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"Inseparables"

Tobacco workers in Seville and female homoeroticism at the end of the nineteenth century: A case study

Introduction

Havelock Ellis's Sexual Inversion, published for the first time in German in 1896 and later reissued in English three times in 1897, 1901 and 1915, was one of the most renowned and cited monographic discussions on sexuality of its time.[1] The volume's focus on homosexuality in general and female homoeroticism, in particular, captured the attention of the scientific and lay public in equal measure.[2] Despite the fact that Ellis was accused of basing his analysis on lesbianism on very few actual cases--presented as part of the section of female sexual inversion--what is certain is that in successive editions of the work, Ellis added extensively to his repertoire. In this sense, he followed the tradition of German authors such as Krafft-Ebing who constantly augmented the number of case studies on a range of subjects germane to their books. In the English edition of 1901, Ellis described, over a number of pages, a case that had occurred in the Andalusian city of Seville during a trip that he had made to southern Spain:

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[1] Phyllis Grosskurth, Havelock Ellis. A Biography (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 184-190; Anne Summers, "The Correspondents of Havelock Ellis," *History Workshop Journal* 32, no. 1 (1991): 175-177; Judith Halberstam, Female Masculinity (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 75-83.

[2] Ivan Dalley Crozier, "Taking Prisoners: Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud, and the Construction of Homosexuality, 1897-1951", Social History of Medicine 13, no. 3 (2000): 449-456.

In Spain, in the large factories where many adult women are employed, especially in the great tobacco factory at Seville, Lesbian relationships seem to be not uncommon. Here the women work in an atmosphere which in summer is so hot that they throw off the greater part of their clothing, to such an extent that a bell is rung whenever a visitor is introduced into a work-room, in order to warn the workers. Such an environment predisposes to the formation of homosexual relationships. When I was in Spain some years ago an incident occurred at the Seville Fábrica de Tabacos which attracted much attention in the newspapers, and, though it was regarded as unusual, it throws light on the life of the workers. One morning as the women were entering the work-room and amid the usual scene of animation changing their Manila shawls for the light costume worn during work, one drew out a small clasp-knife and, attacking another, rapidly inflicted six or seven wounds on her face and neck, threatening to kill anyone who approached. Both these cigarreras were superior workers, engaged in the most skilled kind of work, and had been at the factory for many years. In appearance they were described as presenting a striking contrast: the aggressor, who was 48 years of age, was of masculine air, tall and thin, with an expression of firm determination on her wrinkled face; the victim, on the other hand, whose age was 30, was plump and good-looking and of pleasing disposition. The reason at first assigned for the attack on the younger woman was that her mother had insulted the elder woman's son. It appeared, however, that a close friendship has existed between the two women, that latterly the younger woman had formed a friendship with

the forewoman of her work-room, and that the elder woman was frustrated by the accidental absence of the forewoman that day.[3]

The significance of this Spanish case of female homoeroticism has so far not been remarked upon by researchers. As in other cases of sexual inversion that involved women from a working-class background, in contrast to those involving middle-class or aristocratic women, Ellis likened female sexual inversion to criminality and particularly to the existence of jealousy.

Although the sexologist did not offer any precise details as to the date of the events, research in the digital newspaper resources of the National Library of Spain has allowed us to pinpoint the violent affray as having taken place on the morning of Monday 9 January 1899. At this precise moment, Ellis was with his wife, Edith, in Malaga. Here, they coincided with the English poet Arthur Symons a few weeks later over the months of February and March. Symons was a good friend of the couple as well as a devoted visitor to Seville. He dedicated one of the chapters of his essay Cities (1903) to Seville and he remained there the whole of the winter of 1899.[4] It must have been Symons who brought the events of the tobacco factory to Ellis' attention, probably through his perusal of the local newspapers.[5] In his future visits to Spain, following the

[3] Havelock Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Sexual Inversion, 3rd edition (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1927 [1901]), 214-215; cf. Henry Havelock Ellis, Estudios de Psicología Sexual. Inversión sexual (Madrid: Hijos de Reus, 1913), 130.

[4] Grosskurth, Havelock Ellis, 206.

[5] The events and vocabulary found in the article "En la Fábrica de Tabacos. Riña entre cigarreras. Puñaladas y alferecías", El Porvenir, January 10, 1899, are reproduced almost

traditional custom of British and French visitors in the nineteenth century, Ellis would have had the opportunity to go to the Seville Tobacco Factory, which he did at a later date.[6] The case of the Seville female tobacco workers was incorporated into the 1901 and subsequent editions of Sexual Inversion. The work (and therefore the details of the incident) was translated into Spanish in 1913 as part of an ambitious publishing programme by the Madrid firm Hijos de Reus, which also allowed for the publication of the six volumes of Ellis' Studies in the Psychology of Sex.

The way in which Ellis described the case of the Seville tobacco workers, labeled as "tribades" or "sexual inverts," anticipated somewhat the later butch/femme dyad, an arrangement common in working-class women's relationships whereby one of the partners would be depicted as older, more "masculine" and "active" in the sexual role, while the other would be younger, more conventionally "feminine" and would take the "passive" role in sexual relations. In some histories of female homoeroticism, there is the assumption that butch/femme relationships today are somehow a reflection or development of past female same-sex relations in which the sexual object has not been differentiated from its gendered aspects and love between women was governed by an

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verbatim in Ellis' text. It is in all likelihood the source of his account of the story of Teresa and Pilar. As was customary during this period, newspapers did not use page numbers.

[6] José Alberich ed., Del Támesis al Guadalquivir. Antología de Viajeros Ingleses en la Sevilla del siglo XIX (Seville, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1976); Jean Sentaurens, "Des effets pervers d'un mythe littéraire romantique: à Séville, toutes les cigarières s'appellent Carmen", Bulletin Hispanique 96, no. 2 (1994): 453-484; Henry Havelock Ellis, Soul of Spain (Boston/London: Houghton, Mifflin and Company/Archibald Constable & Co, 1908), 88-90.

androcentric and hierarchical framework, thereby reproducing the dualistic and heteronormative schema of the "manly woman" who took the active role and the feminine partner who took the passive role. The butch/femme dyad, common though it was among working-class women, could sometimes constitute an inegalitarian and precarious expression of female same-sex eroticism and would occlude the "lesbian" reality of the relationship. Such associations entailed their rejection on the part of lesbian feminists of the 1970s.[7]

[7] Elisabeth A. Smith, "Butches, Femmes and Feminists: The Politics of Lesbian Sexuality", NWSA Journal 1, no. 3 (1989): 399, Sheila Jeffreys, "Butch and Femme: Now and then". In Lesbian Herstory Group (eds.), Not a Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in History, 1840-1985 (London: Women's Press, 1989), 158-187; Sheila Jeffreys, "The Queer Disappearance of Lesbians. Sexuality in the Academy", Women's Studies International Forum 17, no. 5 (1994): 459-472, Arlene Stein, Sex and Sensibility: Stories of a Lesbian Generation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Sara L. Crawley, "Are Butch and Fem Working-Class and Antifeminist?", Gender and Society 15, no. 2 (2002): 177; Lillian Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in 20th-Century America (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 170. Other work, however, has tended to blur this lack of differentiation between gender and sexuality and have suggested the existence of a homoerotic "sexual orientation" among women. Comparing the virile tribade of the past with the modern lesbian, it has been argued on occasion that such an identity existed in the ancient world and the Middle Ages. On these debates, see the analysis of Valerie Traub, "The Rewards of Lesbian History", Feminist Studies 25, no. 2 (1999): 363-394, and, Martha Vicinus, "The History of Lesbian History", Feminist Studies 38, no. 3 (2012): 566-596.

In contrast to this rather teleological approach, which also has elements of a colonialist interpretation as it suggests that the lack of difference between gender and sexuality in non-western societies is evidence of an absence of sophistication or development, this article follows a strictly historicist argument.[8] In this way, we avoid projecting the existence of a modern lesbian identity onto societies where one did not exist or was perhaps in formation, but we recognize at the same time that multiple schemas can exist simultaneously. We also suggest that there can be continuity between figures such as the virago and the tribade and the butch figure in today's world. The "female masculinity" of the latter, as Halberstam has suggested, is not a kind of residue from the past but an embracing of masculine attributes which are not simply confined to biological men.[9]

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[8] David M. Halperin, How to do the History of Homosexuality (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1-23.

[9] Halberstam, Female Masculinity, 96. The case we examine here has striking parallels with that described in Lisa Duggan, "The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sensationalism, Sexology, and the Lesbian Subject in Turnof-the-Century America", Signs 18, no. 4 (1993): 791-814. Duggan (791) notes that the period between 1880 and 1920 was a "crucible in change of gender and sexual relations" in the United States; the same was the case of Spain. Despite this, we argue here that the case we analyze does not permit the identification of the "lesbian as knowing subject", despite the cross-gender identification and eroticism discussed by Duggan being present in Seville in the 1880s.

The case presented here is analyzed from two perspectives. First, we examine it from the viewpoint of the history of female homoeroticism as lived in Spain.[10] The article makes a contribution to "lesbian history," but only if we understand the "lesbian" not as an essential and ahistorical category that refers to sexual orientation and instead a category that also includes gender deviance. In the Spain of 1899, indeed, it was not possible to speak of sexual orientation as a characteristic that was separate from what we may now term gender. Cigarreras who were similar to those discussed in this case were classed variously as marimachos (mannish women), viragos, safistas (Sapphists) and mujeres hombrunas (masculine women), popular categories that were later overlain by experts in psychiatry and criminology and re-branded as active sexual inversion (the marimacho or the virago) and passive sexual inversion (the Sapphist).[11] The inexistence of lesbian subjectivities in the period studied here, however, does not mean that there were no practices, lifestyles and initiatives that connect the experience of lesbians today with the lives of women of the past. The medievalist Judith Bennett advanced the term "lesbian-like" precisely to be able to establish the continuities, despite the differences,

[10] Narciso de Gabriel, Francisco Vázquez García and Renée de Palma, "Defining Desire: (Re)storying a 'fraudulent' marriage in 1901 Spain," Sexualities 23, no. 3 (2020): 293.

[11] George Chauncey, "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conceptualization of Female Deviance, Salmagundi 58-59 (1982): 114-146; Heike Bauer, "Theorizing Female Inversion: Sexology, Discipline and Gender at the Fin de Siècle," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 18, no.1 (2009), 84-102; Geertje Mak, "Sandor/Savolta Vay: From Passing Woman to Sexual Invert," Journal of Women's History 16, no. 1 (2004): 54-77.

between periods, allowing for connections between practices rather than forms of subjectivity across time.[12]

Bennett's concept is not a facile one. It attempts to interrogate the historical period and her notion of "lesbian-like" is not a category that refers to identity, but rather to similarity.[13] It attempts to respect the specificity of love between women during periods past and to forge continuities with the present. It is consciously unstable and uncertain and tries to avoid projecting anachronistic identities forward in time such as the idea of a "lesbian personality." In addition, Bennett refers to practices and not to

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[12] Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," Journal of the History of Sexuality 9, no. 1-2 (2000): 1-24. The historian Sherry Velasco, in the only volume dedicated exclusively to female homoeroticism in Spain in the early modern period, reminds us through the use of examples and testimonies, that the terms "lesbiana" and "Lesbia" were employed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Hispanic cultural contexts to refer to women who loved other women. See Sherry Velasco, Lesbians in Early Modern Spain (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), 2-3. Velasco, who also mentions the term "lesbian-like" in order to go beyond the sterile dilemma between acts (constructionism) and identities (essentialism), refers to the existence in the early modern period of a varied repertoire of terms in Castilian Spanish to describe not only actions, but anatomy, sexual and social preferences, emotions and other aspects of people's lived experiences. Within this context, Velasco notes the use of sométicа (sodomite), bujarrona (female sodomite), cañita (little cane), marimacho (butch), medio hombre y medio mujer (half man-half woman) and hermafrodita (hermaphrodite). Velasco, Lesbians in Early Modern Spain, 5.

[13] Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like,'" 14.

subjectivities and she focuses on acts, not experiences. This somewhat distanced view means that "lesbian-like" can become a convenient instrument with which to explore contexts, such as the medieval period that Bennett studies, where testimonies on the self-perception of women by women are often lacking (e.g. diaries, memoirs, private correspondence and autobiographies). In this sense, we believe that the category "lesbian-like" is applicable to the case of the two cigarreras. We are not privy to texts that allow us to perceive how the two women understood themselves or to see what their motivations on a sexual and emotional level were. Despite this, we are aware of some aspects of their existence, the conditions they lived in, and their social practices, including mutual aid. Finally, "lesbian-like" is a category that includes not only sexual activity between women, but also a wide range of activity related to "homosociality" and the inversion of roles and occupations. It is a term that, therefore, also covers what can be understood as "gender" attributes too.

The cigarrera was more than merely an occupation. It designated a category of social identity defined by attributes that were connected to lifestyle (economic independence, the role of the breadwinner, autonomous sexuality, at times violent behavior, a defined political temperament), and these characteristics gave the female tobacco worker, for the times, a particular "masculine" aura. Cultural institutions at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (that is, the press, travel literature, medicine, artistic and literary discourses), however, moulded and neutralized this expression of masculinity and transformed the cigarrera into the quintessence of Andalusian and, more broadly, Spanish femininity. The aforementioned masculine characteristics of the tobacco worker, in this process, were presented as evidence of a kind of "primitive" or even "infantile" character, where elements of class, race, religiosity, gender, and sexuality were blended. But perhaps the most surprising element

of this reductionism is that such associations continue to inform current historiography on the cigarrera. This historiography has tended to fold the revolts of the cigarrera into an evolutionist narrative, depicting them as irrational and spontaneous uprisings or characteristic of a pre-industrial style of protest. Only with the arrival of the mechanization of the tobacco industry and the growth of trade unions, often led by male tobacco workers, would the cigarreras enter into modernity and act collectively as rational, class-conscious workers.[14] This narrative relied on mutually exclusive

[14] Claude Morange: "De 'manola' a obrera. La revuelta de las cigarreras en Madrid en 1830. Notas sobre un conflicto de trabajo", Estudios de Historia Social no. 12-13 (1980): 307-321; Sergio Vallejo Fernández-Cela, "Las cigarreras de la Fábrica Nacional de Tabacos de Madrid," in Madrid en la sociedad de siglo XIX. I Coloquio de Historia madrileña, 2 vols., ed. Luis Enrique Otero Carvajal and Ángel Bahamonde Magro (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, Consejería de Cultura, 1986), 2: 135-149; Eloísa Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas. Un mito en declive (1887-1923) (Malaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1993): 111, 131, 160; Jean Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées. Notes sur la révolte des cigarières de Séville en 1896", Bulletin Hispanique 95, no. 1 (1993): 453-485; Rosa María Capel Martínez, El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España (1900-1930) (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Instituto de la Mujer), 1986: 156-159; Rosa María Capel Martínez, "Life and Work in the Tobacco Factories: Female Industrial Workers in the Early Twentieth Century," in Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain, ed. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 146; Fernando Del Rey Reguillo, "Protesta obrera y sindicalismo en la industria tabaquera española (1887-1939)", Hispania. Revista española de historia 60, no. 206 (2000): 1070, 1072; José Manuel Rodríguez Gordillo,

understandings of tradition and modernity and the public and private and it has prevailed in the history of what was the most numerous collective of female workers in contemporary Spain. Although such an understanding has been questioned in some studies, which since 1990 have incorporated gender issues, such a perspective continues.[15] Our contribution to these debates demonstrates, from the perspective of the

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Historia de la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Focus-Abengoa, 2005), 174 and Alicia Martínez Martínez, "Lavapiés y las cigarreras". In Julio Rodríguez Puértolas (ed.), La República y la cultura: paz, guerra y exilio (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2009).

[15] Pamela Radcliff, "Elite Women Workers and Collective Action: The Cigarette Makers of Gijón, 1890-1930", Journal of Social History 27, no. 1 (1993): 87-89; D.J. O'Connor, "Representations of Women Workers: Tobacco Strikers in the 1890s," in Enders and Radcliff, Constructing Spanish Womanhood, 151-172; Lina Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos 1887-1945. Cambio tecnológico y empleo femenino (Madrid: LID Editorial Empresarial, 2000), 30, 49, 171; Montserrat Cañedo Rodríguez, "La historiografía y el problema del sujeto histórico: algunos apuntes a partir de las cigarreras de la Fábrica de Tabacos de Madrid," in El Trabajo y la Memoria Obrera. IX Jornadas de Castilla-La Mancha sobre investigación en archivos, Various Authors (Madrid: Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico de Guadalajara, 2011), http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/view/bibliuned:500670, 2011; Mar Soria López, "Modern 'Castiza' Landscapes: Working Women in 'Zarzuela'", Bulletin of Spanish Studies 88, no.6 (2011): 821-838; Gloria Espigado Tocino, "De Lavapiés a Marineda. El uso de la violencia en la protesta de las cigarreras (1830-1908)," in De la violence et des femmes/De la violencia y de las mujeres: Espagne, 1808-1918, ed. Marie-Linda Ortega

cultural history of sexuality and from one concrete case study, how the pathologization of homoerotics and "female masculinity" forms part of the myth that surround the cigarrera. This figure was cast as the archetype of seductive, folkloric, Andalusian and Spanish femininity and was brought to life by the figure of Carmen in her literary and operatic representations and the various discourses that surround her.

The article is divided into three principal sections. In the first, we describe the events of 1899 in some detail and we integrate the lived experience of the protagonists into the story. In the second part, we discuss the circumstances surrounding the event, as well as the conditions in which the women lived and worked, conditions that allowed them to become autonomous figures within an environment that was strongly homosocial. They operated as de facto heads of family, controlled their work activities and the exercise of their time at work, became leaders in workplace actions that mobilized other women, and created an extensive network of neighborhood and family connections. Such conditions gave the women in question characteristics that can be interrogated through the lens of "female masculinity." Lastly, we explore literary, artistic, journalistic and scientific representations of the cigarrera. These made the

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and Sylvie Turc-Zinopulos (Bern: Peter Lang, Kindle edition, 2017): 42-43 and Rubén Fernández Huertas, "Los incidentes en la Fábrica de Tabacos de Madrid en el último tercio del siglo XIX. ¿Sólo conflictos laborales?", Comunicación presentada en el VII Encuentro Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadoras e Investigadores en Historia Contemporánea, Universidad de Granada, 2019: 7-12, https://blogs.ugr.es/jovenesinvestigadores/wp-content/uploads/sites/46/2019/08/FERN%C3%81NDEZ-HUERTAS-Rub%C3%A9n.pdf.

tobacco workers visible in their masculinity but nearly always represented this trait as a negative characteristic, presenting it as something abject or disfigured or as an all-too common, yet unfortunate, example of typical Andalusian womanhood. We trace in these discourses the interconnected tropes of gender, class, race, age, religious sentiment and nation.

Love and companionship between Teresa and Pilar

The principal details of Teresa and Pilar, the two protagonists of this story, have been derived from a variety of sources, including the local and national press, municipal documents, the census and the available legal documentation conserved in the historical archives of the city.[16] The full name of the aggressor in the knife fight that took place in the Tobacco Factory, according to the sentencing documents, was Teresa Belda Aguirre, although in the press and in the local residents directory (or padrón municipal) of 1895 her name appears as Teresa Gutiérrez Aguirre. The confusion arose because of her condition as a "half-sister"; she was listed as having two fathers (Ramón and Tomás), both of whom had died. She was forty-five years old when she committed the crime and had been working in the factory for up to three decades. She was born in the village of Peñalosa in Seville province but was taken to the city when she was a child. She lived in

[16] The personnel files of the female tobacco workers are located in the off-site deposit of the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla and cannot be consulted. Lists of workers, however, can be found in the "Talonarios de Filiaciones de Operarias" corresponding to 1884-85 (FT/598), the period when the women involved in this case were possibly working at the factory. These lists only provide details of a few talleres (workshops) and Teresa and Pilar were not found there.

the poor working-class neighbourhood of Triana, an area popular with female tobacco factory workers.[17] The women lived in what were known as corrales or buildings that surrounded a central courtyard with shared facilities. They were cheap and unhealthy, although not to the same degree as the so-called tenements or casas de vecinos. Housing speculation was rife in the city and the lack of accommodation for poorer workers meant that city-centre living was well out of the reach of most workers.[18] Teresa figures in the census as a widow with two children. One was a young unemployed woman of eighteen years and the other a boy of sixteen who was registered as a day worker or jornalero in the agricultural sector. Teresa's mother, María Aguirre, also lived at the same address. She was likewise a widow and, like the rest of the family, could neither read nor write. Such illiteracy rates stemmed from the fact that in the Triana area approximately 77% of boys and girls below the age of 15 did not attend school and most women spent their time on domestic chores.[19]

The cigarreras, by dint of their relatively high wages and workplace stability, have been regarded as privileged workers in Seville at the time. Their wages acted as the foundation for family and social networks, which stretched across households.[20]

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[17] Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 172; Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 181.

[18] Carlos Arenas Posadas, La Sevilla inerme. Un estudio sobre las condiciones de vida de las clases populares sevillanas a comienzos del siglo XX (1883-1923) (Ecija: Editorial Gráficas Sol, 1992), 96-137.

[19] Empadronamiento de 1895, Parroquia de Santa Ana, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla; Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 66.

[20] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 170-173.

Teresa and Pilar, in addition, were not simple factory workers; they fit into a category of workers "de graduación, porque las dos ejercían el cargo de amas de rancho" (high up the scale as both worked as amas de rancho).[21] The so-called rancho was a small group of female workers, numbering between eight and twelve, assembled around one table. The head of the table, or ama, a position that figured in the 1813 Regulations (*Reglamento*), was responsible for the work carried out at that table and she supervised and paid those who worked there.[22] She also trained newcomers. Amas were selected from the most experienced and talented workers.[23] Some 25 ranchos, bringing together approximately 300 women, made up a workshop or taller.[24] Different types of workshops existed, such as the picado or the desvenado, which was to separate leaves of the tobacco plant from the stem and other plant matter, as well as those workshops dedicated to the fabrication of cigars and cigarettes. Teresa and her friend worked as amas de rancho within the workshop known as the "de a cuarenta," which, as can be deduced from its name, was in charge of making up packets of forty cigarettes. They were pureras or workers who were highly qualified and who enjoyed a certain amount of prestige as cigar makers above those who were pitilleras, employed in the production

[21] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos."

[22] Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 145.

[23] Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 38-40.

[24] José Luis Ortiz de Lanzagorta, Las cigarreras de Sevilla (Seville: J. Rodríguez Castillejo Editor, 1988), 72.

of the less taxing cigarette.[25] This emphasis on the energetic virility of Teresa, qualified as evidence of "active sexual inversion," is what appears in Ellis' account of this case.

Teresa, the head of her family, an experienced tobacco worker, renowned ama de rancho and steeled in violent workplace disputes such as the one that took place in the Seville tobacco factory between 1885 and 1886, was described by the press as "de aspecto varonil, alta, delgada, y se advierte en su expresión dura y en su fisonomía arrugada algo que no cuadra con su sexo y una mirada que revela la firmeza de su carácter" (of a mannish aspect, tall, thin, and in her tough expression and in her wrinkled features there can be evinced something that does not match up with her sex and a regard that reveals the strength of her character).[26]

Pilar, however, although she shared some characteristics with Teresa, was of a different type. In the 1895 residents poll she appeared as inhabiting the working-class and more central neighbourhood of El Arenal de Sevilla. She was 30 years old when attacked by Teresa and, despite her relative youthfulness, was a veteran of the tobacco factory, where recruitment of young girls began at the age of 12.[27] In the census of 1895, her entry stated that she was born in Seville, was a cigarrera by profession and

[25] María Jesús Teixidor de Otto and Teresa Hernández Soriano, La Fábrica de Tabacos de Valencia. Evolución de un sistema productivo (1887-1950) (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de Valencia/Fundación Tabacalera, 2000), 123.

[26] Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées"; O'Connor, "Representations"; Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 207-210; Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 111-121; "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[27] Sentaurens, "Des effets pervers", 455.

was illiterate. She lived with her mother, Dorotea González Navarro, a widow of 60 years, who had no education.

Although her mother was designated as being the head of the household, it was Pilar who actually kept the home together. She was also a single mother and her "illegitimate" daughter, Amalia, of 12 years, also lived in the house.[28] In this period, Seville experienced one of the highest incidences of children born out of wedlock in the whole of Spain.[29] Changes to the residents register in 1898 also suggest that Pilar may well have been illegitimate as her mother appeared as "single" and Pilar appeared with her first surname as Ramos rather than Rodríguez. Her daughter, after this administrative change, appeared as Pilar rather than Amalia.[30] The differences between the padrón of 1895 and that of the modified version of 1898, together with some facts gleaned from the press of the period, offer some important insights into the character and life of Pilar. What is notable is that, despite having become an ama de rancho at a relatively young age, Pilar harboured ambitions and a desire for social betterment. In 1895 she was listed as illiterate; in 1898, she was marked as being able to read and write and her daughter as receiving primary education. At the same time, the newspapers represent her as being unwilling to talk to her friend Teresa on the day of the fight, fearing "de que se promoviera un escándalo y la echaran a la calle" (a scandal would

[28] Empadronamiento de 1895, Parroquia del Sagrario, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

[29] Pedro Fraile, Un espacio para castigar. La cárcel y la ciencia penitenciaria en España (siglos XVIII-XIX) (Madrid: Ediciones del Serbal, 1987), 74.

[30] Rectificación del Empadronamiento de 1898, Parroquia del Sagrario, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

result and that she would be turned out on the street).[31] These same sources speculated that Pilar wished to leave Teresa for another woman, a maestra de taller, a position with a certain degree of technical know-how and one which required a good degree of literacy.[32] Much less likely, but also with an echo in the press reports, was the notion that Pilar had forsaken Teresa because she wished to marry, a circumstance that would also have had a positive effect on her social status. The fact that Pilar moved from Triana to rent a succession of houses in El Arenal also supports this hypothesis. According to the updated documents of 1898, the baptism of Pilar's daughter took place in this area of the city, thus sealing her association with her new, slightly more upmarket situation. The press in its descriptions of Pilar contrasted her demeanor with that of Teresa. Pilar was "gruesa, agraciada" (thick-set but elegant) and "de aspecto más benévolo que su amiga" (of a more benevolent aspect than her friend). Ellis would pick up on this description by placing her in the category of a "mujer invertida pasiva" (passive female invert), lacking in masculinity "y en las cuales el instinto homosexual se manifiesta débilmente" (and in whom the homosexual instinct is not manifested strongly) .[33]

Teresa and Pilar were mothers who did not depend on men for their livelihoods. They were a widow and a single mother, respectively, a half-sister and an illegitimate child. They were the backbone of their families, were experienced tobacco workers and they were accustomed to the fights and struggles of the sector in the years 1885 and

[31] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[32] Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 40-41.

[33] Ellis, Estudios de Psicología Sexual. Inversión sexual, 134.

1896. They maintained their friendship over a number of years.[34] All this goes to show that strong connections were maintained between the families of both women and Teresa's daughter was often found at Pilar's house. The two friends shared their lives together in the "second family home" that was the Tobacco Factory, a place where women shared gossip, leant one another money and helped each other out in their daily labors and in childcare.[35] It is possible that Teresa guided her friend through the early stages of training at the factory and this association lasted as they were called "las inseparables" in press reports; "eran muy amigas y [...] paseaban juntas con mucha frecuencia, sin que las desigualdades de carácter influyeran para entibiar una amistad que era más creciente cada día" (they were close friends and […] they went about with one another frequently. Their differences in character did not impede the friendship that grew day by day."[36]

What, then, could have been behind the dispute between these intimate friends and what drove one of them to inflict "lesiones graves" (akin to grievous bodily harm) on the other in an attack that the press categorized as attempted murder? While the witnesses' accounts of what actually happened in the factory broadly coincided, there were major discrepancies as to the motivation behind the crime.

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[34] The newspaper used expressions such as "antigua amistad" (old friendship) and "antigua amiga" (old friend), in "Riña entre cigarreras", El Noticiero Sevillano, January 9, 1899; "Riña entre cigarreras", El Progreso. Diario Liberal, January 10, 1899.

[35] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 190; Matthew I. Feinberg, "From *cigarreras* to *indignados*: Spectacles of scale in the CSA La Tabacalera of Lavapiés, Madrid", International Journal of Iberian Studies 26 no. 1-2 (2013): 21-39.

[36] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

On Monday 9 January at nine-thirty in the morning, when the cigarreras were changing their outdoor wear (the characteristic "mantón de Manila") for their work clothes, Pilar Rodríguez, along with other workers who made up the "de a cuarenta" workshop, joked about a recent contretemps she had had with her friend Teresa. Some days ago, the pair had broken up their friendship and had decided not to speak to one another as a result of this "disgusto." According to the victim of the attack, this "disgusto" arose when Pilar's mother, Dorotea, insulted Teresa's daughter Isabel and showed her the door.[37] In the sentence passed once the case had been heard, Teresa alleged that Pilar "se burlaba de ella" (made fun of her), but the contents of this conversation were not revealed.[38] What is important is that while Pilar was joking about these events, Teresa burst on to the scene and demanded that Pilar speak to her in a corner of the factory, well away from the taller. Pilar refused, fearing that the resulting argument might place both women's jobs in jeopardy. Teresa, then, without uttering a word, threw herself on Pilar, grabbed her hair and plunged a small dagger into her several times, resulting in a variety of injuries from minor to more serious.

The medical report drawn up by the officer at the first aid post where Pilar went provides a great deal of detail on the injuries suffered. Pilar had two cuts on her right hand, one on her ear, one on her left forearm, another on her neck, and the most severe, an incision "en el lado derecho de la cara de siete centímetros de extensión penetrante en la cavidad bucal" (of some seven centimetres that penetrated the mouth cavity on the

[37] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[38] Sentencia num. 143, Libros Registros de Sentencias de la Audiencia Territorial de Sevilla, 1899. Signatura L/3003. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, fol. 2.

left side of her face).[39] The rapidity with which Pilar was attacked made any defence impossible either by Pilar or her work companions. The newspaper accounts refer to the commotion caused in the factory, the cries and exclamations heard, people falling about and work tools sent flying. There is no agreement on who precisely stopped Teresa. Some state that other workers held her but others simply note the screams and the paralysis of Pilar's work companions as Teresa shouted "¡La que se acerque, la mato!" (I'll kill anyone who comes near!).[40] They record that at this stage of a number of male workers, "empleados de la fábrica" (employed at the factory), intervened and disarmed Teresa and detained her.[41] El Porvenir, the newspaper that offered the most extensive account, identified the names and the role of these fellow workers.[42] Teresa, by order of the factory manager, was locked up in the offices of the establishment until the authorities arrived. Teresa was then arrested and imprisoned in the state prison the same day. Meanwhile, accompanied by her work companions, Pilar was taken by carriage to the medical center where she was attended to. The sentencing documents record that her injuries took thirty days to heal and they prevented Pilar from going to work over twenty-six days.[43]

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[39] Sentencia num. 143, fol. 3.

[40] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos"; "Las Bravías", El Imparcial, January 10, 1899; "Riña de mujeres", El Liberal, January 10, 1899.

[41] "Riña de mujeres".

[42] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[43] Sentencia num. 143, Libros Registros de Sentencias de la Audiencia Territorial de Sevilla, 1899. Signatura L/3003. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, fol. 4

Teresa remained in prison until the case came up in court on 26 June 1899. She was sentenced for the crime of committing "lesiones graves" for one year and one day in prison. The sentence was reduced by the days already spent detained and she was ordered to compensate the victim to the tune of 50 pesetas and to pay court costs. Teresa declared herself bankrupt as she had been without pay since the incident and was made to spend an extra day in prison per five unpaid pesetas. The court declarations suggest that the sentence could have been more severe if Pilar had attended the hearing, thus allowing the court to appreciate the seriousness of the injuries and the scars left on her face. She did not do so and the reasons for her absence are unknown.[44]

While these details are repeated in each newspaper source, it was the motivation behind the crime that led to the greatest disparities in the reporting. In general, the reasons for the attack as provided by the two women were rejected, as was the role of the dispute between Pilar's mother and Teresa's daughter. What was alluded to, even in the sentence, was "resentimientos por disgustos anteriores" (resentment arising from previous disputes), but there is no agreement as to the causes of these. Some newspapers refer generically to a "crimen por celos" (crime of passion) or to a "móvil pasional" (motivation induced by passion).[45] Some national newspapers, somewhat

[44] Sentencia num. 143, fol. 12.

[45] Sentencia num. 143, Libros Registros de Sentencias de la Audiencia Territorial de Sevilla, 1899. Signatura L/3003. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, fol. 2; "resentimiento por cuestión de celos", "Riña entre cigarreras", El Noticiero Sevillano, January, 9 1899; "resentimientos por ciertas cuestiones", "Riña entre cigarreras", El Progreso. Diario liberal, January, 10 1899; "Riña entre cigarreras", El Noticiero

distanced from the events in Seville, referred to the supposed existence of earlier "amenazas de muerte" (death threats) by Teresa on finding out about Pilar's intention to marry.[46]

In these accounts, the homoerotic jealousy showed by Teresa is contrasted with the "normal" preferences of Pilar, who, in the words of one Madrid-based newspaper, fought Teresa for the attentions of a particular "mozo" or young man at the factory.[47] But El Porvenir, the newspaper to provide the most detailed account, and which Havelock Ellis appeared to follow almost verbatim, offered a different version.[48] According to this source, Teresa alleged as a motive for her attack the idea that the victim "trataba de ponerla mal con la maestra del taller" (tried to show her up before a maestra de taller). In a section of the report subtitled "Degeneration," the reporter alludes to something shameful and unutterable about the background to the case - "hay en ello algo que se debe velar al público" (there is something here that is best kept from the public). There is a hint at the sexual nature of the crime and the "influencia de una pasión, de un extravío" (influence of something passionate, of some kind of deviance), which would explain the "obcecación de Teresa" (pig-headedness of Teresa), her jealousy on seeing how Pilar's interests had turned to the ama del taller. In this version, the sudden attack became a planned but unsuccessful murder attempt. Teresa had tried to lure Pilar and the ama to an enclosed space in the factory to do away with them. Due

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Sevillano, January 9, 1899; "Riña de mujeres"; "Las Bravías"; "Noticias generales", Heraldo de Madrid, January 10, 1899; "Noticias", El Nuevo País, January 11, 1899.

[46] "Riña de mujeres".

[47] "El reinado de la navaja", La Correspondencia Militar, January 10, 1899.

[48] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

to the fact that the maestra was absent that day because of a family illness, the plan did not come to fruition.

In contrast to this journalistic version of events, which followed the melodramatic style of late nineteenth-century reports on criminal cases during the Spanish "Restoration" period with all their allusions to degeneration and psychology, the judicial authority focused on the demonstrable facts of the case.[49] The court rejected the "affront" alleged by Teresa as an attempt to reduce her sentence but did not enter into further interpretation. It merely stated, somewhat laconically, that the compañeras (work companions) were "resentidas por disgustos anteriores" (resented one another because of earlier disputes).[50]

Working conditions, lifestyle, and female masculinity among the cigarreras

As can be seen from the above newspaper reports, the salient aspect of the case of Teresa and Pilar, beyond its juridical elements, was the implied usurpation of traditional masculinity. What is at stake here is not some kind of lesbianism avant la lettre, but rather a manifestation of a form of female masculinity on its own terms. By focusing on the contrast between female victimhood and a masculinized aggressor, incarnated in the figure of the virago or the marimacho, the newspapers condemned any attempt by women to avail themselves of the characteristics of masculinity, associating such a move with crime, madness, violence and passionate excess. It is this same

[49] D.J. Walker, Crime at El Escorial. The 1892 Child Murder, the Press and the Jury (Lanham: University Press of America, 2014), 13-58.

[50] Sentencia num. 143, Libros Registros de Sentencias de la Audiencia Territorial de Sevilla, 1899. Signatura L/3003. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, fol. 2.

contrast that is expressed by Ellis' conceptual distinction between the active invert and the passive invert. Teresa is classed time again as a "manly" woman, who possesses a physiognomy that "no cuadra con su sexo" (does not match up to her sex).[51] Such vigilance on the borders between the sexes and their attributes took place within a political context, the crisis of 1898 and the loss of the last Spanish colonies (Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico). The decadence of the nation as diagnosed by the intellectuals of the "regenerationist" movement was expressed as a decline in virility and a blurring of the sexes: women had become virilized and men effeminate.[52] The particular critique of usurped masculinity on the part of the women, however, engendered a number of identifiable connotations as tobacco workers. Pilar and Teresa

[51] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[52] Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, "Los Invisibles": A History of Male Homosexuality in Spain, 1850-1939 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 175-215; Lou Charnon-Deutsch, "Cartoons and the Politics of Masculinity in the Spanish and American Press during the War of 1898", Prisma Social 13 (2014-2015): 109-148, https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/3537/353744532004.pdf; Nerea Aresti, Karin Peters and Julia Brühne (eds.), ¿La España invertebrada? Masculinidad y nación a comienzos del siglo XX (Granada: Comares, 2016); Helena Miguélez-Carballeira, "El imperio interno: discursos sobre masculinidad e imperio en los imaginarios nacionales español y catalán del siglo XX", Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea 39 (2017): 105-128; Mauricio Zabalgoitia Herrera ed., Hombres en peligro. Género, nación e imperio en la España de cambio de siglo (XIX-XX) (Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2017).

represented, in work and in family life, a kind of female masculinity. The context of the case allows us to provide insights into this unusual world.

The attack by Teresa and the history of love between the two women took place in the Tobacco Factory in Seville, the principal manufacturer to employ women in the whole of Spain at the time. Some four to six thousand female workers were employed in the Fábrica in the last decade of the nineteenth century.[53] The events came to pass while the firm was undergoing a transition. The state, in 1887, granted a monopoly to a private enterprise, the Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos (CAT), permitting it rights to produce tobacco over the whole of Spain. Between 1887 and 1909, CAT began modernizing and envisaged the complete mechanization of the factory process. This only took place on a large scale in 1909 and the transition was slow. While it took place, the firm attempted to increase production and profits cautiously and took into account the views of workers in order to avoid any industrial unrest that would interrupt the production process.[54] Strikes and unrest by tobacco workers had a long history over the nineteenth century and these also took place during the modernizing phase in all Spanish tobacco factories, but particularly in Seville. Collective protests were ignited on two principal occasions: in 1885 when it was rumored that machines were to be introduced which would result in massive lay-offs of workers and in 1896 as a result of poor quality raw materials, which made the specialized work of the cigarreras more

[53] Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 195; Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 55.

[54] Gálvez-Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 246-247; Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 200-206.

taxing. As they were paid on a piece-work basis, this meant that wages fell. There were other causes for complaint including working hours and delays in wages being paid.

In 1898, the management of CAT also feared that, after the loss of the colonies and the reduction of the availability of raw materials, that new workers' revolts would occur. The rapid intervention of CAT, however, in the purchase of tobacco leaves from other countries prevented such a scenario.[55] It is highly likely, as we have said, that Teresa and Pilar had seen and had participated in the revolts in the last years of the nineteenth century. No doubt, the solidarity experienced only reinforced their friendship.

The decline in workers' revolts and the relative calm that beset the industry, which lasted up to the First World War, was also the result of a certain consensus between management and workers. CAT halted its recruitment of workers. These were usually recruited from among the families of the cigarreras and it was for this reason that Pilar's and Teresa's daughters were not engaged by CAT. As such, the intergenerational recruitment pattern was interrupted and the workers at the site became older and married women or widows were far more numerous than single women. Lay-offs, however, did not take place except for disciplinary reasons, as in the case of Teresa. In this case, "natural wastage" reduced the number of workers at CAT. The firm redistributed work in order to increase efficiency in accordance with demand and increased disciplinary controls to intensify production (as detailed in the new regulations published in 1888). In practice, however, it was the cigarreras who continued to hold the reins as they were skilled workers whom the management would find difficult to replace. They also managed to maintain control over working hours. In

[55] Del Rey Reguillo, "Protesta obrera", 1076.

the nineteenth century, tobacco workers had no fixed wage; they were paid in accordance with the amount they produced and they had a flexible timetable whereby a fair degree of absenteeism was tolerated. Thanks to these conditions, women could continue to work after marrying, something that did not occur in other industrial sectors in Seville. This state of affairs allowed them to strike a more congenial balance between home life and the factory and even bring children and babies on site. CAT maintained these conditions in order to conserve the relative social peace that governed the industry. It is also important to note that because workers were paid on a piece-rate, Teresa and Pilar, as amas de rancho, would have been better paid than the average worker at the factory.

Many cigarreras were able to juggle work and home commitments to some degree.[56] In the case of Teresa and Pilar, the presence of their mothers at home no doubt helped on the domestic front. Wages arrived more or less regularly and their skills enabled them to guarantee an income that was above the average of many women who worked at CAT. Their specialism also permitted mobility within the firm and a move upwards from the status of ama to either maestra or portera. When workers had spent many years working in the factory, and their skills decreased, they were sent to other sections where the work demanded less. They often remained in this work until death. For these reasons, the tobacco workers have regularly been classified as "privileged" workers by historians and the idea that they formed part of a "workers' aristocracy" has also been suggested.[57] In the majority of cases, their wage was the principal income for

[56] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 225-246.

[57] Pamela Radcliff, "Elite Women Workers and Collective Action: The Cigarette Makers of Gijón, 1890-1930", Journal of Social History 27, no. 1 (1993), 86; Rosa

the family and, for this reason, they were often the head of their families, as was the case of Pilar and Teresa. This meant that they occupied what had hitherto been the "man's place," something that often created tensions and rejection by others, as a local writer and historian would suggest: "con igual o poco menor perjuicio en los matrimonios en que está invertido el orden natural, pues se queda el marido en casa, la mujer va a la calle, aquélla lo gana y el otro lo guisa" (to a greater or lesser degree of harm in marriages where the natural order is inverted, because the husband stays at home, the woman is out in the street, she earns the money and he is the one who cooks).[58]

Long working hours at the factory and the fact of looking after children on site meant that the workplace was effectively an extension of the family. In this sense (though not in the sense of who actually provided childcare), the cigarrera defied the traditional role that was ascribed to women by undermining the strict division between public and private.[59] At the same time, this situation meant that it was difficult to find a husband who was better paid than a skilled female tobacco worker and, in any case,

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María Capel Martínez, "Life and Work in the Tobacco Factories: Female Industrial Workers in the Early Twentieth Century," in Enders and Radcliff, Constructing Spanish Womanhood,137; Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 164; Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 207; Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 170-173.

[58] Félix González de León, Noticia artística de todos los edificios públicos de esta muy noble ciudad de Sevilla, 1844, cited in Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 482.

[59] Radcliff, "Elite Women Workers", 88; Capel Martínez, "Life and Work", 146; Soria López, "Modern 'Castiza' Landscapes", 825.

most men preferred women to be devoted to domestic tasks. The situation of Teresa and Pilar as widow and single mother, respectively, reinforced these stigmatized women as "mujeres amorales" (amoral women).[60] Rather than supporting a lazy or drunkard husband, both, despite what the newspapers said in the case of Pilar, appeared to have no desire for marriage and were content with their intimacy without having recourse to male authority. This circumstance was reinforced by the fact that male workers in other sectors rarely had stable sources of income and were often temporary labourers on the land or in industry.[61]

In contrast to other workers cigarreras did not have to give up work when they married. The flexibility of their working hours and the fact that young girls were admitted to the site, and often learned on the job by watching their mothers and older brothers, allowed them to stay working at the factory until they became betrothed and married. In many ways, therefore, the position of these female workers was similar to that of their male counterparts and there was no rupture between domestic activities and the day's work.[62] They were often the breadwinner and enjoyed a certain degree of financial independence and even amatory freedom. This last characteristic often meant that the public at large considered them to be "amoral" and that they led "loose" lives, despite the fact that they required a certificate of good behavior from the local priest to join the workforce.[63]

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[60] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 220.

[61] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 220-222.

[62] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 199-200.

[63] Rodríguez Gordillo, Historia de la Real Fábrica, 140; 145; Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 180, 220, 383.

As we have already suggested, work at CAT also provided an ideal ambience for "homosocial friendships" or relationships that were "lesbian-like," to follow the concept identified by Bennett.[64] Women were very often working in close quarters with one another and in single-sex environments. They ate together at the rancho table, they could talk during working hours, and they took part in leisure activities and collective celebrations as well as in workplace militancy. This regime of closeness and conviviality began to be interrupted by the mechanization of the factory, which led to a certain atomization and individualization of work.[65] Although the women's demands not only affected their working conditions and the dense network of family and neighborhood relations that were dependent on the women, one "lesbian-like" tendency they showed was the differentiation of their demands from those of their male co-workers.[66] They opposed, for example, the eight-hour day because this would have made the flexibility to which they were accustomed impossible and would have made the balancing of work with domestic duties difficult.[67] In addition, in their protests and demonstrations, the women often opposed the presence of men on this basis.[68]

The protests and revolts that the cigarreras led were, in addition, associated with what may be understood as "basic" demands related to the family economy rather than

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[64] Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 117-121; Bennett, "'Lesbian Like'", 19-21.

[65] Espigado Tocino, "De Lavapiés a Marineda", 41.

[66] Cañedo Rodríguez, "La historiografía", 4; Espigado Tocino, "De Lavapiés a Marineda", 45; Fernández Huertas, "Los incidentes".

[67] Gálvez Muñoz, Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 177.

[68] Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 457.

the typical trade union campaigns often directed by male colleagues.[69] This latter form of struggle was often violent, confrontational, depended (and created) strong solidarity links and entailed the armed intervention of the forces of law and order. Such struggles often resulted in the destruction of public and private property, including parts of the factory and the installations within it. Invariably, the press depicted this sort of violence as evidence of the primitivism of the working class, of working women in particular, and their "de-naturalization" as they took on masculine qualities.[70]

It is within this masculinizing mode that the violent attitude of Teresa and her furious stabbing of Pilar was represented by the press. On occasion, however, this masculine combativeness was employed to depict the cigarreras as heroines, warrior women who in times of national decline shone a light on the cowardice of men.[71] This kind of narrative was also present in newspaper reports where the characters of Teresa and Pilar were contrasted: "la una es varonil; la otra es más guapa, pero menos valiente" (one is manly; the other is prettier, but less forward).[72]

The emphasis placed on the closeness that bound the cigarreras should not be read as unproblematic or idyllic. Solidarity in action and emotional bonds often coexisted with violent disputes, which grew out of the incidents of daily life: the need, for example, to have recourse to loans from women who came by the factory; the requirement to pay for tools and even cleaning in the factory, and, above all, the tensions that arose from the hierarchical set-up that operated in the factory, serving to

[69] Radcliff, "Elite Women Workers", 87-89.

[70] Espigado Tocino, "De Lavapiés a Marineda", 48.

[71] O'Connor, "Representations", 157-159; Espigado Tocino, 2017: 47.

[72] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

quell the practice of solidarity among the workers.[73] These hierarchical differences in terms of age, role and wage also loomed large in the case of Teresa and Pilar. It is possible that Teresa, dominant because of her seniority and character, saw herself as passed over somewhat by the younger Pilar's ambition in her attempt to curry the friendship of an ama de taller and move up the workplace hierarchy.

The material living conditions experienced by the cigarreras placed them in a social position that was unusual in respect of their sex and placed them on a similar level to men. This expression of effective masculinity, which was affirmed confidently by the cigarreras, was viewed with great suspicion within a society that was based upon unbreachable differences between men and women. For this reason, newspapers and other sources attempted to dilute or neutralize this assertion of female masculinity. It was a case of trying to transmute the social identity of the cigarreras into a folkloric quintessence of "Spanishness" and Andalusian identity. Artistic and literary representations, as well as the exoticism of travelogues written by British and French visitors contributed to this process. When this conversion of the masculine into female quintessence was not possible, the strategy employed was to present the cigarrera as an abnormal, infantilized, or primitive woman. Such was the case of the loving relationship between Teresa and Pilar. The discourses of science and journalism, as well as some versions provided by art and literature, followed this alternative route.

Representations: literary, artistic, scientific, and journalistic

[73] Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 462; Del Rey Reguillo, "Protesta obrera", 1071, 1082; Fernández Huertas, "Los incidentes", 11.

Many of the tropes that were employed to represent our two cigarrera protagonists in the reports that appeared in the press and scientific milieus were common currency in the daily culture of the Spanish fin de siècle. From the folkloric to the Orientalized imagery of the quaint but exotic female tobacco factory worker, representations ran along a number of axes, which were reiterated in the national consciousness and in printed form. Perhaps one of the most striking but least discussed representations of the female tobacco worker were her masculine traits, encapsulating hard work, a rough temperament, and the willingness to engage the factory owner and even fellow workers in violent verbal or physical dispute. Such a gendered habitus came at a time of accusations regarding a supposed loss of virility in the country as the political accommodations spawned by the revolutionary Sexennium (1868-1873) and Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1874 gave way to a generalized malaise in the country and a lack of vigor in political endeavours. Indeed, one renowned reformer, an agronomist and cheerleader of the movement that favored a "regeneration" of all things Spanish from the renovation of institutions to the establishment of hydro-electric power, the Aragonese Joaquín Costa, addressed the notion that Spain had become de-masculinized, somehow womanly and effeminate. Such an accusation was, for Costa a gross understatement. In fact, it was worse: it was an insult to womankind. Spain, instead, had not only become de-masculinized; it had become, he averred, a "nation of eunuchs," impotent to face up to the historic challenges at the end of the nineteenth century as the empire crumbled, isolationism took hold, and as political and social lethargy set in.[74]

[74] Joaquín Costa, Colectivismo Agrario en España, cited in E. Tierno Galván, "Costa y el regeneracionismo", in Escritos (1950-1960) (Madrid: Tecnos, 1971), 462.

The representations of the cigarrera in contemporary Spanish and European culture were multiple and varied. We address three related and interconnected fields of representation: the literary and artistic; the journalistic, and the scientific, and treat them in relation to the historiography of tobacco workers. Representations of the cigarrera may not have coincided with the lived reality of female tobacco workers, and one must to confuse the legend with actual history, but these representations formed powerful and self-reproducing images that had political, social and emotional consequences.[75] Representations of masculinized female tobacco workers hinted more broadly at the association between "inappropriate" female behavior and close proximity to tobacco, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century, whether in "free" women in Europe who smoked or masculine or cross-dressed women who chewed tobacco in the United States.[76] The association between masculinity and tobacco in the case studied here, nevertheless, was in part due to the economic role taken up by the cigarrera. The female tobacco worker's ability to be the main breadwinner in the household was easily associated with other traits, such as a reputed fiery temper or an easy resort to violence and sometimes the carrying of weapons, particularly knives.[77] Virile behaviour may also

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[75] Roger Chartier, Cultural History: Between practices and representations (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988); Rafael Sánchez Mantero, "Prólogo", in Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 7-9

[76] The San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, "'She Even Chewed Tobacco': A Pictorial Narrative of Passing Women in America," in Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Lesbian and Gay Past, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (London: Penguin, 1991), 183-194.

[77] Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 115.

have slid into a propensity towards same-sex attraction. As an abject characteristic, this was usually despised or it received especial negative treatment. Where masculinity in female tobacco workers was received positively, however, as D.J. O'Connor has pointed out, was when they employed their "virility" or hombría in order to shore up or criticize men for a lack of masculine behaviour.[78] Such discourses insisted on the independence and freedom of the female tobacco worker in contrast with deficient masculinity in respect of a lack of earnings or moral failings such as drunkenness. It was also a trope employed in labor relations, especially if male workers were not militant enough during a labor dispute with employers and this reputation as "mujeres de rompe y rasga" (rough-and-tumble women) highlighted the combativeness of women workers.[79]

There were a number of strategies that aimed to denigrate "masculinized" female tobacco workers. Particularly in the discussion of scientific representations, we discuss the existence of strategies of pathologization, which included the representation of the cigarrera as perverted, as a "victim" of sexual inversion, as a species of masculinized monster prone to bouts of violent jealousy, or a "man-woman" figure of sexual in-betweenness. Both psychiatry and criminology placed the cigarrera as an invert and especially as someone who took the "active" role in sexual relations.

Working alongside and sometimes within this representation of pathology, the cigarrera was viewed through a strategy of infantilization, which when coupled with sexual psychiatry, understood sexual inversion as a primitive or atavistic expression of sexuality, as Ellis indeed emphasized. Such a stance was conceived as something pre-

[78] O'Connor, "Representations".

[79] Ortiz de Lanzagorta, Las cigarreras de Sevilla, 59.

modern but not in the picturesque mode of the cigarrera as natural, beautiful and artistic; instead it gave the cigarrera an association with child-like irrational fury and capriciousness. The violence present in the cigarrera's behavior was also, evidently, connected to the criminalization of the figure, again as something primitive and violent. In contrast to the analysis by Beatriz Gimeno of the case of Dolores Vázquez, however, where the criminalization occurs on the basis of the latter being a lesbian, in the case discussed here from the end of the nineteenth century the identity of the lesbian did not yet exist or, at most, was a category that was in formation.[80] We acknowledge, however, that the boundaries between such "gender deviant" positions and homoeroticism are not stable historically, as many, from Bennett through to Halperin have recognized.

The reduction to the picturesque or folkloric caricature, related once more to the primitivist trope, was also a common representation of the cigarrera, whose hyper-religiosity was depicted often in works of literature and novels. Underlying this primitive trope, once again, was a form of eroticization in the literature. Although less explicit and marked in Spanish literature, it was common in foreign works, especially in France as the "Carmen" figure and this sometimes came with a morbid aspect as in the work of Pierre Louÿs in the decadent tradition.

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[80] Beatriz Gimeno, La construcción de la lesbiana perversa. Visibilidad y representación de las lesbianas en los medios de comunicación. El caso Dolores Vázquez-Wanninkhof (Barcelona: Gedisa, 2018). The "self-represented subject", discussed by Duggan, "The Trials of Alice Mitchell", 810, does not appear, from the evidence available, to describe the case of Teresa and Pilar even though there was some "styling" on the part of Teresa in respect of her "mannishness".

Just as primitive sexuality has been associated with atavism and a lack of evolutionary development, the cigarrera has also been the subject of a degree of racialization and exoticization, where her primitive sexuality and emotions are seen to be compounded and often associated with Gypsies, unpredictability, and a lack of bourgeois socialization. The flip side of this negative representation, however, is achieved through what we can term the "nationalization" of the female tobacco worker. Here, the cigarrera, often represented on stage in the Spanish zarzuela, is identified as a generous woman who provides sustenance to the family and to the nation, an exemplary mother figure who carries the burden of work inside and outside the home, and even as a flexible political figure such as the mother of republican nation, an ally of the monarchy or emblem of the "patria chica" with the concerns of the "pueblo" at heart.[81]

Literary and artistic representations of the cigarrera

One must be conscious of not falling into the trap of constructing a homogenous representation of the cigarrera or, as one author has warned, not reinforce "una cierta tendencia historiográfica a construir sujetos históricos demasiado uniformemente definidos" (a certain historiographical tendency to construct historical subjects [which are] too uniformly defined), which fails to recognize the specificities of the locality or the moment in time.[82] There are, nevertheless, some common representations of the cigarrera in both Spanish and foreign literature and art. While full justice cannot be done to the huge range of representations, some key instances are discussed. Generalizations and stereotypes abound, as in Galdós' Episodios Nacionales, where the author identifies the "comunidad de cigarreras" as an "alegría del pueblo y espanto de la

[81] Jean-Paul Goujon and María del Carmen Camero Pérez, Pierre Louys y Andalucía. Cartas inéditas y fragmentos (Seville: Alfar, 1984).
[82] Cañedo Rodríguez, "La historiografía", 1.

autoridad" (joy for the people and terror for the authorities).[83] Such a comment reinforces the imaginary of a rather naïve, pre-industrial and irrational figure, prone to mass rebellion but still without the "consciousness" that the working class was developing.[84]

As Murillo Sagredo acknowledges, the point of departure for literary representations of the cigarrera is Prosper Mérimée's fictional Carmen, published in serial form in 1845 and which became a "mito romántico por excelencia de la mujer andaluza" (romantic myth of the Andulusian woman par excellence).[85] Different writers across Europe, such as Richard Ford (A Handbook for Travellers in Spain, 1845), effectively turned, as one author has argued, the tobacco factory on San Fernando street in Seville into "an obligatory stop" on the touring circuit in Spain.[86] Carmen, as a representation of the tobacco worker, thus encapsulated a constellation of

[83] Cañedo Rodríguez, "La historiografía", 9.

[84] Sergio Vallejo Fernández, "Las cigarreras de la Fábrica Nacional de Tabacos de Madrid," in Madrid en la sociedad del siglo XIX, 2 vols., ed. Luis Enrique Otero Carvajal and Ángel Bahamonde (Madrid: Alfoz, 1986), 2: 135-149, as discussed in Cañedo Rodríguez, "La historiografía", 15-16. On the question of identity among the working classes in the nineteenth century, see Jesús de Felipe Redondo, Trabajadores. Lenguaje y experiencia en la formación del movimiento obrero español (Oviedo, Genueve Ediciones, 2012).

[85] Jesús Murillo Sagredo, "¡Cigarreras de la literatura, uníos! Del mito romántico al mito obrero: las cigarreras en la literatura de los s. XIX y XX", Opúsculos de Atenea 29 (2018): 1.

[86] Sentaurens, "Des effets pervers", 453-454.

characteristics: the "charme irrésistible de la jeunesse; pittoresque du costume et de la coiffure; séduction d'un corps transcendé par la danse; effronterie du caractère; liberté des mœurs; grisante magie des fumées du tabac; et, surtout, alliance fatale et tragique de l'amour et de la mort" (irresistible charm of youth, the picturesque aspect of the vestments, the seduction by a body transcended by dance, the effrontery of the character, the freedom in morality, the alluring magic of tobacco smoke, and, above all, the fatal and tragic association between love and death).[87] So strong were these associations that for Théophile Gautier, author of Voyage en Espagne (1881, based on his trip from 1841), viewed the female tobacco workers as an identifiable personality: "La cigarrera de Séville est un type, comme la manola de Madrid" (the cigarrera of Seville is a specific type, just like the manola of Madrid).[88] Some representations, particularly those by Pierre Louÿs (La femme et le pantin, 1898), combine this romantic imagery with violence and infuse it with eroticism and even the qualities of the femme fatale in contradistinction with Carmen as a more subtle "mujer fatídica."[89] In this iteration, the cigarrera, although leading men to their perdition, actually perishes in the process. In the Spanish case, however, images were less costumbrista and more socially

[87] Sentaurens, "Des effets pervers", 454.

[88] Gautier, cited in Sentaurens, "Des effets pervers", 458.

[89] Goujon and Camero Pérez, Pierre Louys y Andalucía. Cartas inéditas y fragmentos; Ortiz de Lanzagorta, Las cigarreras de Sevilla, 92-96; On the first, see Bram Djikstra, Idols of perversity: fantasies of feminine evil in fin-de-siècle culture (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), and, on the second, see Alberto González Troyano, La desventura de Carmen. Una divagación sobre Andalucía (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1991), 33-34.

inflected. Here, the cigarrera was commonly viewed as a politically active figure involved in workers' revolts.[90] Other works, such as those by Emilia Pardo Bazán and Armando Palacio Valdés in their La Tribuna (1883) and La hermana San Sulpicio (1889), respectively, focused on the social consequences of the incipient process of mechanization in the tobacco factory.[91]

Contemporary art often depicted the erotic and the violent aspects of the lives of the cigarreras. To take just two examples, the costumbrista artist José García Ramos, in his undated oil painting "Pelea de cigarreras," depicts a fight between two female tobacco workers. One is tugging the hair of the other and is preparing to hit her opponent while the latter grabs the mantilla shawl of her aggressor. A man looks on in disdain, as if what was at stake was the power balance between male and female tobacco workers and between the cigarreras themselves. Various items of local significance, such as a painted porcelain bowl and a lemon, roll on the ground. The folkloric, gendered aspects and the violence combine in this arresting picture to depict the cigarrera's role in challenging prevailing sex roles and the rules of public behavior. Finally, even though not representing a tobacco worker, the optician and art historian Cayetano Del Toro, in an illustration of his own depicted the masculine woman, described as a "mujer hombruna," as an individual that often wore a Manilla shawl, was

[90] Murillo Sagredo, "¡Cigarreras de la literatura, uníos!", 2.

[91] Enríquez de Salamanca, Cristina, "Rosa la cigarrera de Madrid (1872) de Faustina Sáez de Melgar como modelo literario de La Tribuna (1883) de Emilia Pardo Bazán", La Tribuna. Caderno de Estudos da Casa Museo Emilia Pardo Bazán, 6 (2008), 135-148; Ortiz de Lanzagorta, Las cigarreras de Sevilla, 100-107 and passim.

unkempt, and smoked a cigarette or cigar.[92] In addition to this image, Del Toro did describe the cigarrera but no comment was made on her sexuality, although some mention was made of her "voluptuous movements" once bathed after work as she moved through the streets of Seville.

Journalistic representations of the cigarrera

Journalistic representations of the cigarrera, which make up the most significant set of sources for the case of Teresa and Pilar, were some of very few examples that dealt with working-class women in an extensive manner.[93] Drawing on O'Connor's study of the figure of the cigarrera in the dramatic arts and in journalistic milieus towards the end of the nineteenth century, it is possible to identify two principal but differentiated stereotypes that emerged in this setting. The first represents the female tobacco factory worker as a powerful and unblemished patriotic figure. She is renowned for her willingness to rebel against those men who, whether politicians or military figures, were liable to make concessions to the insurgents who demanded the independence of the Spanish colony of Cuba. The virility of the cigarrera highlighted precisely the lack of manliness of men and the female tobacco worker became seen as the guardian of the last remnants of Spanish honour before the world.[94] In a similar way, the generosity and solidarity of the cigarreras was signalled and the press pointed to their role in charity events such as the local fairs or "kermesses," where proceeds were donated to the

[92] Cayetano Del Toro, La Luz y la Pintura, 2 vols. (Cadiz: Tipografía Gaditana de F. Rodríguez de Silva, 1901), 1: 628.

[93] O'Connor, "Representations", 152.

[94] O'Connor, "Representations", 156-157; Espigado Tocino, "De Lavapiés a Marineda", 50.

poorest sectors of the population in Seville or to Spanish soldiers who were fighting in Cuba.[95]

The cigarrera became a symbol of an authentic Spanish traditional disposition that embodied kindness with a certain folkloric hue.[96] As such, the cigarrera was incorporated into a nationalizing strategy used the "masculinity" of these women as part of the "regenerationist" project of reform. In this way, reporters and chroniclers tried to find a way of softening their representation of the working-class cigarrera for the consumption of the middle-class reader, thereby recuperating this figure as patriotic and as an example of the essential or "castizo" nature of the real Spain.[97] When the Seville-based newspaper, El Porvenir, in its coverage of the fight between Teresa and Pilar, contrasted in a positive way the "valentía" (bravery) of Teresa with the "hermosura" (beauty) of Pilar, it contributed to this same set of values.[98]

At the same time, however, when newspapers reported on factory protests by these women, the newspapers offered a very different picture.[99] They adopted, on the one hand, a strategy of infantilization of the women and the cigarreras were categorized as "inmaduras" (immature) or "niñas" (child-like), or as "revoltosas" (rebellious)

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[95] Baena Luque, Las cigarreras sevillanas, 124; Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 483; O'Connor, "Representations", 165.

[96] Soria López, "Modern 'Castiza' Landscapes", 825.

[97] O'Connor, "Representations", 152; Feinberg, "From *cigarreras* to *indignados*", 25.

[98] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[99] O'Connor, "Representations"; Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées".

women who were motivated by personal gain or by some innate instinct for destruction.[100]

As well as attributing to the cigarreras a propensity towards violence that was rooted in infantile rage, newspapers, ascribed to the women a kind of "primitive" condition, and a recklessness characteristic of the "inferior races." Here, the presence of "Gypsy" or Roma women was highlighted.[101] The acts of rebellion performed by the cigarreras was dismissed as a "estallido colérico" (furious outburst) rather than a logical or organized response to their conditions of work. Reports gave such uprisings a desperate quality that led to wild acts of violence being performed against machines and property ("ludismo") (Luddism), more akin to the pre-industrial era than to the modern workers' movement. This particular representation, disseminated by the late nineteenth-century press, was picked up by historiographical accounts and even appears today.[102] Instead of opposing the demands made by the workers, however, journalists made common cause with the cigarreras' complaints, but paternalistically redirected their rage so that social peace and a resolution favorable to the company were made possible.[103]

Finally, the press also adopted a criminalizing strategy.[104] It likened the combative nature of the cigarreras and their somewhat disorderly life to the lives led in

[100] O'Connor, "Representations", 153, 156, 159 ; Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 468.

[101] O'Connor, "Representations", 156, 159.

[102] Cañedo Rodríguez, "La historiografía", 4, 6-7.

[103] Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 474-476.

[104] O'Connor, "Representations", 156.

the lowest strata of society, laced with vice and violence.[105] This association of the female working class with terrifying violence and disorder, which sprang from abject poverty, was a common theme in the newspapers of the period.[106] Here, however, it took on a particular color when discussing the cigarrera. At the same time that the attack by Teresa was reported, which in the pages of El Porvenir was explained by recourse to a notion of "degeneration" of a sexual nature, the national press made known a number of violent attacks and murders that had been perpetrated by, or which had involved in some way, female tobacco workers.[107] Here, the cigarrera was represented as a victim of an excess of jealousy and injured or murdered as a result, or, on the other hand, immersed in a life of savagery, sexual violence and passionate irregularity.[108] They could also figure as the aggressor in fights in inns and taverns, thus displaying their abnormal and excessive masculinity.[109]

Although the press disseminated stereotypes that oscillated between the cigarrera as passionate patriot and the stigmatization of that very masculinity, it could not prevent the women themselves from reappropriating journalistic discourse. The fascination with which journalists contemplated their stories allowed the women in question to table

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[105] O'Connor, "Representations", 166.

[106] Custodio Velasco, "El obrero en el discurso de la prensa sevillana: 1898-1923," in Industria y clases trabajadoras en la Sevilla del siglo XIX, ed. Carlos Arenas Posadas (Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1995), 206-209.

[107] "En la Fábrica de Tabacos".

[108] "Sucesos", El País, April 13, 1898; "Agresión a una cigarrera", El País, September 7, 1899; "El crimen de esta tarde", La Época, January 27, 1900.

[109] "Los sucesos. Una puñalada", Heraldo de Madrid, July 15, 1899.

their demands in the first person and make use of their own agency and subjectivity.[110] Those represented by the powerful discourse of the printed newspaper therefore managed to seize that representation and turn it back on itself. Such resignifications contributed to the creation of a process of historical memory whereby the earlier struggles of these women and their masculinity could be recuperated and put into action in newer struggles including those in neighbourhoods like Lavapiés in Madrid or even within the so-called 15M social protest movement of recent times.[111]

Scientific representations of the cigarrera

The scientific literature, and by this we mean primarily work that drew on psychiatric premises or a perspective indebted to the sexual sciences, cast the cigarrera as a mixture of the primitive, atavistic, insufficiently sexually differentiated "deviant," whose gendered aspects strayed from the norm and whose sexuality, often because of the milieu in which she worked, was oriented towards those of the same sex.[112] Just as sewing machines and even bicycle riding were thought to induce perverse desires

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[110] O'Connor, "Representations", 154, 160, 166-167; Sentaurens, "Ouvrières insurgées", 457, 473, 476.

[111] Feinberg, "From *cigarreras* to *indignados*", 27-31.

[112] Much of the sexology and sexual psychiatry at the end of the nineteenth century associated, first, women with a lower physical and mental form than men (Iwan Bloch, in The Sexual Life of Our Time, 1907, wrote that "Woman remains more akin to the child than man", cited in Bland and Doan, 1998, p. 32), and, second, homosexuals, and lesbians specifically, as some kind of throw-back to previous humanity or even pre-human form and related somehow to "savages" that has not undergone sufficient sexual differentiation as viewed through an evolutionary paradigm (Carter, 1997).

among women, the very atmosphere of the factory and the qualities of tobacco, especially the smell, were thought to harbor deviant sexuality. Science, art, and literature sometimes merged; smoking was seen to be a lesbian trait in novels and in paintings and, if we are to believe Richard von Krafft-Ebing, it was also to be employed as evidence in the scientific and taxonomical process whereby "congenital sexual inverts" could be identified: "At times smoking and drinking are cultivated even with passion."[113]

The hygienist rhetoric of the late nineteenth century, in its opposition to prostitution and desire for the sanitization of the city, signalled miasmas, smells, alcohol, and other "social scourges" as impacting negatively on the lifestyle and inheritance of the population.[114] Such conceptions were complemented by work stemming from other fields such as laryngology and neurology, where the sense of smell, in addition to smells themselves, were associated with deviant desires and even hysteria in the thought of Wilhelm Fliess.[115] Palacio Valdés, in his novel La Hermana San Sulpicio, mentions how one of the book's characters, Ceferino, alludes to the "fuerte olor acre y penetrante, que no era sólo de tabaco" (strong penetrating smell that did not just come from the tobacco) on entering the Seville factory and associates this

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[113] Krafft-Ebing, Psychopathia Sexualis, 1903 [1886] cited in Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 47.

[114] Teresa Fuentes Peris, Visions of Filth: Deviancy and Social Control in the Novels of Galdós (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003).

[115] Frank J. Sulloway, Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1980), 147-152.

with insalubrity.[116] Unhealthy environments, prisons, for example, contributed further to criminal activity and provided oxygen for deviant desires. Ellis, in Volume Two of his Studies in the Psychology of Sex, deriving his insights from Rafael Salillas' La Vida penal en España, referred to the stranglehold "mujeres hombrunas" (mannish women) in a certain Spanish prison had over other inmates and the prison director, leading to his resignation.[117] On referring to the Seville tobacco factory, he declared authoritatively that "Lesbian relationships seem to be not uncommon."[118] While he put such relationships down to the hot-house conditions and the removal of clothing ("Such an environment predisposes to the formation of homosexual relationships"), others believed that it was the smell of tobacco that provoked such activity.[119]

Two authors who believed this to be the case were the criminologists Bernaldo de Quirós and Llanas Aguilaniedo whose book on "low life" in Madrid, La mala vida en Madrid, connected tobacco workers' Sapphism, as they termed it, with the dust produced by the drying tobacco plants. Breathing in this dust transformed the women's nervous systems and caused them to entertain lesbian desires.[120] It was particularly this

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[116] Ortiz de Lanzagorta, Las cigarreras de Sevilla, 100.

[117] Rafael Salillas, La Vida penal en España (Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista de Legislación, 1888); Havelock Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Volume II. Sexual Inversion, 3rd edition (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1927), 209, note 1.

[118] Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex, 214.

[119] Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex, 215.

[120] Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós and José María Llanas Aguilaniedo, La mala vida en Madrid. Estudio psicosociológico con dibujos y fotografías del natural (Huesca:

hygienic approach that captured the imagination of doctors. The Austro-Hungarian Philip Hauser in his Estudios médico-topográficos de Sevilla detailed the health consequences of working in tobacco factories and argued for proper ventilation to counter the "negative effects" of tobacco dust on the lungs and skin.[121] This dust could have grave consequences for the worker and any offspring: "Según Heurteaux, médico de la fábrica de tabacos de París, se encuentra nicotina en la orina y en la leche de las nodrizas, y lo considera perjudicial, tanto para los niños de pecho, como para los fetos de las que estén encintas" (According to Heurteaux, the Paris tobacco factory doctor, nicotine is to be found in the urine and the breast milk of mothers, something he considers dangerous not only for babies who are breast-feeding but also for the unborn foetus of pregnant women).[122] Finally, the observer of Barcelona's "low life," Max Bembo, remarked that "feminasexualistas," masculinized women who often practiced same-sex activity and who were particularly common in working-class areas of cities and factories, were particularly abundant in Seville.[123] Bembo even associated these women with the harem, orientalizing them along the lines of Louÿs.[124] As can be seen from writers such as Hauser, Ellis and the authors of the Mala vida en Madrid, a

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Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses/Zaragoza: Egido Editorial, 1997) (original, Madrid, B. Rodríguez Sierra, 1901), 275.

[121] Philip Hauser, *Estudios médico-topográficos de Sevilla*, 2 vols. (Seville: Imprenta de Tomás Sanz, 1882), 1: 82.

[122] Hauser, *Estudios médico-topográficos*, 82.

[123] Max Bembo, *La mala vida en Barcelona. Anormalidad, miseria y vicio* (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Maucci, 1912), 62.

[124] Bembo, *La mala vida en Barcelona*, 63.

combination of negative physical and moral factors in the tobacco factory could produce diseases of both the body and in terms of the sexual orientation of the individual.

Conclusion

The case of Teresa and Pilar, two working-class cigarreras at the Seville Tobacco Factory, has been approached in this article from the perspective of a micro history, following the founders of this historical method.[125] We began with the particular and moved to the general in order to, first, analyze the intricacies of the frenzied knife attack by Teresa on Pilar, and, second, to set the context of the working life and the culture of the cigarrera and their representations. The significance of the case transcends its local interest – of which there was much to judge by the press reports in regional and national newspapers such as El Noticiero Sevillano and El Progreso – and this interest is reinforced by the fact that an international scholar, Havelock Ellis, wrote about the case as a further example of his theory of "sexual inversion." The very special circumstances of Ellis' interest in the case, probably as a result of his friend Arthur Symons' facilitation of the relevant newspaper reports, makes for a dynamic that effectively brought the cigarreras to a transnational stage.

In addition to allowing us to glimpse the specific and, in fact, unique labor, social, and cultural networks that operated in the Seville Tobacco Factory, the case of Teresa and Pilar permits the historian to trace the representations of ruptures in configurations of gender and sexuality in this particular place at this time. The particular working conditions of the cigarreras meant that they often took the place of male

[125] Carlo Ginzburg, The cheese and the worms: the cosmos of a sixteenth-century miller (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

members of the household as the breadwinner. This quality allowed them to be viewed as women with strong masculine characteristics and they blended their existence with an aura of verbal and physical violence, which constantly threatened to overflow the folkloric and picturesque representation of the more docile "Carmen" figure. This embodied female masculinity displaced men as the drivers of the local economy and became a kind of counterfoil to the failed masculinity and effeminacy of men in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century in the context of the decline and, finally, loss of empire in 1898.

Havelock Ellis' characterization of the cigarreras in Seville corresponded to his theory of sexual inversion, a varied set of traits that included the behaviors usually associated with the "opposite" sex through to anatomical differences and which slowly permitted the consolidation of some form of identitarian consciousness. This was, however, only one foreigner's interpretation of these women, albeit that of a traveler and researcher who, at the moment of writing, was deeply familiar with Andalusian realities. In Spain, where notions of sexual inversion or homosexuality had not been widely disseminated at the end of the nineteenth century, the ways in which Teresa and Pilar were understood corresponded to different categories and did not coincide with those offered by the English-speaking Ellis. He understood the situation more as some semblance degenerative disorders or practices produced by the amorality of the women in question, forged by a particular situation or setting, rather than anything associated with a "lesbian" identity. Teresa and Pilar, in all probability, would not have understood themselves to have inhabited such an identity, even though their relationship was evidently passionate, as the newspaper and court reports revealed. Teresa and Pilar displayed some of the characteristics of what would become associated with a "butch-fem" relationship and displayed all the companionship of a same-sex relationship.

Rather than lesbians, Teresa and Pilar were women on the cusp of changing representations of same-sex desire, as the sexual sciences further codified acts and identities in the twentieth century and same-sex sexuality became associated with specific characteristics of psychology and anatomy.

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