ Chambers, Steiner and Flemming, *Women and Journalism*, 21.

⁶ On the impact of New Journalism on women, see Chambers, Steiner and Flemming, *Women and Journalism*, 20–22.

⁷ Seoane, “La literatura en el periódico,” 20: “El periodismo español de estos años, deficiente en el aspecto informativo, está a extraordinaria altura en el aspecto intelectual y literario, porque se nutre en gran medida de las plumas de escritores e intelectuales, en una época excepcional de la cultura española [...]. Puede afirmarse que el ámbito natural de escritor es el periódico más que el libro.”

⁸ Cuquerella, “1898,” 136: “muchos de ellos ayudaron a construir el periodismo y la comunicación como profesión digna de recibir reconocimiento social y económico y como responsabilidad, al ser formadora de opinión y cultura.”

⁹ Núñez Rey gathers in two volumes the articles published by Carmen de Burgos in different newspapers between 1903 and 1931.

¹⁰ The most interesting ones are Marín, “Colonialismo,” 11–42; Núñez Rey, “Escritora y periodista,” 45–57, and “Testimonio antibelicista,” 185–219; Pedro Álvarez, “Ángeles de la guerra”; Pozzi, “Viajando por Europa,” 188–204, and “War in Morocco,” 299–307; Paíno, Jiménez and Rodríguez, “Imagen de la mujer,” 413–32; Prieto García-Cañedo, “Batallas. 87–101.”

¹¹ “Costumbrismo” was a 19th-century Spanish literary genre, cultivated in newspapers and magazines, characterized by the portrayal and interpretation of the country’s customs and types. The resulting description is known as “cuadro de costumbres” (“picture of customs”), if it portrays a typical scene, or “artículo de costumbres” (“article of customs”), if it describes with a humor and satire some aspect of Spanish life.

¹² Between 1886 and 1889, when she was barely 20 years old, Carmen de Burgos collaborated assiduously in *La Luz del Porvenir*, a weekly spiritualist magazine, where she published popular didactic/moral short stories, digressions on the mission of women, letters of consolation to her friends and, above all, articles exalting the virtues of primitive Christianity, peace, love, justice and charity. See Establier Pérez, “Dama roja,” 437–38.

¹³ Núñez Rey, *Edad de Plata*, 93.

¹⁴ Burgos explored a wide variety of literary genres, and, although there are some youthful examples of her poetry and playwriting, essays and narratives form the heart of her oeuvre. She wrote literature to earn a living – manuals on female education, social etiquette, gastronomy and many other editorial assignments that helped her to get by financially when times were hard – and left some intimate reflections on a variety of social or legal matters. She also penned travel books and biographies, wrote prologues for works by classical writers and translations of European authors, wrote dialogues and published books of interviews. But above all she wrote novels, novellas and short stories, which she turned out effortlessly – altogether, more than a hundred – from her early years in Madrid up to the year of her death.

¹⁵ Montero Alonso, “Carmen de Burgos,” 3: “Usted no. tiene ni idea de lo que entonces – han pasado veinticinco años – era esto de que una mujer fuese periodista y se interesase por las ideas avanzadas. Había mujeres que escribían, sí [...] pero no. que fueran verdaderamente periodistas, que realizasen el mismo trabajo, de redacción y de calle, que los hombres. Yo fui la primera redactora de un periódico diario [...]”

¹⁶ Augusto Suárez de Figueroa, the director of the *Diario Universal*, gave her this pseudonym “Colombine” when the newspaper was first launched. It clearly brings to

mind the smart, crafty female character in the Commedia dell'Arte, able to take advantage of any situation.

¹⁷ When Carmen de Burgos arrived in Madrid in 1901, she was leaving behind a failed marriage in Almería. It should be remembered that in turn-of-the-century Spain, characterized by its conservative and deeply religious mentality, divorce or separation were totally uncommon for women.

¹⁸ The four women who entered the APM before Carmen de Burgos were Jesusa Granda, founding member since 1895; Atocha Ossorio; Salomé Núñez de Topete; and Consuelo Álvarez Pool. Colombine was admitted in 1907. Hernando, "Carmen de Burgos, la APM," 37.

¹⁹ "Carmen de Burgos Seguí," 1: "En pocos años ha conseguido Carmen de Burgos una legítima reputación literaria. Sus crónicas, sus artículos, llenos de amenidad, escritos con arte y soltura, le han valido la gran nombradía de que goza, y que ha hecho popular en periódicos y revistas el seudónimo de Colombine [...]. Carmen de Burgos es, ante todo y sobre todo, uno de los elementos más valiosos del periodismo español. Su talento, probado en algunos años de fecunda labor, su actividad, tan necesaria en estas tareas de la diaria información, le han labrado el crédito de que goza, y que no necesita de mayores encomios."

²⁰ González Fiol, "Domadores de éxito," 19. The numerous letters, mostly favorable to divorce, received on the occasion of this survey, and published in the column "El pleito del divorcio" [Divorce lawsuit] of *Diario Universal*, became part of a book by Carmen de Burgos the same year of 1904: *El divorcio en España*.

²¹ In 1906, Burgos started her own column "Mujeres" [Women] in the *Heraldo*. In 1910, 1911 and 1914, respectively, the magazines *Por esos mundos*, *Nuevo Mundo* and

Mundo Gráfico, all members of the Prensa Gráfica group, also incorporated her into their editorial staffs with fixed sections (“Frivolities,” “Women’s World” and “Mundainties”).

²² Arbona Abascal, “Cuentos,” 85–93.

²³ Ena Bordonada, “*Revista Crítica*,” 95–116. NEEDS AN ENTRY IN YOUR BIBLIO

²⁴ In fact, for two years (1919-1921), Colombine enjoyed having her own column in the magazine *O Mundo*, “Coisas de Espanha. Crónica de Colombine.”

²⁵ In this respect, her work written between November 1906 and August 1908 under the pseudonym Gabriel Luna at *El Pueblo* in Valencia – a republican newspaper founded by the well-known writer, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez – is a good example of her visceral leftism in the first decade of the 20th century. Her articles in the Valencian newspaper are radical, somewhat inflammatory on occasions, with an anticlerical tone and civic-minded spirit, and focus on humanitarian-interest subjects, such as violations against personal rights, the absurd jingoism that pits peoples and nations against one another, love for humanity, the dangers of tyranny, the death penalty, etc.

²⁶ *Heraldo de Madrid* was published daily between October 29, 1890, and March 27, 1939. At the beginning of the 1910s, it was already the second largest newspaper in Madrid, after *La Correspondencia de España*.

²⁷ Until 1922, she was still writing a large number of articles in the *Heraldo*, but after this they were considerably more spread out over time. From that year onwards, the author focused more on narrative writing; and, in addition, her extensive travels to Mexico and Cuba in 1925, Naples in 1926, and Chile, Peru and Bolivia in 1927 led her towards a different kind of press, which was more international, such as the

aforementioned magazines *Cine-Mundial*, *Diario de la Marina*, *Feminismo Internacional* or *Zig-Zag*.

²⁸ The reason for the first trip that Colombine took around Europe was to further her studies on the systems of education of other European countries, with a grant of 3,000 pesetas a year awarded for this purpose by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The articles for the *Heraldo* helped to finance her trip. On the relationship between Carmen de Burgos's travels and education, see Daganzo, "Carmen de Burgos," 44.

²⁹ "Carmen de Burgos Seguí," 1.

³⁰ These interviews would be collected later in the volume of the same title, *Confidencias de artistas*.

³¹ From November 1905 to July 1906, numerous travelogues appeared in the *Heraldo*, the first of these from Paris, where she took an interest in French socialism and interviewed Jean Jaurès, and the following ones from Italy (Pisa, Naples, Rome, the Vatican, Florence, Venice). See Núñez Rey, *Periodista universal*, vol. I, 276–317. Furthermore, her first cross-border experience was also given concrete shape in an epistolary book *Por Europa*, published in 1906.

³² Her impressions of her journey in 1912 through Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, as well as the reporting for the *Heraldo* and for her recent column "Mundo femenino" in *Nuevo Mundo*, were collected in the book *Cartas sin destinatario*, published the same year.

³³ In addition to the *crónicas* for *Heraldo* (in Núñez Rey, *Periodista universal*, vol. I, 664–83), her travel experiences of 1914 were collected in the books *Peregrinaciones* (1916) and *Mis viajes por Europa* (1917[?]), whose content is identical.

³⁴ Her “Portuguese” *crónicas* of the two trips in *Heraldo de Madrid* are numerous. See Núñez Rey, *Periodista universal*, vol. II, 735–72 and 863–901.

³⁵ Daganzo, “Educación,” 40–45.

³⁶ Burgos, “Viajes de señoras solas,” 4: “Llevo cuatro días en Pisa, cuatro días de sol pasados en la plaza del Duomo contemplando estos admirables edificios, donde vive la antigua gloria de la ciudad toscana ostentando sus columnas y encajes de mármol entre su alfombra verde y su dosel azul.

[...] Durante este tiempo he visto venir muchos extranjeros, guía en mano, a visitar la “Meca del Arte”; un profesor norteamericano, acompañado de siete jovencitas yanquis, pasó y repasó varias veces ante mí, mientras las alumnas tomaban vistas de la “Torre inclinada,” el “Batisterio” y el “Duomo.” Las delicadas y rubias *mises* habían pasado el océano para admirar estas maravillas, y palpaban las paredes, como si la vista no solo les bastase para apreciar toda la belleza de la forma. No han sido ellas las únicas mujeres que, ya solas, con su familia, he encontrado durante mi viaje.

En España hay pocas excursiones de esta clase; se cree que se necesita un gran capital para viajar por la bella Italia; es un error, del que me libró a mí una serie de artículos publicados en un periódico francés, y no juzgo inútil decir algo de ello a las lectoras.

[...] Podemos dividir a las viajeras en dos clases, las que vienen solo por placer a Italia y las que buscan en el viaje un complemento a sus estudios; todas pueden vivir confortablemente y modestamente por siete pesetas al día. Sacrificando algunas comodidades se vive hasta por cinco.”

³⁷ Burgos, “Matilde Serao,” 1: “La hermosa casa que habita frente al admirable golfo napolitano está alhajada de manera que revela su fantasía de artista. Una sala es un

gabinete turco; la de más allá, una habitación japonesa; esta se halla decorada estilo *Liberty* y aquella otra recuerda las elegancias del imperio. Pero Matilde Serao no es una oriental [...]. Tiene espíritu de luchadora; con actividad asombrosa dirige su gran periódico diario, uno de los primeros de Italia [...].

Es un hermoso espectáculo el de esta mujer en la redacción de su periódico, compuesta toda de hombres intelectuales e ilustrados, que acatan su jefatura, no solo de buen grado, sino con placer, sin que ni por un instante piensen en que es depresivo para ellos ser guiados por una mujer, reconociendo todos la superioridad de su cerebro.

Matilde Serao no es solo una inteligencia: es una voluntad. En su vida íntima ha sabido romper prejuicios y preocupaciones para atender a sus afectos con valentía sin igual [...].

Hoy le he pedido que que favorezca al *Heraldo* con sus autorizadas noticias de la cuestión social femenina en Italia y ha cedido a mi deseo mientras nuestras hijas jugaban con las muñecas, sin comprender los grandes problemas de que nos ocupábamos.”

³⁸ Burgos, “Por los lavaderos,” 1: “Bajo un chamizo de viejas esteras que cubren la turbia corriente del anémico Manzanares, arrodilladas dentro de cajones de madera, entre pilas de trapos sucios, cubos de lejía y tablas deshechas, el ejército de las lavanderas ve pasar los días estivales y las heladas mañanas del invierno.

[...] Las mujeres, con los trajes de colores vivos, al aire los fuertes y morenos brazos, luciendo en las cabezas la espesa masa de rizos oscuros con que la naturaleza dotó a las españolas [...]; corren por las orillas del río multitud de chiquillos de color terracota [...], las gallinas picotean alegremente en la puerta de los pobres ventorros, y muchos hombres esperan tendidos en el suelo el fin de la pesada labor con que sus

mujeres los mantienen; [...] Sin dar importancia a las privaciones, a las cuales están acostumbradas, me contaban las condiciones de su vida; en los lavaderos, desde las seis de la mañana a las siete de la tarde; la comida, en un figón o tabernucha, [...] la casa abandonada; el jergón sin mullir que les espera a la noche; los vestidos, que no se zurcen; los muchachos, que no se peinan; el hombre, que va al trabajo y a la taberna o vaguea alrededor del lavadero para ir a compartir la pobre comida.”

³⁹ Burgos, “Costureras,” 1: “¿Han pensado alguna vez mis lectoras, al estrenar un traje o un abrigo, en el tiempo y el trabajo que se ha empleado en hacerlo? [...] Tal vez no, y, sin embargo, hay pocas cosas tan interesantes, pues la industria de la costura es la que emplea mayor número de mujeres y donde el trabajo es más irregular.

[...] A pesar de leyes y acuerdos, obligadas por la necesidad de someterse para no ser despedidas, las obreras trabajan en los talleres hasta doce horas, y en las épocas de tarea velan de noche, desde las nueve a las cinco de la mañana. [...] Su labor es muy dura: en locales estrechos, en taburetes sin respaldo, cosen a mano o a máquina el día entero con una triste monotonía, y el aire que respiran es viciado y malsano.

[...] La miseria obliga a muchas a someterse a la explotación. Las que trabajan en casas particulares tienen mejor situación: 2,50 pesetas, y la comida, al día, por lo general, y gozan más libertad y amplios locales. [...] El trabajo en el taller obliga a mayores gastos de calzado y ropa [...] Son raras las que ganan buenos salarios; lo corriente es no pasar de una peseta cincuenta a dos pesetas, descontando los domingos y días festivos, que los patronos tienen cuidado de no pagar.

[...] Bueno es que ya empiece a pensar en la liberación y en establecer los talleres colectivos.”

⁴⁰ See, for example, the article “El progreso de la mujer,” where she announces a great feminist meeting in Paris with the participation of important women’s associations.

⁴¹ See the article “Mujeres estudiosas,” for instance. Carmen de Burgos’s ideas on women’s education are summarized in several of her lectures, such as “La educación de la mujer” (1900) and “Misión social de la mujer” (1911), and in essays such as *La mujer en España* (1906). Many years later, in 1927, these ideas came together in the volume *La mujer moderna y sus derechos*, one of the fundamental texts of Spanish feminist essay writing in the first third of the 20th century. See Núñez Rey, “El ensayismo,” 61–74.

⁴² The articles “Las conquistadoras del aire,” “Las cazadoras” and “Las mujeres soldados,” published on the front page of *Heraldo de Madrid*, are good examples.

⁴³ Burgos, “El voto de la mujer,” 1906, 1.

⁴⁴ Burgos, “Las sufragistas españolas,” 2: “Es el amanecer de un serio movimiento feminista, y este primer acto de las sufragistas españolas sorprendió a los diputados, dando origen a graciosas escenas entre ellos y el numeroso grupo de muchachas jóvenes y bonitas que en la puerta del Congreso repartían hojas de propaganda.

El Sr. Allendesalazar se detuvo a conversar amablemente con ellas, y el conde de Romanones les dijo:

– ¡Tendrán ustedes el voto, qué duda cabe! [...] Lerroux, sonriendo, les ofreció ser él quien se lo concediera.

La mayoría de los diputados, correctos y amables, ofrecían su apoyo, entre ellos el ilustre D. Francisco Bergamín.

No faltaron algunos que, asustados, no se atrevían a acercarse a las propagandistas. Uno de ellos rechazó el manifiesto, y el público, interesado en el acto, coreó:

– Ese no sabe leer.”

⁴⁵ After the Anglo-French Entente in 1904, through which both powers shared out their zones of influence on the African continent, the Spanish government, led by Antonio Maura, reached an agreement with France on the exclusive Spanish influence in the area of Morocco bordering on our southern coast (the Rif region). In 1909, the construction of a mining railway caused a series of incidents in which four Spanish workers were killed and others were wounded by rebels from the Rif. The Spanish army tried to reduce the pressure that the rebels were putting on them by occupying Mount Gurugú, where they were in well-established positions, and, as a result, General Pintos’s brigade was wiped out in the Barranco del Lobo on July 27, 1909.

⁴⁶ As Del Paso explains (“Mujeres periodistas,” 73), Carmen de Burgos, María Teresa de Escoriaza and Sofía Casanova were the first female Spanish journalists to cover armed conflicts. The first two were special correspondents sent to cover the War in Africa. If Burgos was sent by the *Heraldo de Madrid* in 1909, from September 6–27, 1921, Teresa de Escoriaza wrote a series of eighteen stories for *La libertad* under the title, “Del dolor de la guerra,” which were also published in the same year as a single volume. Although Escoriaza had already formed part of the staff right from the time that *La libertad* was founded in 1919, it is from 1922 onwards that her name is included on the front page. See Palenque, “Ni ofelias ni amazonas,” 365. For her part, Casanova would be the first permanent female correspondent to write for *ABC*, from Poland and various places in the Russian Empire, about the Polish front in the First World War, the

Nazi occupation of Warsaw and the Soviet Revolution. Other women who wrote newspaper articles about the conflict in Morocco were Consuelo González Ramos for *El Telegrama del Rif* in 1912, and Margarita Ruiz de Lihory for *La Correspondencia de España* in 1922-23. See Marín, “Colonialismo,” 11–42.

⁴⁷ Qtd. in García-Albi, *Nosotras que contamos*, 155: “En 1909 me llegó una oferta que no pude desdeñar. En el *Heraldo de Madrid* necesitaban información sobre la guerra con Marruecos en el frente norteafricano, que avanzaba peligrosamente, y escaseaban los periodistas dispuestos a ir a la batalla. Me prometieron un sobresueldo, gastos pagados y la edición de un libro con mis mejores crónicas. Sería la primera mujer corresponsal de guerra, una dura faceta del periodismo que hasta ese momento tenía la patente de solo para hombres. Así que agarré a mi hermana Ketty (Catalina) y nos fuimos a Melilla.”

⁴⁸ Burgos, “Por los campamentos,” 1: “Me siento invadida de una tristeza profunda. El soldado en campaña inspira un sentimiento de respetuosa ternura, que no sentimos al contemplarlo en tiempos de paz. Todos los días, al verlos salir con el convoy, morenos, sudorosos, llenos de polvo, experimento algo semejante a la tierna piedad que parece desprenderse del ambiente de amor y lágrimas con que los rodea el recuerdo de las madres y de las amantes lejanas. La despedida de dos amigos va envuelta en la incertidumbre de volverse a ver. No hay seguridad en ningún momento.”

⁴⁹ Burgos, “Desde Melilla. Visitando hospitales,” 3: “Hasta hoy no he acabado de girar mi visita a los hospitales militares de Melilla. [...] El que en la actualidad tiene mayor número de heridos [...] es el hospital central, que tiene 205 camas, ocupadas casi todas. Ayer le hice mi última visita [...]. Dos heridos graves yacían sobre sus camillas, y un artillero agonizaba, con la cabeza destrozada de un balazo. Recorriendo aquellas

estancias de dolor, he visto al infeliz corneta sordomudo, que va recobrando el oído y la palabra por medio del hipnotismo [...]. Muchos, con las piernas y los brazos amputados, sufren inmóviles en la cama.”

⁵⁰ Burgos, “Desde Melilla. El domingo en el campamento,” 1: “Uno de esos incómodos coches de Melilla nos ha llevado hasta una de las posiciones más avanzadas del Gurugú, donde tienen su campamento los cazadores de Llerena [...]. El camino es difícil; nos envuelve la luz ardiente, cegadora, de un sol de llamas; el polvo y la tierra nos impiden el respirar, y esas terribles moscas rifeñas, que son el azote del ejército, nos muerden rabiosamente. Son unas moscas de las que no podemos librarnos por mucho que se oseen; en la posada del Cabo Moreno he visto a los soldados envueltos en gasas para librarse de este tormento.”

⁵¹ Burgos, “Desde Melilla. En el Dchar,” 1-2: “Los que vengan a esta parte de Marruecos soñando con las bellas leyendas árabes encontrarán completamente defraudadas sus esperanzas.

Bajo el ardiente sol africano, semejante a nuestro sol andaluz, no vemos ya pasar las caravanas con los dromedarios cargados de ricas telas; en las calles no aparecen detrás de las celosías los ojos enlutados de impacientes moras, ni los jinetes de blancos albornoces acuden en tropel a una mezquita cuando la voz del sacerdote los llama desde los minaretes.

Conforme avanzábamos por las calles desiguales, llenas de pajaza y estiércol, donde jugaba una piara de chiquillos, negretes y churretosos, cundía la alarma entre los habitantes; veíamos a las mujeres pasar ligeras como fantasmas blancos y ocultarse en las casas, semejantes a corrales [...]. La mayoría son de estatura mediana, cuerpos

ligeros y bien formados, color moreno [...]. La belleza principal está en los ojos: negros, intensos, que se clavan con reflexiva fijeza o se mueven en aletear de mariposas.

En cambio, sus cabelleras, tan hermosas de lejos, me hacen sufrir un desencanto.

Aquellas magníficas trenzas negras ¡son madejas de algodón!”

⁵² Epps, “Modernity,” 109.

⁵³ Louis, *Women and the Law*, 8.

⁵⁴ Burgos, “Prologue,” ix: “Si las mujeres no queremos llorar eternamente esta injusticia, combatamos contra ella.”

⁵⁵ The International Women’s Union (1895), the League of Women for Disarmament (1896), the Women’s Society for Peace and Disarmament and the various national Assemblies organized for the first Peace Conference in The Hague (1899) are just some of the examples of the rejection of militarism – and of the principles that it is based on – by feminists in the international sphere in the last few years of the 19th century. See Mirón Pérez, *Las mujeres y la paz*, 26–28.

⁵⁶ See Boned Colera, “Pensamiento y activismo,” 25–39.

⁵⁷ About pacifism in Carmen de Burgos, see Establier Pérez, “Dama Roja,” 435–54.

⁵⁸ These chronicles were later reworked and included in *Peregrinaciones*, which in turn became *Mis viajes por Europa*.

⁵⁹ *El permisionario, Pasiones, El desconocido* and *El fin de la guerra*.

⁶⁰ Burgos, “Balance,” 2: “El balance que ha fracasado es el balance de la guerra. Hubiera necesitado ser demasiado vasto, y el artículo de periódico no lo permite.... Se ha visto que lo menos que necesita el balance de la guerra, su índice escrito, es un tomo de 400 páginas. Solo así, dando la sensación de la enorme trama de los sucesos, se podría conocer bien ese pasmo que sentimos ante lo inverosímil de las grandes cifras

sumadas de sacrificios, de miserias, de muerte y destrucción, en las que parece, tal es su magnitud, que ha habido un error de diferencia, como si se hubiesen escapado dos o tres ceros [...].”

⁶¹ Burgos, “Cosas de actualidad,” 1: “La guerra ha sido una revelación de la mujer moderna [...] esta guerra de 1914 precisa el alma de la mujer del día, que no se resigna a estar en un rincón de su hogar esperando la paz lejana y pensando que sirven a su país porque cosen alguna prenda destinada a los soldados.”

⁶² Burgos, “La era de las mujeres,” 2: “La necesidad, que ha obligado a que las mujeres tomen parte en todas las industrias y en todos los trabajos, va a cambiar profundamente las costumbres [...].

Son conocidos los servicios que las mujeres están prestando en las fábricas, en los talleres, en las labores agrícolas y en el servicio de coches y tranvías. En los ferrocarriles han sustituido en casi todas las tareas a los hombres, hasta en los rudos trabajos de mozos de estación.

En Londres, las mujeres bombero han suplido a los hombres y practican todos los días ejercicios con agilidad y decisión varoniles [...].

En Marsella, las mujeres han hecho otra conquista en el dominio del trabajo manual. Aparece la mujer herrero en un establecimiento dirigido por Francisca Sigaud, donde las operarias ocultan sus cabellos bajo un coquetón gorrito, se ciñen el delantal de cuero, tradicional en su oficio, y manejan los pesados martillos para golpear sobre el yunque de hierro enrojecido. Asombra la habilidad y destreza de estas operarias, algunas de las cuales no tienen esos bíceps de los personajes de Lhermitte, sino que por el contrario, suelen ser de pequeña estatura.” Léon Augustin Lhermitte was a French

naturalist painter whose paintings often depicted scenes of rural life, with characters in keeping with this environment.

⁶³ Burgos, “En la Sorbona,”1: “Se la reconocía, no solo en su rostro pálido por la emoción, sino porque en su pecho, sobre su traje oscuro y sencillo, lucían como grandes brillantes deslumbradores la cruz de Guerra y la cruz de la Legión de Honor. Ella es la más joven legionaria de la Francia.

[...] Despertaba la ternura que debe sentirse por los hijos que tornan al hogar después de la victoria. Era como un anticipo de la victoria. Una triunfadora. Las mujeres más próximas le besaban las manos llorando.”

⁶⁴ Burgos, “En la Sorbona,” 2: “La sala estaba llena de mujeres y yo pensé en el efecto bienhechor, la moralización que en todas las almas hacía el discurso. Indudablemente en aquellas mujeres surgía, bajo las palabras del orador, un propósito más fuerte de dignidad. Se sentía como crecer el deseo de ser heroica en las mujeres que tenía a mi alrededor. Los momentos excepcionales tienen siempre una fecundidad admirable.”

⁶⁵ Burgos, “Cosas de actualidad,” 1: “[...] esta guerra nefasta ha probado tanto el trabajo y el valor de la mujer que ya no se podrá sonreír del feminismo.”

⁶⁶ Burgos, “Espiguelo,” 1: “[...] es indudable que los Códigos se han de transformar después de la guerra, como reclaman los hechos en que interviene la mujer.”

⁶⁷ Burgos, “Mujeres yanquis,” 4: “La neutralidad no es el egoísmo.”

⁶⁸ Burgos, “Cosas de actualidad,” 1: “Nuestra neutralidad ha de estar llena de lágrimas, de sensibilidad, de anhelos, que, aunque fallen, buscan un camino para mejorar la triste situación de las otras mujeres que sufren.”

⁶⁹ These articles are: “Las mujeres de ahora”; “Mujeres de ahora. Ante el sufragio”; “El voto de la mujer,” 1919; and “Mujeres de ahora. Luchando.”

⁷⁰ Burgos, “Mujeres de ahora. Ante el sufragio,” 3: “Aquí apenas se ha preocupado nadie de este asunto, excepto en la larga campaña que yo misma hice en el *Heraldo de Madrid* [...] ¿Se recordará ahora que yo fui la iniciadora?”

⁷¹ Burgos, “El voto de la mujer,” 1919, 1: “El anuncio de que la mujer va a tener derechos políticos ha sido para las españolas un aliciente que las despierta de su apatía y las hace pensar en la lucha. Las valientes mujeres socialistas se aprestan a ella, dispuestas a presentar la batalla a las derechas cuando llegue el caso, con la confianza de su fuerza numérica y de su entusiasmo [...]. Mientras todas las mujeres luchan por el voto, no. hemos de ser solo las españolas las que tengamos miedo a obtener un derecho y a aceptar la responsabilidad que trae consigo.”

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