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Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

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The musealization of Barcelona's industrial past

Doctoral Thesis

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Abstract

The case study of the heritagization of the historic textile factory known as the *Vapor Vell de Sants* in 1984 is examined as a key moment in the development of industrial heritage discourses in Barcelona at the neighborhood, municipal and national (Catalan) levels. The author employs an historical analysis of these discourses at three moments: 1) the founding of the Vapor Vell in 1844 as the textile business, Güell, Ramis i Cia, in the context of Catalan industrialization, 2) the appropriation of the factory as a neighborhood resource in the 1970's within the context of deindustrialization and the neighborhood movement during Spain's transition to democracy, and 3) the vindication of the Vapor Vell as a heritage resource and its interpretation as industrial archeology in the context of the first democratic governments and their elaboration of a cultural policy for dealing with the city's industrial past.

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Chapter 1)

Introduction

Section Index:

1.1 INDUSTRIAL BARCELONA

1.2 MUSEALIZATION

1.3 CASE STUDY: THE VAPOR VELL OF SANTS

1.1 INDUSTRIAL BARCELONA

Over the past six years, as I've made Barcelona my home and become acquainted with the city and some of its residents, I've often been asked by them what it is I'm studying. Typically, I'll say something about 'Barcelona's industrial past' and before I know it I'll be interrupted with an affirmation that 'Barcelona used to be full of factories.' At this point, I'm usually treated to an impromptu history lesson about the industrial character of the city, regardless of the fact that I was the one who had originally been answering the question. At first, I thought it was just a friendly gesture-- an effort to help me out with my investigation-- but after repeating this kind of conversation again and again I began to notice something else. I started to recognize a certain pattern in the discourse; something which had more to do with the tone of conversation than with particular details of the account being given. Barcelona's industrial past, I've come to realize, is not a neutral topic. More often than not, it is presented as something to be vindicated, or, more precisely, *reivindicat*-- a Catalan expression which has to do with the 'return of what is due,' as though this history had somehow been stolen. In these conversations I get the feeling that the kindest thing I can do is simply to listen. It's obvious to me that, when it comes to the memory of industrialization, Barcelona exhibits all the symptoms of someone who has been repressed and silenced.

I begin this chapter with one of the most recent and mediatic stories of this , presenting an overview of the destruction of factories and erasure of industrial memory which took place in the context of the Olympic and Post-Olympic urban projects on the coastline of Barcelona's Poblenou neighborhood, culminating in the mobilization of the "Salvem Can Ricart" campaign in 2006 to save a historic factory from destruction by designating it as a heritage resource. This municipal policy of industrial amnesia cleared the way for speculative real estate ventures in this seaside neighborhood while also cultivating a city-branding strategy which prioritized urban stories of the upper classes-- of art history, the architecture of Gaudí , and of an ancient Roman pedigree fitting for a municipality with capital-city aspirations. I am certainly not the first to argue that the promotion of this image of a 'city of marvels' has been built on the repression of the city's industrial identity-- what some have referred to as the 'invisible city.'

While others have made investigations into the nature of this local, industrial past, in this thesis I am primarily concerned with the process of how this past has been 'musealized', i.e. collected, conserved, studied, interpreted, and put on display. What does it mean for something like a factory to become heritage? What is industrial heritage useful for? What are the stories being told of the industrial Barcelona, and who are the storytellers? In these questions, the adjective "industrial" does very little to help clarify the nature of these stories or who they represent-- are we talking about a heritage of the business owners, or of the workers? Is this a national heritage or a local one? In section 1.2 of this chapter I elaborate

on the methodology used in this investigation in order to answer these questions, based on the history of science, critical heritage studies, and a variety of important conceptual tools from the social sciences.

Finally, in section 1.3, I introduce the case study which informs the majority of this investigation: the case of the Vapor Vell of Sants. There I problematize the ‘city of marvels’ vs the ‘invisible city’ binary by introducing an analytical framework based on the historical evaluation of discourses, constituencies and uses. The story of the musealization of Barcelona’s past is a story beginning with industrialization itself and which is still far from over.

1.1.1 The city of marvels

What stories do our cities tell?

I remember when I arrived in Barcelona for the first time in 2013. I had taken the night bus from Granada and by the time we pulled into the Estació del Nord, the sky was just beginning to glow with the promise of dawn. There was no use in consulting a map-- exiting the station I found myself drawn automatically towards a towering brick archway which seemed to speak to me, saying “walk through here.” I did, and then I stopped to take a good long look down the Passeig de Lluís Companys at the new world I had entered. Beautiful, ancient palms lined the broad avenue which led from where I stood under the Arc de Triomf down to the Parc de la Ciutadella, a wash of green on the horizon. Above, I could see the turrets of the Castell dels Tres Dragons rising over the canopy, still illuminated by lamplight in those magical moments of predawn. I didn’t know it at the time but this was the urban landscape which had been built before the turn of the century, in 1888, when Barcelona had hosted the Universal Exhibition in a Europe buzzed on colonial and industrial exploits. The historical context of this, Barcelona’s first urban park, seems to still cling to this space, dripping with the green and brick-red hues of Catalan modernism with its accents of wrought iron, glass and porcelain mosaics.

The city was living up to Robert Hughes’ promise-- I was enchanted.¹ But there was something else. I felt like I had seen this all somewhere before, although I couldn’t quite place where.

Granted, it was 6:00 in the morning and I hadn’t had any coffee yet. Also granted, I had spent the night on a bus without sleeping. Somewhere between Granada and Barcelona the bus had been stopped by police who brought a dog onboard for a drug search and I watched as two French girls in the row in front of me discreetly tossed a tiny plastic bag of something

¹ Hughes, Robert. (2003). *Barcelona, the great enchantress*. National Geographic Books. Also, Maragall’s 1909 poem *Oda Nova a Barcelona* which ends with “*Barcelona! i amb tos pecats, nostra! nostra! / Barcelona nostra! la gran encisera!*”

into the row in front of them which was occupied by a middle-aged Catalan woman. I still feel bad about not saying anything as the police discovered the drugs and took the woman off the bus to search her bags. She returned to her seat a half-hour later with a fine and sobbed quietly for the rest of the trip.

I was 24 years old and it was my first time in Europe. I had come from the United States to look into graduate programs in the history of science. As it turned out, I would return the next year to begin studying at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in the Centre de Història de la Ciència (CEHIC). This is how I came to find myself under the Arc de Triomf one year later, at the exact spot where I had first arrived in Barcelona, and this time I remembered what it was that it had reminded me of.

Dinotopia: A land apart from time-- it was a book I had read as a child, written and illustrated by the great James Gurney and published in 1992. Gurney, who had previously worked for National Geographic magazine as an archeological illustrator, imagining and painting ancient cities no one alive today has ever seen, sets up *Dinotopia* as though it were the field notebook of a 19th century scientist who discovers an island in which humans and intelligent dinosaurs peacefully coexist and who have together built a great civilization. The book is structured like an immersive and beautifully illustrated traveler's guide for exploring Gurney's utopic vision, rich with attention to the smallest details of the design of a human-dinosaur society. I had spent days pouring over the pictures as a child, fascinated by every detail. I tracked down a copy in a bookstore and there it was, just as I had remembered it.

Illustration from Dinotopia: A land apart from time (Gurney, 1992).



First of all, to be clear, at no place in the book does Gurney recreate an actual Barcelona cityscape, but his images do draw heavily from the architecture of the city. In the example above, for instance, the window on the right is unmistakably the work of Barcelona's most famous modernist architect, Antoni Gaudí. The palm trees indicate a mediterranean port-city,

and, is it my imagination or is the flag on the left an *estelada*, the blue, orange and red flag of the Catalan independence movement?

Even more interesting than the question of ‘where’ is the question of ‘when’. *Dinotopia* is supposedly set in the 19th century, but this scene looks more like a middle-ages era city. Happy, colorfully attired farmers sell fruit and flowers brought in by cart from their farms, and a diligent lamplighter replenishes the oil supply with the help of a long-necked dinosaur. The scene is decidedly pre-industrial, and depicts a peaceful and harmonious social organization in which, particularly with regards to the dinosaurs, each species is assigned a task suitable to their kind. The architecture, on the other hand, is clearly from Barcelona in the late 19th century, from the period known as the Catalan *Renaixença*, a romantic revivalist movement in Catalan language and culture based on the glorification of a middle-ages era past.

This is what I find so fascinating about Gurney’s imaginary city. It is not a story of the 19th Century, but it is very much a story *from* the 19th Century. It is *Renaixença* story, from a time when Barcelona’s city curators organized the 1888 universal exhibition and created, through urban design, a utopic imaginary of a past which, although it has elements of historical truth, is better described by Gurney’s own subtitle as “a land apart from time.” If our cities speak, then this is the story that the Ciutadella speaks to me, even to this day. And not just to me- I imagine that a similar feeling must have helped inspire Gurney to imagine *Dinotopia* as he strolled down the *Passeig de Lluís Companys* and through the *Parc de la Ciutadella*- the feeling of a timeless optimism.

As historians of science Agustí Nieto-Galan and Oliver Hochadel explain in their collection of essays *Barcelona: An Urban History of Science and Modernity, 1888-1929*, the Ciutadella park was built in order to impact its visitors with its message of the promises of modernity. It was filled with monuments to the scientific advances of mankind. The technological advances celebrated at the universal exhibition brought steam power, railways, and electricity to the city. Meanwhile, Spanish ships explored the globe in conquest of new colonies and markets, unleashing a wave of new discoveries. The Martorell museum of natural science was inaugurated in the park in 1882, the only science museum in Barcelona ever built expressly for this purpose. There, visitors could gaze on both natural and man-made curiosities from around the world, while new scientific disciplines emerged to name and domesticate these findings under taxonomic systems. The botanical garden became the home of exotic new plants with yet unknown medicinal properties, and in 1892 the Barcelona Zoo was inaugurated in which scientists worked towards the acclimatization of foreign species in Catalonia, a project which promised to make available for local consumption the most advantageous animals in the world.²

² See Hochadel, Oliver & Valls, Laura. (2016). Civic nature: The transformation of the Parc de la Ciutadella into a space for popular science. In Nieto-Galan, Agustí; Hochadel, Oliver (eds.). *Barcelona: An Urban History of Science and Modernity, 1888–1929*. Routledge: 25-45.

But, in 1888, although display cases filled the park and spectators crowded through museums and exhibit halls to gaze at the advances of science and technology, the primary exhibit was the park itself and its surroundings, created as a neighborhood-sized display of the most spectacular technology of all-- what Eduardo Mendoza calls the “City of Marvels.”³ The design of this public, urban space was an ideological instrument in the state’s project of inventing a glorious national history, culture and science. In this same vein, the paradigmatic case of Barcelona’s so-called “Gothic Quarter” has been exposed by scholars like Joan Ganau Casas (*The recreation of the past: the Gothic Quarter of Barcelona 1880-1950*, 2003)⁴ and Agustín Cocola Gant (*The Gothic Quarter of Barcelona: planning the past and brand image*, 2014)⁵. Taking advantage of the construction of the Via Laietana, municipal planners took the opportunity to “gothify” the city’s historic center. In the words of the historian Antonio Orihuela, “Barcelona’s Gothic Quarter can be seen as the museumified leftovers of a mythical past, the ideological product of a bourgeoisie that invented, designed and built it.”⁶ In their web documentary *Farselona*, directors Serra Kika and Paty Godoy express their astonishment and concern regarding the city’s long history of falsifying its own past, while at the same time recognizing what historians have said for years-- that the invention of tradition is standard practice in the process of nation-building.⁷

The practice of evaluating urban narratives is part of the job of urban planners as well as urban historians and geographers, disciplines which have developed rich conceptual frameworks to aid in their analyses. For now I will only take a moment to highlight two concepts which are important for the investigation I will be outlining later in this chapter. The first is that employed by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán in his 1990 book poignantly titled *Barcelonas*, in which he gives Barcelona the role of a city of cities- a site of multiple identities and urban narratives.⁸ And it’s true, over the years Barcelona has been given different names (for example *Barcino*, *Barchinona*, and *Barshiluna*), not to mention the various taglines the city has been recognized with-- from the medieval “*Ciutat Comtal*” or “city of counts”, to its capital-city aspirations as the “Paris of the South”, to the “city of fairs and conferences” during Francoism. In their book *The Barcelona Reader: Cultural Readings of a City* editors Enric Bou and Jaume Subirana pick up Montalban’s legacy and expand on it through their fascinating collection of essays which respect the complexity of their object of study by

³ Mendoza, Eduardo. (1986). *Ciudad de los prodigios*. Barcelona: Seix Barral.

⁴ Ganau Casas, J. (2003). La recreació del passat: el Barri Gòtic de Barcelona, 1880-1950. *Quaderns d'Història*, 2003, vol. 8, p. 257-272.

⁵ Cocola Gant, Agustín. (2014). *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona: planificación del pasado e imagen de marca*. 2ª ed. corr. Barcelona: Madroño.

⁶ As cited in Serra, Kika & Godoy, Paty (directors). (2015). *Farselona*. UAB Master in theory and practice of creative documentary. (Accessed at <http://farselona.com>)

⁷ See, for example, Hobsbawm, Eric; Ranger, Terence. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. And, Hobsbawm, Eric. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality*.

⁸ Regarding the cultural context of Barcelona in the 1990s in which this book was written, see: Guillamon, Julià. (2019). *La ciutat interrompuda*. Barcelona, Anagrama: 234-254.

employing an interdisciplinary methodology, approaching the city from a variety of cultural and historical angles.⁹

The second useful conceptual framework is that of the palimpsest.¹⁰ The metaphor of the palimpsest has been used to describe the process of inscribing new memories over old ones, without the old ones ever being completely erased. In 1845, the English essayist Thomas De Quincey described the human brain as a “natural and mighty palimpsest,” but recently the idea has also been applied to cities as debates take place regarding how to curate contemporary urban spaces with problematic, or even traumatic, histories.¹¹ Which stories should be conserved? How can we become more conscious of and responsible for the memories and messages that our cities project?

The site of the Ciutadella is itself a perfect example of an urban palimpsest. Before its mid-19th century universal exhibition makeover this was a military fortress (ciutadella translates as “citadel”) built after Barcelona’s 1714 defeat by the Bourbon forces in the war of Spanish succession. This was no “city of marvels” but rather a “siege city,” as Robert Davidson discusses in an essay of the same name in *The Barcelona Reader*¹². As he points out, the cannons of the Ciutadella were not pointed outwards to protect the city from invasion, but inwards, towards the city, as a symbol of military oppression over a besieged population of both working-class and ruling-class Barcelonians who lived under the watchful eyes and centrist policies of the Spanish state.¹³ General Espartero was known to have said that for things to go smoothly in Spain you had to bomb Barcelona every 30 to 40 year-- a tradition which he actively maintained by bombing the city in 1842. The eventual demolition of the citadel and its conversion into the city’s first public park marked a new stage in the political evolution of the city, as a new class of industrial bourgeoisie allied with the Bourbon monarchy in an attempt to maintain a tenuous hegemony and promote the country’s difficult industrialization. This shift in political strategy is consecrated in the bricks and mortar of the

⁹ Bou, Enric; Subirana, Jaume (editors). (2017). *The Barcelona Reader. Cultural readings of a city*. Liverpool University Press.

¹⁰ A palimpsest, as described by Thomas De Quincey in his essay “The palimpsest of the human brain,” is a greek word describing the cleansing of a manuscript of writing in order to reuse it. The practice was common when paper was an expensive resource. Although the previous versions of text were removed, in some cases they can be recovered layer by layer, making it possible to read multiple texts from the same page. (De Quincey, Thomas. (1845). *The palimpsest of the human brain*.)

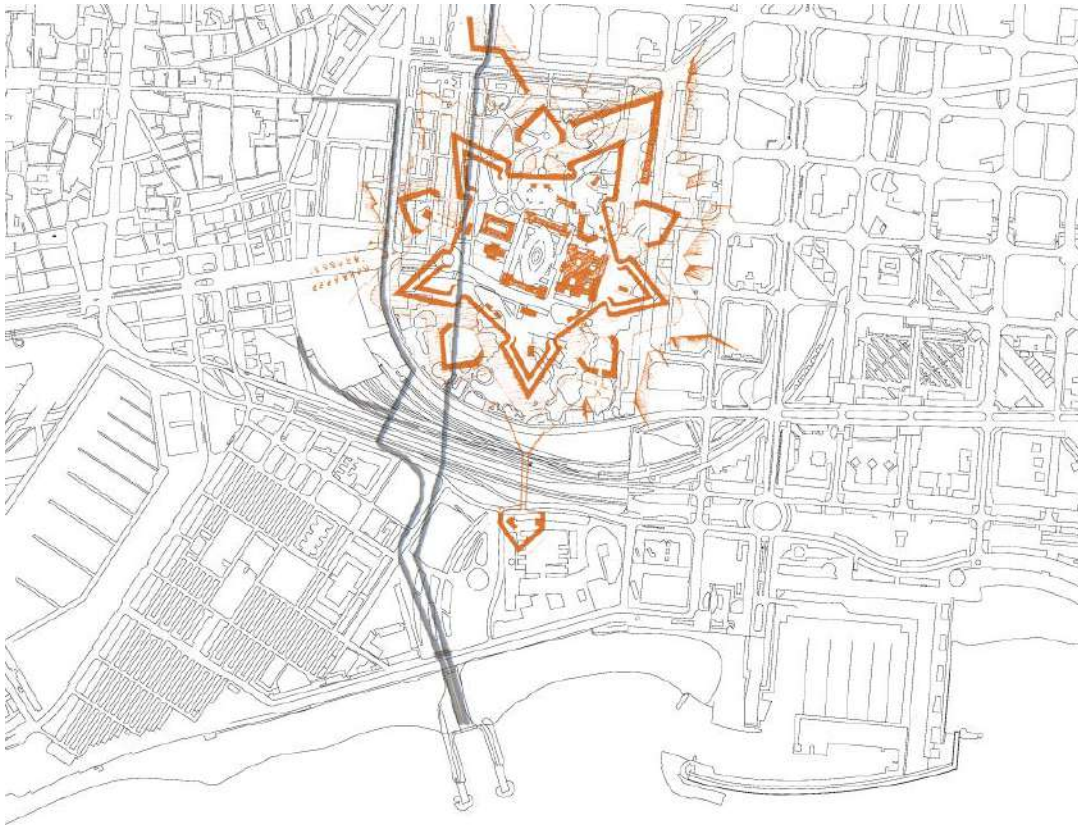
¹¹ I was familiarized with this concept through attending a mini-course called “Ciutat, Espais i Arquitectura de la Memòria” which was directed by the architect and urbanist Kathrin Golda-Pongratz and hosted by the Born Center of Culture and Memory in the Winter of 2017. Course materials included Huyssen, Andreas. *Present pasts, urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. Hayden, Dolores. *The power of place, urban landscapes as public memory*. Iniesta, Montserrat. *Patrimonio, ágora, ciudadanía. Lugares para negociar memorias productivas*. Case studies included topics such as the Valle de los Caídos, as discussed by Ricard Vinyes in his book *Asalto a la memoria* and the case of the Camp de la Bota, including the work of Francesc Abad (accessible at www.francescabad.com/campdelabota).

¹² In Bou, Enric; Subirana, Jaume (editors). (2017). *The Barcelona Reader. Cultural readings of a city*. Liverpool University Press.

¹³ (Ibid.)

new ciutadella, in which the archaic instrument of state terrorism has been covered over with a new story of bourgeois positivism.¹⁴

Illustration superimposing the blueprint of the citadel over top of the actual city. Sewer lines constructed between 1987-1989 are shown in blue. (Arxiu Martí Llorens)



¹⁴ As Laura Valls and Oliver Hochadel explain in *Barcelona: An Urban History of Science and Modernity, 1888–192* (Routledge, 2016), the Parc de la Ciutadella was part of a civic scientific order which helped to transmit Catalan nationalism, bourgeois order, and fulfill economic objectives.

Photograph of remains of the citadel being excavated while digging sewer lines. The Castell dels Tres Dragons is visible in the background. (Arxiu Martí Llorens)



But beneath the palm trees, covered with layers of time and soil, the stones of the old citadel still remain¹⁵. And beneath those ruins are the even older ruins of the medieval neighborhood of La Ribera which was demolished to make way for the citadel¹⁶. And all of this begs the next question, which we will turn to now, that if we want to examine what stories our cities tell, we must also be prepared to consider the inverse- “what stories are our cities hiding?”

1.1.2 The invisible city

One of the highlights of my masters program at the CEHIC was a course on material culture, heritage and scientific communication led by Alfons Zarzoso, José “Pepe” Pardo and Carlos Taberero. As a way of embodying alternative historiographical approaches to the traditional “grand narratives” of science, our class was held outside of the classroom at

¹⁵ For startling photographs of the uncovering and destruction of some of these archeological remains in the 1980’s, see Martí Llorens’ online photography archive, accessed at <http://bcn87-92.tempusfugitvisual.com/fot-doc/la-ciudadella/>.

¹⁶ The Mercat del Born, bordering the Ciutadella park on the city-side, is an example of a historical interpretation site which attempts to simultaneously preserve multiple layers of memory-- of the market built in 1878, of the citadel dating from 1714, and of the medieval Catalan neighborhood of la Ribera which was destroyed after the siege of Spanish succession order to make way for the citadel. These are three different urban stories with potential for contemporary political significance depending on how they are treated and reinterpreted.

various places around the city of Barcelona. We visited a cabinet of curiosities, an anatomical theatre, hospitals, an observatory, historic technical schools, and of course, we also visited the Ciutadella. I was inspired by the idea that the city itself could become a primary source for doing local history of science, and I was grateful for the effort my professors made to conserve, interpret, and educate about these material objects and urban spaces of science.¹⁷ Later, I would work with Miquel Carandell, a colleague from the CEHIC who developed a series of history of science walking tours catered primarily to high school groups.¹⁸ These tours took advantage of the city's visible history accessible, primarily, from the street. But not all of the city's history is equally visible. The Barcelona I want to talk about now is one that has, in many parts of the city, been invisibilized.

I am, of course, talking about the industrial Barcelona. This is a difficult Barcelona to display through a walking tour, but if I did perhaps I would call it *La Ciutat Invisible* ("the invisible city"), and it would begin here, at the Arc de Triomf. But this time, we would resist the charm of the arch and turn our backs to the Ciutadella, and cross an invisible frontier into an urban landscape which at the time of the universal exhibition would have looked very different from that of Gurney's *Dinotopia*. Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* would be closer to the mark. This particular stretch of coastline to the Northeast of the park was in fact known as the Catalan Manchester¹⁹ and was the powerhouse of Catalunya's textile industry.

First stop: Icària

Barcelona was an industrial city. In 1835 the first steam-powered textile mill became operational in the Raval, and by the 1850's the city had become so choked with factories and an exploding working-class population that a law was passed forbidding new factories to be built within the walls of the city. In 1855 another law was passed calling for the demolition of those walls and the expansion of the city. Chimneys shot up across a strange new smog-drenched skyline, first in the city-center and then in the surrounding towns. Due to the proximity of Barcelona's port and railroad lines²⁰, the previously agricultural lands of Poble Nou, much of them publicly owned, were transformed into valuable private real estate

¹⁷ José Pardo-Tomás, for example, has worked extensively on the project of conserving, restoring, and exhibiting a 17th century cabinet of curiosities (see: Pardo-Tomás, José. (2014). *Salvadoriana. The cabinet of curiosities of Barcelona. Gràfiques Alpes: Barcelona.*) as well as a project for musealizing the historic Martorell Museum in the Ciutadella. Alfons Zarzoso, meanwhile, is the curator at the Museum of History of Medicine of Catalunya and takes an active role in the recovery of material heritage, for example through the organization of a yearly colloquium on "Lost objects. Explaining and exposing science in museums and other public places" hosted by the Catalan Society for the History of Science and Technology, an organization which he also directs.

¹⁸ See <http://www.historiesdeciencia.cat/>

¹⁹ The term "Catalan Manchester" has been used a lot by those aiming to publicize Barcelona's industrial character, but what do we know about the source of this nickname? In 1973, an article published in *Serra d'Or* bore the title "Vells suburbis fora ciutat- Sant Martí, una Manchester local." Xavier Benguerel, in his *Memories* (2008), attributes the phrase to Francesc Cambó in a meeting held at the Ateneu Regionalista on Wad-Ras street. (As cited in Clarós i Ferret, Salvador. (2016). *Can Ricart i el patrimoni industrial de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.)

²⁰ Catalunya's first railroad, the Barcelona-Mataró line, was built along this stretch of land in 1848.

at the pressuring of industrialists²¹. In those days, Poblenou was known as La Llacuna, with some sections referred to as La Granota, El Taulat, Joncar and, according to the blueprint drawn up by Ildelfons Cerdà, the land just Northeast of the Ciutadella was called Icària, presumably in reference to the utopic socialist Etienne Cabet's, book *Voyage to Icaria*, translated into Spanish in 1845.²² Throughout the annexation of Poblenou by Barcelona in 1897 and the tumultuous years of the first half of the 20th century, the Icària neighborhood remained one of Barcelona's most densely concentrated industrial zones.

All of this is hard to imagine now. Our industrial itinerary brings us here to Avinguda Icària, but this name and a solitary chimney are the only things that remain as testaments to these industrial memories. Now this is the Vila Olímpica. After winning the Olympic bid to host the 1992 games, in 1986 Barcelona utilized the mandate of its eminent international exposure to launch a series of huge urban revitalization projects. This one, designed as an upscale residential area to be used as athlete housing, treated the site as a blank slate, demolishing not just the buildings but the original streets and infrastructure as well. As Francesc Caballé points out in a searing critique of the operation, the totality of the planned erasure of urban memory was without precedent in Barcelona.²³

Concern about the project prompted a variety of defensive interventions- for example from Eusebi Casanelles, director of the recently inaugurated Museum of Science and Technology of Catalunya, who co-authored a letter with five architects and engineers in which they charged the managing company, a public/private entity called *Vila Olímpica S.A.*, with the protection of the most important industrial buildings.²⁴ The city's Archeological Activities Department went further, developing a proposal with the municipal department of monumental heritage protection for the documentation of the quickly disappearing Icària neighborhood. The project was negotiated with Vila Olímpica S.A. which, after the city hall

²¹ This process began in the 18th century with the *Prats de Indians*. According to a document from 1752, 23 hectares of land had been sold to private owners. Four years later, 60 hectares had been sold to thirteen manufacturers as "usurpers" of the communal properties. See Arranz, Manuel. (1977). *De com van ser robats els prats de Poblenou*. 4 Cantons. Cited in Fabre, J; Clavería, H. (1980). *Tots els barris de Barcelona*. Edicions 62. See also: Thomson, James K.J.. (2003). *A distinctive industrialization: cotton in Barcelona 1728-1832*. Cambridge University Press.

²² A Bernaus i Salisi; F.X. Hernández i Cardona; P. Hornos i Garcia; M. Sales i Sebastià; R. Torras i Conangla. *Col·lectiu de l'Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts. Materials per a una Didàctica del Vapor Vell*. 1985. (Accessed: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat Barcelona.)

²³ At the beginning of the 20th century, when the *Via Laietana* was built through the city center, a municipal commission led by the historian Francesc Carreras Candi was formed to evaluate the project's historical impact. Some buildings were saved, like the casa Padellàs, which was moved stone by stone from the construction site to a new location where it now serves as the headquarters of the Museum of History of Barcelona. In parallel, photography and illustrations were developed of the demolished buildings. From Caballé, Francesc. (2010). *Desaparece el barrio de Icaria, nace la vila olímpica*. (Online at: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/b3w-895/b3w-895-9.htm>)

²⁴ This letter, which I have been unable to find, was reportedly written in July of 1987. Casanelles i Rahola, Eusebi. (1988). *L'arqueologia Industrial a Catalunya*. In, *I Jornades d'arqueologia industrial a Catalunya*. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991. See also: Casanelles, E.. (1988). *L'Arqueologia industrial i el Poble Nou*. *Plecs d'Història Local*, num. 14, pag. 214-215, l'AVENC num. 114, abril 1988.

approved the project, assumed the costs of hiring a team of historians, architectes, photographers and videographers²⁵.

In the end, this extensive project of cataloging and documentation came to nothing as it had never been intended to be used to prevent any demolitions or in any way be integrated with the design of the new Vila Olímpica, nor was the project given any *a posteriori* exposure. The publication sponsored by Holding Olímpic S.A. treated the broader district of Sant Martí without mentioning Icària²⁶, and only the volunteers from the Historical Archive of Poblenou produced a publication about the destroyed factories.²⁷ In the words of Francesc Caballé, “How easy it is to save chimneys in order to mourn the industrial character! With the few square meters they occupy and the symbolic value they imprint! But some pieces of the industrial architecture of the Icària neighborhood, like the Folch factory, or the warehouses of Crédito y Docks, or the old Rocamora factory (later Ford and even later Motor Iberica), were actually unique pieces that today would be almost certainly be catalogued as protected items.... The lack of previous knowledge and rigorous heritage-value analysis led the city to losing some really exceptional elements of industrial architecture of which there is only conserved a palid memory in a project of documentation which, 20 years later, still remains forgotten.”²⁸

As authors Judith Alfrey and Tim Putnam recognize in their book *The Industrial Heritage*, conservation planning, in practice, is reactive rather than proactive: heritage resources are often only recognized when under threat²⁹. In this sense, the destruction of Icària had a silver lining. It created a conversation and mobilized the organization of groups committed to defending their neighborhoods from future Icària-type situations. The first conference of industrial archeology in Catalonia (*I Jornades d’arqueologia industrial de*

²⁵ The architects, led by Xavier Güell and including Montserrat Pàmies, Francesc Rabat i Alfons Llorens, began a detailed study of all the existing structures, drawing blueprints and recording the current state of each of the pieces before their destruction. The historical documentation team was led by Manuel Arranz and included Reinald González, Teresa Navas, Marta Puchal and Francesc Caballé. They had a double objective—an exhaustive investigation of the history of the neighborhood and of each of the architectonic pieces, and a historic-architectonic descriptive analysis of each of the buildings. A video team was also hired to document the site, as well as the photographer Martí Llorens. Concha Doncel was hired to complete a sociological analysis through interviews of the old inhabitants and workers of the neighborhood. From Caballé, Francesc. *Desaparece el barrio de Icària, nace la vila olímpica*. 2010. (Online at: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/b3w-895/b3w-895-9.htm>)

²⁶ Nadal, Jordi & Tafunell, Xavier. (1992). *Sant Martí de Provençals, pulmó industrial de Barcelona (1847-1992)*. Columna, Barcelona.

²⁷ AHPN. (1990). *Nou Viatge a Icària: De les fàbriques a la Vila Olímpica*. See also Llorens, Martí. *Viaje a Icària*. Barcelona 1987-1992. *Transformación Urbanística*. <http://bcn87-92.tempusfugitvisual.com/>

²⁸ For more information, as well as photography of the destruction of Icària, see Llorens, Martí. (2013). *Viaje a Icària*. Barcelona 1987-1992. *Transformación Urbanística*. (available online at: <http://bcn87-92.tempusfugitvisual.com/>), also see the publication by the *Arxiu Històric de Poblenou*. *Nou Viatge a Icària: De les fàbriques a la Vila Olímpica*. 1ª edició 1990. 2ª edició 1996.

²⁹ See Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. (1992). *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London. The destruction of Icària acted in Barcelona much like the planned destruction of the Euston station arch in England. Both events triggered the organization of a reactionary movement to conserve these threatened spaces, and subsequently to the recognition of industrial objects as heritage as a means of ensuring their protection.

Catalunya), held in L'Hospitalet in 1988, was one of the sites of this conversation³⁰; another was the *Fòrum de la Ribera de Besòs*, a citizen's group founded in 1992 as a sort of think tank for critical reflection about the future of the industrial coastlands between Barcelona and the Besòs river. The group was started by Joan Roca, an energetic history teacher at the Besòs high school where the meetings were held. It was clear that the Icària neighborhood was just one lost battle in a real estate war going back to 1965 to the *Pla del sector marítim oriental*, better known as the *Pla de la Ribera*- an urban renovation project promoted by the city's biggest heads of industry³¹ and politicians³² aiming to rezone the 234 hectares of coastal property from industrial use and to convert the zone into a luxurious residential area. This plan had revoked as a result of the efforts of citizen protests³³, but this was only a temporary victory. As big industries continued to move out of the city to cheaper areas, notably to the *Zona Franca*, Barcelona's industrial bourgeoisie turned to the business of real estate speculation in an effort to make the most money out of the newly abandoned properties in a city in the process of transformation to a third-sector city- a transformation which threatened to gentrify Barcelona's northern coastline at the cost of expelling its population, who wouldn't be able to afford to live there anymore, and erasing their history through urban projects like the Olympic Village, which hadn't been a transformation at all, but rather a replacement. These were some issues which the *Fòrum de la Ribera de Besòs* hoped to remedy. But they didn't have much time. The clock was ticking down to the start of the next offensive on the part of the industrialists, real estate moguls and politicians.³⁴

³⁰ Casanelles i Rahola, Eusebi. *L'arqueologia Industrial a Catalunya*. In, *I Jornades d'arqueologia industrial a Catalunya*. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991. Also: Granados, O. (1988). *El projecte de documentació històrica de l'Avinguda d'Icària*. In, *I Jornades d'arqueologia industrial a Catalunya*. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991: p. 38. Also: Caballé, F., González, R i Navas, T.. (1988). *Un catàleg d'arqueologia industrial: el cas del Poblenou*, In, *I Jornades d'arqueologia industrial a Catalunya*. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991: p. 39-43.

³¹ Catalana de Gas, Motor Iberica, Foret, La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima, Crédito y Docks, Hijo de E. F. Escofet, Macosa, Hidroeléctrica de Catalunya, Martini Rossi, Titan, Jorge Whal and Renfe.

³² Not only was the project led by José Mariá de Porcioles, Barcelona's Francoist mayor from 1957-1973, but it also should not be forgotten that Narcís Serra, Barcelona's democratically elected mayor from 1979-1982, formed part of the oversight committee of the Pla de la Ribera.

³³ For more on the Pla de la Ribera, see Tatjer, Mercè. *La Barceloneta: del siglo XVIII al plan de la Ribera*, Barcelona: Ediciones Saturno, 1973. As well as: *Pla de la ribera: el veïnat contra la dictadura*. Grup de Treball d'Etnologia de l'Espai Públic de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia. Memòria final del projecte, desembre 2006.

³⁴ The story of the KEPRO scam is iconic of the type of business which took place in these big money urban planning transactions. Juan Manuel Rosillo, known in Catalonia as John Rosillo, was the Spanish director of this multimillion-dollar company which courted national elites with real estate propositions. Through the company Diagonal Mar SA, he put together a deal selling the lands of the old MACOSA factory of Poblenou for half their value in order to build the Diagonal Mar macro complex of shopping center, apartments and office buildings. Rosillo was condemned to five years of prison for financial fraud related to this purchase. But this is just the beginning of the story. The ex-director of MACOSA was also condemned, and after Rosillo denounced the tax inspector, after a failed 50 million pesetas bribe attempt, Alvaro Pernas escaped to Cuba, leaving behind a paper trail of tax corruption between the state and various real estate agencies like Josep Lluís Núñez, who, thanks to the complicity of his political connections avoided all but a two year sentence. John Rosillo, meanwhile, was found dead of unclear causes in 2007 in a room at the Ambassador Hotel in Panama City, a

Second stop: El Taulat

If we follow the coastline north a few hundred meters from Vila Olímpica, we can view the aftermath of this urban conflict for ourselves. This used to be the Taulat neighborhood but, like Icària, almost no trace of that memory remains. In 2004, this was the site of the *Fòrum de les Cultures*, an international cultural event conceived by Pasqual Maragall, Barcelona's mayor from 1982-97. Maragall hoped to leverage the Fòrum as he had done with the Barcelona's Olympic games in 1992, as a way of promoting the city's tourist industry, attracting foreign investment, and further opening up the gold-mine of Barcelona's coastal real estate, this time through a public-private enterprise called 22@ S.A. which promised to bring communication and information technology businesses to the area. The strategy was all too familiar- 22@ S.A. was the new Vila Olímpica S.A., and the Taulat neighborhood was the new Icària. Maragall had become something of a global icon for his strategic use of the Olympic games, bringing Barcelona onto the world stage after decades of stagnation under Francoism. One of the secrets to this success was the heavy-handed, top-down approach taken by his department of urbanism, led by Oriol Bohigas. Under Maragall as its prince and Bohigas as its architect, Barcelona had a powerful synergy of leadership working to revitalize the city and refill the municipal coffers which had been wiped out during late-stage Francoism. Other cities began looking to Barcelona as a model for post-industrial urban revitalization. The "Barcelona Model", however, also came under heavy criticism.³⁵ Issues of democratic involvement, urban identity and authenticity, heritage, gentrification, real estate speculation, corruption, immigration, colonial tourism, the city-as-theme-park... these were some of the issues debated not just by the neighbors and activists gathered at the *Fòrum de la Ribera de Besòs*, but by citizen groups in cities around the world going through similar phases of economic "tertiarization"-- the transition to a third-sector economy.

The centerpiece of the Fòrum de les Cultures is impossible to miss-- Herzog & de Meuron's iconic "Fòrum Building" hovers in the air like a triangular blue spaceship as a symbol of Barcelona's claim as an international culture magnet. This is the "city of marvels" 2.0-- a place which makes a statement: "This is the place... the future is now." In the end, however, the Fòrum Building would become a symbol of disillusionment as the 141 day international event billed as a "cultural olympics" fell short of its promises. The buildings' \$144 million price tag became a bone of political contention, especially after the roof started falling in and the rooftop water feature began leaking, almost ruining an exhibition of 2,200-

fugitive of the Spanish justice department and with an order of international search and capture. He had created a fake company called Profimar to buy the MACOSA property, and to avoid implication had invented the identity of its CEO, by tricking a mentally disabled man who frequented Barcelona's Turó Park into putting on expensive clothes, gold jewelry and boarding a private jet to Caracas. Miraculously, the man was returned to Barcelona alive. Rosillo's organization also used a undocumented Peruvian woman, who, according to Salvador Clarós' account, was never heard of again. (See: Clarós i Ferret, Salvador. (2016). *Can Ricart i el patrimoni industrial de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.)

³⁵ See, for example, Delgado, Manuel. *Elogi del vianant. Del "model Barcelona" a la Barcelona real*. Edicions de 1984: Barcelona, 2005.

year-old terracotta Xian warriors from China.³⁶ The bad press escalated when the Federation of Neighbors Associations of Barcelona boycotted the event, publishing an expose called “The other side of the Fòrum de les Cultures S.A.”³⁷, or, likewise, when dozens of anti-fòrum activists assailed the site by sea in a ramshackle armada of boats and rafts, manifesting against the corporate interests behind the speculative enterprise. After the event was over, the Fòrum Building sat empty for seven years until it was repurposed as the new site of Barcelona’s natural science museum, the *Museu Blau*, which opened its doors in 2011, while the old location in the Ciutadella closed its doors. The translation of the Ciutadella’s scientific heritage to the Fòrum was a missed opportunity for a reflexive historical contextualization of this heritage within the story of Catalan colonialism and the development of a scientific nationalism by the *Junta de Ciències*, an organization aligned ideologically according to the three C’s-- Catholic, Conservative, and Catalanist.³⁸ Despite the new museum’s contemporary look, the expository narrative remained basically unchanged: stuffed specimens behind glass, labeled in latin and in Catalan as exemplars of mankind's grand taxonomic organization of nature. The ahistoricism of the museology echoes that of the Fòrum building itself-- black box science in a black box natural science center³⁹-- a museum “apart from time.”

This ahistoricism of the Blau is a double crime: it is a crime to science because it misrepresents the nature of science as practice⁴⁰ and it is a crime to the neighborhood of El Taulat because, even if science did somehow transcend time and space, the museum itself is very much a physical object, and it is sitting on a piece of land which is very much an urban palimpsest⁴¹. Up until construction on the Fòrum, this was the site of a military structure, *El Camp de la Bota*, where 1,686 people were executed by Francoist firing squads between the years of 1939-1952.⁴² Of this traumatic urban memory the Fòrum is almost completely silent, except for a small historical marker which sits adjacent to the Blau and is widely criticized as an insufficient testimony to the decades of Francoist terrorism which occurred here.

³⁶ Giles, Tremlett. Ceiling falls on “cultural olympics”. The Guardian. 11/08/2004.

³⁷ Various authors. La otra cara del Fòrum de les cultures S.A. 10 raons per no anar al Fòrum. (available online at <http://www.ed-bellaterra.com/php/llobresInfo.php?idLlibre=210>)

³⁸ See: Aragon, Ferran and Pardo-Tomas, José. Reconstructing the Martorell. Donors and spaces in the quest for hegemony within the natural history museum. (In: Nieto-Galan, Agusti; Hochadel, Oliver (editors). Barcelona: An Urban History of Science and Modernity, 1888–1929. Routledge, 2016.) In 2016 and 2017, Ferran Aragon and I also organized historically reflexive guided tours of the Museu Blau for students at the University of València’s history of science program.

³⁹ This is an idea I develop further in an unpublished paper written for my masters thesis in 2015 on the concept of a Science Ecomuseum. (Somerville, Edward. (2015). Science Ecomuseum. Unpublished essay, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.)

⁴⁰ See: Pickering, Andrew. (1992). Science as practice and culture. University of Chicago Press.

⁴¹ See Bercedo, Ivan & Mestre, Jorge. L’espai públic com a palimpsest. (Accessed November 2020:<http://www.francescabada.com/campdelabota/>).

⁴² Segura, Cristian. El Fòrum borró los vestigios del paredón de fusilamiento del Camp de la Bota. El País, 26/01/2019.

This is a place I know well. I completed my masters pràcticum at the Museu Blau in 2015. With the museum's activities department I worked on a project to promote proximity between the museum and its immediate neighborhood.⁴³ I had worked on similar projects back in the United States, organizing events for local musicians and doing community development, so I knew where to start- getting out of the museum and into the neighborhood to get to know the locals and see what was already going on that we could collaborate with. Walking out of the museum and crossing the *Avinguda Diagonal* I sensed that I was entering another world⁴⁴. This section of Barcelona, made up of housing projects built in the 1960's and stretching from the lower Diagonal to the Besòs river, is one of the poorest in Barcelona. The people I met, however, were some of the warmest, and I soon discovered a network of people and associations which were happy to talk to me about the museum.⁴⁵ Thus began my process of realization that what I had thought would be a straightforward internship project had actually put me into a position of mediation between two sides of an ancient urban conflict. I found myself at the intersection of two different Barcelona's, between the "city of marvels" and the "invisible city".

My well-intentioned project of bringing local cultural initiatives into collaboration with the Museu Blau struggled to become something more than just a free public-imaging campaign for the museum. In any case, it did not represent a systemic commitment to redressing the social and urbanistic violence already committed. The only thing truly powerful enough to stop the steady approach of 22@ bulldozers and gentrifiers was the financial crisis of 2008. But even so, there were some notable victories on the part of concerned citizen groups like the *Fòrum de la Ribera de Besòs*, the *Asociación de Vecinos del Poblenou* and the *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou* thanks to the use they made of their secret weapon in this urban struggle-- the concept of industrial heritage.⁴⁶

By the year 2000, a precedent had already been set in the study of Barcelona's industrial heritage. In 1997, a group of professionals, investigators and university professors organized

⁴³ Somerville, Edward. (2015). Proximity in the Museu Blau. Unpublished Master's thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

⁴⁴ A poignant quantitative measure of this 'invisible frontier' is that presented by the Federation of Neighbors Associations of Barcelona in their manifesto against the Fòrum- that the city spent only 72 million euros on the urban reform of the neighboring *La Mina neighborhood*, compared with the 2,300 million spent on the Fòrum. From Various authors. *La otra cara del Fòrum de les cultures S.A. 10 raons per no anar al Fòrum*. (Accessed November 2020: [_http://www.ed-bellaterra.com/php/lLibresInfo.php?idLlibre=210](http://www.ed-bellaterra.com/php/lLibresInfo.php?idLlibre=210))

⁴⁵ The ladies from the "Amber Prim" women's association practically adopted me as a grandson. The anarchists running a soup kitchen from the *Escola Cooperativa Gregal*, meanwhile, made sure I was fed and gave me books. The Centre Cívic de Besòs helped me connect with the Moroccan association, who also fed me, and I joined the local teenagers in their monthly jam session, plucking along on my banjo while surrounded by a raging cacophony of electric guitars.

⁴⁶ As Mercè Tatjer writes, "*El caso de Barcelona, que estudiamos en este artículo, es especialmente significativo por la imagen internacional que esta ciudad posee y por las implicaciones que el debate sobre el patrimonio industrial ha tenido en relación con las propuestas para elaborar un urbanismo participativo, y para debatir nuevas formas de construcción de la ciudad.*" Cited in Tatjer, Mercè. (2008). *El patrimonio industrial de Barcelona entre la destrucción y la conservación, 1999-2008*. Scripta Nova, Vol. XII, núm. 270 (140).

a cultural project to study Barcelona's industrial heritage called *Ciutat i Fàbrica. Un recorregut pel patrimoni industrial de Barcelona* ("City and Factory. A tour of the industrial heritage of Barcelona"). The study identified around 200 possible industrial heritage sites, 68 of which were studied in detail, the results of which were presented in a traveling exhibition and later published in the book "Barcelona, city of factories"⁴⁷ in 2000. From 2000-2005, members of this group completed an exhaustive "Inventory of the industries of *les Corts* [a neighborhood of Barcelona]"⁴⁸ published in 2008. A separate initiative, in the neighborhood of the Raval, had been underway since 1990 identifying 200 19th century factories which had been installed there at the beginning of the industrial revolution. By the time of its publishing, in 2005⁴⁹, only about 20 of these remained.

These experiences paved the way for the creation of a special task force- the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Fòrum de la Ribera del Besòs -GPI-* ("the industrial heritage group of the Forum of the Ribera del Besòs"), a ragtag team of geographers, historians, architects, photographers, and journalists who worked together to study Poblenou's potential industrial heritage and to raise awareness regarding its imminent destruction.⁵⁰ In December of 2002, they made their first move-- a double-paged article in the *La Vanguardia* newspaper titled, *Poblenou, memòria industrial* ("Poblenou, industrial memory").

One of the defining characteristics of this group was their dual strategy of investigation and action: their investigation formed part of a larger project as advocates for industrial heritage, and their objective was not just conservation but also to formulate alternative proposals to the urban plans of the City Hall. Their activities included interdisciplinary study, archival investigation, field work, cartographic reference, meetings with politicians and experts, activism, divulgation through publications in triptychs, postcards, stickers and informative brochures, and through the organization of itineraries for industrial walking and bicycle tours⁵¹. They produced articles in newspapers, magazines, participated on television

⁴⁷ Checa Artasu, Martí (coordinator) & Basiana, Xavier (editor). (2000). Barcelona, Ciutat de Fàbriques. Photography by Xavier Basiana and Jaume Orpinell. The list of collaborators include: Joan Carles Alayo Manubens, Miquel Barceló i Roca, Carolina Blasco Lahuerta, Francesc Caballé Esteve, Dolors Carbo Mestre, Magda Fernandez Cervantes, Jordi Fossas Bonjoch, Maria Jose Gatnau Fortea, Anna Güell Esquiús, M. Dolors Lopez Gallardo, Manel Martin Pascual, Jesus Martinez Marin, Joan Olona Casas, Joan Eugeni Sanchez, Susana Sanchez Suarez, Antoni Vilanova i Omedas, Felip Vivanco.

⁴⁸ Tatjer, M.; Vilanova, A.; Insa, Y. (2003). Inventari de indústries de les Corts una metodologia per la recerca i difusió del patrimoni industrial de Barcelona. In: La indústria agroalimentària i els usos de l'aigua. In: Actes de les VI Jornades d'Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya. Lleida 3,4,5 d'abril 2003. Barcelona: Associació/Col·legi d'Enginyers Industrials de Catalunya- Associació del Museo de la Ciència i de la Tècnica i de l'Arqueologia industrial de Catalunya, 2008, p. 356-365.

⁴⁹ Artigas, J & Mas, F. (2005). El model de casa -fàbrica als inicis de la industrialització. Registre de fàbriques al Raval de Barcelona. 1767-1856, Barcelona. 2 Vols.

⁵⁰ The primary members of the GPI included Perla Zusman (Argentine geographer), Noemi Cohen (cultural manager and exhibition coordinator at the Antoni Tàpies Foundation), Jorge Ribalta (photographer and public program director at the MACBA), Mercè Tatjer (historian and geographer), Jordi Fossas (architect), Josep Maria Huertas (journalist), Lluís Estrada (local expert and networker), and Antoni Vilanova (architect).

⁵¹ Fernández, M.; Tatjer, M. (2004). Barcelona. Bressol de la industrialització. Itineraris industrials per Barcelona. In Fes turisme industrial. Patrimoni industrial a Catalunya. Barcelona: MNCTAC.

and radio programs, collaborated with professional heritage organizations⁵² and organized conferences, for example the *Jornades de Patrimoni i Innovació*⁵³, convoked three times between 2003-2005.

In 1999, the National Museum of Science and Technology of Catalunya (MNACTEC) completed a massive industrial heritage registry, cataloging nearly 8,000 historical industrial establishments in Catalunya. A traveling exposition was created as a testament to these sites, but although it was displayed in *comarques* like Osona, Bergueda, Bages, Conca de Barberà, Vallès Occidental, la Garrotxa and Ripollès, surprisingly it was never shown in Barcelona. At the same time, in 2000, Barcelona completed a revision of its special plan for the city's protection of historic-artistic architectural heritage. The result of this was that in Poblenou only around 30 elements received heritage qualification, and the majority of these were chimneys. This lack of valorization of the city's industrial past extended to the classroom, where the curriculum focused almost exclusively on Catalonia's industrial colonies and downplayed Barcelona's identity as an industrial city.

In 2005, the city's overnight demolition of the historic *Fàbricas Tanicos* marked a turning point in the battle. While at first there had been a spirit of negotiation towards the municipality, the loss of this important piece of neighborhood heritage was one step too far. As Salvador Clarós relates, "It was the last surviving industrial building from the renovations to the coastline and the last bastion of urban planning of what was left of the Taulat neighborhood. The Cemetery of Poblenou and *Fàbricas Tanicos* marked the boundaries of Poblenou's historic downtown, harassed and dying after the construction of the Olympic Village, which had transformed the coast from the Barceloneta, and the subsequent transformation of the coastline, which took the traditional facade to Diagonal Mar. With the disappearance of *Fàbricas Tanicos*, the battle to protect what was left of the Taulat district was accepted as lost.... From this moment onward, the fight centered on the defense of *Can Ricart*."⁵⁴

Third Stop: Can Ricart

From the Fòrum building, a ten minute walk down the Avinguda Diagonal brings us to its intersection with Pere IV Street. Together, these two roads form an X on the map of Barcelona, marking the crossing between the old road to Mataró and the GranVia-Diagonal

⁵² For example, the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes of San Fernando*, the *Associació del Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica i de l'Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya*, the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

⁵³ I *Jornades de Llegat Industrial i Innovació*. El patrimoni en el futur del 22@ i el Poblenou. 30 de Junio del 2003, en el recinto fabril de La Escocesa.

II *Jornades de Llegat Industrial i Innovació*. Actuacions en el patrimoni edificat. 25 y 26 de marzo de 2004, en Palo Alto, una antigua fábrica convertida en centro de diseño e innovación.

III *Jornades de Llegat Industrial i Innovació*. El patrimoni industrial, més enllà de l'arquitectura. 5 y 6 de noviembre 2005, en Can Ricart.

⁵⁴ Clarós i Ferret, Salvador. *Can Ricart i el patrimoni industrial de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2016.

that was projected to traverse the whole city as planned by Ildelfons Cerdà in 1859. The first road can already be found in maps from the mid-18th century, while the second was completed in 1999. Pere IV, flanked by old factories, workers housing and cooperatives, provides a stark contrast to the Diagonal, lined by towering glass office buildings, bounded on one horizon by a glimmering Torre Agbar and on the other, on the coast, by the Fòrum Building.⁵⁵ The conflictive history of the urbanization of Poblenou is, in part, represented by these intersecting roads. Just a few meters from this junction sits Can Ricart, a 19th century textile factory which in 2005 became the epicenter of this dispute.

In his doctoral thesis “The factory of conflict. Tertiarization, social struggle and heritage in Can Ricart”, anthropologist Isaac Marrero paints for us the following picture:

SALVEM CAN RICART, DEFENSEM POBLE NOU. Black, uppercase, block letters, two lines on white background. Six meters wide by almost one meter high. The banner, held by a dozen men and women, led the demonstration. Between five hundred and a thousand people, according to the source, marched after them, whistling, chatting, chanting proclamations, holding other banners, blowing whistles, playing with beach balls that read "Salvem Can Ricart." It was Thursday, April 28, 2005, seven thirty in the afternoon, on the Rambla del Poblenou. Among the protesters were workers, businessmen, neighborhood residents, squatters, teachers, children, young people, grandparents, members of political parties, associations, groups, entities. Numerous journalists and photographers surrounded the crowd collecting statements and searching for favorable framing. In the queue of the demonstration, a banner signed by the Coordinadora Contra el 22 @ (CC22 @) and handwritten in red letters on a white sheet read "Salvem Can Ricart, aturem el 22 @". Towards the middle there were three other banners, almost together, in which one could read "*Speculació urbanística, com sempre*", "*Clos, el teu 22 @: 240 families a La Misèria*" and "*Indemnitzacions mes justes i Per Tothom*". Many of the protesters also carried sheets of printed paper around their necks with phrases like "22 @ sou com en Robin Hood però al revés!!!!!" or "*34 Empreses i 250 Treballadors Ofegats pel 22 @ Salvem Can Ricart.*"⁵⁶

The march of April 28th marked the launching of the *Salvem Can Ricart* movement-- “a great public act according to the classic protocol of neighborhood mobilization: formalization of an alliance, demonstration of force, statement of the conflict.” The manifesto, read by Josep Maria Huertas, journalist and member of the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial*, as well as a founding member of the *Arxiu Històric de Poblenou*, was signed by 40 entities⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ MUHBA. (2018). Pere IV. Passatge major del Poblenou. (MUHBA Llibrets de sala 28).

⁵⁶Marrero Guillamon, Isaac. (2008). La fábrica del conflicto. Terciarización, Lucha Social y Patrimonio en Can Ricart. Tesis Doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona.

⁵⁷ The entities included: Afectats de Can Ricart, Ass. Veïns del Poblenou, Ass. Veïns Gran Via-Perú-Espronedada, CER Bac de Roda, Ass. Recreativa Grup Civit, Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, Coordinadora contra el 22@, Diables del Poblenou, Assembla de Joves del Poblenou, J.O.C., MOVI, CiU, Colla del Drac, Fem Maig, Acció Sant Martí, Centre Moral, Colla de Gegants del Poblenou, Ateneu La Flor de Maig, Ass. Veïns Vila Olímpica, Ass. Veïns Diagonal Mar, Ass. Veïns Paraguai-Perú, FAVB, La Raspa, Plataforma Diagonal Maresme Besòs, Plataforma d'Entitats i Veïns de la Mina, Cooperativa d'Habitatge del Sagrat Cor, Cooperativa

The long fight to save Can Ricart from destruction has been chronicled from the inside by participants like Isaac Marrero, who gives protagonism in his account to the 250 workers from 34 businesses who were evicted from the industrial complex, and Salvador Clarós who, in his 2016 book “Can Ricart and the industrial heritage of Barcelona,”⁵⁸ details the work of the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial* of which he was a part. Perhaps the most notable feature of this urban struggle was how it captured the city’s attention, bringing Can Ricart, and industrial heritage, into the mainstream conversation. And it got results. In 2006, the city hall was obliged to approve the “Modification of the catalogue of historic-artistic architectonic heritage of the district of Sant Martí”⁵⁹ which included 126 new industrial conservation sites proposed by the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial*⁶⁰, and in 2008 the Government of Catalonia declared Can Ricart as a Cultural Good of National Interest, the highest level of heritage qualification. Many architects and urban geographers have worked to re-utilize these historic factories as public libraries, loft housing, creative spaces, etc. Martín Checa Artasu has chronicled this history in his article “Geographers for industrial heritage in Spain: the case of Barcelona”⁶¹ in which he defines three eras--

- 1976-1986. Neighborhood protests and first municipal positioning
- 1986-1999. The Olympic influence and rehabilitation by the private sector
- 1999-2006. The industrial landscape as identity. New campaigns for industrial heritage

On the one hand, the Salvem Can Ricart campaign represented great progress in the heritagization, conservation, and reuse of industrial buildings. But even though these were the primary concerns of the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial*, these issues were only the tip of the iceberg of significance that this campaign had for many of those who joined the struggle. As Salvador Clarós relates, “The Salvem Can Ricart platform could become a meeting point for all those with a score to settle with the City Council or even with the ‘system’. It could become a pretext to join a more global fight.” Besides the defenders of heritage, there were workers fighting for their jobs, historians and urban planners, the neighbors resentful of the 22@ urban project, the anti-system youth and those politically opposed to the municipal government. Besides these, were others, on the sidelines as spectators: journalists, social researchers, architects, anthropologists... “They all turned Can Ricart into the stage of

Gregal, IES Barri Besòs, IES Poblenou, AMPA la Mar Bella, AMPA Arenal de Llevant, AMPA Lope de Vega, Ciber@ula Poblenou, Esplai La Flor de Maig, Coordinadora d’Entitats del Poblenou...

⁵⁸ Clarós i Ferret, Salvador. (2016). *Can Ricart i el patrimoni industrial de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.

⁵⁹ Modificació del pla especial de protecció del patrimoni arquitectònic històric-artístic de la ciutat de Barcelona. Districte de Sant Martí. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2006.

⁶⁰ AA.VV. el Poblenou, et al. *Pla del patrimoni industrial del Poblenou*. Barcelona, 2006.

⁶¹ Checa Artasu, M. “Geografías para el patrimonio industrial en España: El caso de Barcelona.” *Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. XI, núm. 245 (32), 1 de agosto de 2007.

a battle between good and bad. And an opportunity to build different stories according to their interests.”⁶²

As Checa Artasu asserts, the years 1999-2006 marked the rise of an awareness among Barcelonians of the importance of the industrial landscape as a matter of identity. The factories and chimneys took on new meanings in this context. They became bearers of industrial memories, powerful storytellers of the long-held resentments of the *Ciutat Invisible*, and emblems of an old and bitter heritage. In his 2004 article “Has Barcelona ever been a grand industrial city?” Joan Roca explains that the real Catalonia, embodied in what he calls the ‘Barcelona of factories’, is the daughter of social conflict. “The factory is the image that must be hidden because it expresses the social conflict of classes. And the ‘oblivion’ of the industrial heritage of the capital of Catalonia seems to serve rather as a visually expressive distortion of our history in favor of an interpretation of the artisanal Catalonia and of the bourgeois face of Barcelona without its corresponding working-class side. I would say that the systematic denial that has been made for so many years of the metropolitan event is not accidental. There has been fear of the socially and culturally powerful ‘Catalonia of the metropolis’.”⁶³

In Barcelona, the battle lines of this social conflict are drawn in various ways and with significant distinctions: The political left vs the political right; Catalonia vs Spain; Neighborhood vs municipality. The power of strategic industrial stories and symbolism in each of these conflicts-- this was the revelation of the *Salvem Can Ricart* campaign. On one hand, these stories get their power from the simplicity of their narrative structure- good vs bad, proletariat vs bourgeoisie, oppressed vs oppressor. On the other hand, these stories are inextricably linked with the great unresolved issue of the Spanish Civil War- a war which was fought less than 100 years ago, in which 500,000 people lost their lives in combat as well as systematic killings, mob violence, torture and other brutalities, and after which 500,000 more were sent to concentration camps, where 50,000 were executed and many others died. A war which was fought in Barcelona by both republicans and revolutionaries- two causes which, after Franco’s death in 1975, remained unfulfilled as the Francoist regime reinstated the Bourbon monarchy and negotiated a peaceful transition based on a politic of amnesty which erased both their legal culpability as well as the historical memory of the atrocities committed.

This is what Roca is referring to when he speaks of the authority’s fear of the ‘Catalonia of the metropolis’. He is talking about the industrial Barcelona. This is the city where the working class organized the country’s first general strike in 1855, where the CNT was founded in 1910, where, in 1919, after a 48-day strike which brought the city to a complete stop the 8-hour working day was won for the first time in any country. This is the

⁶² Clarós i Ferret, Salvador. (2016). *Can Ricart i el patrimoni industrial de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.

⁶³ Roca i Albert, Joan. (2004). Has Barcelona been a great industrial city? *L’Avenç*, Magazine of History and Culture, number 288: pp. 22-29.

city nicknamed by the anarchists as the *Rosa de Foc* (“Rose of Fire”) for the strength and character of its working class movements. It is the city described so vividly by George Orwell in his first-hand account of the Civil War in his book *Homage to Catalonia*.⁶⁴

“It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivized; even the bootblacks had been collectivized and their boxes painted red and black. Waiters and shop-walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and even ceremonial forms of speech had temporarily disappeared. Nobody said ‘Senor’ or ‘Don’ or even ‘Usted’; everyone called everyone else ‘Comrade’ and ‘Thou,’ and said ‘Salud!’ instead of ‘Buenos dias.’ Tipping had been forbidden by law since the time of Primo de Rivera; almost my first experience was receiving a lecture from a hotel manager for trying to tip a lift-boy. There were no private motor cars, they had all been commandeered, and all the trams and taxis and much of the other transport were painted red and black. The revolutionary posters were everywhere, flaming from the walls in clean reds and blues that made the few remaining advertisements look like daubs of mud. Down the Ramblas, the wide central artery of the town where crowds of people streamed constantly to and fro, the loud-speakers were bellowing revolutionary songs all day and far into the night. And it was the aspect of the crowds that was the queerest thing of all. In outward appearance it was a town in which the wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist. Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no ‘well-dressed’ people at all. Practically everyone wore rough working-class clothes, or blue overalls or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving.”⁶⁵

In 2004, the Ciutat Invisible was born, an association dedicated to recovering not only Barcelona’s industrial history and architectonic heritage, but a heritage of working-class social and economic practices as well, particularly that of cooperativism. Authors Marc Dalmau and Ivan Miró i Acedo argue in *Les Cooperatives Obreres de Sants*, published 2010, that Barcelona’s neighborhoods, or *barris*, are products of industrialization. The conglomeration of workers’ housing around the large factories built around the periphery of Barcelona in the second half to the 19th century gave rise to the complex bottom-up social organization, centered around public plazas, markets, and cooperatives. This *Barcelona dels*

⁶⁴ Orwell, George. (1952). *Homage to Catalonia*. Harcourt Brace & Company: San Diego, 1980. Original: 1952.

⁶⁵ “...There was much in it that I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for. Also I believed that things were as they appeared, that this was really a workers’ State and that the entire bourgeoisie had either fled, been killed, or voluntarily come over to the workers’ side; I did not realize that great numbers of well-to-do bourgeois were simply lying low and disguising themselves as proletarians for the time being.” Orwell, George (1952). *Homage to Catalonia*. Harcourt Brace & Company: San Diego, 1980.

barris ("Barcelona of neighborhoods") contrasted with the bourgeoisie dream of the 'Gran Barcelona', or in other words, the top-down organization and management of the city. "That dream of the *Gran Barcelona* also involved the theorization and construction of a symbolic imaginary, which transmitted in the cultural field the aspiration of the city's commanding classes. Cultural movements such as *modernisme* first and *noucentisme* later, helped to build the representation of an industrialized, prosperous and modern city."⁶⁶ The *Pla Jaussely*, for example, was created in 1905 promoting the urbanistic vision of a 'city-factory'.⁶⁷ The concept of 'city-factory' is different from that of Barcelona as a 'city-of-factories' in that it conceives of the modern city as a fundamentally industrial object. In this model, the same inefficiencies of the logic of economic growth through the conflict of capital and labor which escalated into class antagonism are also reflected in the urban development of the city. In other words, the social conflict of the Salvem Can Ricart campaign not only was empowered by the recovery of the factory as a symbol of class conflict, but was itself a continuation of this same basic conflict.⁶⁸ All of this was much bigger than just the conservation of the Can Ricart building, and gave the campaign its epic proportions. The *ciutat invisible* was becoming visible: Barcelona, the city-factory of conflict.

⁶⁶ Dalmau, Marc; Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). Les Cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939). La Ciutat Invisible Edicions: Barcelona. p. 32.

⁶⁷ (Ibid.)

⁶⁸ At the neighborhood level, Salvador Clarós affirms that Can Ricart was one more step in the long history of social protest movements, in the midst of a series of changes that distorted the historic references and identity of the neighborhood. Perhaps the active resistance of the neighborhood to the loss of its character, was what imposed an epic dimension to the citizen response, far beyond what was predictable. The fight for Can Ricart tapped into long-held resentments towards the scam of the *marca Barcelona*, or "Barcelona brand", which the municipal government had developed, especially since the 1992 Olympic games through urban rehabilitation campaigns like *Barcelona, posa't guapa* ("Barcelona, get pretty"), and the transformation of the coastline, seeking to turn the city into a product to be sold to foreign investors. The massification of the city's tourism industry and the municipal government's exaltation of the city as "the best shop in the world" capitalized on this brand at the cost of further marginalizing the city's most vulnerable members. (Clarós i Ferret, Salvador. (2016). *Can Ricart i el patrimoni industrial de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.)

1.2 MUSEALIZATION

Learning the stories of Icària, El Taulat and Can Ricart helped me understand better some of my earliest impressions upon moving to Barcelona over six years ago. In those days I described it as a feeling of political activism and engagement which I had never experienced before in the United States. Many of my new friends and colleagues had participated, if not in the Can Ricart campaign, than in the later 15-M movement of *los indignados* (“the indignant”) which started with protests on May 15, 2011 in various Spanish cities and led to the birth of the occupy movement. I was invited to marches and protests and I tagged along as my friends shouted slogans like “*Guiri* go home!” (*guiri* is the Spanish word for tourist), “*A-Anti-Anticapitalista!*” or even the simple but powerful shout of “*Rabia! Rabia! Rabia-Rabia-Rabia!*” (literally, ‘rage’). As my American friends sent me messages of congratulations on having moved to such a desirable city, I was trying to piece together what it was that my Barcelonan friends were so mad about.

“Ahhh! You’re in Barcelona?? I’m so jealous!” writes Lindsay on my facebook wall. I glance at the post and then set my phone to vibrate. It’s 2:00 AM and I can’t hear anything above the amp-blasting of Barcelonian rumba-punk-ska-metal band *Mateolika*, which at this moment has just launched into their song *Ciutat Antipersona* (“Anti-person City”) featuring lyrics like “Welcome to Barcelona, the anti-people city // They wanted to make a grand city with a perfect Diagonal. Is there any money left here? I want to be an architect too. // You’ll come back for the beach, and you’ll run into the Hotel Vela, the forum of un-culture and millions of real estate companies that want to be in the ad: ‘Barcelona, get pretty.’”

This last line is a reference to the Department of Urbanism’s *Barcelona, posa’t guapa* (“Barcelona, get pretty”) campaign, which was developed in conjunction with the 1992 olympic games to clean up the city center and redevelop the coastline. It was one campaign in a general strategy of developing what has come to be known as the *marca Barcelona*, or “Barcelona brand”-- a project which has been criticized as a top-down effort to commoditize the city to be sold to wealthy foreign investors as a gentrified mediterranean tourist destination.⁶⁹ The term “theme-park” entered the vocabulary of urban activists, used to denounce this city brand as historically superficial, culturally vulgar and urbanistically toxic, threatening the survival of the *authentic Barcelona* it was built upon.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ See Delgado, Manuel. *Elogi del vianant. Del “model Barcelona” a la Barcelona real*. Edicions de 1984: Barcelona, 2005. Also: Scarnato, Alessandro; Laboreo, Marina (translation). *Barcelona Supermodelo. La complejidad de una transformación social y urbana (1979-2011)*. Ed. Comanegra, 2016. Also: Martínez, Guillem (coord.). (2012). *CT o la Cultura de la Transición. Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Barcelona, Random House: 234-271.

⁷⁰ In a 2015 conference called “Tourism, City and Identity,” Xavier Antich expressed the feeling of many Barcelonians, of the contradiction of a city which intensively exploits the legacy of Gaudí, while silencing the industrial past that spawned him. “Culture is an exceptional place from which to resist the tourism dependency. For this, we should collectively question which Barcelona we show, and abandon the lamentation and nostalgia to work towards a cultural potential which represents us and of which we can feel proud.” (Carrera, Judith. *Tourism, City and Identity*. *El País*. April, 2015.)

Witnessing the combativeness of Barcelona's citizens on this topic impacted me more than almost anything else about the city. For one thing, this urban struggle is intergenerational. At times, participating in these public protests seems less an act of rebellion than it does a celebration of a long-held tradition. What struck me the most was not how extreme this was, but how normal it seemed, and how integrated it was into the Barcelonian identity. I witnessed acts of group solidarity, direct action, self-governance and civil disobedience which to me seemed to materialize out of thin air, but which in all probability were based on years of experiences, relationships, and social practices which Barcelonian children seem to acquire as part of their basic education.⁷¹ I wondered if this was the social legacy of Barcelona's working class heritage.

The other thing about the Barcelona brand and the urban struggle is that, in addition to politics, it is a debate about the identity of the city. It is wrapped up intimately with the question with which I prefaced this introduction: What stories do our city tell?

In this thesis I use the term musealization to refer to this kind of urban storytelling. As opposed to the metaphor of city branding, which models the city as a product to be sold, the metaphor of musealization envisions the city as a giant, open-air museum. This is an idea I picked up from Mercè Tatjer in her article, "Barcelona, an industrial museum in the open air."⁷² Just as the concept of city branding is useful in conceptually grouping a wide-range of diverse objects and activities for analyzing with methodologies from urban planning and economics, the metaphor of Barcelona as a museum allows us to ask investigative questions which cut through disciplinary boundaries and bring together a wide array of actors. The fact of the matter is that the activities of collecting, conserving, studying, interpreting and exhibiting, do not constitute the exclusive domain of museum professionals.⁷³ These are activities of everyday life. What's more, as I was becoming increasingly aware, these activities were especially vindicated by the citizens of Barcelona as a part of their grassroots political expression of the urban struggle.

1.2.1 Searching for the CCIB

Part of my observations came from my experience at this time as a volunteer with the Historic Archive of Poblenou (AHPN). This is an association founded in 1974 as a neighborhood initiative run by volunteers in order to collect, conserve, study, interpret and exhibit the history of the neighborhood. It's a perfect example of the types of historical actors which materialize once we broaden our investigative focus from museums to musealization.

⁷¹ Garcés, Marina. (2018). Ciudad Princesa. Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg.

⁷² Tatjer, Mercè. (2000). "Barcelona, museo industrial al aire libre. In: Checa Artasu, M.; Basiana, Xavier; Orpinell, Jaume. (2000). Barcelona, ciutat de fàbriques. Barcelona: Nau Ivanow.

⁷³ Bradburn, James; Wake, Drew Ann. (1993). The Curators New Clothes: Reinventing the role of the museum professional. Presented at the Canadian Museums Assn. Annual Mtg. Regina, Saskatchewan. (Accessed October, 2020: <http://www.bradburne.org/downloads/exhibitions/ScienceAlbertaWEB.pdf>)

Actually, I had discovered the AHPN by accident. When I appeared at the doorway of their tiny headquarters in the renovated factory called Can Felipa, I was actually looking for evidence of the “Centro de la Cultura Industrial de Barcelona,” or ‘CCIB’, which, according to a municipal webpage from 2006, was to be established as a centre for promoting an array of activities relating to industrial heritage.⁷⁴ As it turned out, nobody at the historic archive of Poblenou had heard of such a thing. Instead, they invited me to help them develop a musealization proposal for the Torre de les Aigües de Poblenou, a historic water tower in process of being developed as an industrial heritage site. Here, the word ‘musealization’ or *musealització* was used in its normal sense within the Romance languages, referring to the process of recontextualizing something as a museum display.⁷⁵

With the help of Miquel Carandell, a colleague from the UAB, I decided to give the project a try. At this point I remember being particularly inspired by the idea that heritage-value is not something which belongs to objects themselves, but is dependent on people. My favorite text on this topic was Alfrey and Putnam’s ‘The industrial heritage’, published in 1992.⁷⁶ Based on a survey of European industrial sites, the authors discuss the ‘expansion of heritage’ of the 1980’s and how the concept of industrial heritage has been appropriated by a wide variety of constituencies with different ideas of what this heritage can be and what it can do. Another book I found particularly helpful was Mieg and Oevermann’s *Industrial heritage sites in transformation*.⁷⁷ I was particularly interested in the use which they make of discourse analysis in order to analyze the different values, objectives and concepts which often clash over heritage planning. In a slightly whimsical fashion, Carandell and I developed a proposal for the Torre de les Aigües which incorporated these reflections through a kaleidoscope display divided into 5 different ‘perspectives’ of the water tower, based on different heritage values, constituencies, and concepts. These perspectives included:

- Technical value -- engineering constituency -- the science of water tower technology.
- Aesthetic value -- architectural constituency -- the design of the building.
- Historic value -- business constituency -- the history of the business.
- Particular value -- worker constituency -- the memories of the workers.
- Social value -- neighborhood constituency -- the symbol of the neighborhood.

⁷⁴ (Accessed November, 2020: <http://www.22barcelona.com/content/view/87/132/lang.es/>) The project is also mentioned in Gatnau, M. Jose. La cultura industrial. Yacimiento de ocupacion? In: Checa Artasu, M.; Basiana, Xavier; Orpinell, Jaume. (2000). Barcelona, ciutat de fàbriques. Barcelona: Nau Ivanow. Regarding the municipal proposal for a Centro de Cultura Industrial, see: La Vanguardia, 3 de abril de 2006.

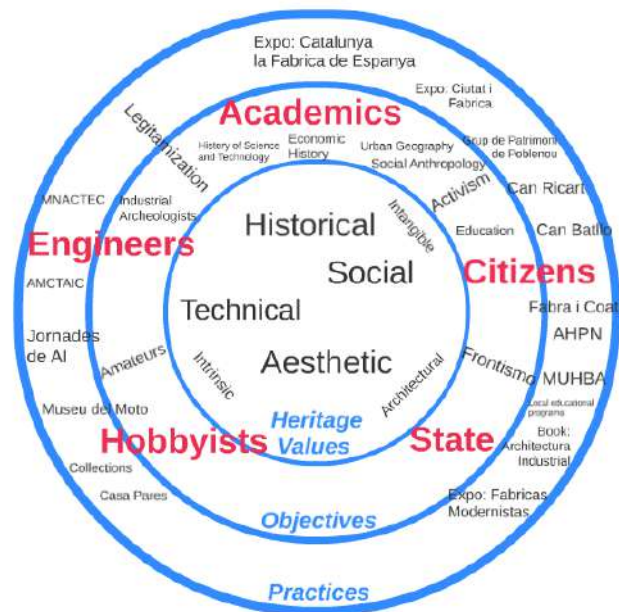
⁷⁵ See footnote 12, p. 131 of: Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939), *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154.

⁷⁶ Alfrey, J., & Putnam, T. (1992). *The industrial heritage: managing resources and uses*. Routledge. London. Also, Capel, Horacio. (2014). *El patrimonio: la construcción del pasado y del futuro*. Barcelona: Serbal. Also, Capel, Horacio. (1996). *La rehabilitación y el uso del patrimonio histórico industrial*. *Doc. Anal. Geogr.* 29. (Accessed November, 2020: <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/22641/1/123847.pdf>)

⁷⁷ Mieg, H. A., & Oevermann, H. (Eds.). (2014). *Industrial heritage sites in transformation: clash of discourses*. Routledge. London

During this experience, I considered my role to be that of a ‘participant-observer’--to study Barcelona’s industrial musealization through my active involvement in the process. I found that I really enjoyed the anthropological aspect of this. My thesis supervisor, Alfons Zarzoso, assured me that it was ok to write in the first person and helped me to optimistically reframe what I considered to be some of my biggest disadvantages (i.e. being a foreigner, not speaking Catalan, and not having much of a grasp on local history/politics) into advantages (i.e. being an outsider gives me a unique perspective, and including my own voice into the story adds reflexivity to the investigation).⁷⁸

As I became acquainted with this group of neighbors from Poblenou, I learned about a whole variety of initiatives which, like the AHPN, I considered to be important to my developing investigation-- for example, the conferences for the protection and conservation of industrial heritage in 1982 and 1985, the book ‘Industrial architecture of Catalonia’ written in 1984 by J. Corredor-Matheos and Josep Maria Montaner, the exhibition ‘Catalonia, the factory of Spain’ curated by Jordi Nadal and Jordi Maluquer de Motes in 1985, the triennial conferences of industrial archeology of Catalonia starting in 1988, etc. At this time I played around a bit with the idea of categorizing all of Barcelona’s ‘musealizers’ and ‘musealizations’ according to a graphic organizer based on these five different heritage discourses. It was an interesting exercise although, as I will explain later on, I eventually abandoned this approach.



During this time, I also learned about the long history of failed attempts to establish a museum in Barcelona which treated the subject of industrialization. The failed Centro de la

⁷⁸ See: Madison, D. S.. (2005). *Critical Ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Reflexivity is also one of the four basic tenets of the Strong Programme in the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge (SSK). (See: Bloor, David. (1976). *Knowledge and social imagery*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 7.)

Cultura Industrial de Barcelona was just one example. Back in 1982, Barcelona's Estació del Nord had been considered as a potential site for the museum of science and technology of Catalonia, a project of the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalonia along with the newly reconstituted Generalitat. As the director of the museum, Eusebi Casanelles, reports, one of the early decisions made at this time was to focus the museum on the topic of industrialization. In the end the museum would be established in Terrassa, a 45 minute train ride from Barcelona. Later on, in the 1990s, in the context of the Fòrum de la Ribera, Joan Roca developed a proposal for a Museu del Treball / Museum of Work. In 2003, this idea was picked up by the Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Fòrum de la Ribera del Besòs and presented at the *I Jornades de Patrimoni e Innovación* ('First conference of heritage and innovation').⁷⁹ It seems that the CCIB originated as a proposal of the Museum of History of Barcelona in April of 2005 as a counter-proposal to the Museum of Work.⁸⁰ In anycase, neither the CCIB nor the museum of work was ever created. This is even more puzzling given the fact that, ever since 2007, Joan Roca, the original advocate of the idea has been the director of the Museum of History of Barcelona.

The first time I met Roca was in 2015 at a conference called *Paisatges urbans emergents: El patrimoni fabril* ("Emerging urban landscapes: The factory heritage").⁸¹ At that time, he was still promoting the idea of a Museum of Work. To this day, as far I know, it's still not clear that the museum will ever be built. Still, Roca has made some progress on other fronts. The conference itself was held at the MUHBA operated Oliva Artés museum, inaugurated earlier that year, in a historic factory just across the street from Can Ricart. While not a Museum of Work, the Oliva Artés treats the topic of Barcelona's industrialization through the lens of urban transformations. Similar to our design for the Torre de les Aigües, the museum took a kaleidoscopic approach, presenting twelve perspectives on the topic including immigration, industrialization, metropolis, metabolism, etc. The building itself also acts as a compelling display. It has been preserved in a state of semi-ruin and still bears the marks of its years of activity as a machine shop. The brick walls are charred black in some places and scrawled with graffiti, reminding visitors like myself of the people who used to work here. It seemed to me that here, at last, was a worthy representation of that part of Barcelona which had been systematically erased from the city's urban memory during the previous decades. This was the industrial Barcelona, the invisible city on display. I wondered if my new friends at the AHPN would be satisfied with this result.

⁷⁹ The general outline of the museum proposal is included in: "Plataforma Can Ricart. Can Ricart. Proposta de pla d'usos i activitats. Patrimoni, ciutadania i productivitat, 25 de febrer 2006", In: Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Fòrum de la Ribera del Besòs (ed.). *Can Ricart. Patrimoni, innovació i ciutadania*, Vol I Estudis i Propostes, Barcelona, 2006.

⁸⁰ Tatjer, Mercè. (2008). El patrimonio industrial de Barcelona entre la destrucción y la conservación, 1999-2008. Scripta Nova, Vol. XII, núm. 270 (140). Also, see: Centre de Cultura Industrial de Barcelona: CCIB-Can Saladrigas. Servei de arqueologia: 2006. (Accessed October, 2020: <https://arxiu.arqueologiabarcelona.bcn.cat/centre-de-cultura-industrial-de-barcelona-ccib-can-saladrigas>).

⁸¹ MUHBA. (2015). Paisatges urbans emergents: El patrimoni fabril. (Conference) Barcelona, December 12, 2015.

My admiration only lasted as long as it took me to arrive at the end of the permanent exhibit and enter the temporary exhibition space in the center of the building. There, mirroring the prior, were twelve panels dedicated to the topic of Hàbitat Urbà, a municipal program concerned with issues of energy independence, housing, urban space, infrastructure, environment, and new technologies. It was as though, in these two back-to-back exhibits, the urban identity crisis of Barcelona was made perfectly manifest. On the one side-- the dark past of industrialization. On the other-- a gleaming city-of-the-future. Of course, I wasn't surprised to find out later that Hàbitat Urbà had been involved in financing and even designing a portion of the Oliva Artés project. Furthermore, these decisions appear to have been influenced by the municipal election cycle, a reminder of one of the ways politics can make its way into a museum. As Salvador Clarós, president of the local neighbors' association wrote to the press, "It is one thing to take advantage of the industrialization nexus in order to explain current projects for economic dynamization, but in a secondary way; if half of the museum is a showcase for municipal projects, we will be very disappointed. I do not see consistency here as a museum discourse, it seems more likely to have been done in order to quickly open the facility."⁸²

Later on, the Hàbitat Urbà exhibit was substituted by a more fitting exhibit. Generally speaking, Joan Roca has made some good progress in expanding the Museum of History of Barcelona (henceforth MUHBA) to include a more recent and less monumental heritage. Not only is the MUHBA partially responsible for the Torre de les Aigües project, begun in 2015, but it also negotiated the musealization of the boiler room of the old Fabra i Coats factory in Sant Andreu. As Roca explained at the conference that day, Fabra i Coats is the most likely location for the future Museum of Work. This decision takes advantage of the existence of a group of ex-workers, the friends of the Fabra i Coats, which, since the closing of the textile factory in 2005, have collaborated with the MUHBA in developing the museum. Sant Andreu is also the site of another museum proposed by a constituency of ex-workers; the 'social-historical museum of the Maquinista Terrestre i Marítima S.A. and Macosa' was founded in 1993 in order to preserve the memory of the business and its technical and social achievements while the factory was in the process of being closed down, demolished, and replaced by a shopping center.⁸³ Yet, even after building a small building for the museum in 2003 in a public park near the entrance to the shopping center, the museum never materialized. Apparently, there was not enough funding. By 2015, the building was mostly unused and some neighbors didn't know what it had been originally built for.⁸⁴

⁸² M. Paune, Meritxell. Barcelona reorienta la Oliva Artés como museo de la ciudad reciente y futura. La Vanguardia. 29/01/2015. (Accessed online: September 2020: <https://www.lavanguardia.com/local/barcelona/20150129/54424077167/barcelona-reorienta-oliva-Artés-museo-ciudad-reciente-futura.html>).

⁸³ Maria Montaner, Josep. La Maquinista, amnesia y consumo. El País, July 10, 2000. (Accessed October, 2020: https://elpais.com/diario/2000/07/10/catalunya/963191241_850215.html)

⁸⁴ Blanchar, Clara. Conflicto en el museo de La Maquinista. El País, April 19, 2005. (Accessed October, 2020: https://elpais.com/ccaa/2015/04/18/catalunya/1429376466_995124.html).

As the fates of the social-historical museum of the Maquinista, the Museum of Work, and the Center of Industrial Culture of Barcelona demonstrate, establishing a museum is difficult and requires a lot of resources. In practice a lot of musealization initiatives end up like the project Miquel Carandell and I drew up for the Torre de les Aigües-- left on the shelf. This is one of the benefits of studying musealization rather than museums. It opens our analysis to include projects left out of other accounts, including those originating ‘from below’ but which never actually make it off the page.

1.2.2 The history of heritage: developing a methodology

Meeting Joan Roca and visiting the Oliva Artés museum that day in 2015 was like reading the epilogue of the story of the hard-fought industrial heritage campaigns of Poblenou in the 2000’s. Joan Roca, after all, had been intimately involved in this story. His efforts now, as director of the MUHBA represented to me, if not a victory, at least a significant degree of progress towards the objectives of the old Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Fòrum de la Ribera del Besòs. Like most things in life, the real change would take place over time and through continued efforts-- efforts like, for example, the organization of that very conference. For the first time, I felt like I was finally getting a lay of the land regarding ‘the musealization of Barcelona’s industrial past.’ I even recognized some of the folks giving presentations, including some of the names which have already appeared in this investigation, and others will appear later on; names like: Jordi Fossas, Mercè Tatjer, Antoni Vilanova, Salvador Clarós, Josep Maria Montaner, Juanjo Romero, Marc Andreu, Jordi Borja, José Luis Oyón, etc.

Then somebody I didn’t recognize, listed anonymously on the conference bulletin as ‘LaCol collective,’ took the microphone to talk about ‘heritage and uses of Can Batlló.’ To this day, I still don’t know who this person was, but I never forgot his attitude towards the concept of industrial heritage. “Whereas in Poblenou, the campaign to save Can Ricart was largely based on a vindication of the factory as industrial heritage,” he said (I’m paraphrasing here, I didn’t actually record his presentation), ‘in Sants, the neighbors have claimed the Can Batlló factory as a community resource, without making any claim about the factory as heritage. In fact, claiming the factory as heritage could even slow up the progress that we are currently making.’⁸⁵ In continuation, he described that the current campaign had actually begun forty years earlier in the 1970’s as a part of a more generalized campaign called ‘Salvem Sants.’ The motto of this campaign was ‘Salvem Sants dia a dia, ni pas elevat ni museu del tramvia’ (“Let’s save Sants day by day, neither an elevated road, nor a train museum”). It came as something of a revelation to me to learn that, A) already in the 1970s there was a proposal to create a train museum, and B) the neighbors were the ones responsible

⁸⁵ See: Maria Montaner, Josep; Muxí, Zaida. (2014). Can Ricart i Can Batlló, Similituds i diferències entre dos gegants invisibles de Barcelona. In: LaCol. Inventari de Can Batlló: Teixint una història col·lectiva. Barcelona: Riera de Magòria.

for shutting this project down. As I learned more about Can Batlló and the origins of the campaign, for example through the documentary “Com un gegant invisible,” I became convinced of the importance of situating the historical context of Barcelona’s neighborhood movement during the transition to democracy at the center of my framework for understanding the musealization of Barcelona’s industrial past. This was my first big methodological shift, and it took place about a year into my investigation.

There are two main reasons for adopting this historical approach. First of all, I was motivated by a question of methodology. As a doctoral student in the field of history of science, I was well aware of the various ‘turns’ which this discipline had undergone in order to base a historical program of science on the social, material, visual, and spatial realities of the world. It was only a matter of time before I realized that these same approaches could apply to industrial heritage. During my time developing a musealization project for the Torre de les Aigües de Barcelona I had elaborated a basic model of the various things that could be heritage based on different categories of values, but this model was useless in explaining the process of how, in actuality, these different discourses had come about. I knew that heritage was a social thing, but now I realized that I needed to treat it as a historical thing as well. To this end, the discipline of history of science offered me valuable methodological resources, for example Actor-Network theory, as developed by Bruno Latour and Michael Callon.⁸⁶ In this approach, actors, not categories, are the fundamental entities. Actors are the heterogeneous entities that constitute a network and they are not bound by disciplines. For example, when Callon and Latour researched the post-World War II effort of the French state to promote an electric vehicle, they didn’t rely on concepts such as pure/applied science, but rather built a ‘seamless web’ of actors including electrons, catalysts, accumulators, users, researchers, manufacturers, and ministerial departments defining and enforcing regulations affecting technology.⁸⁷ In this way, the historian has the freedom to follow causal connections wherever they lead, not just along disciplinary lines.⁸⁸

The second reason for choosing this historical approach was that, as I delved into the history of the Salvem Sants campaign and the rejected train museum, I realized that this was not just an amazing story worth telling, but it also was leading me across disciplinary lines towards a richer understanding of industrial musealization in Barcelona. At this point, I abandoned my project of modeling musealization initiatives based on categories and decided to pick a case study and see where the story led. This decision was also connected with my discovery of the book “El Centre Social de Sants: Una experiència associativa (“The social center of Sants: an associative experience”), written in 1996 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the neighborhood association behind the Salvem Sants campaign. Despite my

⁸⁶ Latour, Bruno. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

⁸⁷ Hughes, Thomas P. (1986). “The Seamless Web: Technology, Science, Etcetera, Etcetera.” *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 281-292.

⁸⁸ Somerville, Edward. (2015). *How to construct history: Categories vs Actors*. Unpublished essay.

initial expectations, this book was so much more than a celebratory commemoration. Not only was it full of interviews and first hand accounts of the neighborhood movement in Sants in the 1970s-80s, but I also found it to be personally illuminating in helping me to make sense of my own experiences in Barcelona. Over the course of about a year, as I learned to read Catalan, this served as my primary textbook. As the language barrier receded, this opened the doors to me to a multitude of important works on local history, social movements and the transition to democracy.⁸⁹

My investigation was also propelled forward significantly when I found a memoir of the 1983-84 ‘Recuperem el Vapor Vell’ campaign (“let’s recover the Vapor Vell”) preserved in the District archive of Sants-Montjuïc. As best as I can tell, this campaign was the first industrial heritage campaign to have ever been carried out in Barcelona, and resulted in the first case in all of Spain of a building being listed as a historic-artistic monument for its industrial character. There was also a proposal to convert the historic textile into a ‘museum of the town of Sants and of the Catalan working class,’ although, like so many other proposals of this kind, it came to nothing. Around this same time, Xavier Hernández, the author of this museum proposal, put me in touch with a dossier of didactic materials of the Vapor Vell from 1985 which, in my view, represent a fascinating example of artisanal industrial musealization ‘from below.’ However, neither this dossier nor the memoir of the Recuperem el Vapor Vell campaign are available in the local municipal library, despite the fact that this library is located in the Vapor Vell itself (the factory was rehabilitated for this use, as well as a primary school, in 2000).

At the risk of losing myself down a rabbit hole of interdisciplinary ‘casual connections’ stemming from my original interest in understanding the mechanisms governing the musealization of Barcelona’s industrial past, I decided at this point to focus all of my attention on the case of the Vapor Vell of Sants and its monumentalization in 1984. Further on I will introduce this case study in more depth, but first I want to briefly address the limitations and advantages of this decision.

First of all, there is a tension here between the general and the particular. To what degree is a case study about the Vapor Vell representative of Barcelona as a whole? This is certainly something to keep in mind. On the other hand, dealing with the particularities of a case study like this can lead to productive problematizing of the typical categories and concepts used to characterize cultural politics and strategies of musealization. In the case of the Vapor Vell, I

⁸⁹ In this respect the work of Fabra and Huertas has been crucial (see: Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1st edition: April 1976.) as well as Carles Carreras in the case of Sants (see: Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.) and the publications of the Arxiu Històric de Sants (now conserved in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc). Besides these older sources, more recent historical analysis has been crucial, for example that of Marc Andreu in the case of the federation of neighborhood associations of Barcelona (FAVB), (see: Andreu Acebal, Marc. (2014). *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Andreu Mayayo i Artal, University of Barcelona.)

ran into one of these problems almost immediately. It's a problem bound up in the history of heritage itself--something Laurajane Smith calls the 'authorized heritage discourse.'⁹⁰

1.2.3 The deep history of heritage: critical perspectives

According to Smith, the way that heritage is normally conceptualized can be traced back to the development of this discourse in the second half of the 19th century in England, when it was used to promote a "certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable."⁹¹ This reflection stems from Smith's basic investigative approach in which she focuses on the uses of heritage. The usefulness that she attributes to the authorized heritage discourse shares certain similarities with the type of usefulness that Tony Bennett ascribes to museums in his book *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics*.⁹² There, he discusses the emergence of the public museum in the 19th and 20th centuries in terms of its disciplinary function as an institution which gave the working classes a direct contact with the manners, bodies and symbolic worlds of the bourgeoisie. Both of these types of analysis draw heavily from the work of Foucault and his development of the concept of disciplinary society as a way of describing a particular technology of control developed by ruling classes during industrialization in order to naturalize new social hierarchies and create docile bodies better suited for functioning in factories.⁹³

As I considered the industrial heritage discourse developed over the course of the campaign for the Vapor Vell, and considered its usefulness (and usefulness for whom?), I couldn't help but notice that the stories being told about the factory didn't come out of nowhere. These stories had histories of their own. While the factory had never been heritage before, nor featured in a museum, the Vapor Vell had been the object of study, interpretation, conservation, and display. The surviving historical record of the factory, rather than a record of objective historical fact, could be more accurately understood as the combined total of all of these original 'perspectives,' or discourses, of the factory. The more I considered this realization, the more I was convinced that the history of industrial heritage goes back much farther than the coining of the term in the 1960's-- it goes back to industrialization itself; and just like that, I found myself tasked with the job of introducing another historical context to my investigation-- starting with the founding of the Vapor Vell in 1844.

I also found myself using the term 'musealization' in a slightly different way, closer to the word 'materialization.' Through musealization, invisible things can be made visible.

⁹⁰ Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

⁹¹ (Ibid. p. 11)

⁹² Bennett, Tony. (1995). *The Birth of the Museum*. Routledge, New York. Regarding industrial museums specifically, see: Gudehus, Brigitte. (1993). "Patrons and Publics: Museums as Historical Artefacts", in Schroeder-Gudehus, Brigitte (ed.). *Industrial Society and its Museums*, Paris, Harwood Academic Publishers.

⁹³ Foucault, Michel. (1975). *Discipline and Punish*. (Translated by Allen Sheridan, 1977. Random House: New York.)

For example, in a natural history museum the taxonomic system, which in itself is invisible, is ‘musealized’ and made visible through the way its collection is interpreted and displayed. The museum gives this scientific concept a material form so that it can be seen and understood. Another feature of musealization is that it can make things valuable.⁹⁴ This is the premise of Bennet’s scholarship on the role of museums in materializing (or ‘musealizing’) the value discourses of the bourgeoisie; and it’s the premise of Smith’s authorized heritage discourse-- that what is being ‘heritagized’ is “a certain set of elite Western values.”⁹⁵ If we keep going with this way of talking we end up with the idea that a museum is just one of many kinds of musealized discourse.

In 2017, I spent a Summer reading Marx and trying to make sense of his analysis of the economic system known as capitalistic production.⁹⁶ One of the things that impressed me the most was the way he describes the mechanism by which capitalism materialized specific social relations. Generally, this process is described as “reification,” by which something abstract is regarded as material.⁹⁷ For example, capital, an abstract concept, is reified through money, a material thing. Conflating these two things is one of the ways that capitalism appears ‘real’ and is what Marx describes as commodity fetishism.

The parallels between reification and musealization came as a revelation to me as I went about trying to construct a discourse analysis of the surviving historical record of the factory. Many industrial objects are immaterial on their own, for example a business. One of the original uses of the documents comprising the historical record of the Vapor Vell was to reify this economic entity and make it real. Like musealization, this process included study, interpretation, conservation and display-- by which these economic discourses became embedded in the material objects themselves, both the historical documentation as well as within the walls of the factory itself. As Manuel Cerdà writes, “A factory is not just a building that shows certain architectural or aesthetic characteristics, but a “materialisation” of capital, a place that manifests the social relationships of production...”⁹⁸

I didn’t set out to study any of this, but as I followed the story of the Vapor Vell this is where I ended up. In retrospect, it now seems to me that an investigation on the ways that the industrial past is portrayed in Barcelona should be required, at some point, to address the issue of capitalism. Capitalism, after all, is the life-blood of industrialization. In anycase, what I found next in the historic record of the Vapor Vell seemed to actually downplay the

⁹⁴ The subtle distinction between valuing (appreciating existing value) and valorizing (giving added value) speaks to the interventionist and interpretative aspects of the simple act of identifying something as heritage. In: Avrami, Erica; Mason, Randall; de la Torre, Marta. (2000). Values and Heritage Conservation. Research Report. The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

⁹⁵ Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge, p. 11.

⁹⁶ The communist manifesto was published in 1848, the same time as the Vapor Vell was being established in Sants.

⁹⁷ See: Lukács, Georg. (1923). "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat," in *History and Class Consciousness*. (Translated by Rodney Livingstone).

⁹⁸ Cerdà, Manuel. (1991). “Industrial Archeology and the Working Class”. In, *Arqueologia industrial. Actes del Primer Congrés del País Valencià*. Diputació de València/Història local: p. 411.

economics of industrialization and focus instead on various humanitarian and cultural topics. In a speech about Joan Güell, the founder of the Vapor Vell, J. M. Muntadas (the director of the neighboring factory, the Vapor Nou), writes that:

A well organized factory is like a good book in the influence that it exercises not just on the material well being, but on the moral well being of the operator, as long as there exists the discipline which should reside always in every grand meeting place. Work is the moralizing element of the people--thus the criminal statistics, of which workers make up a minimal proportion. Let me be clear and add here that the true industrialist works and aims for something more than the remuneration of his capital. The industrialist loves his industry with the same enthusiasm as an artist for his art, as a writer for his books: the artifact that leaves his workshops is stamped with something of his personality, with his name, with his reputation; he takes, therefore, a legitimate pride in lowering the costs, perfecting the product, and making it as accessible to as many as possible without need of extorting a material profit.”⁹⁹

Discourses of this kind came to shape the way that industrialization was talked about, at least officially. Here, I employ the concept of ‘cultural hegemony’ developed by the Italian marxist, Antoni Gramsci.¹⁰⁰ Based on my research, I identify three basic types of these ‘authorized industrial discourses,’ including paternalism, patriotism, and positivism. Chapter 2 of this thesis is dedicated to unpacking the discourse-ladenness of the historical record of industrialization and considering how these discourses have been reproduced in historical scholarship and industrial displays.

1.2.4 Social heritage: centering alternative approaches

In chapter 3, I switch my focus from these ‘official’ discourses and look instead at the elaboration of alternatives during the transition to democracy, in the context of the neighborhood movement of the 1970’s. At this time, Sants was experiencing dramatic urban transformations due to deindustrialization and the transition to a third-sector economy. Many industrialists sold or moved their factories out of the city in order to participate in this new economy through a different kind of production-- the capitalistic production of urban space, also known as real-estate speculation.¹⁰¹ Against this threat, the neighborhood movement

⁹⁹ Muntadas, J. M. (1872). “Don Juan Güell y Ferrer, considerado como industrial.” Butlletí del Ateneo Barcelonés, Barcelona. In Cabana, Francesc. Els Cotoners. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1993 (Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial, vol. 2).

¹⁰⁰ Quintin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith. (1971). Selections from the Prison Notebooks, New York: International Publishers.

¹⁰¹ Borja, Jordi (et all). (1972). La Gran Barcelona. Construcción, Arquitectura y Urbanismo (CAU). (The back cover of this iconic text reads: “*Barcelona es una de las ciudades más rebautizadas del mundo. Ciudad de ferias y congresos. Archivo de la cortesía. Capital del deporte Español, etc. Uno de los eslógans más asociados a la ciudad es el de la gran Barcelona. De alguna manera emparentado con “the great society” del inútilmente famoso Johnson. Pero Barcelona es en realidad la Ciudad Víctima de todos los demonios de la especulación. Hay dos Barcelonas: la inventada... por la historia y la propaganda y la Barcelona ... por las oleadas de inmigrantes sin ninguna planificación previa que planteara un crecimiento armónico. Humanización.... Estudio que publicamos es un testimonio irrefutable del hundimiento del mito del Gran*”)

emerged as a force to be reckoned with in defense of the neighborhood. Here, I defend two basic premises. First, I claim that we can understand the neighborhood movement as a legacy of an older, working-class social heritage. As James Kelly points out, Barcelona's working class was organized according to a neighborhood-based associative network.¹⁰² The spatial organization of Barcelona's labor movement is also studied more recently by José Luis Oyón.¹⁰³ During Francoism, this associative network went into a long hibernation, but with the founding of the Centre Social de Sants in 1971, the tradition was revived under a new name. We can see this in the practices of protest, assembly and self-governance promoted by the Centre, as well as the expressed goal to transform not just Sants, but its people. The identity of 'neighbor' would be imbued with connotations of active citizenship and a neighborhood pride reminiscent of how the working-class identity was constructed during Sant's 19th century industrialization.

This leads to my second claim: that the concept of neighborhood in Sants is a social object historically rooted, among other things, in the history of industrialization. This is a thesis I picked up from Marc Dalmau in his work on the history of cooperativism in Sants.¹⁰⁴ I trace the development of this neighborhood heritage discourse through the emergence of a cultural arm of the neighborhood movement in Sants dedicated to the vindication of Sants' Catalan, working-class, and independent (from Barcelona) identity. An important actor in this task was the historic archive of Sants, as well as the urban geographers from the University of Barcelona which collaborated with this group of local historians and educators.

It is important to note that this was, above all, the recovery of a social heritage. As Jordi Roca Vernet points out in his investigation on the 'the memory of popular sociability in Sants through spaces,' at this time there was no initiative to recover the material heritage of this neighborhood-based associative network, such as cooperatives, ateneus, and unions.¹⁰⁵ There was, however, a quite successful effort made to appropriate the recently vacated industrial lands in the neighborhood as community resources (the story of the *Salvem Sants* campaign and the rejection of the train museum is an example of this). It was in this context that the campaign for the Vapor Vell first began. Despite the lack of a heritage discourse or a centralized project, I argue that we can understand these events as a type of neighborhood

Barcelona. Y el nacimiento de la consciencia de la Ciudad Víctima. Profesores universitarios expertos de toda garantía y variada condición han aportado un trabajo considerado como modélico por los especialistas más coherentes del país. Una auténtica disección de la víctima de un asesinato y de las causas del asesinato.")

¹⁰² Kelly, James Ronald. (1984). A neighborhood approach to working class life and politics in Barcelona, 1910-1923. University of East Anglia.

¹⁰³ Oyón, J.L. (2009). «The split of a working-class city: urban space, immigration and anarchism in inter-war Barcelona». *Urban History*, vol. 36, part 1, pp. 86-112.

¹⁰⁴ Dalmau Torva, Marc & Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions.

¹⁰⁵ Roca Vernet, Jordi. (2015). *La memòria de la sociabilitat popular al barri de Sants a través dels espais*". In: Duch, Montse; Ferré, Xavier; Arnabat, Ramon (ed.), *Memòria i la història de la sociabilitat popular a Catalunya*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

conservationism with parallels to that modeled by the concept of ecomuseum developed concurrent to this in France.¹⁰⁶

It's not until chapter 4 that the concept of industrial heritage finally enters the scene. Whereas in chapters 2 and 3 I focus on understanding two very distinct historical contexts and fundamentally different ways of framing the issue of Barcelona's industrial past, in chapter 4 we see how these various 'perspectives' of the Vapor Vell were brought together in a 'clash of discourses' surrounding the *Salvem el Vapor Vell* campaign of 1983-84.¹⁰⁷ Yet again, this requires introducing a new historical context-- the appearance of the newly elected democratic parties and the restructuring of municipal governance. Here, I engage with the concept of the 'culture of the transition' as developed by Guillem Martínez to describe the cultural politics developed post-Franco based on a consensual, vertical discourse which has acted since the 1980's as the only possibility of a unifying cultural paradigm for the nation.¹⁰⁸ One element of this was the future-orientedness of the new political parties, many of which abandoned their historic values, leading many leftists to experience what Teresa Vilarós describes as a 'withdrawal (as in drug withdrawal) of disenchantment' after years spent under Francoism holding on to a hope of a marxist utopia to come.¹⁰⁹ Another element was the disassembling of the neighborhood movements democratic base as the neighbors associations were deserted under the premise that they were no longer needed under a democratic system.

It is also in this context of a 'culture of the transition' that we can understand the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia-- a process cultivated by the Generalitat and the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalonia within their objective of establishing a national museum of science and technology. The study and conservation of industrial history became dominated by a proud, nationalist framework in which industrialization was interpreted as a distinctive factor of Catalan identity. On one hand, this can be understood through the framework of the historiography of nationalism, for example through the construction of national 'imaginaries,'¹¹⁰ the 'invention of traditions,'¹¹¹ or, more specific to the topic of musealization, David Boswell and Jessica Evan's volume on 'Representing the nation: History, heritage and museums.'¹¹² On the other hand, investigating the role of

¹⁰⁶ Alcalde Gurt, G. and Rueda Torres, J.M. (2012). Ecomuseology and local museums in Catalonia (Spain). Influences and coincidences during the 1975-1985 period. In, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities. Seixal, Portugal. September 19-21, 2012.

¹⁰⁷ Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰⁸ Martínez, Guillem (coord.). (2012). *CT o la Cultura de la Transición. Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Barcelona, Random House.

¹⁰⁹ Vilarós, Teresa. (2018). *El mono del desencanto. Una crítica cultural de la Transición española (1973-1993)*. Madrid, Siglo XXI.

¹¹⁰ Anderson, Benedict. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.

¹¹¹ Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge University Press. Also: Hobsbawm, Eric. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality*.

¹¹² Boswell, D., & Evans, J. (2007). *Representing the nation: a reader: histories, heritage and museums*. London: Routledge.

engineers in the representation of science and technology through initiatives such as industrial exhibits and museums has been a topic of study in the field of history science, with important contributions regarding the Catalan case made recently by Jaume Valentines and Jaume Sastre.¹¹³

In the case of the Vapor Vell, it was neither the Generalitat, nor the engineers, nor even the neighborhood associations which first attributed a heritage value to the factory; rather, it was the “El Vapor” group of industrial archeology of Sants, representing the interests of local historians and educators from the social sciences. The introduction of industrial archeology in Catalonia at this time was promoted as an opportunity for redrawing disciplinary boundaries in the context of the concurrent Catalan curriculum reforms of the 1980’s, as well as an opportunity to expand the historiography of industrialization to include previously marginalized groups. The efforts made to conserve, study, interpret, and display the Vapor Vell at this time are representative of this approach.

To conclude, I propose a model for understanding the musealization of Barcelona’s past based on three different industrial heritage discourses adopted at the regional, municipal, and neighborhood levels of administration. Here, I engage with a collection of recent case studies published in 2019 by Stefan Berger (editor) in his volume on Constructing industrial pasts: heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation.¹¹⁴ I argue that my three-tiered, clash-of-discourses model responds to the same crucial questions identified in his research, namely: “Who is producing industrial heritage? For whom? And for what purpose?”¹¹⁵ At the same time, I agree with his conclusions that an important next step is to move to trans-perspectives in order to better understand local case studies, as well as to challenge the homogeneity of our conceptions of ‘top-down’ vs ‘bottom-up’ approaches to musealization.

1.2.5 Sources

The sources for this investigation can be categorized according to academic discipline, separated by historical era, characterized as primary or secondary, traced to particular

¹¹³ Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2012). *Tecnocràcia i Catalanisme tècnic a Catalunya als anys 1930. Els enginyers industrials, de l'organització del taller a la racionalització de l'estat*. Barcelona, Tesis doctoral UAB.

Sastre-Juan, Jaume. (2013). *Un laboratori de divulgació tecnològica: el New York Museum of Science and Industry i la política de la museïtzació de la tecnologia als Estats Units (1912-1951)*, PhD Dissertation, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). *The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939)*, *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154. Valentines Álvarez, J. (2019). *The Quest for the Technological Soul of the Nation: The Catalan Forge and the Display of Politics (1914–1939)*. In: Canadelli, E., Beretta, M., & Ronzon, L. (Eds.). *Behind the Exhibit: Displaying Science and Technology at World's Fairs and Museums in the Twentieth Century*. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, pp. 32-50.

¹¹⁴ Berger, Stefan (ed.). (2019). *Constructing industrial pasts: Heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation*. Berghahn Books.

¹¹⁵ (Ibid. p.303)

archives or libraries, or even linked to conversations I've had with various people throughout this investigation, some of whom figure within the investigation itself. Without a doubt, the biggest source of information and direction for this investigation comes from Alfons Zarzoso, my thesis director, who has guided this investigation along its often rocky and rather unconventional development. Nobody could be more enthusiastic about the results or encouraging of the investigative process.

Likewise, my colleagues and professors at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, in the Centre de Historia de la Ciencia (CEHIC) as well as the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) and the Societat Catalana d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica (SCHCT), must be credited for fundamentally inspiring the type of historical critique I set out to perform in this thesis. Prior to my involvement in this department, I studied physics and worked as a high school teacher. These years of immersion in Barcelona's university culture and socio-political climate have been, and continue to be, transformative.¹¹⁶

I am also indebted to those who have met with me in order to answer questions and inform my investigation. These include: Llorens Casas, Jose Pares, Joan Roca, Jordi Fossas, Antoni Vilanova, Mercè Tatjer, Magda Fernandez, Maria Luisa Gutierrez, Horacio Capel, Marc Dalmau, Agus Giralt, Xavier Hernández, Eusebi Casanelles, Xavier Basiana, Martí Llorens, Jaume Perarnau i Llorens, and various others who in some way have played a part in the object of my study.

I am also grateful to the archivists at the District Archive of Sants-Montjuïc, the archive of the Centre Social de Sants, the Arxiu Històric de Poblenou, the Arxiu de la Ciutat de Barcelona, the archive of the Museu Nacional de la Ciència i de la Tècnica (MNACTEC), the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, the archive of the Grup de Didàctica de les Ciències Socials at the University of Barcelona (UAB), as well as the Biblioteca de Catalunya, the Biblioteca Vapor Vell, the Biblioteca Rosa Sensat, and the various libraries of the UAB, the University of Barcelona, and the Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

As discussed above, this investigation takes an interdisciplinary, 'network approach' and borrows from a range of methodologies including urban studies, museum studies, critical heritage studies, local history, history of technology, and discourse analysis. The secondary sources previously mentioned in this section are representative of the general approach which I take. In addition, Marta de la Torre's volume on assessing the values of cultural heritage has also provided practical references for how to proceed with this kind of analysis.¹¹⁷ She

¹¹⁶ Special thanks to my professors Jorge Molero, Agusti Nieto-Galan, Xavier Roqué, Carlos Tabernero, and Pepe Pardo, as well as colleagues Miquel, Clara, Eoin, Jaume S., Jaume V., Yona, Judit, Jaime, Mauricio, Juliana, Xavier, Ferran, Laura, Sara, Oscar, Mónica, and many others. Extra special thanks to the 'history buddies' who helped me feel at home during my first year in Barcelona (Aira, José, Marcèlo, Mariagrazia, Joan) as well as those who have shared a home with me during these years of study (Cristina, Eli, Berta, Nicolas, Julia, Genis, Felix, Huihuan, Nancy, Blanca, Sergi, Alfonsi, Maristella)

¹¹⁷ Torre, Marta de la. (2002). *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*. Research Report. The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

details a range of tools from the social sciences including constituency analysis, expert analysis (textual/iconographic/formal/semiologic), ethnography, mapping, archival research, historical narratives, etc, and these have all been valuable resources.

Finally, participating in various research projects has been an important part of this investigative process, by generating feedback and constructive engagement with other contemporary scholarship. In this regard, two initiatives stand out: first of all, the research group “GABMUSANA: Del gabinete de maravillas al museo anatómico popular: regímenes de exhibición y cultura material de la medicina” which from 2016-2018 studied the historiography of science, museography and regimes of popular display in Barcelona from the 17th-20th centuries. The second initiative is an ongoing research project financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation on “MUSAUPOL: Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española.”¹¹⁸ Here, the study of the musealization of Barcelona’s industrial past is useful in illuminating the process by which the musealization of science, technology and industry contributed to the construction of cultural politics, national identities, and the legitimation of the new state.

¹¹⁸ Sastre, Jaume & Simon, Josep (coords.). “Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española” [MUSAUPOL, PID2019-104897GA-I00], 2020-2022.

1.3 CASE STUDY: THE VAPOR VELL OF SANTS

In this section, I defend my selection of the Vapor Vell of Sants as a case study which illuminates the more generalized dynamics of industrial musealization in Barcelona. There are a number of factors which set this factory, and the campaigns for its heritagization in 1983-84, apart from the rest of Barcelona's initiatives of industrial conservation. For one thing, it was the first. The significance of this heritage victory was not lost on the citizens of Barcelona's Sants neighborhood which had led the campaigns. As it was written in the wake of the announcement by the Generalitat that proceeding had begun for the historic factory's monumentalization:

“The people of Sants have every reason to rejoice, now that **an important piece of our history has been recovered**.

In effect, the Vapor Vell, built during the years 1844-1845, will become an important reference point in the urban development of Sants, and constitute a veritable historic center for our town. For the first time, Sants, pioneer in industrialization, will have a national monument, but what is really important is that the Vapor Vell is the first factory in Catalonia, and all of Spain, for which there are proceedings for declaration as a monument. Until now this type of classification had been reserved for churches and palaces, but with this new precedent a typology of buildings that, although not noteworthy for their artistic or architectonic qualities, can be thus classified for their historical, social, political, economic, and technological significance. Sants has become, from this moment onward, a pioneer in the recovery of **industrial architectural heritage** in danger of disappearance, regardless of its importance.”¹¹⁹

The Vapor Vell became heritage: this is the five-word summary of the story which you will find on the following pages of this thesis. It is a story about the process of transformation of a factory as it was reconstructed to take on a new identity. At the time it was viewed as “one of the most improbable cases of heritage recovery in recent years,” and projected to “undoubtedly” become an important point of reference for future actions. “In Sants,” it was declared triumphantly, “the fight will continue until we reach a total and satisfactory solution to the problem of the Vapor Vell, and then we will continue with Can Batlló, Serra Balet, the urban zone of the Triangle... We hope that the example of the Vapor Vell will also be useful for old industrial towns similar to ours: Sant Andreu, Sant Martí de Provençals, Sabadell, Terrassa etc.”¹²⁰

Sadly, almost none of this would be the case, at least not for many years. Despite the optimism which accompanied the news of the Vapor Vell's imminent monumentalization, this pioneering recovery of industrial architectural heritage did not set the precedent for the rest of the city's industrial buildings. As we have already discussed in this introduction, a

¹¹⁹ Col·lectiu de l'Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts. (1985). Materials per a una Didáctica del Vapor Vell. p. 3 [Accessed: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat Barcelona.]

¹²⁰ Secretariat d'Entitats. (1984). El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc).

municipal consciousness towards this issue would not be raised until the 2000s, after much of the destruction along the coastline of Poblenou had, conveniently, already been carried out. Still, the Vapor Vell became heritage, and this experience would play a formative role in the development of the cultural politics, constituencies, discourses and strategies which would come to characterize the city's approach to the musealization of its industrial past in the following decades. This, at least, is what I hope to demonstrate throughout this investigation.

Besides being among the first campaigns for the conservation of industrial heritage in Barcelona, the story of the Vapor Vell has other qualities which make it especially relevant for our investigation. Built in 1844, it has been recognized as 'one of the oldest steam-powered factories in Catalonia.'¹²¹ Meanwhile, its founder, Joan Güell, is one of the most iconic representatives of Catalan industrialization from this time-period. To this day, the Güell family is memorialized in Barcelona by a statue, a popular park, a palace, a church, two streets and a square.¹²²

Another reason that this makes a good case study is because the story of the Vapor Vell's heritagization draws us into some of the most important scenarios of the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia. Neighbors from Sants were present at the first conference for the protection and revalorization of industrial heritage held in Bilbao in 1982 and the Vapor Vell was featured in their presentation. The same occurred at the second conference, held in 1985. In 1984, the first work of Catalan industrial archeology was published with an entire section dedicated to the Vapor Vell. The Vapor Vell is also featured in an exhibition at the National Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia (MNACTEC), as well as in an exhibition at the Colonia Güell-- the industrial colony which the Güell's built to replace the Vapor Vell as the site of their business. Comparing and contrasting the way that the Vapor Vell is displayed in all of these important 'musealizations' allows us to understand the way different heritage discourses are constructed in practice. In this thesis, while the Vapor Vell is the focus, our object of investigation is actually these musealizations-- these 'perspectives' of the factory and the different 'ways of seeing' Barcelona's industrial past that they represent.¹²³ In this sense, this is more of a 'history of

¹²¹ "Resolución de 8 de mayo de 1998, del Departamento de Cultura, por la que se da publicidad al Acuerdo del Gobierno de la Generalidad, de 15 de abril de 1998, de declaración de bien cultural de interés nacional, en la categoría de monumento histórico, de El Vapor Vell de Sants, en Barcelona." Boletín oficial del estado «BOE» núm. 131, de 2 de junio de 1998, pp. 18288-18289. (accessed October 2020: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1998-12806). Later published in the Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (22/05/1998).

¹²² Burgen, Stephen. Columbus statue will stay, but slavery tour aims to address Barcelona's past. The Guardian, June 19, 2020. (Accessed October, 2020: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/19/columbus-statue-will-stay-but-slavery-tour-aims-to-address-barcelonas-past?fbclid=IwAR1L7QVYXq_gWDcoSmqF1xBLWZPctYEypv37GII8vM5MQulrspQMvx3tx_A)

¹²³ Berger, John (1973). Ways of seeing. London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books.

historiography' than it is a history of industrialization, although, as I argue in chapter two, these things are intertwined.

A final recommending factor for choosing the Vapor Vell as a case study is that, as we will see, its transformation into heritage was something of a mess. It was a frustrating process for almost everyone involved. Josep Xarles, the first president of the Centre Social de Sants, writes in retrospect that, "of all the projects contemplated in the exhibition *Cop d'ull a Sants* ["take a look at Sants"] exhibition, the most mutilated has been that of the Vapor Vell."¹²⁴ One of the reasons for this was because of the wide variety of values that the factory represented. Besides being a piece of industrial heritage, the Vapor Vell also represented a desirable piece of real estate, a business, a workplace, a piece of technology, an example of architecture, and a neighborhood resource. As various academic, administrative, business, and local interest groups debated about what to do with the Vapor Vell, essentially what was taking place was a 'clash of discourses' regarding not just what the factory could be in the future, but also regarding what it had been in the past.

Even more surprising to me, as I studied the Vapor Vell during this historical context, was the clash of discourses at this time regarding what the factory was in the present. I had thought it would be relatively easy to get an idea of what the site was like in the 1980's, after all, there were various photographs and descriptions of the factory available in the district archive; but as I looked at the historical record I could hardly believe my eyes. The Vapor Vell that I saw in one source looked almost nothing like the Vapor Vell I saw in another. In the opening section of this chapter I used the metaphor of 'invisible city' to describe the industrial Barcelona; but what I found immediately upon beginning my research was that this process of 'visibilization' and 'invisibilization' could be used in many different ways and with powerful effect. Depending on who was responsible for each representation of the Vapor Vell, and depending on their reasons for representing it, the thing that is shown to be the Vapor Vell is very different.

1.3.1 Perspectives of the factory in the 1980's

In the following section, we will take a look at some of the different ways the Vapor Vell was displayed in the 1980's around the time of the campaigns to monumentalize the factory. Finally, we will discuss what these different 'perspectives,' or discourses, tell us about the different constituencies involved in this urban struggle and the uses they made of the Vapor Vell.

¹²⁴ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona.

A public health concern

On June 3, 1983, a letter was addressed to Galerías Preciados, S.A. regarding the parcel of the lands of the Vapor Vell which they had purchased in 1976. It was signed by three hundred angry neighbors, and reads as follows:

Dear Sirs,

We allow ourselves to direct ourselves to you with the object of bringing to your attention your property, the completely abandoned lots on Pasaje Serra i Arola, Joan Güell and Blanco (Sants).

The cited semi-demolished lots are currently the heritage [or, 'inheritance'] of rats and cats, which each day proliferate more and more, as well as a great quantity of waste of all kinds, producing, to the great discomfort of the neighbors, the consequent odors, flies, etc., especially in the strong summer heat, considering that on the balconies, the blinds and other protrusions are at the mercy of the wind and that at any moment can result in all manor of misfortune, as happened a while ago when a sign fell and almost killed a lady. There are constant noises everywhere from the banging doors and windows.

In addition, kids feel quite at home here on the top of the roofs and in the abandoned buildings, which they use as places for drinking, smoking their things like nothing is wrong, regardless of the risk that could occur in the case of a fall.

We were surprised that, today, there was an order for a police squadron to board up all the entrances to the grounds, but they left all the aforementioned filth, including cats and rats, which is to say, everything remains the same.

We enclose these photos of the aforementioned property and courtyards to present an idea of their abandonment, lack of hygiene, and we also enclose photocopies of more than 300 signatures of neighbors requesting the demolition of these ruins and their cleaning, for the good of our neighborhood of Sants. We invite you all to personally confirm that what we have told you is true.

We await your reply to this matter within 15 days, otherwise we will proceed by reporting this to the competent authorities and, if it is necessary, by passing this information on to the press.

Attentive greetings.¹²⁵

This letter was written at the end of a campaign which had begun in 1980 in order to solve the immediate problems that these abandoned urban lots were causing for the Vapor Vell's closest neighbors. Although here the neighbors threatened to report Galerías Preciados to the competent authorities, the reality was that they had already been in dialogue with these authorities for years to no avail. Three months earlier, on March 1st, they had filed an official complaint with the City Hall of Barcelona. Their frustration at the lack of solutions offered by the district authority bordered on desperation, especially as the weather began to warm.

¹²⁵ Letter dated June 3, 1983, accessed in the archive of the Centre Social de Sants in the box labeled Vapor Vell.

“After calling many times and talking with the Delegate of Services of the District, Mr. Espinàs, and not resolving the problem, we direct ourselves to you. The properties, 1-3-5-7-9-11, of Passatge Serra and Arola, are half-demolished, full of *boutícia* and a strong, insufferable stench in these temperatures, when Spring arrives it will be unbearable. Sometimes beggars and children come to these properties and there is the possibility that they could get hurt.¹²⁶

The objective of these letters, and their descriptions of the Vapor Vell could not be clearer: it is a public health concern that must be demolished and cleaned. The photos which accompany the first letter present the Vapor Vell in this same way, as a place of ruin and degradation. The camera focuses on the caved-in roofs and piles of trash and debris, signs of abandonment, fire hazards, and lack of hygiene.

Photos of the Vapor Vell¹²⁷



¹²⁶ Letter dated March 1, 1983, accessed in the archive of the Centre Social de Sants in the box labeled Vapor Vell. By the time their letter arrived at the Galerías Preciados, S.A. headquarters in Madrid, the Spanish government had already expropriated 75% of the umbrella company, Holding Rumasa.

¹²⁷ Accessed in the archive of the Centre Social de Sants in the box labeled Vapor Vell.

It is also interesting to note that the Vapor Vell is not referred to here by this name, but rather as “the completely abandoned lots on Passatge Serra i Arola, Joan Güell and Blanco (Sants).” This could be because the name ‘Vapor Vell’ was more often used to describe the main building of the factory and not the entire factory complex. This was how the name ‘Vapor Vell’ was used, for example, when it was monumentalized. Only the main building and the chimney were included in this, and the rest of the factory grounds were simply ignored. There are other cases, however in which the name ‘Vapor Vell’ was used to describe other buildings on the property, for example in 1978 an article was published called ‘The Vapor Vell burned’ in which it is reported that “An historic factory building, the Vapor Vell, on Galileo street in the neighborhood of Sants, was practically destroyed yesterday due to a fire which occurred at three in the morning.”¹²⁸ In this case, it wasn’t the main building that had burned but one that was attached to it, containing the furniture workshop of Muebles Casas.¹²⁹

Lands of the Vapor Vell

In 1984, the neighborhood associations sought to clear up some of this confusion and establish the fact that the Vapor Vell actually meant the entirety of the historic factory lands. In the memoir published of the campaigns from 1983-84, the Vapor Vell is presented through a ‘description of the remains of the Vapor Vell,’ followed by a map of the area showing its various uses:

The remains of the Vapor Vell today occupy a broad strip of land, delimited by the streets Miracle, Galileo, Serra I Arola, Blanco, as well as Panissards, also within this block are significant zones of housing. For this reason, pieces of the factory only partially border some sectors of Blanco, Serra I Arola, Galileo and Miracle streets. Within the whole area, different types of buildings can be observed, which correspond to the different productive needs of the factory, which concentrated all of its production processes in this factory.

In the southern area are the remains of what were probably the looms and warehouses, all of them in a very bad state if not completely in ruins. In this same area, near the Placa de Sants, the building of the chapel is preserved, in relatively good condition.

In the northern area, we find the largest building where the spinning machines were probably installed. It is a large big gable roof building consisting of a ground floor and four floors. The north facade, as well as the south facade, feature windows distributed regularly. The predominant construction material is stone from Montjuic i el mao.

To the extreme west are the remains of a swimming pool built during the civil war and used by a sports club from Sants up until a few years ago. Among other

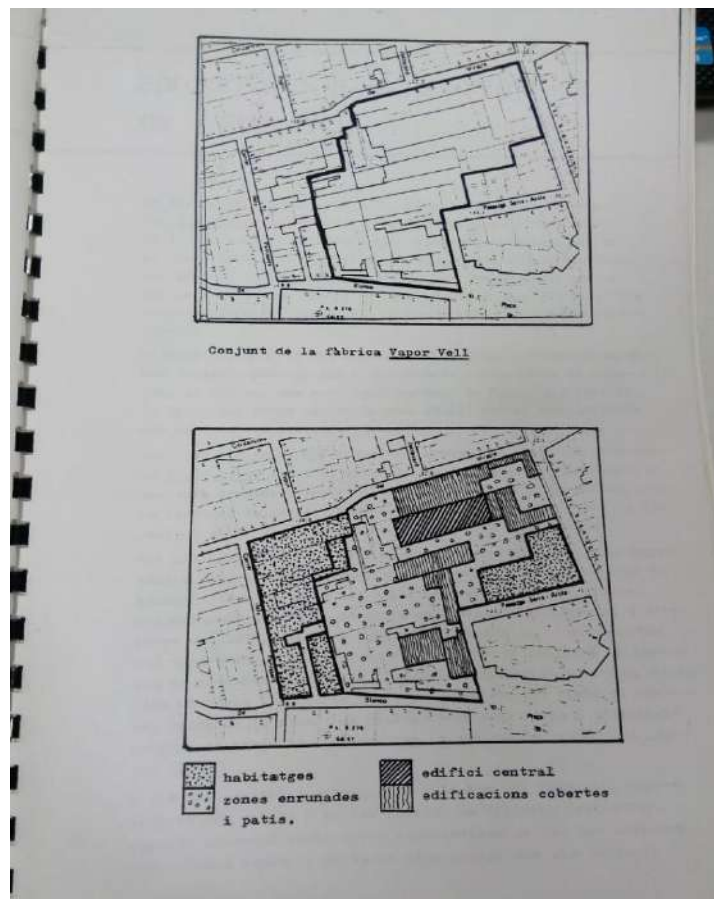
¹²⁸ Sales, F. Ardió el Vapor Vell. Tele/eXpres, Saturday, April 8, 1978.

¹²⁹ (Llorens Casas. Conversation with the author, May 19, 2017)

elements and warehouses organized around this singular building is the boiler house and the large octagonal chimney.

Returning to the south, along the current perimeter of the factory as a whole, special attention must be paid to Carrer del Pou (Demostenes). This is a dead-end street where there are still some ground-floor and first-floor homes of the Vapor Vell, which were most likely built for workers. This is an interesting example of industrial urban planning from the 1840s, one of the last that is still conserved in Sants and in Barcelona.¹³⁰

Interior layout of the Vapor Vell



¹³⁰ Vapor Vell: Victoria Popular.

A la zona nord trobem l'edifici amb més entitat on probablement estigueren instal·lades les filatures. Es un gran ortedre cobert a dues aigües que consta de planta baixa i quatre pisos. Tant la façana nord com la sud tenen finestres distribuïdes regularment. El material de construcció predominant es la pedra de Montjuïc i el maó. Sota l'extrem oest hi ha les restes d'una piscina construïda durant la guerra civil utilitzada per un club esportiu santsenc fins fa pocs anys. Ultra altres dependències i magatzems organitzats al voltant d'aquest edifici singular tenim les dependències de l'edifici de calderes i la gran xemeneia octogonal. Tornant a la zona sud, i fora ja del perímetre actual del conjunt de la fàbrica cal parar especial atenció al carrer del Pou (Demostenes). Es tracta d'un carreró sense sortida on hi ha encara alguns habitatges de planta baixa i pis, contemporànies dels primers temps del Vapor Vell, i que amb tota probabilitat estigueren destinades als treballadors. Es tracta en tot cas d'una interessant mostra d'urbanisme industrial de la dècada del 1840, una de les darreres que es conserven a Sants i a Barcelona

Besides communicating a complete spatial understanding of the grounds of the Vapor Vell, this presentation discusses the various current uses of the land which are classified as housing, zones of ruins and patios, central building, and covered buildings. This type of representation was particularly useful for the neighborhood associations which at this time were vindicating the recovery of ‘all of the Vapor Vell’ (Recuperem TOT el Vapor Vell). In addition, the description of the remains of the factory includes some speculation on the original uses of certain buildings. This text was probably produced by the “El Vapor” group of industrial archeology of Sants and Xavier Hernández in particular. Hernández was the originator of the idea of claiming the factory as industrial heritage, and in his publications from this time he took a broad view of industrial architecture, including workers’ housing.¹³¹ In this regard, the inclusion of the houses built for workers of the Vapor Vell on Carrer del Pou, despite not being a part of the official factory grounds, is included due to its historical significance as ‘an interesting example of industrial urban planning from the 1840s, one of the last that is still conserved in Sants and in Barcelona.’¹³²

Another thing to take into consideration regarding this map of the factory grounds is that it is superimposed over an urban plan taken from the 1976 General Metropolitan Plan of Barcelona. The appropriation of municipal urban planning materials was a common feature of the neighborhood movement at this time and was used as a vindication of the more democratic approach to urban planning in Barcelona. During the campaigns for the Vapor Vell, community organizers from the Centre Social de Sants used a Xerox machine to print hundreds of copies of images like this one which they handed out to neighbors along with a call to imagine what it is that they wanted to be made of this property. This was a strategy designed to awaken a sense of personal agency in the urban decisions being made about the neighborhood.¹³³

Industrial architecture

In 1984, a very different perspective of the Vapor Vell was included in the book *Industrial Architecture of Catalonia from 1732-1929*. According to the authors, this was a ‘first attempt at a Catalan industrial archaeology.’¹³⁴ The case for a national framework of industrial archeology represented in this book is largely made through the use of photographs of various Catalan factories. The emphasis on the visual elements of these buildings as examples of the development of a national architectural vernacular, especially that of the

¹³¹ Hernández-Cardona, F. Xavier; Albert Hernando Bravo; Gloria Lozano Raimí i Jordi Romaní Montori. (1984). *Habitatges i barris obrers a Sants. 1830-1880*. Policòpia, Arxiu Històric de Sants.

¹³² Secretariat d’Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc).

¹³³ Lefebvre, Henri. (1968). *Le droit à la ville*. (Translated: *The right to the city*).

¹³⁴ Corredor-Matheos, J; Montaner, Josep Maria. (1984). *Arquitectura Industrial a Catalunya. Del 1732 al 1929*. Barcelona: Caixa de Barcelona: p. 12.

modernist factories of the period from 1881-1929, results in a presentation of the Vapor Vell in which the factory itself is oddly invisibilized.

Vapor Vell in *Arquitectura Industrial a Catalunya*



The section on the Vapor Vell includes ten photographs over four pages, although most of these are of the chimney. The rest of the factory is hardly visible at all. The Vapor Vell doesn't make a very good monument in terms of the history of Catalan architecture. This was also the conclusion reached by those who wrote the description of the factory which accompanied the official monumentalization of the Vapor Vell as a resource of national interest. "The most significant element," the report states, "is the prismatic chimney, of great slenderness."¹³⁵

¹³⁵ "Resolución de 8 de mayo de 1998, del Departamento de Cultura, por la que se da publicidad al Acuerdo del Gobierno de la Generalidad, de 15 de abril de 1998, de declaración de bien cultural de interés nacional, en la categoría de monumento histórico, de El Vapor Vell de Sants, en Barcelona." Boletín oficial del estado «BOE» núm. 131, de 2 de junio de 1998, pp. 18288-18289. (accessed October 2020: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1998-12806). Later published in the Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (22/05/1998).

Workplace

Up till now we surveyed a number of different perspectives of the Vapor Vell--as a public health concern, as a piece of land, as a historic industrial complex, and as Catalan industrial architecture. Still, we are missing an important element: the Vapor Vell as a place of work. The fact is, this last element is a perspective of the Vapor Vell which was largely left out of the debates regarding the factory's heritagization. I only stumbled across it by happenstance when I discovered an anonymously authored report in the district archive of Sants-Montjuïc called "The industrialization of Catalonia. The Vapor Vell of Sants" and dated 1987. Here, we get a fascinating look inside the factory at this time period. Much to my surprise, I found out it was full of people at work:

What is the current use of the Vapor Vell?

This former textile factory, which was the first in the Spanish state to use steam machinery, still serves a productive use, although very different from the use it had in the past. Upon arriving at the factory, only two people were allowed to enter, and on the condition that they be discrete because the doorman did not want us to bother the people who worked there.

The information we found is the following:

Currently, this building that remains - we have already commented before that workers burned down part of it- is divided into two blocks that belong to two different owners. We tried to connect with Mr. Serra, one of the owners, but it turned out that at that time he was not there and we were attended by his secretary, who made it clear that Mr. Serra had no relation with Güell (the original owner and founder of the Vapor Vell).

He commented that both Mr. Serra and Casals had bought their part of the building from the City Hall and that they worked individually, without depending on each other or with any kind of connection in their work, in other words: each one did what he wanted with his piece of the building. We only could enter the property of Mr. Serra and we saw that it was divided into different parts:

On each of the three floors that belonged to this gentleman there were different things:

On the ground floor was installed a small workshop of Fornets, and beyond this we saw a carpentry shop and a place where iron was worked, but we do not know much about what was done there. On the second floor was the office of Mr. Serra and the other offices. The following floors are divided into small parcels where people work who, having rented their piece, do what they want: paint, write ...

Regarding what is done on the other side, belonging to Casals, we can not say anything because we could not get in. This is the small workshop on the ground floor where they mostly make Fornets. (Bottom photo).

This is one of the parcels on the third floor, rented by a painter. Below you can see the work they do (which has nothing to do with the original use of the factory).

Here we see, once finished, the work done with iron.

At the bottom you can see the entrance to the factory and on the right, the houses, somewhat disheveled by the workers.

This mural is - from the street, before entering the factory, and declares the interest that the district of Sants has in recovering the Vapor Vell and equipping it as a civic center.

Behind the factory there are some lined-up small houses that formerly belonged to the workers and that were built at the same time as the factory. There are currently people living there who have nothing to do with the Vapor Vell.¹³⁶

Most likely this report was completed by a group of students from the neighborhood. As I discuss in chapter 4.3, at this time the Generalitat was promoting a program called the Campaign of industrial archeology for young people. It's possible that this paper on the Vapor Vell was a part of this. In anycase, it is actually a very interesting piece of historical documentation which expands our understanding of what the Vapor Vell was actually like during the 1980's.

As the authors of this report mention, the Güells were the original founders of the Vapor Vell, but they were not the only business to be operated out of the factory. Other companies also operated out of the Vapor Vell, sometimes at the same time. When the Güells moved out in 1891, textile production was continued by Parellada Flaquer y Cia, with the later inclusion of Serra i Arola as well as Miret i Flor, and possibly others.¹³⁷ In 1897, a carpentry workshop called Muebles Casas was installed that, over time, came to employ 130 workers and occupy most of the space.¹³⁸ During the Civil War, from 1936-39, the factory took on yet another identity as one of the largest collectivized anarchist-run factories in Spain, the *taller confederal número 33*. One Summer, the anarchists looked at the factory's unused water storage tanks and realized they would make excellent swimming pools. They built them and, even after the war was over and Muebles Casas was reinstated, this section of the Vapor Vell continued as the 'Mediterráneo' neighborhood swimming club. In another section of the factory, a sculptor -still not world-renowned- named Jaume Plensa set up an expansive workshop in which to chisel massive chunks of marble. In 1988, while still working there, Plensa described the Vapor Vell as a "dilapidated complex of abandoned warehouses without any activity besides that of a legion of cats."¹³⁹

All of these workers would be displaced by the renovation of the area projected by the municipal urban plan for the Vapor Vell approved in 1989.¹⁴⁰ Curious to learn what

¹³⁶ See appendix, document 3 (Anonymous. (1987). "The industrialization of Catalonia. The Vapor Vell of Sants." Accessed from the Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc).

¹³⁷ Cabana, Francesc. (1993). "Els Cotoners". (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana).

¹³⁸ <http://www.mobles-casas.com/nosotros/>

¹³⁹ Sempronio. Jaume Plensa. La Vanguardia, November 15, 1988, p.44.

¹⁴⁰ Information publicly available via the Barcelona municipal architectural heritage database. See: PE del Vapor Vell. Concreció de les alineacions del carrer Joan Güell i ordenació dels sòls qualificats pel PGM de zones 14b, 14a i 12 entre les places de Can Mantega i de Sants. (accessed October 2020: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/informaciourbanistica/cerca/ca/fitxa/S237/--/--/ap/>)

because of Muebles Casas, I did an internet search and found out that they had an office just across the street from the Vapor Vell where two brothers from the fourth generation of family still continued to operate a furniture company-- although now they focus more on sales than on fabrication. I stopped by one day to see what they could tell me about the history of the Vapor Vell and they showed me some photographs from a family album, introducing me to a side of the Vapor Vell I had never seen before.

Muebles Casas workshop in the Vapor Vell





Muebles Casas workshop and showroom in the Vapor Vell (circa 1990)



These later photographs are dated as recently as 1990. The bottom floor of the main building of the Vapor Vell was used as a showroom for the furniture being produced in an adjacent workshop which bordered Galileo street and was attached to the main building by a bridged walkway. It was most likely in this workshop where the fire started which burned part of the building in 1978. At this time, part of the lands of the Vapor Vell had been purchased by Galerías Preciados as a site for building a great big shopping center. I asked the Casas brothers if they considered the fire to have been an act of arson, as a way to catalyze the redevelopment of the lands, but they assured me that it was just a workplace accident. Even so, it seemed suspicious to me that, according to a local paper, the fire had started at three in the morning.

Another thing I struggled to understand was why the campaigns for the Vapor Vell had invisibilized the current industrial use of the Vapor Vell in their representation of the factory. In 1974, Muebles Casas was featured in a bulletin produced by the Centre Social de Sants, but only through an advertisement announcing “MUEBLES CASAS S.A. talleres y exposición.”¹⁴¹ In 1985, the Centre Social helped organize a protest bonfire and overnight campout on the lands of the Vapor Vell. Over two hundred people attended this event which was accompanied by music, fireworks and a cremat, a festive rum drink which is served hot by lighting it on fire and stirring it in a large cauldron while dodging the flames. A huge banner was hung from the rooftops; “Let’s save the Vapor Vell,” it read. In all the accounts of this momentous occasion, I find it curious that this detail is left out-- that if you had walked over to the main building and peered in through the glass, you wouldn’t see the crumbling ruin of an abandoned warehouse, but, rather, an elegant living room set displaying the peak of interior design fashion.

¹⁴¹ See appendix, document 5: p. 19 (Hem Salvat la Placa de Sants. Bulleti de l’Associacio de Veïns-Centre Social de Sants. Sept-Oct, 1974. Accessed: Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc).

Man displays a dead rat at the Vapor Vell.

The sign reads "Let's save the Vapor Vell." (November, 1985)



1.3.2 Discourses, constituencies, uses

In this chapter we have briefly surveyed some of the different ways that the Vapor Vell was represented during the 1980's. Other representations also were constructed at this time, such as a didactic illustration showing the Vapor Vell in operation like a giant machine, with the walls cut away to show where the steam engine was and how it connected to the spinning machines and looms. There was also a build-it-yourself 3D paper model kit of the factory, facilitating the display of the Vapor Vell within the homes of the neighbors of Sants. Different kinds of maps were produced which showed different ways of interpreting the Vapor Vell. One of the most popular was a series of maps showing the Vapor Vell as a catalyst for the growth of the town during the 19th century. Certain town symbols were 'industrialized' to include imagery from this industrial past as part of the local, cultural identity-- for example the construction of two new *Gegants* representing textile workers from the Vapor Vell to be paraded through the town during festivals.

These different representations of the Vapor Vell can be seen as musealizations -- they involve different collections of objects, different methods of study, different interpretations,

and different forms of display.¹⁴² They tell different kinds of stories about Barcelona's industrial past. These stories involve 'visibilizing' certain things and 'invisibilizing' others. They are by nature, selective. The goal of this investigation is to come to a deeper understanding of these stories by looking at three questions: What stories are being told? Who is doing the telling? And what do these stories do? In other words, the focus of our analysis is on discourses, constituencies, and uses.

Finally, we will consider these stories as historical objects. It is only by situating this industrial story-telling in history that we can overcome some of the pitfalls of oversimplification or overreliance on idealized categories. As Stefan Berger emphasizes, "Especially Marxist-inspired scholars tend to view the field too much in binary terms, positing heritage as 'the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present' versus heritage as 'a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups'."¹⁴³ Neither of those uses of heritage, he argues, is at all homogenous.

What I find interesting is that the binary which Berger references is, in itself, a type of industrial story. After all, Marx developed the concept of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as a way of representing industrialization under capitalism. Furthermore, this form of narrativization has had an influence in the industrial heritage conflicts in Poblenou in which the cultural politics of industrial memory were framed as a conflict between the two faces of the city: the bourgeois 'city of marvels' and the conflictive, industrial city of the proletariat. In this case, the destruction and invisibilization of the city's industrial history was represented as a form of capitalist oppression.

In the case of the Vapor Vell, we can trace the evolution of this dynamic by contrasting the representation of the Vapor Vell as a business (chapter 2), as a neighborhood resource (chapter 3), and as industrial archeology (chapter 4). Along the way, we encounter a wide variety of constituencies which challenge us to adopt a nuanced, heterogenous, and above all, a historically situated understanding of this classic Marxist tale. These constituencies include not just industrialists (2.1) and workers (2.2), but also Catalanists (2.3), engineers (2.4), social and economic historians (2.5), urban planners and activists (3.1), neighbors (3.2), local historians (3.3), urban geographers (3.4), political parties (4.1), industrial archaeologists and enthusiasts (4.2), educators and architects (4.3), etc.

¹⁴² This is what Alfons Zarzoso and José Pardo-Tomás call 'regimes of exhibition.' See: Zarzoso, Alfons & Pardo-Tomás, José. (2019). "Cultura material y regímenes de exhibición. Una propuesta para continuar". In: Pardo-Tomás, J.; Zarzoso, A.; Sánchez-Mencheró, M. *Cuerpos mostrados. Regímenes de exhibición de lo humano*. Barcelona y Madrid, siglos XVII-XX. México: Siglo XXI editores, pp. 201-210.

¹⁴³ Berger, Stefan (ed.). (2019). *Constructing industrial pasts: Heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation*. Berghahn Books: p. 303.

Chapter 2)

Güell, Ramis i Cia: Business History

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2.1 BUSINESS HISTORY

2.2 ECONOMIC DISCOURSES

2.3 AUTHORIZED INDUSTRIAL DISCOURSES

2.4 TECHNO-SCIENTIFIC HEGEMONY

2.5 THE BUSINESS ARCHIVE

Colònia Güell

A twenty minute train from Barcelona brings you to the Colònia Güell, the well-preserved site of a historic industrial community dating to the turn of the 19th century when Eusebi Güell moved his family business of machine-made corduroys and velvets from the Vapor Vell of Sants to a new site outside the city-- close enough to be easily connected by train to Barcelona's port, yet isolated from the social turmoil of the city's increasingly class-conscious proletariat. It was here, in Santa Coloma de Cervelló, on the languid banks of the Llobregat River just a few kilometers upstream from the sea, that Eusebi established a brand new factory based on the latest principles of industrial welfare and social paternalism. He hoped, in this way, to tame the revolutionary spirit of the working-class through the establishment of a new culture of work, as well through the practice of hiring a number of peasants from the countryside whose presence seemed to have a pacifying effect on the rest of the workforce.

The *Colònia Güell* was more than a factory- it was one of Catalonia's industrial colonies. In many ways these colonies were similar to an industrial form which I had become familiar with while growing up in the Appalachian mountains of North Carolina. There, big coal-mining companies created towns around mining sites in order to supply the needs of the workers. These 'company towns,' as they were called, were the private property of the business owners, and they acted as an extension of the business itself. In some company towns the workers were not paid in normal currency but rather in "company script" which was only redeemable at the company store. This created a circular economic relationship which resulted in an exploitative labor situation very difficult for the workers to escape from, not only because of their physical isolation from the rest of society but also because of their socialization within this highly insulated culture of work. The socialization of the workers was controlled down to almost every aspect by the owners of the company towns-- from the design and construction of the living and working areas, to the establishment of the company school, church, hospital, theater, police force, and justice system. This gave the owners an amount of power that was very difficult to contest. This, of course, was the point.¹

This kind of experimentation in industrial social engineering wasn't limited to the Appalachian mountains. As I was saying, the Colònia Güell, built during the same period starting in 1890, is also a type of company town-- some might say it is one of the most beautiful, ambitious and innovative company towns in the world. Employing the creative genius of Catalonia's top architect, Antoni Gaudí, and bankrolled by one of the country's wealthiest families, the Güells, it is no surprise that the end result is as spectacular as it is. According to legend, Gaudí was given a blank check in his project for building the company church, a mandate which he took so much to heart that the construction of this lavishly expensive foray into the development of the Catalan Modernist architectural style had to be

¹ Shifflett, Crandall A. (1991). *Coal towns: life, work, and culture in company towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

halted after only completing the crypt.² In the end, this crypt would be the model and testing ground for what would later be Gaudí's life-project, the Church of the Sagrada Família in Barcelona, nowadays acclaimed to be one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world.³

When I arrived at the Colònia Güell in the Spring of 2017, I discovered a green and pleasant town of comfortable-looking workers' houses and plazas, the *Ateneu*, a beautiful schoolhouse, stone streets lit by lamplight in the evening and bordered by trees casting shade in the summer. Green fields and wooded paths along a cheerful creek separated the colony's residential area from the factory complex, about a kilometer away; this, too, is built in the impressive and artful Catalan modernist style. Unlike the rest of Catalonia's industrial colonies, the Colònia Güell does not employ hydropower from the nearby river, but rather runs off a series of massive coal-powered steam engines. This distinctive sets the Colònia Güell apart from the rest of Catalonia's industrial colonies and underscores the fact that the Güell's interest in this project was more for social reasons than for energetic ones. This makes the colony one of its kind-- the first and the last of its type to ever be built.⁴

Discourses in the Exhibit

The reason for my trip to the Colònia Güell is for research. Mainly, I'm here to visit the colony's history exhibit created in 2009 by a consortium of local and regional governmental entities hoping to revitalize the area with the injection of tourism money into the local economy. I'm interested in seeing what kind of industrial stories are on display. The first of these stories, which I notice before even entering the exhibition, is that told by the colony itself, which is beautifully preserved. This is more than just a museum display, it is a living community where people still reside, although the factory has been closed for quite some time. Recently, however, the facility has been parcelled into smaller workshops and these spaces rented out to other businesses.

I walked into the exhibition, paid the 9.5 euros ticket price which included an audio tour of Gaudí's crypt on the hill overlooking the town, and spent the next hour making my way through the five sections of the exhibit, where, after a introductory contextualization of the colony within the broader movement of Catalan industrial colonies, I came to a display on the technical innovations of the factory, including a specialized velvet loom invented by one of the company engineers. Taking up most of the space, however, was a model of the factory itself, laid out in a reduced scale and connected to an electrical circuit triggered by the visitor

² Güell Malet, Carmen. (2007). Gaudí y el conde de Güell. El artista y el mecenas. Madrid: mr Ediciones,

³ "Revealing The World's 10 Most Popular Attractions of 2018—Based On Traveler Interest." Tripadvisor.com, 2018.

⁴ Enrech, Carles et.al. (2009). Colònies Industrials. (Catàleg de l'Exposició). Organització: Col.legi de Periodistes de Catalunya; Museu d'Història de Catalunya; Departament de Política Territorial i Obres Públiques; Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació. Colònies Industrials. p. 277.

to bring the various sections of the factory to life. As I peered down from above over this model and tested the buttons I couldn't help but notice that, in this position, my 'perspective of the factory' was that of some sort of god-like operator and the factory was like a giant machine, with moving parts and systems designed and orchestrated by some ingenious 19th century engineer. Whoever had originally designed this factory, I thought to myself, would have built a model much like this one in order to visualize the design. I wondered if the display I was looking at was in fact a recreation of this original architectural model. Or was this actually the original model itself? The display didn't offer me any easy answer to this question. Was I looking at a display of the material heritage of a 19th century industrial engineer? Or, on the other hand, was this model being displayed in the same way this engineer would have used it--to display a technical idea. It seemed to me to be the later case.

The next item on display in the exhibit offered a similar opportunity for reflection. It was a bust of Joan Güell, a reproduction from the monument created in his honor in 1888 and which stands to this day at the intersection of the Rambla de Catalunya with the Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes. This is accompanied by a short biography of his life. In many ways, this display is a direct copy of a 19th century display. Yet, as with the factory model, it seemed as though the exhibit at the Colònia Güell presented this bust as a display of Joan Güell himself, rather than as a display of a 19th century display of Joan Güell. In any case, there was no denying that these two museological discourses, of factory and factory owner, were not invented with the opening of this exhibit in 2009, but had a long history of their own.

Technological discourses, along with the discourse of industrial paternalism, have long dominated our stories of the industrial revolution, to the point where Francesc Cabana assumes this in the very title of his 1993 encyclopedic history of Catalan industrialization--"Factories and Businessmen: protagonists of the industrial revolution."⁵ It is important to realize, however, that these discourses were not invented by Cabana in order to structure his historiography but, rather, were reproduced by him.⁶ The origins of these discourses goes back as early as the history of industrialization itself. If we engage critically with the primary source materials, we can read this history of industrialization as a history of its own display.

This is essentially what I propose to do in this chapter. What follows could be described as a sort of genealogy of the musealization of the Vapor Vell of Sants, tracing the evolution of the kinds of stories that have been told about it, and made of it, through a fairly exhaustive look at its surviving primary source documentation and analyzing this in terms of discourses. What I mean by 'discourse' is the perspective it gives of the factory. In terms of methodology, my analysis consists of breaking each discourse down according to its stakeholders, objects, concepts, objectives and values. This is a practice I borrow from Heike Oevermann and Harald Mieg in their work on synchronic discourse analysis of European industrial heritage

⁵ See Cabana, Francesc. (1993). "Els Cotoners". (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

⁶ See Section 2.5.2 (Economic History) for further discussion on this topic.

sites;⁷ although, in this section, rather than synchronic, a diachronic discourse analysis will be employed, tracing the chronological development of new forms of displaying, or “musealizing”, the Güell’s business starting with its founding in 1844.

To be clear, “musealize” in this context does not just refer to actual museum projects like the exhibit at the Colònia Güell, but of the entire array of ways that an object can be interpreted and displayed-- be it through business advertisements, product displays at industrial fairs, guided tours given of the factory to esteemed visitors, publications of the factory commemorating its history, to the very experience one has of walking through it and the messages communicated through its architecture and design. Here, I treat all of these as discourse-laden musealizations.

Chapter Summary

In section 2.1 (Business history), the first history written about the factory is discussed. This is found in a biography published in 1878 of Joan Güell, its founder.⁸ The literary discourse of Joan Güell as a ‘soldier of work’ is analyzed, as well as the context of this publication as a persuasive political case for the economic practice of protectionism. These underlying economic discourses are the focus of section 2.2 (Economic discourses) where a Marxist analysis is applied to the economic discourse found in the few conserved pieces of the Vapor Vell’s documentation from its early years (1844-1854). These discourses are then contrasted with anti-capitalist discourses produced at that time by Luddites, Socialists and Progressives. This clash of discourses was manifested in the 1854 Selfacting Strike and the 1855 General Strike, the first general strike in Spain and in which the Vapor Vell played a dramatic role.

In the following section 2.3 (Authorized industrial discourses⁹), we investigate the top-down initiatives of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie to construct a paternalistic, Catalan culture of work through the monumentalization of Joan Güell and romantic narrativization of Catalonia. The disparity between Catalan economic interests and those of Madrid became a motivating factor in the project for political Catalanism. In section 2.4 (Techno-scientific hegemony), we look at a third group, with an unclear position somewhere in between the working class

⁷ Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

⁸ Argullol y Serra, Jose. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. Establecimiento tipográfico de los Sucesores de N. Ramirez y Compania: Barcelona.

⁹ Here I borrow from Laurajane Smith’s terminology of “Authorized and Unauthorized Heritage Discourses” (see Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. 2006.). Smith traces the historical context of England in the second half of the 19th Century when the concept of heritage was developed in tandem with public monuments and education initiatives as an embodiment of the values of the upper classes. In a similar vein, Stéphane Michonneau has studied the Barcelona case in his investigation of Barcelona’s era of “statue-mania” coinciding in the 1880’s with Barcelona’s “Gold Fever” of optimism and wealth from venture capitalism (see: Michonneau, Stéphane. (2001). *Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites*. Eumo Editorial.). This would be the context for the production of some of the most enduring musealizations of the Vapor Vell, for example in the public commemoration of the monument to Joan Güell.

and the factory owners. This was the technical class of industrial engineers, a constituency developing their own class identity and aspirations at this time through the institution of technical education and the development of a positivist discourse of technology. The positivist discourse invisibilized class distinctions through stories of the universality of science and its promise of progress for humankind. In the case of the Vapor Vell, I look at the figure of Ferran Alsina, who proposed factory reforms in 1889 to improve the cost-effectiveness of the factory at the price of firing half of the employees, demonstrating that the problems being problem-solved, in this case, were not the problems of the working class but the problems of the bourgeoisie. After an assassination attempt on Alsina's life, and for fear of a repetition of the events of 1855, Güell and Alsina were provoked to close production at the Vapor Vell and began construction on the new site at the Colònia Güell, a project which would give them a more absolute control over the industrial discourses presented to the workers, and thus manufacture a culture of consenting laborers.

In section 2.5 (The business archive), we continue the genealogy of the Vapor Vell's musealization by tracing the production of industrial histories up to the present, notably the works of Catalan historians such as Francesc Cabana and others, who, we argue, to a large extent reproduce authorized industrial discourses of paternalism, patriotism and positivism and give continuity to them while black-boxing their discourse-ladenness.¹⁰ We close with a final reflection on the case of the Colònia Güell exhibit and how industrial musealization is actually tied much closer to these 'authorized' stories than may be first apparent. Here, we not only critique the lack of original analysis, but also highlight the difficulty of enriching these narratives due to the limitations of the business archive itself and the lack of sources in which unauthorized industrial discourses are preserved.

¹⁰ The concept of the "black box" as developed by Bruno Latour and used in the field of Science Studies, and more widely in Actor-Network Theory, seems to be appropriate here (see: Latour, Bruno. *Pandora's hope: essays on the reality of science studies*. Harvard University Press, 1999). In this instance, I use it in a negative sense to refer to the historiographical malpractice of uncritically reproducing the discourses of one's historical sources while obscuring the historical situatedness of the original source itself. This happens when historical documents are treated as a sort of databank of historical facts rather than as discourse-laden stories, created by somebody for some purpose. One of the ways I attempt to circumvent this error is by reflecting on the question: "what was this story do?" In this way, the primary sources are given agency as actors, rather than treated as passive and neutral records. The political agency of historical production is a topic especially emphasized by historians since the civil rights movement who have argued that, in fact, "you can't be neutral on a moving train." (See: Zinn, Howard. *You can't be neutral on a moving train: a personal history of our times*. 1994.)

2.1 BUSINESS HISTORY

In this section, we will look at all the stories that have been told about the Vapor Vell since its founding. Luckily for me, as the one doing the work of tracking down and analyzing all of these stories, it turns out that there are not that many. The Generalitat's heritage card for the Vapor Vell, for example, lists only five sources, published between 1976 and 1997:

- (1976) Tots els barris de Barcelona.¹¹
- (1980) Sants: anàlisi dels procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona.¹²
- (1988) El cost d'un vapor, el Vapor Vell de Sants.¹³
- (1996) Barcelona: la segona renovació.¹⁴
- (1997) Els vapors a Sants.¹⁵

Even luckier for me, while each of these publications does present its own account of the Vapor Vell, they do not all give different accounts. In fact, excluding the 1996 source, Barcelona: la segona renovació, which is basically just an update from the municipal urban planning department, the rest of the sources interact with each other, citing previous publications and building on the previous iterations of the Vapor Vell story with the inclusion of new primary source materials and an enriched historiographical perspective. This is particularly the case with the 1988 source, El Cost d'un Vapor, which is essentially a reprinting of the then recently discovered book of accounts of the factory, a document dating to 1844-1847 and illuminating a new wealth of historical information. Similarly, the 1997 source, Els Vapors a Sants, contains two chapters on the Vapor Vell, one of which is dedicated to reprinting an industrial survey of the Vapor Vell from 1848 which the author had recently discovered, while the other chapter contextualizes the factory within 19th century Catalan cotton production, drawing from a variety of new sources, including an account of the Vapor Vell from a write-up of the 1860 Industrial Exhibition in Barcelona.

Besides this bibliography, the state heritage card also includes a short description of the Vapor Vell-- a four-paragraph text describing a walkthrough of the factory grounds. As I read it for the first time, something about the text seemed somehow familiar to me, like I had read it before somewhere. I consulted the five cited sources but didn't find what I was looking for. Then it dawned on me that the walkthrough describes the state of the factory as it would have been in the 1980's, before the city hall began cleaning up the area and parceling the lands for different uses. This was the clue I needed, and, after a bit of detective work, I soon cracked the case with the discovery that this text had been essentially copied and pasted from a sixth, uncited source, which I was lucky enough to have already come across on my own and studied enough to recognize in its slightly altered form on the Generalitat's heritage

¹¹ Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1976). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62.

¹² Carreras i Verdager, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

¹³ Arxiu Històric de Sants. (1988). *El Cost d'un Vapor. El Vapor Vell*.

¹⁴ Roig, Miquel; Ajuntament de Barcelona. (1996). *Barcelona: la segona renovació*.

¹⁵ Baqué, Dolors & Calvo, Angel & Enrech, Carles & Gutiérrez, M. Lluïsa & Sánchez, Alex. (1997). *Els Vapors a Sants*. Quaderns de l'Arxiu, Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc.

website. This sixth source, *El Vapor Vell: Victòria popular*, was published by the Historic Archive of Sants all the way back in 1984.¹⁶ Even though its sentence structure has been modified a bit, a side-to-side comparison of the two texts leaves no room for doubt that they come from the same source. But plagiarism isn't the worst of it. The Generalitat's version also propagates misinformation about the scale of the original factory by mistakenly citing the size of the lands as 7,655 square meters. Actually, this is only the size of the currently conserved part of the factory grounds, which is only about half of the size of the original factory being described in the 1984 text. The conflation of these two definitions of the Vapor Vell in the plagiarized version strips it of the original's coherence.

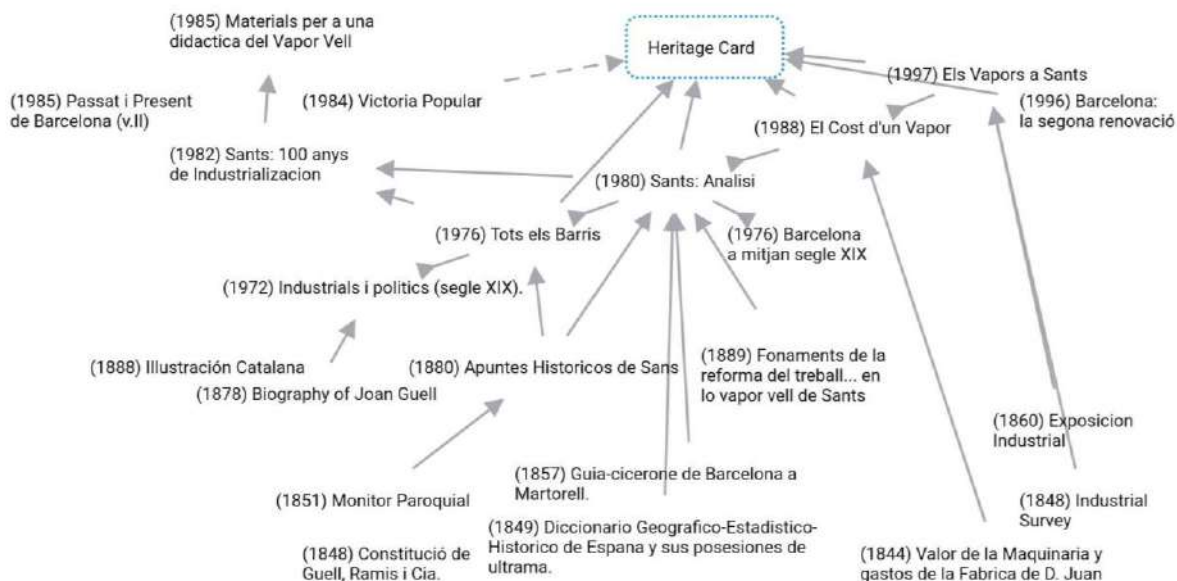
The experience of catching a reputable institution (the Generalitat) red-handed in an act of bungled historiographical cheating got me excited. I started noticing striking similarities in many of the other historical accounts of the Vapor Vell, and I began compiling notes. Some sources dated the Vapor Vell to 1840, others to 1844 or 1848. These little differences gave me clues as to the sources that these sources had drawn from in order to draft a historical picture of the Vapor Vell. I began tracking down the sources of these sources, each time going farther back in time to older and older books, getting closer to the date of the factory's founding.

Eventually, I supposed that I would cross the threshold from secondary to primary sources, although actually what I found was that, in a study like this one, maintaining the purity of these historiographical categories gets complicated. After all, here my goal is not to study the Vapor Vell as much as its musealization. That means that, as far as I am concerned, a secondary account of the Vapor Vell can be a primary source of its musealization and vice-versa; when you start to view sources through the lens of musealization, even the most quantitative collection of historical data is revealed to be just another genre of storytelling. The distinction between primary and secondary begins to blur.

To help navigate the complexity of the historical sources of the Vapor Vell and their interconnectivity, I created a graphic organizer to help map these dynamics in a more visual way. In the graphic below, each source is represented as a node on the tree graph, while the arrows connecting them represent the act of consulting previous sources in the process of drafting new ones. At the top of the graphic is the heritage card, connected with arrows to each of the sources it cites (and by a broken arrow to the source it doesn't cite, *Victòria popular*). As you move down the chart, the sources get older-- all the way to the bottom, where we find, for example, the oldest source: the 1844-1847 book of receipts, *Valor de la Maquinaria y gastos de la Fábrica de D. Juan*. This is connected by a long arrow to the 1988 publication of *El Cost d'un Vapor*, because, prior to this, the document had been slowly decaying in a box which had been moved to the Colònia Güell and forgotten.

¹⁶ Secretariat d'Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc).

Graphic Organizer of Historical Sources of the Vapor Vell¹⁷



There are a couple insights to be learned from this graphic organizer before we move on. First of all, this representation visibilizes three distinct “strata” or temporal communities of

¹⁷ More detailed citations, organized by date of publication:

Madoz, Pascual. (1849). *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico-Histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar*. Volume XIII. Madrid. [Consulted at the Biblioteca de Catalunya].

Casanovas, Andreu. (1851). *Monitor o Consueta parroquial de Santa Maria de Sans*. [A typewritten copy is available at the Arxiu Municipal del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc].

Balaguer, Victor. (1857). *Guía-cicerone de Barcelona a Martorell*. Colección de guías de los ferrocarriles de Cataluña. Imp. J. Jepsu i HR. Villegas, Barcelona.

Argullol y Serra, Jose. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramirez y Compania: Barcelona.

Alsina, Ferran. (1889). *Fonaments de la reforma del treball en la indústria cotonera catalana tal com s'es començada en lo vapor vell de Sants*. Imp. la Renaixença, Barcelona.

Vicens i Vives, Jaume; Llorens, Montserrat. (1972). *Industrials i polítics (segle XIX)*. Ed. Vicens Vives, Barcelona.

Benet, Josep & Martí, Casimir. (1976). *Barcelona a mitjan segle XIX. El moviment obrer durant el Bienni Progressista (1854-56)*. Barcelona: Curial.

Fabre, Jaume & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1976). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62.

Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

Col·lectiu de l'escola de mestres de Barcelona. (1982). *Sants. Cent anys d'industrialització. Elements de recerca escolar*. Barcelona, Consell Municipal del Districte VII-Secretariat d'Entitats-Arxiu Històric de Sants.

Fernàndez, Magda & Hernández, F. Xavier & Suárez, Alicia & Tatjer, Mercè & Vidal, Mercè. (1983-91). *Passat i present de Barcelona (I), (II) and (III)* [and unpublished (IV)]. Materials per l'estudi del medi urbà. Publicacions i edicions Universitat de Barcelona.

Col·lectiu de l'Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts (including A Bernaus i Salisi; F.X. Hernández i Cardona; P. Hornos i Garcia; M. Sales i Sebastià; R. Torras i Conangla). (1985). *Materials per a una Didáctica del Vapor Vell*. [Accessed: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat Barcelona.]

Arxiu Històric de Sants. (1988). *El Cost d'un Vapor. El Vapor Vell*.

Baqué, Dolors & Calvo, Angel & Enrech, Carles & Gutiérrez, M. Lluïsa & Sánchez, Alex. (1997). *Els Vapors a Sants*. Quaderns de l'Arxiu, Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc.

sources. The first, or oldest strata are sources from the founding of the factory and mostly constitute internal documentation regarding legal and economic matters (these will be covered in more detail in section 2.2 Economic discourses). The second strata, beginning in 1879 with Joan Güell's biography, is made up of the first narratives produced in which the Vapor Vell figures as an historical actor (this will be covered in sections 2.3 and 2.4). Further up, in the 1970's, a third strata appears, made up of new stories. Of these more recent stories, there is a cluster of publications on the left side of the graph related to education about the neighborhood of Sants (the topic of section 3.5), while towards the right, the upward-slanting trendline indicates the progression of subsequent publications which collectively work together to continue to enrich the historiography of the Vapor Vell (one of the themes of section 4.3).

This graphic does not purport to include every history of the Vapor Vell. Here, the criteria for inclusion starts with the heritage card and works backwards down to the original sources. This leaves out some publications which reproduce the standard account of the factory without contributing to it significantly enough to be cited as a source in other works. Nor does this graphic include works from after this heritage card was written, which appears to be around the year 2000. Despite these limitations, I believe that this graphic includes the majority of stories printed about the Vapor Vell which have been discovered by historians. At the very least, it includes the stories which have been discovered by myself. For the moment, let us say that that is enough. Now it is time to see what these stories are, and what discourses they hold.

2.1.1 Joan Güell: Soldier of Work

They say that the best way to begin a story is at the beginning. But every story has two beginnings. There is the first sentence-- that is the usual place to start a story-- but there is also the first time that the story was told. The story of the musealization of the Vapor Vell is a bit like a game of telephone in this sense-- that game children play by sending a secret message down a line of friends by whispering it to the next in line and letting them pass it on. The one thing you can be certain of in a game of telephone is that the message will most likely change along the way. This is how it was with the story of the Vapor Vell as it passed, over the years, from the pen of Jaume Vicens Vives to Josep Maria Huertas, to Carles Carreras, to Xavier Hernández, to Maria Lluïsa Gutiérrez, etc.

Given this, it seems fitting, on the occasion of this study which is based almost entirely on the topic of the Vapor Vell, to begin at the beginning--the true beginning--with the first line of the Vapor Vell's history, as it was told for the first time. I had never felt so much like a real historian as the day I stood in line at the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya to request a consultation with a first edition of this little book:

Biography of the Most Excellent Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer. From the solemn act celebrated in the *salon de ciento de las casas consistoriales* on the occasion of the hanging of a portrait in the Municipal Gallery of illustrious Catalans. Typographic establishment of the successors of N. Ramírez and Company: Barcelona, September 29, 1879.¹⁸

Over 150 years separated me from its printing in 1879, but this distance in time seemed to evaporate once I felt its weight in my hands. It smelled like dust, but the pages were still sturdy and the ink stood out clearly on the page. It was a beautiful moment. The book itself acted like a bridge between two worlds, as did the knowledge that the message of this book would be the start of a game of historical telephone leading right up to the current wikipedia entry for the Vapor Vell. This is because this book is a biography of the Vapor Vell's founder, Joan Güell (although here he is called by his Castillian name "Juan") and it is here that we first learn the story of how the Vapor Vell came to be.

The author, José Argullol y Serra, writes in a grand literary style which practically begs to be read aloud and, most likely, that was exactly what took place. As Argullol explains in the forward, the setting for the presentation of this book is the festival of La Mercè, in which part of the program of public celebration was the ceremonial hanging of a portrait of an 'illustrious Catalan' in a special gallery which had recently been inaugurated for this purpose in Barcelona's City Hall.¹⁹ I imagine Argullol rising to his feet to read aloud from this manuscript, his voice rising and falling dramatically in order to capture the attention of the crowd. This is how he began:

"It was the dawn of that century which now inclines towards twilight: in the province of Tarragona, in the picturesque village known as Torredembarra there lived a modest family, the head of which, don Pablo Güell, was engaged in commerce. His consort, homemaker and a woman of character and governance, the prototype of Catalan womanhood, was named Doña Rosa Ferrer.

On May 3, 1800, the Lord blessed this happy marriage, giving them a child, who, upon opening his eyes to the light and taking his first breath of air, saw the sea and its waves, heard the noise of its breakers, and saw in it, unconsciously, both tranquility and struggle, perseverance and difficulties, horizon and space.

Following, as men do, the example of contrary elements, the child's spirit was fed on tales of battles; those of France, its republic and the first empire; that of Trafalgar in his first years, and then the practical example before his eyes of struggle

¹⁸ Argullol y Serra, José. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramírez y Compañía: Barcelona.

¹⁹"Part of the program of public celebrations is the placement of the portrait of an illustrious Catalan in the gallery of the Excellent City Hall, thus reconciling the civil and the religious, and adding to that which is joyful and profane, what which diverts and stimulates the living, and gives due reward, glory and honor, to the dead..." In: Argullol y Serra, José. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramírez y Compañía: (forward).

and war, that of the Independence of Spain, sealed forever with the precious blood of our fathers.

It is common that, in imitation of their elders, young ones will reenact their own battles, and, in the first years of this century, the prepubescent youths of Altafulla and Torredembarra waged war with slings and brook stones. You can already imagine that the son of Don Pablo and Doña Rosa would appear in the armies of this last nation, because for nothing in the world, neither before nor after, would he have betrayed his country.

It was in one of those skirmishes that fate had turned the tide in favor of those of Altafulla, and the defeated ones of Torredembarra declared themselves in a precipitous and shameful flight; but the child Joan does not suffer this reproach; he takes courage, chooses a partner, and both, slings in hand, retrace their steps; Instead of running away, they attack, advance, and continue to advance, determined and resolute: terror and panic enter the enemy ranks, and little by little what had been their inevitable defeat turns into a splendid victory.

Do not go to believe with this that what I tell you is the background of the life of an illustrious warrior, no: these are the antecedents of the life of a soldier of work, who with perseverance and courage, without fanfare and without boast achieved brilliant victories. These are the events of the infancy of our fellow citizen Don Juan Güell y Ferrer, whose effigy you have before you.”

I stopped reading for a second. Argullol’s story was really turning out to be a page-turner, but it was not at all what I had expected it to be. As history, it was difficult to take seriously. It was as though this biographical sketch was being given a comic-book style treatment. I felt like I was reading the origin story of a Marvel superhero. While my historiographic sensibility recoiled at the liberties Argullol takes in order to establish his heroic portrayal of Juan Güell-- “soldier of work”--at the same time I found myself somewhat envious. I wished I could make my own thesis as entertaining as Argullol’s. Maybe it wasn’t good history, but it was fine storytelling. Argullol is setting us up for a classic retelling of the hero’s journey, complete with immersive narrative details and quasi-mythological embellishment. Honestly, it reminded me of the way people tell stories back home in North Carolina. Telling stories around the campfire is a local artform with a long and proud tradition- and I could imagine some of the best storytellers I know reading Argullol’s tale and taking notes. Take, for example, the epic symbolism of the sea during the birth scene-- it crossed my mind that maybe I should be viewing this, not as a historical exaggeration, but as a genius story-telling device. It all depends on the answer to the question which I found myself asking again and again as I continued through the book, “what exactly am I reading here?”

Essentially, this would become the research question driving my investigation for the duration of this section. In what follows, I break the question up into pieces, starting with an examination of the author’s identity. Who is José Argullol y Serra and why did he write this? Who was his intended public? What was the broader historical context of this publication?

What objectives did it serve? In the final section I will look at the book from the perspective of literary analysis and take a critical look at the discourses it contains.

2.1.2 Argullol's Story

According to the information I was able to obtain from a bibliographic search of his authored materials, José Argullol y Serra was forty years old when he wrote this biography. He would die of unknown reasons only seven years later. As a young man he founded and directed *El Manresano* ("the man from Manresa"), a conservative newspaper. He received a degree in Civil and Canonical Law in 1862 at the *Universidad Central* in Madrid, and he later spent some time as the secretary of the *Ateneu de Barcelona*.²⁰ Other than that, he seems to have spent much of his life thinking about hunting. It is the subject of the majority of his writings (for example his best received work, "Hunting, from the historical, philosophical, and hygienic perspectives,"²¹ which won a prize at the Manresa literary contest in 1882) and he served as president of the Hunting and Fishing Association of Catalonia. The more I learned about this man, the more he sounded like somebody who would fit in well in North Carolina, where hunting and fishing go hand in hand with story-telling as pillars of local culture. I have been unable to verify this last discovery, but there is also a good possibility that Argullol wrote poetry. *Sospir d'amor* ("Sigh of Love"), a poem authored by someone of the same name, was put to music in 1888 by Candido Candi, Catalonia's premier folklorist, and included in his collection of "Catalan Romance."²²

That is as much as I can find to answer the question of who Argullol is. He is a bit of a renaissance man, a man of many talents-- a politically conservative lawyer, story-teller, scholar, hunter, fisher, and poet. It was possibly in his role as secretary at the Ateneu de Barcelona which put him in touch with Joan Güell, whom he appears to have admired greatly both on a personal level and for their shared views on the subject of economic protectionism, which I will discuss later.

Whatever relationship they might have had, it was not to last long. Joan Güell died in 1872, one year after Barcelona's mayor at the time, Francesc de Paula Rius i Taulet, had inaugurated the Gallery of Illustrious Catalans in the Saló de Consell de Cent ("Hall of One Hundred") in the City Hall. In 1878, the *Fomento de la Producción* formed a special commission to pay homage to Joan Güell, and on December 23 they opened a private charity for the cause to which the City Council and the *Diputació* donated 5,000 *pessetes*. The biggest achievement of this commission would be the erecting of the monument to Joan Güell in 1888 at the intersection of the Gran Via with the Rambla de Catalunya, but the homage would also

²⁰ Argullol, José. (1877). *Ateneo Barcelonés: reseña leída por el secretario, José Argullol, 1877-1878*. N. Ramirez: Barcelona.

²¹ Argullol, José de. (1884). *La Caza bajo el punto de vista histórico, filosófico e higiénico*. Barcelona: Imp. Barcelonesa.

²² *Sospir d'amor: romança catalana per a cant y piano*. Music by C. Candi; text by Joseph d'Argullol.

include the painting of a portrait by Claudi Lorenzale, to be hung in the new gallery at the City Hall, and the writing of a biography by Argullol, to be officially presented at the event of the portrait hanging.

Barcelona, in 1879, was experiencing an economic boom known to historians as the *Febre d'Or* or “Gold Fever.”²³ The economy at this time permitted a proliferation of speculative ventures of the growing Catalan industrial bourgeoisie class. Twenty new banks were founded, and the expanding economic bubble spread excitement among those who hoped to “strike gold,” although shortly after, in 1882, an economic crisis would set in, lasting for seven years. These gold-seekers would have made up a part of Argullol’s audience, and this seems to be something which he took into consideration in crafting his narrative. This is most evident in chapter two of the biography, which we will look at now.

2.1.3 Joan Güell: Imperialist

Chapter one had ended with a bang. “Juan” (i.e., ‘Joan’) sails to the island of Santo Domingo with his father, who spends some years winning and subsequently losing a handful of fortunes due to the revolutions taking place on the island at that time. After this, Juan is shipped back to Barcelona to study at the *Llotja* where he amazes everyone with his extraordinary aptitude and work ethic and graduates at the age of nineteen just in time for his father to return, penniless, from the Americas and promptly die.

“And with this,” Argullol proclaims in his dramatic reading voice, raising his eyes to meet the rapt gaze of his audience, “we can consider that the life of the child ended and here began the life of the man.”

It is in the second chapter that Argullol’s story of Juan Güell changes slightly in tone and becomes instructive. We follow Juan as he sets off alone back to the Americas, but this time he lands in Havana, Cuba instead of Santo Domingo. Over the course of the following few years he would proceed to utterly dominate the island’s markets through a strategy involving economic associationism, a port monopoly, and price-fixing. Along the way, the reader is treated to a gripping lesson on the economics of merchant capitalism. Argullol may as well have titled this chapter “The Juan Güell method for striking it rich.” I can imagine a room full of listeners, caught up in the spirit of the *Febre d'Or*, leaning forward in their seats to learn the secrets of Güell’s success. Argullol lays it out neatly in an account highlighting eight aspects, and I’ve taken the liberty of summarizing this eight-step method below.

1. Step one is hard work and humility. As Argullol emphasizes, “[Juan] felt real horror for idleness and leisure: with the belief that work of any kind and condition always honors man, and with the confidence that hard work and merit would in the end be rewarded, especially to those who give account. He gave no importance to entering a

²³ The Catalan writer Narcís Oller would describe this period in his novel *La Febre d'Or*, published in 1890. (Oller, Narcís. *La Febre d'Or*. 1890.)

house by the front door-- he would enter by the smallest door, if this was necessary, with the assurance that very soon his bosses would put him in a position where he could provide them with more and more useful services. He expected and founded his promotion not on his own recognition of his merit, but rather on how his merit, suitability or competence, aligned with the interest of the owner: this is why, sure of his will and of himself, he was also sure of his promotion.”

2. Step two is ambition. Juan took a modest job in one of the Spanish commercial estates. This would be his first and only employment, but this wasn't because Joan wasn't humble, but rather because he possessed ambition. As Argullol writes, “[G]iven his entrepreneurial and active character, he wasn't cut out to be a miserable soldier for long, soon he should jump to general, or in other terms, from employee he should soon become the boss.”
3. Step three is saving. “Juan carefully managed his own accounts. This was not normal behavior amongst Joan's peers, so he took it upon himself to engage them in economic discussion on the use and importance of saving. His friend's told him that it was less than useless to save such small amounts, and ‘how much richer would he really be with a hundred *duros* more or a hundred *duros* less?’ Güell answered that saving was the basis of capital, and that he knew of no other sure means of forming it. The story of Güell's life has vindicated his claim. At twenty he supported his family, and at twenty-one he had two thousand *duros* free, available and applicable to what seemed most convenient and productive.”
4. Step four is forming an association. Although two thousand *duros* seemed to Juan like a meager amount for undertaking any major operation, he was able to solve this problem by forming an association. Between Juan and two of his friends they pooled a total of ten thousand *duros*, naming Juan director of their society. Now, it was time to put their money in motion and exploit its true potential as capital.
5. Step five is competition. “The young partners with their capital, their ardor and hopes, could consider for a few brief moments the world for their companies; but they saw very soon after that by all the roads it was broken with difficulties and pitfalls.” They were being targeted by their competition. “The old estates of Havana saw a rival in the modest house of Güell, as they saw their rivals in all concurrent businesses, societies or companies; and to avoid it, they associated amongst themselves to try to drown it through suffocation with the isolation they created, taking advantage of the fact that Güell's association had not yet acquired robustness, rootedness or living conditions allowing them to resist the slightest setback. The young associates were blindsided by this obstacle; they bore it as they could, they suffered losses for it, and the horns of retreat had already sounded to save themselves from the shipwreck as much as possible, when the young man who in his childhood turned Altafulla's victory into defeat, showed once more his merit.
6. At this point in the story, Argullol unveils the sixth step, monopoly, which Juan exploits in an amazing twist of fate for his competitors. “With unprecedented audacity, against all odds, against the merchants of Havana united in strong phalanx against him, [Juan] bought all the existing cargoes in the port, which were soon

demanded by those arriving ships, and thus, given that war had been declared and in fair revenge, he achieved the monopoly of the market for four or five years, forcing his enemies to come to their senses, and they ended up asking for peace and a truce as well as an opportunity to participate in the colossal business.” In order to fully appreciate the significance of Güell’s port monopoly, we must consider that the island of Cuba at that time was entirely dependent on the port of Havana, to which supplies were shipped by the Spanish empire and from which cargoes of sugar and tobacco were exported. At that time, Cubans were not allowed to buy from other countries, a situation they called a *mercat captiu*, or “captive market.” When Güell monopolized the port of Havana, he got the country in an economic choke hold.²⁴ He had something they needed, and they had no other way of getting it.

7. Step seven is price fixing. It is interesting to note that during this entire economic venture Juan didn’t have to produce a single thing. Yet he was still able to make a profit. This he was able to do by manipulating the market through his absolute control of the supply. With no competitors, Juan simply increased the price of the commodities he had bought and his buyers had no other option but to keep buying them.
8. Step eight is victory. “Surprise and also amazement was the response of the Havana market to this operation; the old estates, confident in their force and power, had considered practically dead and almost forgotten the new and hardly fearsome society of Güell and company; In truth it was said that the manager did not do anything for his part that could get them out of error. The unexpected attack and the splendid success revealed the presence of, if not a powerful capital, a fearful will and business genius, and from that day forward the new society was not only welcomed and admitted, but furthermore, the young Güell was elevated to director of the Association of the first and main houses of Havana.”

“Thus considered and thus respected and loved, D. Juan Güell remained in the capital of the Greater Antilles until 1835, when he was thirty-five year old.” With this, Argullol concludes this section of his story. I can only imagine that he must have had his audience in the palm of his hand at this point. Entertaining, informative, and educational-- Argullol shows the mark of a good story-teller, the ability to turn a series of historical events into something much more powerful: a narrative. A good narrative can take on a life of its own. In historiographical terms, we can use actor-network theory to describe the biography of Joan Güell as a dynamic historical actor in its own right.²⁵ It may be nonhuman, but it contains historical agency nonetheless. Framing the book in these terms allows us to ask the following research question: what did it do?

²⁴ “This monopoly allowed him to amass a fortune and probably this experience of the advantages of lack of competition was the seed of his fierce later protectionist convictions and therefore his firm rejection of free trade.” (Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d’una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62, p. 12.)

²⁵ Latour, Bruno. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

The clearest answer is that it commemorated the life of Joan Güell. As Argullol states in the forward, “[P]art of the program of public celebrations [of the festival of La Mercè] is the placement of the portrait of an illustrious Catalan in the gallery of the Excellent City Hall, thus reconciling the civil and the religious, and adding to that which is joyful and profane, what which diverts and stimulates the living, and gives due reward, glory and honor, to the dead...” The practice of commemoration, of giving “due reward, glory and honor, to the dead” has a long history, and Argullol’s book fits easily into this historical genre. It goes without saying that this type of celebratory historiography can also serve a darker purpose—establishing an official “victors’ account” of past events as part of a cultural strategy of control. The commemoration of one narrative can be used to invisibilize another. Here, the biography of Joan Güell must be viewed critically, and ideally with the added perspective of alternative historical sources with which to cross-reference Argullol’s account. It turns out this is very difficult to do for Joan Güell’s life, particularly for that era when he was a young man making his fortune in Cuba. The temporal and physical distance of those events from this book’s publication would have made it difficult for Argullol’s audience to know if he was making some of this up. These distances make it even harder for me to fact check. Even without alternative sources, it is easy to see how this book functions to paint Joan Güell in an unconditionally positive light.²⁶

This brings us to another thing this book does-- it exonerates Joan Güell of his fortune. The second half of the 19th century saw the eruption of a class-conscious proletariat in Barcelona, who were not unknown to force themselves into the historical picture through mass demonstrations and protests. In Barcelona’s working class neighborhoods, the socialist ideas of Karl Marx were sure to be found in circulation, including Marx’s central thesis: the idea that capital is built on exploitation, and that capital is typically acquired in the first place either through the exploitation of others through imperialism or else through the inheritance of a predecessor’s feudal exploits.²⁷ Armed with critical counter-narratives like this, the hostility between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ in 1870’s Barcelona was palpable. Now consider the story of Joan Güell. He didn’t inherit his wealth from his father, who died penniless but, rather, saved while working hard as a humble employee. The inverse of this narrative of wealth is that if you are poor it is because you are lazy. This shifts the culpability of poverty onto the shoulders of the workers themselves, exonerating the ‘haves’ from their

²⁶ “I have here briefly and simply described the life of a man who, following a method almost as invariable as his kindness, his constancy and his character, dedicated the first hours of the day to the study of economic issues, and to the exercise and practice of industries factory and agricultural the rest of the time. Parco and sober like few, he did not know luxury. However enthusiastic about beauty in all its manifestations. Severe on himself and his family, he was indulgent, liberal, and tolerant of others. His authority and his respectability he did not ever presume, and he imposed incontrovertibly on the force of his own example. Always modest, always affable, always a friend of youth, a constant admirer of merit wherever and whenever it appeared.” (Argullol y Serra, José. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramírez y Compañía: Barcelona.)

²⁷ Marx, Karl. (1867). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1. (Trans. Ben Fowkes. New York: Penguin, 1990.)

exploitation of the “have nots.” The narrative of Joan Güell, and others like it, played a role in legitimizing this shift of responsibility. Without wishing to venture further out into speculation regarding how this narrative may have been perceived by its audience, at the very least it is important to realize that Argullol’s story is inescapably political. He is writing to a contemporary audience about contemporary issues of capital and labor.

This brings us to the final point I’d like to make about what this book does-- it monumentalizes the identity of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie. Although the practice of erecting monuments, hanging portraits, and writing commemorative biographies are practices dating back to the beginning of the historical record (and indeed, *are* the historical record), the case of Joan Güell presents a novelty. It was the first time that an industrialist would be included in the Gallery of Illustrious Catalans. Monuments to military heroes, religious figures, politicians, and celebrated artists were the norm at this time. Monumentalizing a businessman was an innovation. It is important to realize the type of symbolic ‘work’ that a public monument of this kind does in promoting certain values and ideals in society. The story of Joan Güell was doing this same kind of work, not only by informing about the particular life of one businessman, but by transforming Güell into a symbol of the values and ideals of business in general.

This function of the biography is evidenced most clearly in chapter three of the biography, which we will take a brief look at now.

2.1.4 Joan Güell: Barcelonian Bourgeoisie

“With half of his life behind him and another half in front,” Argullol writes, “Juan Güell set out from Cuba a rich man.” After spending some years traveling through what were considered the most advanced countries of the day- the USA, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy-- in 1838 he returned to Barcelona where he settled down to begin his new career. This would include founding and promoting a variety of banks and industries. For example, he helped open the *Banc de Barcelona* and the *Caixa d’Estalvis de Barcelona*, the first Catalan bank ever formed, in order to apply the values of saving and pooling capital which he had learned in Cuba. His time in Cuba also inspired in him a wariness of Spain’s dependency on foreign monopolies for specialty commodities like machinery and innovative textiles. With this concern in mind, Joan Güell invested in launching a metallurgical company, *La Maquinista Terrestre i Marítima*, which put Spain on the road to supplying its own machinery²⁸. Another of his projects was the company *Güell, Ramis i Cia*, dedicated to the technically difficult question of corduroy production. This factory, built in the neighboring town of Sants, was soon granted the popular name of *El Vapor Vell*. Argullol recounts the story as follows:

²⁸ The problem of self-reliance on machinery was important to Joan Güell. The title of his first published article, in 1841, would be *¿Qué sería de todas las industrias sin la maquinaria?* (“What would become of all industries without machinery?”). In: Blanch, Adolfo (intro). (1880). *Escritos económicos del Excmo. Sr. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. Barcelona: Imp. Barcelonesa. (Accessed: Biblioteca de Catalunya).

“He formed an association with a well-known industrial capitalist, and the two agreed to engage in large-scale industrial manufacturing; to this end, Güell was to take care of the acquisition of the land and construction of the building-factory, and his partner was in charge of the acquisition of the machinery. Eight months later, D. Juan had fulfilled his task; in only eight months the important building known as Güell’s Factory or the Vapor Vell, which it is still known today, had been erected in the neighboring town of Sans. In eight months his partner had not yet commissioned the acquisition of the machines. This was enough for D. Juan to understand that this association was not convenient for him and that it would be ruinous for both of them. ”You sir,” he told his associate, “would lose a week to save a duro, whereas I would spend a hundred duros to save one day.” No association was possible with such different criteria, and, in effect, the agreement was terminated.

Presently, [Güell’s] attention was strongly drawn to the large consumption of a particular fabric and its import from abroad. All his eagerness focused on beating the international market in this industry and he endeavored to enter the battle. I am referring to the textile called corduroy, a kind of cotton velvet. From the start of this struggle, he was at a disadvantage. The setbacks were many and the losses, at first, were enormous. He was not unaware of the frustrated attempts of his predecessors. He was not unaware of the unfortunate failure of the corduroy factory established in Manresa in 1820. Güell did not back down or give up; as in Altafulla, as in Havana, instead of retiring, he attacked. He moved to Sans: and installed himself in the factory itself, dedicating himself exclusively to the industry and becoming a director and manager. Much later, he would dominate the business, perfect and reduce the cost of the product, and in reward for his effort, achieve such a significant victory that the foreign competitors would be thrown out of the Spanish market and the borders were closed to them, those industries that until then had monopolized and invaded Spain. Thus was born an industry that today lives in abundance and provides sustenance to many families; Thus, capital remained in Spain that otherwise would have gone to increase the wealth of other peoples; this is how it is understood, this is how protectionist measures triumph and are deserved. This highlights the usefulness and benefits of the protective system.”²⁹

Promoting the economic principle of protectionism-- the regulation of international imports in order to stimulate national production-- would become one of Joan Güell’s most celebrated legacies. It would not be celebrated in Madrid, however, where an unregulated, free-market system was preferred. This is because Madrid was not experiencing the same type of industrial revolution that was happening in Catalonia, and this created a situation of differing economic interests which would become an increasingly polarizing political issue between the two regions. Industrialization would become a distinguishing feature of Catalonia, and Joan Güell would be an important champion of Catalan economic interests. He studied and wrote extensively on protectionism which he also advocated as a public figure

²⁹ Argullol y Serra, José. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramírez y Compañía: Barcelona.

as well as in government. He was Regidor de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, ran for *diputat a les Corts espanyoles* and in 1863 he was named *senador del Regne*.

A Catalan banker, investor, industrialist, economist, public figure, and politician: Joan Güell was the prototype of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie. He was a new kind of hero. Argullol makes it clear, this was not the life of an illustrious warrior, no: this was the life of a soldier of work. This new heroic archetype would wear a suit, not a suit of armor. "It was the dawning of a new century..." Perhaps Argullol's foreshadowing from the opening chapter refers to something bigger than the birth of Joan Gull. Perhaps he is speaking about the birth of a new age. Perhaps this is what baby Joan saw when he first opened his eyes and looked out across the sea-- "tranquility and struggle, perseverance and difficulties, horizon and space."

2.1.5 Literary discourse analysis

Up till now we have analyzed this biography by studying its author, the setting of its production, its public and historical context, and we have speculated on various objectives which it may have served, for example in commemorating Joan Güell, exonerating his wealth, and monumentalizing the Barcelonian Bourgeoisie. These are all examples of an externalist framework of analysis, in other words, analyzing this text with the inclusion of historical/sociological/political contextualization. For all of the richness that these outside perspectives add to our understanding of the book, limiting our analysis only to these frameworks can have the effect of disrupting our experience of the story.³⁰ It is true that this book is an ideological instrument and must be viewed as a historical, social, and political object. At the same time, it is literature, and whatever the political designs may have been for this book, the means and medium of their realization was limited to that which could be conveyed through the story-- either written down on the pages of the book, or read aloud in Barcelona's City Hall. This story quality, or what you could call "historiography" in fact, had been my first surprise when I first approached the text. I guess I had been expecting something a bit more objective and academic-sounding. That, at least, is the way I had read about the life of Joan Güell in the other, later accounts, and most of them had cited this one as their principle source.

The more I studied Argullol's story, the more convinced I became that any analysis of this text would be incomplete without including an internalist perspective-- an analysis of the text as literature. This is one of the reasons I have thought it appropriate to include some rather lengthy translated passages, without modifying the tone and content of the original.

³⁰ The framework of Actor-Network Theory has been proposed by literary critic Rita Felski as a solution for interpreting and engaging with literature in a way that avoids a 'hermeneutic of suspicion.' She characterizes typical critical qualities as sceptical, dispassionate, adversarial, mildly paranoid, embarrassed with the open and affective, and a preference for irony over passionate engagement. Felski argues that Latour's model allows us "no longer to diminish or subtract from the reality of the texts we study but to amplify their reality, as energetic coactors and vital partners." (Felski, Rita. (2015). *The Limits of Critique*. University of Chicago Press.)

This gives the story a bit of space to speak for itself, apart from my incessant questioning and contextualization. Reading the original passages demonstrates Argullol's use of various elements of literature in crafting this story such as plot, setting, characters, imagery, symbolism, style, point of view, etc. I think that the importance of these literary elements is more than anecdotal. After all, my goal in analysing this first story of the Vapor Vell is to identify the types of industrial discourses that it presents and the field of literary critique offers a wide range of methodological tools for carrying out a discourse analysis.

My inspiration for taking this discourse approach to evaluating musealization initiatives comes from Heike Overmann and Harald Mieg's edited collection of case studies on industrial heritage management, published in 2015.³¹ There, they perform a synchronic discourse analysis of the types of discourses used by city planners, architects and heritage professionals in debates regarding the management of urban industrial heritage sites in various European cities. In this study I will follow the example of Overmann and Mieg in attempting to classify each discourse in terms of its stakeholders, objects, concepts, objectives, and values. While this system is not ideal for working with every kind of discourse, the exercise of classifying discourses within these bounds is often illuminating, and standardizing this discourse analysis practice within this investigation makes it easier to compare and contrast the different types of stories told about industrial Barcelona. This, after all, is the main goal. With this disclaimer, let's see how the biography of Joan Güell might be represented in terms of these discourse components:

- Discourse: In a sense, literature is in itself a broad type of discourse, but we can classify the discourse of Argullol's story more specifically by narrowing it down to a genre, such as commemorative biography. Furthermore, Argullol uses the symbolism of Joan's childhood skirmishing to inform his audience of the type of narrative arc they should expect. It's to be a hero story, and although it lacks the complexity of a fully developed, Joseph Cambell-style "hero's journey," this classic story structure is used repeatedly throughout the book.
- Stakeholders: Within the hero's journey narrative we expect to find represented two main stakeholders- the hero (protagonist) and the villain (antagonist). In this case, the hero is Joan Güell, and his antagonists are played by various competitors, whether they are the children of Altafulla which he bested in pretend battle as a child, or the competing business houses of Cuba which he bested through his port monopoly, or the competition of the international corduroy market which he sought to neutralize through protectionist policies.
- Objects: This category can be interpreted in many ways, but perhaps the most general objects in this book are the various business ventures which Güell sets out upon. Argullol represents these ventures like battles in which Joan Güell, the "soldier of work" struggles to obtain his objective: the victory of his various businesses.

³¹ Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

- Concepts: In these “battles” Joan Güell makes use of various business principles which Argullol outlines in detail in chapter two, including hard work and humility, saving, forming an association, competition, monopoly, price fixing, and, later on when he founds the Vapor Vell, protectionism.
- Values: This last category is often the most important in order to arrive at an understanding of a given discourse. It can be tempting to represent discourses that one doesn’t agree with in a critical and negative light, and this can keep one from truly understanding them. Identifying the values of a discourse is an exercise in imaginative empathy. Here, for example, the value which motivates the majority of the narrative arc of this biography is economic in nature. The hero sets out on a particular economic venture, struggles through various difficulties, and eventually triumphs over his enemies. The type of victory represented here is the victory of Joan’s business ventures over the competition.

Discourse	Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
Hero’s journey	Protagonist Antagonists	Business ventures	Business principles	Business victory	Economic

Despite the fact that this model of discourse analysis involves somewhat ambiguous distinctions between, for example, categories like “objects” and “concepts,” framing the biography in these terms does help me clarify a bit more a feeling I had as I neared the end of the book. It was the feeling that, despite the storytelling flourishes that Argullol implements in crafting this narrative, the character of Joan Güell remains almost completely flat throughout the entirety of the book. By the end of it, I don’t actually get the feeling of knowing who Joan Güell “the person” was at all. Instead, everything in the book is about Joan Güell the businessman. This businessman identity is something which Argullol struggles to define in an exciting way. Biographies of soldiers seem to have less trouble manifesting the humanity of their protagonists than this one of a soldier of work. Argullol’s abundant praise of the personal qualities of Joan Güell don’t seem to help much in this regard, and come across as a public relations stunt-- a type of mask. Even today, the businessman identity is often subject to a similar kind of critique, for example, the insult that somebody is just a “suit.” This one-dimensionality makes it hard to empathize with the character of Joan Güell. The economic values motivating the story are so absolute that they leave little room for developing other aspects of his personhood. Nowhere is this illustrated so vividly than in Argullol’s cringe-worthy attempt at deviating from the story of Güell’s economic affairs to discuss, not Joan the businessman, but Joan the lover. Look at how he sets it up:

“D. Juan asserted, in the resolution of the most important subjective problem, that he did not seek it as a means of fortune and, as he did not believe that marriage

was the pretext for the union of two bank accounts but rather the sincere union of two mutually attracted hearts, the problem was resolved when he noticed the reciprocal attraction in a particular person without any circumstance that could be an obstacle to the joining of the two souls. In his good and practical sense in all things he was repulsed by the idea of considering marriage as a means of increasing his assets; although it did not seem to be an issue that when choosing the woman to be his wife, in addition to her personal qualities, she also had the quality of possessing some fortune.”³²

I have to say it: this is one of the most stilted love stories I’ve ever read. Argullol goes so far out of his way to try to distance Joan’s love life from a matter of economics that in the end he talks more about economics than he does about love, a word he seems incapable of bringing himself to utter, choosing instead to call it “the most important subjective problem.” A few sentences later he calls it “the business of the soul,” and laments that in this respect Joan Güell was unable to obtain the same success as he had with his industrial companies. This strikes me as an odd way of putting the issue- that both of the women Joan married died shortly after in childbirth.

If Argullol was trying to humanize his protagonist, it didn’t work for me. Instead he awoke my suspicion. After digging around a bit I would later come across Gary Wray McDonogh’s 1988 book, *Good Families of Barcelona: A Social History of Power in the Industrial Era*³³. McDonogh’s fascinating ethnography of Barcelona’s economic elite discusses the ways in which marriage and the family were used in the propagation of power from generation to generation within certain “good families.” In this respect, Güell’s marriage to Francesca Bacigalupi i Dulcet (and, when she died, to her sister Camil.la Bacigalupi) acted as a merger between old and new forms of power, between the traditional landed aristocracy, of which the Bacigalupi family was one of the most powerful, and the modernizing bourgeoisie. According to some historians, this marriage secured Güell even more wealth and power than did his time in Cuba.³⁴ So in the end, even this marriage was a sort of business--another source of triumph. It is this narrowness of scope and lack of humanity which drain this book of literary interest.

Conclusion

There is no denying the importance of this book in defining our knowledge of the life of Joan Güell and the founding of the Vapor Vell. The historical contents of this book, if not its dramatic literary style, has been copied by everyone who has subsequently written on

³² Argullol y Serra, Jose. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramirez y Compania: Barcelona.

³³ McDonogh, Gary. (1986). *Good families of Barcelona: A social history of power in the industrial era*. (Republished in 2014; p. 139.)

³⁴ Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d’una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62.

these topics, sometimes without even their knowledge of who they were copying. This is the case, for example, in a publication from 1985 of didactic materials regarding the Vapor Vell to be used as a resource for local teachers.³⁵ In this packet of materials, two lengthy historical texts are reproduced-- one is the biography of Joan analyzed here, and the other is a passage from Vicens Vives' book on 19th century industrialists and politicians.³⁶ Unbeknownst to the compilers of this set of materials, the passage they quote from Vicens Vives is actually a passage which Vicens Vives has copied, almost word for word, from Argullol. This type of bibliographic confusion makes it appear that there are more historical sources of information regarding the Vapor Vell than there really are. In actuality, a lot of what has been written has been a rephrasing of Argullol's story.

It is also an important book for what it does. It is not a passive document. Argullol uses story-telling in order to commemorate, exonerate and monumentalize not only Joan Güell but a new class of urban heroes-- businessmen. In this process he generates a literary discourse in which the narrative of Joan's life is used to tell a bigger story about economic values. But this economic story, I argue, is ultimately a constraint which inhibits the degree to which Argullol is able to produce good history, and even good literature. My first impression had been that this was a comic-book history, but by the end of the book it seems as though this is the type of comic which is made to sell you something. Except, instead of a breakfast cereal, here the product being pushed is an economic value system. A report from May 16, 1879 in favor of the monumentalization of Joan Güell speaks of "perpetuating the protectionist memory." In the final chapter, Argullol makes this plain, presenting an argument in favor of protectionism to his City Hall audience and announcing a compilation of Joan Güell's writings on the topic to be published the following year by the Ateneu Barcelones.

In my analysis, the literary discourse operates in this biography at the service of an economic discourse which, until the end, lies halfway submerged under the surface. It is the economic discourse, not the life of Joan Güell, that gives this book its structural coherence and most illuminates the question about what kind of book this is. Through our literary analysis we have seen how this discourse promotes and justifies that which it hopes to preserve: social and economic order.

In the following section we will broaden our scope, looking beyond this biography to the Vapor Vell's earliest surviving documentation in order to investigate the nature of this class of economic discourses.

³⁵ See pages 8-10 of: Col·lectiu de l'Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts (including A Bernaus i Salisi; F.X. Hernández i Cardona; P. Hornos i Garcia; M. Sales i Sebastià; R. Torras i Conangla). (1985). *Materials per a una Didáctica del Vapor Vell*. [Accessed: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat Barcelona.]

³⁶ Vicens i Vives, Jaume; Llorens, Montserrat. (1972). *Industrials i polítics (segle XIX)*. Ed. Vicens Vives, Barcelona.

2.2 ECONOMIC DISCOURSES

In the last section, we analyzed Argullol's biography of Joan Güell in terms of the discourse it featured regarding Barcelona's industrial past and, particularly, regarding the figure of Joan Güell as a "soldier of work" or businessman. I called this a 'hero's journey' discourse because of the way in which the narrative was structured in terms of the protagonist having to overcome a variety of business challenges and eventually achieving victory. It is natural to think of literary tropes and genres in terms of discourses because the word discourse itself refers to language. A literary discourse is not just the things an author says about a certain topic, it is the way they talk about it. For example, it would be a very different kind of book if Argullol framed his narrative, not as the conquests of a businessman, but as the relationship of a husband and father (family discourse), or the socialization of a Catalan (cultural discourse), or the health of a male human being (medical discourse). These discourses might refer to the same person, but they project different identities and narratives. In this section, our objective is to analyze the earliest surviving documentation of the Vapor Vell in terms of economic discourses. The first thing we need to do is understand what is meant by economic discourse, then we will look at the documentation and analyze the discourses using the same methodology we used in the previous section, borrowed from Oevermann and Mieg.³⁷ Finally, we will take a look at a collection of alternative economic discourses which figured prominently in the context of the Progressive Biennium (1854-56), a historical era marked not only by the clash of workers and owners in factories like the Vapor Vell, but also by the clash of discourses of capitalistic production with Luddite, Socialist and Progressive economic discourses.

Concepts and theoretical framework

As a child, I loved playing board games like risk and monopoly. Growing up in a rural North Carolinian household came with certain inherent benefits in this respect. For one thing, in a family of ten there is always bound to be enough people around to start a game. For another thing, even on the rare occasion that my parents let me and my seven siblings watch television we only ever got one channel, and the only good thing that aired on it was the Olympics and that only broadcast every two years, and that's including the Winter Olympics. So, for the most part, we were free to play board games; "free" in the double sense - that we could play them, and that we didn't have anything else to do.

Especially in the winter months, when the creek froze over and it was too cold to go outside, board games became an important part of my family's coping mechanism for dealing with cabin-fever. When ten people are crammed into a two-bedroom house for four months of winter, the steady, collective spiraling into madness can be staved off for hours at a time through the protective micro-environment of perfect structure and rationality imposed by a

³⁷ Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

board game. It didn't matter who won or lost those countless games of monopoly and risk, ultimately it was social order, and my mother's sanity, that triumphed.

Probably the best way of describing the type of order manifested by a board game is through the language of economics. A board game allows players to role-play as stakeholders within a particular economic system crafted by the gamemaker. This is made explicit in some games, like Monopoly, which was originally created in 1903 and called "The Landlord's Game" as a way to demonstrate the economic theories of Henry George (1839-97). Part of the fun of a board game is in figuring out how the system works in order to strategize a way to swing things in your favor. Different kinds of board games involve different kinds of relationships between players. Sometimes teamwork is involved, sometimes it is an all-out fight. Sometimes one of the players takes a moderator's role in the game. Besides the players, there are also game pieces, strategies, and rules for how to win. These are all useful metaphors for the stakeholders, objects, concepts, and objectives of economic systems. The board game metaphor is also interesting when it comes to analyzing economic systems in which one or more of the stakeholders are caught cheating, or, even more interesting, when they are caught exploiting loopholes in the logic of the game itself. In this last case, the game itself can come under fire, reminding us that the rational micro-environment of economic systems is never totally impermeable to the madness of real life.

In this investigation, I model economic systems as a kind of messy and complicated type of game. The rules of the game, in this model, do not function as natural laws but, rather, are negotiated and materialized through the act of playing. For a game to "work" the players must have a minimum amount of agreement on what the rules are, but it is not always the case that the rules are written out exhaustively before starting the game, nor is it guaranteed that all the players will follow all the rules, nor even is it assured that the game is necessarily governed by a coherent internal logic. All of these apply to economic systems as well. Here, I take the position that economic systems are produced and continuously reproduced through economic discourses. When stakeholders in an economic system interact, the discourse between them materializes their particular economic relationship. Likewise, stakeholders use economic discourses in order to materialize other things like forms of economic value and ownership. But these materializations are fragile. Just like a board game, an economic system only exists as a "reality" as long as people are willing to keep playing.

The process of making an abstract concept (like an economic system) "real" through materialization has been studied from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Objectification is a term many people are familiar with which has been used to describe the act of reducing a dynamic human "subject" to the role of a passive "object." In Marxism, the objectification of social relations is discussed as "reification."³⁸ Through the process of reification, dynamic social relations are reduced and "objectified"-- projected as inherent attributes of the people

³⁸ See Lukács, Georg. (1923). "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat," in *History and Class Consciousness*. (Translated by Rodney Livingstone).

involved in the relationship. Commodity fetishism, for example, is a specific consequence of reification which occurs when an economic value (which is in nature a dynamic social relationship) is materialized as an object (for example, as money). This can result in a situation in which people begin to lose sight of the symbolic nature of money and treat its value as an inherent attribute of the stamped paper bills. Reification is one of the processes by which economic discourses produce and reproduce economic systems--specific types of economic relationship become so real that you can start to forget that it is actually a game, until you can bite down on a gold coin and practically taste every good thing it will buy.

This model of economic discourse also benefits from Actor-Network theory, in which the economic system, or network, is created through the constellation of a particular set of actors.³⁹ These actors include the human stakeholders as well as the non-human economic objects assembled in the network. This allows us, for example, to treat the internal business documentation which has been preserved from the early years of the Vapor Vell not just as passive, descriptive accounts but as dynamic historical actors. These documents did something-- they reified an economic system. In the following section we will look at the contents of these documents and our analysis of the economic discourses they contain will be used to reconstruct a picture of the economic system that, in practice, they actively materialized.

2.2.1 Economic documentation

The historical record has preserved very little information from the Vapor Vell's early days. Argullol's biography of Joan Güell is from 1879, more than thirty years after its founding. In 1890, the factory would be relocated to Santa Coloma de Cervelló and whatever internal business documentation may have been archived by the business up until this point would mostly be lost, leaving historians to reconstruct a picture of the factory based primarily on a scattering of municipal tax records⁴⁰ and statistical information compiled in Pascual Madoz's *Geographic/Statistical/Historical Dictionary of Spain and Its Possessions Overseas* (1855)⁴¹.

Since the heritagization of the factory in 1984, however, a few more internal business sources have been recovered which have illuminated a great deal more of the economic story of the Vapor Vell, particularly between the years of 1844-1855. These include a book of receipts of *The Value of the Machinery and Costs of the Factory of D. Juan Güell* (dated from 1844-46)⁴² and a document written by Joan Güell himself in response to a state

³⁹ Latour, Bruno. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

⁴⁰Casanovas, Andreu. (1851). *Monitor o Consueta parroquial de Santa Maria de Sans*. [A typewritten copy is available at the Arxiu Municipal del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc].

⁴¹Madoz, Pascual. (1849). *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico-Histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar*. Volume XIII. Madrid. [Consulted at the Biblioteca de Catalunya].

⁴²Arxiu Històric de Sants. (1988). *El Cost d'un Vapor. El Vapor Vell*.

industrial survey in 1848.⁴³ In this section, we will briefly look at the contents of these early, economic primary sources, with a particular focus on their role in materializing an economic system.

The Value of the Machinery and Costs of the Factory of D. Juan Güell (1844-46)

This, the earliest historical record of the Vapor Vell, was amazingly rediscovered in 1986 by a group of volunteers from the Historic Archive of Sants. The excitement of the Historic Archive of Sants upon recovering this valuable historical source was so great that they would publish the document in its entirety in the book *The cost of a Vapor* [or “steam-powered factory”]: *The Vapor Vell*.⁴⁴ From this one document we can deduce a surprising amount of historical information regarding the Vapor Vell, including:

- The true dates of its construction (between 1845 and 1846, and not in 1840 as other sources had said up till this point).
- That the factory had its own wells, gasometers and gas installations (to facilitate a night shift), as well as modern English machinery such as the infamous self-acting mules (which would later become the grounds of the self-acting strike of 1854).
- Information regarding where the machinery was bought, how it was transported from England, the teams of English technicians who installed it in Sants, as well as the contributions of Catalan craftsmen and businesses such as the “Nuevo Vulcano”, “Esperó”, and “Compañia Barcelonesa de Fundiciones” in supplying additional machinery.
- And, of course, being a book of accounts, the document also reveals how much each of these things cost, including the land which was purchased in Sants as the location for the factory.

This last point may appear trivial, but in the context of mid-19th century Spain, the privatization and commodification of land was a relatively contemporary issue. The historical process of privatization, in Spain called the *desamortización* or “Spanish confiscation,” consisted of taking the land by force from the Catholic Church as well as from certain municipalities. These properties were then made available to a developing real-estate market as part of a strategy to obtain money to pay off public debt, as well as in order to increase national wealth and liberalize the market by creating a class of land-owning farmers and businessmen. In this last sense, the Spanish confiscation served as a political weapon with which Spanish liberals modified the old system of ownership of the *Ancien Régime*. The practice was, obviously, opposed by the Catholic Church and others who would end up losing

⁴³ This survey is reproduced in its entirety in Baqué, Dolores & Calvo, Angel & Enrech, Carles & Gutiérrez, M. Lluïsa & Sánchez, Alex. (1997). *Els Vapors a Sants*. Quaderns de l'Arxiu, Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc.

⁴⁴ Arxiu Històric de Sants. (1988). *El Cost d'un Vapor. El Vapor Vell*.

their lands, but it also had negative consequences for low income villagers who had the tradition of using communal lands for subsistence farming. When these lands were converted into private property these farmers were kicked off and forced to look elsewhere for work.

In Sants, the confiscation of Mendizabal in 1837 made available for purchase the lands of the Santa Maria parish, which were soon bought by members of the new, up-and-coming industrial bourgeoisie like Joan Güell, who bought the land for the Vapor Vell in 1844. The availability of cheap, purchasable property was an important variable in Joan Güell's decision to make Sants the site of his factory. Other factors included Sants' proximity to Barcelona and its port, while at the same time not being too close and falling within the no-construction zone established around the exterior of Barcelona's medieval walls. These walls constricted and choked the city as its population grew due to industrialization. By 1844, living conditions in the city became so poor that a ban on new factories within the walls was established and the Vapor Vell would become the first of a new wave of large, modern factories which spread beyond Barcelona's walls and transformed neighboring villages into industrial hubs. Sants received another textile factory in 1847, the first anonymous society founded in Spain and featuring a massive industrial capacity twice that of Güell's. This new factory, *La Espanya Industrial*, came to be known as the *Vapor Nou* ("new steam"), and Güell's factory took the popular name of *Vapor Vell* ("old steam"). In 1855, a railroad line connected Sants with the port, to which coal was shipped and then transported by rail to fuel the Vapors Vells' steam engines.⁴⁵

Industrial Survey (1848)

This next source of information regarding the Vapor Vell was discovered even more recently, in 1997, when Alex Sánchez found it among Joan Güell's papers deposited in the Historic Archive of the City in the personal documentation section. The document contains Joan Güell's answers to 18 survey questions that the *Commission Regia* collected in 1848 as part of a statistical study of the national cotton industry. According to Sánchez, when he saw this document for the first time he immediately recognized its "indubitable interest, both for the history of the Vapor Vell and for the history of the Catalan cotton industry in general."⁴⁶

Unlike the book of receipts, which contains quantitative information, these survey questions give us a special insight into Joan Güell's business sensibility, and let us see the company through his eyes. We get an idea of what types of issues may have been keeping him up at night as he struggled to make his new company financially successful. The very first thing he talks about is how important it is that he be granted what he calls a "privilege

⁴⁵ See appendix: document 2, page 4. (Col·lectiu de l'escola de mestres de Barcelona. (1982). *Sants. Cent anys d'industrialització. Elements de recerca escolar*. Barcelona, Consell Municipal del Districte VII-Secretariat d'Entitats-Arxiu Històric de Sants.)

⁴⁶Baqué, Dolors & Calvo, Angel & Enrech, Carles & Gutiérrez, M. Lluïsa & Sánchez, Alex. (1997). *Els Vapors a Sants*. Quaderns de l'Arxiu, Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc.

of sale”-- a state-sanctioned monopoly on the Spanish corduroy market. This certificate is what, according to Güell’s calculations, would adequately compensate him for the extra costs and risks associated with pioneering Spanish manufacturing of the technically difficult new textile product known as corduroy. Later on in the document, Güell uses the same sort of cost/benefit language as he discusses the pros and cons of using high-quality imported machinery. We also learn of his struggle in finding experienced laborers to work in the new and highly specialized field of corduroy production and we find out that for this reason, in 1848, only 50 of the 400 mechanical looms were in use. We also find out how much Güell paid his employees-- the starting salary for an adult was 10% of the boss director’s salary, while children received 4%. The number of working hours per day started at 12.

This source is by far the most interesting economic document in this collection in terms of economic discourses. The way in which Joan Güell frames the Vapor Vell here is what first brought to my mind the analogy of an economic system as a type of board game. Here, the game is that of the Catalan corduroy market, and winning this game means beating the competition and establishing an economically successful business. The information which this document contains is interesting in its own right, for example the salary paid to adults vs children, but it is also interesting to note the way in which this information is shared-- as part of a strategic calculation for making the business successful. In this framework, the social identity of the workers in relation to the business is reified in terms of an economic object known as labor-power-- a quantity indicating a person's capacity to work, measured in wages-per-hour. In this discourse the workers are objectified as game-pieces which Joan Güell employs strategically in order to win this game for the business. The business, on the other hand, takes on the role of the stakeholder in this textile-market “game.”

Monitor o Consueta Parroquial de Santa Maria de Sants (1851)

Three years after the industrial survey was submitted, in 1851, the Vapor Vell would make an appearance in a manuscript which over the years has provided a wealth of knowledge for local historians of Sants-- Father Casanovas’ *Monitor o Consueta parroquial de Santa Maria de Sants*.⁴⁷ Here we find what appears to be an industrial tax contribution list which includes a brief description of the Vapor Vell in terms of its assets: “Two steam engines with the force of 80 horsepower (between them) moving 42 carding machines, 7,000 threading spindles, 14 machines, 114 mechanical looms for *empesa*, and 165 for velvet. 230 men worked there and 184 women, for a total of 414 workers. They were paid 5,666 *rals* and paid 7 ms as tax contribution.”⁴⁸

In this discourse, the Vapor Vell is represented as the sum of two types of things: machinery and workers. These factors give a sense of the magnitude of the factory, and were

⁴⁷Casanovas, Andreu. (1851). *Monitor o Consueta parroquial de Santa Maria de Sants*. [A typewritten copy is available at the Arxiu Municipal del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc].

⁴⁸ See appendix: document 2 (Materials per a una Didáctica del Vapor Vell, 1985), p. 22.

apparently used for tax calculation purposes. These taxes would be paid to the municipality of Sants, which at this time was a town independent from Barcelona. Interestingly, the Monitor does not include the Espanya Industrial on its list of industrial tax contributions. This is because of a loophole in the legal framework which allowed factories to pay taxes to the municipality where their headquarters were located, even if those headquarters were not in the factory itself. La Espanya Industrial would exploit this by locating its headquarters within Barcelona's jurisdiction.

Geographic/Stastitical/Historical Dictionary of Spain and its Possessions Overseas (1855)

This source comes from 1855, in the form of an entry in Pascual Madoz's 16-volume "Geographic/Stastitical/Historical dictionary of Spain and its possessions overseas." Here, Madoz repeats the information about the company's taxable assets which we have already seen, as well as revealing the capital investment of each of the company's investors. Of the total 405,000 *duros* of invested capital, Joan Güell is listed as contributing the most with 271,000 *duros*, and Domènec Ramis next with 41,000 *duros*. The pooling of investment capital through the creation of the "Güell, Ramis and Co." economic society allowed for the group, or "company," to accomplish what would have been impossible for the individual members.

Constitution of the society "Güell, Ramis and Co" (1848)

Just like the book of accounts reifies Güell's ownership of the private land and means of production of the Vapor Vell, the Güell, Ramis and Co. economic society was also reified through a document-- perhaps the most carefully preserved piece of paper from the Vapor Vell's early years. It is conserved in the historic archive of protocols of Barcelona, and certifies the legal constitution of the society.⁴⁹ In a certain sense, this document "created" the business. The ceremonial production, signing, and conservation of this paper demonstrates its official, legal backing by the state and imparts the paper with the power to do a real piece of work-- turning a social relationship between the members of this proposed economic society into a "real" economic object. The strength of this state reification apparatus allowed for the establishment of the relatively abstract form of ownership represented by Güell, Ramis and Co. The business had multiple, unequal owners, or shareholders, in which ownership of the factory was proportional to the investment of each-- Joan Güell first, as the

⁴⁹ Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona. Llibre notari Planas Compte, Constitució Societat Güell, Ramis Cia, 10/06/1848. (Cited in https://issuu.com/bibvaporvell/docs/presentacio_historica_vv, historical presentation of the Vapor Vell, created by Laura Calosci with the support of the Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc for the 10th anniversary of the Biblioteca Vapor Vell (October, 2010). This date is different than that given by Francesc Cabana in *Factories and Businessmen*: "L'any 1844 es constituí la raó social Güell, Ramis i Companyia." Cabana, Francesc. (1993). "Els Cotoners". (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

primary investor, followed by Domenec Ramis second, and “Company” which is a catch-all for the remaining handful of less-invested members. The development of new types of economic relationships between owners and their property was characteristic of this phase of early Spanish industrial development. The model of ownership used at the Espanya Industrial would innovate further by being established as Spain’s first Anonymous Society (S.A.), resulting in a diffuse form of ownership divided among potentially thousands of smaller, anonymous investors.

2.2.2 Economic discourses in documentation

Now that we’ve looked at the economic documentation, it’s time to make an attempt at performing an analysis of the economic discourses which they contain. It goes without saying that this type of analysis makes no intention of perfectly describing the economic system in which the Vapor Vell participated. For one thing, the system itself was imperfect - like a board game, many of the rules would be negotiated along the way and sometimes they would be sneakily circumvented, or outright disregarded. Even so, the exercise of modeling the economic discourses according to stakeholders, objects, concepts, objectives and values is enlightening in its own way. For example, one of the results that I’ve found is that it is easiest to divide this discourse analysis into three distinct yet interrelated systems according to three different types of markets in which the Vapor Vell participated: the textile market, the national market, and the labor market. Each of these three “games” operates at a different scale and invokes the realization of different economic objects and identities.

Textile Market: Business discourse

The first discourse we will analyze is that in which the business Güell, Ramis and Co. is reified as a stakeholder in the economic system of the textile market. This is what I will call, simply, the business discourse. Besides Güell, Ramis and Co., which in these documents is represented as the primary stakeholder, other stakeholders include both competing corduroy producers as well as corduroy consumers, both of which affect the market supply/demand dynamic which Joan Güell describes in his responses to the industrial survey in 1848. Arguably, there is a third type of stakeholder represented in the business discourse which plays the role of a moderator in the textile market game. This is the public administration to which the company paid taxes in exchange for its help in materializing the economic relations necessary for industrialization (e.g. the *Commission Regia*, the municipality of Sants, protocols of Barcelona) as well as enforcing order within this economic system.

The relationship between producers/consumers and the public administration, as it is represented in these documents, appears to have been negotiable. The industrial survey, for example, opens a direct line of communication between Joan Güell and the state, which Güell uses to lobby the government for a five-year privilege of production for corduroy in Spain.

In Barcelona in general, the public administration would be heavily lobbied by producers, including Joan Güell, advocating for protectionist policies to stimulate the market of national production. In Madrid, on the other hand, the opposite occurred-- consumers lobbied for free market principles which would open the borders to trade and stimulate a buyers market. Market interests divided stakeholders according to economic roles of producer and consumer, and this would play a role later on in politically polarizing Catalonia and Madrid as competing stakeholders within the national textile market (this will be discussed further in section 2.3).

The objects of this business discourse include both the economic objects which constitute the business itself and the textile market in which it participated; for example, the capital which Joan Güell acquired in Cuba and with which he founded the business in collaboration with Domènec Ramis and the rest of the company. This capital was used in order to purchase the means of production, including the land for the factory, its construction, the machinery, etc. In turn, this means of production was brought to life by another economic object-- labor-power, which was rented out through a wage-labor system.

The concepts of this discourse include the strategies which Joan Güell would employ in order to control market phenomena. These would include matters like cost/benefit analysis and supply/demand dynamics which Güell would eventually succeed in exploiting, primarily through his acquisition of a state privilege of sale which gave him a monopoly on the domestic market for five years. These business strategies sought to decrease the supply of corduroy and establish a “sellers market”, which would allow prices of corduroy to go up, generating more profit for the business.

This, after all, is the primary objective of the business discourse: to become profitable and achieve economic success within the market. Furthermore, we know from Argullol’s account of Joan Güell’s motivations in launching this business that he hoped to promote a national production and achieve Spanish independence from relying on foreign imports. This brings us to the next type of discourse related to this international market; but first, let’s diagram the business discourse as we have described it so far:

Business Discourse

Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
Producers, Consumers, (State)	Capital, means of production, Labor-power...	Market strategies	Business profit	National production

International Market: Imperialist discourse

If we expand the business discourse to the international scale, we get what we might call the imperialist discourse. Instead of reifying a business as an economic object competing in the textile market, the imperialist discourse reifies the nation as an economic object which competes in international markets. These are not markets defined by products but by the territory they control, and rather than seek individual business profit, they compete with other nations in order to achieve profitability of the national economy. It is at the scale of the imperialist discourse that the economics of colonialism and protectionism come in to play: protectionism blocks a territory from being exploited by foreign nations, whereas, on the other hand, colonialism secures a territory for exploitation by the colonizing nation, similar to a monopoly. The motivating value of the imperialist discourse appears to be somewhat self-referential-- for the glory of the empire.

Imperialist discourse

Stakeholders:	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
National economic territories	National production/ consumption	Market strategies (protectionism, colonialism , etc.)	National economy	Empire

For the Barcelonian bourgeoisie, participation in the Spanish empire was an important part of their economic strategy.⁵⁰ In the first place, Catalonia's industrial markets relied on the exportation of products to be sold in other Spanish regions. This included the Spanish colonies-- the two main destinations for Catalan exports were Cuba and modern-day Puerto Rico. Secondly, Catalonia needed Spanish protectionism in order to have space to incubate a domestic national production if they were ever going to be able to compete with French and British exploitation of the textile market. In Joan Güell's case, the importance of Spanish imperialism was also related to the origin of his fortune, which he secured in Cuba by exploiting the Colònia shipping markets. For these reasons, it was no surprise that, despite their differences, Catalan industrialists tended to view Catalonia not as an antagonist to Spain but as the leader of a freer, more prosperous Spain, and were, as Daniele Conversi puts it in his study of Spanish nationalisms, "unconditionally pro-Spanish at heart."⁵¹ In his palace in Comillas, Joan Güell received the royal family every summer. He was also deputy of the

⁵⁰ For an overview and historical analysis of the development of economic Catalanism, see: Vilar, Pierre. (1980). *Spain and Catalonia*. Review (Fernand Braudel Center). Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 527-577. (551).

⁵¹ Conversi, Daniele. (1997). *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*. Hurst: 18-20.

Liberal Union of O'Donnell from 1857 to 1858 where his political influence was decisive when the conservatives mobilized for protectionism.⁵²

The business and imperialist discourses worked hand in hand, at different scales, to assemble a network of economic actors and create new identities and relationships. The founding of the Vapor Vell occurred at a time when Spain's economic system was in transition, or perhaps even in revolution. The reification of the business Güell, Ramis and Co., and, on a larger scale, of the Spanish empire, involved the creation of new forms of ownership (privatization of land, capital-based shareholding), new identities (i.e. shareholder, wage-laborer), new means of production (i.e. steam engines, self-acting spinning mills, labor-power), and new market strategies (i.e. state privilege of sale, protectionism). The Vapor Vell disrupted the old Barcelonian textile market, and would eventually triumph over the old system and become a leader in the establishment of the new system of capitalistic production.

The labor market and its discourse

In this section we will complete our discourse analysis with a look at the labor market, and along the way we will also give attention to an assortment of alternative, anti-capitalist economic discourses which circulated in Barcelona at this time.

Capitalistic production is the term Marx used to describe socio-economic systems based especially on private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of the labor force.⁵³ In the case of Güell, Ramis and Co, for example, the land, the factory building, machinery, and the raw materials (in other words, the means of production) was all owned by business shareholders. The workers, on the other hand, were not owned (which would have been a type of slavery), but instead, rented out their work to the business as wage-laborers.

This economic system arrived in Catalonia in force with the appearance of steam-powered textile factories.⁵⁴ This is because these machines were huge, technically challenging and prohibitively expensive for the majority of textile producers to own. Incorporating steam-power required a new factory-organization of work. This built on a process which had already begun in Barcelona through the Calico industry, beginning in the 18th century.⁵⁵ These proto-factories employed large numbers of women and children, and

⁵² Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d'una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62.

⁵³ Marx, Karl. (1867). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1. (Trans. Ben Fowkes. New York: Penguin, 1990.)

⁵⁴ See: Nadal Oller, Jordi. (1975). *El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España, 1814-1913*. Editorial Ariel.

⁵⁵ See: Thomson, James K.J.. (1992). *A distinctive industrialization: Cotton in Barcelona, 1728-1832*. Cambridge University Press. More recently, the Museu d'Història Barcelona has curated an exhibition on this

supplanted the earlier craft workshops and cottage industries. The Bonaplata Mill, established in Barcelona's Raval neighborhood in the 1830's, was the first to introduce steam power in Spain. It was a rocky start. In 1833 the machinery had yet to be installed, and already in 1835 the factory was attacked and burned down in an attack on industrialization and mechanization carried out by Luddites, a movement which viewed the new machines as a threat to the economic and social order.⁵⁶ The Luddites didn't accept the new economic objects and relationships proposed by capitalistic production and responded with direct action against the machines themselves which they viewed as the incarnation of these evils. This is how they demonstrated their rejection of participating in this new economic system. It is revealing that, soon after the factory was destroyed, Jose Bonaplata, on behalf of the company, submitted a claim for compensation to the Spanish government amounting to 2,696,625 *reals*, claiming that the burning had occurred as a result of "political upheavals that the political and military authorities did not know how to contain."⁵⁷ Industrialists like Bonaplata lobbied the state to adopt a stronger pro-factory stance through positioning itself as moderator and enforcer of order on behalf of this new and disruptive economic system. Self-employed spinsters, unable to compete in the new game and unable to overthrow it, were forced by necessity to abandon their spinning wheels and seek out factory jobs, taking on in the process the new identity of "wage-laborers."

The power of the capitalists was in their private ownership of the means of production; but their weakness was their dependence on workers to run the machines. The solution was labor-power. The magic of labor-power was how it reified the abstract quantity of "labor" in such a way that made it real and measurable, as a commodity which could be bought and sold by the hour.⁵⁸ The buying and selling of labor-power by the business owners (employers) and workers (employees), respectively, constituted a type of market-- the labor market-- and, like the textile and international markets, it too became the site of a specific kind of economic discourse which we will call the labor discourse.

The primary location of the labor discourse is employment, including the employee-employer relationship as well as the range of strategies used by both of these stakeholders in order to manipulate the labor market. For the employer, for example, as a purchaser of the labor-power, the incentive is to create a buyers' market. This can be done first of all by ensuring that there is a large supply of labor available. This reduces demand and increases competition between workers for the limited jobs, allowing wages to drop. As labor-power

topic (MUHBA. (2012). Indianes. (Exhibition) Museu d'Història de Barcelona. Accessed November, 2020: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/indianes/ca/>)

⁵⁶ Nadal Oller, Jordi; Maluquer de Motes, Jordi. (1985). Catalunya, la fàbrica d'Espanya (1833-1936). Ajuntament de Barcelona.

⁵⁷ Nadal, Jordi. (1983). Los Bonaplata: Tres generaciones de industriales en la España del siglo XIX. Revista de Historia Económica = Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History, N.1. p. 86.. (Accessed November, 2020: <http://e-archivo.uc3m.es/bitstream/handle/10016/1567/RHE-1983-I-1-Nadal.pdf?sequence=1>)

⁵⁸ See: Thompson, E.P.. (1963). *The Making of the English Working Class*. (Reprinted, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980).

consumers, employers are united by these shared labor-market incentives. For the employee, on the other hand, as a producer of labor-power, the incentive is to create a sellers' market by ensuring a low supply and increased demand of their labor-power, promoting competition between employers for the limited amount of workers and causing wages to increase. Workers, likewise, are incentivized to organize amongst themselves in order to manipulate the labor market according to their shared interests as labor-power producers.

Similar to the way that Catalan textile producers lobbied for the regulation of the international textile market through protectionism, the regulation of the labor-market (for example, through establishing a minimum wage and maximum work day) was seen as beneficial to the employees. Specifically, this was the position held by a political party operating in Spain at this time called the Progressives. On the other hand, the Moderates represented a political party advocating for deregulation of the labor-market, a position which was viewed as beneficial to employers. Thus, at the level of state regulation, the labor discourse pits employers and employees against each other as rival stakeholders, members of competing teams in the labor market game. Regardless of this rivalry, the labor discourse represented workers as free agents who entered into a contract with an employer of their own volition. Just as the employer could hire and fire employees as they wished, the employees could accept the job or quit the job as they wished.

In terms of objectives, the employees participation in the labor market is motivated by wages, often presented in terms of ensuring a minimum quality of life. From the perspective of the employers, on the other hand, the objective of labor has to do with making the business profitable. The issue of profit is where a certain disequilibrium is manifested in the labor discourse-- the employers are the only ones who receive this profit, although this is justified as fair because the business constitutes their private property. We can model the labor discourse as follows:

Labor Discourse

Concepts:	Objects:	Stakeholders:	Objectives:	Values:
Labor market phenomenon	Labor-power, wages	Employees →	Wages →	Quality of life
		Employers →	Labor →	Business Profit

2.2.3 Anti-Capitalist Discourses

While the business discourse includes the workers as part of the business, although not as stakeholders, the labor discourse makes workers stakeholders but cuts them out of the business profits. The two discourses are easily conflated. By switching discourses, the

identity of a wage-laborer can shift from stakeholder to object-- from contractor with the business to property of the business. This is the kind of discursive phenomena Marx describes in his classic critique of capitalism, *Capital*. There, he describes a fictitious but illustrative scenario featuring an employer and an employee. Watch how this switch in discourse is strategically implemented as Marx takes us on a tour of the process by which the new employee is contracted.

“Let us therefore, in company with the owner of money and the owner of labour-power, leave this noisy sphere, where everything takes place on the surface and in full view of everyone, and follow them into the hidden abode of production, on whose threshold there hangs the notice ‘No admittance except on business’. Here we shall see, not only how capital produces, but how capital is itself produced. The secret of profit-making must at last be laid bare.

The sphere of circulation or commodity exchange, within whose boundaries the sale and purchase of labour-power goes on, is in fact a very Eden of the innate rights of man. It is the exclusive realm of Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham. Freedom, because both buyer and seller of a commodity, let us say of labour-power, are determined only by their own free will. They contract as free persons, who are equal before the law. Their contract is the final result in which their joint-will finds a common legal expression. Equality, because each enters into relation with the other, as with a simple owner of commodities, and they exchange equivalent for equivalent. Property, because each disposes only of what is his own. And Bentham, because each looks only to his own advantage. The only forces bringing them together, and putting them into relation with each other, is the selfishness, and the gain and the private interest of each. Each pays heed to himself only, and no one worries about the others. And precisely for that reason, either in accordance with the pre-established harmony of things, or under the auspices of an omniscient providence, they all work together to their mutual advantage, for the common weal, and in the common interest.

When we leave the sphere of simple circulation or the exchange of commodities, which provides the ‘free-trader vulgaris’ with his views, his concepts and standard by which he judges the society of capital and wage-labour, a certain change takes place, or so it appears, in the physiognomy of our dramatis personae. He who was previously the money-owner now strides out in front as a capitalist; the possessor of labour-power follows as his worker. The one smirks self-importantly and is intent on business; the other is timid and holds back, like someone who has brought his own hide to market and now has nothing else to expect but – a tanning.”⁵⁹

Marx’s deeply ironic tone in this sketch is a set up for what is to follow-- a critical analysis of the type of freedom that actually is found at the employment desk. He insists that a worker would only sell their labor-power as a last resort: “For the conversion of his money into capital, therefore, the owner of money must meet in the market with the free labourer, free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of

⁵⁹ Marx, Karl. (1867). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1. Trans. Ben Fowkes, New York: Penguin, 1990, p.280.

everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power.”⁶⁰ Here, Marx is not talking about a freedom to, but rather, the freedom from. The situation he describes sounds similar to the historical account of the Bonaplatina Mill, in which workers literally burned down the factory rather than work there. But, in the end, capitalistic production would triumph over the traditional forms of textile production-- “freeing” workers from the realization of their own labor-power (i.e. self-employment), and sending them to the factory door as wage-laborers.

It is important to understand why Marx assumes that selling labor-power would be a person’s last-resort. In his analysis of capitalistic production, he frames the economic system as inherently exploitative, for the simple reason that a wage-laborer will always receive less wages than what their labor-power is worth. Under capitalism, an employer hires people to increase the value of what they have and at the end of the day they keep that extra value for themselves as profit. For this reason, as Marx explained it, capitalism and everything that has come with it is only sustained by exploiting the working class. “It will be remembered,” he writes, “that the rate of surplus-value depends, in the first place, on the degree of exploitation of labour-power. The constant tendency of capital is to force the cost of labour back towards this zero.”⁶¹

The force of Marx’s economic argument was complemented with the addition of Engel’s account of the condition of the working class in England.⁶² Here, the economics of capitalism was corroborated in the description of the dire oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. Marx believed that the inherent exploitation within the capitalist system would prove to be the seed of its own inevitable destruction, when the workers would throw off their chains, seize the means of production, and usher in a new era of production based on the elimination of class.⁶³

Socialist discourse

This type of revolutionary narrativization would come to define Marx’s anti-capitalist critique, which we will refer to here generally as the socialist discourse. The socialist discourse is unlike the business, imperial, and labor discourses of capitalistic production in that it is not situated in the textile market (with producer and consumer stakeholders), nor in the international market (with importer and exporter stakeholders) nor strictly-speaking in the labor market (with employer and employee stakeholders), but rather it presents this economic system as a game of asymmetric class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Although the bourgeoisie and proletariat identities of the socialist discourse share many of the qualities of the employer and employee identities of the labor discourse, here

⁶⁰ (Ibid., chapter 6.)

⁶¹ (Ibid.)

⁶² Engels, Frederick. (1845). *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.

⁶³ Marx, Karl, et al. (1848). *The Communist Manifesto*. Edited by Jeffrey C. Isaac, Yale University Press, 2012.

they are defined not as free agents joined by contract, but as a relationship of oppression-- of freedom 'from' instead of freedom 'to'. The objects of this discourse include Marx's use of capitalistic economic objects resigified in terms of this imbalance of power. Instead of market strategies, Marx conceptualizes class warfare. For the proletariat, this warfare is intended to lead to the objective of revolution. The objective of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is revealed to be the expansion of capitalism to every corner of the earth in pursuit of "the unceasing movement of profit-making."⁶⁴

The value motivating the socialist discourse is a topic which, by the founding of the Vapor Vell, had already inspired a new genre of literature: socialist utopianism. Cabet's famous book *Voyage en Icarie*, for example, was published in 1842, describing a fictitious society in which class had been eliminated.⁶⁵ The book would be translated into Spanish shortly after, and inspire the naming of Barcelona's Icaria neighborhood by the end of the 19th century.

The socialist discourse can be modeled, generally, as follows:

Socialist discourse

Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
Bourgeoisie, Proletariat	Capitalistic exploitation	Class warfare	Revolution	Classless society

One of the strengths of the socialist discourse was that it was not just an economic critique-- it also told a powerful story. It conceptualized the history of mankind in terms of stages of economic systems of oppression leading up to capitalism, and it also envisioned a world after capitalism. Socialist utopian novels gave this economic and historical discourse a literary dimension which destabilized capitalism through the power of the imagination, revealing the economic system to be not a fact of nature, but just one more type of game. And, like a game, there was a third option available to the proletariat besides winning or losing within the labor-market system, and that was to abandon the game itself--to throw off the economic relations and identities reified in the rigged capitalist economic system. This is what the socialists meant by advocating not for reformation, but for revolution.

Up to now in this chapter we have looked at various critiques of the economic system of capitalistic production expressed in the business, imperial and labor discourses. Besides

⁶⁴ Marx, Karl. (1867). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1. Trans. Ben Fowkes. New York: Penguin, 1990, p. 254.

⁶⁵ Moliner Prada, Antonio. (2016). La recepción de las ideas revolucionarias (radicales, socialistas y republicanas) en Cataluña en el siglo XIX. *Revista de História das Ideias*, 34, 239-266.

the socialists, which struggled against the systemic oppression of the working class, the Progressives sought to reform the system from within, lobbying the political system for fairer regulation of the labor and textile markets. And, of course, we can't forget the Luddites who, rather than seizing the capitalist-owned means of production, opted for burning them instead.

This brief survey of anti-capitalist discourses is not intended to represent all of the types of working-class discourses which existed during the early years of the founding of the Vapor Vell. In general, however, these discourses shared the common value of liberation of the working class from a situation of economic oppression, despite differences in how they conceptualized achieving that goal. Proponents of these discourses also shared many of the same practices, including the strategies of associationism and labor strikes. In 1840, for example, the *Societat de Protecció Mútua de Teixidors de Cotó de Barcelona* was formed, a workers group which lobbied for a reduction of hours (a maximum of 14), the elimination of child labor, increased wages, and protection from hazardous working conditions. This was the first workers' association of its kind to be formed in Spain. In 1855, the nation's first general strike was held in Barcelona, protagonized significantly by workers at the Vapor Vell⁶⁶.

It was during this strike that the director of the Vapor Vell, Sol i Padrís, was assassinated. The story of the death of Sol i Padrís would transform over the years into a type of working-class legend, and as such it offers us a rare, historical glimpse of the mobilization of working-class, anti-capitalist economic discourses in mid-19th century Barcelona. The Sol i Padrís story also demonstrates the variety of tactics used by the business and state authorities to assimilate, circumvent, subvert, and silence these discourses-- discourses which posed threats to the bourgeoisie chokehold on the labor market (the Progressive discourse), to their means of production (the Luddite discourse) and to the system of capitalistic production itself (the socialist discourse).

Historians today have a difficult job when it comes to reconstructing the voices of history's marginalized communities. These stories are often only found in the "cracks of history"⁶⁷, during moments of crisis and destabilization of the entrenched power structure. The struggle of the oppressed is also a struggle to be seen and heard against the currents of

⁶⁶ See Benet, Josep & Martí, Casimir. (1976). *Barcelona a mitjan segle XIX. El moviment obrer durant el Bienni Progressista (1854-56)*. Barcelona: Curial. As well as Fontana, Josep. (2007). *La época del liberalismo*. Vol. 6 de la Historia de España. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons.

⁶⁷ This concept of 'opening a crack in history' is elaborated by the historian Santiago Gorostiza who attributes it to the Zapatistas in Mexico. "A history that tells the story of the elites just makes the present state of things seem natural, leaves aside the subalterns and silences their past. Against this type of historical appropriation, Zapatistas claim the need to "open a crack"—to write the history of the exploited. A crack that also disrupts the idea of unidirectional, non-linear history, opening a loophole that challenges views of what is in front of us and what in our backs. A crack that permits us to look to the past ahead—like the Aymara—as memories of the alternative non-disposable future. Once the past is reclaimed, the door to reclaim the future swings open." In: Gorostiza, Santiago. Opening a crack in history. Residents of a Barcelona neighbourhood make use of historical research in their fight to reclaim a cooperative. Uneven Earth. November 15, 2016. (Accessed November, 2020: <http://unevenearth.org/2016/11/opening-a-crack-in-history/>)

invisibilization. Sending a message loud enough to be picked up over 150 years later, in spite of this, is an undertaking which, in this case, involved a great many people taking on a great amount of risk. The assassination of Sol i Padrís itself involved five deaths-- Sol i Padrís himself, as well as the four workers which would be executed by the state in retribution. This is only a tiny fraction, however, of the hundreds of workers which would be massacred in Barcelona during the associated strikes which took place from 1854-56 during the Progressive Biennium.

In the final section of this section we will explore these years from the perspective of the Vapor Vell, paying special attention to the working-class discourses which left their enduring marks on this “crack in history.”

2.2.4 The Progressive Biennium and the Clash of Discourses

“You will not have forgotten,” writes Argullol, in his biography of Joan Güell, “about the political agitations of 1854.”

He is speaking about the Revolution of 1854, during which the workers of the Vapor Vell protagonized the conflict of the self-actings, a two-month long Luddite-style revolt against Joan Güell’s introduction of self-acting spinning mules into the Barcelonian textile market. This conflict would contribute to an escalation of working-class demonstrations leading up to the 1855 general strike. It was also during these years that the Spanish progressive party attempted to reform the political system under Queen Isabella II, which since 1843 had been dominated by the moderates. The entrenched moderate party had entered into a state of crisis after awareness spread of massive internal corruption, as well as due to critiques of the system of census suffrage which disenfranchised all but the wealthiest one-percent of the population. The progressives, on the other hand, promoted a platform based on freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of political association.

In Barcelona, unlike the rest of Spain, the Revolution of 1854, which marked the end of the so-called “Moderate decade” and the beginning of the Progressive biennium, counted on significant support from the working class. When General Espartero, the leader of the progressives, rose to power, the news was received in Barcelona with great rejoicing among the lower classes.⁶⁸ The introduction of the new political freedoms allowed for the establishment of labor associations, and in Barcelona thirty of these were formed and organized jointly through the forming of a central committee.

It was to be a short-lived victory for the working-class. The new Captain General of Catalonia, General Zapatero, also known as *General Cuatro Tiros* or "General Four Shots", ended this period of tolerance and initiated an era of repression of the developing labor movement, starting with the dubious death-sentence of the labor leader José Barceló for his

⁶⁸ Fontana, Josep. (2007). *La época del liberalismo*. Vol. 6 de la Historia de España. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons.

alleged involvement in various crimes.⁶⁹ On June 21, 1855 Zapatero banned the newly established workers' associations and annulled all of the collective labor regulations which they had succeeded in negotiating with employers in the textile sector. He also incarcerated and deported many workers and republican leaders in order to "end the strikes and the workers problem."⁷⁰

Rather than succeeding in ending the strikes, these repressive measures were met with the declaration of the largest and most organized labor strike ever held in Spain up until that point. Beginning on July 2, the general strike of 1855 spread throughout all the industrial zones of Catalonia. Red flags appeared across the region and banners waved bearing the strike mottos: "Long live Espartero," "Association or death," and "Bread and work."

At the center of all of this was the Vapor Vell and a very anxious Joan Güell. As Argullol explains in his biography, "Güell understood the gravity and importance of the moment, which used wage increase as a pretext for promoting a social conflict, and, considering himself helpless to avert such serious dangers, he closed the factory and retired to France." Fleeing the country would prove not to be an overreaction. Güell's associate, Domènec Ramis, and the factory's newly assigned director, Sol i Padrís, were not so fortunate. On the second day of the strike a group of workers entered the office of the Vapor Vell and, after an apparently unsuccessful negotiation of labor conditions, Sol i Padrís was shot and Domènec Ramis was severely wounded with a knife. In the aftermath of the strike, seven workers would be tried and sentenced for participating in the assassination: four condemned to death by garrote, two to life sentences in jail, and the last to two years of prison.⁷¹

The strikers only returned to work when General Espartero sent a personal representative to Barcelona asking them to trust him, portraying himself as "a son of the people who had never deceived them."⁷² The now-clandestine labor associations responded by preparing a statement to be read in the parliament in Madrid in which they demanded the right to associate. To support the document, 33,000 signatures were collected through the workers' newspaper *El eco de la clase trabajadora* ("The echo of the working class"), the first working-class newspaper in Spain, founded in Madrid by the Catalan Ramon Simó.

⁶⁹ Benet, Josep & Martí, Casimir. (1976). *Barcelona a mitjan segle XIX. El moviment obrer durant el Bienni Progressista (1854-56)*. Barcelona: Curial.

⁷⁰ Fontana, Josep. (2007). *La época del liberalismo*. Vol. 6 de la Historia de España. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons.

⁷¹ In August of 1856, the *Diari de Barcelona* announced that a weaver had been detained from the Espanya Industrial, accused of the assassination of Sol i Padrís, but without any other explanations. Also, see: Izard, Miquel. (1979). *Manufactureros, industriales y revolucionarios*. p: 80, 81.

⁷² Fontana, Josep. (2007). *La época del liberalismo*. Vol. 6 de la Historia de España. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons.

Assimilation and Circumvention

This document from 1855, titled “Exposition of the working-class to the courts”, displays the progressive discourse of Barcelona’s working class regarding the labor issue.⁷³ In the first place, the authors expose the situation of an increasingly impoverished quality of life under the factory system: “For years now, our class has been on the road to ruin. Wages decrease. The price of groceries and housing is higher. Industrial crises follow one after the other. Day by day we are forced to reduce the supply of our basic needs, sending our wives to the workshop, and sacrificing the education of our children; and, indeed, sacrificing these same children to a life of premature work.”

The source of this problem, as it is described here, is not capital itself, but the injustice of banning working-class associations while allowing the factory owners to associate freely. “The problem is already very serious, the remedy is urgent and we expect it from you. We do not expect you to attack the freedom of the individual, because it is sacred and inviolable; nor that you kill the concurrence, because it is the life of the arts; nor that you burden the state with the obligation to help us, because we know the troubles of the treasury. We ask only for the free exercise of a right: the right to associate.”

To be clear, economic associationism was precisely the formula which had been used effectively as a tool by the factory owners in order to pool the required investment capital for acquiring the means of production. In essence, the progressives merely wanted equal rights under the system of capitalistic production. Rather than overthrow the state, they merely sought to assimilate the interests of the working class within it. “Capital itself cries out now because we are denied the power we ask, but without justice. Associationism is what has precipitated the ruin of small industry and it is what has hastened our own [factories]. Is it fair that only he [the owner] enjoys this benefit? Since, even in the eyes of the law, we are expected to be fighting, we must dispose of equal weapons. Our freedom, surely, is not violated because others exercise it; nor will your freedom be violated because we are allowed to associate.”

This document makes it clear that the working class is asking for fairness within the law to associate and compete as employees with the same labor market “weapons” as the employers. The authors go out of their way to indicate that they are not critiquing the “freedom of the individual” expressed in the employee/employer relationship and the economic objects of labor-power and private property. Nor do they ask for charity from the state. They didn’t want handouts, they wanted equal-rights.

This last point is important because it exposes a big problem with how the issue of the “labor problem” was often discussed during this time period, especially by members of the higher classes. I call this type of discursive approach “circumvention” because, instead

⁷³ Simó, Ramon. (1855). *Exposición de la clase jornalera a las cortes*. (Accessed October, 2020: <https://laalcarriaobrero.blogspot.com/2007/12/exposicion-de-la-clase-obrera-las.html>)

of addressing the inequalities of the economic system itself, this response involved “going around” this, and focusing instead on the symptoms. In this way, the problem of the working-class could be treated, not in economic terms, but as an issue, for example, of public health. Although advocates of this kind perhaps shared certain sympathies and projects with the working classes, the core value motivating their work was not egalitarianism, but a hierarchical social order propped up with what Paolo Freire would later describe as “false charity.”⁷⁴

The circumvention strategy appears in many forms, but generally presents the working classes as a danger to social order requiring a top-down intervention by members of the upper classes.⁷⁵ Hygienists, engineers, civil and religious leaders are the main contributors to this genre of industrial story-telling, known as the sanitary movement⁷⁶, in which the workers are not presented as stakeholders as much as they are a problem to be solved. This is the genre of crime and disease statistics, and of urban projects like Pedro Felipe Monlau’s “*Abajo las murallas*,”⁷⁷ a plan to tear down the medieval walls which still circled Barcelona at the time of the Vapor Vell’s founding in 1844, or Idelfons Cerdà’s famous project for constructing the Eixample.⁷⁸

Studies of this kind provide much of the historical picture we have today of the working class at this time. For a compilation of primary sources on working class conditions, see *Materials per una Didàctica del Vapor Vell* (appendix: document 2, page 24) which brings together a variety of these types of top-down reports on the working class in Barcelona, featuring the voices of ministers, doctors, civil governors, bishop, and hygienists, but not a single account from one of the workers themselves. As far as political representation went, the situation was the same. The first labor laws would not be passed for twenty more years, during the first republic. Meanwhile, the labor movement would move underground.

Subversion and Silencing

The social conflicts of the first months of 1856-- subsistence riots in Castilla, workers’ strikes in Catalonia, *quintes* riots in Valencia-- would provide the ammunition with which General Espartero’s minister of war, General O’Donnell, would arm a counter-revolutionary coup and bring about the end of the Progressive Biennium. O’Donnell assured

⁷⁴ See Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Continuum International Publishing Group Inc, 1970.

⁷⁵ Rodríguez Ocaña, Esteban. (1992). “Paz, trabajo, higiene.” In Huertas, R. (eds). *Medicina social y movimiento obrero en España ss.XIX y XX*. Madrid: Fundación de Investigaciones Marxistas, p. 383-406.

⁷⁶ For the English case, see the figure of Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890), for example: Chadwick, Edwin. (1843). Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. A Supplementary Report on the results of a Special Inquiry into The Practice of Interment in Towns. London: Printed by R. Clowes & Sons, for Her Majesty’s Stationery Office. (Accessed November, 2020: <https://archive.org/details/reportonsanitary00chaduoft>).

⁷⁷ Felipe Monlau, Pedro. (1841). *Abajo las murallas!*

⁷⁸ The demolition of Barcelona’s walls began in 1854, and in 1855 Cerdà presented a preliminary plan for the construction of the Eixample. This would provide an avenue of escape for the middle classes. See: Cerdà, Idelfons. (1856). *Monografía estadística de la clase obrera de Barcelona*.

the Spanish courts that the protest movements were inspired by "the principle of socialism." "Ideas previously unknown in Spain, today have infiltrated our masses," he wrote. Ideas represented by the motto: "War on those that have!" These "crimes," he said, "[are] the greatest ones that can be committed, because here there are lifted no political flags; It is only about the attack on the family, against property, against the most sacred things existing in society."⁷⁹

The way O'Donnell frames his representation of the socialist discourse is subversive for a few reasons. First of all, he claims that the movement is a sort of infiltration-- that the masses have been tricked by some sort of outside, non-Spanish "idea." In this discourse, the working class is robbed of agency as owners of their own movement and is cast instead in the role of the object of an international plot. Secondly, rather than clarify the origin, purpose and values of this plot, O'Donnell only offers a negative definition, of what it is against-- in this case, "against the most sacred things existing in society." It seems that there are two options here-- that O'Donnell is right and the principle of Socialism is indeed a conspiracy against society itself, a movement that has no rational motivation other than to destroy all that is sacred, or, another option is that the purpose of O'Donnell's description here is not to understand and inform but to subvert the progressive government by provoking reactionary fear.

Joan Güell's biographer, Argullol, also subverted the agency of the working class in his description of the revolution of 1854, which, in his words, "used wage increase as a pretext for promoting a social conflict." The question of who gets to define what the strike was really about is obviously very complicated, but it would be naive to swallow Argullol's interpretation-- as though "promoting a social conflict" were a sufficient explanation of motive. The mark of a subverted discourse is one that, even though it may include elements of truth, is incomplete.

Joan Güell would submit his own take on the general strike the following year: "On July 2, an invisible government that did not hold discourse in the Courts, which did not ostensibly dictate laws or publish decrees nor proclamations, but that worked and executed, suspended the work of all the factories, of all the workshops and of all kinds of arts and offices, and the city of Barcelona and its surrounding villages filled with fright and consternation, and were for a few days on the brink of the precipice, and scenes of blood and desolation took place."⁸⁰ Here it seems that Güell's evocative description of an "invisible

⁷⁹ Cited in Fontana, Josep. (2007). *La época del liberalismo*. Vol. 6 de la Historia de España. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons: pp. 283-284.

⁸⁰ From Güell, Joan. (1856). *Reformas Arancelarias*. As quoted in: *Colonia Güell y Fábrica de Panas y Veludillos y Cía. Breve reseña histórica*. 1910. Güell goes on to present Sol i Padrís as a martyr-- "Sol, the hapless Sol y Padrís was one of the illustrious victims of *los caribes*! Catalonia and even Spain will mourn the loss of one of their best sons. With a clear talent, with a straight judgement, and with all the promise he had of being useful to his fatherland. Still young, he had sat two times in the seats of Congress, where he knew how to conquer a distinguished place, a sure omen of how much promise he had."

government” misses the key point of what the strike was about. How can he condemn the strikers for not holding “discourse in the Courts” when the point of conflict was that the working class had been excluded from political participation? Workers couldn’t vote, many couldn’t read or write, and their right to organize themselves through association had been outlawed. Without legalization of the organizational structures and leadership capable of bringing workers' concerns into the political arena, “social conflict” is exactly the result one would expect. And it was this result that was used to justify what was to come next: violent repression.

O’Donnell’s counter-revolutionary coup would be successful in ousting Espartero and the progressives from government and bringing back Queen Isabel II to the throne. O’Donnell’s next move was to declare a state of war in all of Spain as a provision against the possibility of backlash. The first reaction took place on July 14, in the evening, when a group of 83 of the 350 deputies met in the Chamber of the Congress of Deputies to vote almost unanimously for the censorship of the new government because it meant the introduction of "a diametrically opposite policy" to what the Courts had previously decreed. After being refused an audience with the queen, the deputies were locked in the Congress where they passed the night until O'Donnell ordered the building to be bombed and a grenade shell entered the room. The militiamen who defended the access to the Palace of the Courts abandoned their positions and at 11:30 in the morning the 43 deputies who had resisted until the last moment left the building and went home in defeat.

The bloodiest resistance to O’Donnell’s coup took place in Barcelona by the popular classes. On July 18, 1856, a demonstration was gunned down by order of Captain General Zapatero. The next day, barricades were erected and on Sunday, July 20, the fight took place street by street while the city was bombarded by cannonfire from Montjuïc castle.⁸¹ Finally,

The account continues (not translated): “*Comisionado varias veces para pasar a la corte a defender los intereses industriales, y con ellos los de la clase obrera, lo hizo con gran inteligencia y buen éxito y siempre con el mayor desinterés y en propio perjuicio. Honrado últimamente con el nombramiento de individuo de la Junta superior provisional creada en Barcelona para llevar a buen fin el pronunciamiento de Julio de 1854, no rehuyó la grave responsabilidad de puesto tan espinoso y comprometido, que desempeñó con honor y utilidad del país, manifestando en su resistencia a actos y exigencias injustas, una energía y tesón que quizá no tuvieron otros con más obligación. Y cuando en nuestra época se han derramado a manos llenas y con tanta profusión grandes destinos, títulos y condecoraciones, “¿qué la había tocado a él de todo esto en justo premio de sus servicios al país? Nada ni el más pequeño destino, ni la más insignificante condecoración; todo lo había hecho con la mayor abnegación, con el más noble desinterés, bastándole la gloria de ser útil a su patria.*

¿Y quien la había de decir que de las filas de aquella clase obrera cuyos intereses había defendido con tanta constancia y energía, en daño de sus propios intereses, habían de salir los cobardes y alevosos asesinos que habían de acribillar a balazos su cuerpo indefenso y clavarle el sanguinario puñal? ¿Y quien le había de decir tampoco que un Ministro de la Corona, salido de la revolución a que había prestado su eficaz y desinteresado apoyo, desde lo alto de la tribuna del Congreso, había, con suposiciones gratuitas, por no decir calumniosas, de concitar la animadversión de los españoles contra la clase industrial a que se gloriaba de pertenecer? Y esto, ¿en qué momentos? En los momentos mismos en que los asesinos le habían señalado por su víctima, y estaban afilando los puñales para ejecutar alevosamente su bárbara y feroz sentencia. Terribles lecciones que da el mundo, y que afligen y consternan al hombre de bien!!”

⁸¹ In 1873, Engels affirms that Barcelona, Spain’s largest industrial city, “Has seen more barricade fighting than any other city in the world...” in: Engels, F. *The Bakuninists at Work. An account of the Spanish*

soldiers stormed the barricades with bayonets with the support of artillery fire, and the rebellion was brought to an end. "The final result was 63 deaths from the army and more than four hundred of the civilian population, not counting the subsequent victims of wild retaliation." The French consul in Barcelona would report that the rebels in the barricades had shouted "Death to the f***ing queen, and to the generals O'Donnell and Zapatero! Total war and extermination of the rich, the manufacturers and the owners!" and that this was also intermingled with shouts of "Long live general Espartero!" and "Long live the democratic and social republic!" Marx's analysis of these events spoke to the dormant power of Barcelona's working class: "Militarily, this insurrection, like all of Barcelona's previous uprisings, failed because the fortress of Montjuïc was in the hands of the army. (...) It should be noted that while in Madrid (...) the proletarians were betrayed and abandoned by the bourgeoisie, the weavers of Barcelona (...), except for some who could not resist the smell of the gunpowder, remained passive spectators of the battle, and with this the battle was lost, since all the insurrections of Barcelona are decided by its 20,000 weavers."⁸²

The magnitude of the repression unleashed in Barcelona by Captain General Zapatero in the aftermath of the uprising provoked many papers to beg for an end to be put to the bloodbath. A common opinion of that time was that, "in no other civilized country are so many people shot as in Spain." On July 31 the last focal point of resistance was surrendered in Zaragoza.⁸³

Conclusion

This historical sketch of the clash of economic discourses during the Progressive Biennium demonstrates the weight that progressive, luddite, and socialist discourses carried among Barcelona's working class. It also demonstrates the range of approaches for dealing with them-- from incorporating them into the political system, to circumventing them through false charity, to subverting them with reactionary scare tactics, to silencing them through state violence and repression. Paradoxically, the criminalization of the labor movement

revolt in the summer of 1873. (First published in English in Marx, K. & F. Engels, *Revolution in Spain*, Lawrence & Wishart, International Publishers, 1939.)

⁸² As quoted in Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d'una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62.

⁸³ Despite its short lifespan marked by political instability, the Bieni Progressista carried out major economic reform. The proposed *Desamortización de Madoz*, which expropriated and privatized public and church properties provoked the Catholic hierarchy to threaten excommunication, although eventually the law passed. However, the proposal of the Democrats to approve a true freedom of worship was rejected by the rest of the House groups. Nor were their proposals passed to establish free primary education or universal (male) suffrage. The *Ley de ferrocarriles*, however, was carried out, in which great benefits and privileges were given to those who invested in the construction of the railroad, since the means of transport was essential in the industrialization process that was being developed in Spain. With this law foreign investors, especially France and the United Kingdom, invested capital in the construction of railroads which also relaunched the activity of the banks. Finally, liberalizing laws were passed regarding *Sociedades Anónimas* and banks, allowing for the expansion of the financial system for industrial development. (Fontana, Josep. (2007). *La época del liberalismo*. Vol. 6 de la Historia de España. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons.)

would create the conditions for the “invisible government” which Joan Güell criticizes as politically illegitimate. Despite the banners, marches, strikes, and the production of written manifestos signed by thousands of workers and read aloud in the courts of Madrid, the voices of the working class would be systematically invisibilized. In the historical account, as recorded by sympathetic middle-class hygienists, civil engineers, doctors, civil and religious authorities, the deficit of working-class voices is palpable. In the accounts of business representatives like Joan Güell and his biographer Argullol, this silence is deafening. The story of the assassination of Sol i Padrís would be presented as an example of a senseless attack on society itself carried out by the masses due to the infiltration of socialist ideas.⁸⁴

In this chapter, however, I have tried to present another side to the story, and it hasn't proved to be an easy task. The historical record itself is shaped by the biases of the ruling classes. Reconstructing the agency of the worker-assassins of the Vapor Vell requires becoming a crime-scene detective for an murder which took place over 150 years ago. It is a dubious undertaking. I believe the most fruitful approach is to focus on discourses and attempt to treat each historical actor with empathy by trying to understand their full discourse, including the values which motivated their actions. We may never know exactly what took place at the Vapor Vell on July 3rd, 1855, but we can get a better understanding of the different types of “games” that were being played which precipitated this conflict-- the business, imperial, and labor games of capitalistic production vs the luddite, progressive, and socialist games which contested these and offered alternatives.

At the heart of each of these games is a mechanism of reification which makes these games real by materializing the economic identities and relationships prescribed by the game into objects. The economic documentation which has been conserved of the Vapor Vell is an example of how discourses, written down on paper, can help create and sustain the realities of capital, property, and labor-power, as well as, on a larger scale, the realities of national economic territories like Spain and Cuba. The discourses we have analyzed in this section have been composed of written documentation, but this is just the tip of the iceberg. “Things” can be discourses too. As Manuel Cerdà writes, “A factory is not just a building that shows certain architectural or aesthetic characteristics, but a “materialisation” of capital, a place that manifests the social relationships of production...”⁸⁵ This opens up a whole new world of opportunities for expanding the historical archive to include “things” in which the voices of history's marginalized and oppressed communities can still be heard; but this is the topic of a later chapter.

⁸⁴ In *Colònia Güell y Fábrica de Panas y Veludillos y Cía. Breve reseña histórica* (1910), the moment is described as “The blind and crazy popular masses penetrated the factory of Güell and Ramis, injuring D. Domingo Ramis, shareholder of the industry, and killing D. Jose Sol, director of the business.

⁸⁵ Cerdà, Manuel. (1991). “Industrial Archeology and the Working Class”. In, *Arqueologia industrial. Actes del Primer Congrés del País Valencià*. Diputació de València/Història local: p. 411.

2.3 AUTHORIZED INDUSTRIAL DISCOURSES

Introduction

In the last section, we analyzed the earliest documents which have been preserved from the Vapor Vell in terms of the economic discourses of business, empire, and labor, and discussed the role these discourses played in reifying the economic system of capitalistic production. I argued that we could interpret the Progressive Biennium (1854-56) as a clash of these discourses with the working class discourses of the progressives, luddites, and socialists which threatened to destabilize this economic system. Specifically, I highlighted the strategies of assimilation, circumvention, subversion, and silencing which were used to combat the economic critiques of the working-class. In 1856, after a massacre of over four hundred protesters in the streets of Barcelona, the Progressives were removed from power, the labor movement was criminalized and pushed underground and the Vapor Vell was reopened for business.

The question of what would happen next undoubtedly figured prominently in the Barcelonian zeitgeist at this time. Some bets had already been placed. In 1848, Karl Marx predicted that the economic recessions and practical contradictions of a capitalist economy would provoke the working class to proletarian revolution; and, while the failure of Progressive Biennium seemed to disprove this hypothesis, industrialists like Joan Güell were probably holding off on celebrating, sensing with unease that the long war of the classes was far from over.

This, at least, is what I guess was on Joan Güell's mind as he returned from hiding in France. The Vapor Vell remained in his name, but he moved with his family to the countryside where, allegedly, he attempted to convince his son Eusebi against ever working in industry. His business partner, Domènec Ramis, on the other hand, must have sold his shares in the business, which changed its name simply to "Güell and Co." Ramis had been in the factory that day during the general strike-- witnessing the assassination of Sol i Padrís first hand and narrowly escaping with his own life despite receiving serious knife wounds. Over the following years, the business would change its name various times, losing the name Güell in 1861.⁸⁶

As I imagine it, the whole Barcelona plain must have been experiencing some sort of collective post-traumatic stress at this point linked directly with industrialization. The labor issue was just one of the novel problems which would characterize the transition to an industrial society. Historians don't call it the industrial revolution for nothing. In Catalonia, the advent of steam-powered factory production had disrupted the economy and dislocated a large percent of the population into cities where they suffered from a loss of social and

⁸⁶ 1861-67 (approx.): Jove, Ascacíbar i Companyia. 68-73: Ascacíbar i Companyia. 74-75: Pascual, Flaquer i Companyia. 76-88: Parellada, Flaquer i Companyia. 89-94: Parellada i Companyia. In: Cabana, Francesc. (1993). "Els Cotoners". (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

geographic security. The emergence of this new phenomenon, the industrial city, had radical social implications-- but nobody knew what this new society based on industrial cities would look like. As the historian of science Steven Shapin explains of the English case, “There was a pre-industrial agrarian society that, at least in useful myth, was stable, and could be pointed to as a model of a society ‘that worked’; but the ‘green and pleasant’ country-society was in the process of being destroyed, trained and distorted by the great industrializing cities. By comparison with the dominant image of agrarian society, the social arrangements of the industrial cities did not seem to be working very well. In particular, the practical moral and political management of the working classes seemed intensely problematic.”⁸⁷

The Güell’s had another problem as well-- this one in Madrid. The economic management of Spain was in the hands of Madrilenian politicians which constantly threatened to enact free-trade policies which would spell disaster for the country’s nascent domestic production, the majority of which was based out of Catalonia. Joan Güell would be a pioneer in developing and lobbying for protectionist policies, but up until the 1870’s these efforts would be largely frustrated, and the resulting economic instability was a constant thorn in the side of the Barcelonian Bourgeoisie. This was going to change, however, although Joan wouldn’t be around to see it. After his death in 1872, it would be his son Eusebi who would take over the direction of his father’s industrial affairs and set a new course for Catalan industrialization.

Eusebi’s entrance into the circle of Barcelonian elite would be explosive, beginning in 1870 with his marriage to Isabel López Bru, daughter of Antonio López i López, a strategic union which would forge an alliance between two of the richest and best known families of Barcelona. Their wedding would be one of the most important worldly events of the end of the century.⁸⁸ This injection of economic energy would rise to a fever pitch in 1876 with the advent of an era known to historians as the Catalan “gold fever”⁸⁹ in which speculative banking practices favored the proliferation of the Catalan bourgeoisie. With momentum in their favor, practically all of Barcelona would mobilize under the banner of protectionism-- from economic groups to federalists and *Catalanistes*-- all protesting against the lowering of tariffs on foreign imports in order to promote local production.⁹⁰ The influence and authority

⁸⁷ Barnes, Barry & Shapin, Steven. (1977). *Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics*. *Institutes. Social Studies of Science*, Vol.7, 31-74.

⁸⁸ Michonneau, Stéphane. (2001). *Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites*. Eumo Editorial.

⁸⁹ Oller, Narcís. (1890). *Febre de l’or*.

⁹⁰ This was seen most clearly at the great protest of June 11, 1881, as well as when the political classes formed a united front against the threat of a free-trade treaty with Great Britain in 1884, with participation of both the Diputació and the Barcelona City Council. In 1886, the *Centre Català* organized a campaign against a commercial contract to be signed with Great Britain which culminated in a meeting of over four thousand people at the *Novedades* theater in Barcelona, and in 1888 another campaign in defense of Catalan civil rights was chronicled as the first victory of Catalanism. As Cabana puts it, “*Per als catalans, tots ells proteccionistes, la presència de Güell era tranquil·litzadora. Era la veu que tornava totes les pilotes que li llançaven i capaç encara d’engagar-ne unes quantes contra aquells representants del centralisme i de la burocràcia madrilenya. A l’hora de defensar uns aranzels alts hi havia unanimitat a Catalunya: patrons i obrers, els diaris, les*

of this new class of industrial elite would grow and this situation would be reflected in the political clout they finally began to wield in Madrid.

The consolidation of power by the Barcelonian bourgeoisie would also be reflected in the development of a new strategy for the moral and political management of the working classes. The historian Eric Hobsbawm has characterized the 19th century as a period that called for, “new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations.”⁹¹ The bloodbath of the Progressive Biennium had shown that direct confrontation could result in a dangerous escalation of anti-capitalist revolt. With this memory never far from mind, a strategy was elaborated which utilized a lighter, more sophisticated touch. The construction of this modern disciplinary technology would extend beyond the traditional means of law enforcement, and become materialized through things like educational initiatives, religious and cultural associations, museums, exhibitions, public parks, monuments, and of course, factories. The objective, rather than directly repressive, would be constructive-- the construction of a new normal, of a new model of society, of a new culture of work and of a new type of industrial worker.

In this section, I argue that one of the mechanisms used by these technologies of social control would be the production of ‘authorized industrial discourses.’ Here, I use ‘authorized’ in the sense that they were hegemonic and ‘industrial’ because they are used to reify specific social relations of industrial work. It is during this period of ascendancy of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie that the historical record of the Vapor Vell blossoms. The majority of the primary source narratives of the factory that we know of today were produced during these years, including the biography of Joan Güell which we analyzed in an earlier section. But these authorized discourses would not just be limited to the written word. They would extend beyond the confines of City Hall where Argullol read aloud from his manuscript that day in 1879, and out into the open air. Just as the city itself was expanding beyond the bounds of the medieval walls and was developing according to Cerda’s blueprint of an ordered, urban grid of the Eixample, these new streets and centers of symbolic power were being transformed into moralizing public exhibitions of the new industrial culture. There came to be, Stéphane Michonneau writes in his study of Barcelonian memory and identity, an “unspoken relationship between society, art and urbanism.... Barcelona was taken with ‘statue-mania.’”⁹² Commemorative monuments to Christopher Columbus, General Prim, Anselm Clavé, and Aribau would be joined by monuments to Antonio López and Joan Güell-- the two new stars of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie.

The inauguration of the monument to Joan Güell in 1888 would be followed in 1890 with the decision to transfer production at the Vapor Vell to a new site-- the Colònia Güell--

institucions, amb mínimes excepcions, estaven tots d’acord a demanar unes condicions que permetessin el manteniment i el creixement de la indústria.” In: Cabana, Francesc. (1993). “Els Cotoners”. (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

⁹¹ Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. p.263.

⁹² Michonneau, Stéphane. (2001). *Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites*. Eumo Editorial, p. 86.

which Eusebi built in collaboration with Antoni Gaudí as a pioneering experiment in industrial modernism. The monumentalization of the factory and factory owner are two distinctives of the authorized industrial discourses which we will analyze in this chapter. I argue that we can interpret the development of this type of industrial storytelling as examples of a broader strategy for repackaging the economic objects and discourses of capitalistic production in terms of the more socially-effective cultural discourses of paternalism and patriotism. First, we will look at the conceptual basis on which the idea of an authorized industrial discourse is built. Then we will look specifically at how they were produced in the case of the Vapor Vell, as well as the work they did in winning the consent of the working class through the establishment of a capitalistic culture of work.

Concepts and Theoretical Framework

The concept of cultural hegemony was developed by the Italian marxist philosopher Antoni Gramsci to explain how capitalism developed a resilience to what Marx predicted would be a global proletariat revolution. Gramsci's model of society took into account that the value-discourse of the working class was more complicated than a matter of simple economics and expanded the concept of "economic class" to that of "social class." Within Marx's framework of dialectical materialism, society itself, both culturally and politically, is modeled as a consequence of the material means of production⁹³-- whereas in Gramsci's framework this arrow goes in both directions, the values and cultural norms of a society have a determining role in the reification of the economic system.⁹⁴

One of Gramsci's insights was that the value-narratives of a given society are not set in stone-- they are not "natural" in this sense, but are constructed through a society's institutions, practices, belief systems, etc. In other words, culture is something that can be created. Once we accept this premise, the strategic importance of culture in the context of Marx's class-war becomes evident. Whoever controlled the culture, exercised a direct influence over the practical functioning of the economic system. This is what is meant by cultural hegemony-- the control of a society by the ruling class through the manipulation of culture. According to Gramsci, the fate of the capitalist system depended not just on the means of violent repression of the lower classes but on the outcome of this struggle for cultural hegemony. A proletariat hegemony, or working-class culture, would increase class consciousness, teach revolutionary theory and historical analysis, and promote revolutionary organization in society. A bourgeoisie hegemony, on the other hand, would promote the naturalization of a hierarchical social structure through the disciplinization of high culture norms and value-narratives mediated by the bourgeois intelligentsia, or intellectual class. The

⁹³ "What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." Marx, Karl, et al. (1848). *The Communist Manifesto*. Edited by Jeffrey C. Isaac, Yale University Press, 2012

⁹⁴ Hoare, Quintin & Nowell Smith, Geoffrey. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, New York: International Publishers.

ultimate goal of bourgeois hegemony would be to subjugate the working class under the economic system of capitalistic production, not through direct subjugation, but by winning their own consent.

Within the Gramscian model of hegemony, the proliferation of urban forms of display and instruction in Barcelona in the second half of the 19th century can be understood as examples of ideological state apparatus for securing ruling-class hegemony. These forms provided opportunities for promoting narratives recontextualizing industry and the economic objects of capitalistic production in positive, cultural terms. The factory would be represented, not as a site of class conflict and oppression, but as a family. The economic borders of colonialism and protectionism would be reinforced through the invention of national culture, history and ethnicity. Narratives of progress would inspire optimism towards the idea of modernity and promise technological solutions to the problems of industrial society. In general, these discourses promoted a bourgeoisie culture of work, which is why I label them “industrial.”

I label them “authorized” because of the way in which these discourses were deployed. In the first place, they are naturalizing: they make a claim that Bourgeois culture is a law of nature-- that it has always existed-- rather than being a historical development in response to the novelty of industrialization. Secondly, they are disciplinary: they present a claim to authority based on the consensus of an expert class. Their directives are then conveyed to the public in a one-way flow of information according to a “top-down” model. The last characteristic is how they obscure the political “work” that they do as hegemonic discourses. It is in the context of this hegemonic conquest of the city that the form of the monument was viewed as particularly useful.

As Laurajane Smith has written of the European case, the concept of monument has been particularly important, especially in the seventeenth century, when it took on meanings of power, greatness and beauty.⁹⁵ It came to affirm, “a sense of grand public schemes and aesthetic sensibilities. The monument became ‘a witness to history and a work of art’ that took on a commemorative role in triggering certain public memories and values, and is a concept that has come to embody a particular European vision of the world.” In the second half of the 19th century, interest in the conservation and production of monuments would be seen as one of the means by which to institute Bourgeoisie values of social order and morality in the industrial city. In Barcelona, the monuments to Joan Güell and Antonio López would embody the values of protectionism and colonialism.

⁹⁵ Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge. Also, see: Choay, Françoise. (2001). *The invention of the historic monument*. (Translated by Lauren M. O’Connell) Cambridge University Press.

2.3.1 The monumentalization of Joan Güell

The López family, like the Güell's, were not typical of the traditional Barcelonian bourgeoisie in that they did not inherit their wealth, but acquired it overseas in the Americas through maritime commerce, specifically, in the Cuban slave trade, where Antonio López would receive the nickname of *el Negre Domingo* ("black Domingo").⁹⁶ In Barcelona, he represented Spanish Colonial interests as the founder of the *Banco Hispano Colonial* to finance the war in Cuba and as vice president of the *Círculo Hispano Ultramarino de Barcelona*, a proslave institution presided over by Joan Güell. After his death in 1883, Antonio López would be eulogized as "the new conquistador", the eminent representative of the "Catalan group", and the "representative of the masterwork of our century."⁹⁷ In 2018, the Barcelonian government under Ada Colau would remove the statue of López from its pedestal because of these associations, but at the time of its construction these values were precisely what the monument was intended to celebrate and display. López' colonialism and Güell's protectionism were the foundation of the Barcelonian bourgeois' bid for economic competitiveness in the industrializing world.

The monument to Güell would be erected at the intersection of the Rambla de Catalunya with the Gran Via, a location symbolic of the move of the city's business district outside of the congested and insalubrious airs of the factory-choked Raval district. The statue itself would be constructed from stone collected for the exhibition of Spanish marble held at the newly constructed Ciutadella Park. In a gesture towards Güell's protectionist economic values, a big deal was made by the Executive Commission regarding the use of Spanish materials. The project presented to the City Council in September 1880 explained: "While the free-trade school destroys elements of peace and public prosperity, giving foreign labor advantages and restricting our freedom to apply our diverse aptitudes, slowing the development of our wealth almost from the start; while several elements of work fall, as if pieces of the nations building..., we claim that, if there is a school of prodigal children that destroys, we know how to build and facilitate the development of a useful element of the subsoil that must bring the to arts and to the other industries its aid and its influence of beneficial relationship."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Maluquer, Jordi. (1974). *La burguesia catalana i l'esclavitud colonial: modes de producció i pràctica política*. In Recerques, Ariel, Barcelona, no 3: p. 83-136.

⁹⁷ Michonneau, Stéphane. (2001). *Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites*. Eumo Editorial, p. 89.

⁹⁸ As Michonneau elaborates, "El zel proteccionista es va estendre fins en la tria dels materials de construcció que, segons confessaren els arquitectes i els escultors, venien d'Espanya. L'arquitecte del monument a López precisava fins i tot que "catalanes son cuantos han contribuido a su construcción." Per al monument a Güell, la Comissió executiva reuní el 1883 al Parc de la Ciutadella una exposició de marbres espanyols "ya que el monumento debe construirse con materiales del país." El projecte presentat a l'Ajuntament pel setembre de 1880 explicava: "Mientras la escuela libre-cambista destruye elementos de paz y prosperidad pública, dando al trabajo extranjero ventajas y cohibiendo la libertad de aplicar nuestras diversas aptitudes, retarda el desarrollo de nuestra riqueza casi en germen; mientras caen diversos elementos de trabajo, como si cayeran pedazos del edificio patrio, probemos que, si existe una escuela de hijos pródigos que destruye,

Protectionism would also be featured in the design of the sculpture, which was designed by Rossend Nobas. Joan is portrayed holding a manuscript, a reference to his many works on economic theory and in the defense of protectionism. He stands on a square pedestal flanked by four seated matrons that represent Agriculture, Industry, Commercial Navigation, and Arts, each one with its traditional attributes. The cornice features the shields of Barcelona and the Greeks. At Joan's feet is a beehive. It's not entirely clear what this is supposed to represent. According to Michonneau, "It might symbolize industrial work or perhaps the organized and rational society of the fable of Mandeville."⁹⁹ To this speculation, I propose the following: could it represent the Vapor Vell? It is true that the statue faces South, in the direction of the Vapor Vell, and these questions are not usually left to chance.

While we may never know what the beehive was intended to represent, the question of whether it symbolizes the Vapor Vell or not brings us to the central concern of this section which is to investigate the ways of talking about and relating to industry which were promoted in the official, hegemonic account. In this case, our research question might be framed as, "What type of discourse does this monument present regarding the Vapor Vell? How is the business framed?"

The simplest answer is that, in the monument as well as in the portrait and commemorative biography of Güell which were all prepared as a part of the larger campaign of monumentalization, Joan Güell's relationship to the Vapor Vell is that of a founding father. The Vapor Vell is presented, first and foremost, as being "of" Joan Güell-- as one of his finest creations and the site of the "soldier of work's" great business victories. Here I argue that this creator-creation relationship is one of the hallmarks of the authorized industrial discourse of paternalism. Let's take a moment to evaluate this discourse.

2.3.2 The paternalist discourse

The word paternalism comes from the Latin word *pater* which means "father", and in its most common usage refers to the way a father would treat their child --a family relationship characterized by love and expressed through parental authority in a manner intended to promote a social order favoring the child's best interests. The paternal relationship is a hierarchical one, in which the child's autonomy is limited by their dependence on the parent, an imbalance which the child is expected to compensate for through their own expression of love characterized by obedience, respect, etc. Applying our previously elaborated discourse analysis metric, the paternalistic discourse for the father/child relationship might look something like the following:

nosotros sabemos construir y facilitar el desenvolvimiento de un elemento útil del subsuelo que ha de traer a las artes y a las demás industrias su auxilio y su influencia de relación benéfica." (Ibid. p. 89.)

⁹⁹ (Ibid. p. 89)

Paternalist discourse:

Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
Father, Children	Authority, obedience	Dependence vs autonomy	Social order	Familial love

Perhaps the most direct example of industrial paternalism would be the development of the economic system of welfare capitalism (also known as industrial paternalism) in Barcelona in the late 19th century in which employees were offered a variety of protections and provisions above and beyond the simple hourly-wage system. These could include anything from retirement pensions and paid sick-leave to free child-care and subsidized worker-housing. Previously, the working-class had developed initiatives to provide these types of social services for themselves through the formation of mutual aid societies, ateneus and cooperatives. These expressions of associationism were typically organized naturally along neighborhood lines, and with a horizontal, assembly-based political structure, embodying the value of solidarity as the source of economic stability. With the advent of welfare capitalism, however, these social functions were assimilated by employers into the structure of the business itself. According to Sants' historian Carles Enrech, "the labor conflict explains the development of the paternalistic social project as a formula for solving the social question and maintaining lower labor costs."¹⁰⁰ In any case, the paternalistic system was a top-down approach to addressing the needs of the working class and reproduced a hierarchical model of industrial society. In 1889, the Vapor Vell would become one of the first businesses in Spain to offer a retirement package to its employees, although, as we will see in the following section (2.4), this deal was not viewed favorably by the workers who protested the change so violently that they would essentially cause the Güell family to move the business to a new location outside of Sants.

For the time being, the important thing to note about welfare capitalism, and industrial paternalism in general, is that it allowed for a major shift in the culture of work by changing the way employees related to employers. The paternalistic model transformed the labor discourse of capitalistic production from a question of economic exploitation (the socialist interpretation) into a situation of familial love and dependency, in which the price for being cared for by the employer was submission to their authority and the renunciation of one's own economic autonomy. While this certainly wasn't a great option for the workers, it had the potential to be less abusive than earlier models of capitalistic production. The discourse of industrial paternalism took various forms, but in general it involved representing the

¹⁰⁰ Enrech, Carles. (2005). *Les colonies industrials i el projecte social paternalista*. L'Erol, num. 86-87: p.20.

employer as an a) loving creator, b) natural authority, c) spiritual leader, d) and historical protagonist.

Loving Creator

The metaphor of the industrialist as a loving creator would be used to describe Joan Güell's relationship to the Vapor Vell, and, by extension, to his employees. Take for example, this description of Joan Güell presented by J. M. Muntadas, director of the Vapor Nou, in an article titled "Don Juan Güell y Ferrer, considered as an industrialist:"

A well organized factory is like a good book in the influence that it exercises not just on the material well being, but on the moral well being of the operator, as long as there exists the discipline which should reside always in every grand meeting place. Work is the moralizing element of the people, and thus the criminal statistics, of which workers make up a minimal proportion. Let me be clear and add here that the true industrialist works and aims for something more than the remuneration of his capital. The industrialist loves his industry with the same enthusiasm as an artist for his art, as a writer for his books: the artifact that leaves his workshops is stamped with something of his personality, with his name, with his reputation; he takes, therefore, a legitimate pride in lowering the costs, perfecting the product, and making it as accessible to as many as possible without need of extorting a material profit."¹⁰¹

Here the metaphor of an artist is used to talk about the love that Güell had for his creation, in which he had invested a part of himself. Essentially, this is just a variation of the "founding father" metaphor. An important characteristic of this kind of paternalistic discourse is that it portrays the employee/employer relationship as one which transcends economics ("The true industrialist works for something more than just the remuneration of his capital"). Instead, this relationship is shown to be warm and humane ("the industrialist loves his industry"). The impact of the family structure in legitimizing and stabilizing industrial hierarchies would cut both ways-- industrial society would, at the same time, impact and redefine the family structure in important ways, for example in the establishment of the nuclear family as a financially viable social unit.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ J. M. Muntada. "Don Juan Güell y Ferrer, considerado como industrialista". Cited in: Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d'una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62. P. 38.

¹⁰² "Abolition [Aufhebung] of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists. On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form, this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution. The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital. Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty. But, you say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social." In: Marx, Karl, et al. (1848). *The Communist Manifesto*. Edited by Jeffrey C. Isaac, Yale University Press, 2012.

Natural Authority

Part of the paternalist discourse also involved the naturalization of industrial social hierarchies. In Barcelona, this was done by invoking the legacy of previous expressions of social hierarchy, remaking them for the industrial context. One of these strategies is described by Michonneau as the “Aristocratization of the Bourgeoisie,” in which the Bourgeoisie class instrumentalized old, aristocratic strategies of legitimizing their status in society by essentially claiming membership in a higher class of humanity. The monuments to Güell and López were particularly strategic in this respect, as materializations of bourgeois hegemony through the naturalization of the authority of two of their star representatives. Michonneau writes that:

Contrary to what it may seem, Barcelona's elites did not simply erect monuments to two of its members. Rather, they all contributed to emphasizing the exceptional character of the characters, their nobility of blood and their social distinction. Joan Mañé i Flaquer, the surest supporter of the conservative sphere, made López a "superior man" who belonged to a "superior race." Later, he added that “we consider him of a superior race. We value him, no longer as a man superior or inferior to those in a similar position, but as a different man.” This differentiation was such a strong principle that, according to the journalist, “he was always noble in his thoughts, in his feelings, in his actions; so the title of nobility did nothing but confirm what already existed.

But the important thing was that all of society was willing, and even enthusiastic, to crown these princes. As if the expanding Catalan bourgeoisie had found in this election the principle of an organically hierarchical society organized around the *pater familias*, similar to that rural family that found its apogee in the idealized farmhouse. That is why the praises did not stop lauding in these heroes the qualities of a good father, a loving husband and a grateful son. In the veneration of López and Güell, the anxiety of high society for the search for its patriarchy, its stable principle of organization, was on full display. López and Güell were, during these years of gold fever, the true counts of Barcelona.¹⁰³

It is worth noting at this point that, in fact, Joan Güell's son Eusebi would receive the title of Count Güell in 1908. This point aside, Michonneau's explanation of the role that the monument to Güell had in helping establish a form of hierarchical industrial social order also helps to explain some of the passages in Argullol's biography of Güell that, when I read it for the first time, struck me as rather shameless flattery. To hear Argullol speak, it wasn't enough that Joan Güell was a brilliant capitalist, he also was an outstanding human being. “I have here,” writes Argullol, “briefly and simply described the life of a man who, following a method almost as invariable as his kindness, his constancy and his character, dedicated the first hours of the day to the study of economic issues, and to the exercise and practice of industries factory and agricultural the rest of the time. Frugal and sober like few, he did not know luxury; however enthusiastic about beauty in all its manifestations. Severe on himself

¹⁰³ Michonneau, Stéphane. (2001). Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites. Eumo Editorial, p. 92.

and his family, he was indulgent, liberal, and tolerant of others. His authority and his respectability he did not ever presume, and he imposed incontrovertibly on the force of his own example. Always modest, always affable, always a friend of youth, a constant admirer of merit wherever and whenever it appeared...”

Argullol’s praise of Güell begins to become exhausting, and it’s not only limited to his character. That’s right-- not only was Joan Güell a brilliant capitalist and an outstanding human being, he was also a great-looking guy. “See his composed and tranquil attitude,” writes Argullol, in reference to the portrait painted by Claudi Lorenzalea, “and if it is true that it is a mirror aspect of the soul, you will well notice in the gentle lines of his face the expression of some genuine goodness, intelligence in his spacious front, firmness in his gaze, modesty, formality, seriousness, simplicity in the whole. It is indeed the confirmation, sum and summary of the facts of his life. It is the synthetic expression of his qualities that are guessed when looking at him.”¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps tempting to view these words as frivolous commemorative rhetoric, but in the context of the 19th century, these types of physiognomic discourses were actively being used to justify claims of ethnic hierarchy and scientific racism.¹⁰⁵

Industrial Spirituality

The Catholic church offered another form of paternalism with which industrial paternalism could find synergy. The Catholic Sacrament of Holy Orders had already naturalized the religious hierarchy of deacon, priest, and bishop (not to mention the head of the Catholic hierarchy, the Pope himself, who apart from ‘father God’ represented the ultimate spiritual father-figure), and the integration of social catholicism into factory life would become a feature of Catalan industrialization. Although I have not found any record of it’s date of construction, one of the buildings destroyed in the urbanization of the Vapor Vell during the 1990’s would be the factory’s chapel. On the other hand, just as industrial society was shaped by catholicism, catholicism would be shaped by industrialization. The advent of a new industrial social order would require a new “spiritual order.”¹⁰⁶

An important milestone in the development of this industrial spirituality was Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum novarum*, “Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor”, issued on May 15,

¹⁰⁴ Argullol y Serra, José. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. N. Ramírez y Compañía: Barcelona.

¹⁰⁵ Twine, R.. (2002). Physiognomy, Phrenology and the Temporality of the Body. *Body & Society*. 2002;8(1):67-88.

¹⁰⁶ “Vivim en una època de transformació política, econòmica, social i moral semblant a la que devia experimentar-se en els últims moments del feudalisme o durant la Revolució Francesa (...) Les conseqüències de la guerra mundial i la crisi econòmica en 1929 han pertorbat l'economia (...) i el que agreuja aquesta transformació social que pateix el món és que no s'entreu en l'horitzó la nova civilització que ha de substituir a l'actual (...). Per a crear un ordre nou es precis crear abans una nova espiritualitat” (Josep M. Tallada, enginyer industrial, 1935). Cited in Valentines, Álvarez J. (2012). *Tecnocràcia i Catalanisme tècnic a Catalunya als anys 1930. Els enginyers industrials, de l'organització del taller a la racionalització de l'estat*. Phd thesis, Bellaterra: UAB.

1891, which clarified the Catholic church's response to the social issues of industrialization. At a time when the clash of labor and capital threatened to destabilize the new economic system of capitalistic production, the church would come to the defense of social order, disavowing the principle of class conflict, while also denouncing unrestricted capitalism and the prohibition of trade unions:

“The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the working men are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view that the direct contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human frame is the result of the suitable arrangement of the different parts of the body, so in a State is it ordained by nature that these two classes should dwell in harmony and agreement, so as to maintain the balance of the body politic. Each needs the other: capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in the beauty of good order, while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian institutions is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the working class together, by reminding each of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice.”¹⁰⁷

In discourses of this nature, bourgeois hegemony found an ally in the catholic church. At the same time, the catholic church would experience increasing hostility from anti-capitalist workers associations. Churches would become targets during anarchist uprisings, for example during the *setmana tràgica* or “tragic week” of 1909.¹⁰⁸

Sants would be one of the neighborhoods most active in the pioneering experience of developing a secular educational model in an effort to subvert the hegemony of industrial spirituality in the schools. The pedagogical critique of these new schools sought to transform the way children were socialized into industrial society. This socialization was materialized not only through the secular content of the curriculum, but by the discourse of schooling itself-- in the production of the teacher-student relationship, as well as the students' relationship with others, themselves, and their own process of learning.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*, “Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor”, issued on May 15, 1891: Paragraph 19.

¹⁰⁸ See: Marín, Dolors. (2009). *La Semana Trágica. Barcelona en llamas, la revuelta popular y la Escuela Moderna*. Ed. La Esfera de los libros.

¹⁰⁹ Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, written in the context of Colonial exploitation in South America, is a good source of critique of the paternalist educational ideology represented by what he calls the banking style of education, in which a student is represented as an empty brain in which a teacher is to put knowledge. “We simply cannot go to the laborers—urban or peasant—in the banking style, to give them “knowledge” or to impose upon them the model of the “good man” contained in a program whose content we have ourselves organized. Many political and educational plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their own personal views of reality, never once taking into account (except as mere objects of their actions) the men-in-a-situation to whom their program was ostensibly directed.” Freire, Paulo. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.

Historical protagonist

Another characteristic of the paternalist discourse is that it tends to manifest itself through the narrative form of a protagonist. The case of the Vapor Vell is a good example of this-- the majority of our historical knowledge about the founding of the factory comes from a biography of Joan Güell. Biographies, and especially commemorative biographies, use a narrative form based on the principle of protagonism-- they have a clear main character around which the story revolves. This narrative device is so common in European historiography with its tales of “great men,” whether kings, emperors or generals, that it can become difficult to imagine what a non-protagonistic historiography would even look like. Who would the hero be? How would we know who to root for? How would we, the readers, interact with such a story?

Reflecting on the principle of protagonism illuminates some rather subtle messaging going on in the story of the Vapor Vell. The medium of the story itself, as a biography, cues us to interact with the story in a particular way. First of all, we are expected to empathize with Joan Güell-- he is presented as the subject of the story. Alternatively, the other characters are given secondary roles in what is essentially Joan Güell’s narrative. In this respect, a biography does not represent reality itself, which knows neither protagonists nor narratives¹¹⁰, but is rather an interpretation. Like all interpretations, it communicates more than historical content-- it communicates an historical perspective. It is, simply put, a type of discourse.

In terms of cultural hegemony, the use of protagonistic discourses can accomplish various purposes. First of all, the discourse privileges a particular historical perspective. In the case of the Vapor Vell, protagonizing Joan Güell in the story generates empathy with him as a person and promotes his bourgeoisie perspective of industry. An interesting example of this comes from Joan’s biography in which Argullol reports on the assassination of Sol i Padrís as experienced by Joan Güell. This excerpt picks up at the point of the story when Joan had to shut down the factory and flee to France during the Progressive Biennium. The other partners, however, alarmed about the loss of profit, urged him to reopen the factory:

“So continuous and persuasive was the pressure of the interested parties, that Güell could not resist it; he gave in in the end, washing his hands of all responsibilities. The factory was opened, and fearful of the consequences and most fearful for what might happen to his beloved friend Sol and Padrís, see what he wrote from Nimes, in a letter dated May 1, 1855:

“I ask and charge you, one and a thousand times if it is necessary, that for no reason be compromised, without any care that I suffer from it my interests, because everything I am satisfied and I am resolved; since men know how to earn money and

¹¹⁰ This is an idea I first heard from Galen Stawson, a British Analytic Philosopher and literary critic, who argues that being a “Narrativist” (experiencing one’s life as a story) is not a universal human truth. (Stawson, Galen. (2015). “I am not a story.” In Leader, Zachary (ed). *On Life-Writing*. OUP.

money does not earn man "Open [the factory] yourself," he adds in another paragraph, "as a man of the world, knowing that you have no formal commitment to this I will be more content, if you said that your father did not want you to continue or that you yourself did not want to continue as director of the factory."

He insisted that he come to France to meet him: Sol and Padris received the remarkable letter that he could well consider as a providential warning, and the next day he was killed by the mobs in the factory and Ramis, another companion and partner in the industrial company, was seriously injured. Güell learned of this while in Nimes, and take note: the man who remained impassive and calm when he had learned that his frigate has sunk and he had lost much of his fortune, loses his serenity, tears fill his eyes and he becomes seriously sick-- after saying goodbye to his beloved wife and now his best friend dies. No, Güell was not fortunate in the business of the soul.

Notice the effect that this version of the Sol i Padrís has on the reader. One can hardly help but sympathize with Güell, who had just lost a friend. Here, the framework of protagonism obscures the political role that this story had as a means of invisibilizing the experiences and voices of the working class who, ironically, were striking in order to denounce the invisibilization of their class by means of the criminalization of workers' associations. The tactic of protagonism allowed historians to write about the historically marginalized groups in a way which reproduced their marginalization.

One alternative to this type of bourgeoisie historiography would be the development of the 19th century social novels by authors like Charles Dickens, who wrote about the conditions of the working class in industrialized England in an effort to denounce aspects of industrial society by protagonizing working-class subjects. Karl Marx asserted that Dickens "issued to the world more political and social truths than have been uttered by all the professional politicians, publicists and moralists put together."¹¹¹ But although Dickens, to some degree, inverted the typical protagonisms of the industrial age in his novels, the banishment of protagonism itself would be a project undertaken by Marx and Engles with the development of what is known as "historical materialism" which sought to elevate history to the level of social science-- an objective discipline with real explaining power, and not just a collection of strung-together moralizing tales.

2.3.3 The patriotic discourse

If industrial paternalism was to be the tool for transforming the labor discourse from one of class oppression and conflict to that of natural hierarchy and familial love-- the discourse of patriotism would do something similar for the imperial discourse. Spain would

¹¹¹ As quoted in Kucich and Sadoff. (2006). *Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century*. p. 155.

not be seen as an economic enterprise founded on Colonial theft and slavery, but as a noble and natural “fatherland.”

The term “patriot” or *patriota* comes from the Latin word for "countryman", and previously from the Greek *patriōtēs*, meaning 'from the same country', and *patris*, meaning 'fatherland'. Like the paternalistic discourse, the patriotic discourse would be incarnated through the production of the nation as a protagonist, and the citizens would be disciplined in a new way of relating to it-- with love and devotion-- as well as new ways of relating to each other-- with a sense of alliance, as citizens sharing the same values. This discourse would be produced in a variety of ways through the invention of national ethnicity, culture and history.¹¹² These would legitimize the economic objects of the imperialist discourse, including Colonial and protectionist tactics which required a strong sense of imagined national community in order to reify resilient economic frontiers.¹¹³

Patriotic discourse

Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
The nation, its people	National territory	Ethnic, cultural, historical membership	National community	The nation

In the historical documentation of the Vapor Vell, the patriotic discourse appears in a number of different ways. Already, in the biography of Joan Güell, we have seen how he is portrayed as a patriot who, “for nothing in the world, neither before nor after, would have betrayed his country.” It is important to note that this country being spoken of is Spain, not Catalonia, and that Argullol published this book in Spanish, even going so far as to refer to Joan Güell as Juan Güell, the Castilian equivalent of the name. For his part, Joan, or Juan, cultivated a warm relationship with the Spanish monarchy, who would visit each summer in his Summer house in Comillas.

It was within the context of Spanish nation-building that the development of a hegemonic patriotic discourse of Catalonia would begin in earnest. This would be cultivated during the Renaixença, or the “Catalan renaissance” starting around the 1840s and transition into a project of political Catalanism starting around the 1880’s when it became apparent that

¹¹² What Hobsbawm refers to as the “invention” of tradition actually involves a whole range of activities including study, interpretation, education, display, etc. The concept of musealization is useful here in order to describe how, once a tradition is invented, it can become established as such in a given society. (See Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence. (1983). *The invention of tradition*.)

¹¹³ Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined community describes nationalism as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves to be a part of that group. (See Anderson, Benedict. (1983). *Imagined Communities*.)

the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie would not otherwise be able to succeed in securing the state apparatus or identifying its interests with those of the whole of Spain. It was at this point that, as Pierre Vilar writes, “Catalonia, this little ‘fatherland’, finally became the ‘national’ focal point.”¹¹⁴

Industrialization was at the heart of the Catalan national project, and this would be reflected in the expression this patriotic discourse would take. By 1888, the inauguration of the monument to Joan Güell would be imbued with *Catalanista* significance through the use of the Catalan language. According to one of Joan’s grandsons: “Although I was a child I remember it well. The great Sagasta - president at the time of the Council of Ministers - attended the ceremony and even pronounced the ritual words of the occasions in Catalan.”¹¹⁵ In a report of the ceremony published at that time, one of Joan’s friends would make a special point to mention that “Never in our frequent and intimate conversations did we use any language but Catalan, and that given that he had lived many years in America.”¹¹⁶ This emphasis on reasserting the Catalan language after centuries of decline with respect to Castilian Spanish was a central pillar of the Catalanists cultural project, for example through the founding of Catalan language publications such as the *Il·lustració Catalana* and the organization of literary contests like the Jocs Florals.¹¹⁷

So, despite being characterized as a Spanish patriot in his biography written in 1879, less than ten years later Joan Güell, and his protectionist economics in particular, would become a fixture of Catalanista iconography.¹¹⁸ This apparent contradiction was characteristic of the nationalist/industrialist accord of the conservative Catalan bourgeois--that nationalists could propagate the Catalan identity provided that it coincided with the industrialists’ pro-Spanish stance, in order to secure access to the markets and protectionism

¹¹⁴ Vilar, Pierre. (1980). *Spain and Catalonia*. Review (Fernand Braudel Center). Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 527-577. (551). This is a translation of part of Vilar’s classic book on the topic of Catalan nationalism: Catalonia in modern Spain. Research on the economic foundations of national structures. Published in 1962.

¹¹⁵ Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d’una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62.

¹¹⁶ Romaní, Francesc. (1888). “Monumento a Güell.” *Espana Regional*. Cited in: Farràs, Andreu. (2016). *Els Güell. La història d’una de les famílies més influents a Catalunya els últims dos segles*. Edicions 62.

¹¹⁷ One of the primary projects of Catalan nationalism was the effort to reassert the Catalan language after centuries of decline with respect to Castilian Spanish. The founding of Catalan language publications such as the *Il·lustració Catalana* and the organization of literary contests like the Jocs Florals went a long way in developing a Catalan tradition of high literature. In this competition, the winner of the second and third prizes would receive gold and silver, representing nation and faith- but the highest honor was a simple rose-representing love. The idea here was that the rose would perish, but the poem which had earned it would endure forever. See, for example, Hughes, Robert. (2003). *Barcelona, the great enchantress*.

¹¹⁸ As an example of Joan’s protectionist discourse, see: “Consideraciones sobre algunos puntos económicos y administrativos” (1852). There, he writes: “*Es ciertamente una calamidad para España que su capital, a diferencia de Londres y París, sea completamente improductiva: allí no hay industria, ni comercio ni aun puede decirse agricultura; de aquí se deriva naturalmente que sea el país más a propósito para aceptar las doctrinas del libre-cambio, de sí ya seductoras, y además sus partidarios, convencidos del interés que tienen en ganar la opinión del centro del Gobierno, han sabido cubrirlas con el manto del interés de la renta, halagando así a las clases de que generalmente se compone aquella población.*”

of the Spanish empire.¹¹⁹ Essentially this was a federalist platform. It would be the loss of the Spanish colonies of Cuba and the Philippines in 1898 that would trigger a spike in political Catalanism and the founding of the first modern political party in Catalonia, the Lliga Regionalista, in 1901.

The quintessential example of this nationalist/industrialist accord can be found in the figure of Joan's son, Eusebi Güell.¹²⁰ After taking over management of his father's businesses he would also take a direct role in politics and in the construction of Catalan culture. In 1882, he joined the *Centre Català*, an institution which sought to unite Catalonians in the defense of their national economic and political interests.¹²¹ In 1885, he would author a portion of the *Memorial de Greuges: Memory in defense of the moral and material interests of Catalunya*, which was presented to king Alfons XII as perhaps the first manifesto of political Catalanism.¹²² Notably, this platform would include:

- A declaration of Spanish loyalty,
- A vindication of the Catalan language which had been removed from schools, public contracts, and courts,

¹¹⁹ See, for example, work of Josep Fradera and Joan Marfany: Fradera, Josep M. (2003). *Cultura nacional en una sociedad dividida: Cataluña, 1838-1868*. Madrid: Marcial Pons. Fradera, Josep M. (2009). *La Pàtria dels catalans : història, política, cultura*. Barcelona: La Magrana. Marfany, Joan Lluís. (1995). *La Cultura del catalanisme: el nacionalisme català en els seus inicis*. Barcelona: Empúries. Marfany, Joan Lluís. (2017). *Nacionalisme espanyol i catalanitat (1789-1859): cap a una revisió de la Renaixença*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

¹²⁰ Born in 1846, Eusebi Güell spent his early years studying law, social science, political economy, physics and mechanical chemistry in Barcelona and Paris. He was twenty six when his father died, leaving him in charge of his business affairs, including the management of the Vapor Vell. He would also participate as a shareholder of a variety of companies# (most of them linked to his father-in-law, Antonio López,) founding Asland (the first Portland cement company in Spain), and even publishing a book on microbiological theory: *Immunity by Leucomaines*. 1886. A reprint of this work has been published in 2010 by Nabu Press, in English. (He was on the board of: Crèdit Mercantil, Banco Hispano-Colonial, Compañía de Tabacos de Filipinas, Compañía Transatlántica, Ferrocarrils de Barcelona a França, La Previsión, companyia d'assegurances, Mines del Rif, Sociedad Hullera y Carbonera Española, Banca López Bru, etc.)

¹²¹ In 1887, the Centre would split into more progressive and conservative halves. Eusebi would join the latter, renamed as the Lliga de Catalunya. A document titled "General Catalanist Economic Criteria," written by Ferran Alsina, the technical director of the Vapor Vell, provides a good summary of the economic platform of the conservative industrial class.

¹²² Eusebi Güell was received as an honored citizen at the return banquet of the Memorial de Greuges. In the *Il·lustració Catalana* magazine from 1888, this moment is described as follows (See appendix, document 3, p.3): "Prou li costa, segons diuen, lo decidir-se a sortir de casa seva per presentar se 'n publich: l'amor a Catalunya pogué més que sa modestia, y, convençut de qu' era arribada l'hora de parlar, ell que no havia parlat may en publich y que talvolta havia fet lo proposit de no parlarhi may, alsa aquell jorn la veu per dir al Rey, de modo que 'u sentis tota Espanya, que "les aspiracions de Catalunya no son altres que alcancar la verdadera estabilitat en la conservacio de son rich patrimoni de creencies, lleys y costums, tradicions y llengua, recorts y esperances, de tot allo, en fi, que li dona fesomia, caracter y vida propia" y que, si les paraules pe'l Rey pronunciades al contestar a la Comissio que 'n aquell moment s' obsequivava, feyan que Catalunya pogues abrigar la confiansa de tenir en lo Poder Real un apoyo ferm y segur pera la realisacio de ses aspiracions, lo Rey, en cambi, podra tenir la seguritat de trobar en "aquestes forses solides y permanents de cada provincia un apoyo mes fort y mes segur que 'l que puguin oferirle 'ls partits politichs, conconstants com el vent, bellugadissos com les ones y com elles tambe de curta y, efimera existencia."

- Complaints about the failures of Spanish government, including legislative instability, lack of strong governance, civil wars, revolution, crisis and continuous pronouncements, as well as the constant threat of free-trade policies,
- Complaints about the attack on Catalan Civil Code, and
- The necessity of protectionism.

Besides his involvement in political Catalanism, Eusebi would promote a patriotic discourse through his patronage of the arts, for example as one of the founders of the *Il·lustració Catalana* as well as his involvement with the *Jocs Florals*. He would be best known, however, for his pioneering role in bringing the patriotic discourse into the factory through his work with Antoni Gaudí and the Catalan modernist movement.

Gaudí, and the architectural movement he would make famous, is perhaps the section of this thesis which requires the least introduction. The name Gaudí, has become a central pillar of Barcelona's city-branding since the Olympics in 1992-- and there is, perhaps, some basis for this. When I first visited the Sagrada Família, Gaudí's most ambitious (and still unfinished) masterpiece as a tourist back in 2013 it struck me as the most surprising and unique architectural objects I have ever seen. Modernisme is the Catalan take on art nouveau architecture which flourished in Catalonia at the turn of the 20th century. Perhaps the first example of the style is the *Castell dels Tres Dragons* ("Castle of the three dragons") built for the 1888 universal exhibition in Barcelona's Ciutadella Park. One of the characteristics of this style was its price tag. Much of the construction was artisanal and had to be carried out by specialized local craftsmen. Not only would many of these buildings be built with capital acquired from industry, many factories themselves would be built in this style. Eusebi Güell's relationship with the architect Antoni Gaudí is the prime example of this dynamic.¹²³ Eusebi financed the Palau Güell (1886), Parc Güell (1900), "El Capricho", in Comillas (1883), and the crypt of Colònia Güell (1908), all of which were built by Gaudí at exorbitant cost.

The modernist movement materialized the identity and values of the bourgeoisie class through aesthetic forms inspired by nature, highlighting Catalan craftsmanship. In this, the architectural movement shared a pedagogical axes characteristic of the Romantic nationalist movement in general-- the idealization of rural life as the model of a harmonious world, free from any social conflict. It was an art form completely alien to the realities of urban working life-- as though, through the evocation of a harmonious agrarian past, one could conjure up a balm for the tensions of the present.

Whereas the Vapor Vell had been built as a copy of an English factory in 1844, by the end of the 19th century factories like the Colònia Güell would be built according to a new strategy. Not only were they intended to maximize technical efficiency, but the factory itself,

¹²³ Güell Malet, Carmen. (2007). *Gaudí y el conde de Güell. El artista y el mecenas*. Madrid: mr Ediciones, p. 81.

through its architectural discourse, would take a hegemonic role in promoting the powerful idea that Catalan culture was a culture of industrial work. They would do this by becoming, themselves, genuine works of art-- monuments to Catalonia.

2.3.4 The monumentalization of Catalonia

The monumentalization of Catalonia was a project which in many ways echoes the process of monumentalization of Joan Güell. The 1880's, in particular, saw the popularization of symbols of Catalanism including the flag (the four stripes of blood), the national anthem ("The reapers"), the national holiday (the 11th of September), the national dance (the sardana) as well as the two patron Saints (Sant Jordi and the Virgin of Montserrat).¹²⁴ These symbols reified the existence of the nation, and they were accompanied by a historical program in accordance with the Romantic philosophy of history which pointed to the past as a legitimization of Catalonia's nationhood by creating a discourse of a natural, national protagonist. These were histories like Valentí Almirall i Llozer's *Lo Catalanisme* (1886), Victor Balaguer's *Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón* (1860) and Prat de la Riba's *La Nacionalitat Catalana* (1906).

The school played an important role in this as well as a fundamental means of ideological homogenization in the service of national unification subordinate to the projects of socially hegemonic state groups. As the Catalan historian and professor of didactics Xavier Hernández writes:

“On one hand, Geography was used to teach the frontiers of the country, its characteristics, its emblems, emblematic landscapes, symbols, etc, and the peculiarities of its people. The national perspective was emphasized and the possible sub-national differences, if there were any, were reduced to regional and provincial folkloric peculiarities, and so Geography was converted into a subject, in good measure, of propaganda for legitimizing a present characterized by the coherence and potency of the nation state or the project of the nation state. The role of History would be similar, and complimentary to that of Geography, incorporating, above all, contents more clearly political and ideological. In this way, the great task of school history is to legitimize through history, and from the most remote time possible, the coherence of nation states.¹²⁵

The construction of a Catalan patriotic identity was also inspired by the writings of the German romantics regarding the existence of a national character, or “volk.” During the Catalan *Renaixença*, some Catalan intellectuals had begun to investigate the ways in which Catalans were different from other Spaniards, noting, for example, the fact that Catalonia was much more economically successful than other parts of Spain. The idea of the volk led to the development of the idea that this wealth could be attributed, not to practices of

¹²⁴ De la Granja, José Luis & Beramendi, Justo & Anguera, Pere (2001). *La España de los nacionalismos y las autonomías*. Madrid: Síntesis.

¹²⁵ From Hernández i Cardona, Xavier. (1993). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. (doctoral thesis) University of Barcelona.

colonialism and industrialization, but to the character traits of the Catalans themselves, as a different type of people than other Spaniards. Specifically, they were “hard working people,” “having succeeded in developing a strong sense of resolution and constancy over the centuries.”¹²⁶ D’Eixalà and Llorens would promote the idea of a Catalan national character, claiming that two characteristics particular to Catalans were *seny* (“common sense”) and industriousness.¹²⁷ In 1855, the local priest of Sants, where the Vapor Vell had recently been built, would include in his records a description of the “Character of the people of *Sans*.”¹²⁸ He characterized native *santsencs* and *santsenques* (“people of Sants”) as “good, docile, inclined to work, and churchgoing.” But he would go on to lament that “since the arrival of the factories only half of the children come to Sunday school.”¹²⁹

One of the main proponents of the Renaixença was the prolific collector of folklore and oral history Marian Aguiló (1825-1897) who was partially responsible for the creation of the myth of Catalan folk culture through his portrayal of a rural world with an idyllic, conservative Catholic society in which there was no apparent conflict, despite the fact that, in the second half of the 19th century, Catalonia was a society in rapid transformation, with large centers of industrialization in which social conflicts were very present.¹³⁰

The architectural form of industrial modernism would embody these romantic notions of Catalan culture, history, geography, and ethnicity, binding these patriotic values with the values of capitalistic production and physically embedding them in the very heart of industrial society-- the factory itself. At the same time, the factory would be aesthetically and culturally integrated into the larger project of conservative, bourgeoisie Catalanism, which extended across the territory through a network of hegemonic initiatives including schools, churches, cultural associations, public monuments, housing, law enforcement, etc. Industrial modernism would transform the factory into a monument to this cultural project, while at the same time establishing it to be a culture of industrial work.

Conclusion

The rise to power of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie and their hegemonic conquest of the city in the 1880’s has defined the way in which factories like the Vapor Vell have been remembered. The industrial record from these years is charged with political implications

¹²⁶ Juan Cortada, quoted in Llobera, Josep R. (1983). *The idea of volksgeist in the formation of Catalan nationalist ideology*. Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3, July: p. 342

¹²⁷ Llobera, Josep R. (2004). *Foundation of national identity: From Catalonia to Europe*. Berghahn Books: New York, p. 75.

¹²⁸ “Caràcter de la gent de Sans.” See page 27 of Col·lectiu de l’Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts (including A Bernaus i Salisi; F.X. Hernández i Cardona; P. Hornos i Garcia; M. Sales i Sebastià; R. Torras i Conangla). (1985). *Materials per a una Didàctica del Vapor Vell*. [Accessed: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat Barcelona.]

¹²⁹ (Ibid. “*Lo Poble de Sans se pot dir poble rich perquè tothom treballa. Los fills externs ja en los prats, pedreras, fabricas, etc. Las miñonas en las fabricas de filats guañan bonas semanas, com son de dotse a vint pesetas.*”)

¹³⁰ Prats, Llorenc. (1988). *El Mite de la tradició popular: els orígens de l’interès per la cultura tradicional a la Catalunya del segle XIX*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

which were relevant at that time. In order to understand the real story of the Vapor Vell, it is necessary to first study this context, and to deconstruct the official narrative in order to arrive at the truth. In this chapter, I have proposed that a proper analysis of the Vapor Vell's historiography must include a critical investigation of these authorized industrial discourses of paternalism and patriotism as technologies of social control which recontextualized the role of industry in society through the construction of a capitalistic culture of work.

As we have seen, the industrial record from this period takes the form of monumental discourses. Here we have analyzed the monuments to Güell, López, and Clavé built in the 1880's, as well as the monumentalization of Catalonia through the transformation of the factory into industrial modernism. These cultural forms embody the characteristic traits of bourgeois hegemony in that they operate by naturalizing industrial social hierarchies and exert a top-down disciplinary and moralizing function while at the same time obscuring the connection of these discourses with the economics of capitalistic production. The production of bourgeois protagonists (both Joan Güell as a founding father, as well as Catalonia as a fatherland) enabled the invisibilization of marginalized classes both in the factory and in the Spanish Colonies.

Just like the business and imperial discourses are actually just two components of the larger economic discourse of capitalistic production, the relationship between the paternalistic and patriotic discourses seems to follow a similar rule. In the first place, they both have something to do with being a man-- be it founding father or fatherland. For another thing, the form that these discourses take share similar characteristics. They deal best in protagonists and monuments. It is worth pondering the significance of these two observations from the perspective of post-Colonial studies and feminist studies. Patriarchy is clearly enmeshed in industrial stories which we have looked at of the Vapor Vell, but to what extent has patriarchy also produced these forms of discourse? How far back does our critique need to go in order to find solid ground? What if, like the archaeologist David Wengrow has proposed, that which has until now passed for 'civilisation' is in fact nothing more than a gendered appropriation-- by men, etching their claims in stone-- of some earlier system of knowledge that had women at its centre? As he writes, "Mutual aid, social cooperation, civic activism, hospitality or simply caring for others: these are the kind of things that actually go to make civilisations. In which case, the true history of civilisation is only just starting to be written."¹³¹ Perhaps the same can be said of the true history of industrialization.

¹³¹ Wengrow, David. *A history of true civilization is not one of monuments*. Published in Aeon magazine, October 2018.

2.4 TECHNO-SCIENTIFIC HEGEMONY

Introduction

Barcelona in the year 1856 was boiling over with revolutionary spirit. These were the final moment of the Progressive Biennium, when masses of working class protesters were being massacred by cannon fire from the castle on Montjuïc as they shouted “death to the f**king queen”, and “associationism or death.” Given this knowledge, it may be hard to imagine that, only four years later, in 1860, her Royal Majesty Queen Isabel II would be found walking triumphantly through the streets of Barcelona and even touring the Vapor Vell of Sants. How did this happen? It certainly wasn’t because she had granted the workers’ demands for the right to associate. The answer is actually sort of amazing-- she was in Barcelona to visit the Industrial and Artistic Exhibition of products from the principality of Catalonia.

In reality, the event itself was improvised at the last minute in order to receive the royal family.¹³² It appears to have been, at least in part, a public relations moment for the monarchy. (“This is the Catalan--” it was written, “Doña Isabel II could pass accompanied or alone through hundreds of souls, with the security of finding in each chest a shield, in each heart a throne.”¹³³) The representation of Catalan industry during the exhibition would be carefully curated by the organizers and any references to the Progressive Biennium, or the socialist discourse, would be censored. Instead, the exhibit would feature a different narrative entirely-- what historians call “positivism”-- a story which was tied up in the ideas of modernity and progress which swept through industrialized nations during the second half of the 19th century, especially since the advent of the ‘Great Exhibitions’ like that of London in 1851. At these exhibits, discourses of science and technology captivated the imagination of millions.

‘To hold the imagination captive’-- this is exactly the kind of thing that I imagine Joan Güell was going for when he bought tickets for his workers and gave them the day off to visit the Catalan exhibition in 1860. This is corroborated by the official exhibition report in which it is announced that, “The señores Güell and Co, who employ in their factory more than 1,000 workers, had the happy idea to pay the entrance for all of them so they could visit the exhibition, so they could see the improvements presented by all the other industries; and

¹³² Improvised indeed-- the exhibition was organized in a span of three months, and the exhibition hall was erected in one. The official write up of the event is tilted, “Reseña completa descriptivo crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia.” (See Orellana, Francisco J. *Reseña completa descriptivo crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia*. 1860.)

¹³³ Orellana, Francisco J. *Reseña completa descriptivo crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia*. 1860, p. 8)

at the same time, to stimulate them to keep cooperating, for their part, in the progressive development of the same.”¹³⁴

In this section, we will look at how discourses of science and technology were instrumentalized as authorized industrial discourses in order to control the working class and legitimize the economic system of capitalist production. We will look at the primary sites of the production of these discourses through technical education, industrial exhibits, and the representations of the factory as technology. At the Vapor Vell the key figure in this story is Ferran Alsina, the factory’s technical director under Eusebi Güell who, after being trained as an engineer, would go on to display various inventions at industrial exhibitions, develop new machinery for corduroy processing as well as innovate the factory’s system of distribution of labor, lobby for Catalan economic autonomy as part of the Centre Català, found a center for experimental physics education, and build the Colònia Güell. This last project would use social engineering to design the factory as a Foucaultian “disciplinary society” in which authorized industrial discourses would be used to establish a culture of work based on paternalism, patriotism, and positivism.

But first, we need to define what is meant by the ‘positivist discourse’, and ask the question of how something as natural and innocuous as science could be conscripted as a means of disciplining the working class. What is the basis of this concept of ‘techno-scientific hegemony?’ To what degree can we analyze science and technology as cultural objects of domination?

Concepts and Theoretical Framework

I was a masters’ student at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) when the concept of techno-scientific hegemony was first introduced to me and it took awhile for the idea to sink in. Before coming to Barcelona to study the history of science, I had studied physics and worked as a high school teacher for four years in rural Pennsylvania. The basis of my interest in physics had always been linked to the more philosophical side of the discipline. I was particularly drawn to topics like quantum mechanics and relativity, which, as I saw it, had the potential to transform our understanding of not only the physical universe but our own place in it as well. As you can imagine, I was partially inspired in this by reading my fair share of literature from science popularizers like Michio Kaku (*Hyperspace, Parallel Universes*), Brian Greene (*The Elegant Universe*), and Stephen Hawking (*The Theory of Everything*).

I had also been inspired by reading Thomas Kuhn’s *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and I was especially fascinated by the concept of a scientific ‘paradigm shift.’ This was the type of big-picture thinking about science which I loved. I was chomping at the

¹³⁴ (Ibid. p. 196)

bit to participate, somehow, in the next great scientific revolution, whatever that might be, and I used my platform as a physics teacher to try to inspire my students to do the same. Whenever I could, I tried to structure my curriculum around the goal of critically engaging with competing ‘ways of thinking’ about the world in the same way that I imagined that the natural philosophers of the past must have done before science and the humanities had been pried apart by academic fragmentation. It was this objective which eventually led me to sign up for a Masters degree at the Center of History of Science (CEHIC) in Barcelona.

When I arrived in Barcelona, however, I began to notice that the faculty seemed to be on a different wavelength. The great Thomas Kuhn was referenced only in passing, as though his work was already obsolete. The new research program, as best as I could tell, was that promoted by Schaffer and Shapin in their book “Leviathan and the Air Pump”¹³⁵, the objective of which was to put science back into its sociological context-- science as a historically situated event.¹³⁶ Of course, I could see some validity to this approach--obviously science is historical, (who could argue with that?) --but still, the program seemed somehow provocative. I noticed some of my classmates squirming in their seats. Like me, many of them had scientific backgrounds and we had a great respect for the idea of the universality of science-- the idea that science was true regardless of where you were or what time you were in. So, to study science as something that was historically situated could be, and was, perceived as an attack on science.¹³⁷

In retrospect, I can see that some of this conflict was methodological. Previously, I had been motivated by a search for basic principles, an attempt to purify science from within. But the professors in my masters program, it became apparent to me, seemed to be obsessed instead with the specks of dirt which were muddying the water. “Never pure” was the title of the Shapin’s next book, followed by the subtitle, “historical studies of science as if it was produced by people with bodies, situated in time, space, culture, and society and struggling for credibility and authority.”¹³⁸

A moment of enlightenment came when I was first exposed to the concept of hegemony, and I understood that the ‘attack’ was not on science itself, but on a particular scientific discourse, a way of talking about science which had been used for ruling-class domination. The existence of a techno-scientific hegemony took me by surprise, possibly

¹³⁵ Schaffer, Simon & Shapin, Steven. (1985). *Leviathan and the Air-Pump. Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

¹³⁶ For more reading on the ‘strong program’ of the sociology of science as well as its critique by Bruno Latour, see Bloor, D. (1999). "Anti-Latour," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 20#1 pp: 81–112. Also: Latour, B. (1999). "For David Bloor and Beyond ... a reply to David Bloor's 'Anti-Latour'," *Studies in History & Philosophy of Science Part A* 30(1): 113–129.

¹³⁷ For further reading on the ‘science wars,’ see: the ‘Sokal affair’, ‘social constructionism,’ the ‘two-cultures,’ etc.

¹³⁸ Shapin, Steven. (2010). *Never pure. Historical studies of science as if it was produced by people with bodies, situated in time, space, culture, and society and struggling for credibility and authority*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

because I had assumed a science/religion duality in which religion was used to subjugate, whereas science symbolized liberation. This was the lesson I had remembered learning from the famous story of Galileo versus the Catholic church.

So it was surprising for me to learn that the Barcelonian bourgeois were not only interested in incorporating churches into their project of a paternalistic and patriotic ‘culture of work’, they were also interested in exposing their workers to science and technology. Industrialization was the backdrop for the great strides made in science during the 19th century, this much I had already considered, but what I had not spent much thought on was that this was also the context for a great expansion of the ‘publics of science.’¹³⁹ Besides professors, scientists, engineers, teachers and amateurs, these publics would also include the working class through their exposure to exhibitions, museums, public demonstrations, workshops, schooling, bookshops, and even the factory itself. But if scientific discourse was imagined to have the potential of exercising a control function over industrial society, what did that consist of? What was the intended effect?

In an article from 1977 titled, “Science, nature and control: interpreting the Mechanics Institutes,” a young Steven Shapin and his colleague Barry Barnes set out to answer just this question with respect to the early 19th-century Mechanics Institute movement of technical education for the working class in Great Britain.¹⁴⁰ The founding of these institutes, like most British educational policy at this time, was mainly informed by an interest in social control. According to Shapin and Barnes, this was achieved by replacing natural theology and political economy with ‘natural theological science’ as a control ideology by which to set limits on the possibilities of human action:

“In particular, where people refuse to recognize the inscrutable whims and fancies of God as moral constraints, the more tangible, impersonal limits allegedly inherent in the operation of the natural world are likely to be invoked instead....The solution was in part to use a new ‘divine’ or ‘demi-divine’ nature to exert those moral sanctions required to control an unstable multitude - a ‘demi-divine’ nature which was, appropriately, tangible and observable....Explicitly, the study of nature was recommended to mechanics as it revealed the wisdom of God in creating things as they were. ‘Knowledge’, said one popular scientific lecturer, ‘is virtue’: “All nature... offers examples innumerable of the power and wisdom with which [God] works throughout the visible world before us....The moral lesson to be learnt via the inculcation of natural theological science was one of acceptance, of appreciating the systematic connections which made a seemingly unaccountable world accountable in moral terms.”

Although I could see some sense in this line of reasoning-- of the function of theological science used as a moralizing tale for taming the volatile and unproductive

¹³⁹ Nieto-Galan, Agustí. (2011). *Los públicos de la ciencia*. Marcial Pons: Madrid. See also: Nieto-Galan, Agustí. (2016). *Science in the public sphere: a history of lay knowledge and expertise*. Routledge.

¹⁴⁰ Barnes, Barry & Shapin, Steven. (1977). *Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes*. *Social Studies of Science*, Vol.1.7, 31-74.

passions of the lower classes-- still, I had my doubts. If this was the case, why, then, was there such enthusiasm for the most apparently value-neutral forms of science on the part of the founders and supporters of the early mechanics' institutes- people who were predominantly interested in the defence of social order and stability? Why would science in general, and not just particular appropriate fields, be thought to possess a control function?

I was glad to see that this was a question that Shapin and Barnes would specifically address, although with a bit of conjecture. Perhaps, they argue, this was because elite groups continually found themselves obliged to curtail and tone down what ideally they would have wished to convey to the working classes in an attempt to gain credibility. Or, perhaps the image of scientific activity itself as essentially harmonious and co-operative could be invoked in the cause of control. As one of the institute promoters put it, "Meeting, as both classes do, on the fair field of science, where all are as brothers, and pursuing, it may be, the same glorious objects, the wall of separation is removed forever, and the best possible guarantee given for the inviolable maintenance of the rights of property on the one hand, and the peace and security of society on the other."

This strikes me as plausible-- that by virtue of the 'value-neutral' content of technical education, these institutes could establish a discourse which transcended class distinction, or at least invisibilized it. Science was a fair and level field, in which 'all are as brothers.' It also presented the opportunity for uniting in the pursuit of the 'same glorious objects.' The development and improvement of science was a universalizing affair, for the very reason that science itself is universal. Through problem-solving, 'humanity' --as a whole, undivided by class-- progresses. This idea of scientific progress reveals the teleological nature of this discourse, at the heart of which is harbored the promise of technological utopianism. In general, this way of thinking about the physical universe, and our place in it, is characteristic of what historians of science call positivism.

Positivism

The concept of positivism was first developed by the French philosopher Auguste Comte to describe a philosophical system that recognizes only that which can be scientifically verified, as opposed to metaphysics and theism. Comte, who was born in 1798, would write about the evolution of society after the French Revolution using the model of stages: the theistic (or 'fictitious') stage, the metaphysical (or 'abstract') stage, and the scientific (or 'positive') stage.¹⁴¹ Comte's positivist approach was characteristic of enlightenment principles of scientific rationality-- he sought to synthesize physics, chemistry, and biology into a single coherent system of ideas (a 'theory of everything,' if you will), a method he then sought to apply in developing a science of society itself, ending up with what we call today 'social science'.

¹⁴¹ Comte, Auguste. (1830). *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (trans. Harriet Martineau; London, 1853), Vol. I, p. 1.

Comte's vision of science as the purification and organization of human knowledge was consistent with the project of the encyclopedists, who conceptualized a grand 'system of knowledge', like a great epistemic graphic organizer by which everything could be given its true explanation. Despite how normal this way of thinking about knowledge is to us today, the positivist approach is in many ways particular to the modern era. "The idea of accumulating everything," writes Foucault, "of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity."¹⁴²

In his essay "We have never been modern," Bruno Latour characterizes the two primary conceptual mechanisms of modernity as 'translation' and 'purification,' by which Enlightenment thinkers approached the task of carving up human knowledge into disciplines. "The first set of practices," he writes, "by 'translation', creates mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture. The second, by 'purification', creates two entirely distinct ontological zones: that of human beings on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other."¹⁴³ Latour's point, however, is that this project is doomed to failure. As he reveals in the title of his essay, he believes that we have never actually been able to maintain a tidy distinction between the social and the natural. Even though we have built a discursive, techno-scientific mystique around this modern idea that we can transcend the social through objective, positive science, in practice this framework doesn't have the explaining power to describe science itself, 'in action.'¹⁴⁴

The situation, then, is that the positivist way we talk about science, and the actual way we do science are often two different things. This state of affairs has, for one thing, presented a considerable obstacle for historians like Latour himself whose aim is to write a good history of science. Up until fairly recently, this history has been composed of a strung-together series of stories about the great men who have made some contribution to humanity's collective 'system of knowledge.' This historiography reproduces the same teleological view of scientific progress characteristic of the positivist framework and has been criticized by scholars like Steven Shapin as 'whiggish.' In certain academic circles, the discipline of history of science has developed since the 1970's as a direct response to this-- as a Gramscian critique of the use of scientific discourses as an instrument of cultural domination by the ruling class.

¹⁴² Foucault, Michel. (1986). *Of other spaces*. (Translated by Jay Miskowicz) Architecture /Movement /Continuit : Spring. p. 26. As quoted in: Bennett, Tony. (1995). *The Birth of the Museum*. Routledge, New York.

¹⁴³ Latour, Bruno. (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

¹⁴⁴ Latour, B. (1987). *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

I was halfway through my masters program at the CEHIC before I became familiar enough with these concepts to realize what I had gotten myself into. It was not the type of paradigm shift I had been expecting, but then again, that's the nature of the beast. In my case, thinking outside of the box meant thinking outside of the strict bounds of positivist science and realizing that these boundaries have been somewhat artificial all along. It is here, in the human activity of constructing and legitimizing these boundaries, these "hybrids of nature and culture," as Latour calls them, that the opportunity for creating a techno-scientific hegemony presents itself.

The case study of the Vapor Vell provides an illuminating example of this dynamic. It is precisely within the context of Catalan industrialization that a nascent 'technical class' would rise to a relative degree of power in Barcelona. Engineers, mechanics, operatives, artesans, technicians-- these were skilled members of the labor force which, by nature of their industrial expertise, represented the organic intellectuals of the lower classes. They were not capitalists. Although some also participated as shareholders, for example Joan Güell's original partner Domènec Ramis, in general they did not own the means of production but, rather, existed in an intermediate space between the classes as a sort of 'labor aristocracy' of better-off members of the working class. For this reason, they became the object of interest and concern of the upper classes who developed strategies in an attempt to build alliances and a community of interests with them. Thus, a strategy of cultural hegemony was implemented in order to ensure that these natural leaders of the working classes identified with and affiliated with those above them rather than those below.

As Shapin's study of the mechanics institutes suggests, one of the primary institutions for the production of this hegemony was the technical school. In Catalonia, Barcelona's Chamber of Commerce would also promote technical schools that would become the backbone of a business-oriented education system.¹⁴⁵ The Catalan engineers produced there would be characterized by their professional orthodoxy, social conservatism, neutral politics, reluctance towards marxism and socialism, and a view of technical progress as national progress.¹⁴⁶ On this topic, important research on the Barcelona case has been done by Jaume

¹⁴⁵ In 1763 the new *Junta de Comerç* or Chamber of Commerce was installed in a building left vacant when the Castilians abolished the Consulate de Mar along with the other Catalan institutions. The Junta immediately began lobbying Madrid for better conditions for Catalan businesses and played a big role in the removal of American trade restrictions. The Junta's main function, though, was to coordinate the local industrial, agricultural and mercantile sectors. It also had the foresight to open technical schools to replace the universities that the Castilians had closed down. These technical schools would become the backbone of an autochthonous business-oriented education system over the next two centuries. See Roca Rosell, Antoni. (2007). Francesc Santponç i el projecte per establir escoles de mecànica en totes les províncies espanyoles (1813), *Quaderns d'Història de l'Enginyeria*, Vol. VIII.. And: Lusa Monforte, Guillermo & Roca Rosell, Antoni. Les escoles de la Junta de Comerç en el restabliment de la Universitat de Barcelona i la creació de l'Escola Industrial Barcelonesa. In Barca Salom, Francesc Xavier; Puig i Pla, Carles; Bernat López, Pasqual; Pont i Estradera, Maria (coords.), (2009). *Fàbrica, taller i laboratori: la Junta de Comerç de Barcelona, Ciència i tècnica per a la indústria i el comerç (1769-1851)*. Barcelona, Cambra Oficial de Comerç, Indústria i Navegació de Barcelona.

¹⁴⁶ Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2012). *Tecnocràcia i Catalanisme tècnic a Catalunya als anys 1930. Els enginyers industrials, de l'organització del taller a la racionalització de l'estat*. Barcelona, Tesis doctoral

Valentines in his research on the Barcelona school of the ETSEIB school of industrial engineering of Barcelona, created in 1851, and the development of Catalan technocracy in the first third of the 20th century.¹⁴⁷ As he writes,

“Since the creation of the profession in 1850 - following the relevant legislation and the creation of higher studies in industrial engineering - Catalan industrial engineers have been a homogeneous group of the rising middle class without a political program distinct from that of the industrial bourgeoisie, of which they were employed in private companies and sought their trust, as Ramon Garrabou has categorized of the nineteenth century. True to the bourgeois class and ideology, the institutions that arose from and for industrialization, such as the Barcelona School of Industrial Engineers, became strongholds of the classical thinking of political economy.¹⁴⁸

At the Vapor Vell, this description provides an apt characterization of the figure of Ferran Alsina, the factory’s technical director under Eusebi Güell. Now that we have laid the theoretical basis of positivism and techno-scientific hegemony, we will take a more detailed look at Alsina’s life, and the types of positivist industrial story-telling he would come to popularize.

2.4.1 Ferran Alsina

Ferran Alsina i Parellada (1861-1908) was born into the textile industry. His father manufactured cotton thread and fabrics on Sant Pere Més Alt Street in Barcelona, providing Alsina with an early education composed of practical factory work. Once he was old enough, Alsina would travel to England and Germany to learn the latest advances in the manufacture of corduroy.¹⁴⁹ He returned to Catalonia before his twentieth birthday and worked as a mule spinner in the town of Roda de Ter. Mule spinners were typically highly conscious of their worth to the factory and typical were the highest-paid workers in the mill.¹⁵⁰ During stage of his life, Alsina was impacted by the strikes that took place in Roda de Ter and which nearly destroyed the productivity of the entire region, and he had the idea of creating a production cooperative in which “the worker could arrive, by honest and lawful means, to the status of

UAB: p. 29. Regarding the english case see: Buchanan, Robert A. (1989). *The engineers. A history of the engineering profession in Britain, 1750-1914*, London, Jessica Kingsley, 180-200.

¹⁴⁷ In collaboration with Jaume Sastre, Jaume Valentines has also written on the topic of the involvement of Catalan engineers in Barcelona’s exhibitions of 1888 and 1929, as well as the subsequent development of a proposal for the construction of a national museum of technology for Catalonia-- a project would be postponed under Franco and only taken up again after Spain’s return to democracy, eventually becoming the mNACTEC in existence today. See Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). *The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939)*, *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154.

¹⁴⁸ Cited in: Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2012). *Tecnocràcia i Catalanisme tècnic a Catalunya als anys 1930. Els enginyers industrials, de l'organització del taller a la racionalització de l'estat*. Barcelona, Tesis doctoral UAB. Also: Garrabou, Ramon. (1982). *Enginyers industrials, modernització econòmica i burgesia a Catalunya*, Barcelona, L’Avenç.

¹⁴⁹ In *Colonia Güell y Fábrica de Panas y Veludillos y Cía. Breve reseña histórica*. (1910).

¹⁵⁰ Macaulay, David. (1989). *Mill*. HMH Books for Young Readers: p.103.

employer and learn, in this double condition of worker and owner, the reality of industrial life, not being either so miserable for the worker, nor so flattering for the employer.” To this end, he called a meeting of the workers of the town and together they began that difficult undertaking. They bought an old loom for the price of 30 *duros* and, with this humble beginning, began building a new business, the *Cooperativa Primera del Ter*.¹⁵¹

According to Alsina, the cooperative approach was the way to go. He claimed that the success of the *Cooperativa Primera del Ter* was proof that the workers' unrest was not the product of the 'malevolence of other social classes', but came from the workers' lack of knowledge and social education, as well as from the disagreements that always seem to frustrate even the best-intentioned projects. With the goal of promoting the education of the working class, Ferran Alsina revitalized the school of the Workers' Ateneu of Roda de Ter, providing them with as many resources as he could.¹⁵²

It was at the Cooperative that Alsina conceived of a new loom design capable of weaving double pieces of smooth or lined cotton corduroy. His invention, which would be called the Rodes Loom was based on the design of the Catalan engineer Barrau who had patented a loom for silk fabrics. After four years of assiduous work, Alsina was able to modify the loom to be able to weave cotton. This attracted the attention of Eusebi Güell, who offered to buy the patent and hired Alsina to oversee production, paying him a yearly salary calculated based on how many looms he was able to keep functioning during the year.

At this point in time the Vapor Vell was operating at a loss, but after a few years of perfecting the new product, the Vapor Vell would be back to making a profit, and by 1889 the business would win the grand diploma of honor at the Universal Exhibition of Paris.¹⁵³ As it was reported to the workers back at the factory, “In that contest there were other foreign companies that in some articles presented greater perfection, but none of them offered such an important variety as ours.”¹⁵⁴

2.4.2 Positivism on display

It was at the Barcelonian Industrial Exhibition of 1844 that Joan Güell would first conceive of the idea of building the Vapor Vell, after being impressed by the display of a Jacquard-style loom built by his future business partner, Domènec Ramis.¹⁵⁵ Shortly after

¹⁵¹ Casanovas i Prat, Josep. (1996). La Cooperativa Primera del Ter (1881-1936). Una experiència de cooperativisme de producció. *Ausa*, 17, 137: 209-224.

¹⁵² Alsina, Ferran. (1892). Observacions sobre la reglamentació del treball dels noys en tallers y fabricas. La Renaixensa, Barcelona, p. 17.

¹⁵³ Cabana, Francesc. Els Cotoners. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1993 (Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial, vol. 2).

¹⁵⁴ In *Colonia Güell y Fábrica de Panas y Veludillos y Cía. Breve reseña histórica*. (1910).

¹⁵⁵ Baqué, Dolors & Calvo, Angel & Enrech, Carles & Gutiérrez, M. Lluïsa & Sánchez, Alex. (1997). *Els Vapors a Sants*. Quaderns de l'Arxiu, Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc.

this, exhibitions would grow to be some of the greatest political, economic, and social events in the world. They were massive celebrations of modernity and industrialization in which the city itself was temporarily converted into a display of the positivist discourse.

Over the course of the almost sixty years that the Güell's operated out of the Vapor Vell, the business would participate in a number of industrial exhibitions, including:

- the Exhibition of Madrid in 1850¹⁵⁶,
- the Catalan exhibition of 1860¹⁵⁷,
- the General Catalan Exhibition of 1871¹⁵⁸,
- the Universal Exhibition of Philadelphia in 1876¹⁵⁹,
- the Catalan Industrial Exhibition of 1877¹⁶⁰,
- the Universal Exhibition of Barcelona in 1888¹⁶¹
- and the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1889¹⁶².

¹⁵⁶ “L’any 1850, l’empresa tenia un miler d’obrers entre filadors, teixidors i tintorers. La maquinària incloïa cent setanta telers mecànics, deu mil pues de filatura en vint-i-vuit màquines selfactines —a Martorell—, a més de les màquines preparatòries per a la filatura i les d’acabats. Consumia anualment 8.000 quintars de cotó, comprat als Estats Units, Brasil i Puerto Rico i el seu mercat era el de l’estat espanyol. Els seus productes foren molt lloats pel redactor de la crònica de l’Exposició de Madrid d’aquell any, que lamentà que no se’ls hagués pogut atorgar cap premi, ja que van arribar tard al concurs. Hay en sus panas y veludillos, buen viso, lisura, suavidad al tacto, fortaleza y un cuerpo que asegura su duración. Son éstos apreciables por la finura de su tejido e igualdad y permanencia en los tintes.” (Cited in: *Reseña completa descriptivo crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia*, 1860: p. 539.)

¹⁵⁷ (1860). *Reseña completa descriptivo crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia*. p. 199. “240. Güell y C.a. Bajo esta razón social es conocida la fábrica situada en el vecino pueblo de Sans, que presenta en la Exposición un gran surtido de panas teñidas y estampadas, lisas y de cordoncillo y bordones, de diferentes clases, como también malesquines o castores de algodón. Su depósito en esta ciudad, calle de Codols, num. 13.”

¹⁵⁸ Catálogo general de los objetos que figuran en la exposición de agricultura, industria y bellas artes, inaugurada en 24 de septiembre de 1871 por S. M. el Rey D. Amadeo I, en el local de la nueva Universidad de Barcelona, Barcelona, Imprenta de Narciso Ramirez y Compañía, 1871.

¹⁵⁹ “La seva participació a l’Exposició Universal de Filadèlfia el 1876 fou premiada amb un diploma d’Honor pels velluts presentats.” (In: Lista alfabética de los premios concedidos á España y sus provincias de Ultramar en la Exposición Universal de Filadelfia en 1876, Barcelona, Establecimiento tipográfico de Narciso Ramírez y Cía., 1877.)

¹⁶⁰ Exposición Catalana inaugurada durante la permanencia de S.M. Don Alfonso XII en la Universidad de Barcelona en 4 de marzo de 1877. Barcelona, 1877 (Accessed November, 2020: <https://upcommons.upc.edu/handle/2099.4/1026>).

¹⁶¹ “Dues exposicions internacionals confirmaran la revifada. A l’Exposició Internacional de Barcelona del 1888, Parellada, Flaquer i Companyia guanyà una medalla d’or pels seus velludets impresos —sistema Alsina—, destinats a mobles.” In: Cabana, Francesc. (1993). “Els Cotoners”. (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

¹⁶² “L’any següent —1889— obtingué un diploma d’honor a l’Exposició de París i destaca que, per primera vegada en molts anys, l’empresa —que ara és Parellada i Companyia— recorda el seu antic nom de Güell i Companyia. Produeixen anualment 40.000 peces amb un personal de 800 obrers.” Cabana, Francesc. (1993). “Els Cotoners”. (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

Businesses, with their allotted display area within large pavilions organized by industry, were not the only protagonists of the exhibitions. Nations also competed through the construction of national pavilions designed to show off national technical and industrial development. But there was a third class of protagonists at the exhibitions-- the engineers. There, they could unveil their latest tech, perform demonstrations, compete for prizes, and, generally, acquire a degree of celebrity status. With their industrialist and state sponsors, engineers would participate in the hegemonic trifecta behind the scenes of the exhibition.¹⁶³

At an industrial exhibition, industrial objects were recontextualized, removed from their normal setting and put on display as technology. Rather than components of a broader economic system of production, these objects were presented as individual products, framed within the narrative of positivism. Progress and modernity were made tangible at an exhibition. For a short period of time, the normal experience of living in industrial society was put on hold, and instead one could gaze upon the landscape of a strange and captivating technical utopia. The tradition of ‘shilling days’ was developed in order to make this ‘ephemeral vista’ available to the lower classes.¹⁶⁴ Sometimes, like in the case of the Vapor Vell, workers were given free tickets and the day off to visit the exhibit. In this sense, industrial exhibitions functioned as expressions of what Tony Bennett calls the ‘exhibitionary complex’. Bennett argue that the nineteenth century saw the birth of a set of exhibitionary institutions which also included, museums, department stores, amusement parks, dioramas and panoramas, that were aimed at disciplining the working classes by allowing them a direct contact with the manners, bodies and symbolic worlds of the bourgeoisie.¹⁶⁵

The competition at an industrial exhibition was different from the kind of market competition of the business discourse which we analyzed in a previous chapter. The business discourse rewarded only economic viability, but at an exhibition the focus was on the product itself, which was expected to stand on its own merit. “It is easy to demonstrate the reason why,” a commentator writes of the Vapor Vell’s display at the 1860 exhibition, “independent of the manufacturer’s will, the [Vapor Vell’s] corduroy cannot compete yet in cheapness (we will not enter here in this demonstration)...Yet the proof of the advances of this industry is that, before now, only the poor or middle-class, and in particular the rural people, wore these textiles. While at the moment they have been extended to the wealthy classes, not only for

¹⁶³ In Barcelona, the Universal Exhibition of 1888 represented the pact of the restored monarchy and the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie in their shared objectives of social stability, economic development, and international prestige. (See: Sastre, Jaume; Valentines, Jaume. (2010). Envisioning a "Technotheque" for Barcelona. Presented at the VI Col.loqui d’Història de la Tècnica, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya).

¹⁶⁴ Greenhalgh, Paul. (1988). *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851–1939*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

¹⁶⁵ Bennett, Tony. (1995). *The Birth of the Museum*. Routledge, New York.

hunting and morning suits for men, but also for decoration of the most aristocratic salons, in curtains and furniture.”¹⁶⁶

Not only did the Vapor Vell participate through the display of its products, the factory itself became an object of display during the exhibition. This was done through guided tours. Special guests could walk through the factory and have its technological functions explained. In 1860, for example, in the context of the Catalan exhibition of 1860, the Queen’s visit to the Vapor Vell was recorded in the official exhibit account. After listing the various areas of the factory complex and commenting on the numbers of machines and their functions, the commentator indulges a short poetic reflection:

“Seen from one of its doors, when the looms are in action, it presents an impressive and admirable spectacle: that general and uniform movement; that forest of machines in continuous agitation, that noise similar to that of a hailstorm hurricane, and that, however, only announces production of wealth, sustenance and comfortable work for the laborious operator; all of which bathed in light and a healthy environment, gives a great idea of the civilizing progress of the industry.”¹⁶⁷

The aesthetic impact of the image and sound of the factory itself was thus seen to “give a great idea” of positivism, or as it is put here, “the civilizing progress of the industry.” The image of the factory would be commonly used in advertisements from this era, in which its representation as technology testified to the excellence of its product.¹⁶⁸ The Vapor Vell would become an object of guide books such as Victor Balaguer’s “Guía-cicerone de Barcelona a Martorell.”¹⁶⁹ In 1888, the “Juan Batlló” factory was introduced for the first time, substituting the Vapor Vell as the second best sight in Sants. The first was the Espanya Industrial, or Vapor Nou.

On an even grander scale, exhibitions also provided an impetus for the transformation of the city itself into a display of authorized industrial discourses. Barcelona’s Universal Exhibition of 1888 was a huge touristic event that was used to redesign the urban and civic order of the city, particularly through the urbanization of the Ciutadella Park as a rational bourgeois recreational space, as well as a site for museums of beaux arts and natural sciences.¹⁷⁰ Likewise, the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition was tied to the

¹⁶⁶ “[W]e will not enter here in this demonstration, which is within the reach of any person familiar with the general conditions of our manufacturing industry; but if we say, that the primitive value of this genre has been reduced considerably; then 22rs. Cana, the price at which it was originally sold, has dropped to just over half. This circumstance, together with the good quality of the corduroy, has caused their consumption in Spain to increase dramatically, and it is expected that this sales progress will continue.” In: *Reseña completa descriptiva crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia*. (1860), p. 195.

¹⁶⁷ (Ibid. p.197.)

¹⁶⁸ See appendix, document 2 (Materials per a una Didáctica del Vapor Vell, 1985): p. 33.

¹⁶⁹ Balaguer, Victor. *Guía-cicerone de Barcelona a Martorell*. Colección de guías de los ferrocarriles de Cataluña. Imp. J. Jepsus i HR. Villegas, Barcelona, 1857; planes 28-33.

¹⁷⁰ “Civic nature: The transformation of the Parc de la Ciutadella into a space for popular science”, by Oliver Hochadel and Laura Valls, discusses how the Parc de la Ciutadella was part of a civic scientific order which helped to transmit Catalan nationalism, bourgeois order, and fulfill economic objectives. In: Nieto-Galan,

governmental urbanization of the Montjuïc hill, through the construction of gardens, museums and palaces, and the destruction of shanty towns.¹⁷¹

2.4.3 Bourgeoisie science

An important part of the positivist discourse was the idea that techno-scientific progress was progress for *all*. This was an underlying message of the universal exhibitions--that, even though nations and businesses met together in the context of a competition, it was a decidedly friendly competition. It was understood that the real purpose was to stimulate all countries and all of humanity towards the “same glorious objects” --to, as Joan Güell expressed it in 1860, “see the improvements presented by all the other industries; and at the same time, to stimulate [the workers] to keep cooperating, for their part, in the progressive development of the same.”¹⁷² The value-neutral nature of science itself, which recognized neither national nor class divide, was invoked in the positivist discourse in order to establish an imaginary community of universal proportions. Humanity itself was the stakeholder of this discourse.

In reality, however, not everyone would benefit equally from the spoils of industrial technological development. It may be true that science ‘could’ solve the problems of all, but in reality the engineers were employees, paid to solve the problems of their bourgeoisie employers. This principle is illustrated by the story of Ferran Alsina. In 1889, the same year as the business’s triumph at the exhibition of Paris, Ferran Alsina instituted a collection of labor reforms at the Vapor Vell. The new division of labor was based on the English approach, designed to increase efficiency at the factory at the cost of firing half of the weaving staff and requiring those remaining to run four looms simultaneously instead of two. Needless to say, these changes were not popular among the workers. Anticipating this backlash, Alsina also included benefits for the remaining workers-- a 20% wage increase as well as a pension and medical plan, hoping that these paternalistic gestures would warm workers to the idea of the reform. An article published in *La Vanguardia* on May 25th of that year praises the Vapor Vell for “uniting good conditions both for the business as well as for the working class.”¹⁷³

Agustí; Hochadel, Oliver (eds.). (2016). Barcelona: An Urban History of Science and Modernity, 1888–1929. Routledge.

¹⁷¹Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939), *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154.

¹⁷² (1860). *Reseña completa descriptivo crítica de la Exposición Industrial y Artística de productos del Principado de Cataluña improvisada en Barcelona para obsequiar a SSMM la Reina Isabel II y a su Real familia*.

¹⁷³ “Con motivo de esa reorganización, todo trabajador está sujeto á las siguientes bases: 1.a En los trabajos que se reorganicen el precio de la mano de obra se fijará de manera que con el nuevo trabajo gane el obrero un veinte por ciento, o sea una quinta parte más que la que ganaba; y 2.a La casa, mientras funcione y no reine en la población ninguna enfermedad epidémica, tomará á su cargo el auxiliar á sus trabajadores. Además los jubilará cuando lleguen á la edad de 60 años, relevándolos de todo trabajo y dándoles un sueldo

Despite the positive spin given by the press, the workers associations in Sants were less than pleased with the reform. *Les Tres Classes de Vapor*, the principle Catalan sindicat, of clear Marxist orientation, opposed the reform.¹⁷⁴ According to Alsina, the representatives of the sindicat forced all of the workers of the factory to join a strike which they provoked in the dye section. In response, Alsina fired two workers, Castells and Mas, after which he received threats from the sindicat. A few days later, on December 16, while returning after work to his home in Barcelona, he was attacked and shot at four times without being hit. Alsina, himself armed, chased down his aggressor who he succeeded in detaining. Josep Rueda i Morota, was condemned to seventeen years of prison.¹⁷⁵ From an intriguing series of newspaper articles detailing the trial, one can piece together the official explanation of the events, which is that the fired workers, Castells and Mas, had hired Rueda as an assassin.

Even though the assassination attempt had been a failure, it would have a profound effect on Alsina. I imagine that he would have been reminded of the fate of Sol i Padrís over thirty years before, and, in 1890, Ferran Alsina and Eusebi Güell began drawing up plans to move production from the Vapor Vell to a brand new factory to be constructed outside of the city on a piece of land owned by the Güell family by the banks of the Llobregat River in Santa Coloma de Cervelló, away from the corrupting influence of Barcelona's working-class movements. This would be the Colònia Güell.

In all of this, Alsina's allegiance would lie with Eusebi Güell and the economic interests of the business in which he was employed, rather than with the workers' organizations. In making decisions of economic importance, Alsina's technical know-how would be put to use to solve the industrial problems of the conservative Catalan bourgeoisie with which he closely aligned himself. For example, he would join Eusebi at the Centre

semanal variable entre diez y quince pesetas, según el número de años en ella ocupados. La fábrica de los señores Parellada y C.a, reúne buenas condiciones ya en provecho de la casa ja en bien de la clase trabajadora." (La Vanguardia, 1889.05.25.) Also, see Alsina, Ferran. (1889). *Fonaments de la reforma del treball en la indústria cotonera catalana tal com s'es començada en lo vapor vell de Sants*. Imp. La Renaixença, Barcelona.

¹⁷⁴ See Izard, Miquel. (1979). *Revolució industrial i obrerisme. Les Tres Classes del Vapor a Catalunya (1869-1913)*.

¹⁷⁵ An account of the trial and the sentencing is recorded in "La Renaixensa", March, 1892. Also, see the articles following the case in the La Vanguardia (1892.03.11): "ASESINATO FRUSTRADO. Un público bastante numeroso compuesto en su mayor parte de obreros, acudió ayer á la primera sesión del juicio de la causa instruida sobre la agresión de que fue víctima don Fernando Alsina, á últimos de 1889. El hecho objeto del proceso según expresa el representante del Ministerio Fiscal, es el siguiente: Al poco tiempo de haberse terminado una de las huelgas que produjeron los obreros de la Sección de Tintorería de la fábrica de «Parellada y Compañía» conocida por el «Vapor Vell de Sans» fueron despedidos, por creerse que eran los promovedores é instigadores de aquella, Joaquín Cirera, José Más y Joaquín Castells, quiénes, atribuyendo, quizás acertadamente, su salida forzosa de la fábrica á don Fernando Alsina, resolvieron vengarse de él y hasta llegaron á decirle que habría de acordarse de ellos. Bien sea porque les faltara el valor para realizar por sí mismos la venganza, bien sea para poder ejecutarla sin correr el riesgo de ser reconocidos, buscaron una mano mercenaria que se encargara de satisfacer sus Odios y la encontraron en José Rueda. En la noche del día 16 de diciembre de 1889 Joaquín Castells, Joaquín Cirera y José Rueda se apostaron en el extremo del Pasaje Domingo que desemboca á la calle de Valencia; en donde vivía..."

Català in lobbying Madrid for protectionist policy-making and for more autonomy for Catalan industrialists in controlling the economy.

Alsina's attitude towards the working class, on the other hand, would be characterized by a paternalistic expression of affection, while insisting that their anti-capitalist critique was an expression of their own lack of knowledge and social education. Francesc Cabana paints the following portrait:

Alsina was a person sensitive to the problems of the working class. In a lecture he gave in 1883 at the Centre Català, he said that, "the development of the intelligence of our workers is one of the objectives that must be proposed by those who want the progress of our people. Today the worker does what he knows, but he doesn't know what he does." But he was also aware that productivity in cotton factories was very low, a fact that had an impact on a higher cost of the finished product, which was not competitive. For this reason he introduced the organization of an 'English-style' of work (1889). While it secured work for workers, the reform provoked factory conflicts, strikes and layoffs.¹⁷⁶

Alsina's discourse of, and relationship to, the working class is reminiscent of that of the sanitary movement which we discussed in section 2.2.4 in the context of the Progressive Biennium. This was the discourse of ministers, doctors, civil governors, bishop, and hygienists sympathetic to the plight of the lower classes, but rather than address the systemic economic inequalities at the root of the problem, they 'circumvented' this by focusing instead on symptomatic issues such as public health, or, in Alsina's case, on the issue of education--specifically scientific education. In this, Alsina's discourse presents the immediately recognizable form of what has been called the 'deficit model' of scientific communication.¹⁷⁷ Characteristic of this model is the assumption of a one-way, top-down flow of information from experts to non-experts.

Towards the end of his life, Alsina established an experimental physics laboratory on the slopes of Mount Tibidabo bordering Barcelona in which he promoted scientific education

¹⁷⁶ Cabana, Francesc. (2008). Ferran Alsina i Parellada (1861-1908). *Revista de Catalunya* Barcelona: Fundació Revista de Catalunya. Num. 237, March, 2008, p. 4.

¹⁷⁷ As historians of science like Richard Whitley have pointed out, this still widely-held yet over-simplified model of scientific production and communication is not actually representative of the relationship between science and its publics. Whitley bases his argument on a growing body of research that investigates the ways in which science and its communities are inseparably glued to social, political, and economic forces. Similarly, science popularization, previously viewed as a one-way flow of information from an elite group of scientists to an undifferentiated audience of uninvolved laypeople, is exposed to be a much more nuanced activity in which everyone plays an active role. (See: Shinn, T. and Whitley, Richard P. (1985). *Expository Science: Forms and Functions of Popularization*. Springer Science & Business Media. *Sociology of the Sciences*.) In a similar vein, Paulo Freire discusses what he calls the 'banking' model of education, in which the brain of the student is represented as an empty box which needs to be filled with knowledge. (See: Freire, Paulo. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.)

for working-class audiences.¹⁷⁸ The “Mentora Alsina” housed a collection of physics demos which Alsina helped to construct in order to show scientific laws and principles of optics, harmonics, electromagnetism, etc. Although this initiative was presented as an altruistic and philanthropic effort to educate, there is also room for a different reading of this effort, for example, as a means for materializing a discourse of the lower classes as epistemologically differentiated. As Shapin explains of the mechanics institutes of England, “There is little to suggest that this imputed distribution of epistemologies was made on the basis of concrete empirical study. It is more likely that it evolved as a legitimation of the social order; it justified the division of labour in society by accounting it ‘natural’. However, once established as accepted wisdom, such a theory could be used to explain working-class behavior, and to guide initial attempts to control it.”¹⁷⁹

This discourse of science education would also have consequences for Alsina’s discourse of science itself.¹⁸⁰ At the Mentora Alsina, laws of physics were made visible and displayed as stable and objective matters of fact. This was a discourse that Alsina was likely to have picked up in England, where he studied in his youth and where he returned to study in his old age, collaborating with the famous Royal Society itself where he met John Tyndall. Alsina gives an account of this in a publication of his own experimental findings cased *Noves Cientifiques*.¹⁸¹ There, we find an example of this scientific discourse in the preface to his findings which he presents as follows:

"I care not if they are opportune nor for any importance that, scientifically considered, they may have today; you can appreciate that. All I will do is to refer to them in a brief and simple way, without any other aspiration or desire than to be useful to my fellow men, making the Natural Truth as accessible as possible. Find out about them, if you please, telling me afterwards what judgment you have formed about them."¹⁸²

For Alsina in Barcelona, as at the Royal Society in London, the role of science consisted in ‘making the Natural Truth (or ‘Verdad Natural’) as accessible as possible.’ This representation is essentially the opposite of that which Shapin portrays in his scholarship of the Royal Society. For Alsina, Science was to be purified; the natural separated cleanly from the cultural-- sliced down the middle by the same kind of analytical knife used by enlightenment thinkers like Diderot when constructing the ‘system of knowledge’ of the

¹⁷⁸ Valentines Álvarez, Jaume (et al.). (2008). La nova etapa pedagògica de la Mentora Alsina: documentació i divulgació del patrimoni científic i tècnic al mNACTEC, Actes d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica, 1, 1: 103-109.

¹⁷⁹ Barnes, Barry & Shapin, Steven. (1977). *Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes*. Social Studies of Science, Vol.7, p. 47-48.

¹⁸⁰ Brenni, P. (2012). The evolution of teaching instruments and their use between 1800 and 1930. *Science & Education*, 21(2), 191-226.

¹⁸¹ Alsina, Fernando. (1904). *Nuevas orientaciones científicas*. (Traducción del Catalán). Henrich y Cía. Barcelona.

¹⁸² (Ibid., p. 6)

encyclopedia. In Alsina's experimental physics demos at the Mentora Alsina, this tool of abstraction granted onlookers the god-like quality of becoming witnesses, not just of local phenomena, but of universal laws.

In general, historians of science have been critical of this kind of teleological, positivist narrativization of science, not only because it is unhelpful in explaining how science works in action but also because of how this discourse has been used. In the case of Ferran Alsina, this discourse reproduced a model of a hierarchical epistemological order cut off from any connection with the social realities of the world.¹⁸³ This 'Verdad Natural' existed outside of space and time. It had no history except for that of its progressive discovery. At the same time as it visibilized the progress of mankind, it invisibilized the historical context and social relations involved in this techno-scientific production.

This is what I mean by techno-scientific hegemony. I'm not talking about 'science itself' whatever that may be, but rather I'm talking about a particular discourse, or way of talking about science which emerged during industrialization yet another way of promoting the interests of the bourgeois class in society. Like the paternalist and patriotic discourses discussed in the previous section, positivism was used as an authorized industrial discourse.¹⁸⁴

Conclusion

Unlike paternalism and patriotism, which have received a fair amount of mainstream critique, positivism has been a difficult discourse to dethrone. My experience as a masters student in history of science at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona involved quite a learning curve. Like Ferran Alsina, I had been a physics teacher as well. In retrospect, I can recognize the telltale signs of the positivist discourse in the curriculum that I used in my own classroom, unaware of how this framework had been problematized by historians of science. Upon arriving to Barcelona, one of the most eye-opening moments for me involved studying

¹⁸³ As Adorno and Horkheimer point out in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, "The distance between subject and object, a presupposition of abstraction, is grounded in the distance from the thing itself which the master achieved through the mastered." (Adorno, Theodor W., Horkheimer, Max. (1944). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York.)

¹⁸⁴ These authorized industrial discourses were neither static, nor independent of each other. Generally, they overlapped, for example in the goal of the engineers to develop a 'national technology and a technological nation.' (See: Valentines Álvarez, J. (2019). *The Quest for the Technological Soul of the Nation: The Catalan Forge and the Display of Politics (1914–1939)*. In: Canadelli, E., Beretta, M., & Ronzon, L. (Eds.). *Behind the Exhibit: Displaying Science and Technology at World's Fairs and Museums in the Twentieth Century*. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, pp. 32-50.) Another example of this overlap is the initiative of the Barcelona Junta de Ciències from 1906 which has been described by historians of science as "Conservative, Catholic, and Catalan" (See, for example, Aragon, Ferran; Pardo-Tomás, José. (2016). *Reconstructing the Martorell* (In Nieto-Galan, Agustí; Hochadel, Oliver (eds.), *Barcelona: An Urban History of Science and Modernity, 1888–1929*. Routledge.).

the context of industrialization and the ways that science was used, both through entertainment as well as education, as a form of social control over the lower classes-- to ‘captivate the imagination,’ in the words of Joan Güell. Both at industrial exhibitions as well as at the Mentora Alsina, the positivist discourse, with its rhetoric of universal progress for all mankind, would be used as a smokescreen with which to obscure the marxist discourse which described capitalistic production as a zero sum game-- that profit was a product of the exploitation of labor. While, in theory, scientific problem solving offered answers to all, in practice, it would often be mobilized in order to solve the problems of those at the top.

For the purposes of this investigation, the main point here is that--even if Marx *was* wrong about capital, and even if nature *is* totally divorced from culture and science *is* indeed ahistorical--these discourses exist independently of the answers to these questions; they are historically situated, even if the ‘Verdad Natural’ is not. In this story, these discourses are important actors in how industrialization was represented by the bourgeois and technical classes.

The legacy of this techno-scientific hegemony is still present in Barcelona. In some ways, the successor of the Mentora Alsina in Barcelona would be the Barcelona Science Museum. Inaugurated in 1981, this institution was modeled after the Exploratorium science center of San Francisco, which itself was started by a science teacher who built the original exhibit from a collection of about a hundred, handmade science demos. Coincidentally, this science teacher was the younger brother of Robert Oppenheimer, renowned physicist and "father of the atomic bomb." In Barcelona, this Science Museum is operated by one of the largest banks in the region, La Caixa.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ The history of the Science Museum of Barcelona is currently under investigation by Alfons Zarzoso as part of a project financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. (See: Sastre, Jaume & Simon, Josep (coords.). (2020-2022). “Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española” [MUSAUPOL, PID2019-104897GA-I00].)

2.5 THE BUSINESS ARCHIVE

Introduction

Towards the end of the 19th century, one of the biggest problems facing businesses like that of Eusebi Güell was the management of the working class. This was a problem that Ferran Alsina would take quite seriously, expanding his field from engineering to a form of social engineering. As we saw in the last section, he enacted 'English-style' reforms which used science to not only perfect machines, but in order to perfect the workers which operated them. The labor reform he attempted at the Vapor Vell would be given free reign at the factory's new location at the Colònia Güell, outside of Barcelona and isolated from its turbulent workers movements. It was here that Alsina developed an ambitious solution to this 'labor question,' based on nothing less than the creation of a new culture of work.

In this section, we look at the Colònia Güell, and the form of industrial society established there, as an industrial object. At the Colònia Güell, authorized industrial discourses were given material form in the design and construction of the colony itself, which materialized bourgeois hegemony in every facet of working-class life developed their-- from the church to the school, the ateneu, the store, the workers' housing, etc. In this sense, the Colònia Güell presents a fascinating case of a Foucaultian 'disciplinary society.' Following this analysis, we turn our attention back to Barcelona, where similar technologies of control would be implemented in the metropolis in various ways in order to 'colonize' the city, although these efforts were met with resistance. Barcelona was a battleground, not only of class conflict, but of the hegemonic construction and representation of the industrial city itself and its society.

Over the course of my investigation for this chapter, as I have tried my hand at writing history for the first time, I have constantly struggled to get a clear picture of what exactly was going on at the Vapor Vell and at the Colònia Güell. It is obvious to me that important historical actors, like for example, voices from the working class, have been invisibilized from the historical account. Even the most-primary sources I've found, including internal economic documentation from the Vapor Vell, has played some role in reifying the business discourses of the ruling classes. What I argue in this section is that this dynamic extends from the paper-record to include the material-record of industrialization as well. In some way or another, this record has been rigged. It is laden with authorized industrial discourses. This is what I mean by the title of this section-- the business archive. On one hand, I claim that one of the industrial objects of this archive is the industrial society itself in which we find ourselves, to a certain extent, still living to this day; and, on the other hand, I claim that this

archive is not innocent, but rather is biased towards the interests of the business classes who created it.¹⁸⁶

In the case of the Colònia Güell, we can see not only how this ‘business archive’ was constructed, but also how it has been used by historians who, over the years, have engaged their craft in the production of stories of industry and industrialization. Here, I survey two different approaches-- that of the economic historians and that of the social historians. In addition, we evaluate the historical exhibit installed at the Colònia Güell in 2009, commenting on some of the characteristic issues that industrial musealization faces resulting from the nature of the business archive itself; namely, the problem of sources and the problem of display. Finally, engage with critical heritage studies in addressing the problem of heritage itself as a mechanism of bourgeois hegemony.

2.5.1 Colònia Güell

Back in Barcelona, the working class organized through underground networks in the industrial hubs which had been built up around Barcelona, forming a “red ring” of socialist-influence around Catalonia’s capital city.¹⁸⁷ By the end of the 19th century, these municipalities, including Sants, would be absorbed into the municipality of Barcelona. Nevertheless, the capacity of these working-class towns to self-organize and put pressure on the bourgeoisie power structure would be substantial. The retreat of the Güell’s to Santa Coloma de Cervelló is an example of this. The Colònia Güell would be purposefully isolated from these influences, allowing a distinct ‘colony culture’ to be developed in much more direct and authoritarian ways-- a rural, almost feudal, form of capitalism with a sophisticated cultural apparatus for securing consent.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Mark Fisher's book on 'Capitalist Realism: Is there no alternative?' explores what he describes as 'the widespread sense that not only is capitalism the only viable political and economic system, but also that it is now impossible even to imagine a coherent alternative to it.' In this respect, Fisher discusses a 'business ontology,' in which purposes and objectives are understood exclusively in business terms. (Fisher, Mark. (2009). *Capitalist Realism: Is there no alternative?* Zero books.). Back in 1856, Marx and Engels wrote that, "Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture. That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine." (Marx, Karl; Engels, Friedrich. (1848). *The Communist Manifesto*. Edited by Jeffrey C. Isaac, Yale University Press, 2012.). Some parallels to the idea of a disciplinary society and capitalist culture are expressed in the 1999 film *The Matrix*. As Morpheus explains to Neo, “The Matrix is everywhere. It is all around us. Even now, in this very room. You can see it when you look out your window or when you turn on your television. You can feel it when you go to work... when you go to church... when you pay your taxes. It is the world that has been pulled over your eyes to blind you from the truth.” (Neo:) “What truth?” (Morpheus:) “That you are a slave, Neo. Like everyone else you were born into bondage. Into a prison that you cannot taste or see or touch. A prison for your mind.”

¹⁸⁷ Dalmau Torva, Marc & Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions.

¹⁸⁸ In an article titled *El feudalismo en las fábricas*, (La Publicidad. Barcelona, 1891.), a leftist critique is leveled against many aspects of Colony life: “*Se impide a los obreros leer los periódicos que no sean*

In an article on *Industrial colonies and the social paternalistic project*, Carles Enrech describes the strategic shift of Catalan industrialization to the colony-system as a response to the failure of urban industrialization.¹⁸⁹ Although Francesc Cabana disputes this claim, arguing that industrial colonies were built more for energetic reasons-- in order to utilize the hydropower potential available alongside rivers like the Llobregat and the Ter and reduce their dependence on coal, which in Catalunya had to be brought in on ships from England-- there is, however, one case of a Catalan industrial colony which was never designed to use hydropower and that was the Colònia Güell. The Colònia Güell was a different kind of colony.

According to Jordi Nadal, the predominance of industrial colonies, built mostly in the 1870's and 80's, is the signature feature of the Catalan industrial landscape.¹⁹⁰ Industrial colonies had been incentivized when, in 1868, a legal provision allowed them the same benefits which agricultural colonies had enjoyed since 1855, such as exemption of workers from military service. A colony, by definition, was a population removed from an urban center and for this reason the owner was required to provide basic services to the residents: schools, churches, stores, etc.

It was precisely these types of services which provided Ferran Alsina and Eusebi Güell the means of establishing the colony's culture of work. The design of the Colònia Güell features industrial and residential areas separated by a wide green area that clearly establishes the two spaces. The residential section is shaped like an 'L', with both ends dominated by singular buildings, representing the estate's two ideological pillars: the church and the school. In the middle of the main street is the plaza and the Ateneu, the centre of social life. The colony was equipped with everything that was needed for an industrial community: a daycare center, an inn, a theatre, sports fields, a consumer cooperative to be operated by the workers, a pharmacy, and a mutual aid society. This last item in particular was presented as a testament to the "highly Christian character" of the colony, "an elegant proof of the appreciation that the inhabitants of the colony had for each other, as though they formed part of one big family."¹⁹¹

This paternalistic sentiment would be immortalized in the colony's mythos through the retelling of an event which took place on February 23, 1905, a few years after the factory had been opened, when Eusebi Güell's sons, Claudi and Santiago, protagonized an act of

esencialmente católicos, se les obliga a comprar todos los alimentos en la misma cantina de la Colonia. El domingo por la mañana, o el mismo sábado por la noche, el patrono ya se ha reembolsado todos los jornales de la semana que acaba de pagar." (Cited in Català Massot, Lluís. (2008). *Els Güell de Torredembarra i la Colònia Güell de Santa Coloma de Cervelló*. Recull de Treballs. Centre d'Estudis Sinibald de Mas: p. 7-23.

¹⁸⁹ Enrech, Carles (2005). Les colònies industrials i el projecte social paternalista. *L'Erol, revista cultural del Berguedà* (en catalán) (86-87): 17-21.

¹⁹⁰ Nadal, Jordi. (1985). "La formació de la indústria moderna" in: Nadal Oller, Jordi; Maluquer de Motes, Jordi. Catalunya, la fàbrica d'Espanya (1833-1936). Ajuntament de Barcelona.

¹⁹¹ "Se fundó en este pueblo la asociación de socorros mutuos y otras de carácter altamente cristiana, prueba elocuente del aprecio que se tenían los habitantes de la Colonia, como si formara una sola gran familia." In: *Colonia Güell y Fábrica de Panas y Veludillos y Cía. Breve reseña histórica*. (1910).

sacrificial care for a wounded factory worker. The story is included in a historical account of the Colony written in 1919, but it was also picked up by a number of local newspapers at the time.¹⁹² One of the children which worked at the Colony fell into a cauldron of boiling dye and suffered serious burns which at first appeared to require an amputation. The parish priest, however, suggested that there was a possibility of saving the child's legs if there were enough volunteers which were willing to donate a piece of their own skin in order to perform a skin graft. On the day of the operation, Claudi and Santiago would be first on the list of volunteers.

The official version of the story as recorded in the factory's commemorative literature is a great little piece of story-telling.

According to accounts from those who carried out the operation, with their bodies already naked, having shaved the area to be operated on and ready to start the operation, a lively competition ensued between the priest, Mosén Vilarrubias, Don Claudio and his brother Don Santiago, each of them vying to be the first to undergo the operation. Finally, Don Claudio, rejoicing in the right that being the Manager gave him and therefore having authority over all of them, threw himself on the operating table, offering his body to the terrible blade. But, when he went to start the operation, one of the doctors observed that Don Claudio had recently been vaccinated, and undoubtedly wishing to spare him his great sacrifice, he indicated this circumstance and told him that he could not be operated on. Don Claudio answered that he was convinced that his skin could be of service; But, whether it was useful or not, he was not going to get up from that table without his skin being torn off, because he did not want there to be anyone who could say that he had offered himself as a sacrifice, counting on the fact that he would not be accepted. Tear off my skin, he told them, and if it's not good for poor Campderros, throw it away in good time.¹⁹³

With this heroic flourish, the capitalist gave 'the very skin off his back' for his workers. It was an impressive story, and it even had a happy ending-- the child survived. In an article in *Patufet*, published on April 8, 1905, the event was presented through a political lens, as an example of 'Christian, Catalan democracy':

"All of my readers have heard of democracy. Yes? Well the truth is that many folks have no idea what democracy can be. And on this point, many of you are just like the rest of them who continually have such a word in their mouth.

Many people understand democracy as a lack of manners, to greet each other without taking off one's hat, to go dirty, to spit on the ground, to do all those things that have no end. For those who think in this way, democracy consists in lowering oneself to the level of the uneducated. We all have to be equal, they say. And they find no way to equalize except by lowering those in high positions, instead of raising those in low positions.

¹⁹² Including: *Revista Social*, *Las Noticias*, *Diario de Barcelona*, *El Diluvio*, *La Tralla*, *La Veu de Catalunya*, *La Vanguardia*, *El Liberal*, *El Correo Catalán*, *El Poble Català*, *En Patufet*, *El Apostolado Seglar*, *La Renaixença*, *Cu-Cut!*, *Hojas Selectas*, *La Tribuna*.

¹⁹³ Cited in: Martorell, Sabi. *Historia de la Colònia Güell*. Biblioteca Popular Santa Coloma de Cervelló. p. 28.

On the other hand, there are those who understand democracy as the brotherhood between the poor and the rich, the consideration of the rich for the poor, the respect of the poor for the rich and the love of all. And this is good democracy.

Are you paying attention? Last Tuesday, an event happened in Barcelona that is a good example of this democracy...”

With this introduction, the author proceeds to recount the story of the sacrificial and heroic act. At the end, the moral is reiterated: “Blessed be this democracy because it is pleasing to God, because it is a Christian and Catalan democracy.”

Perhaps the most iconic monument ever built to this concept of paternalistic and patriotic democracy would be the colony’s church, built by Antoni Gaudí in his trademark style of Catalan Modernism. The window frames were designed with spikes from spinning machines, linked together to symbolize the union of work with the church. Over the entrance to the church, Gaudí represented the symbols of the four cardinal virtues. Allegedly, one of the workers once asked him why the virtue of temperance was represented with a *porron* (a traditional glass vessel with a narrow spout for drinking wine.) “Because,” responded Gaudí, “no one has ever gotten drunk by drinking with one.”¹⁹⁴

At the Colony’s San Lluís Parish Center, workers were given opportunities to participate in theatre, rhythmic song, cinema, religious-cultural conferences, projections of sacred history and commemorative festivals of the factory, as well as Sardana dances and “Ballets de folklore Català.” The colony’s school, meanwhile, would be one of the first truly Catalan schools to be built in Catalonia. The textbook, *Regles morals de bona criança* (“Moral rules of good upbringing”) was written in the Catalan language by the author Pin i Soler expressly for the Colònia Güell.¹⁹⁵

The colony also had the “La Maquinista” choral society which is purported to have been one of the best Clavé choirs at the time. The Clavé choirs were a form of male, working-class choral society which Anselm Clavé developed in Barcelona starting around 1850 and which became an important symbol of the intersection of Catalanism and industrialization.¹⁹⁶ In 1888, a monument to Clavé was erected in exact alignment with the monument to Joan Güell and situated just a few steps away at the intersection of the Rambla de Catalunya with Carrer València.¹⁹⁷ In the words of the monument committee, Clavé was a “civilizing agent through his choral societies, spreading among the popular classes and at the same time with musical taste, seeds of moralization and of culture which rapidly transformed in increased

¹⁹⁴ (Ibid. p. 28).

¹⁹⁵ Martorell, Sabi. *Historia de la Colònia Güell*. Biblioteca Popular Santa Coloma de Cervelló. p. 30.

¹⁹⁶ García Balaña, A. (1995). *Ordre industrial i transformació cultural a la Catalunya de mitjan segle XIX: a propòsit de Josep Anselm Clavé i l'associacionisme coral*. *Recerques: història, economia, cultura*, (33), 103-134.

¹⁹⁷ Gras Valero, I. & Rodríguez Samaniego, C. (2017). *Noves fonts per a l'estudi de l'escultura pública a Barcelona (1888-1905)*. In: *cDf International Congress: proceedings: actes, actas: actes*, Barcelona Jun. 2013 (p. 68). Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.

smoothness of customs and delicacy of inclinations, elevating, in this way, the already noble Catalan character.”¹⁹⁸

At the Ateneu, Alsina gave conferences on science and technology and performed physics demonstrations. There was also an educational and recreational society, a cafe, library, night school and exhibition space. In 1939, after the civil war, the Ateneu would be renamed the Union Cultural. The colony also had the “Eusebio Güell sports center” including a soccer field. Each year, the colony would celebrate the yearly “fiesta mayor” from August 15-17, coinciding with the festival of Santa Coloma de Cervelló.

Disciplinary society

The mechanism by which these various cultural forms can be understood to have exerted a control function is, I admit, not something which was immediately apparent to me when I began researching this topic. When I imagine class warfare and social control I think about institutions like prisons and the police, both of which, by the way, developed their modern forms under 19th century industrialization. The Barcelona Model Prison, constructed from 1881-1904, was based on the concept of the Panopticon-- an architectural form designed with a control function, and the object of Michel Foucault's classic case study in which he analysis the development of what he calls a “disciplinary society” during the industrial age.¹⁹⁹ For Foucault, the state biopolitical technology extended as a network of power beyond the legal and penal prison systems, as a form of spatial power which extended to the totality of the territory and even penetrating the individual body in order to create “docile bodies” which were better suited for functioning in factories, ordered military regiments, and school classrooms. The type of discipline Foucault refers to is a kind which comes about without excessive force but through careful observation, and through the molding over time of the bodies being controlled, ensuring the internalization of the discipline. Foucault viewed the development of disciplinary society not as a more humanitarian alternative to earlier systems of control but as part of a continued trajectory of subjugation. The disciplinary approach involved a form of moral control which sought to impose a value system which would form a base for behaviour most desired by leaders of industrial society. It is in this sense of discipline that we can begin to understand the role of the Colònia Güell as a technology of bourgeois hegemony.

Practically every aspect of working class society would be managed or at least overseen by the company. The authoritarian nature of the colony's social structure would be

¹⁹⁸ “Els comentaristes elogiaven “un Clavé que va permetre de moralitzar i instruir la classe obrera” amb l’èxit ja conegut. Per a la comissió del monument, Clavé “agente civilizador por medio de sus sociedades corales, difundió entre las masas populares y a la vez con el gusto músico, gérmenes de moralización y de cultura que rápidamente se han traducido en mayor suavidad de costumbres y delicadeza de inclinaciones, elevando así el ya tan noble carácter catalán.”(In: Michonneau, Stéphane. Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites. Eumo Editorial, 2001, p. 101.)

¹⁹⁹ Foucault, Michel. (1975). *Discipline and Punish*. (Translated by Allen Sheridan, 1977. Random House: New York.)

camouflaged by the fact that direct repression was rarely called for. Instead, troublemakers were able to be dealt with preemptively through the variety of disciplinary structures in place. Another aspect of this is that the colony was subject to very little accountability. It was managed by a single, hierarchical organizational structure, with very few checks and balances. This feudal dynamic would be effective in not only preventing dissent, but also in invisibilizing its presence. It's very hard to know for sure what went on at the Colònia Güell when all the available historical accounts are composed of 'official' versions.

Back in Barcelona, however, industrial society and the capitalist culture of work would be a much more contested and complex phenomena. Hegemony in the city would be a constant battleground. Of course, this is what the Gramscian model of hegemony describes-- industrial society as a cultural arena for the clashing of class-based values and discourses. In this 'battle for Barcelona,' the experience of the Colònia Güell would serve as a testing ground and template for how urban industrialists would approach the labor problem. Here, I'll look at three examples of the approaches which were taken.

First of all, there is the approach described by Marc Dalmau and Ivan Miró in the introduction to their investigation on the history of cooperativism in the neighborhood of Sants. As they explain, at the turn of the century, seeking social passivity and productivity, the economic and political power structure of the city sought to transform Barcelona itself into a large-scale version of an industrial colony-- thus was born the idea of a great, modern, capitalist city, or, as it was called, 'La Gran Barcelona.'²⁰⁰ It was around this time period that an era was inaugurated in which the ruling classes buried any attempt at creating an urbanism of social utopianism, and instead opting in favor of a disciplinary vision of urban space aimed at pacifying and controlling social and spatial disorder. The first attempts were made at a certain Taylorization of space, with the aim of efficient organization of the urban fabric. The Jaussely Plan of 1905, drawn up by the French architect of choice for the industrialists, inaugurated this vision of urban space as a 'city-factory.'²⁰¹

A second, less-centralized account of the 'colonization of Barcelona' can be pieced together by looking at some of the main products of this generalized effort. Besides the typical sites of control such as prisons, schools and factories, there are some other quite interesting examples unique to Barcelona in which we can see the production of certain industrial cultural values in the city. One of these is the production, throughout Catalonia but

²⁰⁰ This topic of La Gran Barcelona will be discussed further in Chapter 3.1, as well as the conceptual basis of its critique as developed by scholars such as Jordi Borja (Borja, Jordi (et al). (1972). *La Gran Barcelona*. CAU, n.10.)

²⁰¹ See: Dalmau Torva, Marc & Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions. p.33. Also: Còcola Gant, Agustín. (2014). *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona: planificación del pasado e imagen de marca*. 2ª ed. corr. Barcelona: Madroño. Also: Fernandez Gonzalez, Miquel. (2014). *Matar al Chino. Entre la revolución urbanística y el asedio urbano en el barrio del Raval de Barcelona*. La Llevir-Virus. Also: Navas i Ferrer, Teresa. (2014). *La construcción simbólica de una capital. Planeamiento, imagen turística y desarrollo urbano en Barcelona a principios de siglo XX*. Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales, 18.

also in Barcelona, of works of architectural modernism as monuments to national identity and production.²⁰² The most famous of these is undoubtedly the Sagrada Família, built by Gaudí in the very heart of Barcelona's new urban expanse. Especially relevant is the fact that Gaudí would base this design on his earlier work on the crypt of the Colònia Güell. Even in its unfinished state, the church would impose its disciplinary presence over Barcelona's skyline with such a hegemonic power that even the anarchists would be unwilling to burn the church down during the Civil War-- a situation which surprised George Orwell, as he recounts in *Homage to Catalonia*: "For the first time since I had been in Barcelona I went to have a look at the cathedral [La Sagrada Família] – a modern cathedral, and one of the most hideous buildings in the world... Unlike most of the churches in Barcelona it was not damaged during the revolution – it was spared because of its 'artistic value', people said. I think the Anarchists showed bad taste in not blowing it up when they had the chance."²⁰³ The anarchists did, however, tear down the monument to Joan Güell.

In the first third of the 20th century, especially, another cultural form rose to prominence in industrialized nations in order to shape the public discourse on industry-- the national museums of technology.²⁰⁴ Typically, these technical museums were born as extensions of industrial exhibits whose collections they were built to house. In Barcelona, various proposals for a technical museum would emerge from the engineering community in the years following Barcelona's International Exhibition of 1929. The "Technoteque," as one of these was christened in a newspaper article at the time, was envisioned as a center for technical education and display sponsored by corporate and state constituencies. In 1937, in the midst of the Civil War, the Generalitat of Catalonia would call for the construction of a national museum of technology to be built, although after losing the war this project would come to nothing.²⁰⁵

Although this museum would not be built at that time, the cultural production and display of Barcelona as an industrial city (and society) would occur in other ways. One of these musealization initiatives was the production of the book 'Barcelona Artística i Industrial,'²⁰⁶ published by the Society for Attraction of Foreigners in 1907 as a beautiful

²⁰² Michonneau, Stéphane. (2001). *Barcelona: memòria i identitat. Monuments, commemoracions i mites*. Eumo Editorial, p. 92. Also see: Smith, Angel. *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*. Springer, 2014.

²⁰³ Orwell, George. (1952). *Homage to Catalonia*. Harcourt Brace & Company: San Diego, republished in 1980.

²⁰⁴ Schroeder-Gudehus, Brigitte (ed.). (1993). *Industrial Society and its Museums*. Paris, Harwood Academic Publishers.

²⁰⁵ See Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939), *Nunciarius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154.

²⁰⁶ Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros. (1917). *Barcelona artística e industrial*. MUHBA, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura Barcelona. (Reprinted in 2010 by the MUHBA), Barcelona:Ediciones de La Central.

photo album and guidebook to the industrial city.²⁰⁷ In addition to general projects like this one, individual businesses actively participated in the project of branding the image and culture of their own industries. In 1910, for example, the management of the Colònia Güell produced a historical commemoration and description of the business to be used as a sort of guidebook for industrial tourists and special guests.²⁰⁸ Much of the information which is known about Catalan industries today comes from business sources like these, as well as through the interventions of businessmen in the public space through the construction of monuments, exhibits, public education initiatives, etc. In this way, Barcelona came to form a type of open-air archive of authorized industrial discourses-- what I've called the business archive.

2.5.2 The Colònia Güell Exhibit

The Güell's industrial corduroy dynasty which began at the Vapor Vell of Sants before transferring to the Colònia Güell, would come to an end in 1943 when the business was sold to the Bertrand textile group. The Bertrand group would operate at the Colony, which would maintain its original name, until 1973 at which point the factory was closed down and a portion of the warehouses were rented out to various smaller businesses. By 1988, the question of what to do with the colony led the mayor of Santa Coloma de Cervelló to present a plan for municipalizing the public spaces of the colony.²⁰⁹ Up until this point, even though the colony had the appearance of being a small town, it was actually private property. After the factory had closed down, many of the workers had stayed at the colony, either retiring or looking for work outside the colony. That same year, in 1988, the bulletin of the Association of Industrial Archeology and Museums of Science and Technology would list five proposed industrial heritage sites for Spain, including the Colònia Güell (more will be said about this association in chapter 4.2).²¹⁰

The project of musealizing the colony as an industrial heritage site would lead, in 2009, to the creation of a permanent historical exhibit which was installed in the colony's old cooperative building. It was my visit to this exhibit which I commented on at the beginning of this chapter on Business History, and which sparked my initial reflection on the historical genealogy of the industrial discourses I encountered in that display. For many of the objects in the exhibit, this would not be the first time they had been put on display. The question I

²⁰⁷ Blasco Peris, A. (2005). *Barcelona Atracció (1910-1936). Una revista de la societat de atracció de forasters.* Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

²⁰⁸ *Memoria de Colonia Güell y Fábrica de Panes y Veludillos de Güell y Cia.* Barcelona, 1910.

²⁰⁹ Josep M. Garriga i Serra, Josep M. (1988). *Estat actual de la colònia Guëll i solucions de futur.* I Jornades d'Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya, L'Hospitalet de Llobregat.

²¹⁰ Besides the Colònia Güell, these included the Aymerich, Amat i Jover factory (Terrassa), La Granja (Madrid), El Puente de Portugalete (Euskadi), and La Fábrica de azúcar de Motril (Andalusia). (Butlletí d'Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica, núm 2, 1988.)

originally asked was with regards to this. In what ways does this contemporary musealization differ from the historical one? In what way have the discourses shifted over time?

I noticed, for example, the display of machines representing the technical ingenuity of their inventors like Ferran Alsina. These same machines and discourses would have been presented, for example, at an industrial exhibition like the Universal Exhibition of Barcelona in 1888. The scale model of the factory on display in the exhibit would have been similar to that created and displayed by Ferran Alsina and Eusebi Güell shortly after this as an architectural design representative of their pioneering work in the fields of industrial efficiency and social engineering. In the exhibit, this discourse of ‘factory as technology’ is nuanced by the inclusion of an audio-visual component in which ex-factory workers from each of the sections of the industrial complex present their role in the factory operations.

The exhibit features replicas of the bust of Joan and Eusebi Güell, as well as biographic information copied from the 19th century originals. Undoubtedly the highlight of the exhibit is the section on Antoni Gaudí and the colony’s modernist architecture, particularly that of the crypt. The relative importance of Gaudí in this whole musealization initiative is represented by the website which is named www.GaudíColòniaGüell.org, and is sponsored by a consortium of regional and state governments working together to “transform Gaudí’s Crypt and the Colònia Güell into the main reference point of a historical cultural, and tourist visit in Barcelona and the Baix Llobregat.”²¹¹

In conclusion, the primary objects of display in the exhibit are artifacts that were originally produced by business, state, and engineering constituencies and have close ties to the legacy of paternalist, patriotic and positivist discourses. To be fair, the exhibit also features important divergences from these time-told stories, and attempts to present a critical framework in which to understand the social aspect of the colony. We will come back to this part of the exhibit later on in the chapter, but first let’s delve a bit deeper into the two types of challenges that an industrial exhibit like this faces: the problem of sources and the problem of interpretation.

The first problem has to do with the things that are available to display in the exhibit. In the case of the Colònia Güell, the factory was closed for almost forty years before this exhibit was created and ten years before the concept of Industrial Heritage had been introduced to the general Catalan audience. During this time, much of the factory’s material heritage would be sold, discarded, or lost. Generally speaking, the things that were conserved (and were therefore available for display when the time came to create the exhibit) were things that were perceived to have some sort of value. Here I argue that the question of an industrial object’s value is a relative thing and is linked to the related question of what that object was created to do. Often these objects of display are created to do symbolic work, for

²¹¹ See website: (accessed June 2, 2020) <http://GaudíColòniaGüell.org/en/about-us/>

example to commemorate. An exhibit can choose either to reproduce or to challenge the value discourse of the objects it displays. This brings us to the next challenge of an industrial exhibit-- the problem of interpretation.

The study and interpretation of industry has been shaped by the ways that industry has studied and interpreted itself. During the 20th century it became a common practice for large factories to produce their own commemorative historical publications in order to celebrate important milestones, for example, the aforementioned publication of the Colònia Güell in 1910. At this time the Vapor Vell was parceled up between smaller industries and no such materials were produced, but at the neighboring Vapor Nou, or Espanya Industrial factory, however, we find the publication in 1947 of the *Libro del centenario 1847-1947. La España Industrial*.²¹² This book is full of large, glossy pictures depicting the factory's history over 100 years of activity, and emphasizes the strength and competitiveness of the company. Economic data is presented as evidence of business successes, as well as descriptions of products and of the machinery used in their fabrication. There is also a section on the factory's social programs, including their sports team.

The fact that these three primary interpretive/methodological frameworks-- economic history, history of technology, and social history-- also match the principal historiographical approaches with which scholars have studied industrial history illuminates the two problems I am discussing in this chapter: that typically the only primary sources available to scholars are those produced by the business archive itself and that the most typical 'ways of thinking about' business are copied from the ways in which businesses think about themselves. If we are to break free from these types of self-referential, internalist historiographical frameworks, we need to develop new methodologies for telling industrial stories.

2.5.3 Economic History

During Francoism, the project of writing the history of Catalan industry suffered the obvious setbacks one could expect given the centralizing patriotic Spanish discourse which Franco leaned so heavily on, particularly during the first years of his dictatorship. One of the most important bridges between Francoism and Catalan historical scholarship would be built by Jaume Vicens Vives (1910-1960). Vives' friendships with Catalanistas like Josep Tarradellas, the exiled president of the Generalitat, as well as with some of the leading intellectuals of the Opus Dei, positioned him favorably for carrying forward a contemporary historiography of Spain and Catalonia.²¹³ Famously, he emphasized the importance of

²¹² La España Industrial S.A., *El libro del centenario 1847-1947. La España Industrial*, Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1947.

²¹³ Solà provides a helpful overview of the historiography of Catalan economy and the bourgeoisie, including the interpretation of Jaume Vicens Vives, Pierre Vilar, Miquel Izard, Jordi Maluquer, etc. (Solà,

statistical information in his work and was critical of the Romantic historiography of the Catalan Renaissance, as evidenced in his open letter titled "History is not created, it is remade"²¹⁴, in which he extolled the role of the scientific historian over the romantic historians who do not let "the data speak" but rather are based on a previous nationalistic biases.

One of Vives' disciples would be the Catalan economic historian Jordi Nadal, who in 1975 would publish his study on 'The failure of the industrial revolution in Spain, 1814-1913.' In 1981, Nadal published the history of the Catalan 'Caixa de Pensions' banking foundation and in 1985 he was hired to curate an exhibit organized by the Barcelona City Hall to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Bonaplata factory in Barcelona, the first factory to employ steam power in Spain. Along with fellow historian Jordi Maluquer, Nadal took this opportunity to expand the vision for the exhibit and developed heavily researched didactic scholarship on the little known topic of the Catalan industrial revolution. This would be the exhibit 'Catalonia, the factory of Spain', exhibited in the Born Market. The choice of the Born Market as the location of the exhibit was itself an homage to industrial spaces. It was constructed between 1874-1876 with materials from the Maquinista Terrestre i Marítima, one of the protagonists of the exhibit, not only for its role in the Catalan industrial revolution but also as one of the major sponsors of the exhibition. The exhibit was divided into five main areas, had 130 units of text, more than 800 photographs and various graphics elements as well as videos, and material heritage.²¹⁵ The exhibition, however, was devised with the intention of explaining a story and not just venerating objects and expressed a clear didactic desire to reach not only the specialized audience but also a more general public. It also served as a prolog of what would become the new museum of Science and Technology which had launched the previous year.²¹⁶

Through this important display of economic historical research, Jordi Nadal would popularize the idea that Catalonia, unlike Spain, could fairly lay claim to a glorious, national industrial past. The primary evidence with which Nadal crafted this argument would be taken from labor-intensive statistical work compiled from thousands of industrial financial records. The product of this program of study would be the creation of graphs comparing the economic potency of Catalonia with that of Spain and of other countries. It would be research of this kind which would legitimize the discourse promoted by the Generalitat of Catalonia that "The process of industrialization that Catalonia followed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is comparable to that of many regions of northern Europe that are

Àngels. (1993). Características de la burguesía barcelonesa del siglo XIX. Notas historiográficas y apuntes de contenido. *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 46 (1), 41-51.)

²¹⁴ Vicens Vives, Jaume. (1935). *La historia no es crea, es refa*. La Veu de Catalunya. August 24.

²¹⁵ Nadal Oller, Jordi; Maluquer de Motes, Jordi. (1985). *Catalunya, la fàbrica d'Espanya (1833-1936)*. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

²¹⁶ Glick, Thomas F. (1986). "Catalonia, Factory of Spain," an exhibition in Barcelona. *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 27. No.3 (Jul., 1986), pp. 597-603.

considered the pioneers of this social and economic revolution that turned the history of mankind.”²¹⁷ In 1986, the Barcelona Maritime Museum would curate an exhibition on “La Llotja i l’Economia Catalana.”²¹⁸ A fully developed program of investigation into the economic history of Catalonia would be carried out by Nadal and a team of 26 economic historians in a 6-volume collection published from 1988-94.²¹⁹

The general coordinator of this encyclopedic work was Francesc Cabana i Vancells, a banker and historian of Catalan economy who had by that time already written a number of works on Catalan banking and bankers.²²⁰ From 1992-94, Cabana published four volumes of ‘*Factories and businessmen: The protagonists of the industrial revolution*,’ in which the contents are divided up by factory and businessmen to make it easy to search for particular information. It is worthwhile to take a moment here to comment on the treatment that Cabana gives to the subject of the Vapor Vell and the Güell family, as it is illuminating of the methodology of economic history in general.

The first thing I noticed when reading this history is that it is clear that most of the historical content is drawn from Argullol’s biography of Joan Güell, although Cabana leaves out some of the most interesting parts of Argullol’s story. All of the quasi-supernatural elements with which Argullol frames his tale, for example, are purged in this retelling, including the epic birth scene and Joan Güell’s childhood exploits as a soldier of Altafulla. In essence, Cabana reproduces the historical content of the 19th century authorized industrial discourses while masking their hegemonic function by presenting them in the language of historical neutrality in the form of an encyclopedia entry.

This is a common challenge that historians face. Sources, as we have discussed, are discourse-laden, and the historian’s job is to figure out how to use these same sources in order to tell a different kind of story. This can be a very subtle art and it’s not always clear how to go about it, but it starts with the realization that historiography is not about generating a story from nothing, but about weaving existing stories together into something new. Unfortunately, Cabana misses this chance of engaging critically with his primary sources and chooses instead to put his story-telling power behind the cause of reaffirming the traditional protagonists of industrial society: business owners and their factories.

²¹⁷ Carbonell, Eduard, Director General de Patrimoni, Generalitat de Catalunya. Introduction to the I Jornades d’Arqueologia industrial a Catalunya. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l’Hospitalet, 1991, p. 3.

²¹⁸ *La Llotja i l’economia catalana. Del Consolat de Mar a la Cambra de Comerç*. Archive of the Maritime Museum of Barcelona, 1986.

²¹⁹ Nadal, Jordi (director). (1988-1994, 6 vols). *Història econòmica de la Catalunya contemporània*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.

²²⁰ For example: *La Banca a Catalunya* (1965); *Bancs i banquers a Catalunya* (1972); *El Banc de Barcelona (1844-1920)* (1978); *Banca Catalana: un capítol de la seva història* (1978); *Catalunya i l’economia: dues preocupacions* (1983); *Les multinacionals a Catalunya* (1984); *Banca Catalana. Diari personal* (1988).

The problem with Cabana's historiography doesn't just have to do with the voices which remain marginalized in his account, it is also the fact that he instrumentalizes the invisibilization of these groups as a justification for the political discourses of his protagonists. "It is difficult to clarify the possible role of the slave trade in creating [Joan Güell's] wealth," he writes. "To affirm that it was important is not very correct, since no proof has been found."²²¹ At this point, rather than discuss the well-documented history of Cuba's early 19th slave-trade, Cabana centers the discourse back on Joan Güell himself, bringing our attention to what appears to be a justification for Güell's unapologetically pro-slavery stance: "Güell had a very bad memory of the extermination of the whites that had been carried out in Santo Domingo by those of the neighboring Haiti."²²² The rhetorical device Cabana uses here in recentering the history on the capitalist himself is the same technique Argullol uses to shift the discourse of Sol i Padrís' assassination from the context of the strike back to Joan Güell ("Güell learned of this while in Nîmes, and take note: the man who remains impassive and calm when he knows that his frigate has sunk and he's lost much of his fortune, loses his serenity, tears fill his eyes and he becomes seriously sick after saying goodbye to his beloved wife and now his best friend die."²²³).

Regarding the assassination of Sol i Padrís, Cabana echoes Güell's own analysis, that this was a senseless act of violence ("In short, it was a murder which occurred in the context of a general strike which wanted to distinguish itself by its non-violent nature and of which there are no explanations.") Rather than giving voice to the protesters by contextualizing their demands for the right to associate, Cabana instead focuses his story on the figure of Sol i Padrís who he protagonizes as a martyr-figure, going so far as to reproduce a piece of Sol i Padrís' poetry. The workers, on the other hand, are given no such humanizing historical treatment, and are portrayed as a senseless, social monolith.

At this point it's worth taking a moment to look at who Cabana is and what his motivation may be in reproducing these 19th century discourses. For one thing, like Joan Güell, he is a member of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie. He was one of the founders, along with his brother-in-law Jordi Pujol, of the Banca Catalana which aimed to create a strong financial group with a social base in Catalonia. Like Eusebi Güell and Ferran Alsina, he is also a Catalanista. He was vice president of the Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, and from 2011-14 he presided over the Ateneu Barcelonès, the same position which Argullol had held over a hundred years prior when he wrote the first biographical sketch of Joan Güell and the Vapor Vell.

Despite this great separation of time, there are many parallels between the political context of Catalanism from the end of the 19th century when Joan Güell was monumentalized

²²¹ Cabana, Francesc. (1993). "Els Cotoners". (*Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial*. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana).

²²² (Ibid.)

²²³ Argullol y Serra, José. (1879). *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer*. Establecimiento tipográfico de los Sucesores de N. Ramírez y Compañía: Barcelona.

as a Catalan hero of work and the context in which Cabana reproduced this history in the 1990's. There is a clear political motivation guiding Cabana's pen here, including his selection of large portions of Joan Güell's economic writings on protectionism which he includes in his history of the Vapor Vell. This history is not written for posterity's sake, but for the sake of the conservative Catalan bourgeoisie, so well represented by the figure of his brother-in-law Jordi Pujol who would preside over the Generalitat de Catalonia from 1980-2003. In 2012, Cabana would preside over the performative expression of the repetition of history represented by the signing of a 'Memorial de Greuges' at the Ateneu Barcelonès in memory of the 1885 document signed and partially authored by Eusebi Güell and Ferran Alsina. This new document would reaffirm the continued struggle for these economic grievances 127 years later.²²⁴

In 2014, Cabana donated his private archive of over 14,000 documents to the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. The archive and documentation center of the mNACTEC would be named in Jordi Nadal's honor in 2013. Their scholarship has revitalized the public perception of the value of Catalonia's industrial history, and this result has been achieved by giving these stories contemporary significance in the context of Catalonia's independence movement.

It wasn't always like this. Back in the 1980's, at the start of the Catalan industrial heritage movement, industrial history was not perceived to have this value. In 1982, one of the first presentations given at the first conference on the topic was presented by the historian Àngel Calvo, from Barcelona, who shared his experiences of looking through the section of this archive dedicated to 'particular industries.'²²⁵ The room, on the eighth floor of a building off of Plaza Sant Miquel, contained boxes with over 84,000 files. The situation of the archive was a disaster, Calvo reported. Not only were many documents in imminent danger of destruction, they were barely organized and with limited usefulness for the project of writing the history of industrialization. How could one craft a meaningful historical narrative from sources composed of quantitative tax information?

Every archive also has to constantly decide what is worth conserving and what should be decommissioned. As Calvo writes, the 84,000 files stored by the municipal archive were in danger of being thrown out because the archivists simply didn't see in them much value. In the realm of industrial heritage, this is a well-known dynamic-- how to revalue the industrial heritage in order to save it from destruction. The solution of Cabana and Nadal would be to contextualize this economic data within the larger story of Catalonia's nationalist movement. This would be an easy fit because the data itself was already laden with the authorized industrial discourse of patriotism.

²²⁴ Cabana, Francesc. *Memorial de Greuges*. El Punt Avui. Nov 25, 2012.

²²⁵ Calvo, Àngel. *Los documentos de la sección de industrias particulares en el archivo administrativo del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona*. Presented in the I Jornadas sobre la Protección y Revalorización del Patrimonio Industrial. Bilbao, 1982.

2.5.4 Social History

It goes without saying that many academic disciplines and methodologies have been developed and used in the study of industrial history-- from art history and architecture to social and urban history. Each of these genres pulls from different source materials and engages different historical actors, objects, and ways of thinking about industry. In the post 1969 university culture, the inherent political natures of these disciplinary frameworks became a matter of significant discussion and debate. In Spain, this academic era coincided with the end of Francoism and was a time when leftist scholars began to emerge from the underground and exercise their new liberties of academic critique. Regarding industrial history, some of the most significant disciplinary developments at this time were in the fields of Urban Geography, which critically studied the production of urban space as a process and product of capitalistic production (which we will discuss in chapter 3.4), and in the brand new field of industrial archeology, which represented a radical interdisciplinary approach which promised to expand the industrial archive and give voice to new protagonists of the industrial revolution (which we will discuss in chapter 4.4).

The 1970's was also the decade in which important scholarship was begun in Catalonia in the fields of history of technology, labor, and science. Many of these emerging methodologies would include a significant emphasis on social objects of analysis. Included in this group of scholars we find the likes of Josep Termes²²⁶, Josep Fontana²²⁷, Joaquim Ferrer²²⁸, Manuel Lladonosa²²⁹

- Miquel Izard, who studied modern and contemporary history, and worked with the PSUC communist organization during the transition.²³⁰ He was exiled to Venezuela after being arrested at the *Caputxinada*. His code name within the PSUC was 'Sabaté' in homage to the leader of the Tres Clases de Vapor workers union. This union would be the object of his thesis in 1970. He continued on with important investigations of working class history from a marxist perspective.²³¹

²²⁶ Termes, Josep. (1971). *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en España (1864-81)*, Barcelona.

²²⁷ Fontana, Josep. (1973). "Nacimiento del proletariado industrial y primeras etapas del movimiento obrero" In: Fontana, J. *Cambio económico y actitudes políticas en la España del siglo XIX*. Barcelona, Ariel.

²²⁸ Ferrer, Joaquim. (1972). *El primer Primer de Maig a Catalunya*. Barcelona, Nova Terra.

²²⁹ Lladonosa, Manuel. (1975). *El Congrés de Sants*. Barcelona, Nova Terra.

²³⁰ Delgado, Manuel. (2011). La vida secreta de Miquel Izard. *Memorias de la clandestinidad. Boletín Americanista*, Vol. 61: 63-83. [Consulta: 10 July 2017].

²³¹ See, Izard, Miquel:

-(1970). *Revolució industrial i obrerisme. Les Tres Classes del Vapor a Catalunya (1869-1913)*.

-(1975). *Esclavos y negreros*.

-(1978). *El segle XIX: burgesos i proletaris*. Ed. Dopesa, Barcelona.

-(1979). *Manufactureros, industriales y revolucionarios*.

- Ramon Garrabou, would work alongside Izard in the PSUC underground. As a historian, his object of analysis would be agrarian history and social changes associated with the development of new forms of property in the first half of the 19th century.²³²
- Manuel Arranz, a professor, historian and local archivist of Poblenou. He co-founded the Popular Ateneu Flor de Maig, named after a historic cooperative movement, and founded and presided over the Historic Archive of Poblenou for many years, writing on the topic of industrial heritage.²³³
- Maluquer de Motes, the economic historian that would work alongside Jordi Nadal on the 1985 exhibition 'Catalonia, the factory of Spain.' His own line of research would include topics such as socialism in Spain (1977), immigration (1992), and technicians and technology in the development of contemporary Catalonia (2000).²³⁴
- Ignasi Terrades, a social anthropologist with important studies on the topic of Catalonia's industrial colonies.²³⁵

²³² Garrabou, Ramon. (1982). *Enginyers industrials, modernització econòmica i burgesia a Catalunya: 1850-inicis del segle XX*. Barcelona, L' Avenç. Also: Garrabou, Ramon & Ángel García Sanz. (1985). *Historia Agraria de la España Contemporánea: Cambio Social y Nuevas Formas Propiedad (1800-1850)*. (Crítica/Historia).

²³³ Arranz, Manuel:

-(1982). *La indústria farinera de Sant Martí de Provençals a la segona meitat del segle XIX*, dins *El Pla de Barcelona i la seva història. Actes del I Congrés... 1982*, Barcelona, Institut Municipal d'Història/La Magrana, 1984, pàg. 433-440.

-(1984). *El Parc de la Ciutadella, una visió històrica*.

-(1985). «Entre el sistema gremial i el sistema fabril: la ciutat manufacturera (segle XVIII)», dins *Història urbana del Pla de Barcelona. Actes del II Congrés...1985*, Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1989, vol. I, pàg. 327-338.

-(1987). «Els terrenys de la vila olímpica, un segle d'especulació urbanística», *Diari de Barcelona*, 29-XI-1987 (coautors: Marta Puchal, Teresa Navas, Reinald González i Francesc Caballé).

-(1988). «Icària: la formació d'un barri industrial», *Plecs d'història local*, 14 (1988), pàg. 210-213.

²³⁴ See, Maluquer de Motes:

-(1977). *El socialismo en España 1833-1868*.

-(1985). *Catalunya, la fàbrica d'Espanya*.

-(1985). *Industrialización y nacionalismo: análisis comparativos*.

-(1992). *Nación e inmigración: los españoles en Cuba (ss. XIX-XX)*.

-(1999). *España en la crisis de 1898: de la gran depresión a la modernización económica del siglo XX*.

-(2000). *Tècnics i tecnologia en el desenvolupament de la Catalunya contemporània*.

²³⁵ See, Terrades, I.:

-(1978). "The Industrial Colonies". *Critique of Anthropology*. Londres.

-(1978). "Dades històriques de L'Ametlla de Merola". *L'Ametlla de Merola*.

-(1979). *Les Colònies industrials*. Laia. Barcelona.

-(1980). "De les colònies industrials a la crisi de l'Estat Providència". *L'Avenç*. Barcelona. 1980.

-(1980). "Orden social y Economía política. Un replanteamiento a partir de la historia industrial mexicana". *Relaciones*. Zamora, Michoacán.

-(1987). "Towards a comparative approach to the study of industrial and urban politics". En *Center of Environmental Studies: Urban change and conflict*. Londres..

-(1983). Maluquer, E. (coautora). "Un aspecte de la recuperació: L'Ametlla de Merola". *L'Erol*. Berga.

-(1983). Contreras, J. (coautor) "Antropòlegs i marxistes". *Nous Horitzons*. Barcelona.

-(1984). Contreras, J. (coautor). "L'exhibició d'aixantís a Barcelona l'any 1897". *L'Avenç*. Barcelona.

These scholars laid important groundwork in telling social stories of Catalonia's industrialization. They provided new perspectives than that which was given by the authorized industrial discourses. Rather than go into depth on the varying methodologies and sources used in these studies, I will pause only to comment on a common difficulty that these types of studies encounter and which specifically pertains to our discussion of the exhibit at the Colònia Güell-- the problem of display.

The problem of display is something which becomes immediately apparent at an exhibition like the one at the Colònia Güell. After passing through the rooms presenting the usual stories of the founders and technology of the factory, I arrived at a room dedicated to the colony's people. Imagine my surprise upon finding that this room would be essentially empty. Instead of displaying any tangible things, this display was composed almost entirely of text which was written on the walls. True, there were a few wall-displays with some letters and a handful of posters from when the factory was collectivized by the anarchists during the Civil War, but that was it. Whereas I thought that the topic of a factory being collectivized could potentially make for a riveting exhibit experience, the reality I was confronted with was exactly the opposite. The ability of social historians to translate their scholarship into good stories appeared to be lacking. It just didn't make for a very dynamic display.²³⁶ I found the most engaging part of it to be the section dedicated to the retelling of the story of the child which fell into the vat of boiling dye and was voluntarily offered a skin graft by the factory owners, but this story just reproduces the old paternalistic framing of the authorized industrial discourse. The working class people, on the other hand, are not given protagonism, but rather are represented as objects of study by the social historians.

Thankfully, in the next section of the exhibit this problem was rectified by way of an audio-visual display which told the story of a day in the life of one of the colony's children in the year 1917.²³⁷ This narrative piece was prepared from oral history collected from colony

-(1985). "Colònies industrials: ideologia i experiència". Dovella. Manresa.

-(1987). "Les característiques històriques de les colònies industrials catalanes". Revista de Catalunya.

-(1994). La qüestió de les colònies industrials. Centre d'Estudis del Bages. Manresa.

²³⁶ In a review of the 1985 exhibition 'Catalonia, Factory of Spain,' Thomas Glick notes a similar problem of display: "The final section, on the social context of industrialization, was least satisfying. After the effective mixture of documents, graphics, and artifacts of the previous sections, the photographs and long texts which made up most of this part were anticlimactic. Then, in covering as many social ramifications of industrialization as possible (e.g., origins of agricultural prosperity, foreign and domestic markets, protectionism, industrial concentration, and urbanization), two features in particular were underdeveloped. One was the idiosyncratic nature of the working-class movement in Barcelona, with its anarchist labor confederation (the CNT), the most important such anarchist organization in Europe. The other was the spectacular growth of professional engineering in Catalonia from the 1890s on." In: Glick, Thomas F. (1986). "Catalonia, Factory of Spain," an exhibition in Barcelona. *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 27. No.3 (Jul., 1986), p. 600.

²³⁷ Graf, Grup. (2009). Audiovisual Colònia Güell 1917. Consorci de la Colònia Güell, l'Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Cervelló i la Xarxa de Turisme Industrial de Catalunya (XATIC). Amb la col·laboració de l'Associació La Colònia Modernista amb intèrprets, vestuari i atrezzo. (Guió: Montse Bofill, (Història Viva),

workers and brought to life through filmed reenactment and with the inclusion of a few material heritage pieces of memorabilia from the workers. A book, a lunch pail-- these mundane objects of daily life took on new meaning and historical value when presented in the context of this first-person narrative. The video opens with a photograph of a group of workers posing for a factory photo shoot, and then the frame zooms in and centers on one of them and we hear her voice introducing herself as Clara. I was surprised by how powerful this simple device was in jolting my initial interpretive framework which perceived a monolithic group of 'workers' to then perceive 'Clara' herself. By literally reframing the photograph and giving Clara a voice, this exhibit transformed an industrial object into a subject. This is a powerful kind of storytelling and it changed my perception of the value of the material heritage on display. The book and the lunch pail didn't have much artistic or economic value, but they were now infused with a particular kind of value due to their association with Clara herself.

2.5.5 Bourgeois Heritage

The problem of display often stems from the inability to engage the audience with what it is that makes these objects valuable. Many of those who have campaigned over the years for the conservation of industrial objects and stories have used a problematic, 'essentialist' heritage rhetoric in order to insist on the value of what they hope to conserve, as though these stories and objects had some sort of inherent worth. Consequently, many of these industrial heritage activists have been disappointed by the failure of the general public to value these things. In a 2008 survey of industrial museum professionals in Catalonia, the most common complaint was that society undervalues industrial heritage.²³⁸ Most responders said that industrial heritage was still relatively unknown and that only a certain audience, often of a high cultural level, understood the defense of these spaces.

Here I argue, however, that this curatorial attitude reflects an underlying misunderstanding of where the value of these objects comes from. Curators themselves, who tend to be people already convinced of the value of their collection, can sometimes lose sight of the reasons why these objects were assembled in the first place. As scholars Timothy Putnam and Judith Alfrey affirm, studies of the history of private collecting – or indeed the history of public industrial collections – show these to have been amassed for a variety of motives. Yet few museums acknowledge this diversity of motive. Ones which do, like the People's Palace in Glasgow, seem to tap a wider and deeper emotional response in the visiting public. "What counts as heritage changes, therefore, not only because the potential resource

Montse Vilajuliu, Miquel Domenech, Xavi Amat, Daniel Escudero. Music and sound: Carles Reixach. Agraïments: Família Sala-Grane, Família Sánchez Vacassy. Logos: Ajuntament, Consorci, Xatic, Diputació.)

²³⁸ Terés López, Marta. (2008). *El Patrimoni Industrial: Conservació i Musealització*, el Cas Català. (Masters Thesis directed by Xavier Roigé i Ventura), Universitat de Barcelona.

is augmented or diminished by the passage of time, but because what may be done with it changes also.”²³⁹

This question of “the uses of heritage” is the title and central theme of a 2006 study by the critical heritage scholar Laurajane Smith. In this investigation, Smith traces the development in the second half of the 19th century of a hegemonic discourse about heritage which she argues still acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage to this day. The ‘authorized heritage discourse,’ as she calls it, naturalizes the practice of rounding up the usual suspects to conserve and ‘pass on’ to future generations, and in so doing promotes a certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable. As a result of the naturalizing effects of this authorized heritage discourse, the hegemonic ‘uses of heritage’ as a means of cultural domination are obscured in the process. In the field of critical heritage studies this practice is called ‘black boxing,’ in which all types of values are lumped together and treated as though they were inherent in the object itself.

Although Smith focuses on the case of England, a parallel development would occur in Spain, where the concept of *patrimonio* (“heritage”) borrowed from the French idea of *patrimoine*, which specifically references inheritance, as a way of promoting the idea that “the present is to receive and revere what has been passed on an in turn pass this inheritance, untouched, to future generations.”²⁴⁰

By viewing heritage values as an essential part of material objects themselves, rather than as a social relationship, the authorized heritage discourse allows powerful classes to establish a monopoly on heritage against which it is impossible for the lower classes to ever compete. How could, for example, the heritage value of Clara’s lunch pail ever compete with the heritage value of the Sagrada Familia? When we try to translate industrial objects and stories into the framework of heritage, what rises to the top is almost always the most splendid artifacts of the business archive-- those objects and stories which were designed from the start with a display function as monuments within the capitalistic culture of work.

Perhaps this is one of the reasons why many socially-oriented museums have failed to get off the ground in Barcelona, despite the best of efforts. The initiative to build a Museum of Work in Barcelona has been circulating since 1992 and despite a number of serious attempts to gain attraction the museum remains unrealized. Something similar appears to have happened with the Museu Social de la Maquinista, an initiative launched in 1993, the time of the closing of the Maquinista foundry in Barcelona, to musealize the history and social heritage of workers. This project went so far as to create a building for the museum, but in my five years living in Barcelona the museum has yet to open to the public, regardless

²³⁹ Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. (1992). *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses.* Routledge: London.

²⁴⁰ Choay, Françoise. (2001). *The invention of the historic monument.* (Translated by Lauren M. O’Connell) Cambridge University Press. Cited in Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage.* 2006.

of the fact that it exists on paper. This list of uncompleted museums also includes the Institute of Industrial Culture which was planned at least since 2007 as a part of the 22@ activities for the Poblenou neighborhood, yet since then the initiative has quietly disappeared.²⁴¹

At the same time, other musealization initiatives like that of the Colònia Güell have had relative success in getting off the ground. One of the hallmarks of these successful projects is that they are built around artifacts of this ‘authorized’ or bourgeois concept of industrial heritage. At the Colònia Güell, for example, this is reflected in the exhibits emphasis on Gaudí and industrial modernism which has been able to be put to ‘use’ attracting tourist money or for promoting the cause of Catalan nationalists. These industrial musealization initiatives rarely suffer from the problem of display because they tend to feature heritage in the classic, tangible sort. As Smith points out, within the international classification of heritage there is a decided tendency to define ‘heritage’, and then ‘intangible heritage’, as two separate things. “It is my task here,” she writes, “to not only marry these two concepts of heritage together, so that ‘intangible heritage’ becomes simply ‘heritage’, but also to redefine all heritage as inherently intangible in the first place.”²⁴²

Conclusion

In Barcelona, industrial storytelling has a history tied to a project of cultural hegemony promoted by a constituency of business owners, engineers and state actors. The Colònia Güell, as we have seen, functioned as a disciplinary society in which discourses of paternalism, patriotism, and positivism were used to create a culture of work in which the working class consented to the structural hierarchy of capitalistic production. The result of this project would be the constitution of what I have called in this chapter the business archive. Although at the time of Barcelona’s industrialization this archive was never institutionalized through, for example, a centralizing museum initiative, it has left a legacy of documentation, monuments, educational initiatives, publications, and industrial artifacts which have carried its legacy to the present moment.

As I have argued in this section, to expand the business archive and include other perspectives and protagonists would require addressing the problem of historical sources, many of which have been silenced and subverted in the conserved historical record. It also requires solving the problem of interpretation and methodology, to engage critically with the ways that businesses have portrayed themselves throughout history and to develop new analytical frameworks. Likewise, the problem of display must be addressed as well, to find ways of transmitting alternative heritage values and tell engaging stories. We need to expand our concept of heritage to include social practices.

²⁴¹ See Chapter 1.2.1 for further discussion on these unrealized projects for a social museum of industrialization in Barcelona.

²⁴² Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. Routledge University Press: p. 56.

Chapter 3)

Sants: Industrial Neighborhood

Section Index:

3.1 THE NEIGHBORHOOD MOVEMENT

3.2 WORKING-CLASS SOCIAL HERITAGE

3.3 NEIGHBORHOOD HERITAGE

3.4 NEIGHBORHOOD MUSEALIZATION

The Plaça de Sants

Returning to Barcelona from the Colònia Güell, the train rumbles across the bridge over the river Llobregat before diving underground to pass below the city of L'Hospitalet, Barcelona's less popular sister-city to the South. L'Hospitalet, in some ways, is mirrored by Badalona to the North of Barcelona, which lies along the Besòs River. Together, these three cities are squished together in a continuous urbanization between the Besòs and Llobregat rivers (to the North and South), and between the sea and the mountains (to the East and West). The relatively small, flat and dry area in the middle is known as the Barcelona plain, and over the years it has been progressively filled to overflowing by the populations of these three cities.

Our first stop upon crossing into Barcelona by train from the South is Sants Station, and this is where I get out.¹ Sants is a somewhat curious neighborhood. Like the majority of Barcelona's neighborhoods outside the old city, it used to be an independent town. The histories of both town and city are linked-- Sants grew up along what is now the Carretera de Sants, the old Roman road leading to Barcelona. This is one of the reasons for the neighborhood's peculiar urban geography, stretched out along a line and lacking a clear urbanistic focal point. To a newcomer like myself, this can make Sants a difficult neighborhood to navigate; one can easily lose their bearings.

More recently, other factors have further exacerbated the problem of Sant's urbanistic coherence. I noticed one of these immediately after exiting the train station. The sight before me, although familiar to me from my background in the USA, would be rightfully shocking to a more European urbanistic sensibility-- the station is surrounded by an expansive parking lot. The only significant visual reference which visitors to Sants can use to help orient themselves is a row of towering light-house looking structures to one side of the station which, upon closer inspection, turn out to be industrial artifacts from the historic site of the Espanya Industrial, or Vapor Nou, the most important textile factory in Spain for many years. Nowadays, the majority of its lands have been turned into a public park.

Our itinerary, however, takes us parallel to the park, down the Passeig de Sant Antoni, towards the Plaça de Sants. There is a point on this road about halfway to the plaza where, if you stand at just the right place, you can look down a side street to the right to see a massive, eight-sided chimney rising into the sky between apartment buildings. Behind this, you can just make out the brick facade of an old factory building. This is the Vapor Vell of Sants in

¹ The history of the naming of this station is representative of the history of Sants itself. Over the years it has been called the Barcelona station, and now is often referred to as Barcelona-Sants, signaling a historic tension between neighborhood and municipal protagonisms. See Torrent, Anna M. (1977). Els noms dels carrers de Sants. Notes sobre la toponímia Santsenca. (Separata de la revista "Excursionisme" April-June, 1977, Arxiu Històric de Sants, Publicació dins el marc del congrés de la cultura catalana - Secretariat de Sants, Hostafrancs i la Bordeta.)

its present state. The bottom floors of the building have been converted into a public elementary school and the top floors into a municipal library-- the *Biblioteca Vapor Vell*.

The Vapor Vell, however, is not our primary destination at the moment; we've come to visit the Plaça de Sants. A minute's walk from the Vapor Vell and I've arrived at this uniquely situated plaza, built like a semi-circle on one side of the historic Carretera de Sants, and cut through by three or four other roads leading out in various directions. The plaza appears to be an improvised solution for creating a civic center to this neighborhood, and, as long as you don't get run over by a car while crossing any of the streets, it is a pleasant place to sit on a bench under the plane trees to take some air.

For as long as I have known this plaza, there has always been a large mural graffitied on one of its adjacent buildings. It's not the type of mural I would expect to see displayed and preserved from vandalism for so many years at this important public place which geographically and symbolically constitutes the heart of the neighborhood. It is a commemoration of the neighbors' struggle against the eviction and destruction of Can Vies, a local squatted social center. *Can Vies és del barri desde 1997* ("Can Vies is of the neighborhood since 1997") the lettering reads. On the right hand side of the mural towering buildings are shown intertwined with a roller-coaster track, representing Barcelona as a theme-park, while on the left hand side is represented the neighborhood of Sants and Can Vies itself where a masked protestor holds an old factory-bell, sending out an alarm to the neighbors to gather to defend the building from approaching bulldozers. Below, an intimidating mass of neighbors are depicted wearing hoods and welding slingshots while a woman and a child are shown ripping up the roller-coaster track. "We will stop the destruction of Sants," the lettering reads across the bottom. Above, a purple flag bearing the symbol of the occupy movement waves in the air, morphing into a strand of thread which loops down until it is incorporated into an image in the center of the mural of a pair of hands knitting the thread into cloth.

Mural in the Placa de Sants



Knitting community

In the Catalan language, the concept of “building community” translates differently than in English-- it is closer to ‘knitting’ or ‘weaving’ community. In Sants, the metaphor of knitting takes on another level of significance due to the neighborhood’s history as one of the most important sites of textile production in Spain during the second half of the 19th century. It was during this early stage in the Catalan industrial revolution that workers began responding to the harsh conditions of capitalistic production by establishing new forms of associationism based on solidarity, cooperation and mutual aid. These grassroots, working-class social networks extended beyond the factory walls to include other aspects related to improving the quality of life of the workers and their families, the majority of which lived nearby to the factories where they worked. One of the scales at which these networks naturally formed was that of the neighborhood. As Sants expanded into a hub of textile mills, this network expanded with it through practices developed to make it resilient enough to withstand the unrelenting repression and criminalization of this associationism from the powers above. It could be both invisible, producing no material evidence of its existence, while at the same time existing everywhere, a presence so tangible in the identity of the neighborhood that it came to be called by that same name: Sants. This Sants, the industrial neighborhood, was a social object but it was as real as any factory. After all, it would be this Sants which would force the closure of the factory on many occasions and eventually send the Güell’s into an exile of sorts to Sant Cervelló.

This is the object of my investigation in this section-- not the physical building of the Vapor Vell, but rather Sants as an industrial neighborhood. This is a type of industrial object which tests the limits of what we have traditionally been taught to think can “count” as heritage. While it is easy to imagine conserving a factory and musealizing it through some sort of historical display, what would it mean to heritagize an object as complex as a neighborhood, with both its tangible and intangible aspects? It is here that I turn to scholarship from the field of Critical Heritage Studies for help. Laurajane Smith, for example, in her book *Uses of Heritage* argues convincingly for a reframing of our concept of heritage, for a shift from the essentialist view of heritage values to an awareness of heritage as a social practice.²

In the specific case of my investigation, I attempt to sort this out in the context of the neighborhood movement in Barcelona from 1968-1979. I start the decade of the 70’s early with the forming of the first of Barcelona’s politically active neighbors’ associations, and end it in 79 with the first municipal election after Franco. It was during this time period that Sants, the industrial neighborhood, came out of hibernation under Francoism and instrumentalized the neighborhood’s working-class social heritage in the struggle against the dictatorship and for a better quality of life for the neighbors. One of the first sites of this struggle would be the Plaça de Sants, which the neighbors defended as part of a larger campaign to “Save Sants.” The lands of the Espanya Industrial would also be on this list of available sites for addressing the neighborhood’s deficit of public resources, as would the Vapor Vell in 1976. The story of the campaign to “Save the Vapor Vell” is the topic of chapter 4, but would be impossible to understand that struggle without connecting it to the broader context of the neighborhood movement in Barcelona’s transition to democracy.

Section Summary

In section 3.1 (The neighborhood movement) we chart the urban transformations of Barcelona under the Francoist mayor José María de Porcioles (1957-1973). The capitalist city model shifted from that of a second-sector industrial city to that of a third-sector service-based city in which the economics of real-estate speculation dominated questions of urban planning. This model was challenged by anti-Francoist urban activists like Jordi Borja who developed the beginnings of a local, socialist urban critique. This project would find a broad expression in the development of neighbors associations like the Centre Social de Sants which unified diverse neighborhood constituencies under the banner of taking an active role in improving the quality of life in the neighborhood.

In section 3.2 (Working class social heritage) we analyze the social practices of the neighborhood movement in Sants as forms of working class heritage; specifically, the

² Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

practices of associationism, *reivindicació*, and assemblyism³. These heritages adapted working-class organizational practices in order to respond to the new threats of Francoism and the capitalistic production of space. The identity of the ‘neighbor’ as an active, democratic participant in this production was related to the identity of the worker from Sants’ industrial past. In section 3.3 we look at the construction of the identity of the neighborhood itself as it was represented as Catalan, working-class, and historically independent (from Barcelona). The involvement of groups like the Secretariat and the historic archive of Sants were fundamental in pioneering these discourses of neighborhood heritage as a cultural arm of the neighborhood movements mission of conservation. as an expansion of the neighborhood movement’s objective of conservation to include a cultural and historical side.

With the participation of journalists and urban geographers from the University of Barcelona, the concept of neighborhood as a social as well as territorial entity was developed as the basis of a new kind of study and interpretation. Through various publications and activities, this social heritage was put on display and made politically useful as the neighborhood movement lobbied for municipal decentralization in the upcoming elections of 1979.

³ For a discussion on the semantic and historical importance of the concept of assemblyism in the labor movement during the Spanish transition to democracy, see: Dolidier, A. (2019). Workers’ mobilisations during the Spanish democratic transition: discourse and representations of assemblyism (1976–1978). *Debats. Revista de Cultura, Poder i Societat*, 3. Retrieved from <http://revistadebats.net/article/view/1749> .

3.1 THE NEIGHBORHOOD MOVEMENT

In the last chapter, we traced the history of the business Güell, Ramis i Cia through archival documents from its founding in 1844 to its move to the Colonia Güell in 1891. Lastly, we examined the legacy that this business history has left behind, both through the conceptualization of a city-wide ‘business archive’ of authorized industrial discourses, as well as, specifically, the creation in 2009 of a permanent historical exhibit at the Colonia Güell. This display, I argued, can be read as a reproduction of many of these same, classic discourses of paternalism, patriotism, and positivism. However, it is the job of a good historian to engage critically with these stories and to challenge the biases which they contain.

In this chapter, we return to Sants and pick up the story of the Vapor Vell after the Güells retreated from the neighborhood in 1890. This second phase of the Vapor Vell’s history is marked by a significant gap in the historiography, and this in itself is interesting because of what it shows us about how Barcelona’s industrial past has been selectively preserved. Before we look at some of the reasons for this selectivity lets first establish the known facts about the factory from these years. After the Güell’s left, the industrial complex was progressively divided up between smaller businesses, most notably the Llorens family furniture company, Muebles Casas, which over time came to occupy the majority of the property. A proper history has yet to be written of this important furniture company despite the fact that the business continues to this day, and is located just across the street from the Vapor Vell on Carrer Galileo. During my investigation of the history of the Vapor Vell I was amazed to discover that the Llorens family preserves photo albums documenting the history of their business and yet these resources have not been made use of in any historiography of the Vapor Vell.

In fact, one of the only recorded interviews with the Llorens family regarding the history of Muebles Casas was conducted in 1978 under very strange circumstances.⁴ The article, published in TeleExpress, explains that the factory had caught on fire during the night. By the time the author, F. Sales, arrived on the scene a crowd of onlookers had already gathered including the owners. Sales took the opportunity to conduct a very interesting interview with Llorens Casas Puig, the grandson of Llorens Casas Gallofre who had come from the town of Montornès ninety years earlier and opened his first workshop in one wing of the Vapor Vell. While watching the fire department battle the flames, Sales also had the good fortune of meeting an old furniture-maker which had worked there before the Civil War. This worker explained that during the Civil War the factory was collectivized by anarchists and renamed the Confederal Workshop Number 33. At this time it was one of the most important carpentry factories in Spain and was run by around 150 workers. The workers

⁴ Sales, F. Ardió el Vapor Vell. Tele/eXpres, Saturday, April 8, 1978.

also built a library in the factory as well as a dining hall and they converted the old clothing tanks into a neighborhood swimming pool.⁵

After the Civil War, the factory returned to the Llorens family and the swimming pool was bought by the Mediterranean Swim Club. Some of the buildings on the Vapor Vell property were abandoned and fell into decay, while on the other side of the grounds where the main building was situated, the carpentry workshop was maintained as well as a few other workspaces for artisans and local businesses. For many years, the factory was maintained in this fashion, until 1976 when part of the property was bought by Jorba Preciados as a site for building a giant shopping center.⁶ For neighbors in Sants, this shopping center project was perceived as a threat to the neighborhood and a grassroots campaign was initiated to protest this project. On January 25th of 1976, the *Diario de Barcelona* published an article on the “Paintings in Sants” where it is reported that, “neighbors from Sants painted the walls of the factories of Can Batlló, La Espanya Industrial and the Vapor Vell (the last two appear in the photos) with trees and parks alluding to the need for green spaces.”⁷ Around 500 trees were painted in total. By February 20th, 1977, an article in the *La Vanguardia* newspaper references the Vapor Vell as a “common good” which was in play by the Centre Social de Sants in response to the Pla Comarcal.⁸ Already by February of 1974, the Vapor Vell was listed as a space to ‘recover.’⁹ It’s important to note that these early protests (which formed part of the larger *Salvem Sants* campaign) did not envision conserving the factory but rather sought to replace it with *equipamientos, zonas verdes y transformación de usos* (‘public services, green zones and transformation of uses’). It wouldn’t be until the *Salvem el Vapor*

⁵ Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62., p. 153.

⁶ More on this story is covered in chapter 4.3. Jorba Preciados bought 7,655 m² of the property on February 18, for 1976 for 46,000,000 pesetas. This piece of the land did not include the main building of the Vapor Vell. See: Secretariat d’Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc). Also, regarding RUMASA, see: Ynfante, Jesús. (1975). *Los negocios ejemplares: Rumasa, Sofico, Matesa, los negocios del “Caudillo”*. Toulouse: Monipodio.

⁷ *Diario de Barcelona*. Pintadas en Sants. January 25, 1976.

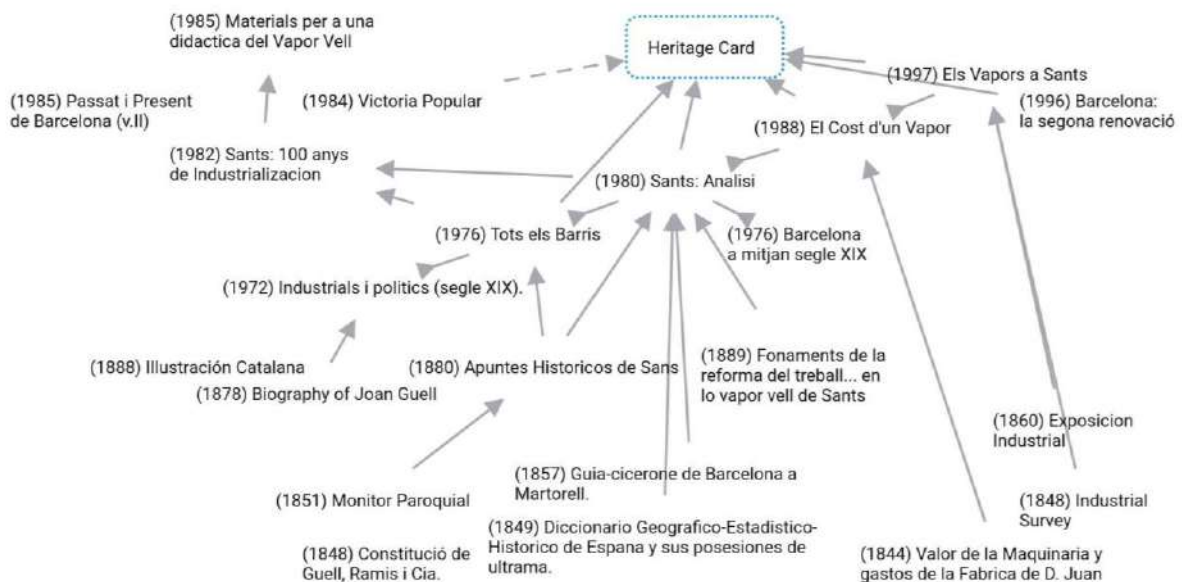
⁸ “*El Centre Social de Sants, como todas las asociaciones de vecinos, se vio obligado el año pasado a lanzarse a una campaña contra el Plan Comarcal tal como se aprobó, que excedía con mucho a las débiles posibilidades económicas de la entidad. Los intereses comunes que estaban en juego —salvar los espacios de la «España Industrial», las cocheras de tranvías, el «Vapor Vell», etc., y oposición a las nuevas avenidas proyectadas que iban a lanzar fuera del barrio a millares de vecinos— justificaban que la entidad se metiera en deudas. Desde el verano pasado, el «Centre» ha desarrollado diversas iniciativas —recitales, lotería, etc.—, para enjugar el déficit, con resultados bastante positivos hasta el momento. Se había estudiado también la posibilidad de montar una exposición con obras cedidas por artistas amigos y simpatizantes de la tarea que se ha impuesto el «Centro Social de Sants», para venderlas a beneficio de la entidad. La respuesta al llamamiento ha sido muy generosa, y 27 artistas han aportado sus pinturas, tejidos, litografías y esculturas, para ser vendidos a beneficio de la entidad. La exposición que se inauguró el pasado día 1 en la sede del «Centre», Olzinellas, 30, permanecerá abierta hasta el día 28 de este mes de febrero.*” (*La Vanguardia*. Exposición colectiva a beneficio del «Centre Social de Sants» Serviré para enjugar el déficit de la entidad. February 20, 1977.)

⁹ Centre Social de Sants. *Inaugurem la Plaça*. Butlletí del Centre Social de Sants. n.2. February 1, 1975: p. 8. Also, see the map on page 10 of this publication where the lands of the Vapor Vell, although unlabeled, are marked green as a ‘space to recover.’ (See appendix, document 6: pp. 8,10)

Vell campaign of 1983 that the factory would be considered as industrial heritage and a case made for its conservation.

Generally speaking, the neighbors were not too interested in industrial heritage or its conservation. They were interested, rather, in conserving the neighborhood and supplying its deficit of green spaces and public resources like hospitals, schools, and libraries. Consequently, when they spoke of the Vapor Vell, they tended to frame it in neighborhood terms. This is also reflected in the historical studies of the factory which were produced during these years and which we will be discussing throughout this chapter. The historiography from this time period, as we will see, is very different from that of Argullol's original account of the founding of the Vapor Vell. Whereas Argullol represents the Vapor Vell in terms of the business Güell, Ramis i Cia, in these more recent works from the 1970's and 80's the factory is explained in terms of its role in the formation of the neighborhood. Both historiographies point to the same object but from different perspectives.

If we look back at the graphic organizer of historiography of the Vapor Vell from chapter 2.1, we can visualize this trend. The 1976 and 1980 publications of *Tots els Barris* and *Sants: anàlisi dels procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona* are the gateways into a community of publications located in the top-left of the graphic in which this neighborhood-based discourse is fundamental. This is as opposed to the top-right of the graphic in which publications like *El cost d'un vapor* and *Els vapors a Sants* present a historiography more based in industrial archeology and which will be discussed more in detail in chapter 4.



The importance of the neighborhood-based approach of explaining the Vapor Vell and the industrialization of Barcelona in general is undeniable. Here, I argue that the reason why this particular approach has received so much attention has to do with the particular context in which these histories were produced in the 1970's and 80's during what is known as the neighborhood movement in Barcelona as part of the more general context of the transition to democracy.

In this section we will look at the development of this movement through two approaches. First, we will look at the theoretical development of the movement as a form of anti-Francoist urbanism designed to exacerbate the crises of the Francoist state represented by the mayor at the time José María de Porcioles, and secondly we will examine the emergence of the movement locally in Sants through the forming of the Centre Social de Sants in 1971. By 1973, this group of neighbors would carry out a grassroots investigation of the state of the neighborhood called *Cop d'Ull a Sants* ("Take a look at Sants") in which they identified the key deficits and set the agenda for the *Salvem Sants* campaign which would continue to mobilize neighbors for decades to come and which would constitute an important lobby group in conserving the Vapor Vell.

3.1.1 *La Gran Barcelona de Porcioles*

In order to understand the neighborhood movement, or what some have called La Barcelona de los Barrios ("The Barcelona of the Neighborhoods") we must look at its antecedent and counterpoint, La Gran Barcelona de Porcioles ("The Grand Barcelona of Porcioles"). As the mayor of Barcelona from 1957-1973, Porcioles sought to integrate the interests of the Barcelonian bourgeoisie into the political platform of Francoist Spain.¹⁰ There were, however, a number of factors which made this a difficult task.

First of all, there was a cultural problem. Franco's one-party state, called *el movimiento nacional*, or "national movement" brought together a coalition of monarchists, Catholic conservatives, and the *Falange Española* under the authority of Francisco Franco himself, *el Caudillo* ("the General"), Spain's military dictator from 1939 until his death in 1975. In all of this, perhaps the most important mechanism for unification of the Spanish Right was the narrative of Spanish nationalism encapsulated in the party's motto-- *España una, grande y libre* or "One great and free Spain."¹¹ Francoist nationalism drew its inspiration from traditional Spanish values, morality, the guiding spirit of the Church, but most of all strove to regain Spain's imperial destiny and its old "soul"- heroic, sober, austere yet generous, knightly (but not aristocratic) and Castilian.¹² When Spain began to open its borders to foreign trade and tourism in the 1950's, Spanish-ness was materialized through a

¹⁰ Francesc Vilanova (ed.). (2014). *Contra els catalans franquistes: lletres de batalla de l'exili i la clandestinitat (1939-1950)*. Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

¹¹ Vilanova, Francesc. (2018). *Franquisme i cultura: Destino. Política de unidad: la lluita per l'hegemonia intel·lectual a la postguerra catalana (1939-1949)*. Palma de Mallorca, Lleonard Muntaner.

¹² Berdichevsky, Norman. (2008). *Franco, Fascism, and the Falange*. New England Review.

sort of *Marca Española*, or “Spanish brand”, based on the image of a romantic Spain of flamenco dancers, bullfighters, Cervantes and *vino tinto*, despite the fact that this brand had almost nothing to do with the culture of regions like Catalonia. Not only was Catalan identity invisibilized through this Francoist cultural policy of cultural cohesion, it was violently repressed as subversive to the national movement.

Secondly, Francoism was a challenge to Catalan industrialists due to the political isolationism and economic stagnation experienced in Spain in the years after the Civil War. Some of this began to change, however, in 1957 with the appointment of José María de Porcioles as mayor of Barcelona.¹³ Porcioles was a Catalan jurist and notary, born in Girona in 1904, who came to Barcelona to become a doctor in law. Like many of his peers at that time, Porcioles was sympathetic of the Lliga Catalana. In 1936, he fled the country during the civil war and returned afterwards to work in legal and political postings. As the mayor of Barcelona, Porcioles found ways to marry Francoism with Catalanism, particularly that version of conservative Catalanism of Barcelona’s industrialists like the Güell family. Tellingly, the monument to Joan Güell which had been torn down during the Civil War was rebuilt under Franco.¹⁴ With the support of the Güells and an industrial ‘bloc’, Porcioles was able to establish the Plan de Estabilización Económica of 1959 which included a collection of economic measures aimed at stabilizing and liberalizing the Francoist economy. This signified a shift away from prior autocratic politics in favor of stimulating economic growth. In 1983, under the mayorship of Pasqual Maragall, Porcioles was awarded the Barcelona *medalla d’or* (“golden medal”), and at his funeral in 1993 Maragall eulogized him as Catalanista¹⁵ while Jordi Pujol portrayed him as a ‘visionary.’¹⁶

Perhaps what Porcioles is known best for, however, is the impact he had on the urban development of Barcelona. In his study on the production of urban space in Sants, the urban geographer Carles Carreras traces the basic chronology of this legacy. A key moment in this is the achievement of the Municipal Charter of 1960, which had fundamental consequences for the exodus of industries from the city center and the deregulation of real estate speculation of the vacated lots. This process was formalized through the legal mechanism of the *Plans Parcials* (“partial plans”) which could be added on to modify the general urban plans such as the *pla comarcal*, *area metropolitana*, or *pla provincial*.¹⁷ This loophole freed the hands

¹³ Marín i Corbera, Martí. (2005). Josep Maria de Porcioles: catalanisme, clientelisme i franquisme. Barcelona, Base.

¹⁴ Fabre, Jaume; Huertas, Josep M.; Bohigas, Pere. (1984). *Monuments de Barcelona*. Barcelona, L’Avenç. Also, Subirachs i Burgaya, Judit. (1986). *L’escultura commemorativa a Barcelona fins al 1936*. Barcelona, Els Llibres de la Frontera.

¹⁵ Maragall had served as a high-ranking civil servant for the municipality during Porcioles’ era as mayor. See, Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel. «La limpieza étnica de los señoritos». *El País*, 14-09-1993.

¹⁶ Trallero, Manuel. «San Porcioles». *La Vanguardia*, 11-10-2004.

¹⁷ Regarding the urban planning from the era of Porcioles there is an abundant bibliography, including: Crosas, Josep. (2007). *La Gran Barcelona sota l’empremta del porciolisme*, *Quaderns d’arquitectura i urbanisme*, N°. 253: 132-135. Also: Pires de Andrade Neto, Gustavo. (2016). *El planejament metropolità de la Barcelona predemocràtica: plans, protagonistes i referents teòrics (1939-1976)*. Barcelona, UPC (tesi doctoral).

of landlords for turning Barcelonian real estate into a profitable business as the city underwent a massive economic shift to a third-sector, or service based, economy. Porcioles not only facilitated this transition, he participated in and profited from the new business. Instead of making contracts with banks, he had his own financial instrument, primarily the Bank of Madrid, which he founded in 1954. Porcioles wasn't the only politician to exploit this new economy-- the board of directors of the Bank of Madrid featured the likes of Jaume Castells, Joaquim Viola, Joan Antoni Samaranch and J. M. Martínez Bordiu, among others-- although, in this regard, none of these reached Porcioles' level of infamy.¹⁸ For some, the term *Porciolisme* would become synonymous with predatory speculation.¹⁹

As the urban geographer Carles Carreras explains, thanks to support from the industrial bloc, Porcioles had the political mandate to begin work on a series of his 'great projects.'²⁰ These included the construction of major roadways connecting the city center with the periphery and opening the city for cars. The *Cinyell de Ronda*, which had appeared on paper as early as the Jaussely Plan in 1905, was declared illegal by the Supreme Court but by the time this verdict was cast it had already been completed and even bore the name of Mayor Porcioles himself, although later the name had to be changed due to a law about naming roads after people who are still living. Porcioles undertook big projects designed to pick up the legacy of the "Grand Barcelona" which had been envisioned by city planners at the turn of the century but which had stagnated under Franco. His *Pla de Ribera* was a part of this project, an urban plan for the redevelopment of Poblenou's industrial coastal lands. Another project was called *Barcelona 2000* which was projected to culminate in a Universal Exhibition in 1982. Under Porcioles, Barcelona received its title of the "city of fairs and congresses."

By the end of the 1960's, however, Porcioles' urban hegemony began to show its fissures in increasingly frequent conflicts, primarily protagonized by the popular classes which had figured out how to take advantage of a loophole in the Francoist legal structure offered by the Law of Associations of 1964. Thus began a movement of protests in the neighborhoods.²¹

3.1.2 *La Barcelona de los Barrios*

Under Francoism, the Spanish left was dispersed and went underground. The *Front Popular*, which narrowly won the Spanish elections in 1936 was presided over in Catalonia

¹⁸ Ynfante, Jesús. (1974). *Los negocios de Porcioles: las Sagradas Familias de Barcelona*. Toulouse: Monipodio.

¹⁹ Scarnato, Alessandro; Laboreo, Marina (translation). (2016). *Barcelona Supermodelo. La complejidad de una transformación social y urbana (1979-2011)*. Ed. Comanegra.

²⁰ Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). *L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona. p. 98.

²¹ (Ibid.)

by Lluís Companys and was made up of Socialists (PSOE), Communists (PCE), Marxists (POUM), Republicans (IR, UR) and was supported by Galician and Catalan nationalists (PG, ERC) as well as socialist and anarchist trade unions (UGT, CNT). Their democratic victory was met with Franco's military uprising which started in the South and made its way North, ending with the Nationalists' tanks rolling down Barcelona's *Avenida Diagonal* in victory. Lluís Companys was executed by firing squad at Montjuïc castle in 1940.

In the years that followed, anti-Francoist resistance took many forms. In its most militant form it was protagonized by the Spanish Maquis who launched a guerilla-style campaign of sabotage, robbery, and assassination of Francoists from enclaves in the Pyrenees Mountains. This activity reached its apogee in 1947, after which many of the Maquis were rooted out of the mountains and killed. In Barcelona, the tram strike of 1951 represented another facet of resistance. It was the first strike to take place under Francoism, organized in response to a price-increase in public transportation, and it succeeded in uniting a broad constituency of citizens (including Catholics, communists, workers, neighbors, students, dissident falangists, old-school anarchists of the CNT and nationalists of bourgeois extraction) in a show of force which threatened Francoist hegemony.²² Other centers of revolt could be found in certain progressive Catholic parishes as well as in the universities, particularly after the events of May '68 in Paris. The Paris student revolution was a source of direct inspiration for Catalan anti-Francoist resistance, in part because many Catalans were there at the time taking part and learning first-hand about the practices of organizing an insurrectionist mass social movement.²³

It was during these same years that a new site of political resistance was being developed in Barcelona- the neighborhood movement. Marc Andreu, a historian as well as participant in Barcelona's neighborhood associations, traces the protohistory of the movement back to a variety of sources, including: cooperatives, associations, social and parroquial centers, cinema-clubs and school groups, magazines and bulletins, priests, religious people, social workers, and youth that worked with neighbors in the slums on the city's periphery, worker activists, and anti-Franco political activists of mostly communist bent.²⁴

In April of 1968, one month before the Paris revolution, in Barcelona, a pamphlet was published evidencing for the first time the existence of a type of underground organization called a *Comissió de Barri* ("Neighborhood Commission"). This was an organization with many parallels to the *Comissions Obreres* ("Workers Commissions")

²² Andreu Acebal, Marc. (2014). El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986). (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Andreu Mayayo i Artal, University of Barcelona: p.73.

²³ Borja, Jordi. (2012). Revolución urbana y derechos ciudadanos: Claves para interpretar las contradicciones de la ciudad actual. (Tesis doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona. Director: Horacio Capel. Tutor: Carles Carreras.)

²⁴ Andreu Acebal, Marc. El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986). (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Andreu Mayayo i Artal, University of Barcelona, 2014.

which had been established in 1964 at a meeting at the Parish of Sant Medir, in Sants, before being declared illegal by the Supreme Court in 1967 for its ties to the Communist Party (the PCE in Spain, and PSUC in Catalunya). Typically, the *Comissions de Barri* were platforms formed by people with integration jobs, and with political and social interests that mobilized to pre-political action aimed at increasing the quality of life and improving neighborhood sanitation and schooling. Together with labor and university organizations they formed a three-pronged resistance to Francoism.

In November of 1968, the first publication of *Bandera Roja* (“Red Flag”) was printed; an anti-Francoist organization which Andreu credits as offering the most theory and action to the neighborhood movement.²⁵ From the start, this publication would be a source of strategic development and organization of “political tasks in the neighborhood.” The main theorist behind *Bandera Roja* was a man named Jordi Borja, who in 1968 was in exile in Paris at the time of the student uprising.²⁶ Later that year he returned to Barcelona, invited by the professor of town planning, Manuel Ribas Piera, to teach the new subject of Urban Sociology at the school of architecture. He also worked for the Barcelona City Council in the urbanism department. At this point, and in all his prolific academic production since, Borja distilled the knowledge he acquired in Paris, and especially one of the “basic ideas” which was impressed upon him by the spirit of ‘68: “The conviction that the city was one of the main places to understand and change society.”²⁷

1968 was also the year that the first of Barcelona’s Neighbors Associations was founded, in Sant Antoni. This organization, which would multiply throughout Barcelona’s neighborhoods and champion the neighborhood movement contained an important novelty - it was established legally, on the basis of the Law of Associations of 1964 which permitted the legalization of neighborhood organizations for participating in local activities and festivals. By 1974, dozens of these associations would unite through the Federation of Neighbors Associations of Barcelona (FAVB), forming a powerful, and legal, challenge to Francoist hegemony in the city.²⁸

²⁵ (Ibid. p.111.)

²⁶ Borja, Jordi. (2018). *Bandera Roja, 1968-1974. Del Maig del 68 a l’inici de la Transició*. Edicions 62.

²⁷ Cited in: Andreu Acebal, Marc. *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014, p.111.

²⁸ As Marc Andreu points out, Barcelona would continue legalizing neighbors associations and in 1972 would legalize the FAVB. But not the Federation of Madrid, which would try to emulate the Catalan example but without legal success until two years after the death of Franco. The singularity of the Barcelona case lay in the fact that, at the beginning, the Civil Government considered the FAVB to be an entity with affinity to the regime and of unquestionable bourgeois order, which could serve to better control the combative neighbors movement and their practices of urban vindication. Andreu Acebal, Marc. *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014, p.73.

Anti-Francoist Urbanism

In 1971, Jordi Borja along with a group of leftist urban scholars published *La Gran Barcelona*, a critique of the Francoist urbanistic policies of Porcioles.²⁹ This was the first Marxist analysis of the city since the Civil War, and became very popular, setting the social and political agenda for the following years. The article, later converted into a book,³⁰ was a novelty and included the divulgation of a new vocabulary, the use of organized and synthesized statistics, the collection of thematic maps which were offered to the reader. The city was treated as a social product and as an object of collective consumption, and at the time these ideas were “new and interesting.”³¹

There was another aspect of this book which was particularly perplexing to the Francoist authorities. The urban data which Borja and his team used to construct their critique had been copied from classified documents from the municipal department of urbanism.³² It became apparent that this department had been infiltrated by leftists who had been working from within the Francoist regime to subvert the drafting of the revision to the Pla Comarcal. Despite the fact that Porcioles was unable to pinpoint exactly what it was about the new urban plan which was subversive, he was committed to dumping the whole project. That was the magnitude of the threat which he perceived, and he was not wrong. *La Gran Barcelona* would become a “weapon against the ‘establishment’ loaded with ammunition from the official munitions dump.”³³ Within 24 hours of its publication, Borja and the rest of the guys from the CAU were fired. The charge brought against them: “leftists.”

In 1972, with the help of a grant Borja received from the March Foundation for studying Barcelona’s housing projects, the Centre d’Estudis Urbans (CEU) was established.

²⁹ Borja, Jordi. (1971). *La Gran Barcelona*. CAU: construcció, arquitectura, urbanismo. Nº 10.

³⁰ Borja, Jordi. (1972). *La Gran Barcelona*. Madrid, Alberto Corazón.

³¹ This, at least, was the opinion of Carlos Carreras, a young urban geographer who will be featured later in this thesis for his study of Sants: Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 1978. p.73.

³² Starting in 1969, this department had been preparing a revision to the Pla Comarcal of 1957. In the words of Joan Antoni Solans, the primary architect of this plan, “The only one that was there from ‘69 to ‘74 was me. Because we had the document prepared, by May 72 it was ready to be approved. But then the City Council shelved it and we did not recover it until the time of Masó ... Among other things, [Porcioles] would say: ‘It can not be that these guys from outside draw our plan’. [...] All the guys from the CAU, that is to say Jordi Borja, Marçal Tarragó, Carles Teixidor, Lluís Brau and others, they had first-hand information and they wrote *La Gran Barcelona de Porcioles*”. (Joan Antoni Solans in an interview with Marc Andreu, in: Andreu, Marc. *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014.)

³³ Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 1978. p.73.

This was a secret organization affiliated with the Bandera Roja and PSUC political parties and dedicated to exacerbating the crisis of the Francoist state.³⁴

The conceptual basis of Borja's Anti-Francoist Urbanism is spelled out explicitly in *La Gran Barcelona*. There, for example, Borja presents his framework of "The ideology of urban planning" and discusses "the ideological conception of the capitalist city, establishing an ideal model which optimizes the reproduction of the workforce, the conditions of production and the accumulation of capital through urban income." He also discusses the role of social movements in challenging this type of urbanism alien to the needs of the popular classes. "In all these social movements," he writes, "it is not so much an ideological-utopic alternative of popular urbanism, of a *socialist city* [italicized in the original], which appears (although at times there emerge some elements of this) as it is the expression of the immediate interests of the population. Their urban consequence is in the configuration of urban development as the result of the conflict of social groups at a particular juncture."³⁵

This is where the members of the CEU came into play-- putting their urbanistic expertise to work within the context of concrete popular social movements in the neighborhoods, creating "ideological-utopic alternatives of popular urbanism", or in other words, providing technical oversight in the campaign for a socialist city. Jordi Borja and the CEU played an active role in this, for example, developing a counterplan to the Pla de la Ribera in the neighborhood of Poblenou and helping the neighbors of Nou Barris oppose the Pla Parcial de Torre Baró-Valbona-Trinitat.

It is in the context of this "battle of Barcelona" that we must situate our continuation of the narrative of the Vapor Vell of Sants. The Vapor Vell would become a site of this battle and one of its weapons as urban planners from the municipality and from the neighborhood competed to incorporate the old factory as an actor within their contrasting ideological conceptions of the city. This entailed contrasting representations of not only what the factory could become, but what the factory was. In this chapter we will examine these musealization efforts in the context of this struggle-- between the Francoist and democratic Barcelonas, between the capitalist and socialist Barcelonas, between the *Gran Barcelona de Porcioles* and the *Barcelona de los Barrios*

But first, we need to take a closer look at the neighborhood of Sants itself, and see how this anti-francoist urbanism was developed locally.

³⁴ Borja, Jordi. (2012). Mis universidades. Historia de un proceso de aprendizaje, In *Revolución urbana y derechos ciudadanos*. (Doctoral dissertation) Universitat de Barcelona: p. 52.

³⁵ Borja, Jordi. (1972). *La Gran Barcelona*. Madrid, Alberto Corazón.

3.1.3 Sants

The political boundary line of the district of Sants-Montjuic that we recognize today was established in 1984 as a combination of three, clearly differentiated urban areas. The first, which consists of the areas of Sants, Hostafrancs and La Bordeta, is a historic urbanization that grew up around the *Carretera de Sants*, one of the major roads leading into Barcelona. Hostafrancs belonged to Barcelona and developed initially as a tax station where imported goods were assessed and taxed before being cleared to enter Barcelona's city gates, first passing through the fields which surrounded the walls in which nothing was allowed to be built. The municipality of Sants, bordering Hostafrancs, was an independent township until 1897 when it was annexed by Barcelona along with Gracia, Sant Andreu and Sant Martí. In 1840's the growth of Sants began in earnest as it began its transformation from an agricultural village to an industrial hub, host to modern, steam-powered textile industries and a growing working class.³⁶

The second urban area is that of Montjuïc ("Jewish Mountain"), and Poble Sec, built on its slopes and bordering Sants to the East. Like Sants, Poble Sec was also outside Barcelona's city walls, although unlike Sants it had formed part of the municipality since the beginning of the 18th century. Over the course of the 20th century this area was filled with shantytowns populated by working class immigrants arriving in the city in search of industrial jobs. In 1957, during the celebration of the "Semana del suburbio," city authorities conducted a census of the city's shantytowns. In Montjuïc alone there were 6,090 houses, with a population of 30,000 people. Some were living in the partial ruins of pavilions left over from the 1929 international exhibition.³⁷

The last area is that of the Marina de Sants and the Zona Franca, bordering Sants to the South and urbanized largely in the 20th century on lands historically pertaining to Sants and Hospitalet de Llobregat. While the city's 19th century industrial activity centered around the port of Barcelona, in the second half of the 20th century the Zona Franca was developed

³⁶ See: Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

³⁷ By 1957, these "shantytowns" had formed the neighborhoods of la Fossa, Jesus i Maria, els Tres Pins, Can Clos, Can Valero, and Las Banderas. This was the setting of Francesc Candel's book "Donde la ciudad cambia de nombre," hailed as the first authentic voice of the working class neighborhoods of Barcelona. Candel lived as a child in one of the shanty's on Montjuïc, leaving school at age 14 to work. His literary works are dedicated for the most part to the wave of immigrants who arrived to Barcelona in the mid 20th century. The work which launched his literary career, "Els altres catalans" is a journalistic and sociological study of the immigrants which influenced the final decisions of the Assemblée de Catalunya in 1971. For a cinematic glimpse of Montjuïc in the 1960s, see Los Tarantos (1963). This view of Sants, bathed in the haze of factory smoke, is an indirect archival source of the neighborhood. Also, López Sánchez, Pere. (2013). *Rastros de rostros en un prado rojo (y negro). Las Casas Baratas de Can Tunis en la revolución social de los años treinta*, (prólogo de Tomás Ibáñez). Barcelona, Editorial Virus, 2013. Also: Tatjer, Mercè; Larrea, Cristina. (2010). *Barraques. La Barcelona informal del segle XX*. Edicions La Central.

as an industrial zone to attract the large industries being pushed out of the city due to urban transformations.

After the Spanish Civil War, the industrial transformation of Sants-Montjuïc stagnated from 1940-65. Between 1965-73, Sants was mobilized in a series of new urban transformations resulting from the expansion of Barcelona. If in 1950 the city had only grown 27% since the thirties, the first “cens milionari” of Barcelona, twenty years later the increase was 73%.³⁸ The urban growth of Sants had developed separately from Barcelona, and when Barcelona expanded up to the border of Sants, the neighborhood began to feel, in the words of Sants resident Miquel Botella, “suffocated.”³⁹

“There arose problems with [Barcelona’s] planned roadways and the need for it to open up through Sants resulted in the Avenida de Madrid- which destroyed the old soccer field of Sants- and opened the Ronda del Mig that created problems for the affected neighbors of Badal street. The expansion of Barcelona offered textile companies the opportunity to abandon the old factories - which, in addition, were undergoing one of the cyclical crises of the sector - and to sell the large lands where they had been. This caused a problem of speculation: deficiencies in public services in transformation and without any type of democratic control caused the sensitization of the public opinion when gas explosions occurred and cracks appeared in the houses near the construction of the new Metro lines.”⁴⁰

Among the deficiencies of public services in the neighborhood, the following are listed in *La Gran Barcelona*: “Almost 30% of the children are without a place in school, there are only 72 places in health centers (for more than 192,000 people), there is a low index of commercial employees (33 per 1000 inhabitants, which is to say half that of Gràcia or the residential west). Only in terms of public transportation can it be considered relatively well equipped. The housing, a good part of which is aged, suffers from the natural qualitative deficits (little more than 50% of the houses have bathrooms).”⁴¹ Borja follows this evaluation with a hopeful note: In exchange, the presence of these large installations (industries, railway infrastructures, etc) offers the possibility of recovering land which--controlled in its later use by the Administration--would permit the resolution of the main problems of public amenities.”⁴²

This last line provides perfect foreshadowing for the dynamic which would surround the campaign to recover the Vapor Vell for the neighborhood (1983-89). This would be the first campaign of any kind in Barcelona to incorporate the discourse of industrial heritage as

³⁸ Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

³⁹ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona.

⁴⁰ (Ibid. p. 35)

⁴¹ Borja, Jordi (et al). (1972). *La Gran Barcelona*. CAU, n.10.

⁴² (Ibid.)

an argument for conservation, and represents a qualitative shift in the development of industrial musealization in Barcelona. But even though the moment of this campaign's most publicized victory happened in 1984 when part of the factory was heritagized, the full story of this campaign stretches all the way back to 1971, to the era of *Porciolisme*. This is when the Centre Social de Sants was born, the neighbors association which would protagonize Sants' pioneering role in Barcelona's Anti-Francoist urban resistance and, I argue, where industrial musealization would first be developed in practice as a mechanism for the subversion of the capitalist city.

El Centre Social de Sants

The Centre Social de Sants was born on the steps of the Sant Medir parish in Sants. Sant Medir was perhaps the most paradigmatic of Barcelona's democratic spaces of resistance to Francoism. The church was a crossroads progressive Catholics, clandestine anti-Francoist organizations of all kinds (union and political), local journalism, and the neighborhood movement. Sant Medir would be the setting for meetings of the Assembly of Catalonia, and in 1976 was the site of the reconstruction of the CNT. Led by the charismatic rector Josep Maria Vidal Aunós, Sant Medir had been instrumental in the formation of the *Comissions Obreres* in 1964, and by 1970 it was the meeting point of the *Comissió de Barri* of Sants.⁴³

Actually, in Sants there were two *Comissions*, with identical objectives, but led by different political forces. "Sants 1", which met in the Sant Medir parish was led by youth of the PSUC, the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, and "Sants 2", which met at the nursery school Guimbó and tended to be run more by members of Bandera Roja. A third group, led by Rafael Pradas, entered the scene, and when the PSUC leadership began pushing for legalization of the neighborhood platforms under the Law of Association of 1964 it was decided that the three groups should join forces.

Legalization, however, was not without its own set of issues. The law permitted the legalization of neighborhood organizations for participating in local activities and festivals, but even so the associations had to meet a series of strict requirements. Approval had to be granted for the statutes, purpose, and board of directors. On top of this each meeting had to be communicated including the order of the day, and in some cases an inspector from the

⁴³ Bigordà, Josep. (1997). *Sant Medir, des de la crònica i des del demà (1948 - 1998)*. Barcelona: Biblària.

local commissary had to be present as a governmental delegate to survey the agenda and the attendees, and often stayed until the end of the meeting.⁴⁴

Choosing a group of people to give their names for the associations official registry was done very carefully. These had to be people that were ‘clean’ and not involved in politics in any way. One of these was Antoni Moliner. As he relates:

“Together with Xarles, Miquel, Arnau and López we were called to the Mayor's Office where the police told us "that we should be very careful because we were getting into a mess and we didn't know where it was going to end up. One of us had made, a long time ago, a report of a theft of a cassette in a car and they said that “it was a pity that only having that antecedent, this of the Social Center stains the file... With the police we were always alert. Sometimes too much.”⁴⁵

Likewise, the stated objectives of the center were also carefully written to remain politically neutral, and sent to the Govern Civil for approval. They included:

- a) Encourage the creation of educational centers and programs,
- b) Promote cultural and recreational activities,
- c) Collaborate with public powers and other entities in establishing and perfecting public services,
- d) Encourage the sporting spirit of the neighborhood, organizing competitions, etc,
- e) Collaborate with the municipality to care for the progressive improvement of the neighborhood, especially with regards to housing, cleanliness, and hygiene.

The first name chosen by the group was *Associació de Veïns de Sants*, but the request for legalization was denied on the grounds that the name was too similar to the preexisting entity “*Associació de Veïns i Comerciants de Sants*”. Eventually, on December 15, 1971,

⁴⁴ A funny anecdote about this can be found in: Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996, p. 182. “*Recordo que un dia al Centre anàvem a parlar del procés de Burgos o dels moviments socials a Itàlia. Quan faltava poc per començar em van trucar a casa. “Porta el projector i una pel·lícula. Hi ha un home encorbata que té tota la pinta de ser policia”, em van dir. No tenia cap pel·lícula a mà, així que em vaig presentar amb el que havia filmat durant les vacances amb la família. Aquí la nena... Aquí les runes de no sé on... Aquí passejant... I la gent comentant oooh! Què bonic, i l’home que semblava un policia allà assegut, sense parlar amb ningú. Quan vam acabar la pel·lícula, va marxar sense dir res i nosaltres ens vam quedar comentant que l’haviem deixat plantat. Dies després ens vam assabentar que el presumpte policia era un enginyer que un soci del Centre havia invitat “Vine, que serà una sessió interessant”, li havia dit. Després el soci no hi va poder anar i l’invitat es va trobar sol. En finalitzar la sessió de la pel·lícula familiar, el que creiem policia se’n va anar a passejar per la Rambla i es va trobar l’amic; que tal la sessió del Centre?”, li va preguntar. “Un avorriment”, li va respondre. “No han parlat del procés de Burgos?”, li va preguntar estranyat el que l’havia invitat. “I cà! Han passat una pel·lícula de les vacances familiars d’un dels socis”, li va respondre el frustrat assistent, que més tard va ser un soci que va treballar molt per al Centre.”*

⁴⁵ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. p.181.

Sants' neighbors association was legalized under the new name: *Centre Social de Sants*. This was closely followed with the creation of the Sants-Sol de Baix neighbors association in February, 1972.

Josep Maria Vidal, from Sant Medir, negotiated with the *Patronat Social Catòlic de Sants* for the donation of a meeting space for the 'Centre' at their property at number 30, Olzinelles street. He was helped discreetly by doctor Ramis, a historic figure in neighborhood organizing.⁴⁶ As a result, the Centre was given the ground floor of the building.

“El Centre Social de Sants: una experiència associativa” (1996)

The memory of the early history of the Centre Social has been preserved in a publication assembled by Josep Martí Gómez⁴⁷ and Josep Marcè⁴⁸ in 1996, in celebration of the Centre's 25th anniversary. The book is a valuable source of what in the social sciences are called “thick descriptions,” which is to say that this historical record is laden with rich contextual observations, explanations of motive, sociological analysis, as well as a wealth of recorded oral history from participants in the Centre.⁴⁹ Much of the material comes from previously anonymous interviews carried out by Josep Martí Gómez for his thesis in 1981 on the “Relation between the neighbors associations and political parties, Barcelona 1970-1980.”⁵⁰ In other words, the book transcends the typical limits of the genre of commemorative history, which is usually filled with rather superficial and celebratory accounts. Instead, we can get a unique and textured picture of this group of neighbors brought together in the final years of Francoism to promote a better quality of life in their district.

According to Gómez and Marcè, if you could observe the group in 1971 as they sat on the steps of the church of Sant Medir where they often gathered, you would see a group of 25-35 year olds, university graduates with stable work. Most were born and raised in Sants, Catalan speakers, with steady partners and children. Many were of legal vocation, unaffiliated with resistance movements or urban guerrilla warfare, of leftists politics and with Christian backgrounds, albeit non-practicing. They were impacted by the events of May of

⁴⁶ Joaquim Ramis (1907-1984) was a follower of the social pediatrics of Pere Calafell, Joan Córdoba, and others. See: Aragó-Mitjans I. (1974). *El Dr. Joan Còrdoba, promotor de la pediatria social*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana de Pediatria. Also: Casassas O i Ramis J. *Metges de Nens*. (1993). *Cent Anys de Pediatria a Catalunya*. Barcelona: La Magrana. And: DD. AA. (2008). *Dr. Pere Calafell i Gibert (1907-1984): en homenatge*. Barcelona: Col·legi Oficial de Metges de Barcelona.

⁴⁷ Martí Gómez is a well-known journalist for his critical analysis. See: Martí Gómez, José. (2016). *El oficio más hermoso del mundo: (una desordenada crónica personal)*. Madrid, Clave intelectual.

⁴⁸ See: Marcè, Josep. (2014). *Dos anys a Can Batlló: somnis que es fan realitat*. In: *LaCol. Inventari de Can Batlló: Teixint una història col·lectiva*. Barcelona: Riera de Magòria.

⁴⁹ At the first meeting of the Centre, for example, we read that around one hundred people gathered at the Centre to hear the three speakers-- Miquel Botella (representing Sants 1), Carles Prieto (representing Sants 2), and Rafael Pradas. As the neighbors gathered, someone noticed that the three speakers, purely by coincidence, were wearing the same shade of sky blue shirt. Could it be a good omen, they wondered?

⁵⁰ Martí, Josep. (1981). *Relació entre Associacions de Veïns i partits polítics. Barcelona 1970-1980*. Tesina de la Escuela de Ciencias Sociales del ICESB, Barcelona.

'68 and by Vatican II. They felt more adult than young. They had an integral vision of the movement in which they were participating: "It wasn't about getting a better public plaza, or a better school, or a better health clinic, even though these aspects were very important, but about transforming the people."⁵¹

The most active participants belonged to the clandestine PSUC or Bandera Roja political parties. Of the labour union people there were few, primarily of Comissions Obreres. Neither were than many people from the extreme left. The Christian sector from Sant Medir did have weight, however. "A specific weight," remembers Llibertat Canela, a member of the Centre:

"There were trends in the Centre Social... I believe that the Centre Social, as one of the first neighbors associations in Barcelona, is precisely the result of this associative capacity that existed on the part of many people in Sants and this paired with another large group of people - in this case who went to Sant Medir- who were the Catholics, with whom I had never felt friends, but through the people on the left we met in the bell tower of the parish of Sant Medir. Somehow I came across people from Sant Medir who, although I could find them narrow-minded, they were brave people and above all we didn't throw stones."⁵²

Some members arrived at the Centre Social with experience from the University of Barcelona's Democratic Syndicate of Students which had introduced them to mass movements and, as a result, they had learned to be more pragmatic than ideological. It could be for this reason that it was easier for them to connect with people without experience in political struggle. They were united by the desire for social justice, the anti-Francoist struggle, and the desire for liberty- ideals that, in the last days of the dictatorship, could be defended by a Marxist and a Christian both.

Of the center-right nationalist group, Jordi Pujol's people, the Centre had some people but they were not very active. Of the Spanish right, there was never anyone-- it was clear from the start that they were not comfortable in the Centre. Even so, the Centre did have a few quite conservative allies who saw in the neighbors association an opportunity to achieve an objective so important that they would risk associating with communists.

What objective could be worth such a risk? Sant's soccer field had been demolished to make way for the construction of the Avinguda de Madrid, and Josep Estrada, president of the local soccer team Unió Esportiva de Sants was incensed. The city hall had promised him a new field, but after years of waiting nothing had materialized. When the Centre Social de Sants brought petitions to his door for signing, protesting government abuses of power and the deficits of amenities in the community, Estrada signed them all, and in return, the

⁵¹ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona: p. 15.

⁵² Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. p.183.

Centre added a soccer field to their list of demands. With Estradas signature added to the list, the Centre gained the confidence of a social group defined sociologically as the silent majority, who followed his lead.

This became the standard practice for volunteers from the Centre Social as they took to the streets with petitions to be signed. First, they would stop at Sant Medir for the signature of Rector Vidal (Josep Maria Vidal Aunós)⁵³. He was respected by a wide socio-political sector of the neighborhood and, once he signed, Rector Rius⁵⁴ of the Sant Maria parish would also sign, although in principle he was always a little reticent. When the neighbors approached him with a document to sign for the Centre he would say, “Take it first to Vidal, he knows more about politics than I do.”

“But rector,” the neighbors from the Centre would respond, “this doesn't have anything to do with politics, it just requests trees for the neighborhood.”

“Everything is politics.” responded the priest, who did not let down his guard until he saw the signature of rector Vidal on the document.

Martí Olaya, the president of the Orfeó of Sants, confessed that some of the members of the Orfeó's board of directors counseled him to always pass by the Centre Social on the far side of the street. When asked for his signature he would always look to see if Estrada and Rector Vidal had signed. If he added his name to theirs, then everyone would sign it (except for the *Maristes*, who never signed anything).

Gómez and Marcè also document the case of Mr. Alcaide, a retiree whom the Center always saw as very old, but also very open. Once he had been a railroad man--head of the station-- but now Alcaide was a member of about eight associations: from the one that welcomed pigeon lovers to the one that brought chess players together around the boards. When the Center took out a document to sign, President Xarles called him:

“We have a document and, if its possible, we would like you to sign it,” he told him. That afternoon, the warden would pass by the premises of the Centre Social de Sants. He was calm, as always. He sat down and placed eight stamps on the table. He read the document over and over and began dropping one stamp after another on the paper. He then authenticated each association with his signature.

⁵³ His personal collection is preserved in the National Archive of Catalonia. The collection contains the documentation gathered by priest Josep Maria Vidal i Aunós; documentation related to his religious activity as a priest, his dedication to the pastoral ministry and his involvement with the labor movement and social problems. Of particular note is the documentation included in the Assembly of Catalonia (reports, manifestos, circulars, bulletins, etc.), as well as other anti-Franco organizations against repression and in defense of human rights in the last stage of Francoism and during the process of political transition to democracy (including manifestos, declarations, reports, periodicals, among others). Also, see: Vidal i Aunós, Josep Maria. (2006). *L'experiència d'una vida nova. Glosses de Mn. Josep M. Vidal i Aunós*. Barcelona: Claret.

⁵⁴ Joan Rius Falcó, priest at the Parish of Santa Maria de Sants from 1968 until his retirement.

“If possible, Alcaide, try to make each signature a little different. If the eight all look the same, it won’t look very good,” said Xarles.⁵⁵

During their weekly meetings, 25 to 30 people gathered every Monday at the Centre from 10-12 at night. During the first year of the Centre there were 124 members paying 1,500 *pessetes* yearly. Later on that number would grow to 1000.⁵⁶

3.1.4 Unifying Mission

From the beginning, the organizers of the Centre Social de Sants were clear that a central pillar of the organization was to be its *vocació unitària* (or “unifying mission”).⁵⁷ The years of social repression under Francoism had fragmented the associative fabric of the community, and the Centre combatted this by seeking global representation of the neighborhood. This involved walking a delicate balance. At the first meeting of the Centre, three things were decided: a) the building should not be used for illegal activities, b) the Centre should as much as possible find the limit of illegality, but not cross it, and c) the meetings should be open to the public. Political neutrality played a crucial role in this project, and for the Centre this value would be incarnated in the figure of Josep Xarles, who they elected as the first president.

Josep Xarles, in the words Carles Prieto, was always the point of reference for the Centre. He was a sensible man who didn’t have political militancy, but was always to be found on the side of just causes. For this reason, Josep Xarles was never proposed as a member of one of the Comissions de Barri, in order not to mar his public image of political neutrality. When someone from the Centre would suggest taking up a cause with a possible political connotation, they adopted the custom of going to the house of Josep Xarles. There, they would ask him: ‘What do you think?’ If Josep Xarles arched his eyebrows, they would tell him never mind, forget about it. This was how they sought to preserve the Centre’s independent personality. One of the first points of conflict came about amidst debates about abortion. The committee decided the Centre could not sustain this type of radical campaign,

⁵⁵ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. p.32.

⁵⁶ During the years of crisis of the neighbor movement this number would lower to 250, and, in 1995, stabilize at 450. (Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996: p. 22)

⁵⁷ This was already a goal, to a certain extent, of the Comissions de Barri. See for example, the note published in April 1968 by the *Comissió de Barri de Sant Andreu*: “Ante esta realidad, todos los ciudadanos tenemos el deber de reaccionar de una forma digna, o integrarnos al nuevo y creciente movimiento democrático, en defensa de los intereses más vitales de nuestro pueblo. Las Comisiones de Barrio son una de las diversas formas que este movimiento ha adquirido. [...] Estas Comisiones se fundamentan en su carácter unitario, haciendo posible la participación en ellas de todos los ciudadanos sin distinción de ideologías políticas o creencias. En su carácter democrático, sobre la amplia y libre discusión de todas las cuestiones y acatamiento de la voluntad de la mayoría, así como el pleno derecho para todos de elegir y ser elegidos para los puestos de responsabilidad”. ANC, Full volant Comissió de Barri de Sant Andreu, abril de 1968. Fons PSUC (230). 1543. Comissions Obreres de Barri, 1970-1976. Cited by Bordetas, 2012, p. 369 and by Andreu, Marc. El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986). (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014.

not that it was against the idea, but rather on the basis that the neighborhood was not prepared for these types of campaigns and to launch them from the Centre could deteriorate its own image.⁵⁸

In this section we will look at how the Centre was able to grow and achieve a good reputation in the neighborhood according to its principle of the ‘unifying mission.’ In particular, three different events helped to catalyze this development more than others: the gas explosions of 1972, the education deficit which led to the development of the *Coordinadora de Sant Antoni*, and the project of organizing a neighborhood-wide, volunteer-based investigation of the deficits of the neighborhood called *Cop d’Ull a Sants*.

Gas explosion

On October 29, 1972, a gas explosion on Rajolers street in Sants would become a critical opportunity for the Centre, launching the association into the public sphere as a strong, unwavering participant in the “real experience of looking for a solution to an important problem”⁵⁹. It was the first time that they adopted a confrontational tone towards the political and economic powers.

The explosion killed 14 people, wounded 19 and left 65 people homeless due to a gas leak which the company Catalana de Gas denied.⁶⁰ The explosion in Sants was not an isolated event- during 1972-73 46 people were killed as the city switched from *Gas Ciutat* to *Gas Natural*, with probable conflicts of interest with the business Catalana de Gas, directed by Pere Duran Farell. The dismissiveness of the authorities regarding their responsibility for the crisis as well as the stinginess and inefficiency of their response in terms of caring for and compensating the survivors did not help de-escalate social tensions. Meanwhile, city residents literally feared for their lives; imagining that, at any moment, another explosion could blow up their own street.⁶¹

These explosions, and the fear they generated, became the stuff of a powerful critique which the Centre Social de Sants leveraged at the city government and Gas Natural (*Catalana de Gas*). Fundamentally, the Centre interpreted the explosions as evidence of a broken political system. In a note published in the *Tele-Express* newspaper a week after the explosion, the Centre petitioned for, among other things, a democratic control of the

⁵⁸ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 20. Regarding the case of family planning in Barcelona during the transition, see: Fajula Colom, Sara. (2017). Centres de planificació familiar a Barcelona (1977-1983). (Doctoral dissertation), UAB.

⁵⁹ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. p.45.

⁶⁰ Huertas Claveria, Josep Maria. (1972). Las casas no caen solas. Destino, 18 de noviembre.

⁶¹ Vilanova, Santiago. (2019). L'explosió de Capità Arenas: la trama del gas natural a la Barcelona preolímpica. 'Apostroph: Muntanyola.

negotiations between the administration and public service companies.⁶² That same day, 500 people gathered outside the delegation of Catalana de Gas in Sants and were dispersed by the police.

One month later, on December 3rd, the Centre Social along with 18 other entities, including Amics de la Ciutat, organized an assembly for the affected in the cinema Gayarre called “The technical problems of public services: what safety rules must be followed. Gas Ciutat? Gas Natural? What legal guarantees do we have?” Or, to use the wording from an issue of CAU magazine from that year, “dealing with the whole issue of whether or not we will get blown up because of natural gas.” It’s telling that the title of that issue of the magazine was “La Barcelona de Porcioles.”⁶³

When the assembly was prohibited by the authorities, around a thousand people showed up anyway and marched to the district headquarters of Catalana del Gas to protest, later continuing the protest in front of the District Government building. City officials feared that the situation was getting out of control. It was an opportunity for an increasingly unified constituency of neighbors to present their grievances to a city government characterized by indifference, arrogance, and a growing lack of democratic support. Pamphlets appeared in Barcelona announcing the “New crimes of the yankee-francoist oligarchy: gas explosion.” signed by the Comité pro-Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota de Barcelona (FRAP), and accompanied with a protest on December 12th at the Catalana de Gas y Electricidad headquarters with molotov cocktails included and 200,000 pesetas worth of damage.⁶⁴ The revolutionaries weren’t the only ones speaking out. In a four-paged clerical document dating from December 20th, 1972, a coalition of clergy and secular leaders from Sants, Can Tunis, la Torrassa, Collblanc, Hospitalet and Cornellà presented the facts of the case as well as a denunciation of the lack of adequate municipal response. In January, just after the celebration of the day of the kings, another explosion, this one in the neighborhood of Horta, multiplied the tension.⁶⁵

⁶² The note, after mentioning several previously recorded explosions in the course of the year, raises a series of petitions: Democratic control, through the active and legally recognized presence of consumers, negotiations and concessions of the rate, contract and supplies that the administration establishes with the service providers. Suspension of gas until full revision. Clarification of the facts, penalization, and compensation. Housing for the affected, furnishings, etc. “The enjoyment of these elementary rights that as citizens of a country that is intended to be civilized belong to the people affected by the explosion of natural gas that occurred on Sunday, October 29, and that must be extended to all those who, in one way or another, they suffer the consequences of a situation of which they are not responsible, with respect to the neighbors of Juan Güell, of Brazil street or of the Camino de la Cadena.” (Tele-Express 4, Novembre, 1972.)

⁶³ Giralt, E.; Campo, M. J.; Alibes Rovira, Josep Maria. (1973). La Barcelona de Porcioles. CAU.

⁶⁴ From Andreu Acebal, Marc. El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986). (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014. (footnote 194).

⁶⁵ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona.

The response of the government was a growing concern regarding the neighbors' politicization of the issue. In a report from the delegate of the Sección Femenina of the Civil Governor, we read:

“Oddly enough, we are still in the same situation as on October 30th. There is great confusion even among the victims themselves. All of us who are working on this case realize that they are directed or receive slogans, it seems that for political purposes, but they work so hidden that we find enormous difficulties in unmasking them, so when it seems that solutions are already being found for the problem of flats that is the basis of their situation and some families are going to normalize in the course of sometimes two or three hours the panorama changes completely.”⁶⁶

According to neighbors from the Centre Social de Sants, Maximo Godó, the lawyer of those affected by the explosion, warned his clients to be careful not to be tricked by a campaign that acted as if it was to defend their interests: “All those who say they support you are Communists,” he whispered. The lawyer went further: he asked the district police station to look at the file of the leaders of the Centre Social de Sants-- “because I am sure they are Communists.” Meanwhile, it was reported that one of Godó's friends, in September of 1973, bid him farewell with the phrase “I salute you with arm held high:” the Nazi salute.⁶⁷

The situation of the Gas Explosion is fascinating because it shows how the Centre Social began to organize a social movement from the ground up, not around a political ideology but around a common goal- to improve the quality of life in the neighborhood. At the same time, the political implications of this goal were perceived as a revolutionary thing at this point in time in the early 1970's. The various ways that the Gas Explosions were politicized gives a snapshot of the type of social-political context in which the neighborhood movement was born. As Gómez and Marcè relate, representatives from the Centre went to talk to Porcioles after the explosion. “He listened to us,” remembers one of the neighbors present that day, “lamenting that the tragedy had occurred and then he began monologuing about how poorly people lived before the war and the process of improvement that had taken place during the Franco regime. After Porcioles there was never another mayor that could give this kind of speech, because they neither believed it nor felt legitimized to do so.”⁶⁸

Carles Prieto, one of the neighborhood leaders involved most deeply in the PSUC party, relates that he was left with doubts about whether the Center's campaign had been understood by certain sectors of society, including the neighbors affected by the explosion: “The confrontation was with power, which was denounced for negligence. Many neighbors

⁶⁶ AHGCB. Informe de Montserrat Tey Planas (signat per l'assistent social M. Argüelles amb data 11/12/1972) a Tomás Pelayo Ros, 15/12/1972. Fons Governadors Civils. Caixa 52, reg. 188. As cited in: Andreu Acebal, Marc. El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986). (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Andreu Mayayo i Artal, University of Barcelona, 2014. p.106.

⁶⁷ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. p.37.

⁶⁸ (Ibid. p.37.)

and many of the affected viewed this confrontation with distrust as they thought that what was a priority was to solve the serious cases of those who had lost family members or lost their homes. This distrust of some sectors of the neighborhood towards the Center lasted until the campaign to save the Plaça de Sants.”⁶⁹

Coordinadora de Sant Antoni

The Centre Social de Sants existed in a space between the danger from above of state violence and the danger from below of a neighborhood lacking basic resources. If the threat of being blown up at random mobilized some neighbors to protest, the dire situation of public education in Sants was another crisis which brought people together despite the political risks that this organization entailed.⁷⁰

In 1972, 27,823 children were unschooled in Barcelona, and 33% of those that did attend school studied in *escoles de pis* (“apartment schools”) which were just apartments of around 80 m² which were used as classrooms.⁷¹ In Sants specifically, there had not been a new public school opened since the end of the Civil War. The education deficit was so great that it became one of the first issues which brought the various neighbor associations together in one place. In 1972, representatives from neighbors associations throughout Barcelona (and L’Hospitalet de Llobregat) began meeting in what became known as the Coordinadora de Sant Antoni, a semi-clandestine organization which later expanded to become a general coordinator of Barcelona’s neighbors associations, eventually legalized through the integration of the neighbors associations into the FAVB in 1974.⁷²

One of the only written documents which exists to confirm the existence of the *Coordinadora de Sant Antoni* is an unsigned, four-page contract dated January 12, 1973 (the same day as the joint neighbors statement regarding the natural gas issue following the explosion in Horta), authored by the presidents of seven neighbors associations (including Josep Xarles of the Centre Social de Sants) and a “technical team” formed by Jordi Borja and

⁶⁹ (Ibid. p.37.)

⁷⁰ In an interview, Rosa Vidiella from the Centre Social de Sants remembers the danger of participating in the Centre. “At the same time we created the Centre we also created the Nursery School. I remember participating in the education group. From the time of secrecy I retain fear and anguish, as if we were really doing something that could be severely punished, and this could explain the fact that I always went out at night with a gift from my wedding, duly wrapped, to explain, if they grabbed me, that I was going to bring a present. Nonsense like this gives the measure of the importance we gave to the anguish of going to meet to talk about the neighborhood.” (Ibid. p.175.)

⁷¹ Statistics cited by Solans in an interview by Marc Andreu. Andreu Acebal, Marc. *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014. p.106.

⁷² (Ibid. p.188.)

the Centre de Estudis Urbans (CEU) team which had just formed the year prior (including Rafael Pradas of the Centre Social de Sants).⁷³

In the document we read about a proposal to carry out "a study on the status quo, criticism and alternatives to the current Barcelona" as well as "the preparation of material for a traveling exhibition, and the production of a movie on the same theme." The contract allocates 150,000 pesetas as "the minimum amount required for the commencement of work" and estimates at 2.5 million pesetas "the evaluated total cost of the study, and exposition thereof, and for the preparation of the material for the acquisition and realization of the film."⁷⁴

According to Marc Andreu, the most interesting part of this document is the preamble, because it documents the existence of the ambitious, political objectives of the Coordinadora:

"The Associations and Entities that subscribe to this document, after a detailed exchange of ideas between their representatives regarding the Barcelona of the present and of the future, all agree on:

a) The need and importance of having a knowledge of the city, as complete and detailed as possible, in its current reality and of the most immediate and peremptory needs in a city such as Barcelona, based on the basic principle "that the City is for man" [underlined in the original].

b) That in order to acquire such knowledge, it is obvious and obligatory that a preliminary study be carried out by specialists, which for the greater objectivity of their results, must be detached and without any relationship with the Administration or any pressure group.

c) That the possession of the data resulting from the study, once carried out in all aspects in its human relations: urbanistic-housing, communications, free spaces, etc. As well as regarding education, health, psychological needs [sic], etc., it must facilitate more effective citizen action and consequently facilitate that the decisions of the Administration adjust to the interests of the collective.⁷⁵

⁷³ This technical team included Marçal Tarragó and Salvador Tarragó. The other representatives of the neighbors associations included: Joan Gallego (AV Ildefons Cerdà), Oriol Serrano Balasch (AV Sant Antoni), Pablo Oyaga Larión (AV Maresme), Antonio Ferrer (AV Collblanc-La Torrassa), Josep Xarles Santaló (Centre Social de Sants), Sergi Riera Roig (AV Barceloneta) and Francesc Porret Gay (AV Sant Andreu). (Ibid. p. 188).

⁷⁴ The semi-clandestine nature of the project is evidenced in the contract's provisions in the case of being shut down. "In the case of the study being suspended by a greater force, the joint commission shall seek the appropriate measures for ensuring that the data obtained up to that moment can be most profitable [...] The ownership of the material and of the film will belong indivisibly to the promotional entities and be deposited with the "Amics de la Ciutat", at the disposal of the contracting parties, who can use it for non-lucrative purposes." (Ibid. p. 188).

⁷⁵ (Ibid. p.204.)

Although this project of a general urban study of Barcelona was not completed at the time, the principle of it was materialized locally in Sants in a campaign organized by the Centre Social de Sants called *Cop d'ull a Sants* (“take a look at Sants”).

Cop d'Ull a Sants

Cop d'Ull a Sants aimed to a), identify the “immediate needs” of Sants, and it involved a growing community of b) urban specialists, in order to c), “facilitate more effective citizen action.” The *Cop d'Ull* campaign would also culminate in a public exhibition of the campaign’s results which was inaugurated on June 16, 1973, running to July 13th, and which was later reopened on October 1st, by popular demand. In February of 1974, the exhibit materials were compiled and published, although no copies of this publication have been able to be located in the archives of the Centre Social de Sants, the district archives, or the archives of the FAVB.

Albert Feliu, from the Centre Social, reports that the exhibition contained around 1,300 photographs he had taken of Sants. “Un cop d'ull a Sants was a review of the general situation of the neighborhood. The easiest and most didactic way, obviously, was the graphic and explanatory aspect. The exhibit portrayed everything about the topic of the neighborhood of Sants as well as the demands that were made.”⁷⁶

According to the neighbors from the Centre, the urbanistic documentation available through the municipal *Servei d'Urbanisme* was totally useless as a resource for the campaign.⁷⁷ Instead, through the work of about fifty volunteers, and the guiding spirit of the CEU (although it is unknown how much direct involvement they had), the neighbors conducted their own grassroots investigation of the neighborhood. Josep Espinàs, from the Centre Social, remembers the time that, in order to study the adequacy of street illumination, he walked all of the streets of the district. “In the streets of La Bordeta that were poorly lit, Albert Feliu and I stopped and we opened the newspaper that we used as a test. ‘Can you read it?’ We asked each other. If we read it, there was no problem with the lighting, if we had trouble reading it, we noted that the street was poorly illuminated.”⁷⁸

The entire study, once completed, took the form of 40 posters which presented a panoramic view of the history of Sants and its demographic situation, denounced various aggressions which the neighborhood had suffered, included an exhaustive review of the deficiencies of the neighborhood and presented clear demands, including:

⁷⁶ Martí Gómez, J. and Marcè i Fort, Josep (1996) Centre Social de Sants: Una Experiència Associativa, Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona. p.176.

⁷⁷ (Ibid.)

⁷⁸ (Ibid.)

- Education: Free schooling, control of pedagogical methods, immediate construction of the announced schools, realization of three preschool centers, an institute, a professional school, and a special education center.
- Health: A hospital with 400 beds, emergency care centers, dispensary and modernization of the existing services.
- Youth: Municipal subsidies for youth activities, elimination of obstacles in getting permits, construction of an athletic center and installation of a public library.
- Retirement: dignified pensions (100% of the actual salary), social centres and adequate residencies.
- Commercial Services: There is a lack of a market in la Bordeta and a need for modernizing the existing markets.
- Green Zones: Recovery of lost spaces, promotion of new zones to make up for the deficit, which is of 40 Ha., conversion of industrial lands into public zones, like Can Batlló and La Espanya Industrial, to install the requested services.⁷⁹

This list represents an elaboration of the discourse already presented in *La Gran Barcelona*. Particularly of interest to us here is the last point, regarding the potential reuse of Sants' industrial lands. This bullet point is followed with the following denunciation: "In the old property of La España Industrial, although the *plan parcial* approved by the Ajuntament was returned by the Comisión of Urbanism without approval, there are three towers of 20 plus floors already finished being built."

The public response to the campaign was positive. Neighbors entered the Centre, looked at the studies, listened to what the experts said and gave their own opinion as affected neighbors. The expo convinced the immense majority of the neighbors, who signed a manifesto giving their conscious support to the campaign. To conclude the exposition, on July 17th the Centre Social organized a round table discussion on "The problems of Sants", in the auditorium of the Orfeó.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the neighborhood movement in Barcelona was an important facet of anti-Francoist resistance during the transition to democracy. On the one hand, the local expression of Francoism represented by Porcioles married authoritarianism with capitalistic exploitation of the Barcelonian real estate market through massive private-public speculative enterprises for which he provided both a legal basis (through the mechanism of the Plans

⁷⁹ This summary of the exhibition comes from the publication: Giralt, E.; Campo, M. J.; Alibés Rovira, Josep Maria. (1973). *La Barcelona de Porcioles*. CAU.. As cited in Martí Gómez, J. and Marcè i Fort, Josep (1996) *Centre Social de Sants: Una Experiència Associativa*, Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona. p.176.

Parcials) as well as his own financial institutions (the Banc of Madrid). On the other hand, using the legal foothold offered by the 1966 law of associations, the neighborhood movement was theorized by leftist urban planners like Jordi Borja and the CEU as a grassroots resistance to Porciolisme. In Sants, the founding of the *Centre Social de Sants* succeeded in bringing together a variety of neighborhood constituencies according to its unifying mission, with the common goals of improving the quality of life in the neighborhood. Just a few weeks before the neighbors of Sants inaugurated the *Cop d'Ull a Sants* exhibition on the deficits of the neighborhood, in May of 1973 Porcioles was forced to resign as mayor of Barcelona.

According to Marc Andreu, there are six elements that, from the perspective of the neighborhood movement, objectively defeated the project of the *Gran Barcelona de Porcioles*, and contributed, at the same time, to the development of the neighbors associations. In addition to the (1) Pla de la Ribera and the (2) Pla Parcial de Torre Baró-Vallbona-Trinitat he lists the (3) campaign for decent housing in the housing projects built by the Sindicat del Treball and in the various shantytowns in Barcelona. The fourth (4) element was the neighborhood reaction to the gas explosions. The fifth (5) factor was the invalidated victory of Fernando Rodríguez Ocaña in elections for “regidors pel terç familiar” in District IX (Sant Andreu and Nou Barris), during fall of 1973. Finally, the deficit of educational services in the neighborhoods is the sixth (6) element that, together with the gas explosions, may not have been the most determining factors for the failure of Porciolisme, but they were the most decisive and with the most capacity for real popular empowerment in delegitimizing and overthrowing Franco's local administration and simultaneously motivating the coordination of the neighborhood movement at the city level.⁸⁰

The increasing confidence of the voices of urban critique and dissent showed the weakness of the Francoist power structure, which, after Porcioles, passed to Enric Masó⁸¹, a Catalan engineer and representative of the industrial bourgeoisie who used his mandate from the popular classes against the interests of the dominant Porciolista bloc, although they were eventually able to oust him and re-enter the “battle of Barcelona” in 1975 with their representative Joaquim Viola Sauret.⁸² The concept of Porciolisme, or in other words, aggressive real estate speculation, would outlast Porcioles’ own time in power. The legacy of Porcioles, and his “Plan de la Ribera” in particular, would be especially alive during the reformation of Poblenou’s coastline starting in 1987 with the destruction of the industrial neighborhood of Icària, as we have discussed in the chapter 1.1.

⁸⁰ Andreu, Marc. *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), University of Barcelona, 2014: p. 103.

⁸¹ Homenatge a Enric Masó, alcalde de Barcelona (1973-1975). Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010.

⁸² Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona: p.73.

In Sants, this question of speculation, or more specifically “Porciolisme” was connected with the deindustrialization of the historically industrial neighborhood. The abandoned industrial lands, some of them quite large, were interpreted in the Cop d’Ull a Sants exhibition as potential sites for fulfilling the deficits in public services. This study would become the basis of the *Salvem Sants* campaign which in 1976 would be expanded to include the Vapor Vell as a site to be ‘recovered’ for the neighborhood.

A final reflection on the concept of Porciolisme before moving on: this one transcribed from an interview with Anselm Cartaña, the head of the *Arxiu Historic de Sants* and possessor of a deep knowledge of the history of the neighborhood. Regarding the factories which moved their production from Sants and sought to speculate on the lands they left behind, Anselm suggests that they did but repeat once more the same surplus-value operation that had already been done a century before: "In those days they sold for one hundred what they had previously bought for ten in Barcelona, and bought for ten in Sants the large plots of land which, with the new expansion of Barcelona, they sold for one hundred and went to settle in remote towns with cheaper industrial land."

With this explanation, Cartaña draws our attention to an important lesson. Porciolisme didn’t end with Porcioles, but neither did it begin with him. This game of real-estate speculation had a long history going back at least a century, perhaps all the way back to the *desamortización*, or ‘confiscation,’ of Mendizábal in 1837 which had originally made available for purchase the lands of the Santa Maria parish where Joan Güell established his new business.⁸³ The discourse of Porciolisme didn’t come out of nowhere, it has a historical legacy stretching back to industrialization itself. Likewise, the critique of Porciolisme also has a long history. The story of how this critique was revived and remade in Sants during the transition to democracy is the topic of the next section.

⁸³ (see chapter 2.2 for more further discussion on the economics of land privatization and the liberalization of the Spanish economy in the mid-19th century). In a conversation with the author, Mercè Tatjer has also referred to the abandonment of the factories in Barcelona as a *segunda desamortización* or ‘second confiscation.’

3.2 WORKING CLASS SOCIAL HERITAGE

In the previous section we looked at the development of the neighborhood movement which, along with the university and labour movements, represented a primary site of anti-Francoist resistance during Spain's transition to democracy.⁸⁴ In Barcelona, this movement originated in 1968 with the formation of the first Comissions de Barri, and then later with the neighbors associations like the Centre Social de Sants, which was founded in 1971. In his study on the FAVB, Marc Andreu traces the origin of this movement even further back, to the 1955 Tram Strike in Barcelona which was the first strike held under Francoism and which succeeded in uniting many different constituencies. The parallel between the labor and neighborhood movements is also evidenced by the similarity between the Comissions de Barri and the Comissions de Treball, which were formed in the 1960's as a first step towards recovering the labor unions which had been outlawed under Francoism. In Sants, the Parish of Sant Medir parish helped to incubate both of these initiatives.⁸⁵

To what degree can we consider Sants' neighborhood movement as an expression of a working class social heritage? The question is hardly a new one. In 1975, an English graduate student named James Ronald Kelly traveled to Barcelona and spent some time with the department of social geography at the University of Barcelona. It was there that he noted the importance of the neighborhood in Catalan social life. ("I reasoned that such a deep-rooted phenomenon could not be of recent origin, and my research seemed to confirm this and to suggest that the organization of the working class movement reflected it".⁸⁶) In his subsequent thesis work for the University of East Anglia titled "A neighborhood approach to working class life and politics in Barcelona, 1910-1923," Kelly traced the historical importance of neighborhood organization in Barcelona's early 20th century labor movements.⁸⁷ In a similar vein, the scholarship of José Luis Oyón and Marta Serra

⁸⁴ See for example: Alabart, Anna. (1982). *Els barris de Barcelona i el moviment associatiu veïnal*. Tesis doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona. Also: Alabart, Anna. (1998). *Els moviments socials urbans a Catalunya*. *Revista Catalana de Sociologia*, n. 7:, p. 9-28. Also: Bordetas Jiménez, Iván. (2012). *Nosotros somos los que hemos hecho esta ciudad. Autoorganización y movilización vecinal durante el tardofranquismo y el proceso de cambio político*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, tesi doctoral inèdita.

⁸⁵ Bigordà, Josep. (1997). *Sant Medir, des de la crònica i des del demà (1948 - 1998)*. Barcelona: Biblària.

⁸⁶ Ronald Kelly, James. (1984). *A neighborhood approach to working class life and politics in Barcelona, 1910-1923*. (A study submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Modern Languages and European History at the University of East Anglia). p. ii. (Accessed November, 2020: http://www.fbofill.cat/sites/default/files/0440_1.pdf)

⁸⁷ Regarding Sants specifically he describes it as a republican area and a fiercely independent township; "an attempt by its Ajuntament to join Barcelona in 1883 raised such protests that it was set aside by Royal order the following year, and despite the aggregation of 1897 its independent spirit remained alive until well into the twentieth century." Ronald Kelly, James. (1984). *A neighborhood approach to working class life and politics in Barcelona, 1910-1923*. University of East Anglia: p.81.

demonstrates the close relationship between urban space and the formation of class in Barcelona's neighborhoods, based on studies from the first third of the 20th century.⁸⁸

Revolutionary urbanism

As Kelly notes in his investigation, one of the characteristics of this heritage was its organization according to neighborhoods. At the beginning, this was a result of the fact that most workers would live nearby to the factories where they worked. Starting in the 1840's with the construction of the Vapor Vell and Vapor Nou, the population of Sants increased dramatically due to the workers' which moved to the town to work in the factories. The sites of working-class socialization expanded beyond the walls of the factory to include the entire neighborhood territory, made up of ateneus, rational schools, unions, cooperatives, choral societies, excursion groups, local publications, stores, taverns, or even in the street. These spaces cultivated a working-class associative network which would become a characteristic feature of Barcelona's neighborhoods, imbuing them with unique personalities and creating resilient structures of mutual aid against the economic, social, education, and cultural deficiencies imposed by the new regime of industrial production.

As Marc Dalmau and Ivan Miró write in *Les Cooperatives de Sants*, these sites also represented a "proletarian self-management of the neighborhood, as a place of life and relationship, as a receptacle of mutual aid and social bonding; against the capitalist urbanism which orders, delimits, controls and markets." In this way, the labor movement, with its critique of capitalistic production, was also the foundation of a neighborhood movement which critiqued the top-down, capitalistic conception and management of the neighborhood. As an example of this anti-capitalist urbanistic arm of the labor movement, Dalmau and Miró cite the events of the first months of the revolution of 1936 in which the city was restructured according to a different conception of urbanism: "Once the fascist coup was stopped, the city was redesigned and reconfigured, changing the functionality of the main buildings of the bourgeoisie in what some have called revolutionary urbanism. The Liceu, the quintessential bourgeois opera, became the *Teatre del Poble Català*. The Ritz hotel became a dining hall for the popular classes, the building of the employer, the Casa Cambó, became the headquarters of the CNT-FAI. The Bank of Spain, Telefonica and Hotel Colon were also occupied."⁸⁹ One is also reminded of the vivid account of the working class reconfiguration of the city given by George Orwell in *Homage to Catalonia*.

⁸⁸ Oyón, José Luis & Serra, Marta. (2010). Historia urbana: el espacio no es inocente. *Historia Contemporánea*, 39: 387-401. Also: J.L. Oyón. (2009). The split of a working-class city: urban space, immigration and anarchism in inter-war Barcelona. *Urban History*, vol. 36, part 1, pp. 86-112. Also: Gabriel, Pere. (1998). Sociabilitat de les classes treballadores a la Barcelona d'entreguerres, 1918-1936", In J.L. Oyón (ed.). *Vida obrera en la Barcelona de entreguerres*, Barcelona, CCCB: 99-126.

⁸⁹ Dalmau Torva, Marc & Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions, p. 27.

Although these moments of revolution constitute some of the most dramatic and memorable examples of working class organization, we must not forget that these events were only possible because of the prior construction of a strong associative network, as well as sophisticated practices of democratic decision-making and self-management. These practices were inseparably linked together, as Horst Stowasser emphasises in his analysis of the revolution of 1936. As he puts it, “[T]he Spanish revolution did not begin in 1936, but some forty years earlier. What was the CNT doing for all these years? What was the International doing in Spain before the creation of the CNT? Not only those well-known heroic attempts of general strikes, riots, insurrections and expropriation, but at the same time, a whole series of “reformist” things: creating and installing their unions, setting up schools and stores, worker and agricultural cooperatives, workshops, cultural centers, printing presses for books, cultural and philosophical magazines, forming structures in the neighborhoods, fighting for bread, jobs, higher wages, reduced hours, decent working conditions, and more.”⁹⁰

On the one hand, these activities didn’t seem very revolutionary, yet, as an embodiment of proletarian self-management, they represented a sort of rebellion against the hegemonic, capitalist-vision of the city in which citizens were supposed to be passive consumers. Framed in this light, it is not surprising that a constant feature of the Catalan associative movement would be repression from the state. Barcelona’s first workers associations, starting in the 1840’s, had to constantly fight for the basic right to associate. As we saw in chapter 2.3, it was partially the repression of associationism which culminated in the general strike of 1855 and the assassination of Sol i Padrís at the Vapor Vell. During Spain’s six-year democracy following the “Glorious Revolution” of 1868, associationism was legalized and in 1870 the first national Spanish workers congress was held in order to found the Regional Spanish Federation of the International Workingmen’s Association (*Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores*, or AIT) in Barcelona. After the coup of 1874, the AIT was outlawed and with its leaders imprisoned, cooperatives became once more a refuge for the Catalan working class. The passing of the Spanish Law of Associations in 1887 allowed the workers cooperatives to achieve legalization. In Sants, the first cooperative, La Formiga Obrera, was established in the shadow of the Vapor Vell in 1885, followed by La Lleialtat Santsenca (1891), and la Nova Obrera de Sants (1897).⁹¹

Under Francoism, associations were again outlawed and their memory was categorically erased. Not only were the names and memories of the working-class organizers

⁹⁰ Stowasser, Horst. “El ‘proyecto A.’” In: Murray Bookchin; Domenico Liguri & Horst Stowasser. *La utopía es posible: experiencias posibles* (Buenos Aires: Tupac Ediciones, 2004), 11- 65. Translated by Jesse Cohn.

⁹¹ The history of cooperativism in the Barceloneta neighborhood has also been a focus of historical research, for example: Alari Pahissa, Emma; Gorostiza Langa, Santiago; Dalmau Torvà, Marc (ed.). (2016). *La Forja solidària d'un barri portuari: la Barceloneta obrera i cooperativa*. Barcelona: La Ciutat Invisible. See also: Gabriel, Pere. (1998). *Sociabilitat de les classes treballadores a la Barcelona d'entreguerres, 1918-1936*", In J.L. Oyón (ed.). *Vida obrera en la Barcelona de entreguerres*, Barcelona, CCCB: 99-126.

and leaders erased from history, but also the everyday practices of the common person. The cooperatives were shut down and the association headquarters were confiscated by the National Movement and reused as Falangist barracks and the like.

“A history that tells the story of the elites just makes the present state of things seem natural, leaves aside the subalterns and silences their past,” writes Santiago Gorostiza, a Barcelonian historian whose doctoral thesis examines how Francoist state-building efforts transformed Spain’s socio-ecological relations and landscapes, both materially and symbolically.

“Reclaiming silenced pasts is a task to be done both in the archives and the streets, both in libraries and mountains, listening to stories and reading dusty records. It can be about how a revolution was silenced and obliterated from history, as shown in the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot in late 18th century Haiti. And also about how dictatorships try to wipe out the memory and heritage of those who opposed them. When, like in Spain, elites have succeeded to remain in power for decades, the stories of disappeared workers and activists and their emancipatory projects frustrated by a 40-year long dictatorship risk being left aside and silenced forever.”⁹²

It was in the context of this 40-year long repression of the working class heritage of the people of Sants that the neighbors from the Centre Social de Sants began their project of galvanizing the neighborhood into recovering some of the basic practices of this revolutionary urbanism. In this section, we will look specifically at the *Salvem Sants* campaign which was launched by the Centre Social de Sants in the wake of the *Cop d’Ull a Sants* exhibition as an example of self-management in the neighborhood. Here, I will adopt the framework of critical heritage scholars like Laurajane Smith in interpreting these practices as a form of working-class social heritage.⁹³

It is worth keeping in mind, as Jordi Roca Vernet points out in his scholarship on the memory of popular sociability in Sants, that there was little priority given to recovering the

⁹² Gorostiza, Santiago. Opening a crack in history. Residents of a Barcelona neighbourhood make use of historical research in their fight to reclaim a cooperative. Uneven Earth. November 15, 2016. (Accessed November, 2020: <http://unevenearth.org/2016/11/opening-a-crack-in-history/>)

⁹³ Smith introduces a helpful way of understanding this historical recovery of Barcelona’s practices of associationism by expanding the concept of heritage beyond “things” and “sites.” “While these things are often important, they are not in themselves heritage,” she writes. “Rather, heritage is what goes on at these sites.... Heritage, I want to suggest, is a social process.” (In: Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.) Regarding heritage as a social process, David Harvey defines heritage as a verb related to human action and agency, and suggests that it is a process concerned with the legitimization of the power of national and other cultural/social identities (Harvey, D.C.. (2001). ‘Heritage pasts and heritage presents: Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4):319–338.). Bella Dicks suggests that heritage may be understood as a culturally-defined communicative practice (Dicks, B.. (2000). *Heritage, Place and Community*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.), and David Lowenthal has argued that heritage is a way of acquiring or engaging with a sense of history (Lowenthal, D.. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.).

old cooperatives and ateneus and such at this time.⁹⁴ Instead, new sites were envisioned, making use of the spaces that were available at the time-- namely, old abandoned factories and train depots. Still, I argue that we can best understand the success of the neighborhood movement when we view it as a continuation of a local, working-class legacy which had gone before; although, instead of a heritage discourse as such, what we find is a discourse of *reivindicació* ('the return of what is due'). "It wasn't just about achieving a better public plaza, even though these aspects were very important," explains Miquel Botella from the Centre Social de Sants, "it was about transforming the people."⁹⁵ Residents of Sants were encouraged to reclaim agency as politically active members of their society-- to become 'neighbors.' In the last section, I analyze this concept of neighbor as the remaking of an older, working-class identity.

3.2.1 "*Reivindicació*"

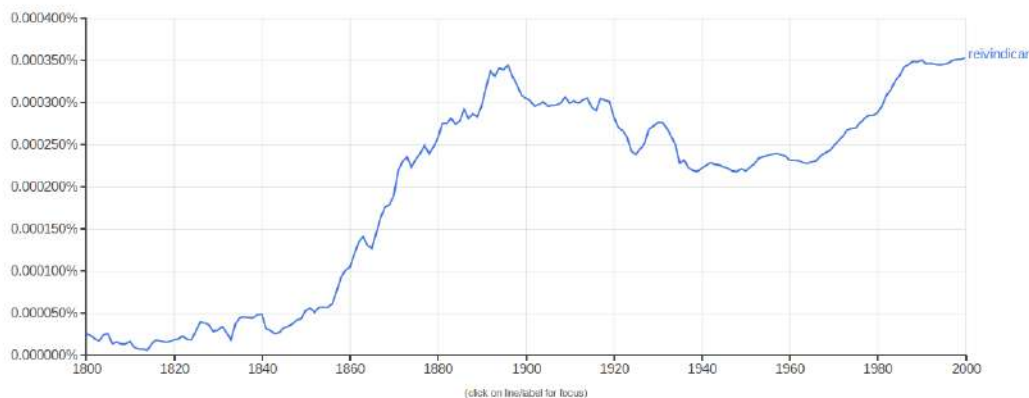
Reivindicación/Reivindicació is a Spanish/Catalan word which up to this point I have translated as "struggle", "fight", "protest", "claim", or the most literal option-- "vindication," although none of these words really seem to capture the meaning of the word as it is used in Barcelona. A Spanish dictionary will define the base word *reivindicar* as 'To reclaim or petition someone with vehemence and firmness, regarding something which one has a right to and of which one has been dispossessed or is being threatened to be so.'⁹⁶ Most of the time a *reivindicación* refers to a form of protest, although protest is a word which is about being *against* something, while *reivindicar* is about being *for* something that is being, or has been, taken away. While the word has a long history of legal and economic usage, it also seems to have taken on other meanings tied to the social history of industrialization.

A usage poll of the word "reivindicar" in digitized Spanish-language literature through google's n-gram viewer strengthens this hypothesis. The 1840s and 50s mark the beginning of a sharp increase in the word's usage, as seen in the graph below. This is the same time period as the Vapor Vell was being founded and the first general strike was being organized in Spain. Interestingly, this graph also shows an increase of usage of the word starting at the end of the 1960s, after a slump in the middle coinciding with the years of Francoism.

⁹⁴ Roca Vernet, Jordi. (2015). La memòria de la sociabilitat popular al barri de Sants a través dels espais", Duch, Montse; Ferré, Xavier; Arnabat, Ramon (ed.), Memòria i la història de la sociabilitat popular a Catalunya, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

⁹⁵ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 15.

⁹⁶ Diccionario de la lengua española.



In general, *reivindicación*, or ‘the return of what is due,’ is a term which functions as a very interesting foil to the Spanish term ‘patrimonio’ or heritage, which is also the word for inheritance. Inheritance is the giving of what is due, while *reivindicación* implies that what is due has been withheld. In this sense, *reivindicación* can be understood as a type of heritage discourse, or rather, a call for the return of a stolen heritage. The discourse of *reivindicación* can also be a form of anti-capitalist discourse, which challenges the economic principles of private ownership and capital by which this ‘theft’ is legalized and legitimized. *Reivindicación* can also refer to something which was stolen before it was ever fully owned.

This was the case of the Centre Social, which, after the exhibition of the deficits of the neighborhood in *Cop d’Ull a Sants*, switched from a defensive strategy to an offensive one, “*reivindicando* a better quality of life in the neighborhood and demanding the recovery of spaces.”⁹⁷ It wasn’t the fact that the spaces that the neighbors demanded happened to be abandoned industrial lands that made this an enactment of a working-class social heritage-- it was the practice of *reivindicación* itself.

In his study of neighborhood-based workers protests in Barcelona in the early 20th century, James Kelly outlines the chronology of the *Setmana Tràgica* (“tragic week”) of 1909 and the *Canadenca* strike of 1919, describing these events as a sort of working-class technology which evolved with the development of new forms of industrial work and new forms of industrial urbanism.⁹⁸ Likewise, J.E. Cronin discusses the “remaking” of the working class during the crises of 1917-1920 in Europe, as a response to changing environmental factors.⁹⁹ In the same way, I argue that the context of *Porciolisme*, during the

⁹⁷ This is the phrasing used by Miquel Botella, as recorded in: Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 53.

⁹⁸ Ronald Kelly, James. (1984). *A neighborhood approach to working class life and politics in Barcelona, 1910-1923*. University of East Anglia: p.81.

⁹⁹ Cronin, J.E. (1983). *Labor Insurgency and Class Formation: Comparative Perspectives on the Crisis of 1917-1920 in Europe*. In J.E. Cronin, C. Siriani (ed.). *Work, Community and Power. The Experience of Labor in Europe and America, 1900-1925*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia: 46.

transition to democracy, provoked a new kind of crisis in Sants that directly affected the form that the neighborhood movement would take.

We can see this form taking shape by looking at the anatomy of the *Salvem Sants* campaign launched by the Centre Social de Sants in the Winter of 1973. In the following account, I piece together a chronology of this campaign from snippets of oral history and newspaper articles distributed throughout the book *El Centre Social de Sants, una experiència associativa*, as well as from documentation preserved in the historic archive of the Centre Social de Sants. The episode is a fascinating miniature case study of a unique moment in the transition when the political tide began to turn for the first time in favor of democracy. While it was not as dramatic as the Canadenca strike or the Setmana Tràgica, it would become a milestone in the history of Sants and as a reference for other neighbors associations throughout the city.

Salvem Sants

On December 6th, 1973, *Transports de Barcelona S.A.* begins work on a Tram Museum in Sants' old train depot, *Les Cotxeres de Sants*, which had been empty since 1968.¹⁰⁰ A few weeks later, on December 23, Rafael Pradas of the Centre Social de Sants publishes an article in *El Correo Catalán* listing the deficits of public services in the neighborhood as well as listing possible sites for their construction, including the Cotxeres de Sants where, as he writes, “actually they are constructing a Transport Museum, a ‘service’ which obviously is not the one lacking in a neighborhood with such grave problems as ours”.¹⁰¹ In the rest of the article, Rafael Prada announces a declaration against the projected construction of an overpass to be built over the Plaça de Salvador Anglada which he labels as one of the most characteristic spaces of the neighborhood. In the name of the entities of Sants he proposes the plaça as a park, and demands that the road be built by means of a subterranean tunnel. He also takes the opportunity to express the neighborhoods' need for a library and claims the *Casa del Rellotge* as a possible site. (This technique of calling attention to all the ongoing campaigns everytime one was spoken of is referenced by Gómez and Marcè as the technique of the “*gota malaia.*”)¹⁰²

By February of 1974, the *Salvem Sants* campaign begins in earnest. A banner appears in the plaça: “*Salvem la plaça de Sants* (“Let’s save the plaça de Sants”). As far as anyone can remember this banner is what will eventually give the plaça its new name (its official name at that time, Plaça de Salvador Anglada, had been assigned under Francoism in homage to a Sants resident who had been executed in Can Tunis in 1936 accused of being a Catholic

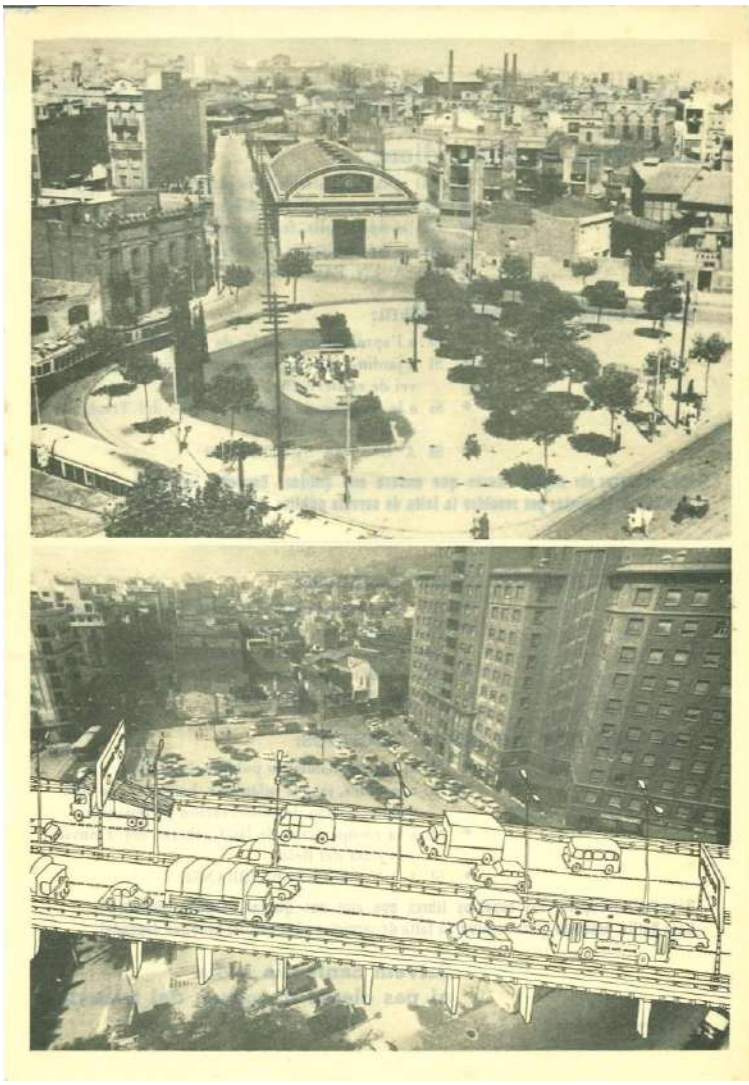
¹⁰⁰ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 280.

¹⁰¹ Pradas, Rafael. Sants: 22 entidades piden subterráneo para Salvador Anglada. El Correo Catalan. December 23, 1973.

¹⁰² Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 55.

and a Carlist). The banner is two-sided. On one side are photos showing how the plaça had been in the 50's (a neat plaça shaded with trees) and on the other side is shown how it might be in the future (an overpass clogs the neighborhood with cars). On the other side is written this message in Catalan and in Castilian: "The neighbors of Sants say: No to the disappearance of the Plaça de Salvador Anglada. No to a new division of the neighborhood. No to more noise, smoke and contamination. No to the inconveniences to the neighbors and commercial workers. No to the elevated road. The neighbors of Sants say: Yes to the public benefit of the plaza. Yes to gardens, playgrounds, benches and an adequate service of conservation and vigilance. Yes to the recovery of the Cotxeres del Tramvia and the casa del Rellotge. Yes to a subterranean road."¹⁰³

Past and Future of the Plaça de Sants¹⁰⁴



¹⁰³ (Ibid. P. 53.)

¹⁰⁴ (Illustration accessed at the archive of the Centre Social de Sants.)

Meanwhile, Barcelona's new mayor, Enric Masó, receives a postcard at his home mailing address. It is an illustration from the artist Cesc showing an old couple sitting on a bench in the future plaça covered by the elevated road. The next day, more postcards arrive, all signed by angry neighbors from Sants. After a few weeks of this there were thousands. "Don't send me any more. Each day I have a sack of them delivered to my house," he begged the leaders of the Centre, who had printed 20,000 just in case.¹⁰⁵

In what would become perhaps the most strategic element of any campaign in the history of Sants, a group of women decided that there should be a slogan for the campaign to save the old train depot. They came up with four options, but only two are still remembered: "Salvem Sants de sud a nord, ni pas elevat ni museu del transport" and the winning submission: "Salvem Sants dia a dia, ni pas elevat ni museu del tramvia."¹⁰⁶ This slogan would go viral and spread across the neighborhood and lodge itself in the collective consciousness of Sants for years to come.

Something else also occurred in February of 1974. The municipal government of Barcelona, under Enric Maso, released a public version of a proposed revision to the Pla Comarcal of 1953. The new document contained 20,000 pages of proposed urban changes.

Of all the neighborhoods of Barcelona, Sants was the most ready to respond. The Cop d'Ull a Sants campaign had educated the locals on the needs of the community, and established a group of local urban experts capable of rebutting the new Pla Comarcal. An invitation was sent to everyone in Sants for an assembly to take place at the parish of Sant Medir in one month's time.

"Esteemed neighbor,

City Hall has released to the public a proposal of criteria regarding the remodeling of our neighborhoods. This proposal is very important for the neighbors that live here. It involves: New urbanistic qualifications, opening of new streets and affectations, zones of housing to be remodeled, suspension of licenses in zones or new studies, new focus on green zones and equipments.

The associations of neighbors think that this plan must be formulated with the participation of those that live here. We should decide what neighborhood we want.

If you would like to be informed and give your own opinion regarding this proposal, come to: The assembly of neighbors that will take place on Thursday, March 25, at 7:30 in the afternoon, in the meeting room of Sant Medir, Constitució 17.

Organized by: Associació de Veïns de Badal, Brasil, Bordeta and the Centre Social de Sants."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ (Ibid. P. 53.)

¹⁰⁶ (Ibid. P. 176.)

¹⁰⁷ (Ibid. P. 67.)

A few days before the meeting, on March 21st, 1974, the Centre Social de Sants constructs a “stand”, or kiosk, in what is now being called the ‘Plaça de Sants’ containing a public exhibition of materials from *Cop d’Ull a Sants* and bearing the title “*Salvem Sants dia a dia, ni pas elevat ni museu del Tramvia.*” Soon, municipal police oblige them to take it down. In response, a letter in *El Correo Catalán* from March 25 clarifies the rightful legality of the stand and corrects the wording on the municipal report which makes reference to the president of the Centre Social as “Sr. Charles.” (Josep Xarles is a Catalan name and it was not uncommon in those times for Catalan identity to be negated by Francoist authorities through the use of Castilian alternatives.)

On March 25, 1974, at 7:30 PM, the first public assembly convened by the Centre Social de Sants is called to order. “Please speak in Castilian Spanish, I don’t understand Catalan,” a voice calls out from the audience. At the next assembly it is explained that if anyone needs help with Catalan they should sit beside someone who can translate or else one of the organizers would stay and explain what was said after the meeting. No one asks for Castilian in future meetings.

On April 17, 1974, at last the stand in the Plaça de Sants is granted permission to open. The district councilman Febrer excuses his absence due to conflicts in his agenda. Two days later he visits the exhibition, as do Miró and Pujadas (delegates of Urbanism and Public Works, respectively, of the City Council of Barcelona). Even some Barça players come to visit the stand.

On May 12, 1974, a joint assembly is held between the Centre and other organizing entities of the *Salvem Sants* campaign such as the Unió Esportiva, the Coral la Floresta, the Centre Catòlic, the Associació de veïns de Badal-Brasil, etc. Many neighbors attend. (“It was very interesting to see how a thousand neighbors met together to understand the problems and try to resolve them”). The use of the Cine Gayarre was donated by Estrada, a powerful local conservative who hoped *Salvem Sants* would help him recover a soccer field for Sants. Present at the meeting was an engineer and architect who began the meeting with a detailed exposition on the campaign to “Recover Sants.” District councilman Febrer is notably absent, but after the assembly a large crowd hand-delivers the minutes to him at his personal address. Febrer lives in Sants. The neighbors say they will be back in a month.

One month later, that promise is kept. On June 11, neighbors from Sants delivered 12,000 signatures of support for the *Salvem Sants* campaign to Mayor Masó.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ In the interval, on May 26, the “Diada de l’Esport” was held by a group of youth claiming sporting areas for the neighborhood as well as a public library to be built in the Casa del Rellotge.

The undermining of Francoist hegemony

Let's take pause from following the campaign in order to make note of a few important historical contexts. First of all, the pressure exerted on Barcelona's political authorities at this time was beyond what they were prepared to respond to. In turn, sensing the fragility of the Francoist power establishment only drove citizen activism to stronger and bolder expressions of resistance. The tide of battle was shifting and, for the first time, associations like the Centre Social de Sants began to experience a certain degree of democratic mandate. Miquel Botella, from the Centre Social de Sants, synthesizes in this way: "Franco dies in 75 and there are no municipal elections until 1979. Those in the mayorship lacked democratic legitimacy. The transition from Francoism began even before Franco dies... Municipal power was an authoritarian island in a democratic sea that already had its own *Corts* and its own *Generalitat*. This great vacuum of power coincided in Sants with Febrer as district councilman, who, it can't be denied, as a person was endearing but as a politician was a joke."¹⁰⁹

Marc Andreu makes special mention of two events from the Spring of 1974 which further contributed to the undermining of Francoist hegemony in Barcelona. First of all, news of the Carnation Revolution which took place in Portugal in April of 1974 posed a great threat to Francoism, including the dominant Spanish and Catalan classes, as well as the Barcelona bourgeoisie. A second threat came from much closer to home when a great majority of the members of *Bandera Roja* merged with the PSUC political party, multiplying the capacity of this clandestine organization for mobilizing in the neighborhoods, with Jordi Borja and Carles Prieto at the head. Borja, you will remember, was a *Bandera Roja* activist and leader of the CEU, and Carles Prieto was a PSUC activist and member of the Centre Social de Sants. Together, these two events gave the Communist left a certain degree of cultural and political hegemony in the context of the neighbors movement and, in turn, helped facilitate the next strategic move on this front-- the takeover of the Federation of Neighbors Associations in Barcelona (FAVB).

In 1972, the legalization of a Federation of Neighbors Associations in Barcelona had looked at first to be a politically benign event to the city's authorities. As Andreu explains, "The singularity of the Barcelona case lay in the fact that at the beginning the Civil Government considered the FAVB to be an entity with affinity to the regime, and, in any case, of unquestionable bourgeois order, which could serve to better control the combative neighbors movement and their practices of urban *reivindicacion*."¹¹⁰ What the Civil Government didn't take into sufficient consideration was that the FAVB could be taken over by politically active neighbors associations and instrumentalized for the organization of city-

¹⁰⁹ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. p.37.

¹¹⁰ Andreu Acebal, Marc. El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986). (Doctoral thesis), University of Barcelona, 2014, p.73.

wide anti-francoist resistance.¹¹¹ Once the capture of the FAVB was secured in 1974, it would be irreversible.

The Centre Social de Sants joined the FAVB on July 6, 1974, along with with the neighbors associations from Sant Andreu, la Barceloneta, Poble Sec, La Pau, Joan Maragall (Guinardó), Nou Barris, La Sagrera, Nostra Senyora del Port, Plaça Lesseps, Poblenou, Turó de la Peira and Sant Antoni. On July 30th, 30,000 allegations against the Pla Comarcal were delivered to the City Hall, of which 8,000 came from the neighborhood of Sants alone. Borja and Prieto had weaponized the Pla Comarcal as a target for critique and this became an effective strategy for mobilizing huge numbers of neighbors to take a stand against the regime. During his visit to Barcelona that June, Carlos Arias Navarro, from the Francoist regime, saw the situation that was developing and suggested that they should retire the plan. “It’s too late,” said Porcioles, “the plan has already been made public.”¹¹²

This is how Solans, from the city’s urbanism department, explained it:

“The government tried to back down and this led to more associations being made following the model that Sants had organized. [...] All that mess goes on there, and then the strongest neighborhoods, such as Sant Andreu and Gràcia, also set up their associations [...]. The point is that the Civil Government was trying to pull back, but at the same time this faucet that was thought to be to make four complaints becomes what we might call the structural deficit of the regime.”¹¹³

The end result, from the neighbor’s perspective, was that, on February 1, 1975, a year after the start of the *Salvem Sants* campaign, the new Plaça de Sants was inaugurated. Even Mayor Masó was there to watch the performances of choirs and *orfeons*, local singing groups from the neighborhood, as well as a performance by a dance troupe. Better yet, there was no overpass in sight. Just down the street, the Cotxeres de Sants were also made available to be used by the neighbors.

As Anselm Cartaña from the Centre Social relates, for the people of Sants, it was the first time since the Civil War in which one could find all of Sants gathered together. Everyone agreed that it was a beautiful day. “There is nothing better than a few *orfeons* and choirs and dance groups for bringing out a lot of people. Just from the singers and their families and

¹¹¹ “Until now, the majority of members of the Federation were street groups, i.e. store owners, with an activity limited to very partial aspects of daily life, in accordance with the interests of the groups. This year, coinciding with the last renewal of the Board of the Federation, there was an interest in dealing with all those problems that affect the majority of citizens, albeit timidly and as far as possible. Now that the most active residents' associations in Barcelona are already part of the Federation, we hope that it will become a representative instrument of the aspirations of the residents of Barcelona, an instrument increasingly necessary to be able to voice the demands at the citizen scale. The actions of the Federation in the face of the Regional Plan, the problem of gas, or the Municipal Entity, show us that it can play the necessary role ” See appendix, document 5 (Hem salvat la Plaça de Sants): p. 18.

¹¹² Andreu Acebal, Marc. (2014). *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Andreu Mayayo i Artal, University of Barcelona, p. 299.

¹¹³ (Ibid. p. 299).

friends and we are already a lot of people and this impressed the mayor. Really, Masó was impressed. ‘You want it this way? So you will have it!’ he promised all of the attendees after the organizers of the activity had shown him around the perimeter of the plaza and then taken him to the stage. He had seen the neighborhood kids who had drawn pictures of the plaza they wanted on a big roll of paper which Josep Xarles had obtained in one of his skillful commercial “deals” which he made to avoid burdening the weak economy of the Center and he had listened patiently to the demands which were presented by experts from the Social Center of Sants.¹¹⁴

The inauguration of the Plaça de Sants left a sensation that the neighbors had won a great victory in the neighbors movement. After Sants, other associations came along, always repeating a similar *esquema reivindicatiu* (“protest format”): diagnosing the deficits of the neighborhood through surveys and with the help of professionals, making a protest platform, educating the neighbors through exhibitions and assemblies, etc. In Sants, the *Salvem Sants* campaign would continue with the addition of new campaigns including the *Espanya Industrial*, the *Vapor Vell*, and *Can Batllo*.

3.2.3 Self-management

The inauguration of the Plaça de Sants and the *Cotxeres* was a celebration of the neighbors’ victory against the overpass and the train museum, but there still remained the question of how these spaces were to be designed and managed. The answer from the Centre Social was definitive: *Las decisiones de un barrio en asamblea* (“The decisions of a neighborhood in assembly”).¹¹⁵

It was at one of the Centre’s assemblies that Josep Xarles addressed the question of what to do with the plaça. “Who will draw up the new plan?” He asked. “Me,” responded Joan Feu, son and grandson of architects, although he himself was a pedagogue. The Centre also contracted the architect Lluís Brau, “just in case,” but in the end Carles Prieto defended Feu’s project. “The other project was from the outside and lacked passion,” remembers Feu. “And, anyway, whatever Prieto said ‘went to mass.’”¹¹⁶ Teaming up with his friend Palleres, a local watchmaker, Feu spent two months in contact with the municipal department of urbanism. Finally, in one meeting Masó looked at Pujades and Miró, the delegates of

¹¹⁴Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ Butlletí del Centre Social de Sants. Hem Salvat la Plaça de Sants. September-October, 1974. P.7. (See appendix).

¹¹⁶Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 60.

urbanism, and asked, “Should we do this?” They consented, and the issue of the Plaça de Sants was settled.¹¹⁷

The experience of the Cotxeres de Sants would prove to be a different story, and it marked an inflection point in the associative history of the neighborhood. For the first time, there appeared problems of participation and management. These were elements that came to configure a much more complex outlook than the initial, simpler and unified one. In the words of Miquel Botella: “The simple world of ‘you’re either for me or you’re against me’ was over.”¹¹⁸

The Cotxeres was a huge abandoned train depot located next to the Plaça de Sants, in the center of the neighborhood. Masó approved a plan to make the Cotxeres provisionally usable as a meeting space, but nobody was really ready for what happened next.¹¹⁹ Generally speaking, the years between the death of Franco in 1975 and the first municipal elections in 1979 were full of nascent democratic belligerence. For many it was a time of madness, of celebrating rock concerts and political acts of the new leaders of the parties which emerged after the long years of exile. In Sants, Las Cotxeres became the central hub of this frenetic activity. It was, in fact, the biggest civic center in Spain. Masó had required a written project, so Feu and the local architect Casas drew up a quick sketch. The rules of the space were minimal- to keep the place clean and to follow a schedule. “It was like the Commune of Paris,” said Feu. “The place was overflowing,” remembers Botella. “In the end, it was a row,” explains Josep Xarles. Everyone remembers one of the nights at the Cotxeres. The red cross had to send buses to collect the drunks. The place filled up until they had to shut the big doors, like castle doors, and the people stuck outside beat on them till they shook like paper. Like the legend of the sinking of the Titanic, the orchestra played on, apparently impassive while the leaders from the Centre began to panic. “*Vaig mastegar la tragedia*,” (literally, ‘I chewed on the tragedy’ or ‘I faced the risk’) remembers Josep Xarles. The sensation was that everything was out of control and anything could happen.¹²⁰

In 1977, the search began for a more permanent solution for the Cotxeres. “*Què volem a les Cotxeres?*” was the name of the meeting in which a competition was announced for producing a draft of a site-plan. The jury was to be composed of an assortment of representatives from local associations representing parents, retired citizens, youth, and young children, as well as three volunteers selected in the first public assembly. Noticeably

¹¹⁷ “A project of the neighborhood, for the neighborhood.” Under this heading, the project is outlined. *Butlletí del Centre Social de Sants. Hem Salvat la Plaça de Sants. September-October, 1974. P.10.* (See appendix)

¹¹⁸ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa.* Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 87

¹¹⁹ He also approved a similar agreement in the Camp d’en Grassot neighborhood, where neighbors launched their own *reivindicació* in 1975 (“*La Sedeta per al barri*”) for the abandoned Sedeta factory to be granted to the neighbors for public use.

¹²⁰ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa.* Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 81.

absent in the jury was any representative from the municipal administration- an “excellent example of the slightly belligerent attitude towards the last Francoist government.”¹²¹

The Cotxeres competition, more than democratic, must be defined as *assembleari*. It was a decision-making process fraught with the challenges of trying to extend an authentic opportunity for meaningful involvement to the neighbors to establish a civic center for the people and of the people. In an article discussing the competition published in the *Ateneu Llibertari*'s magazine “La voz de su amo,” the philosophy of the competition is congratulated. “We are already fed up that others think and act for you, it is time for everything to be conceived from the bottom to the top and not from the top to bottom.”¹²²

Even so, Ignasi Solà-Morales, a department chair at the school of architecture, critiqued the competition in an article published in *El Diario de Barcelona* titled “Les Cotxeres de Sants: the confusion of efficiency.”¹²³

“The proposition that the best project would be chosen by a popular vote and not an elitist jury of experts would be marvelous if there existed a real exchange in the ideas of the projects presented and the reception of the popular vote. The spectacle of disorientation, substitution of anecdotes for the substantial, incomprehensible practices of the systems of representation used by the professionals, is, surely, frustrating for both parties but lamentably true. Also, here dominated more the enthusiasm of the critique of the traditional system of competition than the caution to find really useful and consistent ways as an alternative to the class conditions of the architectural culture.”

Barcelona's school of architecture would be an active presence in the neighborhood of Sants during these years of urban *reivindicación*. In 1978, the book *Sants. Proyectos para la primera periferia*¹²⁴ was published-- a collection of eight design proposals for sites such as the Espanya Industrial, Casa del Rellotge, Plaça de Malaga, Mercat Nou, San Antonio, Estació de Magòria, and, of course, Les Cotxeres.¹²⁵

¹²¹ El Jurat era compost pels següents membres: -4 from the Secretariat Local del Congrés, -1 from the associacions de pares, 1 from the Coordinadora de Jubilats, 1 from the Coordinadora de Joves, 1 from the Coordinadora de Guarderies, 2 tècnics del barri, designats per les entitats promotores, 3 neighbors selected in the first popular assembly. (El músic Carbonell aixecà la ma i fou elegit). (Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona. P. 81.

¹²² As cited in: Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona. P. 86.

¹²³ Solà-Morales, Ignasi. *Les Cotxeres de Sants: la confusión de la eficacia*. *El Diario de Barcelona*, June, 1977.

¹²⁴ Various Authors. *Sants. Proyectos para la primera periferia*. Cátedra de proyectos III: Grupo de Tarde. Publicaciones de la escuela de arquitectos de Barcelona. (Catedrático interino: Raimon Torres Torres, Profesores: Carlos Garcia Delgado/Carlos Martí Aris/Jaume SanMartí Verdaguer), October, 1978.

¹²⁵ Various Authors. (1978). *Sants. Proyectos para la primera periferia*. Cátedra de proyectos III: Grupo de Tarde. Publicaciones de la escuela de arquitectos de Barcelona. (Catedrático interino: Raimon Torres Torres, Profesores: Carlos Garcia Delgado/Carlos Martí Aris/Jaume SanMartí Verdaguer), October.

In the end, even the anarchists became jaded by the *Cotxeres* competition process. Joan Feu, for example, suspected foul play in the judging of the project submissions. The one that won was designed by PSUC people, and he suspected that a partisan bias played a role. The article in *La voz de su amo* blamed the format of the competition: “Of course it would take much more work: talking person to person, spending the time, etc., but the results would have been much more satisfactory and then you could really say that what was done or not done at the Cotxeres had been decided by the neighborhood and not like now, as the decision has been made by a little group which, even though they are from the neighborhood, do not represent it, not even by a long shot.”¹²⁶

In its own way, this too was a revival of another sort of heritage of the Barcelonian working class. The communists (PSUC) and the anarchists (*llibertaris*) became embroiled in a conflict which left deep wounds. Feu says that what happened in Sants with the Cotxeres and later with the Espanya Industrial was nothing but the last reminiscences of a conflict the facts of which are explained in Ken Loach’s movie *Land and Freedom*, a cinematic retelling of Orwell’s account of the May Days of the Spanish Civil War when anarchists and communists clashed in the streets of Barcelona.¹²⁷

3.2.4 Neighbor discourse

Perhaps the most basic working class heritage comes down to a matter of identity. Sants’ history of industrial exploitation and class warfare seems to have solidified a sense of what Dolors Marin calls *orgull obrer*, or “workers’ pride”. It was the pride of a group whose identity was rooted in a basic class antagonism-- a group in which the ideals of solidarity, mutualism, and cooperation were not just abstract virtues, but material necessities due to systematic injustices and a struggle for basic rights. For a group deprived of a material heritage, the immaterial heritage of the *orgull obrer* would become all the stronger. This identity would be attacked most strongly of all during Francoism. As Marin writes:

“Of all those that would become simply “*els vençuts*” (“the defeated”), the majority were silenced and humiliated in our country where an occupying army imposed new laws, languages and customs and where workers’ pride disappeared. That pride of the working class, from proletarian neighborhoods, of tilers, carpenters, glass makers, mechanics, dressmakers, knitters, or tailors, now all were considered “producers”, a humiliating euphemism that condemned - out of fear, of course - any

¹²⁶ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona. P. 86.

¹²⁷ This film, directed by Ken Loach, is based on the experiences of George Orwell during the Spanish Civil War, as recounted in his book *Homage to Catalonia*. The narrative famously portrays the events of May, 1937, when anarchists and communists clashed in urban warfare on the streets of Barcelona. According to Loach, the most important scene of the film, however, is a debate which takes place in a village liberated by the militia. People express their thoughts freely and a debate ensues about whether or not to collectivize the village lands. Although some argue that the war effort must come first, in the end the villagers vote for collectivisation. In anarchist and socialist controlled areas, this kind of expropriation of land was common, as the civil war was accompanied by a social revolution.

reference to the radical and *reivindicatiu* past of those from our house.... They would pay a steep price for that neighborhood workers pride, that dignity of the workers who were not servile and never wavered in front of a boss - the bourgeois - who they always refused to call ‘master.’”¹²⁸

Here, I propose that during the transition, the identity of the “neighbor” was created as an evolution of the “worker” identity in many of these same aspects. It was defined in contrast to the same bourgeois, although instead of the factory, the neighborhood itself became the new site for capitalist exploitation. Instead of “landlords”, the new class of bourgeois of the third-sector city were called “speculators.”

The bulletins published by the Centre Social from 1973-1975 provide an interesting source material for tracing the developing representation of this new “neighbor identity.” The first publication, *Salvem la Plaça Salvador Anglada* from December 1973, is mostly textual and informative, warning neighbors of threats to the neighborhood and the opportunities to participate in the Centre’s campaign. By the 1975 issue of *Salvem la Espanya Industrial*, however, the format of the bulletin has become much more didactic, including comics-strip style exposition of the neighbors’ concerns. Many of the images are copy and pasted from other sources, for example from the *Auca de Salvem la Plaça de Sants* from 1974. An ‘auca’ is a traditional Catalan genre of cartoon involving illustrations accompanied by rhyming text. The *Auca de Salvem la Plaça de Sants* ends with these last lines:

Pero no debemos desesperar//el problema vamos a solucionar.
(But we must not despair // the problem we are going to solve.)

Can Batlló, España Industrial, Magoria// esta es la segunda parte de la historia.
(Can Batlló, Industrial Spain, Magoria // this is the second part of the story.)

Estos terrenos hemos de conquistar// para nuestros déficits eliminar.
(These lands we have to conquer // for our deficits to eliminate.)

Ponerlos al servicio de la población// y no de la organizada especulación.
(Put them at the service of the population // and not of organized speculation.)

Todos juntos podremos conseguir// un Sants en el que se puede vivir.
(Together we can achieve // a Sants in which you can live.)

Y alcanzaremos nuestros objetivos// porque los problemas son colectivos.
(And we will achieve our goals // because the problems are collective.)

(I les respostes tambe!)
(And the answers as well!)

¹²⁸Marin, Dolors. (2010). Introduction, in: Dalmau Torva, Marc & Miró i Acedo, Ivan. *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions.

salvem sants dia a dia, ni pas elevat ni museu del tramvia.



La historia que os vamos a contar es una historia que os hará llorar



Antes de la invasión del cemento Sants era un barrio muy contento



Era un barrio totalmente tranquilo sin véter con el alma en vils



Entonces la gente se conocía en jardines y plazas que había



En beneficio de la "gran ciudad" se nos acabó la tranquilidad



Decen los coches y motos Sants paga los platos rotos



Se inaugura de Madrid la avenida y se acaba la deportiva vida



el campo del Sants desaparece para estafecer el trñños que erenc



El que continúa jugando con el balón puede ser atropelado por un camión



El Cinturón de floida ha venido y nadie sabe porque ha sido



El cinturón significa expropiaciones y muchos disgustos a montones



Unos cuantos hacen los beneficios sin importarles los estrociños



La lucha de los vecinos de Sants consigue poco subterráneo al final



La plaza del Niño, tan popular nació la ha podido salvar



Por medio se dividió la del Centro así quedó



Y el trozo es recortar tampoco lo podemos usar



El material del metro almacenado del resto de plaza nos ha privado



De los jardines de Amadeu Oller en vez de hablar hay que ver



Una empresa privada el jardín recorta pero al Ayuntamiento nada le importa



Y hay gran protesta del vecindario que en los periódicos merece comentar



Debemos completar estas listas con los pitos del colegio de los maristas



Y sin contar, además los problemas del gas

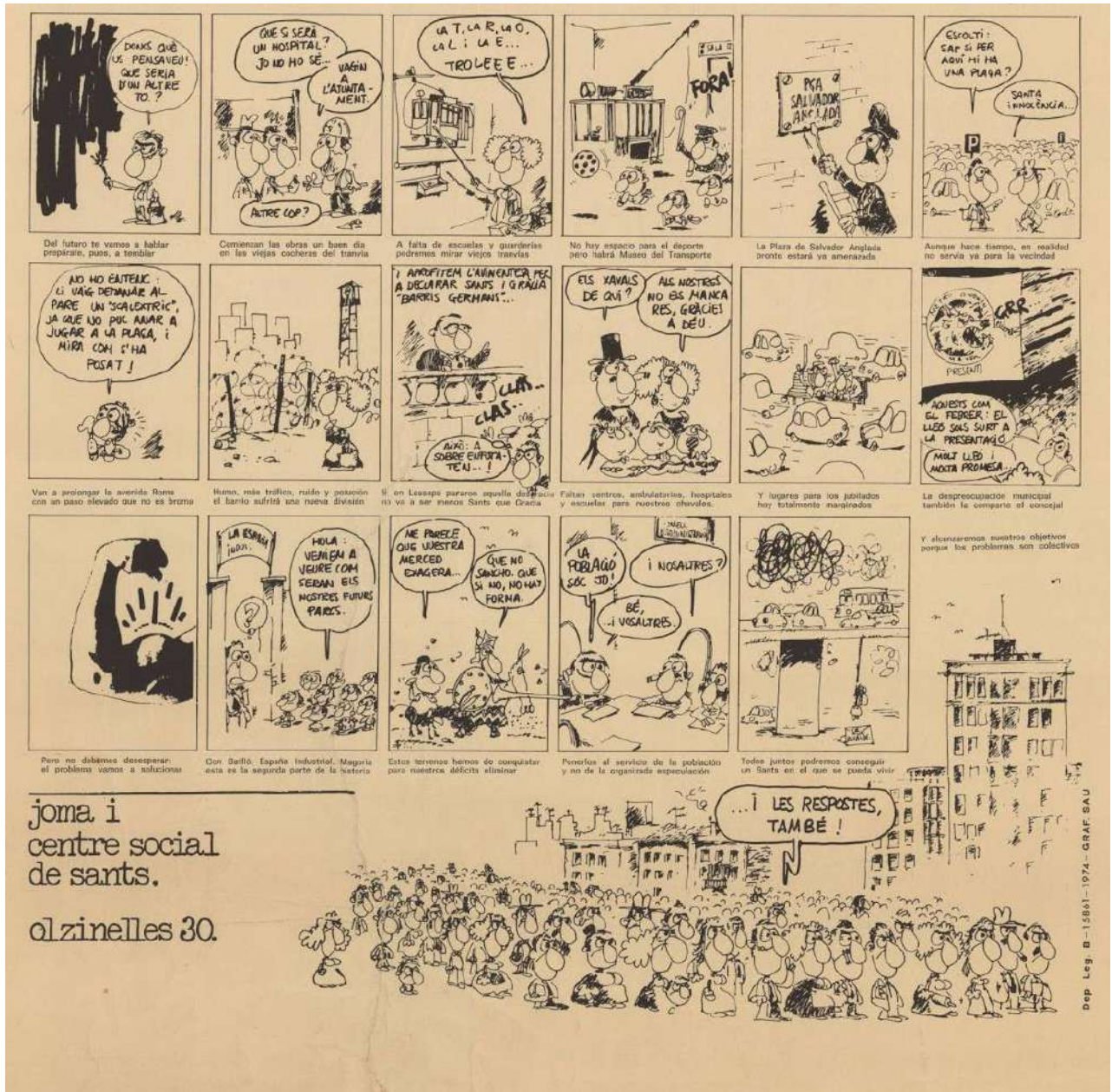


Dicen que en gas "natural" pero a Sants le ha ido muy mal



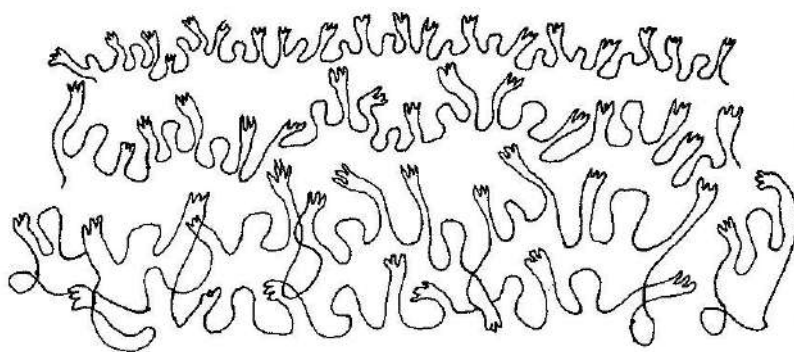
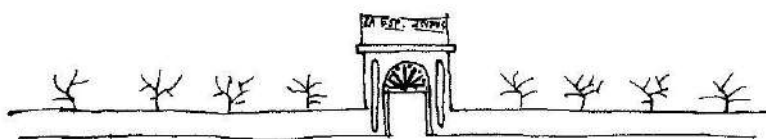
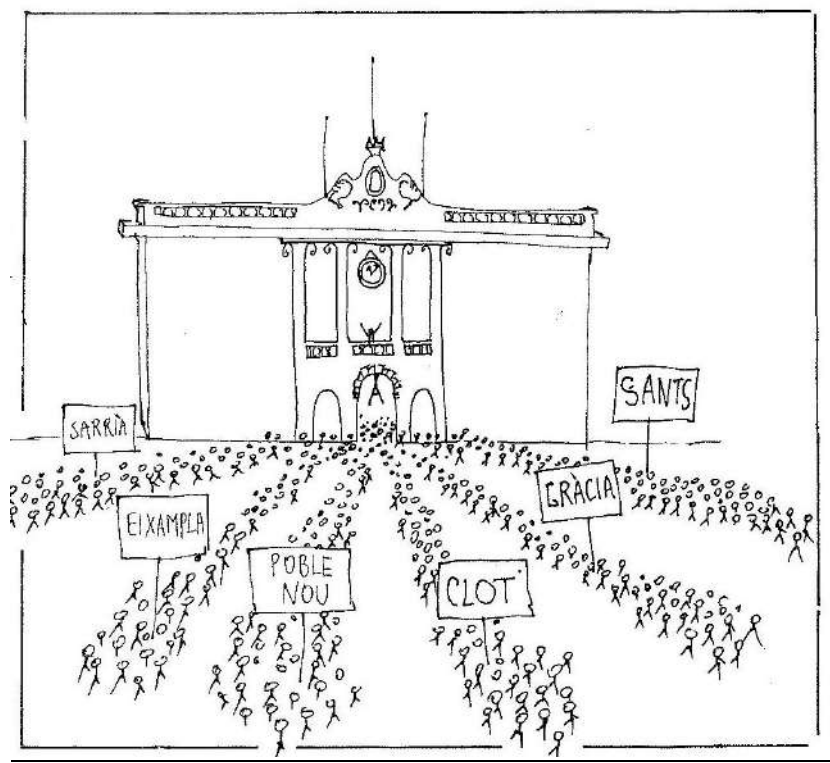
Hasta aquí la historia realmente hemos pensado en present

Auca de “Salvem Sants dia a dia, ni pas elevat ni museu del tramvia” (part 2 of 2)

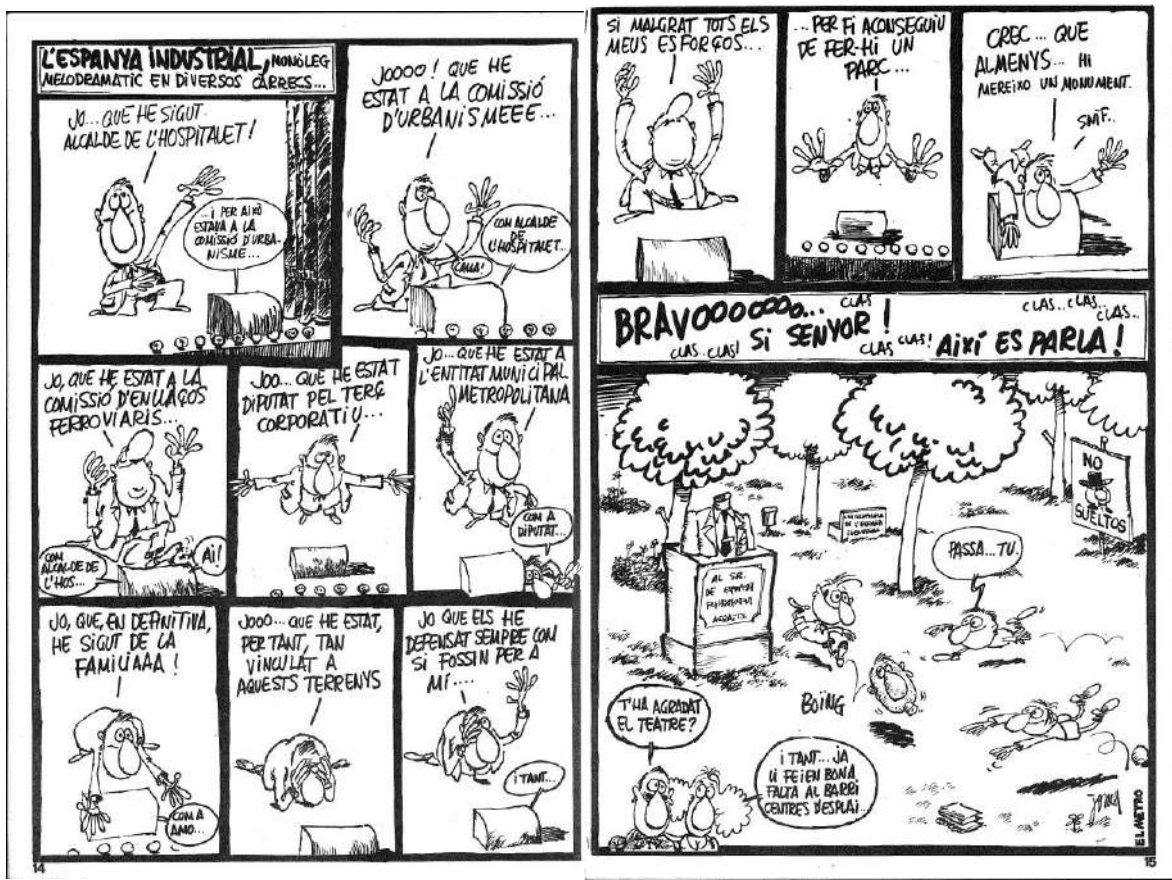


This last line comes across as a bit threatening, especially because it is accompanied by an image of a crowd of angry neighbors, ready to give a ‘collective answer’ to the problems of Sants. It is an image of neighbors where they are *reivindicatiu*, *solidaris*, and *combatius*. Images of this kind become more frequent especially after the incorporation of the Centre Social into the FAVB, an organization which facilitated for the first time the collective bargaining of the neighbors for pressuring the municipality. See, for example, the following illustrations from a Bulletin of the Centre Social published in 1975:

Illustrations from 'Salvem la Espanya Industrial'¹²⁹



¹²⁹ Centre Social de Sants. Salvem la Espanya Industrial. Butlletí del Centre Social de Sants. (circa) March, 1975: Pp. 5,6,14,15. (Accessed in the archive of the Centre Social de Sants).



The “Salvem la Espanya Industrial” bulletin also offers a cartoon depiction of the enemy of the neighbors. In this case, the villain is never directly named, although his identity is the punchline of the cartoon, as his corruption is brought to light through his conflict of interest as the owner of the Espanya Industrial lands as well as being the mayor of L’Hospitalet, a member of the municipal commission of urbanism, a commissioner of rail transport, a corporate representative, and a member of the Entitat Municipal Metropolitana. The man is, of course, José Matías de España Muntadas, and in the final scene his statue is beheaded, and the head is used as a football by the children playing in the new Park of the Espanya Industrial. Images of this kind demonstrate the confident, combative attitude of the Centre during these years.

As we have discussed, the neighbor’s movement was, at least in part, instrumentalized by communists from the PSUC and Bandera Roja parties as a means of “exacerbating the crisis of the Francoist state” through a program of radical urbanism. While the leaders of this movement promoted the perspective of the campaign as a natural and spontaneous outpouring of popular self-determinism, to accept such an interpretation would invisibilize the lengths that these organizers went to in order to mobilize so many neighbors and create such a successful social movement. While I have argued here that elements of the new “neighbor identity” demonstrate a continuity with Sants’ working-class history, we must also

recognize, with Laurajane Smith, that “Identity is not simply something ‘produced’ or represented by heritage places or heritage moments, but is something actively and continually recreated and negotiated as people, communities and institutions reinterpret, remember and reassess the meaning of the past in terms of the social, cultural and political needs of the present. It is thus simultaneously about change and continuity; it is a mentality or discourse in which certain realities and ideas of ‘being’ are constituted, rehearsed, contested and negotiated and ultimately remade.”

Here I argue that working-class heritage was “remade” in Sants during the 1970’s through the promotion of a certain kind of discourse about what being a *veí/vecino* or “neighbor” entailed, and that this ‘neighbor discourse’ acted as bridge between working-class social heritages of the past and the needs of the present. Essentially, this discourse posited two basic stakeholders in conflict-- neighbors, who live in the neighborhood, and speculators who use their ownership of neighborhood lands in order to make a profit. The object of this discourse was the neighborhood itself, interpreted by the speculators as private property whereas to the neighbors it was seen as a public resource. The concepts of the neighbor discourse were similar to that of a workers union- the basic “right to the city”¹³⁰ or, in other words, the rights associated with housing and living conditions in the neighborhood as well as the right to a voice in decision-making. This was connected with the concept of collective bargaining-- of the organization of neighbors through associations, decision-making through assembly, etc. The objective of this, for the neighbors, was to create a neighborhood which served the needs of the people (hence the phrase, “The city is for man”¹³¹) instead of the needs of capital. Essentially, the neighbor discourse inverted the capitalistic value system and placed the social as more important than the accumulation of profit.

Discourse: Neighbor

Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
Neighbors vs speculators	The city as a social product vs private property.	The right to the city/collective bargaining	Democratic self-management	Social vs

Presented in this way, the political and economic ideology of the framers of this discourse becomes very clear. It is the same program that we find in Borja’s *La Gran Barcelona*; but rather than indoctrinate people through ideological exposition, the Centre

¹³⁰ Lefebvre, Henri. (1968). *Le droit a la ville*. (Translated: *The right to the city*). Éditions Anthropos.
¹³¹ Quoted from the document produced by the Coordinadora de Sant Antoni in 1973.

Social de Sants took a more practical and relational approach-- finding concrete solutions to real problems in the neighborhood, while still maintaining an integral vision of the goal on the horizon: “the transformation of the people.” We can read this mission statement literally, understanding it to mean that the goal of the Centre was one of identity-- to turn “people” into “neighbors.”

As we have seen, this was done by inventing opportunities for democratic involvement where there previously were none. (“*We should decide what neighborhood we want.*”¹³²) The first step was giving neighbors permission to imagine an alternative. Children painted pictures of what they wanted the Plaça de Sants to look like. Adults were involved in the design and management of the Cotxeres. The bigger picture, besides generating practical ideas for the design of the city, was that it reimagined the identity of each of the neighbors, and positioned them as participants in the production of the city, instead of passive, individualistic consumers. In this, the Centre was engaged in a truly revolutionary program.

Involving oneself in the neighbor discourse at this time during the transition involved an element of courage-- the work was almost always on the margins of legality and under the constant threat of violent repression. It also involved a great deal of creativity. This was an artisanal type of work. It involved painting murals, composing songs, performing theatre, designing public spaces, visual art, writing stories, and a hundred other *reivindicatiu* art forms which the neighbors of Sants seemed always to be in the process of inventing. But at the same time, these were art forms connected with the past. As Xavier Barbeta writes in the introduction to a photography exhibition of “Popular street murals” in 1979, “Our paintings were not born spontaneously, they come from a long way away, from the first propaganda trains used in the Russian Revolution, from the “all power to the imagination” of the French May, or from the brigade of painters in the Chile of Allende.”¹³³ The mural of Can Vies which stands today in the Plaça de Sants is a modern continuation of this same heritage.

Conclusion

In this section we have investigated the *Salvem Sants* campaign through the lens of the working-class social heritages of associationism, *reivindicación*, and self-management. Drawing these kinds of parallels between the neighborhood movement of Sants in the 1970’s and the working-class movements of Sants’ industrial past is nothing new. As we have discussed, this was also the thesis developed by James Ronald Kelly from his observations of Sants during his time as a graduate student at the University of Barcelona in 1975. Besides the similarities in the *modus operandi* of these two movements, they also share a similar critique of capitalist modes of production based on private property. In the case of the

¹³² Quoted from the letter the Centre Social de Sants sent to neighbors after the Pla Comarcal was made public.

¹³³ Barbeta, Xavier. (1979). Murals populars al carrer. Exposició de fotografies de Xavier Barbeta. Al Centre Social de Sants. December 22, 1979- January 7, 1980.

working-class movement, this led workers to collectivize the Vapor Vell during the Civil War. For the neighborhood movement, this meant pressuring the city government to municipalize private properties in Sants in order to provide public resources for the neighbors. In both movements, it is interesting to note that the adversary was the same-- the capitalist owner of the means of production and the speculating owner of private property. The case of the campaign to Save the Espanya Industrial was iconic for the way that it pulled back the curtain on Oz, so to speak, and revealed that the old business owners from the Muntades family were not only behind the real estate company seeking to speculate on the property, but were also involved inside the government committee which was supposed to regulate this matter.¹³⁴ During the course of the urban transformations to a third-sector city under Porcioles the identity of the footsoldiers in the ‘battle for Barcelona’ had shifted from ‘workers’ to ‘neighbors’, but in many ways it was the same battle, waged against the same enemy.

¹³⁴ The role of the urban geographer Carles Carreras was important in the investigation and exposé of the Muntades family, as discussed further in section 3.4.2.

3.3 NEIGHBORHOOD HERITAGE

In the last section, we posited that instead of a heritage discourse, the neighborhood movement expressed a discourse of *reivindicación*-- demanding the 'return of what is due,' which in this case included democratic self-determination and the 'saving of Sants' through the social appropriation of various sites like the Plaça de Sants, the Cotxeres and the Espanya Industrial to be used to fill the deficit in public services. This project, I argued, involved the remaking of older, working-class practices of associationism, protest, and self-management- - elements which came to define the new identity of "neighbor" as an active agent in the project of a socialist urbanism.

The question must still be asked, however, regarding the degree to which these working-class social heritages were being intentionally studied, interpreted, and promoted by the leaders of groups like the Centre Social de Sants. Did they themselves view these practices as a type of heritage? We have looked in detail at the context of anti-Francoist urbanism and the deficits of the neighborhood as contemporary concerns motivating this movement, but was there also a historical dimension to their project?

The question is difficult to fully answer due to the fact that, despite the degree of solidarity which the Centre Social de Sants was able to generate in the neighborhood, the neighbors of Sants were far from a monolithic demographic. This became increasingly apparent as time went on and the basic cause of anti-Francoism/pro-democracy no longer sufficed as a unifying project. This coincided with the legalization of political parties and the start of campaigning in anticipation for the municipal elections of 1979. It was a unique time period. There was a strong feeling of having been liberated from an oppressive regime. At the same time, the future was wide open and nobody knew for sure which direction the country would go.

It is within this context that we must situate the emergence of a cultural heritage revival in Sants. During these years between the death of Franco in 1975 and the municipal elections of 1979, the neighborhood movement in Sants launched a new type of campaign, at the center of which was the cultural heritage of the neighborhood. Unlike their other campaigns based on anti-Francoist urbanism and the municipalization of lands and resources, this new direction found the support of a wider and more conservative neighborhood constituency.

In this chapter we will look at the development of the Secretariat, a local federation of cultural initiatives with a large base of neighborhood participation, as well as the reactivation of the Historical Archive of Sants, a volunteer organization led by Anselm Cartaña. At this time, public interest in studying and recovering the neighborhood's history and culture reached an unprecedented level, based largely on the re-Catalanization of the neighborhood after years of Francoist repression, as well a vindication of Sants' identity as an independent municipality from Barcelona and its working-class history. The story of

Sants' industrialization would be studied for the first time during these years, including the story of the Vapor Vell as an integral factor in explaining the growth of Sants in the mid-19th century as well as the development of its unique personality. Here we analyze this resurgence of local historical interest in connection with the broader objective of neighborhood conservation which expanded during these years to include a cultural/historical dimension.

3.3.1 The Secretariat, the Historic Archive of Sants and Anselm Cartaïa

On March 4, 1975, during a plenary session of the Barcelona City Council, a proposal was presented for publically financing a 50 million pesetas foundation for the teaching of Catalan in Barcelona schools. After consideration by the council, a reduced fund of 10 million pesetas was voted on with the following results: 9 in favor, 18 against (Mayor Masó abstained from participating in the vote). News of this result provoked an immediate reaction in the city with the organization of a "Campaign against the 'no'," signed by 118 entities including the Centre Social de Sants. This campaign demanded a) the dismissal of the 18 council members who voted no, b) the substantial modification of laws regulating the municipal election process in order to make them more representative of the people, c) the normalization of Catalan in city schools, and d) that the municipality allocate as much funding as possible from the Ministry of Education and Science to be administered locally for this purpose.¹³⁵

Five days later, Mayor Masó met with the council members who had voted no and they rescinded their decision, designating 47 million pesetas to be distributed between the Municipal Institute of Education (35 million), the municipal districts (10 million), and a fund for the promotion of Catalan language and culture (12 million). In the eyes of the people, however, this response was too little and too late. The 'campaign against the no' continued to gain momentum in Barcelona's neighborhoods. A process had begun which, in very little time, would see the creation of a group of associations prepared to organize and carry out actions of *caràcter reivindicatiu* ("protest character") but with, according to Miquel Botella from the Centre Social de Sants, a 'qualitative difference' from the previous protests: it was a move into the cultural field:

"We opted for this type of action because, while it was not very easy to get the Orfeó de Sants to participate in a strictly urban-based protest beyond just an affirmation that they sympathized with what we did, it was much easier to get their adhesion in the cultural aspect, which, in one way or another, affected all of us."¹³⁶

It was a new project and it promised to be big. In Sants, the first meeting of the campaign was held at the parish of Santa Maria de Sants, a parish characterized as being conservative. In attendance was Martí Olaya from the Orfeó de Sants, Jordi Carrió from the

¹³⁵ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una experiència associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona, 1996, p 129.

¹³⁶ (Ibid. p. 130.)

school of theatre, rector Totosaus of the parish, Ramon Morera from the Orfeó Atlántida, Anselm Cartaïa from the Excursionist Union of Catalonia (UEC), and Miquel Botella from the Centre Social de Sants. This meeting would mark the founding of the Secretariat de Sants, a federation of cultural associations representing and promoting the “elevation of our culture, our language, and our people” in Sants.¹³⁷

The alliance of conservatives with the neighborhood movement created a powerful Catalan cultural front. The city government was grasping at straws to gather money to salvage the situation and, of this money, 888,333 pesetas were designated to Sants. The district councilman Febrer, under pressure, had to figure out how to distribute the money to most appease his district. He needed somebody representative of the neighborhood, who the people would trust, and who would know how to best administer the funding. The perfect person for the job, everyone agreed, was Anselm Cartaïa in representation of the newly formed Secretariat.

Anselm Cartaïa i Gómez (1929-2017) was an industrial electrician at the SEAT automobile plant located just outside of Sants in the Zona Franca.¹³⁸ As a young man, he had joined the Unió Excursionista de Catalunya (UEC) and regularly participated in excursions organized by the club. It was through his membership that he first came into contact with a small neighborhood archive which was stored at the UEC headquarters. This archive, known simply as the Historic Archive of Sants (AHS), had been started in 1931 in reaction to a concern at that time that Barcelona’s centralizing approach to management threatened the conservation of local history and documentation of the city’s previously independent peripheral towns and neighborhoods which had been annexed by the municipality at the turn of the century. The Historic Archive of Sants was spearheaded in the beginning by Jaume Peris,¹³⁹ a member of the Excursionist Club. Coincidentally, at that time, the UEC was headquartered directly across the street from the Vapor Vell, on Carrer Galileu, number 40.¹⁴⁰ Later, the archive found a home on Carrer dels Jocs Florals 51, where it shared a room of no more than 4 m² with the UEC library as well as some sparse cabinets in the hallway and

¹³⁷ Butlletí d’Informació. Secretariat Local del Congrés de Cultura Catalana. Sants, Hostafrancs, la Bordeta. (From Arxiu Municipal Sants Montjuïc. Reg. 613), 1975.

¹³⁸ A biographical memorial of the life of Anselm Cartaïa was compiled in 2013 as part of a campaign to have the exhibition hall at the District Archive of Sants-Montjuïc named in his honor. (Accessed online September, 2020: <http://reconeixementCartaia.blogspot.com.es/p/biografia.html>).

¹³⁹ The urban geographer Carles Carreras, in his doctoral thesis, claims, rather, that the archive was begun by Albert Cendrós i Olivé. (Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona).

¹⁴⁰ In 1932 the headquarters were moved to Carrer Riego 2, then to Jocs Florals 20, and, according to the entity’s website, “eventually was relegated to a property owned by the mayorship; sad moments, since this passing directly in front of the police in order to enter the club didn’t appeal to anybody. So much so that some members even quit the club for this reason.” (Accessed online in September, 2020: <http://www.uecsants.cat/entitat/qui-som>)

closet.”¹⁴¹ The activity of the archive stagnated under Francoism, but in the 1970’s, Anselm Cartaïa revived the initiative.¹⁴²

Under Cartaïa, the Arxiu Historic de Sants recovered its role as an instrument for and of the neighborhood.¹⁴³ The AHS participated in neighborhood campaigns like *Salvem Sants*, and the open-air exhibition *Sants retrospectiu* (“Sants retrospective”) in the Plaça de Sants in 1975. The archive also collaborated in the recovery of the Cotxeres de Sants for use by the neighborhood.¹⁴⁴ More than just a collection of documents and photos, Cartaïa used the archive to bring together a group of people interested in local history and organized a range of activities designed to stimulate local historiography, education and conservation. Responding to an interview in 2013, Cartaïa emphasized that the importance of the archive of Sants was that it grew thanks to the contributions and voluntary work of many of the neighbors: “It was a work done with enthusiasm, anonymously, altruistically. We went about preserving the historical memory in a way that made collective, social, and human sense. It was what we did and how we did it that generated a sense of community.”¹⁴⁵ According to those who worked with him at this time, he had the capacity of generating the trust of the people of Sants, who, in turn, gave him access to documentation that surely otherwise they would not have donated to a public archive of a more administrative nature.¹⁴⁶

Personal qualities such as these made Cartaïa a popular and successful candidate as president of the newly formed Secretariat. The first thing he did upon receiving the funding from the city council was put the money into courses for adults on Catalan language, literature, history and culture. Many of these were held at the Centre Social. This was just

¹⁴¹Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona (Doctoral dissertation, Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona).

¹⁴² According to Cartaïa’s biography, in the early 60’s, in the context of the progressive group of people associated with the left-leaning Sant Medir Parish, Anselm participated actively in the creation and organization of the Escola Proa, one of the first schools of the C.E.P.E.C. (Col·lectiu d’Escoles per a l’Escola Pública Catalana), an underground movement pushing for education reforms and quality public education in the Catalan language. This movement was a continuation of the pre-war “active schools” and Montessori movements. He also participated in the neighborhood campaigns organized by the Centre Social de Sants, and from 1976-80 he was president of the UEC. Manifest de reconeixement a l’Anselm Cartaïa. (Accessed online September, 2020: <http://reconeixementCartaia.blogspot.com.es/p/biografia.html>).

¹⁴³ The history of the archive has been collected and published by the archive itself in an issue of one of its characteristic publication projects-- the “Get to the know the District of Sants-Montjuïc” collection of 14 booklets produced between the years of 1993-2006. Another source of information is from a 2013 Municipal commemoration of Cartaïa’s contribution to the neighborhood. This event was a moment for celebratory retellings of the history of the archive in the early moments of the transition and for honoring Cartaïa’s legacy. The publications from this event, both in the press, and from videos of the commemoration ceremony, provide first-hand accounts of the AHS and how it worked. (See, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-CZkyNTjYE>).

¹⁴⁴ Cartaïa, Anselm (et al). (2001). L’Arxiu. Conèixer el Districte de Sants-Montjuïc, number 12.

¹⁴⁵ López, Helena. L’arxiver més activista. El Periódico, 30/04/13.

¹⁴⁶ From the biography of Anselm Cartaïa. (Accessed online: <http://reconeixementCartaia.blogspot.com.es/p/biografia.html>)

the start of a massive project for the re-Catalanization of the institutions, culture, and toponymy of the district.

Like the *Cop d'Ull a Sants* campaign, which had been precipitated by the ineffectiveness of the municipal department of urbanism in studying the real situation and needs of the neighborhood, the Historic Archive of Sants and the Secretariat operated in a similar manner. It was an important project because of the complete lack of initiative of the municipal archive in engaging in any kind of local historical work in Sants. Whereas the suppression of cultural Catalanism was an experience shared throughout Catalonia during Francoism, in Sants this situation was compounded by a second dimension-- the sublimation of Sants' local history and culture through the centralizing management of the Barcelona city council. In essence, this was just another example of the battle which neighbors in Sants had been fighting since the start of the neighborhood movement-- between the 'Gran Barcelona' and the 'Barcelona de los Barrios'. Just like Sant's urban center was being swallowed up by the growth of Barcelona and the building of new roads, the local history of Sants was likewise in danger of being abandoned in favor of a Barcelona-centric historiography. A survey of the history of the municipal archive perfectly demonstrates the issue.

3.3.2 The municipal archive

Before its annexation by Barcelona, Sants had its own municipal archive. In 1870, however, practically the entire thing was burned down during the uprising of the *quintes*. The *quintes*, or "fifths," was a military practice for obtaining new soldiers in which once a year a lottery was held for all the men between the ages of 20 and 30 in which a fifth of them were selected at random and made to enlist in the armed forces. Abstention from this lottery could be bought for a large sum of money, allowing the rich to effectively avoid inscription. On April 4th, a group of protestors overpowered the secretary of the Archive of Sants where the names of the selected men were stored. Burning these papers was one way of breaking this system of enlistment. Being unable to read, however, the protestors decided to go ahead and burn practically all of the documentation in the archive, except, according to a first hand account, for the documents from October 1868 onward.¹⁴⁷

In 1886, what was left of the archive was confiscated by Barcelona when Sants was annexed. The archive was moved away from Sants and practically never seen again until it was rediscovered by a young urban geographer from Mallorca working on his doctoral thesis at the University of Barcelona in 1978. This was Carles Carreras, and this thesis would be republished as a book about Sants a few years later in collaboration with Anselm Cartaña from the AHS. Carreras' search for primary materials took him to the old *Hospital de la Santa Creu* in Barcelona's Raval district where the Municipal Institute of History had stored the city archive. As he describes it, it was a place with short visiting hours, inadequate

¹⁴⁷ Cartaña, Anselm (et al). (2001). L'Arxiu. Conèixer el Districte de Sants-Montjuic, number 12.

installations, and a “sinister” atmosphere. The collection, he writes, was in a disorganized state and probably had not been consulted by anyone besides Carreras Candi in the early 20th Century, or perhaps by Huertas Claveria as well. In any case, it contained little more than the *Acords Municipals de Sants*, from the years 1868-1897. In July of 1936, at the start of the civil war, the Parochial archive of Sants was burned, as well as a good portion of the documentation from the Parochial archive of the Pi.¹⁴⁸

This lamentable archival situation contributed to what Carles Enrech, a historian from Sants, titles “The unanswered enigmas of an industrial population at the gates of Barcelona” in his book on Sants from 2004. There, he summarizes the sad state of the primary source situation in Sants. Besides the aforementioned *Acords Municipals de Sants*, the main other source of information is a manuscript written in 1851 by priest Casanova, the first rector of Sants, titled *Monitor o Consueta Parroquial de Sants*. Of the four local papers published prior to 1897, only one collection is preserved, the *Eco de Sans* (which ran less than a year). A few dozen numbers of the *Noticiero de Sans* also have survived. Besides these, and an assortment of Republican and workers press, Enrech mentions only a handful of memoirs and testimonies from the era’s protagonists, including Jacint Laporta’s work, “*Apuntes historicos de Sants*” from 1880, the work of Narcís Vergés i d’Alòs, “*Algunes notes sobre la familia Verges en su paso por el Ampurdán y por Sans (1936-1939)*”, and lastly the memoirs of Conrad Roure, “*Recuerdos de mi larga vida.*”

Enrech notes that not only are there scarce primary sources but that of these there are even fewer which speak to the question of industry, writing that:

“It is worth mentioning the bibliographical vacuum that, first and foremost, is the case in Sants, but it is in the field of the industrial that this vacuum is most noticeable and shocking. The few that have written about Sants have had more interest in finding out the mediaeval origins of the town and/or its port hermitage; of course, usually those who could write were not from the working class, and the workers that wrote were not inclined to write “histories.”¹⁴⁹

A somewhat humorous example of the ‘historical enigma’ of Sants has to do with the question of how it got its name. Not only is the answer unknown, but there is also a considerable debate as to what the actual name is. The oldest document referring to the name is from the year 1010, conserved in the Parochial Archive of Santa Maria del Pi, and in which appears the Latin name “Sanctis” which is to say “of the Saints” or, in Catalan, “*dels Sants*”. But this is complicated by the fact that years later, in Catalan documents, the name *Sants* would be interchanged with *Sans*.

In the 1930’s, when the Catalan language was normalized in Barcelona, the newspaper *El Diari* had a weekly section dedicated to Barcelona’s neighborhoods. There,

¹⁴⁸ Enrech, Carles. (2004). *Entre Sans i Sants. Història social i política d’una població industrial a les portes de Barcelona (1839-1897)*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona- Arxiu Municipal del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc.

¹⁴⁹ (Ibid.)

Sants' only local historian, Jacint Laporta, had a terrible time knowing which name to use. In various letters to the editor, arguments were made for either Sans (perhaps deriving from the Latin "sanus" referring to health) or for Sants (attributed to a *Capella de Sants*, or "Chapel of Saints," which was supposed to have existed at some point in Sants' deep history). In a letter to the editor, a Mr. Bonaventura Riera suggested that the real name was *Sas*, a word he attributed to the ancient Iberian language of the pre-Roman residents inhabiting Montjuic. This is a language which to this day has been unable to be translated. *Sanç* was another contender for the title, the family name of a local feudal lord.¹⁵⁰

Without a majority consensus, local residents chose for themselves. Eventually, *Sants* came to be seen as the more Catalan version of the name, and *Sans* as the Castilian variant. The decision of the Orfeó de Sants, a Catalanist choral association, to use *Sants* was perhaps influential. After all, Jacint Laporta was its acting director at the time. Laporta (1854-1939) was a doctor as well as a writer, founding and collaborating with various Catalan language magazines, and was considered an expert on Sants. In 1880 he produced the neighborhood's most definitive historical treatise, *Apuntes històrics de Sans*. Note that at this time Laporta uses 'Sans' instead of 'Sants' in the title. This document, only 13 pages long, is further evidence of just how little information anyone had about the neighborhood's history.¹⁵¹

3.3.3 Congress of Catalan Culture

All of this goes to show just how desperate the situation was in 1976 when the Secretariat picked up the project for the re-Catalanization of the institutions, culture, and toponymy of the district. By the 16th of October, 1976, the scope of this project was unveiled at the celebration of the Congress of Catalan Culture, organized by the *Secretariat Local Permanent de Sants, Hostafrancs i la Bordeta* and hosted at the Cotxeres de Sants.¹⁵² The bulletin of this event begins with a three page manifesto. This document is key to understanding the development of a neighborhood heritage discourse. Here I will highlight some of the most important aspects of this discourse.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Estany, Josep. (1998). *Sants, Hostafrancs, La Bordeta: Itinerari per tres barris de Barcelona*. Barcelona: La Busca, p. 66.

¹⁵¹ This Laporta source contains a bit of a mystery. Although Cartaà explicitly states that the *Apuntes Històrics de Sans* is a 62-page document, the version being stored currently at the Municipal archive is closer to 13 pages. So far, I have been unable to locate the missing pages, or otherwise resolve this mystery. The *Apuntes Històrics de Sans* is not to be confused with the similarly titled "Noticias Històricas de Sans" also written by Jacinto Laporta, which although titled in Spanish in the typewritten copy from the Arxiu Municipal de Sants, the text body is in Catalan, and is extracted from numbers 230, 231, and 232 of *La Il·lustració Catalana* (dated 15 February, 28 February, and 15 March of 1890, respectively). Laporta also published various articles in different papers: *Lo Gai Saber*, May 15 1880, and two numbers of the *Revista Literaria* of August and September of 1884 (numbers 8 and 9).

¹⁵² Fuster, Jaume. (1978). *El Congrés de Cultura Catalana*, Barcelona, Laia.

¹⁵³ *Butlletí d'informació / Secretariat Local del Congrés de Cultura Catalana (Sants, Hostafrancs, La Bordeta)*, October 1976.

-The *Congrés de Cultura* frames itself as a project to take stock of what needs to be done in order to achieve “normal cultural development, that is, to meet the needs and requirements of any national culture.”

-The cultural roots of the district are very old and separate from Barcelona. “The roots of the cultural tradition of our ancient towns, before their absorption by *el cap i casal de Catalunya* (Barcelona), were nourished by genuinely Catalan associations, the living sap.”

-The social and cultural life of Sants is characterized, as one of its most important features, by a great wealth of associationism. “This social practice was marked by a profound national sense and by a popular and democratic Catalanity which, in addition, included a great institutional richness.... with authentic participation of the people.”

-This was a reality that was ‘snatched’ from the people of Sants, “as a consequence, first, of the historical ups and downs of our country and later as the result of the civil war and the subsequent repression.... Including an attempt of *collective depersonalization*.”

-This is followed by an outline of a program for the return to this national, democratic, and popular tradition, the reconquest of the field of rooted cultural traditions, and the need for adaptation to the needs of the present and the future.

Besides Cartañà, Anna Maria Torrent would also become a local expert on Sants’ history at that time, publishing a book in 1977 on the names of Sants’ streets and vindicating the recovery of the historic names of the streets and plazas which during Francoism had been removed.¹⁵⁴ As she explains, the street name issue went back to the annexation of Sants into Barcelona. When Sants’ streets were connected with Barcelona’s, the Barcelona street name would prevail. It was a practice that even Jacint Laporta had lamented in the early 20th century.¹⁵⁵ Under Francoism, the street name became a vessel for the memorialization of the national movement in the public space (for example, Carrer Autonomia was renamed Carrer Unitat)¹⁵⁶. Other public spaces were named after Francoist war heroes, like the Plaça de Salvador Anglada. Even Porcioles tried to have Carrer Badal and Brasil named in his honor, although this was overturned due to a law stating that a street can only be named after

¹⁵⁴ Torrent, Anna M. (1977). *Els noms dels carrers de Sants. Notes sobre la toponímia Santseca*. Separata de la revista “Excursionisme” April-June, 1977, Arxiu Històric de Sants, Publicació dins el marc del congrés de la cultura catalana - Secretariat de Sants, Hostafrancs i la Bordeta.

¹⁵⁵ Jacint Laporta describes this procedure as follows: “Y sucedió que el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, sin previo estudio, o con estudio insuficiente, del asunto que había de resolver y al cual no concedió, a nuestro juicio, la importancia debida, sin ocurrírsele oír a los más directamente interesados que, en virtud de la efectuada agregación, habían adquirido la condición de ciudadanos barceloneses en igual grado que el que correspondía a los habitantes del núcleo central, cortando por lo sano y, como se dice, a ojo de buen cubero, hizo efectiva la nueva rotulación de las calles de Sants...” (Ibid.)

¹⁵⁶ Unitat was chosen to remind the town that, when the war was over, there could be no difference between the state, all provinces of the state had the same laws. On the other hand, Autonomy indicates a very different reality. The funny thing is that the name ‘Autonomy’ of this street, in its first instance, was dedicated to the former colony of Cuba. (Ibid.)

someone who has been dead for at least five years. Other roads, which had Catalan names--for example Avinguda Bernat Metge, Avinguda de la Generalitat, and Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes--became victims of nationalistic “cleansing.”¹⁵⁷

The historic reference for the elaboration of new street names was a 1934 document called *Nomenclàtor de les vies de la ciutat de Barcelona*, which represented a pre-civil war effort to Catalanize Barcelona’s street names. According to Cartaña, those years from 1976-77 were the most creative years of the post-Francoism era.¹⁵⁸ They were also years of direct action. As Anna Torrent remembers, at one point Anselm Cartaña got out a ladder, “I don’t know if he got it from his own house or from where, and he puts it up against the placard on the Carrer de la Unitat, and in its place he puts up a placard for the Carrer de l’Autonomia.”¹⁵⁹

Besides toponymy, the *Congrés de Cultura Catalana* also promoted the Catalanization of the schools, primarily focused on language. The proposal to give Catalan classes was accepted by 25 centers and rejected by 11. 6 already offered classes and 2 (Barrufet and Lavínia) used Catalan as the normal school language.¹⁶⁰ The delegation of Catalan of Omnium Cultural gave classes to almost 4,000 children in the district.

The last last campaign, to recover the old traditions, would be one of the most difficult, not for the traditions themselves (for example, the celebration of the *Onze de Septembre* and the *Diada de Sant Jordi*) but for the competitiveness that existed between entities since before the war. For example, the Orfeó de Sants and the Orfeó Atlàntida were historically separated along socio-economic terms, bourgeoisie and proletariat, religious and anticlerical. Still, on September 11, 1977, 20,000 people gathered at the Cotxeres de Sants to march towards Barcelona to join the great protest. It reminded Anselm Cartaña of a time during the 1920-30’s when there had been in Sants a spirit of coordination between certain entities. This was when the Unió Esportiva was formed as a unified neighborhood soccer club and the UEC was formed as a unified excursion entity. But this spirit had not caught on among all the entities. This became one of the goals and main functions of the Secretariat, and it was successful in this, in part, because of its independence from political parties. Each participating entity of the Secretariat got one vote regardless of their membership size, and, in an important symbolic gesture, the headquarters of the Secretariat was located in the Cotxeres de Sants and not in a government building.

¹⁵⁷ (Ibid.)

¹⁵⁸ As cited in Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996.

¹⁵⁹ Anna Maria Torrent in an interview for the commemorative video “Anselm Cartaña, l’arxiver de Sants,” 2013. (Accessed online September, 2020: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7wet4by867E>.)

¹⁶⁰ As cited in Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996.

The Secretariat offered photocopy services at cost, as well as a range of what could be considered common services-- advising on work contracts for employees of the entities, human resourcing for specific projects, commissioning services, etc...-- and interceded as the distributing entity of government cultural subsidies, which they managed with a watchmakers precision. In this way they achieved the trust of the administration, earning an image of an entity with an “independent spirit managed by progressive people with a dose of anarchist assemblarisme which confronted the Administration but always with the desire of collaboration.”¹⁶¹

3.3.4 Neighborhood Conservation

The Secretariat was formed in 1976 (and officially constituted as a federation in 1984) and Anselm Cartaña served as president until 1992. During those years, he would work to promote local history and culture in the neighborhood, both as coordinator of this territorial federation of entities, as well as through his participation in the Centre Social de Sants and his leadership of the Historic Archive of Sants. Anselm Cartaña was a unifying figure which brought these three neighborhood entities together in a spirit of collaboration. As he wrote in 1980, “Boys and girls in neighborhood schools are taking seriously this knowledge of the place where they live; the elderly, the neighbors in general, and the entities also, are interested more each day in knowing the origins of their "habitat"; and, on another level, there are a lot of researchers who struggle to find out about our near and immediate past.”¹⁶² This boom of interest in local history demonstrates the value that was given at this time to remembering and recovering a stolen history as an expression of an identity.

One of the fruits of Cartaña’s efforts would be the spread of awareness and valorization of neighborhood heritage in Sants as well as throughout the rest of Barcelona.¹⁶³ This would be one of the reasons why the neighborhood associations would lobby the municipal government for the maintenance, improvement, and vitalization of Barcelona’s neighborhood archives. This demand would be accepted by all the political parties in their campaign proposals for the municipal elections of 1979. After the PSC Socialist party won

¹⁶¹ An anecdote from Anselm Cartaña demonstrates a difference in Modus Operandi between the Secretariat and the rest of the neighborhood movement. After a child was killed by a car while leaving the Proa school, parents mobilized to ask for a traffic light for the zone. A grand protest was organized, while at the same time, the Secretariat negotiated, quietly, for a traffic light. The district promised Cartaña that a light would be installed the next day, yet regardless, the protest was not cancelled. (Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. *Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996, p. 86-87.)

¹⁶² Cited in Cartaña’s Foreword to: Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l’espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

¹⁶³ Other neighborhoods also developed local archives, for example: Arxiu Històric del Poblenou (Carrer Wad-Ras, 195); Arxiu Històric del Raval (Centre de Serveis Socials Erasme Janer. Carrer Erasme Janer, 8); Arxiu Històric de Sant Martí de Provençals (Plaça Valentí Almirall); Arxiu Històric de Sarrià (Centre Excursionista Els Blaus); Arxiu Històric de Sant Andreu del Palomar (Centre Cívic de Sant Andreu. Gran de Sant Andreu 111); Centre de Documentació i Estudis dels Nou Barris (Edifici "Pau Casals" Ronda Vella de la Guineueta-Canyelles). (See: Artigues, Jaume. The historic archives of the neighborhoods of Barcelona. Presented at the Conference of the Municipal Institute of History of Barcelona (Casa de l’Ardiaca), 1983.)

the elections, Cartaïa oversaw a process of donating the Historical Archive of Sants to the Barcelona Municipal Archive through the formation of a new District Archive for Sants-Montjuïc, located in the Casa del Rellotge in Sants. This process was completed in 1987.

Even after being absorbed into the District Archive, the spirit of the old Historic Archive of Sants continued on with its volunteer-centric spirit. According to the people that worked there: “At that time, a group of volunteers led by Cartaïa continued doing an important job of finding information, and of prospecting, contributing, collecting, transferring and classifying materials under the directive of the municipal archivist. During this era the main reason for existence was maintained in the archive: that it be a collective work of all the neighbors of Sants, Hostafrancs and the Bordeta. Between the City Hall and the neighbors there was a more than cordial relationship. In this, the role of Anselm has to be emphasized in the moments of assessing and orienting scholars regarding the collections of the archive and the history of the neighborhood, as well as his work of communication carried out in the schools.”¹⁶⁴

Looking at a list of the publications by, or in collaboration with, the AHS shows the types of projects undertaken by this entity:

- La Bordeta. Assignment regarding the Etymology of Sants’ Toponymy (1969)
- The names of Sants’ roads. Notes regarding Sants’ Toponymy (1977)
- Sants in the formulation of proposals for a new municipal organization (1979)
- Sants. An analysis of the process of production of urban space in Barcelona (1980)
- Sants. 100 years of industrialization (1982)
- Vapor Vell. Popular Victory (1984)
- Didactic materials for the Vapor Vell (1985)
- The cost of a *Vapor* (“steam-powered factory”). El Vapor Vell (1988)

The first two publications have to do with the study of Sants’ street names. As we have seen through the example of the Congress of Catalan Culture, the Catalanization of Sants’ toponymy was an important issue at this time. The next two publications of the AHS are in collaboration with Carles Carreras, who we will discuss in detail in the following section, and represent his investigation of the neighborhood through the lens of urban geography. The last group of publications, from 1982 onwards, address Sants’ industrial past. Specifically, the Vapor Vell is studied as the primary focus of this work, in connection with the neighborhood campaign to save the Vapor Vell which began in earnest in 1983.

The memory of this campaign is preserved in the AHS publication from 1984, *Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*, where the discourse of neighborhood conservatism is shown to be a

¹⁶⁴ (Accessed November, 2020: <http://reconeixementCartaïa.blogspot.com.es/p/biografia.html>)

central concern, along with the novel discourse, at that time, of industrial heritage (“A relatively new element that has affected Vapor Vell since 1983 is the importance, thus far underestimated, of the remains of the factory from a historical and heritage point of view...”¹⁶⁵). This topic of the framing of the Vapor Vell as industrial heritage is discussed in chapter 4, where I contextualize the arrival of this discourse to Catalonia with the cultural policy of the new, democratically elected government of the Generalitat. For now, however, our focus is on a different, non-heritage usefulness attributed to the Vapor Vell well before 1983. This includes two aspects, one offensive and one defensive--the claiming of spaces in which to fill the neighborhood deficit of public services and green zones, and the halting of speculative initiatives harmful to the quality of life of the neighborhood.

This program, represented broadly by the campaign *Salvem Sants*, was applied specifically to the Vapor Vell as early as 1975 when the neighbors celebrated their first great victory of the Plaça de Sants and the Cotxeres and added the Vapor Vell alongside the Espanya Industrial and other old industrial properties as sites to be recovered.¹⁶⁶ In fact, the neighborhood movement had assumed an active role in monitoring and intervening in management of the Vapor Vell since 1974 when the property was rezoned as 14a (private redevelopment) in the Plan Comarcal. Additionally, the extension of Joan Güell Street was maintained in this plan, which would cut through the property and provoke the destruction of the principal factory building. Due to intense pressure from the neighborhood associations, including 13,000 written complaints from Sants alone, part of the property was rezoned as 14b (public redevelopment). In 1976, Galerías Preciados bought part of the land in order to build a giant shopping center as part of a wider speculative strategy for the revitalization of the zone, including the new train station and the development of the lands of the Espanya Industrial by the Muntades family. A strong opposition to the proposal by the neighbors was eventually successful in halting the project by 1982.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ See appendix, document 1 (Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular, 1984): p. 10.

¹⁶⁶ See appendix, document 6 (Inaugurem la Plaça, 1975): p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ This story is recounted in Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular as well as from local press. The purchase of Jorba Preciados took place on February 18, 1976, for a price of 46,000,000 pesetas for the 7,655 m² piece of land. In July of 1976, the neighbors submitted an official complaint against the agreement of the provincial commission of urbanism which had approved the General Metropolitan Plan of 1976. The neighbors wanted the lands on which the Vapor Vell building sat to be rezoned for Public Reuse, which meant that they could only be sold to the government. The next part of the story gets a little hazy. Jorba Preciados continued to put pressure on the neighbors to sell the rest of the lands of the Vapor Vell, and on the government to accept a partial plan for building on the property. In July of 1977, this plan was challenged by the Sol de Baix Neighbors' Association, as well as 12 neighbors living in flats affected by the plan. Regardless, the city government approved the building plans, despite the fact that they broke the zoning codes. By December of that year, we read that still, Jorba wanted warehouses in the Vapor Vell: "Jorba has made a large investment in the lands, having compensated various neighbors in the affected area for them to find other housing, and having built a pool for the Mediterranean swim club, which would be destroyed with the prolongation of Joan Güell street." (Jorba quiere almacenes en terrenos del Vapor Vell. TeleExpress, Dec 14, 1978.) In the end, however, the momentum of the company would be halted, if not by neighborhood protests, by an internal economic crisis. This stalled construction until 1982 when the city hall shut down the plan. In February of that year, the neighbors

This story, in which the discourse of neighborhood conservationism plays a fundamental role, is summarized in *Vapor Vell. Victòria Popular* in the following terms:

The recovery of Vapor Vell, and its reconversion into spaces for public use, is crucial for Sants, as the old town does not yet have an optimal situation in terms of facilities (hospitals, dispensaries, vocational schools, libraries, museums ...). On the other hand, due to the peculiar characteristics of Sants (with intensive construction on the abandoned industrial lands) the need for green spaces is still the order of the day, as no matter how much they proliferate it is difficult to reach an optimal level. The recovery of Vapor Vell could mean a significant improvement in the fight against these chronic deficits.”¹⁶⁸

This description makes it clear that more than in interest in the building of the Vapor Vell, the neighbors are concerned about conserving the quality of life of the neighborhood. In this task, their struggle is to “halt on the rampant *tertiarisation* (or ‘third-sectorization’) of the area... freeing this space from speculation.”¹⁶⁹ This was the discourse which motivated the neighbors much more than that of industrial heritage. The rejection of the ‘museu del tramvia’ in the Cotxeres de Sants is another example of this fact. On the other hand, the struggle for neighborhood conservation is what had been used by the Centre Social de Sants to mobilize active citizenship within their unifying mission-- first the conservation of urban objectives regarding issues of public resources and quality of life, and secondly the conservation of the historical character of the neighborhood. The industrial heritage movement did not arrive in Sants until the 1980’s and before that nobody spoke of industrial buildings as though they possessed heritage value. But even though this is true, in general throughout the neighborhood movement of the 1970’s Sants experienced an intense local heritage movement. The important distinction which needs to be made of this movement is that it was above all a social heritage movement.

Sant’s heritage movement was about the recovery of the working-class social practices of associationism, self-management and protest, through the work of the Centre Social de Sants as discussed in section 3.2. It was also about the recovery of the collective identity of the neighborhood as Catalan through the work of the Secretariat and the recovery of the local history of industrialization and the unique personality of the neighborhood through the work of the Historic Archive of Sants. We must view the *Salvem el Vapor Vell* campaign, starting in 1983, within the larger context of the *Salvem Sants* campaign, which had started in 1973. Interest in the factory was, at least at first, motivated primarily by a concern for neighborhood conservation.

petition for the rezoning of the Vapor Vell was approved, although this only affected the property owned by the furniture maker, Muebles Casas. (See Appendix, document 1 (Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular, 1985): p. 7.)

¹⁶⁸ “Approximation of the problem of the Vapor Vell.” In: Secretariat d’Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc).

¹⁶⁹ (Ibid.)

Conclusion

As Connerton states, the “struggle of citizens against state power is the struggle of their memory against forced forgetting.”¹⁷⁰ In Sants, this struggle involved three principal dimensions-- the struggle of the *Barcelona de los Barrios* against the *Gran Barcelona of Porcioles*, the struggle of Catalan identity against the Spanishness of the National Movement, and the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Each of these struggles included a project of collective memory, and during the transition, while the Francoist hegemony entered into crisis along with the Barcelona bourgeois and the project of the Gran Barcelona, these subaltern projects of local identity were reinvigorated. Through the work of entities like the Centre Social de Sants, the Secretariat, and the Historic Archive of Sants, a neighborhood heritage movement was cultivated in which the history and personality of Sants was vindicated as an independent (from Barcelona), Catalan, and working-class neighborhood.

This was a grassroots movement with a primary focus on the recovery of social heritages of collective identity, practices, and memory of the neighborhood. In the next chapter we will analyse in more detail some of the most important elements of these heritage discourses, as well as looking specifically at the question of what they were designed to do.

¹⁷⁰ Connerton, P. (1999). *How societies remember*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. p.15.

3.4 NEIGHBORHOOD MUSEALIZATION

The success of initiatives like the Centre Social, with the backing of the FAVB, had made clear the importance of mobilizing the neighborhood constituency in order to achieve the political legitimacy necessary for governance in Barcelona. As the Francoist authorities lost their popular mandate, the question became ‘what form of government would replace them?’ It was in this context that the concept of neighborhood was developed in Sants as not just the means of restoring democracy but as its basic substance. As it was expressed in a popular catchphrase from that time period, ‘democracy is not something that is won, it is made.’

Building on the theme from the last chapter of the construction of a neighborhood heritage discourse, here we will look at two more sources of neighborhood-based historiography: the journalistic project *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, and the academic project of Urban Geography carried out by Carles Carreras. Here, we will compare and contrast some of the discourses these projects reproduce regarding the nature of the neighborhood entity and the industrial character of Sants. Fundamentally, we will consider the utility of these discourses in the context of the municipal elections of 1979 in which the role of the neighborhood as the basic unit of democracy was viewed as a promising model for the project of decentralizing and democratizing Barcelona’s municipal structure.

Finally, we will reflect on the concept of neighborhood musealization as a general term for making sense of the variety of initiatives of local history carried out in Sants during the transition to democracy. The framework of ecomuseology is useful here, not just for its shared focus of community heritage and conservation but also due to the contextual similarities of its development (in a post-industrial French city in the 1970’s) with the neighborhood movement in Sants.

3.4.1 Tots els Barris

The experience of the Secretariat in Sants was echoed in various ways in other neighborhoods throughout Barcelona. Other deindustrializing neighborhoods such as Gràcia, Sant Andreu, and Poblenou revitalized local historical archives in a general movement to reclaim the historic protagonism and social heritage of their communities. One of the most ambitious and emblematic projects from this time period is, without a doubt, a seven-volume publication called *Tots els Barris de Barcelona* (“All the Neighborhoods of Barcelona”), the origin of which can be traced to a jail cell in Barcelona’s model prison where its author Josep Maria Huertas Claveria was being held in isolation, with the lights to his cell never turned

off.¹⁷¹ The year was 1975 and Huertas, a writer and journalist, had been jailed for an article he published which angered the military, specifically for a line in which he affirmed that “a good number of brothels are run by military widows, probably because of the difficulty in obtaining permits to open these establishments after the war.” His incarceration provoked the first press strike since the end of the Civil War in 1939, and transformed Huertas into a symbol of freedom of expression and a reference in the struggle against Francoism. In 1976 he was released, and that same year, with co-author Jaume Fabre, published the first instalment of *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*.¹⁷²

Divided by neighborhood, in each entry Huertas and Fabre investigated the historical origins of each of Barcelona’s neighborhoods up to the present day. The writing is scattered with local legends, folklore and anecdotes which color the descriptions with a warmth of first-hand sources. There is an interest and sensitivity to capturing the intangible elements which lend each neighborhood its distinct character and personality. Each section ends with an analysis of the present state of the territory including lists of associations and resources in the neighborhood, as well as stories about local protests and campaigns. As they explain on the back cover of the 1980 printing: “Two popular journalists, with a great interest in the problems of the neighborhoods, give a historical and contemporary perspective of these urban nuclei in the process of recovery.”¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ For a vivid narration of the events of Huerta’s incarceration, as well as his friendship with José Martí Gómez, see: Caballero, J. J. El caso Huertas, cuarenta años de la primera batalla por la libertad de expresión. El Diario. July 18, 2015. (“*Al salir de la prisión Huertas no dejaba de preguntar por José Martí Gómez, uno de sus mejores amigos. “¿Dónde está Martí, dónde está Martí?” Pero Martí, siempre discreto, se mantenía a distancia del jaleo, semioculto en un zaguán, fumando su pipa, redactando ya mentalmente la crónica de aquel acontecimiento. Martí decía que había una cosa que nunca le había podido perdonar a Huertas: “Que altere mis nervios cuando en el encuentro en cualquier bar pida invariablemente cacaolat con berberechos” (una ‘acusación’, por cierto, siempre negada por Huertas). Con toques magistrales, Martí Gómez describió aquella noche en Cuadernos para el Diálogo. Allí recordaba unas palabras de Carmen Balcells, la agente literaria del boom latinoamericano: “Este Huertas es el tío más áspero, molesto, maleducado, grosero e inaguantable que he conocido nunca, pero no sé si será por todo eso, es un chico que se hace querer.”*”)

¹⁷² Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62 (1st edition: April 1976). The content of the seven volumes is the following: 1. Els Barris que foren independents (1): S. Martí de Provençals, Sants, La Bordeta, Hostafrancs. 2. Els Barris que foren independents (2): Gràcia, Vallcarca, Els Penitents i La Salut, Horta, El Guinardó, Vilapicina, Sant Andreu. 3. Les Corts, S. Gervasi, El Putxet, Sarrià, Pedralbes, Vallvidrera. 4. Els Tres Turons i els barris de Montjuïc: Can Baró, El Carmel, El Coll, el Poble Sec, Montjuïc i els seus barris (Can Clos, Can Tunis, Magòria, Port, SEAT, el Polvorí). 5. L’Eixample i la Barcelona vella: els dos eixamples, Sant Antoni, la Sagrada Família, els barris de la Barcelona vella (Sant Pere, la Mercè Ribera). 6. Els Polígons: La Barceloneta, les Cases Barates (R. Albó, E. Aunós, Milans del Bosch, Baró de Viver), les Vivendes del Congrés, el Bon Pastor, els barris de la Vall d’Hebron (Sant Genís dels Agudells, Montbau, El Parc de la Vall d’Hebron), la Teixonera. 7. Els Polígons (2) i el Districte Cinquè: la Verneda, La Pau, El Sud-Oest del Besòs, La Maresma, El Somorrostro, El Camp de la Bota, La Perona, Els Nou Barris, El Districte V.

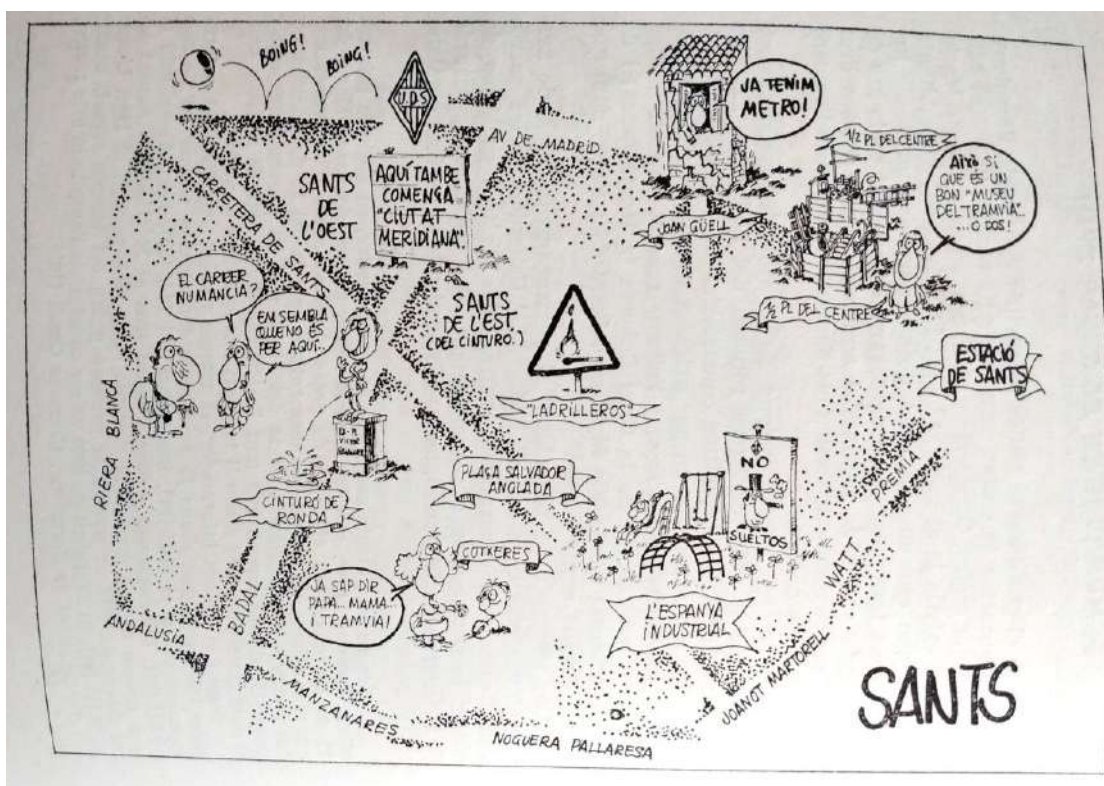
¹⁷³ In the prologue to the 1976 version, Huertas and Fabra list the source material as follows: *Llibres de conjunt, la premsa de barri* (‘*La nostra millor font d’informació*’), *Diaris, Rodes de premsa* (‘*amb associacions de veïns*’), *Persones* (‘*vells i joves... sociòlegs, urbanistes, periodistes...*’), *Estudis* (‘*sobretot la documentació que contenen treballs com La Gran Barcelona (CAU, 1971), La Barcelona de Porcioles (CAU,*

Tots els Barris also includes photographs and illustrations such as the following map and cartoon depiction of many of the issues relevant to the neighborhood movement in Sants in the 1970.¹⁷⁴ This one, from Sants, gives a somewhat comic view of the neighborhood issues in the 1970's, such as the danger symbol on Ladrillers street where the gas explosion occurred, the opening of the metro, the park and anti-speculation poster at the site of the Espanya Industrial, and various jokes about a "tramvia" which refers to the campaign "Salvem Sants dia a dia, ni pas elevat ni Museu del Tramvia." The issue of roads is an important theme portrayed here. As shown in the illustration, in the 70's Joan Güell street ended before connecting with the Carretera de Sants. The Pla Comarcal, however, projected the extension of this street, connecting the Diagonal to the Carretera de Sants, and turning it into a high-traffic artery for commuters trying to reach the center of Barcelona. The neighbors protested intensely against this and other projected road developments, which they assessed as favoring the accessibility of Barcelona's city center at the expense of chopping its neighborhoods in pieces and disrupting the pedestrian flow. In the drawing, this threat of fragmentation is shown graphically with the labels "East Sants" and "West Sants" added on either side of Cinturó de Ronda road, symbolically equating it with the Berlin Wall.

1973)... estudis inèdits com el tan valuós realitzat per Simo Fabregas sobre els centres socials i polítics de Barcelona durant la Guerra Civil o la col·lecció de treballs de cursos universitaris sobre geografia urbana barcelonina arreglat al Centre d'Estudis Urbans (CEU)...'), *Llibres no específicament de barri, Guies de Barcelona, Arxius privats o públics ('com el de Rosa Sensat...!Històric de Sants...')*, *Disposicions legals, Dades oficials, Constatació personal ('Hem realitzat, fins on ha estat possible, una tasca de comprovació de dades que havíem trobat o que ens havien estat comunicades, com per exemple l'existència o desaparició de locals culturals i polítics d'abans de 1939.')* In: Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62, pp. 16-18.

¹⁷⁴ The illustrator, JOMA, was also contracted to illustrate the guidebook for the Barcelona Science Museum of the Caixa, an exercise in visual association with the popular culture of the publics which the museum sought to attract. (See the forthcoming investigation of Alfons Zarzoso on this topic, in: Sastre, Jaume & Simon, Josep (coords.). (2020-2022). "Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española" [MUSAUPOL, PID2019-104897GA-I00].)

Map of Sants from Tots els Barris de Barcelona:



The identity of Sants portrayed in *Tots els Barris* is evidenced in the subtitle given to the section-- *Sants: un bressol del moviment obrer* ("Sants: a cradle of the labor movement"). After a quick introduction of the medieval origins of Sants as an agricultural village, Huertas begins an exposition on the industrial character of the neighborhood with a section titled *The Vapor Vell: Sants grows*.¹⁷⁵ "The Vapor Vell, whose installations still survive in the year 1980, between Galileo and Panissars, but which will not last for long, according to all indications, was the first prominent industrial installation in the municipality."¹⁷⁶

Tots els Barris de Barcelona spends the majority of this section on industrialization talking about workers movements. Here, Huertas reproduces a version of the Sol i Padrís story in which the motives of the workers are explained. "The origins of the strike was the suspension of legally established associations; as it was that the only people who this caused

¹⁷⁵ Full index of chapters: Municipi en el Segle XVIII; Sants Creix: El Vapor Vell; Les Annexions; L'Esquerra Republicana nasqué a Sants; Construccions dolentes, carrers estrets; Cap escola des de 1939; Les places que no ho són; Pocs llits i molts jubilats; Barri obrer, però les fàbriques grans se'n van; Grandesa i decadència de la vida associativa; Pocs esports; L'esplai i les revistes; La "T" de Sants; El Cinturó de Ronda; Els semàfors de l'Avinguda de Madrid; Les esquerdes de Joan Güell i Can Bruixa; Els morts de Ladrillers; Salvem Sants dia a dia; El pas del temps (1975-1980).

¹⁷⁶ Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62, p. 152.

problems for were the workers, the action, in fact, was an attempt to disrupt the organized workers' movement. What is more, this coincided with a time of economic crisis. In Sants the strike caused the death of the director of the factory Güell, Sol i Padrís, who had recently been named the president of the Industrial Institute of Catalonia. According to Vicens Vives, this could have been in retaliation for the execution of the labor leader Josep Barceló, president of the Textile Society of Barcelona, who had been accused of a robbery and murdered on a farm.”

Other elements of working class life are also mentioned: the Casino de Sants (established in 1851), the Ateneu of the working class (established in 1864), the Congr s de Barcelona (held in 1870, the first workers congress in Spain), the workers crisis of 1873 when sales of velvets declined and workers were left on the streets, and the general strike of 1874. Other chapters include topics such as the annexation by Barcelona, the birth of Esquerra Republicana political party in Sants, the grandeur and decadence of the neighborhood’s associative life, the “T” of Sants, *Salvem Sants dia a dia*, and a section which posits both the industrial identity of Sants as well as the basis of its identity crisis: “working-class neighborhood, but the big factories are leaving.”

The significance of *Tots el Barris* for our investigation is twofold. First of all, we can understand the neighborhood-based discourse in which the history of the Vapor Vell was recovered at this time. Huertas and Fabre created a neighborhood history based on themes of local identity and personality which at this time were in the process of being recovered after years of depersonalization and repression under Francoism. Central to their narrative is the presentation of the identity of Sants as a product of industrialization with the Vapor Vell the heart of this historical reality. While Huertas and Fabre never claim the Vapor Vell as heritage, they do take the time to outline the danger of its imminent destruction- not only citing its purchase in 1977 by Jorba Preciados with the intention of building a large shopping center in its spot, but also reporting that despite the fact that they had all the plans together- which involved leaving some gardens in front of the building and connecting it with pla a Salvador Anglada (pla a de Sants), “in the end it seems that these plans have been abandoned and there is the possibility that the lot will be bought by the City council and allocated for public uses.”¹⁷⁷

The second reason that *Tots els Barris* is important for our investigation is for its role in promoting a historically researched basis for the *Barcelona de los Barrios* thesis of the neighborhood movement. This was particularly significant at that time because of its implications for the project of the new democratic government to restructure municipal management in a more decentralized manner. In the preamble to the 1980’s printing of *Tots*

¹⁷⁷ (Ibid. p. 152.)

els Barris, the following text is presented, signed by the City Council of Barcelona, Areas of Decentralization and Citizen Participation and Culture:

“The democratic City Council of Barcelona, since its constitution in April 1979, has expressed the will to go towards an unequivocal process of decentralization, which would bring decision-making and management closer to the citizens. It has also emphasized the process of recovering the signs of identity of the neighborhoods that hide behind the coldness of the current administrative division and that despite all the impediments have managed to preserve an intense associative and cultural life, and have maintained the characteristic features of their personality, made up of years of history and struggles, but also of generous contributions from citizens from other parts of Spain, all together striving today in a common task of making a city, and a country, fairer, freer, more democratic.”¹⁷⁸

Neighbors associations like the Centre Social de Sants were obviously very interested in this project of decentralization, and what their role would be in it.¹⁷⁹ The Centre Social was not a political party, but sought to promote active participation and give a global representation of the neighborhood, particularly with regards to matters which affected them all the neighbors. They had operated in a grassroots manner on the margins of legality during the final years of Francoism, but the question remained to be answered as to how their role would be institutionalized in the new democratic city order. In the end, they would be bitterly disappointed, as we will investigate in detail in chapter 4.1. For now, however, the relevant piece is that the promise of decentralization helped to stimulate the development and vindication of a strong neighborhood identity in Sants, and an important element of this involved a neighborhood heritage discourse. In other words, the political possibility of decentralization provided an immediate and practical ‘use’ for neighborhood heritagization initiatives like those of the neighborhood movement (the Secretariat, the Historical Archive of Sants, the Centre Social de Sants), and publications like *Tots els Barris*.

3.4.2 Urban Geographers

There is a third constituency, besides local historians and journalists, which also played an important role in the study and promotion of this neighborhood heritage discourse: the academics. Sants had their own theorist of the neighborhood discourse- the urban geographer Carles Carreras. Originally from Mallorca, in 1972 he completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Barcelona with a thesis directed by Horacio Capel on the neighborhood of Hostafrancs which was republished as a book in 1974.¹⁸⁰ In 1978 he completed his graduate thesis on *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà*:

¹⁷⁸ Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of the work of the neighbors in 1980 of dividing the city into large neighborhoods (barriadas), see: Various authors. (1991). *La Barcelona dels Barris*. FAVB: p. 13.

¹⁸⁰ Carreras, Carlos. (1974). *Hostafrancs: un barri de Barcelona*. Barcelona, Editorial Selecta.

el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona,¹⁸¹ and in 1980 this would serve as the basis of his book *Sants: Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà*¹⁸² which he worked on for two years with the help of Anselm Cartaïà at the AHS.¹⁸³ Besides the remnants of Sants' municipal archive stored at the old Hospital de la Santa Creu, Carles Carreras used two other archives in his investigation. One was the archive of urban land registries, *Contribución territorial urbana*, collected around the year 1970 by the company Galtier Hispania, S.A., which was contracted by the Barcelona tax office to apply the 1964 tax reforms. These cards contained a wealth of information regarding the properties and property-owners of Sants.¹⁸⁴ The other source was the collection of the *Arxiu Històric de Sants*, which he describes as “essentially a photographic archive, with a splendid collection of clixes about Sants in the old days; but also has many newspapers of Sants, pamphlets and magazines of all eras, and, as is known, it has donations of all types from the neighbors.”¹⁸⁵

The amount of work required for his thesis required Carreras to transfer most of his activity to Sants, not only to observe the events which interested him, but to participate fully in them. His first connection was through the local PSUC organization in Sants, operating at that time under the legal artifice of the Neighbors' Association of Hostafrancs. From there, he joined the urbanism task force of the Centre Social de Sants, not as an urban geographer, but as a neighbor. As he writes:

I did not go to put myself at the disposal of the organizations, as if I had any relevant qualities that could improve anything. Nothing of that, I joined the neighborhood, in its struggles, simply, like any other. The spirit was to learn, understand and be useful, like any other; There were other professionals, not

¹⁸¹ Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos. (1978). *L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona

¹⁸² Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

¹⁸³ From the intro to Carreras' thesis: “*Vull destacar-ne, però, sobretot tres persones... la meva dona, Mercedes Marín Ramos... Dr. Horacio Capel Sáez... Finalment, el president de l'Arxiu Històric de Sants-U.E.C., Anselm Cartaïà, erudit i militant, els coneixements i encoratjament del qual no m'han mancat cap moment. En ell vull agrair també tots els santsencs innombrables a qui dedico el meu treball.*” (Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos. (1978). *L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona. p. iii.)

¹⁸⁴ Cards had the name and address of owner, administrator, size and covering, size of facade, date of construction, services, date of reforms, photos of the facade, blue prints, and the locals it had, value, renting details, etc.

¹⁸⁵ Two more important archives make up his primary sources of information. The collection of Francisco de Zamora, especially manuscripts 2434 and 2469 of the “Biblioteca de Palacio” del Palau d'Oriente de Madrid, “que contenen notícies específiques de Sants que ningú fins ara no havia utilitzat.” The other is from the *Arxius de Protocols dels col·legis de notaris de Madrid i de Barcelona*: “els protocols que contenen registrada tota la vida i els negocis forneixen unes informacions extraordinàries, potser fins i tot massa extraordinàries perquè hom corre el perill d'ofegar-se i perdre's enmig de tanta informació. Vaig, però poder trobar un fil respecte la família Muntadas, els industrials més importants de Sants, en la història i avui a l'hora de la renovació del barri, i del fil vaig poder estirar una gran quantitat de notícies. Llàstima que el secret cobreix cent anys, ja que del 1878 fins ara han passat prou coses interessants!”

geographers, but architects, engineers, doctors, economists, lawyers. Fortunately, those who volunteered in technical capacities were just the architects who made alternative plans for the site of "La Espanya", for the Plan Comarcal, and for the Cotxeres; my observations of this advised me not to play this role.¹⁸⁶

Despite his humble approach, Carreras' capacities as a geographer would become useful for the neighborhood movement. Not only did his book, *Sants*, enrich the project started with *Tots els Barris* in defining the neighborhood, it also contained a researched exposé of what Carreras calls *el poder* ("the power"). His investigation of the Muntades family, for example, made use of previously unknown sources and traced a web of corruption connecting politicians with real estate speculators through illegal special urban plans promoted by a false front company actually owned by the Muntades family itself, in their attempt to sell the land of the Espanya Industrial after the opening of a major transportation hub raised land values. The management of this urban affair, as Carreras helped bring to light, took place outside the public eye and also outside of the law. This information allowed the neighborhood association to protest and eventually win back this land to be used as a green space- but only after two housing developments had already been built on part of the property.¹⁸⁷

Carreras was part of a pioneering group of urban experts and activists in the developing field of urban geography. At the University of Barcelona, this group centered around Carreras' thesis supervisor Horacio Capel.¹⁸⁸ It also included Mercè Tajer, who took a similar approach to Carreras as both a participant and investigator in neighbors association of the Barceloneta.¹⁸⁹ Tajer's research on the nature of the neighborhood and her exposé of the Porcioles-era speculative enterprise known as the Plan de Ribera which threatened to destroy it helped to provide a template for future neighborhood studies of this kind.¹⁹⁰ The Barceloneta was an ideal neighborhood to start with because of its historical cohesiveness as a definable neighborhood. Geographically, the Barceloneta is perfectly bounded by the sea to the East, by the port to the West, and by the train tracks and the Hospital del Mar to the

¹⁸⁶ Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). *L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona, p. 177.

¹⁸⁷ The story of the campaign to save the Espanya Industrial is told in: Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona.

¹⁸⁸ In his memoir, published in 2019, Capel remembers that the first thesis he directed was that of Carles Carreeras. See: Capel, Horacio. (2019). *Azares y decisiones: recuerdos personales*. Madrid, Doce Calles, p. 185.

¹⁸⁹ From the introduction to Carreras' thesis: "Amb la Mercè Tajer i Mir hem seguit moltes vegades els mateixos passos i sempre n'he pogut treure un guiatge. Amb James R. Kelly, he compartit mantes sessions de treball que m'han ajudat a no defallir." (Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). *L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona, p. iii.)

¹⁹⁰ Tajer, Mercè. (1973). *De la Barceloneta del siglo XVIII al plan de la Ribera*. Los libros de la Frontera, Barcelona. See also, Tajer, Mercè. (1988). *El barrio de la Barceloneta, 1753-1982. Mercado inmobiliario y morfología en el centro histórico de Barcelona*, Director: Dr. Horacio Capel, Universidad de Barcelona, 3 vols.

North. In other neighborhoods, defining the borders was more difficult.¹⁹¹ In Sants, for example, the matter was complicated by the quasi-neighborhoods of La Bordeta and Hostafrancs which, despite their differences, were grouped with Sants into District VII when the municipality was reordered in 1979.

As Carreras discusses in his thesis, the academic approach taken by the Capel school of urban geography formed part of a global trend at this time connected, on one hand, with the development of geopolitics, and on the other hand with radical geography, specifically the French school of *Geographie active* which opened the door for politicizing the profession.¹⁹² Scholarship in the USA had also developed a political consciousness due to the social crisis of the 1960's and issues of civil rights, the spatial consequences of racism, poverty, and social marginalization.¹⁹³

The events of May of '68 had been a moment of awakening, not just for Carreras, but also for the discipline. As Carreras writes:

“The revolt of the students, the new solidarity between working class and students, the timidity and overcoming of traditional political structures, especially those of the opposition, provoked a true split, even epistemologically, in the development of university disciplines. Traditional Marxists remained aligned with the right, while the insurrectionists sought new ways of organizing and reflecting.”¹⁹⁴

Carreras became increasingly exasperated with what he calls the ‘compliance of the classic geographers with the establishment,’ writing, “despite the fact that the most modern critics have been discovering the complicit ideological position of classical geographers with the "power", their image as cultivators of a "neutral science" is still strong today and, above

¹⁹¹ In the introduction to *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Fabre and Huertas address this in a section titled *What is a neighborhood*. “A controversial case, related to these issues that we are now discussing,” they write, “is that of the Association of Neighbors of Sant Martí de Provençals, which perhaps because of a certain notoriety of the territory of La Verneda, where it is situated, has taken the name, exclusively, of [Sant Martí, which is] one of the old independent municipalities around Barcelona, in whose territory have been formed, over the years, neighborhoods of such tradition as Poble Nou, El Clot, La Sagrera, the Guinardó, the Verneda and Besós.” Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Edicions 62 (1st edition: April 1976), p. 9.

¹⁹² See, for example, George, Lacoste, Guglielmo i Kayser. *La Geographie active*. 1964.

¹⁹³ William Bunge, author of the first text of the ‘New Geography’ in 1967, famously embarked on “geographical expeditions” to the uncharted areas of the inner city, rather than to distant shores. Bunge became involved through policy lobbying, direct support to poor households, and analysis of urban problems, and was later fired from his position at Wayne State University of Detroit-- one of the institutional risks of exposing ‘the power’.

¹⁹⁴ Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona, p. 9.

all, they continue to exist and educate within various communities of geographers including our own.”¹⁹⁵

In his memoir, Horacio Capel notes that he always believed in the importance of linking research and university work with existing social problems, and specifically, with the concerns and needs of the neighborhood movement. This led to the study of urban issues in Barcelona, to the realization of work on neighborhoods, and to seminars on burning social issues.¹⁹⁶ In 1976, Capel launched what has become an important and lasting platform for the promotion and divulgation of this type of politically-conscious urban scholarship--the now international online publishing platform *GeoCritica*. The first study on a long list of contributions (that continues to grow) is Carreras’ investigation of Sants.¹⁹⁷

3.4.3 The concept of neighborhood

Understanding the political dimension of Carreras’ geographical scholarship in Sants is important in order to grasp the significance of his legacy for the neighborhood movement. On the one hand, his research was historically groundbreaking for Sants. As Cartaña writes in the introduction to *Sants*, “The presentation of a book like this, from the Historical Archive of Sants, where we bring together all those linked to the neighborhood and interested in its history -including Carles Carreras- this may seem like a mere formality. Actually, however, the appearance of a publication of this kind, and at this time, is a very important event.”¹⁹⁸ Here Cartaña reflects on the fact that it had been 100 years since Laporta had published the last historical work of the neighborhood. To this day, *Sants* remains the best and most comprehensive on the topic.¹⁹⁹ The significance of Carreras’ scholarship, however, would also have farther-reaching consequences beyond the specific case of Sants. Besides reconstructing the past of the neighborhood and evaluating its fundamental features, he also examines the mechanisms that govern the growth of cities. “Here, Sants is the protagonist,” he writes, “but is also an example of other neighborhoods and other situations. For this reason this work is called Sants, but it also is subtitled, perhaps pretentiously, Analysis of the process of production of the urban space. For this reason, I have also preserved as my prologue my analysis of the concept of neighborhood and its application in Barcelona, arguing cordially with those who have tested this analysis before me.”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Carreras i Verdager, Carlos. *L’estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l’espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona, 1978, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶ Capel, Horacio. (2019). *Azares y decisiones: recuerdos personales*. Madrid, Doce Calles, p. 220.

¹⁹⁷ This list of theses is available online at: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/tesdoc.htm>.

¹⁹⁸ Carreras i Verdager, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l’espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa.

¹⁹⁹ Dalmau, Marc; Miró i Acedo, Ivan. *Les Cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions: Barcelona, 2010. P. 37.

²⁰⁰ Carreras i Verdager, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l’espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa, p. X.

The concept of neighborhood which Carreras goes on to elaborate underpins the rest of his scholarship and in itself represented a political tool with immediate utility for the neighborhood movement.²⁰¹ It begins with a simple question-- *what is a neighborhood?* The answer, as he points out, would vary depending if it came from an architect, urbanist, engineer, economist, advocate, geographer, sociologist, anthropologist, politician, public employee, journalist, land owner, or a businessperson--and this is just a sampling of the variety of interest groups studying the city, each with their own methodologies. Even the various words for neighborhood express a variety of points of view. The English word *neighborhood* carries a sociological meaning, while in French the word *quartier* does not. The Catalan word *barri*, has a separate origin, deriving from the Arabic barrī, meaning of the open country or from the barr (“outside”)²⁰². Despite these apparent differences, the neighborhood has been conceptualized as the basic unit of urban life, for example by Pierre George of the French School.²⁰³ Be it a religious entity (the parish), a functional unit (market district), or a zone grouping the artisans of one or more guilds, most neighborhoods share certain characteristics:

- A neighborhood has its traditions and its guardian-- in Christianity it has a saint, in Islam a marabout.
- Anytime an inhabitant wants to situate herself in the city, she refers to her neighborhood, and if she goes to another neighborhood she has the sensation of crossing a frontier.
- Often, the administrative organization of a city will encode this empirical data, giving it a more rigid definition.
- The neighborhood is the foundation on which the public life of a city is developed, and where it finds its popular representation.
- Last but not least, the neighborhood has a name. This gives it personality within the city.

In continuation, Carreras provides a survey of various approaches to studying the neighborhood. From the Chicago School came the idea of the neighborhood as an explanation of the non-homogeneous nature of urban space and the model of urban zoning. From the Concentric Zone model of Burgess in 1925 to the Multiple Nuclei model of Harris and Ullman in 1945, each time more variables were taken into account, but without explaining

²⁰¹ From the introduction: "...sobretot, a entrar en contacte amb la població dels barris de què volíem tractar i amb llurs problemes. Aquest fet trastocà gairebé les nostres intencions inicials i ens feu desitjar que el nostre estudi pogués ésser útil d'alguna manera a aquesta gent i a la seva lluita." In: Carreras i Verdagué, Carlos. (1978). *L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona* (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona, p. ii.

²⁰² Ildefons Cerdà, in his “Teoría General de la Urbanización” from 1867 writes, incorrectly, that “The division of districts corresponds to another, lesser division whose parts are called “barrios” (from the teutonic “burg” converting the u to an a, like the English pronounce it).

²⁰³ George, Pierre. (1956). *Geografía urbana*. (Ed. Ariel, Esplugues de Llobregat, 1969: p. 94).

the cause of the differentiation. Meanwhile, from the field of architecture, Corbusier developed an urbanism based on the four functions: living, working, recreation, and circulating. Gaston Bardet, from the organic school, modeled the city as an organism, like a cell with autonomous, hierarchical parts.²⁰⁴

From the discipline of sociology came the concept of neighborhood as the place where neighbors are-- the people who shape and are shaped by that environment. In this definition we find a similarity with what we earlier called the neighbor discourse, the idea of the collective production of urban space. Here Carreras theorizes an inseparable connection between this concept of neighbor and his concept of neighborhood and bases this directly on his experience of the neighborhood movement in Sants. "Beyond the anecdote of green spaces or retirement homes," he writes, "a spirit of citizenship was re-created, more communitarian habits and lifestyles were revived that educated people to intervene and make decisions about the things that affected them most closely in daily life. This dimension of a school of civilization and the first step of politics can not be separated from the concept of neighborhood."²⁰⁵

At this point Carreras briefly references the field of ecology²⁰⁶-- framing the neighborhood as a type of ecosystem. This reinforces the main thrust of his discourse regarding the reality of the neighborhood unit as an empirical and holistic community, including both the material as well as the social environment of the neighbors. In this paradigm, the neighborhood movement, with its promotion of participatory, collective self-management, is understood not only as a movement advocating for neighborhood health, but as a metric of what a healthy neighborhood looks like. Carreras writes:

Thus, it is necessary to understand the delimitation of the neighborhood, not as a conceptual problem, but of the ordination of the urban space, in which the popular will must be decisive. Indeed, the awareness of the neighborhood and the experience of struggle mean that, at least in the city of Barcelona, the neighborhood can be a remarkable political instrument, not only of a certain administrative decentralization - always desirable, but always insufficient. - but, above all, of popular self-management, which allows not only the participation, but the self-government of the

²⁰⁴ Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa, p. 4.

²⁰⁵ Carreras i Verdaguier, Carlos. (1980). *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Serpa, p 6.

²⁰⁶ As Horacio Capel discusses in his memoir, in those days there was a wide interest in marxism and other alternatives, as well as for social action and for ecology. In this respect, the magazine "*Mientras Tanto*" from 1979, was notable for its concern with ecology and in which the Marxist philosopher Manuel Sacristán from the University of Barcelona was involved, as well as a group from the social sciences. The 1980s marked the beginning of a fruitful collaboration with ecologists such as Ramon Margalef's school of ecology. In 1983, Jaume Terradas, in collaboration with the Institut Municipal d'Educació from the Barcelona Council and the ICE of the Universitat de Barcelona organized a conference on "Educació Ambiental al Medi Urbà." One objective was to create an institute of Urban Ecology sponsored by the municipality. (Capel, Horacio. (2019). *Azares y decisiones: recuerdos personales*. Madrid, Doce Calles, pp. 118-119, 148-149.)

people in a framework in which the need for planning and ordering are every day more extensive.²⁰⁷

In other words, a neighborhood without active neighbors ceases to be a neighborhood - it dies. Carreras didn't mince words when it came to defining the political connotations of this discourse. He cites leaders of the neighborhood movement in Madrid from a publication called *The citizens movement before democracy*: "Against a political system which had atomized the population and hoped to maintain them as a passive force; against a local administration which in no case pushed for forms of participation, that did not want to see the citizens other than mere "administratives", the associations of the neighborhood and citizen entities are building the basis of rebirth of our collective life."²⁰⁸

We can model Carreras' neighborhood discourse as follows:

The Neighborhood Discourse:

Stakeholders	Objects	Concepts	Objectives	Values
The neighborhood	Neighbors. Social/material fabric.	Collective life, associationism	Active self-management, conservation.	Neighborhood health

Carreras' thesis couldn't have been published at a better time. The next year, in 1979, on the cusp of the municipal elections, he collaborated with the Historic Archive of Sants to lobby for a strong neighborhood-based municipal decentralization through the publication of a special issue of the local *Excursionisme* magazine titled *Sants, in the formulation of proposals for a new municipal organization*.²⁰⁹ Interestingly, this proposal was co-authored by none other than James Ronald Kelly, who at that time was living abroad in Barcelona while studying at the faculty of Geography and History of the University of Barcelona.²¹⁰ In Kelly and Carreras' fascinating publication, they discuss the proposal of the City Council for a division of neighborhoods based on the organization proposed in *Tots els Barris--35* official

²⁰⁷ Carreras i Verdagué, Carlos. (1980). Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona, Barcelona: Serpa, p. 8. In this same line, the studies of Eva Fernández Lamelas (anthropologist and president of the FAVB since 2004) show the importance and expansion of neighborhood movement in Catalonia (see: Fernández Lamela, Eva. (2016). *Vocalías y grupos de mujeres: el feminismo en los barrios. El movimiento de mujeres de base territorial durante la transición en el cinturón industrial de Barcelona (1974-1990)*. UAB, p. 146.).

²⁰⁸ Rebollo, Rodríguez y Sotos. (1977). *El movimiento ciudadano ante la democracia*. Ed. Cenit, Madrid, pp. 19-20.

²⁰⁹ Kelly, James Ronald; Carreras Verdagué, Carles. (1979). Sants, en la formulació de propostes d'una nova organització municipal, Separata de "Excursionisme", núm 21, 11p, Arxiu Bibliogràfic Excursionista.

²¹⁰ Kelly, J. R. (1980). *Les Eleccions municipals i parlamentàries als districtes de Barcelona 1910-1923* (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universitat de Barcelona, Facultat de Geografia i història; Dir. Emili Giralt).

neighborhoods divided into 12 districts, each with around 50,000 people. In turn, they stress the importance of a historical approach to defining the boundaries of the neighborhood.

Surprisingly, they argue that the social definition of neighborhood is of limited usefulness. As an example of this they cite the common interpretation (and that reproduced by Fabre and Huertas in *Tots els Barris*) that Sants is a working-class neighborhood. “Due to its origin as an independent town and its long complex historical tradition,” they write, “it is difficult to accept such a simplification. There were, it is true, workers at the steam-powered factories in the 1800’s, but there were also the shopkeepers and merchants of the *Carretera*, who supported the Ateneu or the Orfeó and other entities; the *Sindicat Únic* was formed in 1918, but also the Republican Left in 1931, without either fact being too significant.”²¹¹ According to Carreras, the emphasis of *Tots els Barris* on the working-class legacy of Sants relies too heavily on events like the Congress of Sants which, although it was a major moment in the history of the labor movement, actually had very little to do with Sants specifically. While Carreras considers *Tots els Barris* to be rather “populist”, he does not question the importance of industrialization for the growth of the neighborhood.²¹² This is demonstrated elegantly through an illustration prepared by the *Col·legi d'Arquitectes* de Barcelona showing the urban expansion of Sants at four points in history.²¹³ From 1850 onwards, with the construction of the Vapor Vell and the Vapor Nou, the expansion of the town accelerated dramatically. So while it may be overly-simplistic to characterize the town as working-class, we can at least say that the town is industrial, albeit not from the start.

²¹¹ Kelly, James Ronald; Carreras Verdaguer, Carles. (1979). Sants, en la formulació de propostes d'una nova organització municipal, Separata de "Excursionisme", núm 21, 11p, Arxiu Bibliogràfic Excursionista, p. 4.

²¹² “*Ultra les posicions preses des de postures polítiques, com les de l'equip de Jordi Borja a qui ja hem al·ludit, o des de postures "populistes", com la literatura de Huertas Claveria, jo voldria destacar uns quants punts de referència.*” (In: Carreras i Verdaguer, Carlos. (1978). L'estructura de la propietat com a creadora de l'espai urbà: el cas dels barris obrers del sud-est de Barcelona (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Horacio Capel, University of Barcelona, p. 81.) Huertas and Fabra, for their part, note that, “*Per evitar aproximacions com les actuals, caldrà que en un futur siguin aplicats criteris científics com feu Carles Carreras en el cas del seu llibre sobre Hostafrancs i com hem fet nosaltres en un sol cas --el Guinardó. És a dir, partint de la subdivisió més elemental a nivell oficial --seccions censals formades per tres o quatre illes de cases cadascuna i sumant dades existents nomes de determinades qüestions, com població-- per obtenir el total corresponent a la delimitació popular i real del barri.*” (Fabre, J. & Huertas Claveria, J. M. (1980). *Tots els Barris* de Barcelona, Barcelona: Edicions 62: prologue to the first edition (1976), p.20.

²¹³ Various Authors. (1978). Sants. Proyectos para la primera periferia. Cátedra de proyectos III: Grupo de Tarde. Publicaciones de la escuela de arquitectos de Barcelona. (Catedrático interino: Raimon Torres Torres, Profesores: Carlos Garcia Delgado/Carlos Martí Aris/Jaume SanMartí Verdaguer), October.

The growth of Sants²¹⁴



The recommendation of Carreras and Kelly is that a definition of the neighborhood must be pragmatic, while also watching out for political motivations. As they demonstrate, the promotion of a neighborhood-based organization has not always originated from the political left. In one instance in particular, the call for decentralization came from one of the most reactionary factions of the dominant classes of the era--the landowner, illustrious historian and member of the Lliga Francesc Carreras i Candi as well as Jaume Santoma. Interestingly, the rhetoric of these two, writing in 1916, is very similar to that of the neighborhood movement. "All of us," they wrote, "like the majority of citizens, aspire to a new organization of the administration in this Capital, based on the recognition of the personality of the old towns, today absorbed in the Municipality of Barcelona, and in the autonomy and liberty of action that these should have assigned, the same as every urban nucleus constituted or which will appear in the future."²¹⁵

The political instrumentalization of various types of neighborhood discourses at different points in Sants' history motivated different understandings of what the

²¹⁴ Carreras i Verdager, Carlos. (1980). Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona, Barcelona: Serpa, p. 105.

²¹⁵ Informe de la Cambra Oficial de la Propietat, Barcelona 1916. (Exemplar conserved in the AHS, U.E.C.)

neighborhood was, what it had been, and what it could be. In section 3.2 (working class social heritage) we looked at the industrial roots of a neighborhood-based working-class network which was used to improve working and living conditions in Sants. In section 3.3 (neighborhood heritage) we looked at the origin of the historic archive of Sants as a vindication of Sants' independent origins from Barcelona. We also discussed the work of the Secretariat in recovering Sants' Catalan identity. Each of these efforts (for a working-class, independent, or Catalan version of the neighborhood) were promoted by various combinations of constituencies. While the transition had demonstrated the potential strength of the neighborhood when unified against Francoism, the historical picture demonstrated by Carreras and Kelly showed a Sants which was far from a cultural monolith. Even discourses such as Catalan patriotism, which we analyzed in chapter 2.3 as an authorized industrial discourse, can not be oversimplified into political terms of left and right. The picture of Sants' cultural, historical, geographical, and political identity--as Carreras and Kelly argue--is extremely complex. Yet what we find in each of these projects are practices of study, interpretation, conservation and display which take as their primary object the neighborhood itself. In the language of this investigation, we can analyze these as practices of neighborhood musealization.

3.4.4 The neighborhood as ecomuseum

While it is true that a museum was never formally established in order to carry out these tasks of neighborhood study, interpretation, conservation and display, the field of museum studies still offers a valuable set of concepts and methodologies for analyzing these practices as they were carried out in a decentralized and grassroots manner. Here we will focus in particular on the concept of ecomuseology which was developed in France contemporaneously with the neighborhood movement in Sants and with which it shares many parallels.²¹⁶

Ecomuseums were conceptualized in the 1970's by the innovative French museologist and entrepreneur Henri Rivière, in an attempt to portray civilizations in their natural environments. In some respects, ecomuseology has its roots in open air museums, one of the first of which was the Skanson Museum in Stockholm, created in 1891, and designed to preserve and display a preindustrial rural society. Besides the material heritage

²¹⁶ For a general overview of ecomuseology and its application in Spain, see: Vilanova Fernández, Oriol. (2014). Ecomuseologia: d'identitats i territoris. Un museu més enllà del museu. *Her & Mus*, Vol VI, Num. 11, October-November, 2014: pp. 50-56. A more detailed study of the Catalan case is found in: Alcalde Gurt, G. and Rueda Torres, J.M. (2012). Ecomuseology and local museums in Catalonia (Spain). Influences and coincidences during the 1975-1985 period. In, *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities*. Seixal, Portugal. September 19-21, 2012.

and architecture preserved at sites like this, the focus was mostly anthropological.²¹⁷ Open air museums also functioned as sites for historical recreation and education.

Rivière, born in 1897, launched the National Museum of Arts and Popular Traditions in 1937, and later worked with the French Ethnology Center. In 1948 he was the first director of ICOM, the international council of museums. According to Rivière, Ecomuseums were to be museums which spoke to the territory, nature and the people who lived there. To achieve this goal, ecomuseums relied on the reconstruction of pre-existing ecological and social units, making them accessible to the public, and largely based on the participation of the inhabitants of that territory.²¹⁸

The experience which catalyzed the development of this new approach to museology was that of the Le Creusot ecomuseum in France. Starting in 1968, a center for plastic arts (ancient, primitive, contemporary) was established in Le Creusot. By 1970, this center was converted into the National Center for Investigation and Cultural Promotion of Plastic Arts (CRACAP), with Riviere as one of its founding members. Over the next few years, this center worked to design and promote the Museum of Man and Industry in Creusot. It was in this context that, in 1973, Rivière, along with m. Evrard, would draft the first sketch of a museological program and in which the term *musée éclaté* ('exploded museum') would first be used to describe the concept. This would be the entity onto which Evrard and Rivière would graft their idea of ecomuseum, establishing in 1974 the Ecomuseum of the Community of le Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines. The project had four areas of focus: memory (the inventory of material and immaterial heritage in its environment), knowledge (dynamic awareness of the environment through research), the joint management and evaluation of this medium by its inhabitants and a scientific team (acclamation, exhibitions, publications, documentation), and creation (artist residencies and activities with plastic arts linked with the industrial and technical context).²¹⁹

One must not forget that part of Rivière's job was promoting his museological innovations, and at least on paper, the idea of ecomuseum was new, bold, and exciting. Some referred to the idea as a sort of 'anti-museum' in a critique of traditional museums' positivist tendency of fragmenting heritage in order to order it under a particular domain of knowledge). Rather than a collection, ecomuseology emphasized heritage. Instead of a building-- a territory. Instead of visitors-- community. The goal was to break down the normal hierarchies and categories established in museums by inverting the function of the museum at a structural level. It was to be, in Riviere's words, "an instrument of both public and local power working

²¹⁷ The link between ecomuseology and anthropology can be illustrated by Mario Moutinho and Maria Manuela Oliveira's presentation in the Catalan Institute of Anthropology's Seminar entitled "New museology: a factor in community development" (1985).

²¹⁸ Rivière, Georges Henri. (1980). *La Museologia*. (Translated: Anton Rodriguez Casal, 1993), Akal.

²¹⁹ Bellaigue-Scalbert, Mathilde. (1980). *Conservadora del ecomuseo de la Comunidad Le Creusot-Montceau, 1976-85*. In: Riviere, Georges Henri. (1980). *La Museologia*. (Translated: Anton Rodriguez Casal, 1993), Akal.

together.... A mirror in which this population looks at itself, to recognize itself in it, where it seeks the explanation of the territory to which it is attached, together with that of the populations that have preceded it, in the discontinuity or continuity of generations. A mirror that this population presents to its guests, to make themselves understood better, respecting their work, their behavior, their privacy.”²²⁰ He goes on to describe an ecomuseum as an interpretation space, a conservatory, and a laboratory... ‘inspired in common principles.’ In 1977, a system of participation was developed based on local associationism.

Many of the characteristics which Rivière envisions for the ecomuseum parallel those of the neighborhood movement in Sants. Both attempted to organize a grassroots, participatory model for collective identity-making and representation based on associationism and self-management. Both involved a historical program dedicated to studying and conserving local memory in the context of the dramatic urban transformation of deindustrialization. Both were concerned with the question of how to interpret, educate and display these findings in the community. Both occurred during the 1970’s.

These similarities beg the question of the degree to which the ideas of ecomuseology were influential in Sants at this time. Speaking to this point, J.M Rueda Torres and G. Alcalde Gurt participated in the *1st International conference on ecomuseums, community museums and living communities* in 2012 with a presentation titled “Ecomuseology and local museums in Catalonia (Spain). Influences and coincidences during the 1975-1985 period.”²²¹

Regarding ecomuseology specifically, in 1973, both Hugues de Varine-Bohan and Georges Henri Rivière participated in the seminar "Museums, Education and Society," organized in Barcelona by the Junta de Museus in 1973. In 1974, Lluís Monreal, curator of the national artistic heritage of Catalonia, was nominated the Director General of ICOM, succeeding Hugues de Varine-Bohan. Monreal himself was a strong advocate for Ecomuseums. In November 25, 1973, he was responded in an interview in *La Vanguardia* that, “We need fewer museums for tourists and more museums dedicated to communities, which are their natural audience.”²²² As an example, he cited the ‘*museos de vecinaje*’ in North America, such as the Anacostia community museum established in a neighborhood of

²²⁰ Riviere, Georges Henri. (1980). *La Museologia*. (Translated: Anton Rodriguez Casal, 1993), Akal, p. 32.

²²¹ As they point out, Catalonia has a long history of engagement with French museological principles. The first local museums in Catalonia, dating to the turn of the 20th century, were influenced in particular by Frederic Mistral's Musée Artlesien. Mistral's discourse fitted well with the idealized concepts of the Catalan bourgeoisie's ideology, which was basically conservative and nationalist. The Musée de l'Homme (1937) and Musée d'Arts et Métiers (1937) in Paris, under the influence of Georges Henri Rivière, played a factor in the establishment, in 1943, of what would become the Museu d'Arts, Industries i Tradicions Populars del Poble Espanyol de Barcelona. (Alcalde Gurt, G. and Rueda Torres, J.M. (2012). *Ecomuseology and local museums in Catalonia (Spain). Influences and coincidences during the 1975-1985 period*. In, *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities*. Seixal, Portugal. September 19-21, 2012.)

²²² Espinos, Rafael. *Ratas y fotos*. *La Vanguardia*, November 25, 1973, p. 35.

Washington D.C. in 1967, as well as the ‘casas del museu’ in Mexico made up of *chabolas* (‘shacks’) where temporary exhibits were organized on topics most relevant to the public. This ‘public,’ according to Monreal, was not the same as ‘visitors:’

A visitor is the person who enters the museum because they have nothing to do and the visit is free, to buy hashish -as happens for example, in the National Gallery- or for the simple reason that it is typical when visiting a certain city. The visitor is temporary, while the public is the community that the entire museum must serve.²²³

Monreal describes an ecomuseum in opposition to traditional, monographic museums. He sites Le Creusot as an example, where museum objects, buildings and content are placed in their cultural framework. “The exposicion,” he explains, “is the whole town; its streets, industries and houses. The role of the museum is that of an information service on the objects of study and observation, in constant evolution. And the objects are those of a town itself. The function of the ‘Ecomuseum,’ then, assumes a guiding role as well as guardianship or conservation and its management will correspond to a group of professionals in urban planning, architecture, sociology ... and a balanced representation of the inhabitants of Le Creusot.”²²⁴ Monreal also contributed to a monographic issue of CAU magazine earlier that year, titled “Museums: Why and for whom?”²²⁵

While a certain degree of awareness of ecomuseology certainly existed in Catalonia at this time, Rueda Torres and Alcalde Gurt assert that although Catalan local museums during this time period coincided strongly with the postulates of ecomuseology, they came to the conclusions of ecomuseology through a process of self-evolution rather than as a result of previous knowledge of the theory of ecomuseology. As we have seen, contact with the ecomuseology theory was not constant yet there was an explicit desire to apply it. The coincidence and relationship between the development of local museums and ecomuseology is not unique to Catalonia and occurred in other countries such as Italy and Portugal.²²⁶

From this, it seems that we can view Rivière’s theorization of the concept of ecomuseum as just one facet of a more general development in museology, or rather, museological critique, which placed ecological and social aspects of heritage in the foreground. In his article on Ecomuseums and the new commons, W. Bigell discusses the ways that ecomuseums challenge ideas of private ownership of not only tangible resources

²²³ (Ibid. p. 35)

²²⁴ (Ibid. p. 35)

²²⁵ Crespan, J.L. & Trallero, M. (1973). Museos. ¿Para qué y para quién? CAU, number 20, July-August. Also, see: Magliacani M. (2015). The Ecomuseum Practices: An International Overview. In: Managing Cultural Heritage: Ecomuseum, Community Governance and Social Accountability. Palgrave Pivot, London, pp. 48-60.

²²⁶ Alcalde Gurt, G. and Rueda Torres, J.M. (2012). Ecomuseology and local museums in Catalonia (Spain). Influences and coincidences during the 1975-1985 period. In, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities. Seixal, Portugal. September 19-21, 2012.

like land and artifacts, but also intangible resources like heritage.²²⁷ According to Bigell, ecomuseums are politically significant for how they propose to reclaim that commons and create an awareness of history in a territory as told by those who create it, rather than by those who own it. “The political and cultural opposite of the ecomuseum is not the Louvre,” he writes, “--it is the theme park:

Whereas the Louvre does not represent local community but central authority and defines a national identity in solely symbolic, not territorial terms, it is nevertheless a component of the commons, representing the public level. The commercial theme park, on the other hand, is not part of the commons--it forces its logic of entertainment and commodification onto culture and space, it does not engage visitors but fulfills their expectations of "authenticity" which often means a confirmation of stereotypes, it glosses over unpleasant conflicts (unless they are entertaining), it reduces living heritage to unique selling points, and it freezes an image of history without creating a community. The theme park is an expression of the progressing commodification and cultural enclosure in the neoliberal world, and the ecomuseum can be seen as a reaction to this trend. This reaction can only be effective if it is seen in a larger context of resistance against the new enclosures of the commons, the monopolization of space and the commodification of heritage.”²²⁸

The concept of new commons, as defined by Charlotte Hess in 2008, resonates strongly with what people like Carles Carreras expressed in the 1970's when defining the concept of neighborhood as a place of collective life.²²⁹ In an article from 2008, Hess distinguishes between cultural, neighborhood, knowledge, social, infrastructure, market and global commons. The concept of commons can also be applied to the field of critical heritage studies as a counterpoint to Smith's concept of the authorized heritage discourse with its top-down, expert-mediated connotations and hegemonic function. The role of the Historic Archive of Sants can be viewed as an example of an alternative variety of participatory, grassroots heritage work with a liberating function-- the musealization of the neighborhood, by the neighborhood, for the neighborhood. This also explains the hesitancy of Carles Carreras in assuming the role of an outside expert, opting instead to participate from within the neighborhood movement as a fellow neighbor.

There are a lot of examples one could point to in order to demonstrate the similarities between ecomuseology and the campaigns of the neighborhood movement for the cause of neighborhood conservationism regarding both urbanistic and cultural aspects. One, however, stands out for its particular relevance to our investigation. It is a publication from 1982, of

²²⁷ Bigell, W. (2012). Ecomuseums and the new commons. In, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities. Seixal, Portugal. September 19-21, 2012.

²²⁸ Bigell, W. (2012). Ecomuseums and the new commons. In, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities. Seixal, Portugal. September 19-21, P. 27.

²²⁹ Hess, Charlotte. 2008. Mapping the New Commons. Syracuse: Syracuse University Library.

the Historic Archive of Sants in collaboration with a group from the Teachers College of Barcelona called *Sants: One hundred years of industrialization*.²³⁰ Essentially, it is a neighborhood guidebook, including maps and graphic materials created by the school of architecture in *Sants, proyectos para la primera periferia*, as well as historical descriptions of the neighborhood taken from Carreras' book on Sants as well as *Tots els Barris*. It was intended as a practical resource for teachers in Sants.

Another important aspect of this text is the context of its presentation. In 1982, neighbors from Sants made the long long journey across Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarra, all the way to Bilbao for the First conference for the protection and revalorization of industrial heritage. This conference was the first of its kind in Spain and was a milestone in the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to the country (this conference, and the industrial heritage movement in general, are the topic of chapter 4.3). Of all of the possible industrial neighborhoods in Spain which could have been presented on at this event-- it would be the neighbors of Sants who pioneered the idea of an industrial neighborhood as an heritage object. This was an argument they didn't just make with words-- they presented 'Sants: one hundred years of industrialization' as a concrete example of how to musealize an industrial neighborhood as such.

What discourses on Sants' industrial past are presented here? After a discussion on 1) the precedents of the industrial Sants, 2) Sants during the industrializing drive, and 3) the industrial proletariat, the rest of the document is divided into six sections, each followed by a homemade map of Sants featuring a different typology of industrial site: 1) large factories, 2) mid-sized and small factories and small workshops, 3) shops and workshops, 4) neighborhoods and housing, 5) services, and 6) social, cultural and political sites. These maps provide a direct link between the historical Sants discussed in the text and the current day Sants. The idea is that a class could take a local field trip and visit these sites. Thus we read, in the description of the Can Batlló factory, "Of the three big factories, it is the one which offers most possibilities for schools as you can visit its interior configuration, the structure of the building and its multiple sheds. Location: c/ Constitució 19, c/ Parcerisas, c/ Les

²³⁰ Amorós Ortuño, Ismael; Burguera Gómez, Jordi; Hernández Cardona, Francesc Xavier; Hualde Aramburu, Maite; Leria Martín, Manuel; Martínez Garrido, Maria; Montolio González, Oleguer; Nebot Vilaseca, Marta; Ortiz Rodríguez, Josep Lluís; Pujol Meralles, Victòria; de Quadras Puig, Magalí; Rosell Torrés, Rosa Maria; Vilaseca Cuyàs, Imma; Villarejo Arias, Marissa. This guide was the result of a practicum organized for third year students of the *Escola de Mestres de Barcelona*, and was published by Consell Municipal del Districte VII, Secretariat d'Entitats de Sants, Hostafrancs i La Bordeta, and the Arxiu Històric de Sants. It was also presented at the first conference for the protection and revaluation of industrial heritage, held in 1982 in Bilbao. (Col.lectiu de l'escola de mestres de Barcelona. (1982). Sants. Cent anys d'industrialització. Elements de recerca escolar. (Barcelona, Consell Municipal del Districte VII-Secretariat d'Entitats-Arxiu Històric de Sants). In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 513-546.)

Panes.”²³¹

The Vapor Vell is discussed at two different places in the text, and given two different starting dates, 1840 and 1842, which evidences the use of two different sources. A condensed version of the historical information found in Carreras' book is given, but this time a new ending is added on: “In the near future, the lands of the Vapor Vell will be remodeled by private hands and a street will pass through it, and it seems that the factory, a veritable monument to the industrial neighborhood of Sants, the pioneer of machinism, will be demolished, unless the citizenry becomes sensitized to industrial archeology and prevents it, which at the moment seems quite improbable.”²³²

This is probably the first time that the word monument was ever used to describe the Vapor Vell. It is especially important to recognize what exactly the Vapor Vell was being vindicated as a monument to. This publication makes it clear-- the Vapor Vell was a monument to the industrial neighborhood of Sants.

Conclusion

Over the course of this section on Sants, we have looked at a number of initiatives in Sants which fit with the objectives of an ecomuseum to explain a civilization in its natural environment. These include the *Tots els Barris de Barcelona* project of Huertas and Fabre, the work of academics like Carles Carreras and James Ronald Kelly as well as the efforts of Anselm Cartaña in promoting the Historic Archive of Sants and Secretariat initiatives. Even the early efforts of the Centre Social de Sants to study the condition of the neighborhood (*Cop d'Ull a Sants*), and to launch a broad campaign based on filling the deficits in public resources and improving the quality of life for the neighbors (*Salvem Sants*) are initiatives of neighborhood conservation, and even if this group didn't express a heritage objective, their actions can be interpreted as a recovery of social heritage. An important element of the neighborhood movement in Sants was precisely the area of education and display. Not only did they musealize a vision of what the neighborhood was (what I have referred to as the neighborhood discourse), but also what a neighbor was (aka, the neighbor discourse). Often, these musealizations took place out in the open, in the *places publiques* where the Centre Social became accustomed to setting up expositions in order to engage and inform neighbors on how to participate in their various campaigns. There was also a growing network of

²³¹ Col·lectiu de l'escola de mestres de Barcelona. (1982). Sants. Cent anys d'industrialització. Elements de recerca escolar. (Barcelona, Consell Municipal del Districte VII-Secretariat d'Entitats-Arxiu Històric de Sants). In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 527.

²³² (Ibid. p. 526.)

exhibition sites connected with the recovery of the social fabric of associationism and cooperation between entities.²³³

The importance of Sants' industrial past in this general project of neighborhood musealization was fundamental and for this reason the neighborhood became the principal interpretive lens for studying old factories like the Vapor Vell at this time. Even so, interest in the material heritage of Sants' industrial past at this time was minimal. As we've seen, this situation would slowly begin to change around the year 1982 when some neighbors from Sants traveled to Bilbao to present at the First Conference for the Preservation and Revalorization of Industrial Heritage. Before this, the value of old factories like the Vapor Vell was attributed, rather, to the lands which they occupied-- both in order to fill the neighborhood's deficit of parks, libraries, schools, hospitals, etc, as well as to protect against speculative enterprises which prioritized profit over the quality of life of the neighborhood.

²³³ Already in March of 1975, the Centre Social published in their bulletin the following announcement: "continuem la campanya "salvem Sants". SALVEM EL NOSTRE DISTRICTE. Exposicions a: Associació de veïns BADAL, Carrer Begur, 8. Associació de veïns SOL DE BAIX, Carrer Fígols, 20. CENTRE SOCIAL DE SANTS, Carrer Olzinelles, 30. Associació de veïns HOSTAFRANCS (gestora) i ATENEU MONTSERRAT, Carrer Torre Damians, 11. ORFEÓ DE SANTS, Carrer de Sants 71. (In: Centre Social de Sants. Salvem la Espanya Industrial. Butlletí del Centre Social de Sants. (circa) March, 1975, p. 30.)

Chapter 4)

Salvem el Vapor Vell: Clash of Discourses

Section Index:

4.1 RECUPEREM EL VAPOR VELL

4.2 THE INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE MOVEMENT IN CATALONIA

4.3 INDUSTRIAL ARCHEOLOGY

4.4 INDUSTRIAL MUSEALIZATION

Vapor Vell

From the Plaça de Sants, the Vapor Vell is only a stone's throw away. The problem is that, in order to hit the Vapor Vell with a stone from the plaça, you would have to throw it over the top of the building which stands in between. Visibility of the Vapor Vell, and direct access, is screened off from the plaça as well as from the Passeig de Sant Antoni which connects the plaça with the Estació de Sants. This means that, unless you know what you are looking for, the old factory is difficult to find. It is tucked away from the public view, 'invisibilized' by the urban layout of the area. Some of this is due to the fact that the factory was built prior to the urban plans which have been used in the surrounding zone. In fact, the road which passes right in front of the factory, Carrer Joan Güell, includes a slight curve in order to not chop the main factory building in half. The pedestrian area which surrounds the building is too big to be a sidewalk yet too small to be a plaza, as though the urban design of the area was only half-finished.

In general, it's not the situation you would expect of a building which has been declared a heritage resource of national interest, the highest level of recognition and protection which exists in Spain. Even more mysterious is the fact that, besides the plaque informing that this is the "Biblioteca Vapor Vell", there is hardly any information or explanation of what it is this building used to be, or that, besides being a library and a primary school, it is in actuality an historic-artistic monument. During the years that I've known about the Vapor Vell, it's chimney has been graffitied with the word 'SUCRE.' I'm not sure what that is a reference to, but it certainly doesn't contribute to a sense of the building's heritage value. I wondered how many of the people who lived in this area knew the history of the factory.

On the side of the factory where I imagine that the old swimming pools built by anarchists during the civil war used to be, now there is a subterranean parking garage. This, at least, is my best guess of where they were; the parking attendant on duty had no idea what I was talking about when I asked about it. Inside the library, the librarians were unable to fill me in on any more information about the building. The library's collection of local history, I couldn't help but notice, did not include either the memoir of the campaign to save the Vapor Vell (Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular, 1984) nor the didactic materials created to promote the history of the factory in local schools (Materials per a una didàctica del Vapor Vell, 1986). In general, I was disillusioned by the lack of 'musealization' which had occurred at the Vapor Vell, despite the fact that it had received such an important heritage status.

The one exception is a small mural which has been created in the stairwell between the 1st and 3rd floors; but rather than presenting the history of the factory this consists of a collage of historical documentation and photos. It's a gesture to the history of the Vapor Vell without providing much substance.

The musealization of the Vapor Vell



Cultural Politics

It is apparent that, between the vindication of the Vapor Vell as a historic-artistic monument and the realization of the actual site as it exists today, a number of factors have contributed to the ‘mutilation’ of the original project.¹ In this chapter, I frame this process in terms of a ‘clash of discourses.’ As Oevermann and Mieg discuss in their book of the same title, urban industrial heritage debates often represent an intersection of heritage discourses with competing discourses of urban regeneration and architectural production.² As we saw in the introduction to this thesis in the case of Poblenou, this dynamic has tended to pit industrial heritage defenders against urban planners who would rather replace the old factories with new constructions. The most classic compromise in these circumstances is to demolish the factory but leave the chimney as a token industrial memoir. The question of reuse is another characteristic feature of these debates.

What is interesting about the case of the Vapor Vell, however, is that the campaigns to “save the Vapor Vell” did not just represent a battle between the discourse of conservation vs redevelopment--heritage vs destruction--but involved a clash of discourses regarding the nature of these industrial heritage values in themselves. What did this heritage consist of? What was its value? Who did it belong to? What could it do? Different answers to these

¹ This use of the word ‘mutilation’ here is in reference to a quote from Josep Xarles, the first president of the Centre Social de Sants, who is cited as saying that “Of all the projects contemplated in the exhibition Cop d'ull a Sants [“take a look at Sants”] exhibition, the most mutilated has been that of the Vapor Vell.” (Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, p. 115.)

² Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

fundamental questions led to the development of different cultural policies at different levels of government. At the most local level, the neighborhood movement vindicated the conservation of the factory as a neighborhood resource, while at the municipal level the property was viewed as an economic burden that could not be shouldered. Meanwhile, at the national (Catalan) level, industrial heritage was being incorporated into the cultural program of the Generalitat as a distinctive feature of Catalan national identity. The campaigns for the Vapor Vell would be a proving ground for state, city, and neighborhood governments as they developed their own cultural politics of industrial musealization.

An important theme in this chapter is that which Guillem Martinez and others have called the ‘culture of the transition;’ the development, during this period of return to democracy, of a cultural production motivated by the need for political stability and social cohesion, while lacking in a critical reflection and based on the deactivation of participative forms of governance.³ It was during these years that the neighborhood movement entered into crisis. The campaign for the Vapor Vell marked their last major victory for years to come, and even then it was only a partial victory. It was only after the economic crisis of 2008 that a resurgence in neighborhood activity and organization would kindle the flames which had been lit with *Salvem Sants* in 1974, and the neighbors would once again take to the streets to ‘*reivindicar*’ a factory as a community resource-- in this case, Can Batlló.

In this chapter, we continue our analysis of industrial musealization through the evaluation of the discourses, constituencies and uses which it was given during this historical context of the culture of the transition, investigating how these dynamics contributed to the construction of cultural politics, national identities and the legitimation of the new state.⁴

Section Summary

In section 4.1 (*Recuperem el Vapor Vell*) I look at the neighbors’ disappointing *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign (1983-84) in the context of the redistribution of Barcelona’s urban governance still in its infant stage since the 1979 municipal elections. The problem of the Vapor Vell became a testing ground for the new political parties at the state, city, and neighborhood levels as they each worked to define their spheres of authority in terms of public urban management. I evaluate the evolving political character of the transition starting with a survey of the political heritage discourses used by the Pujolists to win the Generalitat, the Socialists to win the City Hall, and the extra-parliamentary left who would remain in the neighborhood associations. This would be a difficult time for these associations

³ Martinez, Guillem (coord.). (2012). *CT o la Cultura de la Transición. Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Barcelona, Random House.

⁴ Sastre, Jaume; Valentines, Jaume. *Museus, ciència i política “en Transició”: algunes reflexions historiogràfiques*. Presented at the XV Trobada d’Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica. November 7-9, 2018. More recently, these questions have become a focus of an ongoing investigation financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. See: Sastre, Jaume & Simon, Josep (coords.). “Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española” [MUSAUPOL, PID2019-104897GA-I00], 2020-2022.

as they suffered desertion by their members, the institutionalization of their capacities within the public administration, and a growing sense of disillusionment.

In the next section, (4.2 the industrial heritage movement in Catalonia), I leave the neighborhood of Sants to trace perhaps the most decisive factor in the heritagization of the Vapor Vell-- the international industrial heritage movement which arrived in Spain at the same time as the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalonia resurrected their pre-war project of building a national technical museum for Catalonia. Pujol's Generalitat signed off on this project, which was led by Eusebi Casanelles who expanded the museum's theme from science and technology to include industrialization. The first big step was purchasing a modernist factory in Terrassa as the museum's headquarters, where it was provisionally opened in 1984.

This set the stage for Xavier Hernández, a teacher at Barcelona's normal school and a neighbor of Sants, to devise a strategy for ensuring the conservation of the Vapor Vell. His *Salvem el Vapor Vell* campaign is the subject of section 4.3 (industrial archeology). Hernández introduced the concept of industrial heritage values into the struggle for neighborhood conservationism, claiming the factory as an important symbol of Sants, of industrial architecture, and of the Catalan working class. Hernández also launched the Grup de Recerca d'Arqueologia Industrial de Sants to give academic legitimacy to the cause, and collected the signatures of around 100 academics for the manifesto. This campaign was also a milestone in the development of the discipline of industrial archeology in Barcelona, which at this time was viewed with promise by educators working on a post-Franco curricular reform. The social sciences in general were advocated for as a methodology for connecting the curriculum with the local environment and promoting student-centered, interdisciplinary project-based learning. Industrial archeology also promised the methodological tools for expanding the industrial archive and making it possible to tell richer narratives of industrialization, beyond just the business-centered 'authorized industrial discourses.' In practice, however, the discipline would enter into crisis and end up on the margins of academic legitimacy.

In the final section (4.4 industrial musealization), I trace three cultural politics regarding industrial musealization which from the beginning of the 1990's had begun to crystalize at the three levels of public administration: Generalitat, City Council, and neighborhood. At the (Catalan) national level, the Generalitat acquired the mNACTEC as a national museum and incorporated industrialization as an additional arm of its cultural policy of Catalan identity, although the curators of this project would struggle to expand the museological discourse beyond the classic protagonists of the authorized industrial discourse-- factories, businessmen, and technology. At the municipal level, Barcelona's cultural politics were defined by the 1992 Olympics and an approach that prioritized economic development and architectural production over heritage discourses, as seen with the case of the construction of the Olympic Village in 1987 and the erasure of the industrial

neighborhood of Icària. Maragall's socialist government would continue with this approach down the coastline of Poblenou, destroying the Taulat neighborhood in 2000 for the construction of the 2004 Fòrum de les Cultures. Finally, it is at the neighborhood level that the musealization of Barcelona's industrial past has been given its most eclectic and socially-conscious treatment, typically through the efforts of volunteer work-groups made up of active citizens and academics. It was the Group of Industrial Archeology of Poblenou that first succeeded in bringing these alternative industrial heritage values into the public conversation. In the years since the campaign to save the Vapor Vell, the subsequent three most important conservation victories for industrial heritage in Barcelona- Can Ricart, Fabra i Coats, and Can Batlló-- have shared this neighborhood approach to heritage.

4.1 RECUPEREM EL VAPOR VELL

In 1983, the company owning part of the lands of the Vapor Vell, Holding Rumasa, was expropriated by the Spanish government. All of a sudden, the lands which the neighbors had been demanding since 1976 appeared to be ripe for the taking. The national government had already seized them, now the Centre Social de Sants just needed to convince the state to pass the ownership over to the neighbors. Despite having won the Cotxeres de Sants in 1975 and the Espanya Industrial a few years later, what the neighbors would discover over the course of this new campaign, *Recuperem el Vapor Vell*, was that the golden days of the neighborhood movement were over. The years between the death of Franco in 1975 and the first municipal elections in 1979 represented a time when the government lacked democratic mandate and the neighbors associations wielded a greater amount of political power.⁵ The battle for the lands of the Vapor Vell, on the other hand, would take place in a very different political context and the neighbors would soon find that their old methods no longer worked as before.

The Transition

Answering the question of what it was that changed after the municipal elections of 1979 brings up an important historical context which is fundamental to understanding the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign-- the transition to democracy. Not only is this a difficult topic for me to address due to the fact that, as an outsider, I know very little about this context compared with many who have lived during these moments and written extensively on the subject, but it is complicated further by a growing movement of scholarship which has been critical of the traditional narrative of the transition. Some historians question whether there was a real transition at all, or if the thing was mostly show-- this is what scholars like Bernat Muniesa, Ferran Gallego and Emmanuel Rodríguez have called the “myth of the transition.”⁶ This historiographical trend has not just critiqued the contents of some of the most common narratives about the transition but also analyzed their emergence and political usefulness in the context of the construction of a new institutional legitimacy. The mechanisms of cultural production during this period played a fundamental role, as Guillem Martinez and other

⁵ This is a thesis defended by Xavier Domènech, who highlights the strength of the labor and neighborhood movements of these years and the process of negotiating a transition which was characterized as peaceful and successful, yet was founded on amnesty and amnesia. Domènech, Xavier. (2002). *Quan el carrer va deixar d'ésser seu. Moviment obrer, societat civil i canvi polític. Sabadell, 1966-1976*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat.

⁶ Gallego, Ferran. (2008). *El mito de la Transición: La crisis del Franquismo y los orígenes de la democracia (1973-1977)*. Barcelona, Crítica. Regarding the historical context of the neighborhood movements in large Spanish cities since the 1960's, their role in achieving better conditions in their urban environments in the 1970's, in the conditions of the welfare state founded from 1977-1986, and their role in the new democratic administration since 1979, see: Rodríguez López, Emmanuel. (2015). *Por qué fracasó la democracia en España. La transición y el régimen del 78*. Madrid, Traficantes de Sueños. Pp. 197-235. Also, Muniesa, Bernat. (2005). *Dictadura y transición II. La monarquía parlamentaria*. Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona.

authors have studied in relation to what they term the “culture of the transition.”⁷

The ongoing debates regarding the nature of the transition are relevant to this investigation of the Vapor Vell-- particularly if we use the case study of the Vapor Vell in order to contribute to our understanding of the transition, and not vice-versa. We can know things about a political system by the use it makes of heritage. As Alfrey and Putnam write in *The Industrial Heritage*, “What counts as heritage changes, therefore, not only because the potential resource is augmented or diminished by the passage of time, but because what may be done with it changes also. Changes in the constitution of states and of the mode of political participation offered to subjects provide one set of parameters.”⁸ In this respect, the story of the Vapor Vell becoming heritage provides an opportunity to understand how this new democracy functioned in practice while in its infant state. As Sastre and Valentines have pointed out, despite the reinvigorated interest in the culture of the transition, there remains little understanding of how the musealization of science, technology and industry contributed to the construction of cultural politics, national identities, and the legitimation of the new state.⁹

In this chapter we will begin with a chronology of the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign before taking a step back to evaluate the elections of 1979 with a particular focus on the political heritage discourses used by the major parties in campaigning. Finally, we will evaluate the consequences of the elections for the neighborhood movement, paying particular attention to the themes of decentralization and disillusionment.

4.1.1 Chronology of the campaign (1983-1984)

Holding Rumasa was a group of Spanish businesses owned by the Ruiz-Mateos family (hence Ru-Ma-SA, where the SA stands for *societat anònima*, or “anonymous society”), which at the time of expropriation consisted of over 700 business, 60,000 people, and 2 billion

⁷ Martinez, Guillem (coord.). (2012). *CT o la Cultura de la Transición. Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Barcelona, Random House.

⁸ Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London, 1992.

⁹ “How did this impact the political management of the processes of de-industrialization and development of the tertiary sector in those years? What tensions existed between the different political parties in this matter? What relationship did they have with the great unions, the labor movement and the local movement? How did they intersect with the new social movements? And with the new group of academics who entered the university at this time (especially, of anti-Francoist and Catalan nationalist orientation)? How did the experts in museography, heritage management and history of science and technology become institutionalized? How was the notion of industrial “heritage” constructed? In what ways was this heritage used - rhetorically and physically - in the (re) construction of the pre-Olympic city and in the intensification and management of urban conflict?” Sastre, Jaume; Valentines, Jaume. (2018). *Museus, ciència i política “en Transició”: algunes reflexions historiogràfiques*. Presented at the XV Trobada de la Societat d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica, Tarragona. November 7-9, 2018.

euros/year.¹⁰ In February of 1983, the socialist government of Spain at that time, led by Felipe Gonzalez, considered the company too big to fail and a danger to the Spanish economy and decided against nationalizing the company in favor of breaking it up and re-privatizing it. One of the constituent companies of Rumasa was Galerías Preciados, the company which had purchased part of the lands of the Vapor Vell in order to build a shopping center, although the project had later been halted after neighborhood protests.

With the lands temporarily in the hands of the state, the Centre Social seized the opportunity to demand that the lands be municipalized and allocated for public services, reviving the legacy of the *Salvem Sants* campaign which they had started almost ten years prior. The tone of their first manifesto, titled “We will recover the Vapor Vell. Going towards a better neighborhood” and mailed to representatives at various levels of government on September 1, 1983, declared the seriousness of their intentions as well as their total confidence in achieving their goals:

“With the arrival of the democratic city council, and seeing the opposition to the project presented, [Jorba Preciados] decided to halt [their construction] definitively on January 5, 82. This was followed by the expropriation by the state of all the assets of Rumasa, which owned 75% of the shares of Galerías Preciados, and which has once again put the issue on the table, and the urgency of reprivatizing all the goods in a short timeframe has put us on guard made us reclaim again this important space for the neighborhood. We are sure of getting what we ask for. To date, we have won all the spaces, thanks to our reasons and to our force. We also need this space and WE WILL NOT STOP UNTIL WE GET IT.” [capitalization in the original]¹¹

Before the end of September, 1983, the Centre Social de Sants, in collaboration with the Secretariat, was already building considerable momentum for this new “*lluita reivindicativa*.” The campaign featured an intense program of public awareness-raising and participation through signature collection and press releases. Letters were sent to political representatives at the neighborhood, city, state, and national levels and numerous press conferences were held. By late November, 3,000 signatures had been gathered in support of the campaign, as well as the support of around 100 neighborhood entities and all of the local political parties, across the political spectrum—from the Pujolists to the radical left.

But there was one group remaining conspicuously quiet about the whole thing. “All are in accord with supporting the claim to the Vapor Vell,” a journalist from the AVUI newspaper reports. “However, the district council did not want to join it officially. Yesterday, at a press conference, the organizers of the campaign were hurt by the only suspicion they have encountered against their claim: that of the municipal council.”

At this point in the article, the reporter from AVUI turns to one of the organizers for a direct quote, probably from Jordi Clausell, a member of the Secretariat who typically handled the

¹⁰ Ynfante, Jesús. (1975). Los negocios ejemplares: Rumasa, Sofico, Matesa, los negocios del “Caudillo”. Toulouse: Monipodio.

¹¹ Manifesto published in: Vapor Vell, *Victòria Popular*. September 1, 1983.

press, and who took the opportunity to explain the situation from the neighbors' perspective, "With the arrival of the Democratic government, people who had fought in neighbors associations and other entities believed that the city would run by itself, but now we have all become disillusioned. Either we go back to the movement of the base, or we will stagnate in the situation of 1978. The City Council has not properly used the blank check that we gave them."

Clausell finishes his critique of municipal government with a case-in-point example which, in 1983, was a fresh wound for neighbors of Sants. "For example, the plaza of the Països Catalans next to the Sants rail station-- they did it without consulting the people and now they find out that nobody likes it. As democratic as the city council may be, it needs people to mobilize the initiatives of the neighborhoods."¹²

A few days later it appeared as though this complaint would be addressed. Barcelona's deputy mayor, Mercè Sala, granted an audience to the organizers of the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign and, reportedly, showed an interest in the project, promising to give an official response within a month's time, once she had studied the economic operativity of the proposal.¹³ Naturally, this was the important question— how much would 'recovering the Vapor Vell' cost? This turned out to be a somewhat complicated question to answer because, although the land was credited as being worth 11,000 pesetas/m², the neighbors estimated the price at half that due to the stigma that the campaign itself created for potential buyers. As Jordi Clausell explained to a reporter from the *Correo Catalán*, "The *Consistorio de Barcelona* should submit a deposit of purchase because it is unlikely that a private buyer will try to purchase the lands after learning about the mobilization of the interests of the neighborhood."¹⁴ In an article in the *Avui* newspaper, Josep Espinàs, the district councilman, claimed that this was an inflated price which had been fixed to help RUMASA embezzle funds, and it could be withdrawn.¹⁵

There was also a plan to occupy the Vapor Vell, although this is not mentioned in the memoir of the campaign produced by the Secretariat. It's not clear exactly when this happened, or what became of the project, but amidst the archived materials preserved by the Historic Archive of Sants there is a pamphlet titled "Entrem al Vapor Vell" signed by the M.D.T Sants, the Moviment de Defensa de la Terra. The ink drawing pictures a group of adults and children wielding a pickaxe and breaking through a wall to enter the Vapor Vell. A Catalan independentist flag is drawn beside them. Regardless of what became of this particular initiative, it clearly fits within the broader objectives of the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign, to not only raise public awareness and pressure for the municipalization of the lands, but also to directly affect the price which the lands could be sold for by scaring off

¹² Sants demana a Felipe González el Vapor Vell, que expropià a Rumasa. *Avui*. November 26, 1983.

¹³ Secretariat d'Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. p. d10.

¹⁴ Soler, A. Reivindican con pintadas y abetos el Vapor Vell para la barriada de Sants. 100 personas pintaron ayer un mural para reivindicar el VV. *El Correo Catalán*, January 8, 1984.

¹⁵ Subirà, J. "Bona part del Vapor Vell ha de ser per a pisos". *Avui*, December 8, 1983.

potential buyers.

On January 7th, the Centre Social de Sants held a *jornada reivindicativa popular* (popular protest gathering). “Don’t throw your old Christmas tree in the trash. Take them to the Vapor Vell,” the neighbors were instructed. There, they set the trees up as though they were growing in a park, and a group of teenagers painted a mural on the wall of the Vapor Vell representing a park. It wasn’t the first time they had done this particular activity. The first time was back in 1976 when Jorba Preciados had first bought the land. Jordi Clausell used the event to send a message to the politicians, “The neighbors are waiting to find out something concrete about the future of the Vapor Vell property during this same month of January.”¹⁶

The answer would be disappointing. A report in the *El Periódico* newspaper from February states that the City Hall had made it clear they had no plans of purchasing the land, but that instead they had written to the central administration, to the minister of *Hacienda*, requesting for the lands not to be reprivatized.¹⁷ The neighbors also sent their own letters as well—to Jordi Pujol at the Generalitat, and to President Felipe González in Madrid. They met with the *conseller* of public works and urbanism from the Generalitat, Francesc Xavier Bigatà, but he told them that the municipal government should buy the land and that once the Generalitat wasn’t operating out of a deficit they would equip the property.¹⁸ At all levels of government, it seemed like everyone was passing the buck.

In March of 1984 the Centre Social continued to apply pressure, this time with yet another classic tactic from their *Salvem Sants* playbook—inaugurating a public exposition titled “Recuperem el Vapor Vell,” a chronological display of the lands of the Vapor Vell which they ran from the 5th-17th of that month. The exhibit had not been running a week before neighbors came into possession of a letter which Mercè Sala had written to the general director of heritage of Spain. It would be called the “letter of shame” by the neighbors. The letter was in response to an inquiry about the validity of the neighbors’ demands for the Vapor Vell, and there on the page in front of them, typed in black ink, was Sala’s three-word answer regarding Sants’ need for public services: *no existe déficit* (“there is no deficit”).

For many neighbors, and especially the campaign organizers from the Centre Social, the revelation of this letter came like a slap in the face. Mercè Sala’s betrayal went deeper than the particular issue of the Vapor Vell-- all the way down to the old feeling of conflict between neighborhood and municipality. This was a feeling which had originally inspired the creation of the neighbors’ associations in the first place, back in the days of Porcioles and his project of a centralized “Gran Barcelona.” And now, with the letter of shame, those old resentments had been validated once again with a piece of hard evidence.

¹⁶ Soler, A. Reivindican con pintadas y abetos el Vapor Vell para la barriada de Sants. *El Correo Catalan*, January 8, 1983.

¹⁷ *El Vapor Vell*, un solar propiedad de Rumasa. *El Periódico*. February 22, 1984.

¹⁸ La Generalitat se interesa por la fabrica del Vapor Vell. *La Vanguardia*, January 17, 1984.

The counterattack of the neighbors would be quick and personal— publishing an “open letter to a closed deputy mayoress,” in which they denounced Mercè Sala anti-neighborhood agenda and reminded the readers that, “according to a recent statistic, Sants was one of the neighborhoods with most deficits of services.”¹⁹ Curiously, the issue of Sants’ relative deficit of resources represented a shift in rhetorical strategy from just weeks earlier when they had written in their letter to Maragall that “we know perfectly well that the improvements achieved lately in our neighborhoods of district VII are above average for the rest of Barcelona... The pressure to achieve what we demand is not coming from us: it is coming from the Government which is pressuring to reprivatize the lands.”²⁰

Inconsistencies aside, the fact of the matter was that the campaign was beginning to shift. Goodwill with the city hall was eroding. The neighbors were now angry. They added a word to the name of their campaign: “STUBBORNLY... WE WILL RECOVER THE VAPOR VELL. MOVING TOWARDS A BETTER NEIGHBORHOOD.” But whereas in 1974 that anger had led to direct action and concrete results, in 1984 the story would go a different direction. As we will see, by the end of Summer, the news would come trickling down to the neighbors of Sants— “Before next Summer the total reprivatization of the group of companies of Rumasa will be completed... the sale of Galerías Preciados will be completed before the end of the year.”²¹ As Miquel Botella from the Centre Social de Sants put it, “of all the projects contemplated in the exposition Cop d'ull a Sants [“Take a look at Sants”], the most mutilated has been that of the Vapor Vell.”²²

As far as who was culpable for this unfortunate situation, from the perspective of the neighborhood movement the answer was clear: the City Council, democratically elected in 1979, had not properly used the blank check that they had been given.²³ Whereas, in earlier campaigns from before the elections, the culpability of municipal negligence had been attributed to the Francoist system itself and the need for democracy, now that democracy had arrived the issue became more complicated. As Teresa Vilarós points out, the years of the years of Francoism were always felt as something alien by left-wing intellectuals.²⁴ The Francoist present in which they lived and against which they fought, was interpreted as a direct result of Franco's actions and a consequence of the civil war. That present was not, could not be accepted as their own, since their own present was situated in the imagination of a future marxist utopia.

¹⁹ Casanovas, Jordi. Sants pide un polideportivo y una escuela de formación profesional en el Vapor Vell. *Correo Catalán*. April 14, 1984.

²⁰ A draft of this letter, dated January 4, 1984, is preserved at the district archive of Sants-Montjuic in the materials collected in the appendix of Vapor Vell, *Victòria Popular*.

²¹ Rumasa quedarà aviat totalment reprivatitzada. *Avui*, September 6, 1984.

²² Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona.

²³ Sants demana a Felipe González el Vapor Vell, que expropia a Rumasa. *Avui*. November 26, 1983.

²⁴ Vilarós, Teresa. (1994). Los Monos del Desencanto Español. *MLN*, Vol. 109, No. 2, Hispanic Issue, pp. 221. (Accessed October 2020: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2904777>).

During the transition to democracy, the situation of this utopia shifted from being an idea ‘on the horizon’ to a political possibility ‘on the platform’ of the newly legalized political parties which returned from exile, were reconstituted, or were founded for the first time during these years. Certainly, the neighborhood movement played an important role in this process, as a wealth of recent research has emphasized.²⁵ Here, my intention is not to enter into a general historical analysis of the transition, but rather to focus on a specific element of these first elections-- political heritage. Despite its characteristic future-mindedness, the dream of a marxist utopia which underpinned the experience of Spanish leftists under Francoism is itself a historical object rooted in the marxist tradition of the mid-19th century. It is an industrial object. Likewise, the political parties born out of the context of industrialization can be considered as a form of industrial-political heritage. In the following section, my aim is to trace the extent to which a heritage sensibility, industrial or otherwise, was incorporated into the campaign platforms of the parties running for office.²⁶

4.1.2 Political heritage in the municipal election of 1979

The prospect of the municipal elections of 1979 raised many exciting questions: What type of political system would substitute the Francoist regime? Would the country revert to the political landscape of 1936, before the Civil War, when Spain was a Republic run by a Popular Front of leftist parties including communists, socialists, anarchists, republicans, and Catalan nationalists? Or would it, rather, take back up the cause of the revolution of 1936, in which many Barcelonians armed themselves against the nationalist invasion, not in defense of the Republic, but in the name of social revolution? On the other hand, what would become of the old Francoist authorities in the new Spain? Would they be prosecuted for human rights violations committed during Francoism? What about the political prisoners jailed or in exile for acting against the regime? What stance would the new government take with regards to the country’s political heritage? Would it represent a continuation of history, or a rupture?

Underlying these uncertainties was the question of management: who would be in charge of the transition to democracy? As the hegemony of Francoist authoritarianism lost power, the work done by political activists shifted from dismantling fascism to actively building a new

²⁵ Domènech, Xavier. (2002). *Quan el carrer va deixar d'ésser seu. Moviment obrer, societat civil i canvi polític. Sabadell, 1966-1976*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat. Also: Bordetas Jiménez, Iván. (2012). *Nosotros somos los que hemos hecho esta ciudad. Autoorganización y movilización vecinal durante el tardofranquismo y el proceso de cambio político*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, tesi doctoral inèdita. Also: Ofer, I. (2017). *Claiming the City and Contesting the State: Squatting, Community Formation and Democratization in Spain (1955–1986)*. Taylor & Francis. Also, Molinero, Carme & Ysàs, Pere (coords.). (2010). *Construint la ciutat democràtic: el moviment veïnal durant el tardofranquisme i la transició*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial.

²⁶ For a general history of the first Spanish municipal elections, see: Marcos Marina Carranza. (2016). *El pulso por los ayuntamientos. La convocatoria de las elecciones municipales de 1979 y el cambio político en España*. Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea, 38, 235-256. (Accessed October 2020:

<https://www.academia.edu/download/52148272/54298-104193-3-PB.pdf>). Also, McNeill, D. (2003). *Mapping the European urban left: the Barcelona experience*. *Antipode*, 35(1), 74-94.

democracy. But first, before the borders were opened for the return of the political exiles and the re-establishment of the old political parties, the condition of a peaceful transition to democracy was set: the tacit agreement of all parties to forget the past. This condition, formalized legally as the 1977 amnesty law freed political prisoners while guaranteeing impunity for those who committed crimes during the Civil War and under Francoism. This “pact of forgetting” remains in effect to this day despite urgings for its repeal by the UN on the basis that amnesties do not apply to crimes against humanity.²⁷

It was during this phase of the transition that a significant challenge was posed to the unifying mission of the neighborhood movement. The previous unity, built on anti-Francoism and the neighborhood project began to erode once Franco was dead and it came time to dispute the concrete question of Spain’s political restructuring. It was in this phase that the neighbors of Sants would be treated to a public spectacle which they hadn’t seen in over forty years--political campaigning. Although local politics is far from my area of expertise, I think it is important to take a moment to consider what the major political parties represented, especially with regards to how they presented their claim to legitimacy for reviving the country’s democratic heritage.

Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)

When it came to laying claim to the rightful leadership of a democratic Catalonia, nobody had a better claim than Josep Tarradellas, the exiled president of the Generalitat. On October 23, 1977, Tarradellas famously returned to Barcelona, and, speaking from the balcony of the Generalitat to a sea of Catalan *senyeres* (the flag of Catalonia) and a scattering of *tricolors* (the flag of the Second Spanish Republic), made his now-immortalized pronouncement: “*Ciutadans de Catalunya, ja sóc aquí!*” (“Citizens of Catalonia, now I am here!”)

Tarradellas represented the continuation of *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, the Republican Left of Catalonia, or ERC, a political party founded in the neighborhood of Sants in 1931 at the Conference of the Catalan Left (*Conferència d'Esquerres Catalanes*). That year, the ERC won the elections, proclaimed the Catalan Republic within the Federation of Iberian Republics and established the Generalitat as its governing body, ending the monarchy of Alfonso XIII and ushering in the era of Spanish history known as the Second Republic. In 1936, the ERC formed part of the Popular Front, which won the election and appointed its representative Lluís Companys as president of the Generalitat. Of the 70,000 militants of the ERC before the war, it is reported that half were exiled and a fourth were jailed, executed, or died in the Civil War. At first, Lluís Campanys escaped and set up a clandestine government from France, but in 1940, during France’s Nazi occupation, the Gestapo detained Companys and handed him over to Spanish authorities who executed him at Montjuïc Castle. Leadership

²⁷ La ONU insta a España a derogar la ley de amnistía para investigar al franquismo. El Periódico. 23/07/2015.

of ERC passed to Josep Irla until 1954, and then to Josep Tarradellas. In 1977, ERC was the last political party to be legalized.²⁸

In the debates about a new Spanish Constitution, the ERC defined itself as the only Catalan party which vindicated the Republic and the right to Catalan self-determination. When both of these conditions were left out of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, ERC voted against it in the constitutional referendum. At the municipal election of 1979, the ERC obtained 5.2% of the popular vote, essentially coming in last.

Pujolism (Convergència i Unió)

Even though ERC had a convincing claim to Catalan political heritage, other parties also instrumentalized Catalan heritage discourses-- perhaps none so effectively as that of Jordi Pujol, who would win the presidency of the Generalitat following Tarradellas in 1980. Pujol represented the Democratic Convergence of Catalunya (CDC), a party which he founded in 1974 on a platform commonly referred to as *Pujolisme*, or “Pujolism”. The sociologist Vicenç Navarro characterizes Pujolism as a “Political project of sectors of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and middle class of high rent, as well as important components of the Church in Catalonia, which attempted to mobilize large sectors of Catalan society, including its popular classes, with the aim of achieving a multi-classist cohesion around the concept of the Catalan nation, which they defined as inclusive.”²⁹ Pujol’s use of Catalan identity was key in opening space at his electoral table for both moderate Catalanists all the way to people on the right who had previously supported Francoism, mixing Social Democracy, Liberalism and Christian Democracy together into a Catalan and transversal project.

Pujol had not been exiled during Francoism, but had participated in Barcelona in an anti-Francoist activism characterized by its Catalan and democratic focus. In 1960, after helping organize a protest at the *Palau de la Musica*, he was imprisoned for two-and-a-half years, during which time a strong campaign was rallied demanding his release. Overnight, the streets of Barcelona were graffitied with the phrase “JP Freedom”, and “Pujol Catalunya,” marking the beginning of Pujol’s identification with Catalonia.³⁰ After being released from prison, Pujol began working on his project of organizing a Catalan nationalist movement, founding the *Banca Catalana* in 1968, a financial entity for promoting Catalan culture and industry.³¹ Francesc Cabana, his brother-in-law, would be one of the banks’ main promoters. Through the Banca Catalana project, Pujol surrounded himself with young members of the

²⁸ Culla, Joan B. (2013). *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya 1931-2012: una història política*. Barcelona, La Campana, 2013.

²⁹ Navarro, Vicenç. ¿Qué es el 'pujolismo'?. *El País*. November 13, 2003.

³⁰ Martínez, Félix; Oliveres, Jordi. (2005). *Jordi Pujol: en nombre de Cataluña*. Random House Mondadori.

³¹ “Banca Catalana utilitzà els seus fons per al finançament de projectes al servei del seu programa nacionalista, com el Grup Enciclopèdia Catalana, Òmnium Cultural, la Llibreria Ona o l'Escola de Mestres.” See: Rosa Sensat. Riera, Ignasi. (2002). *Jordi Pujol. Llums i ombres*. Angle Editorial.

Barcelona bourgeoisie, creating a network of influential supporters that would follow him throughout his political career.

To establish a public presence in the Catalan capital, Pujol infiltrated the *Amics de la Ciutat*, or “Friends of the City”, association which had been founded in 1935 but remained legal under Francoism due to its “bourgeois DNA and customary activities which today would be labeled as a commercial and touristic lobby.”³² By the beginning of the 70’s, with few exceptions (like the journalist and communist militant Rafael Pradas from the Centre Social de Sants) *Amics de la Ciutat* was in the hands of Jordi Pujol’s people. (The Amics had a good relationship with the Centre Social de Sants. Not only had the Coordinadora de Sant Antoni cited the Amics as allies in the project for an urban study of Barcelona, on November 23, 1973, the Amics awarded the Centre Social the title of *Amics Predilectes* (“best friends”), “By virtue of the work carried out in response to the gas explosion on Carrer de Rajolers, the exhibition Cop d’ull a Sants and the campaign they started in defense of the free spaces in the neighborhood and which Amics de la Ciutat promises to make its own.” On the other hand, Andreu notes that the Amics did not stop defending the city in terms of very specific interests--”those of the economic powers and of a bourgeoisie that, while they could ally with the working and popular classes in the struggle against the dictatorship, it is not so clear that they shared the same long-term urban goals or interests regarding the *Porciolista* model, even though they did so in a corrected and moderate version.”³³

At the Barcelona municipal elections of 1979, *Convergència i Unió* (the coalition of *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*, created by Pujol, and *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya*, founded during the Republic) won 18.6% of the popular vote, coming in third.

Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC)

The Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC) was created in 1978 as the fusion of three clandestine parties. The Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), with which it is affiliated, has a long history going back to 1879 when it was founded at the Casa Labra tavern in Madrid by a typesetter, Pablo Iglesias, who formed the party in affiliation with the General Union of Workers trade union (UGT). It is in fact the oldest party currently active in Spain and one of the first socialist parties formed in Europe as an expression of the interests of the new working classes born out of the industrial revolution. During the Civil War, the PSC joined with the popular front, and was later exiled to France where its leadership continued to operate from Toulouse. At a congress in 1974, Felipe González was elected Secretary General of the party as part of a move to shift the party’s focus from the exiled veterans to a younger generation which had not fought in the war. González wanted to reform the party, moving it away from its Marxist and socialist background, and in 1977 PSOE replaced the communists as the

³² Andreu Acebal, Marc. (2014). *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral dissertation), Director: Andreu Mayayo i Artal, University of Barcelona. P.170.

³³ (Ibid. P.20.)

opposition party in what had emerged in the 1977 general election as a defacto two-party system, against the Union of Democratic Spain (UCD).

The UCD was a political coalition led by Adolfo Suarez which joined Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Liberals, and “Independents” migrating from the Francoist regime in forming a representational government to lead the transition and write a constitution. The UCD positioned itself as a mainstream centrist party, as opposed to the People’s Alliance (AP) party, founded by Franco’s ex-minister of information and tourism, Manuel Fraga, which positioned itself as the country’s main conservative right-wing party.³⁴

In the Spanish general election of 1979, the Socialists continued to put pressure on UCD. That was the year that Felipe González renounced his leadership of the PSOE after disputes over the party’s Marxist heritage. The party responded by calling the extraordinary 28th congress, at which Felipe González was reinstated and the party formally renounced its Marxist character³⁵ becoming a social-democratic party and switching its party symbol to the rose in the fist. In the following general election of 1982, the UCD practically disappeared, its members split between Fraga’s conservative AP party and the Socialists, who would maintain their new majority until 1996 under González’s presidency.

At the municipal election of 1979, the PSC-PSOE won 34% of the popular vote, making it the leading party. The Barcelona chapter of the UCD, the Centrists of Catalonia (CC-UCD), won 16.7% of the popular vote.

Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSUC)

The PSUC, although it sounds like it would be socialist party, is actually a communist party, affiliated with the Communist Party of Spain (PCE), which was formed from a split with the PSOE Socialists in 1920 and 1921 during the Crisis of the Internationals. In Barcelona, the significance of the communist-socialist divide is also tied to subsequent historical reasons culminating in the bitter strife between parties during the final moments of the Civil War, when the Communists, with support from the Soviet Union, nationalized industry and leaned on their dominance of the military and police as the popular front government dissolved amongst infighting with socialists, anarchists, and republicans, as well as the central government.

During the post-war era, the socialists held a strong anti-communist position, in allignment with other parties of the socialist international during the cold war. This contributed to their estrangement from participation in post-war anti-Francoist activism, a void which was filled by the Communists and other leftists organizations such as FELIPE (Popular Liberation Front).

³⁴ In 1989 the AP was refounded as the People’s Party (PP).

³⁵See: Partido Socialista (ed.). El Congreso Extraordinario del PSOE (septiembre de 1979). (Accessed September 2020: <http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv/bibliuned:DerechoPolitico-1980-06-10077/PDF>)

The Francoist account of the Civil War also relied on strong anti-communist sentiment, representing the war as a crusade against Bolshevism in defense of Christian civilization. This ‘communist menace’ narrative was also nourished by the centuries-old myth of the Moorish threat, and helped to obscure the social roots of the war, leading many Spanish children to believe that the war had been fought against foreigners intent on creating a Spanish Soviet satellite.³⁶

In 1977, members of the Apostolic Anticommunist Alliance attacked a gathering of the then-clandestine Communist Party of Spain, killing five and injuring four near the Atocha train station in Madrid. The popular backlash to this act of terrorism was instrumental in accelerating the legalization of the party. 100,000 people attended the funerals of those killed, the largest demonstration by the left since the death of Franco.

The party participated in a revisionist trend which had developed in Western Europe since 1968 as a distancing from the Soviet Union. The leader of the PCE, Santiago Carrillo, wrote the defining book for this political reorientation in 1977 called *Eurocommunism and the State*. The communist parties of many other countries would turn to Eurocommunism as well, including Great Britain.

Eurocommunism was also the majority position within the Centre Social de Sants, particularly after the unification of *Bandera Roja* with the PSUC in 1975. In those days of uncertainty, as the new spaces of freedom were being tempered, those involved in urban protests saw democracy as a panacea. As Miquel Botella of the Centre Social recalls, “This was very good for the leftist parties: it allowed them to justify not having clear programs. In those years, while the PSC talked about municipalization property, the PSUC did not want to talk about the subject.”³⁷

From 1977 to 1979, however, when politics passed from being just urban action and started being direct and concretely political, seeking a “democracy without adjectives” and the return of the Generalitat, the central figures of the Centre became aware that it was no longer reasonable that this association represent the diverse interests of a large neighborhood. The Centre suggested a network of associations that could amplify the democratic fabric of the community, sparking a diaspora of members to other associations.

The Centre had always struggled with the topic of political involvement. Campaigns regarding political themes, even indirectly, did not get the signatures of many entities-- for example the Assembly of Catalonia, the pact of amnesty, the demands for the renunciation of Mayor Viola, etc. The appearance of political parties and the proliferation of other

³⁶ Richards, M. (2010). Grand narratives, collective memory, and social history: Public uses of the past in post-war Spain. In S. Amago, & C. Jerez-Ferran (Eds.), *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*, 129. University of Notre Dame Press.

³⁷ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. *Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996, p.29.

associations challenged the Centre's mission of global neighborhood representation. On one occasion, Espinàs from the Centre Social was coordinating the use of the Cotxeres when the PSAN communist independentist party attempted to hold a vigil in memory of their slain comrades under Francoism. Espinàs barely had time to shut the doors to the Cotxeres before they arrived, at which point they began beating on the doors and shouting from the outside. When they left, he discovered a message had been scrawled across the doors with graffiti: "Espinàs, anti-democratic."

At the municipal elections of 1979, the PSUC won 18.9% of the popular vote, coming in second after the socialists.

Anarchists

Further to the left than the PSUC, and a source of confrontation with the Centre Social de Sants, were the Anarchists. The history of anarchism in Spain plays an important role in the history of Sants. The National Confederation of Labour (CNT) was founded in 1910 as a confederation of anarcho-sindicalist labor unions, and began a spike in growth beginning with the Congress of Sants in 1918. It has often been affiliated with the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) in what is often referred to as the CNT-FAI. In 1919, the CNT was influential in the La Canadiense general strike, which took place at Barcelona's electrical power plant situated at the base of Montjuïc, bordering Sants. The strike paralyzed 70% of Catalan industry and the CNT reached a membership of 700,000. The government settled the strike by granting all the workers demands, including an eight-hour work day, union recognition, and the rehiring of fired workers. By 1937, the membership was at over 1.5 million, and Barcelona was in the hands of the anarchists. The practices of anarchism extended to the countryside where agriculture was collectivized with great success. CNT militias established defense committees that replaced the old city councils. George Orwell writes of his experience of this in *Homage to Catalonia*:

"I had dropped more or less by chance into the only community of any size in Western Europe where political consciousness and disbelief in capitalism were more normal than their opposites. Up here in Aragón one was among tens of thousands of people, mainly though not entirely of working-class origin, all living at the same level and mingling on terms of equality. In theory it was perfect equality, and even in practice it was not far from it. There is a sense in which it would be true to say that one was experiencing a foretaste of Socialism, by which I mean that the prevailing mental atmosphere was that of Socialism. Many of the normal motives of civilised life—snobbishness, money-grubbing, fear of the boss, etc.—had simply ceased to exist. The ordinary class-division of society had disappeared to an extent that is almost unthinkable in the money-tainted air of England; there was no one there except the peasants and ourselves, and no one owned anyone else as his master."³⁸

³⁸ Orwell, George. *Homage to Catalonia*. Harcourt Brace & Company: San Diego, 1980. Original: 1952. Chapter 7.

As the Civil War progressed, however, the rise of the communists due to Soviet arms support led to conflicts of strategy and outright street warfare between anarchist and communist militias, as Orwell goes on to describe so vividly in his account of the ‘May days’ of Barcelona in 1937.

In the post-war period, anarchists participated in a variety of anti-Francoist activisms. In the 60’s, the CNT gained some of its strength thanks to the penetration of anarcho-sindicalist ideology into Catholic anti-Francoist workers’ organizations like the Catholic Youth Workers (JOC). In Sants, the Ateneu Llibertari was formed in 1974 by former militants of the CNT in a ramshackled warehouse on the Carretera de Sants. It was the continuation of an old anarchist tradition that had been present in Sants since industrialism characterized by its openness to all and unequivocal vocation of service to the neighborhood. In the Ateneu Llibertari three generations were represented.

Although the Ateneu Llibertari presented as an alternative to the Centre Social de Sants, in reality it was antagonistic. From the perspective of Josep Pons, one of its founding members, the Centre had always been dominated by a series of petit-bourgeois and avant gardistes--the neighbor on the street was always a passive subject. In 1976, a group of independent members of the Centre, including Pons³⁹ presented an alternative for the change of board but, according to Pons, they lost because all the PSUC from the district came out to vote. "I withdrew and went to the Ateneu Llibertari created by former members of the CNT."

“Those were the days,” remembers Botella, “when we watched with interest the role that the CNT would play. In the end, devoured by internal conflicts, it came to nothing.”

With the benefit of hindsight, we now know that it was not just internal conflicts which plagued the CNT, although it was meant to appear that way. On the morning of January 15, 1978, the CNT held a protest against the Moncloa Pacts which they considered to be an unacceptable social pact between the most important unions and political forces which left out the working class. 15,000 anarchists marched down the streets of Barcelona in their largest show of force since the Civil War. At 13:15, an undercover cop nicknamed el Grillo produced various molotov cocktails and, using the strategy of the agent provocateur, incited a handful of the protesters to throw them against the stone facade of the Scala Club, a place associated with the Barcelonian bourgeoisie. According to police reports, this provoked a fire and eventually the collapse of the entire building, killing four workers who, paradoxically, were affiliated with the CNT.

In the aftermath of the scandal, three of the culprits were sentenced to 17 years of prison, others were imprisoned for complicity and covering up, and the public image of the anarchist had been irreversibly marred.⁴⁰ It wouldn’t be until December of 1983 that the “Scala case”

³⁹ Also Feu, the emblematic Serafina, and Tarragó (this could refer to Salvador Tarragó, co-author of *La Barcelona de Porcioles* in 1973).

⁴⁰ “It was evident that the police weren't looking for anything nor anyone– they already had the culprits– it was just about intimidating the cenetista and scaring away from the organization thousands of

was reopened, and el Grillo charged. But his sentence would only be for seven years, and in any case, his mission had been successful-- the anarchist threat had been put down, and they would not be represented in the government of the new Spain.

According to Pons "There was good intention, but, like good anarchists, they lacked the discipline that the rest of the political parties had and who had obtained parliamentary representation." Eventually, Pons returned to the Centre Social de Sants in 1983 where he later became vice president.

By 1995, there remained of the Ateneu Llibertari only the "frustrated taste of utopia and the numbers of the magazine 'La voz sin amo' ("The voice without master") where the spirit of the collective is retained in the words of a poem:

*Aunque lo salvaje
Separe nuestros cuerpos,
Aunque se esfuercen en sembrar las hierbas del olvido,
Aunque pisoteen las flores
Que plantamos juntos.
Os llevo en mis venas
presentes en mi lecho
grabados en mi mente.
Y no podrán
Ni con sables ni disfraces,
Ni con plomo ni con tines,
Borrar la idea que más nos une
Ni retrasar ni un segundo
El brotar violento de los huracanes,
Repletos de anarquía,
Que guardamos en nuestros pechos.*

-signed, anonymous

In summary, the workers' parties from before the war had either dropped elements of their revolutionary platforms, like the Socialists cutting ties with Marxism and the Communists developing Eurocommunism, or had remained excluded from the political arena like the anarchists. The Republican Left of Catalonia, meanwhile, had been upstaged by the conservative Catalan Pujolists, whose identitarian political platform was not based on

affiliate workers that, although they identified with the syndical line of the anarcho-syndicalists, they weren't determined to go a long way in their support, let alone to defy such police repression. Things weren't a joke, the news of new arrests created an insecurity atmosphere among a great part of the members. On the other hand, the certainty of the implication of the CNT in the attack kept consolidating in the public opinion, which caused serious deterioration in the organization's image, and thus the anarchists'. If we add news of aggressions and assaults by fascist groups, which considerably increased those days, we can more or less picture the situation. Being an anarchist those days turned very unpleasant. The media made it unpopular; the police and ultra-rightwing groups made it dangerous." (Revista Polémica, The Scala case. A trial against anarcho-syndicalism.)

national class interests but on the old, romantic conception of nation.⁴¹ In 1980 the Generalitat was won by the Pujolists during the first Catalan regional election. The cultural politics of this party will be examined further in chapter 4.2.

4.1.3 Decentralization and disillusionment

In practical terms, from the perspective of the neighborhood movement in Sants, these political changes were experienced through two consecutive moments: first, the promise of decentralization, and then the onset of a lasting disillusionment. In terms of decentralization, this was manifested not just through the creation of the new ‘department of decentralization and citizen participation,’⁴² but also by the fact that this department was led by Jordi Vallverdú, a prominent figure in Barcelona’s neighborhood movement.⁴³ This would become a pattern- many of the newly elected officials came from backgrounds in neighborhood organization. In the case of Sants, for example, Rafael Pradas from the Centre Social would become the head of the culture service. Together with Vallverdú, Pradas would help promote the publication of an expanded 2nd edition of *Tots els Barris de Barcelona* in 1980. In 1983, another member of the Centre Social de Sants, Josep Espinàs, would become the district councillor of Sants.

In an interview from July of that year in *Trenc d’Alba*, a local magazine, Espinàs discusses the degree to which the short-lived program of decentralization had functioned in practice.

Interviewer: “You have always defended decentralization. What do you think of the fact that the area of decentralization has disappeared?”

⁴¹ “*La candidatura amb més projecció era la del Partit Socialista de Catalunya (PSC), encapçalada per l'economista Narcís Serra. En segon lloc, hi havia la nova marca catalana d'UCD, Centrestes de Catalunya (CC-UCD), que liderava l'empresari Carles Güell.*” (Arxiu Municipal. (2019-2020). Barcelona, 1979. *La democracia desde los barrios*. Exhibition from September 27-January 5, in the Sala Anselm Cartaña of the Historic Archive of Sants-Montjuïc). “*Nascut a Barcelona el 1930, [Carles Güell] era besnét d'Eusebi Güell i Bacigalupi, mecenes d'Antoni Gaudí i president del Centre Català el 1880. Els seus pares van ser Eusebi Güell i Jover, tercer vescomte de Güell i tercer marquès de Gelida, i Maria Lluïsa de Sentmenat Güell, filla del novè marquès de Castellós i cosina germana seva.* (Cullell, Pere; Farràs, Andreu. (2001). *L'oasi català*. Barcelona: Planeta, p. 36.)

⁴² Casassas, LL. & Clusa, J. (1981). *L'organització territorial i administrativa de Barcelona*. Funcions i àmbits de descentralització: els nous districtes. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

⁴³ “Born in 1945 and graduating in Economy from the UB, Jordi Vallverdú Gimeno was a member of the FAVB from 1974-1978, where he was vice secretary and secretary and was key in the entrance of the neighborhood associations. He was an important member of the neighbors association of Sant Andreu, a clandestine member of *Bandera Roja* and of the PSUC, and in 1977 he approached the Catalan Federation of the PSOE and ran as an independent on the ticket of the Coalition of Socialists of Catalonia in the general elections. In 1978, he left the FAVB to run as councilor for the PSC. After winning, in 1979, he took leave of his work with the Damm company and assumed the responsibility of mediating between the first democratic city council and his old companions from the FAVB as the councilor of decentralization. He continued as councilor until 1987, when Pasqual Maragall tasked him to manage the future viability of the Olympic installations as general director of the company *Barcelona Promoció*.” Andreu Acebal, Marc. *El moviment ciutadà i la transició a Barcelona: la FAVB (1972-1986)*. (Doctoral thesis), University of Barcelona, 2014, p. 115.

Josep Espinàs: “What is clear is the little decentralization that has taken place. Even the district council itself could not participate as it wished, depending on what issues. The fact that the area of decentralization has disappeared is a great advantage for the districts, because the district councillor will now have much more autonomy to solve problems.”

Interviewer: “Tell us something, Mr. Espinàs. How is it that you are so accepted among the people of the neighborhood?”

Josep Espinàs: “Above all, the friendship of many years with Ribes, Xarles, Cartaña, with the neighbors associations and the entities, I have more than 15 years of relationship. We can fight dialectically in a meeting but our friendship continues.”⁴⁴

Unfortunately, as Espinàs would soon find out, the role of district councillor would primarily be as a shield for the municipal administration. Apparently, when he was at his wits end, Espinàs would return to the same desperate phrase which he directed at those at the city council: “Let the technicians come to Sants and defend their project in front of the neighbors because I will not defend it.”⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the Centre Social de Sants was suffering from its own set of problems. As Ribas remembers those days, “At the Centre, only Xarles, Domènech and I remained. The rest all left-- it was a massive desertion of the PSUC people.”⁴⁶

Carles Prieto also remained, at least for a little while. Despite winning the number 3 position with the PSUC party in the municipal elections he decided not to accept it, objecting that he could not abandon the associative movement of the neighbors after fighting so many years for them. Even when talking about this years later, there remains in his voice a tone of disillusionment:

“What happened in the Centre Social of Sants also happened in other neighbors associations. I experienced the same process of abandonment then as President of the Federation of Neighborhood Associations, where practically only militants from extra-parliamentary groups remained. It was a very difficult time for me. I felt burned out to the point of experiencing a crisis with my own city and moved to Masnou for seven years. After a while, I went back to the Centre for a few Monday night assemblies. I found it admirable to find people who had signed up for the cause of the neighborhood movement. It is true that these people are motivated according to other

⁴⁴ Picó, Alfred. (1983). Josep Espinas, nou regidor del District. *Trenc d'Alba*. Number 10, July, 1983. P. 10. (Accessed online: <https://archive.org/details/TDANum.13/TDA%20n%C3%BAm.10/mode/2up>). Interestingly, a few pages earlier in the same magazine from July, a story is written about the Vapor Vell requesting the support of the neighbors for an imminent campaign to claim the factory lands for the neighborhood. As we have seen, this manifesto would be published September 1st, just after the August vacations were over. Campo, Manuel. Vapor Vell. *Trenc d'Alba*. Number 10, July 1983. P. 5.

⁴⁵ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcé i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. *Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. P. 28.

⁴⁶ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcé i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. *Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. P. 28.

concerns but it is also true that they maintain the warmth and the conscience of the neighborhood."⁴⁷

Prieto's experience of disillusionment or *desencanto* (literally, 'disenchantment') was echoed by many others during this period. According to Emanuel Rodríguez, the term began to make its appearance in the press as early as 1978, alluding to the limits or the weakness of Spanish democracy. "It is used both to accuse the complicity of the political left regarding pacts and social moderation, and to target the population with regard to their low social and political commitment."⁴⁸

Vilarós uses the metaphor of addiction to describe the reliance of the Spanish left on the ideation of a marxist utopia under Francoism. With the death of Franco, she argues, this drug--the promise of utopia-- was taken away. The liberal dictatorship was replaced by a liberal democracy, and this sent Spanish leftists into something like withdrawal, marked by a frenzy of subaltern cultural production, heavy drug use, and a strong feeling of disenchantment.⁴⁹ "The *mono* ('drug withdrawal') of the transition period, with its *Movida*, coinciding with the strong entry of heroin in Spain, appears suddenly at the end of the Franco regime as a brutal symptom of the removal of a history that, linked to the civil war and crushed by the dictatorship, appears without future, without past and without memory. *Movida*-removed. *Movida-Mono* that twists and gasps, in a constant present, in and from the historical fissure, metonymized here as a symptom of abstinence."

In the case of the Centre Social de Sants, it wasn't just that the neighbors lost their hope of a future utopia, it was that, for a short while, it seemed that they were achieving something remarkable, but then, after the municipal elections, this progress was undone with the desertion of the Centre. As I have argued in chapter 3.2, we can view the neighborhood movement in Sants as a legacy of the social heritage of the working class movement. This wasn't a marxist utopic ideation but a real associative experience. The problem with the arrival of democracy was that it seemed to be less democratic than what had immediately preceded it. It was as though replacing the Francoist system with a democratic one didn't assure that society was governed by the will of the public because, by dismantling the social base of this public, the public itself was not in power.⁵⁰ In practice, the new administration

⁴⁷ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcé i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. P. 29.

⁴⁸ Rodríguez Lopz, Emmanuel. (2015). Por qué fracasó la democracia en España. La transición y el régimen del 78. Madrid, Traficantes de Sueños, p. 204, note 10.

⁴⁹ Vilarós, Teresa. (1994). Los Monos del Desencanto Español. MLN, Vol. 109, No. 2, Hispanic Issue (Mar., 1994), pp. 217-235. (Accessed October 2020: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2904777>). More recently, Vilarós, Teresa. (2018). El mono del desencanto. Una crítica cultural de la Transición española (1973-1993). Madrid, Siglo XXI. Regarding the case of the Basque Country, see: Beorlegui Zarranz, David. (2017). Transición y melancolía. La experiencia del desencanto en el País Vasco (1976-1986). Madrid, Postmetropolis Editorial.

⁵⁰ In the introduction to his book on Sants in 1980, Carles Carreras wrote: "Així, doncs, cal entendre la delimitació del barri, no com un problema conceptual, sino d'ordenació de l'espai urbà, en el qual la voluntat popular ha d'ésser determinant. Efectivament, la consciència de barri i l'experiència de lluita fan que, si més no a la ciutat de Barcelona, el barri pugui ésser un instrument polític notable, no sols d'una certa descentralització

threatened the existence of the neighborhood movement rather than supporting it, although, as Jordi Clausell expresses, this was not intentional: “The PSUC never gave the concrete order to demobilize or dismantle the neighborhood movement. There was no internal debate in this regard. There was enough work to do in other aspects! It was the dynamics of the situation that led to the dismantling of the neighborhood movement. Those that left for the administration didn’t do so because of this calculation but rather because they were convinced that, with democracy, it was in the Administration where they could best serve the citizens. The PSUC was a reflection of the sociopolitical situation of the country.”⁵¹

Besides disenchantment, another theme of the transition was institutionalization, a process in which various neighborhood volunteer initiatives slowly lost their grassroots spirit. The Historic Archive of Sants, for example, was absorbed into a municipal project for district archives. In a manifesto for the recognition of Anselm Cartaña, accompanied by 941 signatures, it is explained that, “The moment that the Administration professionalized and institutionalized the archive and dispensed with the values provided by the volunteers involved and their knowledgeable of the deepest feeling of the neighborhood, the essence of this Historical Archive and its initial meaning was lost.”⁵²

A similar story of institutionalization occurred with the Cotxeres de Sants. What had begun as a sort of occupation of the space by the neighbors during the 70’s was inaugurated in 1982 as the first of a new kind of municipal social space, at first called “Ateneus del Centre” and later called “Civic Centers. Yet, even though the Cotxeres de Sants Civic Center was projected as an heir of historic place of sociability such as the Casino de Sants, the Ateneu de Sants and the Casal de Sants, there was never a project developed to recover of the history of these entities, neither their materiality nor their cultural significance. As Venet writes, “The municipal government, although it had wanted to evoke the memory of ateneus and casinos in the formation of civic centers, did not take any steps in that direction.”⁵³ The Secretariat began to complain about the involvement of ‘municipal bureaucracy’ in the

administrativa--sempre desitjable, però sempre insuficient-- sinó, sobretot, d'autogestió popular, que permeti no ja la participació, sino l'autogovern del poble en un marc que les necessitats de planificació i d'ordenació cada dia faran més extens.” (Carreras i Verdagué, Carlos. (1980). Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona, Barcelona: Serpa, p. 8). For an interesting discussion regarding the municipal-scale equivalent of the grassroots political model of the FAVB, see: The Symbiosis Research Collective. How radical municipalism can go beyond the local. *The Ecologist*, June 8, 2018. (Accessed online, September 2020: <https://theecologist.org/2018/jun/08/how-radical-municipalism-can-go-beyond-local>)

⁵¹ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996, p.109.

⁵² This sentiment of loss of the original character of the Archive was exacerbated above all in the Spring of 2004 when, for an unknown reason, the district dispensed with the premises that served as the Archive's warehouse and the work of the volunteers disappeared. Despite pressure from a large group of neighbors and friends of the Archive this situation was not reversed. Manifest de reconeixement a l'Anselm Cartaña. (Accessed online September, 2020: <http://reconeixementCartaña.blogspot.com.es/p/biografia.html>).

⁵³Roca Vernet, Jordi. (2015). La memòria de la sociabilitat popular al barri de Sants a través dels espais”. In: Duch, Montse; Ferré, Xavier; Arnabat, Ramon (ed.), *Memòria i la història de la sociabilitat popular a Catalunya*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat. p. 305.

Cotxeres and the ‘possible conflict of interests of those who ran the civic centers, with an economic and management potential of municipal origin behind it.’⁵⁴

A small history of the Civic Center of the Cotxeres de Sants⁵⁵



Conclusion

The transition to democracy was not a transition ‘backwards’ to the type of democracy existing before the war, but rather, to something new. Spain did not enter into a Third Republic, but rather, reinstated the Bourbon Monarchy which had been overthrown in 1931. Neither did Spain take up the revolutionary cause as begun in 1936, but rather saw a renunciation of Marxist and Communist principles within the major parties. The lack of interest of the new parties in their history was not a coincidence, but, rather, demonstrates the fact that they didn’t see a strong historical discourse as necessary in order to legitimize their role. On the contrary, a historical emphasis could depreciate their popularity. As Hernández points out, “The only party that magnified the recent past was, in a way, the

⁵⁴ “Les demandes al voltant de la gestió veïnal de les Cotxeres prossegueixen fins que el 1993 s’arribà a una situació d’enfrontament entre les autoritats municipals i el moviment veïnal arran de la privatització de l’espai que volia dur a terme l’Ajuntament aduint una infrautilització de l’equipament. La pressió veïnal aconseguí que el regidor del districte acordés el juliol de 1994 amb el Secretariat d’Entitats la cogestió del centre cívic.” Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcé i Fort, Josep, Centre Social de Sants. Una experiència associativa, Barcelona, Centre Social de Sants, 1996, p. 212.

⁵⁵ (Accessed at the Archive of the Centre Social de Sants)

PSUC, and used this recent history, conveniently manipulated, to highlight its vanguard role of the proletariat and the struggle for freedom during the Franco regime. In this case, there was use of the past to legitimize and enhance the present.”⁵⁶

This political amnesia can't be separated from the context of Francoism which had spent almost forty years trying to provoke a 'rupture' in the cultural dimension of Catalonia through the political, cultural and economic initiatives promoted by the Franco regime, or given in its framework. “The repression, the liquidation of the Catalan political structures, the annihilation of the political and union experience of the popular classes, the cornering of the organized Catalan culture, the conditionings of the civil society, the gigantic economic transformation of the 60, the arrival of a mass immigration that was not assimilated in the short term, as well as all the sociological changes that derived from the situation, shaped the new landscape.”⁵⁷

This was to be expected under Franco, but less expected was how the subversion of Catalonia's associative heritage would continue into the democratic era. Here we can see an example of Martínez's concept of the 'culture of the transition,' understood as the imposition, in this period, of a cultural program of 'citizen deactivation' against the efforts of the neighborhood movement to promote a participatory model of popular self-governance.⁵⁸ Not only was this evidenced through the desertion of this movement and the institutionalization of its programs, but also through the absence of a historical consciousness to restore the social and material heritage of the pre-Civil War era,⁵⁹ of which the neighborhood movement itself was a legacy. Without a reconnection with their lost history, and after losing the hope of a future utopia, many of Barcelona's left-leaning citizens succumbed to the *mono del desencanto*, like a hangover of disenchantment.⁶⁰ As Dolors Marin write:

“One of the greatest perversions against which we had to fight as young historians was the belief that the death of *el Gran Botxí* (“the Great Executioner”) in 1975 would mean that the wall of silence would fade and we would begin to walk all together in those streets which we missed despite never having known them. As I said, we were silly and ignorant of what capitalism still had to pervert until the end, since the silence was heavy as a slab, that which twenty years later would be christened historical amnesia.”⁶¹

⁵⁶ F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 248.

⁵⁷ F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 240.

⁵⁸ Martínez, Guillem (coord.). (2012). *CT o la Cultura de la Transició. Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Barcelona, Random House.

⁵⁹ Roca Vernet, Jordi. (2015). *La memòria de la sociabilitat popular al barri de Sants a través dels espais*. In: Duch, Montse; Ferré, Xavier; Arnabat, Ramon (ed.), *Memòria i la història de la sociabilitat popular a Catalunya*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

⁶⁰ Vilarós, Teresa. (2018). *El mono del desencanto. Una crítica cultural de la Transición española (1973-1993)*. Madrid, Siglo XXI.

⁶¹ See: Marin, Dolors. (2009). *Memòria històrica dels ateneus a Catalunya: un patrimoni de pràctica associativa i una història que cal rescatar*, Quaderns de la Fundació Ferrer i Guàrdia, 3.

The disillusionment of the neighborhood movement occurred as it became clear that the city was turning from its social/political heritage-- that the historical amnesia which had been institutionalized under Franco had not died with the dictator in 1975. At the same time, the neighborhood movement, which in itself represented a piece of the social, if not material, heritage of the industrial neighborhood of Sants from before the war, struggled to survive in the context of the new, institutional democracy which showed little interest in the past.⁶² The story of the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign illustrates this new dynamic, as governments at all levels exonerated themselves from responsibility regarding the vindications of the neighborhood movement. The Centre was debilitated after the diaspora of its most active members and had little power of negotiation with the new municipal administration.

Given all of these factors mentioned above and the general disillusionment being experienced, I imagine it must have come as something of a welcome surprise when, less than a week after a story was published reporting the imminent reprivatization of Jorba Preciados (the part of RUMASA which owned part of the lands of the Vapor Vell), a new headline caught the attention of the neighbors in Sants: “The Vapor Vell of Sants is declared as a historic monument.”⁶³

⁶² See Roca Vernet, Jordi. (2015). La memòria de la sociabilitat popular al barri de Sants a través dels espais”, Duch, Montse; Ferré, Xavier; Arnabat, Ramon (ed.), Memòria i la història de la sociabilitat popular a Catalunya, Barcelona, Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, p. 305.

⁶³ El Vapor Vell de Sants és declarat monument històric. Avui. September 13, 1984.

4.2 THE INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE MOVEMENT IN CATALONIA

The news of the Vapor Vell's monumentalization was confirmed in the official diary of the Generalitat published on September 12, where it was announced that on July 6th of that year, the General direction of artistic heritage of the Generalitat had begun proceedings to declare the Vapor Vell as a historical/artistic monument. Upon receiving this news, neighbors in Sants were quick to point out that this made the Vapor Vell "the first factory in Catalonia, and all of Spain, for which there are proceedings for declaration as a monument."⁶⁴

This interpretation of the news from the Generalitat, as though it represented a 'popular victory' of the neighborhood movement, is problematic, primarily because the neighbors themselves were generally disinterested in the idea of monumentalizing the Vapor Vell.⁶⁵ Historically, their campaigning regarding the Vapor Vell had always been directed either against the use of the property in speculative real estate ventures like that of Jorba Preciados or for the conversion of the lands into a neighborhood resource--the idea of tearing down the factory and planting trees was probably the most popular idea, although there was also talk of other possible uses including a fitness center and a school. In order to understand where the idea of monumentalizing the Vapor Vell came from, we need to turn our attention away from the neighborhood movement and study instead the development of the industrial heritage movement in Catalonia which occurred at this time. Although in Sants these two movements overlapped to some degree, as we will investigate in more detail in chapter 4.3, they had very different origins, involved different constituencies, and manifested different discourses regarding industrial musealization.

In this chapter we will look at the nature of the industrial heritage movement, beginning with the development of the concept in England in the 1950's and tracing its arrival to Catalonia in the 1980's. Despite the existence of some earlier discussions of the topic in Catalonia dating to 1978,⁶⁶ the origins of a Catalan industrial heritage discourse have typically been attributed to three events⁶⁷: the organization of the 1st Conference for the Conservation and Revalorization of Industrial Heritage held in Bilbao in 1982, the publication of the book "Industrial architecture in Catalonia" in 1984, and the exhibition

⁶⁴ Materials per a una Didàctica del Vapor Vell. March 2, 1985

⁶⁵ Secretariat d'Entitats de Sants, Hostafrancs, i la Bordeta. Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular. 1983-84.

⁶⁶ Prior to the three crucial moments which I point out, in Barcelona, the topic of industrial heritage was discussed by the art historian, critic and influential intellectual Alexandre Cirici in Serra d'Or (November, 1978), as well as in Artlugi (1979), apparently without the public interest of the engineers or the future authorities of Catalonia. (A center of art named in Cirici's honor was established the following decade in a rehabilitated historic slaughterhouse in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat.) In 1980, the industrial engineer Lluís Hernández Soler wrote an article titled "Viatge als museus de la ciència" in the magazine Ciència (Nov 1980), citing Cirici's use of the term "industrial archeology" and tracing the relationship between heritage, history and museums. Also, in L'Avenç (1980) the economic historian Josep Maria Delgado employed the concept of "industrial archeology." This was also the year of the publication of the first major work of industrial archeology in Spain: Aracil, Rafael; Cerdá, Manuel; Garcia Bonafe, Mario. (1980), Arqueologia industrial de Alcoi (Industrial Archaeology of Alcoi). Alcoi, Ayuntamiento de Alcoi.

⁶⁷ See Casanelles i Rahola, Eusebi. L'arqueologia Industrial a Catalunya. In, I Jornades d'arqueologia industrial a Catalunya. [Conference held in 1988], L'Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991.

“Catalonia, the factory of Spain,” held at the Mercat del Born in Barcelona in 1985. Here, I argue that this interpretation obscures the importance of a determining factor in the development of a Catalan industrial heritage-- the role of the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalonia together with the newly formed Generalitat in recovering a prewar project for a national technical museum. In 1983, the same year as that the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign was launched in Sants, the Vapor Aymerich, Amat i Jover was purchased as the site for a Catalan Museum of Science and Technology.

Unlike other industrialized countries, many of which had already established national technical museums in the early 20th century, the industrial heritage movement in Catalonia would be dominated by a nationalistic, identitarian emphasis in line with the cultural politics of Pujolisme. In this regard, Catalan identity would be aligned with the *fet diferencial*, or ‘distinctive fact,’ of industrialization, used to draw similarities between the nation and other modern, Northern European countries, while distancing it from the rest of Spain. I argue that this project, rather than representing an ‘expansion of heritage,’ can be more accurately understood as the heritagization of old ‘authorized industrial discourses’ (see chapter 2.3) characterized by their hegemonic function in promoting business interests through cultural production.⁶⁸

4.2.1 The origins of the industrial heritage movement

The concept of industrial heritage can be traced back to 1955 in the work *Amateur Historian*, by Donald Dudley and Michael Rix, professors at the University of Birmingham, and founders of the new discipline of *Industrial Archeology*.⁶⁹ In the words of Rix: “Great Britain, as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution is a country full of monuments that remain as a testimony to important industrial events. Any other country would have already established the mechanism for the inventory and the preservation of these memorials that symbolize the movement that is changing the face of the earth, but we neglected our national heritage, which, despite some few objects of museum, most of these monuments are neglected or destroyed by unconsciousness.”⁷⁰ In 1963, the Industrial Monuments Survey was created, as well as the National Record of Industrial Monuments, which inventoried 50,000 cards of industrial heritage elements within two years.

Rix emphasized the need to catalogue and preserve this industrial heritage, but also noted the didactic value of these industrial objects as historical artefacts. In 1959, the Industrial Archaeology Research Committee was formed within the Council of British

⁶⁸ Boswell, D., & Evans, J. (2007). *Representing the nation: a reader: histories, heritage and museums*. London: Routledge.

⁶⁹ The context of this postwar period is worth mentioning. Two world wars had not only carried out a massive destruction, but also, implicated certain industries within the war project.

⁷⁰ Rix, Michael. (1955). *Industrial archeology*. In: *The Amateur Historian*. Vol.2 No.8. October-November, 1955: 225.

Archaeology and in 1963, Kenneth Hudson published *Industrial Archaeology, an introduction*, which became the defining work of the new discipline.⁷¹ The following year, Hudson launched the first disciplinary journal, *The Journal of Industrial Archaeology*, which later would be called *Industrial Archaeology: The journal of the History of Industry and Technology*.

Besides these monumental and didactic frameworks, the concept of industrial heritage also experienced a boost into the public sphere in the context of the destruction of the Euston Station arch in London in 1962 amid the protests of civic and academic constituencies which sought to defend the arch as an example of the city's industrial architecture.⁷² In the years of deindustrialization that followed, the story of the Euston Station arch became a sort of rallying cry for industrial conservation in England (and, later on, in Spain)⁷³.

During the 1970's, the industrial heritage movement spread to other countries in the context of industrial restructuring precipitated by an economic crisis. Germany, France and Belgium would be the first to vindicate legal and administrative frameworks for protecting industrial sites in disuse. Over the years, to varying degrees, the notion of monument, originally classical and limited, would come to include an industrial legacy within the wider concept of cultural heritage. According to some metrics, the first industrial heritage museum was the Ironbridge Gorge Museum, considered to be one of the key points of the Industrial Revolution as the first place where iron was smelted using coke in 1709. It was in Ironbridge that, in 1973, the first international conference of industrial heritage was held, during which the International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) emerged as the worldwide organizational advocate for industrial heritage. By 1978, UNESCO would

⁷¹ In the 1979 publication of *World industrial archaeology*, Kenneth Hudson discusses the academic status of industrial archaeology, conducting an interview amongst eighteen of Britain's most prominent archaeologists including questions such as: Do you take industrial archaeology seriously? If the answer is 'no', what would have to be done about industrial archaeology in order to make it worthy of serious attention? (Hudson, Kenneth. (1979). *World industrial archaeology*. Cambridge University Press: London.)

⁷² This demonstrates Timothy Putnam's point that, in practice, conservation planning is reactive rather than proactive: "heritage resources are often only recognized when under threat." Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London, 1992, p. 11.

⁷³ The following is a description published in what has been recognized as the first work of industrial archeology in Spain. "En 1962 fue destruida una estación de ferrocarril británica –la Euston Station–, que contenía un pórtico dórico. Este hecho levantó corrientes de opinión de historiadores y científicos que, en poco tiempo, encontró un positivo eco popular a favor de la salvaguarda del patrimonio industrial británico. Ciudadanos con su cámara fotográfica en sus paseos, empresarios facilitando la entrada a sus fábricas y conservando sus restos, corporaciones locales patrocinando iniciativas, etc., posibilitaron la formación de un fondo susceptible de ser registrado e historiado. De este modo nacía una nueva disciplina, la arqueología industrial, la cual trataría de conocer mejor las condiciones históricas de la producción industrial a través de lo que ella ha engendrado: fábricas, máquinas, comunicaciones, residencias burguesas, barrios obreros, etc." Aracil, Rafael; Cerdá, Manuel; García Bonafé, Mario. (1980). *Arqueología industrial de Alcoi (Industrial Archaeology of Alcoi)*. Alcoi, Ayuntamiento de Alcoi: (introduction).

include, for the first time, an industrial site in its catalog of world heritage: the Salt Mine of Wieliczka in Poland.⁷⁴

Expansion of heritage

An important characteristic of the industrial heritage movement was its plurality. Writing in 1992, after conducting a survey of European industrial heritage sites, Putnam and Alfrey affirm that industrial collections have been gathered for a variety of motives.⁷⁵ Consequently, there is not just one answer to why and how these heritage resources are used. Instead of engaging with the debate of what industrial heritage ‘should’ be, Putnam and Alfrey take a descriptive approach based on their survey of the field, contextualizing the movement within a generalized ‘expansion of heritage’ which occurred in England at that time and proposing four factors which may have contributed to this historical trend, including: 1) leisure learning and demand for cultural development in leisure, 2) interest in ordinary things, impossible when there was more formality in relations between people, 3) interest in local heritage by those who have chosen to live in an area, and 4) as a response to a recent change and loss of circumstantial context. As they point out, “both the museum and conservation/planning traditions were developed originally to deal with an older heritage. The heritage of industrial culture has fitted uneasily into this inheritance.”⁷⁶ Consequently, the concept of industrial heritage has also challenged traditional roles of experts and the relationships between professionals and the public have been reformulated.⁷⁷

In other words, industrial heritage represented many different things to many different constituencies and this ‘expansiveness’ made it difficult to discipline and bring under the domain of knowledge of a particular group of experts. From a critical heritage point of view, industrial heritage was ill fitted as an authorized heritage discourse with a hegemonic function in society. In practice, the rhetoric of industrial heritage has often been appropriated by volunteer groups, amateur historians, hobbyists, collectors, activists, reactionaries and romantics of various kinds.

I Conference for the protection and revalorization of industrial heritage (Bilbao, 1982)

This sense of expansiveness was certainly present at the 1st Conference for the conservation and revalorization of industrial heritage held in 1982 as the first major milestone in the Spanish industrial heritage movement.⁷⁸ The conference was co-organized by the Catalan and Basque regional governments and hosted in Bilbao, Basque Country. Representing Catalonia, Eusebi Casanelles (Generalitat, Department of Culture) and Rafael

⁷⁴ Since then, other sites have been added to the list such as the Saline d’Arc-et-Senans, 1983; Ironbridge, 1986; Völklingen, 1994; Crespi d’Adda, 1995, etc.

⁷⁵ Judith Alfrey; Tim Putnam. *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London, 1992. P. 39.

⁷⁶ (Ibid. p.39)

⁷⁷ (Ibid. p.39).

⁷⁸ I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984.

Aracil (University of Barcelona, Economic History) formed the organizing committee along with Max Cahner (Generalitat, Counselor of Culture) and Josep Guitart (Generalitat, General Subdirector of Museums, Plastic Arts, and Archeology). Pedro Miguel Etxenike Landiribar, Hezkuntza Eta Kulturako (education and culture council), opened the conference with his assessment of the situation: “The fundamental problem, in all probability, resides in the very magnitude that the concept (of cultural heritage) has taken in our days.”⁷⁹

If anything, the conference would demonstrate the truth of Landiribar’s claim. During the approximately forty presentations given over the course of the conference, a diverse group of speakers from many different backgrounds presented a range of viewpoints on the topic. The content of these presentations has been conserved in a large published volume and remains a testament to this unique moment in the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Spain when the field was open to a degree of interdisciplinarity and clash of discourses that has not been experienced since.

In an attempt to guide a productive discussion and order the talks, the presentations were divided into six categories:

1. Research in the field of industrial archaeology (inventory, documentary sources, methodology, monographic aspects).
2. Technical architectural treatment of industrial heritage.
3. Industrial heritage and environment
4. Scientific and technical museography
5. The role of industrial archeology in the teaching of technology and history
6. Organization of the association for the protection of industrial heritage.

In this way, the field of industrial archaeology was presented as the methodological structure around which the discussions and debates could take place. For this reason, the first presentation was given by one of the conference organizers, Rafael Aracil, on the topic of “The investigation in industrial archeology.”⁸⁰ Aracil, who was a professor of economic history at the University of Barcelona, had co-authored what is considered the first work of industrial archeology in Spain two years prior, in 1980-- *Industrial archaeology of Alcoi*.⁸¹ The theme of his presentation, besides giving an overview of the global industrial heritage movement, was to demonstrate to his audience just how behind-the-times Spain was in this

⁷⁹ Etxenike Landiribar, Pedro Miguel. (1982). Introduction. In: *I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial*. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: p.5.

⁸⁰ Aracil, Rafael. (1982). *La investigacion en arqueologia industrial*. In: *I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial*. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 17-24.

⁸¹ Aracil, Rafael; Cerdá, Manuel; Garcia Bonafe, Mario (1980), *Arqueología industrial de Alcoi* (Industrial Archaeology of Alcoi). Alcoi, Ayuntamiento de Alcoi.

regard. England, the founder of this movement, had created the Ironbridge museum (1968), brought the study of industrial archeology into the university (University of Bath, 1966), and established around seventy industrial archeology groups throughout the country. France had the Ecomuseum of Le Creusot. In Sweden two of the national industries (paper and metalwork) had received privately funded conservation. Belgium had restored the industrial center of Grand Hornu and formed the Groupe de Travail sur Archéologie Industrielle (1971) and the Centre d'Archéologie Industrielle (1974). Germany had the Deutsches Museum, where funding from industry was fundamental. The list went on. Conservation in Czechoslovakia was directed towards industrial buildings (1979). Italy had the Centro de Documentación e Investigación de Arqueología Industrial (1976). Austria had enacted legal reforms giving cultural value to industrial monuments (1978) and introduced industrial archeology as a field of study (1980). The United States had the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (1978). Even Japan had an industrial archeology society (1977). The moral of Aracil's story was clear: Spain needed to catch up.

The beauty of a conference like this one, however, was that Aracil could be followed by Francisco Aldabaldetrecu, an industrial technician, who concluded from his own investigation in the field of technology that: "Dealing with the history of technology in the Basque Country is something that engineers should do rather than historians, or perhaps historians after engineers...."⁸² Not only was the topic of methodology up for debate at this conference, but also the fundamental question of whether or not Spain had even participated in the industrial revolution. Miguel Izard, a contemporary history professor at the University of Barcelona, proceeded to deliver his presentation entitled "Archeology, dependence, and underdevelopment: the Catalan Case" in which he defended that "the industrial revolution did not take place in Spain, a situation that, while some may label it as the failure of a more or less elaborate project, others may see as the fatal corollary of a social formation that was peripheral, dependent and underdeveloped ... the same happened in almost the entire capitalist periphery, in Colombia (Medellín) or in Mexico (Puebla) ... not only are the remains that [industrial archeology] must investigate less in quantity, but they are also qualitatively different."⁸³

Topics such as these were interspersed with monographic works on industrial objects such as the Catalan forge, mills, shipbuilding in Basque Country, the Atocha Station in Madrid, etc. An engineering professor from the Barcelona School of Technical Engineering named Ferran Calabuig i Alsina, took the mic to eulogize his lifelong fascination with loom shuttles, "symbols of machinery," and to announce the donation of his personal collection to

⁸² Aldabaldetrecu, Francisco. (1982). Una experiencia de investigación en el campo de la técnica. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 89-94.

⁸³ Izard, Miquel. (1982). Arqueología, dependencia, y subdesarrollo: el caso Catalan. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 113-122.

the soon-to-be-established Museum of Science, Technology and Industrial Archeology of Catalonia.⁸⁴

Heritage professionals like Teresa Tosas Jordà, from the inventory and architectural heritage section of the Generalitat, also made an appearance at the conference, reminding the group that, “This general problem with the inventories of architectural heritage carried out so far is aggravated when we enter the field of Industrial Archeology due to a traditional and almost total lack of interest towards these types of buildings... As everyone knows, the purposes of the Administration are not purely scientific.”⁸⁵ International experts made up another collective which had been invited to speak at the conference, representing Manchester (Joseph Harrison, History department of the University of Manchester), Holland (Peter Richard de Clercq, national advisor of museums of history and technology), France (the Ecomuseum of Le Creusot Montceau-Les Mines), and Italy (Massimo Negri, member of the Italian society of industrial archeology).

Representatives from a couple of Catalan local museums were also in attendance, including Àngels Casanovas i Romeu from the museum of history of Sabadell and Ramon Sagués Baixeras from the museum of history of Badalona, whose presentation “the industrializing process, an element that generates a certain urban growth” involved reframing industrial heritage in terms of a broader ‘industrial landscape.’ The case of Catalonia’s industrial colonies was discussed by Ignasi Terradas Saborit, a contemporary historian at the University of Barcelona. This social/urban perspective was also featured in the presentation of the urban geographer Luis Vicente García Merino who discussed the issue of urban reuse in the following terms: “Collectives that operate in the city and especially in the areas near the factories, which generally suffer from a lack of facilities, especially free spaces, will press to obtain public amenities in the place occupied by the factory, which generally, is compatible with its preservation, although sometimes problems arise between the most strongly felt claims and the most advisable type of reuse.”⁸⁶ It was as though Merino, who was a professor in Valladolid, a city far from Barcelona, could have been referring in this statement to the experience of the neighbors of Sants. In anycase, some neighbors from Sants were also present at the conference, presenting on the topic of their recent publication “Sants: One hundred years of industrialization, elements of school research,” to be used by teachers to

⁸⁴ Calabuig i Alsina, Ferran. (1982). La lanzadera, símbolo del maquinismo. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 161-170.

⁸⁵ Tosas Jordà, Teresa. (1982). El inventario del patrimonio industrial. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 124-138.

⁸⁶ García Merino, Luis Vicente. (1982). Los problemas ambientales del patrimonio industrial. Reflexiones sobre el caso de la Ría de Bilbao. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 381-398.

connect their curriculum with the history of the local environment⁸⁷ (see chapter 3.4 for more details on this publication).

The question of education was the main theme of the section opened up by Santiago Riera i Tuèbols with his presentation on “Industrial Archeology: Its role in the teaching of technology and history.” Riera was a doctor in industrial engineering, licensed in geography and history and professor of history of science and technology at the University of Barcelona, as well as the president of the Catalan society of engineering. In describing the origins of a Catalan industrial archeology consciousness, he refers back to the year 1976:

“Catalonia began the journey when in 1976 the Association of Industrial Engineers relaunched the idea of the Museum of Science and Technology. Today, the Association of the Museum of Science and Technology has begun collecting machinery and objects. On the other hand, the joint board of trustees of the Generalitat-Association of Industrial Engineers has carried out the preliminary study which should allow the final project to be approached with enthusiasm. Pedagogical studies on the teaching of history have also started, albeit modestly, in Catalonia: the Rosa Sensat group of social sciences and the Institutes of Education Sciences (ICE) of the three Catalan universities have begun to work in such suggestive field.... in industrial archeology we have a weapon, an invaluable means, to fight against the two cultures.”⁸⁸

As one of the few people at the conference uniquely qualified to speak on both the topic of history and technology/science (in other words, someone who’s own academic career represented a bridge between the Snow’s ‘two cultures’⁸⁹) it is interesting to note that Riera’s analysis of the origins of a Catalan industrial heritage/archeology movement differs from that of Aracil, who stresses the English origins of the movement and its international context. Instead, Riera notes the influence of local pedagogic and museographic projects in shaping the origins of this movement in Catalonia. In chapter 4.3 we will look in more detail at the pedagogic studies which integrated industrial archeology into work on a new curriculum for post-Francoist Catalonia. In what remains of this chapter, however, we will focus on the project of the engineers and the Generalitat in reviving an old museographic project for a national museum of science and technology.

This museum project would feature in the conference in two ways. First of all, the details of the project would be presented by Eusebi Casanelles, technical collaborator for the

⁸⁷ Col·lectiu de l’escola de mestres de Barcelona. (1982). Sants. Cent anys d’industrialització. Elements de recerca escolar. (Barcelona, Consell Municipal del Districte VII-Secretariat d’Entitats-Arxiu Històric de Sants). In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 513-546. In the same vein, a group from the Rosa Sensat association of social sciences would also present their findings on “Experiences on the Use of Industrial Heritage for the Teaching of Social Sciences in the 2nd stage of E.G.B.” (see section 4.3 for more details).

⁸⁸ Riera i Tuèbols, Santiago. (1982). La arqueología industrial: su papel en la enseñanza de la técnica y la historia. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 495-512.

⁸⁹ Snow, C.P. (1959). The two cultures. Rede Lecture.

museum service of the department of culture of the Generalitat, in his presentation on “The new organization of museums of science and technology in Catalonia.”⁹⁰ This was given alongside presentations from representatives of museum initiatives for the Basque Country (“to be based on the concept of Ecomuseum”) and Madrid,⁹¹ where a national museum of science and technology had been established, at least on paper, in 1980.⁹² Besides the proposal itself, there was a second way in which this Catalan museum project impacted the conference. This becomes clear when we look at who the organizers were behind the conference: from Catalonia this was Rafael Aracil and Eusebi Casanelles. In addition, the committee of honor in attendance included none other than Max Cahner i Garcia, the councillor of culture of the Generalitat, and Josep Guitart Duran, general subdirector of museums, plastic arts and archaeology of the Generalitat. Taking into consideration that this conference was held in Bilbao, halfway across the country from Barcelona, the participation of so many high-level government representatives from the Generalitat, who also helped finance the conference in collaboration with the government of the Basque Country, reveals something important about what was really going on at this conference.

What was going on? Here, the concept of musealization is helpful because it includes all of the practices involved in running a museum, including the complex processes of developing an historical interpretation, generating consensus and building constituencies around the project. I argue here that we can view the organization of this conference as an act of musealization by the joint board of trustees of the Generalitat-Association of Industrial Engineers as a step in the process of eventually opening the doors to what is now called the mNACTEC (national museum of science and technology of Catalonia). It would be an oversimplification to say that this was the only thing happening at the conference, certainly it also served as a general academic forum for discussion around a relevant topic, but it was also highly connected, at an organizational level, to a specific museum project. It must be evaluated historically in connection with this larger project, as an ideological thing, albeit this ideology was in a process of development. This brings us to the second main focus of investigation for this chapter--the origins of a national museum of science and technology for Catalonia.

⁹⁰ Casanelles, Eusebi. (1982). La nueva organización de museos de ciencia y técnica en Catalunya. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 451-458.

⁹¹ An interesting element of this presentation is the way that the national question of Catalonia is addressed by the author from Madrid: “...apuntamos, por ello, la posibilidad de colaboración con las diversas Comunidades Autónomas, que lleva a un entendimiento distinto del término nacional que adjetiva a nuestro Museo y que se halla más cerca de nuestras propias convicciones.” Losada Aranguren, Jose Maria. (1982). El museo nacional de ciencia y tecnología. Algunas ideas para su desarrollo. In: I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984: pp. 475-486.

⁹² Sebastián, Amparo. (1999). El Museo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología de Madrid: una realidad con un gran futuro. *Arbor*: 164: 445-460.

4.2.2 The origins of a national museum of science and technology for Catalonia.

In April of 1977, in their headquarters at Via Laietana 39, the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalunya opened an exhibition titled “For a museum of science and technology for Catalonia.” The timing of this proposal coincided with the reestablishment of the Generalitat, and one of the ways the proposal was legitimized by the Engineers was as the continuation of a project dating to 1937, when the Republican Generalitat formed a ‘Commission of the Technical Museum of Catalonia.’ The existence of this project is only confirmed through the conservation of four letters written to Santiago Rubió i Tudurí on June 7th of that year, tasking him with the job of giving a “detailed proposal of the machines, artefacts, tools and other exhibits that you deem interesting to be displayed in the museum.”⁹³ As historians of science Jaume Sastre and Jaume Valentines discuss in their investigation on the topic, some clues to understanding this rather mysterious museum proposal, which took place in the midst of the Civil War, can be found by understanding who the letters had been sent to.⁹⁴ Santiago Rubió i Tudurí was the director of the industrial engineering school at this time, and had been a pioneer in a form of Catalan industrial archeology. In the 1920’s he and fellow engineer Antoni Gallardo Garriga embarked on a series of excursions to the Catalan Pyrenees in order to search for and study past technological, popular art, ethnologic and philological traditions. Later, they wrote a book on the Catalan forge⁹⁵, which they presented as a “mythical example of self-sufficient Catalan iron technology in order to stress the pitiful state of technological dependency and to claim for a rebirth of a powerful local iron industry.” They also reconstructed a Catalan forge as a display in the Electricity and Metallurgy Palace at Barcelona’s 1929 International Exhibition.⁹⁶

In the aftermath of the exhibition, a discussion ensued regarding the reuse of the empty palaces and exhibition halls which had been built for the exhibition on the slopes of Montjuïc. “How could the Montjuïc hill be transformed and reintegrated into the city?” In this context, various proposals were made for a technical museum. “The Technotheque of Montjuïc ,” was the first, published in the *La Vanguardia* newspaper by the Chief engineer

⁹³ “Comissió del Museu Tècnic de Catalunya”, Comunicacions (ETSEIB), 12/06/1937, Arxiu Històric de l’Escola Industrial de Barcelona (box 00441). (As quoted in Jaume Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume Sastre-Juan, *The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939)*, *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34, 1, 2019, 128-154.)

⁹⁴ Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). *The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939)*, *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154.

⁹⁵ Gallardo Garriga, Antoni; Rubió i Tudurí, Santiago. *La farga Catalana. Descripció i funcionament, història, distribució geogràfica*. Barcelona, Exposició de Barcelona. 1930.

⁹⁶ Valentines Álvarez, J. (2019). *The Quest for the Technological Soul of the Nation: The Catalan Forge and the Display of Politics (1914–1939)*. In: Canadelli, E., Beretta, M., & Ronzon, L. (Eds.). *Behind the Exhibit: Displaying Science and Technology at World's Fairs and Museums in the Twentieth Century*. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, pp. 32-50.

of the exhibition and one of the most famous military engineers of that time, none other than Santiago's father, Marià Rubió i Bellvé.⁹⁷

According to Marià Rubió, the Technotheque was to be the largest site for technological display in the world--a network of industrial museums housing a comprehensive collection of "all raw materials and all finished products that are included in the technical, agricultural, industrial and artistic activity of our country." In practical terms, it was to be semi-private and mainly commercial enterprise, national in scope, contempocentric (as opposed to archeocentric) and created with the express purpose of technical education.⁹⁸

The Technotheque proposal was expounded upon by another engineer, Carles Buïgas, who extended Marià Rubió's proposal to include technical libraries, industrial catalogs, archives and an international commercial information service that would provide industry with information regarding production costs, methods, patents, etc, as well as "research and invention laboratories devoted to the contents of each palace."⁹⁹ In addition, the Technotheque would be surrounded by a technological garden. Buïgas, who had garnered attention for his design of the 'magic fountain,' the 1929 exhibition's most popular attraction, wrote that: "The park of light would be an injection of poetic fantasy for our exceedingly materialistic life: a positive moral hygiene." With the advent of the Second Republic in 1932, Buïgas would continue his advocacy of the Technotheque, but with a pragmatic rhetorical move, suggesting that Montjuïc could become for the new, Autonomous Catalonia something like the National Mall in Washington D.C., and he envisioned the Technotheque in the midst of this new center of political and symbolic power.¹⁰⁰ This aligned with the position adopted by the engineering and technical associations at that time which consisted in the dual move of "making technology Catalan and at the same time making Catalonia a technological nation."¹⁰¹

Sastre and Valentines attribute the failure of the Technotheque proposal to gain momentum to three factors: the lack of public and private sector interest in the project, the lack of popularity of Buïgas among the engineers, and lastly because the engineering elite

⁹⁷ Rubio i Bellvé, Marià. La "Tecnoteca" de Montjuïc. *La Vanguardia*, October 18, 1929, 5.

⁹⁸ Here, Sastre and Valentines adopt Svante Lindqvist's classification system. Lindqvist proposes a schema for characterizing technological museums of this era according to three criteria: whether the museum is national or international in scope, whether it frames its display of technology ethnographically (contextual) or as an example of technological development (sequential), and whether it is focused on the past (archaeocentric) or the present (contempocentric). Lindqvist, Svante. (1993). *An Olympic Stadium of Technology: Deutsches Museum and Sweden's Tekniska Museet*. In: Schroeder-Gudehus, Brigitte (ed.). *Industrial Society and its Museums*. Paris, Harwood Academic Publishers.

⁹⁹ Buïgas, Carles. Com veig la Muntanya de Montjuïc després de la clausura de l'Exposició. *Butlletí de la Cambra Mercantil*, 92, 196-202; 1929.

¹⁰⁰ Buïgas, Carles. Barcelona Monumental. *La Vanguardia*, April 24, 1932.

¹⁰¹ Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2012). *Tecnocràcia i Catalanisme tècnic a Catalunya als anys 1930. Els enginyers industrials, de l'organització del taller a la racionalització de l'estat*. Barcelona, Tesis doctoral UAB.

shared the symbolic and spatial world with the Catalan Bourgeoisie for whom the building of a national identity for Catalonia was to be inspired by the icons of nineteenth century nationalisms: history, art and literature. This view was not only shared by intellectuals, writers and politicians, but by the whole elite of the country, including the engineers. They wanted to put technology at the heart of the nation, and they did that in many ways, but they also accepted wholeheartedly the priority of the construction of the National Art Museum of Catalonia in 1934 and the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia in 1935 over that of a technical museum.¹⁰²

Evaluating the museum

In her Masters thesis on “The industrial heritage: Conservation and musealization, the Catalan Case,”¹⁰³ Marta López provides a global overview of the development of industrial museums, within which it is helpful to contextualize the project advocated by the Catalan engineers in the 1930’s. López takes two different approaches to categorization--by chronology of distinct ‘generations’ of industrial museums and by typology of distinct kinds--although, in the end, neither of these methods provide a very satisfactory answer to Sastre and Valentines’s basic question of “how, when, and why did technology become something that deserved to be officially put on display?”¹⁰⁴

On the one hand, López defines three generations of museums, starting with the Musée des Arts et Métiers in Paris, created by the National Convention of 1794 and considered the world’s oldest museum of technology. This first generation was characterized by exhibiting new technologies rather than preserving the old. In presenting the project to the Convention, Henri Gregoire, one of its ideologues, described “a deposit of machines, models, utensils, drawings, descriptions and books that refer to all genres of arts and crafts . [...] The objectives of this new institution: to federate technical knowledge in order to perfect the national industry; to gather a three-dimensional encyclopedia that will serve as a model, reference and incentive for inventors, researchers and the curious from all social classes...” Another iconic museum from this generation was the South Kensington Museum of London, founded in 1863 as a byproduct of the Universal Exhibition of 1851. In its early stages, the museum’s collection covered both applied art and science, and incorporated a number of exhibits from the 1851 exhibition. As time passed, the scientific collection was moved from the Victoria and Albert Museum to form the basis of a new museum in 1893 with the appointment of its own director. This was the Science Museum of London, which López groups as part of a second generation. Museums of the second generation are generally those

¹⁰²Sastre-Juan, Jaume & Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume. (2019). The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939), *Nunciatus: annali di storia della scienza*, 34: 128-154.

¹⁰³ Terés López, Marta. (2008). *El Patrimoni Industrial: Conservació i Musealització, el Cas Català*. (Masters Thesis directed by Xavier Roigé i Ventura), Universitat de Barcelona.

¹⁰⁴ Sastre, Jaume; Valentines, Jaume. (2010). Envisioning a "Technotheque" for Barcelona, (presented at the VI Col.loqui d'Historia de la Tecnica, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya).

created during the first third of the 20th century, and especially in the interwar period, which sought to display scientific and technological heritage through an increasingly didactic approach, using dioramas, models, and all manner of interactivity to educate their visitors. The Deutsches Museum of Science and Technology in Munich, founded in 1903 at a meeting of the Association of German Engineers, and originally called The German Museum for Masterpieces of Natural Science and Technology, is perhaps the most iconic example of this, as well as the Palais de la Decouverte of Paris (1937). The third generation, from the 1950's and 60's was differentiated by the supremacy of the scientific concept over the scientific object. These are the Science Centers, which first appeared in the USA and Canada, starting with the Exploratorium in San Francisco (1969), which didn't conserve a scientific and technological collection, but was created instead on the basis of a "library of experiments" which Frank Oppenheimer built as a supplement to public science curricula.

While the generations model of museum development may give some answers to the questions of "how" and "when" technological objects were displayed, it does not answer the question of "why." In fact, the generations model appears to have been originally used by museum professionals in the 1980's as a teleological legitimization and celebration of the science center as a cultural form.¹⁰⁵ The model invisibilizes important distinguishing features of individual museums by abstracting the institutions as exemplars of various stages of development of didactic museography-- from display, to demonstration, to active participation. The model is also incapable of explaining the proliferation, especially since the 1960's, of a wide variety of museological forms which all can be categorized generally as "industrial museums." López addresses this in her paper by switching to a new form of analysis- organizing the museums according to six typologies:

- The "great museums" of science and technology
- Science centers
- Industrial ecomuseums
- Industrial centers or centers of interpretation
- Museums of work
- Industrial spaces reused as non-industrial museums

An obvious problem of a typological model concerns the degree to which they are useful for anything more than a superficial understanding of the basic form and content of a particular museum. I would argue that the concept of muselization allows for a much more nuanced categorization of museum initiatives by evaluating them in terms of constituencies and discourses within a historic context. This approach is much closer to that undertaken by

¹⁰⁵ The generational model is used by Bouchet in a 1987 report on the City of Science and Industry museum of Paris as a "third generation science museum." Bouchet, M.J. (1987). Cité des Sciences et de l'industrie: ein Wissenschafts- museum der dritten generation. Chemie in unserer zeit.

Brigitte Schroeder-Gudejuse (ed.) in her book “Industrial Society & its Museums, 1890-1990. Social Aspirations and Cultural Politics.” There, she emphasizes the high cost and effort of starting a museum and the dependence on elite constituencies for their founding, posing questions regarding the politics behind these institutions and the conception of technology which they wanted to promote.¹⁰⁶ From the case studies presented, two general trends stand out: first, the role of technical museums in the “creation of a tradition and a respectable past for engineers as a result of their rise as a professional group with ever more political power,”¹⁰⁷ and secondly, as “vehicles for the creation of national identity discourses and for the framing and appropriation of a “science-based modernity” and a technological culture within a nationalistic discourse.”¹⁰⁸ Both of these motivations can be read from the proposals for the Technical Museum of Catalonia, in which engineers like Carles Buïgas and the Rubió family (both father and son), followed the approach of engineers in other countries

¹⁰⁶ Gudehus, Brigitte. (1993). “Patrons and Publics: Museums as Historical Artefacts”, in Schroeder-Gudehus, Brigitte (ed.). *Industrial Society and its Museums*, Paris, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1-3.

¹⁰⁷ Sastre and Valentines summarize the relevance of some of the main case studies in this regard. “In the Science Museum and the Deutsches Museum (in which the engineers wanted to mimic the cultural rhetorics of art history and sought to create a past for themselves through the exhibition of the “masterpieces” of science and technology) we can find a strong emphasis on the relics of the great inventors of the past. Stockholm’s Tekniskaa Museet was born out of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Swedish Society of Graduate Engineers and was conceived as an “olympic stadium of technology” in which to celebrate and display the national contributions to the Great Olympus of invention, such as Christopher Polhem’s. Holbrook Porter, one of the main promoters of the National Museum of Engineering and Industry that was never created in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, started his efforts by collecting and exhibiting historical relics of great engineers such as John Ericsson. In his museum in Dearborn, Henry Ford also wanted to exhibit historical relics in a sequential, decontextualized and sanitized way in order to ignore the working context and portray a progressive narrative with the machine as its only historical agent. And the corporate-run Chicago and New York museums of science and industry actively promoted the idea that American history had been driven by the inventions of past engineers in order to convince the working classes that the only wise way to face the Progress represented by a technological change portrayed in a deterministic fashion was to conform to it.” In Jaume Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume Sastre-Juan, *The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939)*, *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34, 1, 2019, 128-154.

¹⁰⁸ “As we have seen in the Catalan case, technical museums in the 1920s and 1930s were vehicles for the creation of national identity discourses and for the framing and appropriation of a “science-based modernity” and a technological culture within a nationalistic discourse. Most national technical museums were symbols of national pride, like the Deutsches Museum and the Tekniskaa Museet. The first one became a symbol of Germany’s revival after World War I when it was reinaugurated in 1925 with the highest official honors. Industrialization was shaking traditional values and ways of living all over Europe, and World War I had shown what were the effects of a technological war: interwar technical museums were thus tools for appropriating and integrating technology in the threatened national identity of European countries. On the other hand, the inauguration of Stockholm’s Tekniskaa Museet in 1924 was preceded by the Gothenburg Exhibition of 1923, which was a clear re-writing of the Swedish national history by including technology as part of the Swedish past. Torsten Althin, who was also the leading promoter of the Tekniskaa Museet and its first president, was known as “Sweden’s biggest scrap merchant” because of his collecting of obsolete technology in order to display it in the Gothenburg Exhibition and put it at the same level than other folkloric traditions, thus giving a “Swedish” past to industrialization and appropriating it as an endogenous and benign force.” In Jaume Valentines-Álvarez, Jaume Sastre-Juan, *The failed Technology Museum of Catalonia: Engineers and the Politics of the musealization of technology in Barcelona (1929-1939)*, *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza*, 34, 1, 2019, 128-154.

in partnering with the state in the rewriting of the national history to include the establishment of both a glorious technological past, as well as a bright technological future for the nation.

4.2.3 Remaking the museum of science and technology of Catalonia

Now that we have investigated the roots of the engineers museum project, let's see to what degree this project was changed as it was picked up in their 1977 proposal for a Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia. A poster from the exhibition elaborates 12 key aspects of the project:¹⁰⁹

1. A museum of science and technology for Catalonia. (“Catalonia needs a museum of science and technology like Germany, England, Austria, the United States, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, the Soviet Union...”)
2. Why a museum? (“Everyone should have an opportunity to learn the laws of nature and how nature was transformed by man to satisfy his needs.”)
3. A museum of history (“Science and technology have a fundamental role: they are the means of improving the conditions and life of mankind. History of science and tech helps one understand the history of humanity.”)
4. A museum at the service of teaching (A science and tech education focus)
5. Catalunya has a scientific and technological history (“The museum can not forget our past related to science and technology.”)
6. Catalunya has a scientific and technological present (The museum as an instrument in the debate for the rational articulation of different scientific and technological options.)
7. Scientific and Technical Collections in Catalonia (List of collections the museum could draw from, including the “Mentora Alsina” cabinet of experimental physics)¹¹⁰
8. The museum, a center for research (proposal for a center of investigation in history and pedagogy of science and technology)

¹⁰⁹ Roca, Antoni (Guió); J.LI. Gallego & C.Casaresa (Disseny). (1977). “Per un museu de la ciència i de la tècnica a Catalunya” (Exposició del 20 al 30 d’Abril, 1977, Via Laietana, 39). In: Novatecnia, publicació de la associación de ingenieros industriales, agrupación Catalunya, 1977, 2:22-26.

¹¹⁰ The full list: Collection of l’Acadèmia de Ciències, Gabinet de Física Experimental “Mentora Alsina”, Museu Tèxtil de Terrassa, Museu Popular de Ripoll, Museu Etnològic de Barcelona, Museu de la Blanqueria d’Igualada, Museu del Ferrocarril de Vilanova, Col·lecció de Carruatges de Barcelona, Col·lecció d’Instruments Agrícoles de Cervera, Museu del Paper de Capellades, Museu Marítim de les Drassanes de Barcelona, Col·lecció de Models de la ETSEIB, Museu d’Història Natural de Parc, Aquari de l’Institut d’Investigacions Pesqueres, Col·lecció del Metropolità de Barcelona.

9. Social and Cultural projection of the museum (envisions a constituency of schools, pedagogical centers, and general citizens, as well as a program of activities, conferences, a specialized library and a publishing service)
10. Some sections of the museum (“The museum of science and technology is a task of years and millions. But work can begin today. Some sections can be installed without much difficulty if you have an entrepreneurial and practical spirit... History of transports, communication, physics, energy, history of technology of Catalunya.”)
11. Organization of the museum (a board of directors representing members of industry, the public administration, professional sectors, scientific and pedagogic entities)
12. A location for the Museum (both the Estació de Franca and the Estació del Nord are considered as possible sites)

At first glance, we can see that the museum envisioned by the engineers would be modeled after national science and technology museums from other European countries (“like Germany, England, Austria, the United States, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, the Soviet Union...”), as well as establishing the museum as an extension of science and technology education, as emphasized in the pre-war proposals.

It is important to take note of not just the content of this poster, but its discourse--the way it says what it says. For example, the use of ‘our’ when referring to the museum’s mission to “not forget our past related to science and technology” seems to imply a patriotic discourse, whereas a little later on we find the telltale signs of the positivist discourse on the role of science and technology as “the way of improving the conditions and life of mankind.” Notice how the subject here switches from the national ‘our’ to the global ‘mankind.’ These are reminiscent of the authorized business discourses discussed at length in section 2.3.

The proposal also represents a mix of archeocentric and contempocentric museographical models, both addressing the technological past and present. This fact is also an example of an important element which the proposal takes into consideration- the scale of the project and the need to approach it pragmatically. This factor would come to influence heavily in the museum’s content, diluting its ideological focus through an opportunistic approach which sought to round up a cohesive exhibit from a variety of disparate preexisting sources, rather than start from scratch (“The museum of science and technology is a task of years and millions. But work can begin today. Some sections can be installed without much difficulty if you have an entrepreneurial and practical spirit”). This last factor was also a product of economic realities of the time--when the public funding for the project from the Generalitat would be less than sufficient the engineers would be forced to improvise many solutions and depend on private funding as well as international aid. The board of directors included members of industry, the administration, professional sectors, and scientific and pedagogic entities.

Part of this “pragmatic museology” meant assessing the state of scientific and technical collections which could be drawn on in the building of the museum’s content. We can group these collections according to the following categories:

- **Technical Education:** Collection of l'Acadèmia de Ciències, Gabinet de Física Experimental “Mentora Alsina”, Col·lecció de Models de la ETSEIB, Aquari de l'Institut d'Investigacions Pesqueres, Museu Marítim de les Drassanes de Barcelona
- **Ethnological/Local museums:** Museu Tèxtil de Terrassa, Museu Popular de Ripoll, Museu Etnològic de Barcelona, Museu de la Blanqueria d'Igualada, Museu del Paper de Capellades,
- **Technical collections:** Museu del Ferrocarril de Vilanova, Col·lecció de Carruatges de Barcelona, Col·lecció d'Instruments Agrícoles de Cervera,
- **Other:** Museu d'Historia Natural del Parc, Col·lecció del Metropolità de Barcelona.

Some comments need to be made regarding a few of these collections. The Maritime Museum of Barcelona, for example, had been founded on the basis of a collection of models and instruments from the Nautical School of Barcelona, as well as the historic shipyards which had been occupied by the military until 1935, at which point the Junta del Patronat de l'Institut Nàutic de la Mediterrània had lobbied for the site to be converted into a museum. In 1936, by decree of the Generalitat, the Maritime Museum of Catalunya was founded.¹¹¹ The Ethnological Museum, which had been promoted before the war to be built at the site of the International Exhibition on Montjuic, had been opened in 1949 as the Ethnological and Colonial Museum, housed in one of the exhibition pavilions. Also, in 1942, the Museum of industry and popular arts had been opened based out of the Pueblo Español, with a collection of Catalan folk heritage. In 1962 these two initiatives were joined together, and in 1973 were moved to a building built to house the new museum. In 1982, the museum would be divided again, into the Museu d'Arts, Indústries i Tradicions Populars, on one hand, and the Museu d'Arts Gràfiques on the other. (In 1999 it would be reunified, only to be split again in 2015.)¹¹²

Industrial collections had been collected for various reasons over the 20th century and in some cases had birthed specialty museums such as the Museu del Joguet de Figueres,

¹¹¹ “The need to install the Maritime Museum of Catalonia in a suitable place to preserve, and value the specimens of the Museum of the Nautical Institute of the Mediterranean and the many others that, at this moment, can be gathered, advised allocating the old part of the Shipyards to the Maritime Museum, a very noble place for the architecture and maritime tradition of Catalonia that it evokes. Barcelona City Council had decided to use the building of the old Shipyards for cultural purposes, as soon as they were suitable for an installation. Now is the time to make the final installation of the Maritime Museum of Catalonia.” -Josep Tarredellas, as cited in: García Domingo, Enric. *Història del Museu Marítim de Barcelona 1929/1939*. Edició Museu Marítim de Barcelona.

¹¹² The history of this institution and its connections with the social/political landscape of Barcelona is developed in: Ramírez Corredor, Yvonne Rocío. (2020). *Problematizando lo "intangible". Patrimonio, ciencia y ciudad en el museo etnològic i de cultures del mon de Barcelona*. (Trabajo fin de Máster, dirigido por Alfons Zarzoso, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

the Museu de l'Automòbil de Sils and the Col·lecció Mallol de Cinema, which today is the Museu del Cinema de Girona. In some cases, entire industrial complexes had been “collected” and preserved with a sensibility which predated the industrial heritage movement. One of the most advanced proposals was the Colònia Vidal de Puig Reig, which upon closing in 1955 was reborn as a museum, thanks to the will of its owners in conserving the space for future generations.¹¹³ The Museu Molí Paperer de Capellades, founded in 1958 was a result of the efforts of various artisanal paper businesses which worked together to musealize an old paper mill in 1961, receiving the support of various entities and paper companies in Catalunya and the rest of Spain.

Eusebi Casanelles

Up to now we have looked at both the origin of the industrial heritage movement and its arrival to Spain, as well as the origins of a Catalan museum of science and technology and the revival of this project by the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalonia. The convergence of these two streams is what has, I argue, come to define the industrial heritage discourse of the Generalitat, and the person most responsible for bridging these two movements is Eusebi Casanelles. Born in 1948, Casanelles received his degree as an industrial engineer from the Escola Tècnica Superior d'Enginyers Industrials de Barcelona in 1971. In 1973, he graduated from the Institut Catòlic d'Estudis Socials de Barcelona in Social Science and completed a masters in environmental management at the University of Indiana, USA. In 1976, as Secretary of the Cultural Committee of the Association of Engineers, Casanelles was one of the main promoters of the museum proposal. Later, he would earn a diploma in museology and become the director of the new museum from its opening in 1984 until 2013. During this time, he would also preside over the Associació Espanyola del Patrimoni Industrial i de l'Obra Pública (1988-1991) and serve as a member of the executive commission of the TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage), of which he served as president from 2000-2005.¹¹⁴ It would not be an exaggeration to say that Eusebi Casanelles has been the main pioneer of the Industrial Heritage movement in Catalonia.

One of his most important legacies would be in introducing four changes to the engineers' conception of the museum. He would a) change the focus from museum of technology to museum of industrialization, b) incorporate the preservation of industrial heritage, c) create a museum network, or “System” spanning Catalonia, and d) promote the reuse of old industrial sites as museums. As Casanelles writes in a memoir:

“The first change, the most significant of the four, since the others followed on after it, was to focus the Museum around the theme of industrialisation. Rather than a minor shift, conceptually this was a much more profound change, since it meant that the main focus was not on technology and its evolution, as in the case of

¹¹³ Vidal, L. M., i Plans, J. C., i Mercadal, J. C., Latz, P., & Rotés, R. S. (1992). Cal Vidal, una colònia-museu. *L'Erol: revista cultural del Berguedà*, (39), 9-35.

¹¹⁴ <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0247300.xml>

the most important museums of technology, but on the relationship between technology and society. Science and technology museums, which are generally managed by people with a technical background, tend to be educational in the subjects that they cover, without delving very deeply into the social and ecological impact of technology.”¹¹⁵

In this respect, it is important to note an important background context which affected the planning of the engineer’s museum, and that was the opening, in 1981, of the Barcelona Science Museum. This was the first science center to be built in Spain, although there were already around 104 similar installations in the rest of the world, as a local paper announced at the time.¹¹⁶ Sponsored by the cultural fund of the Caixa bank, the initial project had been presented in 1978, and the site was chosen to be the old hospital for the blind, Amparo de Santa Lucía, at the foot of the Tibidabo mountain on Barcelona’s Northwest side. Like other science centers, the Barcelona science museum had a didactic objective though promoting the active participation of the visitors, who were expected not just to watch but to engage directly with the exhibits like a game.

An in-depth study of the development of both the Barcelona science museum and museum of science and technology of Catalonia is beyond the scope of the present investigation. Further investigation is currently underway, however, as part of a research project by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, on “Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española.”¹¹⁷

A national approach to industrial heritage

Broadly speaking, however, we can view Casanelles’s decision to shift the focus of the museum to industrialization as a result of the cultural politics during Spain’s transition to democracy, a period which, in Catalonia, was marked by the emergence of numerous cultural and museum initiatives within the framework of the vindication of Catalan identity.¹¹⁸ In his own words, Casanelles writes that, “This new approach also explained the process of industrialisation of Catalonia which was decisive for the country’s modernisation and differentiated it from all the other Spanish regions. Today, part of the Catalan identity is based on the industrial culture that developed for almost two hundred years.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ (Casanelles, Eusebi. Industrial Museums and Territory, 2013. <https://eusebicasanelles.wordpress.com/>)

¹¹⁶ Toharia, Manuel. Inauguración en Barcelona del primer Museo de la Ciencia de España. El País, Oct 18, 1981. (Accessed October, 2020: https://elpais.com/diario/1981/10/18/sociedad/372207607_850215.html)

¹¹⁷ Sastre, Jaume & Simon, Josep (coords.). “Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española” [MUSAUPOL, PID2019-104897GA-I00], 2020-2022. Also, an unpublished study of this topic was begun by Yona Manríquez (for example: Manríquez, Yona. El MNACTEC y su relación con la política cultural en Cataluña (1983-1993). Work in Progress, CEHIC, May 25, 2018.).

¹¹⁸ Roca-Rosell, Antoni. (2003). Museés, technique et identité culturelle. L’exemple catalan. Alliage. Culture- Science- Technique, num 50-51.

¹¹⁹ (Casanelles, Eusebi. Industrial Museums and Territory, 2013. <https://eusebicasanelles.wordpress.com/>)

In 1979, with the first elections of the Generalitat approaching, the engineers widened their constituency with the formation of the *Associació del Museu de la Ciència i la Tècnica i l'Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya (AMCTAIC)*¹²⁰ in order to promote the museum and lobby for the participation of the new Generalitat. With the appointment, in 1980, of Jordi Pujol as the president of the Generalitat and Max Cahner as his counsellor of culture, the museum proposal was accepted without delay although the financing and location of the museum remained uncertain. The first idea was to house the museum in Barcelona's historic *Estació del Nord*, although this proposal ran into trouble during negotiations between RENFE, the city council, and the state. Other candidate locations included the *Estació de Franca* and the historic *Born* markethouse, both located in Barcelona, although later these options were abandoned in favor of the *Aymerich, Amat i Jover* factory located in Terrassa, a beautiful example of Catalan modernist architecture built in 1907 by the architect *Lluís Muncunill*. The purchase, in 1983, of the factory, which had been abandoned since 1976, played a definitive role in saving the building from being destroyed and replaced by apartment blocks and was partially financed through funding from the commission of urban politics and heritage protection of the European Council.¹²¹

In terms of musealization, the decision to save this factory and make it the site of the new museum was aligned with the emerging focus of the AMCTAIC to prioritize the conservation of Catalonia's industrial monuments of modernist architecture. The publication of 'Industrial Architecture in Catalonia' the following year, in 1984, was another step in this direction.¹²² This was a book which claimed to be a 'first attempt at a Catalan industrial archaeology':

"Our objects are, fundamentally, factories... Fragmented, altered, or in some occasions still operational--with the required technical additions--, the monuments to be considered are many. The objective of the authors of this book is to call attention to this historic and cultural heritage which requires an intervention that needs to be as energetic as it is sensible and respectful."¹²³

After a historical overview of the various eras of Catalan industrialization--*Calico* factories (1730-1832), the introduction of steam power (1832-1881), the construction of the grand, modern industries (1881-1929)-- the substance of the book is composed of large, glossy photographs of various factories. The *Vapor Vell* is even featured in this book, as an early example of a modern, steam-powered 'fàbrica de pisos' in Catalonia. Still, it's the

¹²⁰ According to an article in the *Avui* newspaper, the original name of this group was the 'Associació del museu de la ciència i de la tècnica,' and its constitutive assembly was held in June of 1980. See, *Impulsat per l'associació d'enginyers: El museu de la ciència i de la tècnica, vella aspiració que pot ser realitat*. *Avui*. September 11, 1980, p. 26.

¹²¹ The commission, formed in 1982, established a support program for pilot community projects for architectural heritage conservation the following year. Of the thirty six projects, fifteen of them related to factories, and in Spain the money was directed to the *Puerto Real* (Cadis), the industrial and agricultural complex of *Espluga de Francolí* (Tarragona), the flour mill *La Horada* in *Mave* (Palencia) and the textile complex of the *Aymerich, Amat i Jover* (Terrassa).

¹²² *Corredor-Matheos, J; Montaner, Josep Maria*. (1984). *Arquitectura Industrial a Catalunya. Del 1732 al 1929*. Barcelona, *Caixa de Barcelona*.

¹²³ (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

‘grand, modern industries’ of the post-1881 era, especially those displaying the distinctive ‘modernist style’, that garner the most attention. The monumental character of many of these is readily apparent from the photographs-- some of them almost look like cathedrals. Taken as a whole, they present a convincing argument for the historic power of Catalan industry. It is this discourse of a proud, national history of industrialization that resonated with the efforts of the industrial engineers and the Generalitat in creating a national museum of science and technology.¹²⁴

In this respect, the introduction of an industrial heritage discourse in Catalonia was not unlike that of other countries at this time. As Alfrey and Putnam conclude after completing a survey of industrial heritage sites in 1992:

“Industrial heritage has not been well served by any branch of historical study, not least because these disciplines have been heavily dominated by a nationalist perspective.... There has been an emphasis on the rare rather than the typical, the exceptional rather than the traditional.... There was little attempt at defining the scope of possible historical value outside the sphere of architectural history... [M]any schemes for the adaptive re-use of individual buildings, apparently motivated by a concern for conservation, are only superficially responsive to the traces of industrial culture in its many aspects. Emphasis has often instead focused on certain visual qualities of industrial buildings.”¹²⁵

The expository discourse of the 1985 exhibition “Catalonia, the factory of Spain” provided solid, quantitative support for this national framework from the field of economic history (see section 2.5 for further discussion regarding this exhibit). By 1990, the Catalan law of museums established the ‘museum of science and technology of Catalonia’ as one of three national Catalan museums. At this point it became the national museum of science and technology of Catalonia, or MNACTEC.

In the case of the Vapor Vell, this national conception of industrial heritage would be of mixed usefulness for the cause of conserving the factory. On the one hand, the Vapor Vell’s claim as one of the first modern factories in Catalonia gave it significant historical value. Architecturally-speaking, however, the factory’s lack of monumentality was problematic. “The most significant element,” according to the official heritage report, “is the prismatic chimney, of great slenderness.” This assessment is paradigmatic of a general trend which occurred in Barcelona during these years in which factories were destroyed while their chimneys were preserved as a tokenized, yet cost-effective, gesture to industrial heritage. As the Vapor Vell’s heritage report concludes, “The most relevant value of this element lies, more than in its architecture, shape or decoration, in being a sample of industrial architecture

¹²⁴ See, for example, the exhibition prepared by the “Escola Taller de Patrimoni” in the context of the 2nd Conference of industrial archaeology of Catalonia: Escola Taller de Patrimoni. (1990). *Exhibició: Modernisme Industrial*. Tecla Sala, L’Hospitalet de Llobregat. (Accessed at the Arxiu de la Ciutat de Barcelona).

¹²⁵ Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London, 1992, pp. 6-11.

from the end of the last century. It is also one of the oldest steam factories in Catalonia.”¹²⁶ As we will see in section 4.4.1, even after being declared a historic-artistic monument, the conservation of the Vapor Vell was not completely secured. The campaign would continue all the way up to 1989 when the municipal plan for remodeling the area received a ‘definitive conditioned approval.’¹²⁷

If the national industrial heritage framework of the Generalitat was only moderately successful in conserving the factory, it was far less successful in other activities of musealization of the factory. The work of studying, interpreting, and displaying the Vapor Vell would be left to the initiative of local industrial history enthusiasts and educators. These constituencies, the industrial archeologists, are the topic of the next section, 4.3.

Concluding remarks

In this section I’ve argued that the origins of the industrial heritage movement in Catalonia must be understood within the context of the industrial engineers’ project for creating a national museum of science and technology-- a project dating back to 1937. As we have seen, a key figure in the revival of this initiative was Eusebi Casanelles, who worked to update this old museum proposal and expand its focus to include the topic of industrialization. An important theme in this section is the question of how to evaluate a museum. Rather than attempt to classify this museum according to a certain typology or according to a generations model, we have focused on its primary constituencies (the engineers and the newly reconstituted Generalitat), its historical context (the transition to democracy and the cultural politics of Pujolisme), and the practices by which its heritage discourse was manifested (the selection of the Aymerich, Amat i Jover factory in Terrassa to be its location, opened in 1984, and the heritagization of the Vapor Vell by the Generalitat that same year).

There are two final remarks which need to be made. The first has to do with pragmatism and the second with ideology. In 1984, when the Aymerich, Amat i Jover factory was opened to the public for the first time, it was far from a completed museum. The building required extensive renovations, and there still lacked a definitive museographical project. In those years, the building was used for various temporary exhibits while Eusebi Casanelles and the AMCTAIC looked for ways of moving the project forward despite a lack of funding. It wasn’t until 1993, with the traveling exhibition of “Technology, culture and society: the

¹²⁶ “Resolución de 8 de mayo de 1998, del Departamento de Cultura, por la que se da publicidad al Acuerdo del Gobierno de la Generalidad, de 15 de abril de 1998, de declaración de bien cultural de interés nacional, en la categoría de monumento histórico, de El Vapor Vell de Sants, en Barcelona.” Boletín oficial del estado «BOE» núm. 131, de 2 de junio de 1998, pp. 18288-18289. (accessed October 2020: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1998-12806). Later published in the Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (22/05/1998).

¹²⁷ Information publicly available via the Barcelona municipal architectural heritage database. See: PE del Vapor Vell. Concreció de les alineacions del carrer Joan Güell i ordenació dels sòls qualificats pel PGM de zones 14b, 14a i 12 entre les places de Can Mantega i de Sants. (accessed October 2020: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/informaciourbanistica/cerca/ca/fitxa/S237/--/--/ap/>)

national museum of science and technology of Catalonia,”¹²⁸ that a cohesive expository vision for the museum was revealed. Regardless of this vision, the definitive opening of the museum was only made possible, in 1996, with the help of private funding from Endesa, Spain’s main electricity company, and so it was that the first permanent exhibition would be on the topic of Energy.¹²⁹ This goes to show the determining role of the requirement of pragmatism in shaping the development of the MNACTEC.

Despite the fact that not much was happening during these years inside the museum itself, when we broaden the scope of our analysis we find that these years were full of activity. The MNACTEC was just one part of a wider strategy for the industrial musealization of Catalonia itself. Eusebi Casanelles ideological vision of a ‘*Sistema*’ of networked industrial heritage sites and museums across Catalonia as a ‘national ecomuseum,’ is the ultimate expression of this objective, but already in 1982 we can detect the beginnings of this project in the Generalitat’s role as co-organizers of the first conference for the protection and revalorization of industrial heritage. There is a compelling case to be made for interpreting this conference not as an open forum for debate, although it certainly was that as well, but as a step towards the consolidation of a national framework of industrial heritage. If this was, in fact, the more fundamental objective, then we must conclude that the conference was ultimately successful. In 1985, a second conference was held, this time in Barcelona, and subsequently the AMCTAIC would take responsibility for organizing a ‘Conference of industrial archeology of Catalonia’ every three years after that. By 1988, at the first of the Catalan conferences, the director of heritage of the Generalitat, Eduard Carbonell, would feel legitimized to proclaim in his inaugural remarks that: “The process of industrialization that Catalonia followed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is comparable to that of many regions of northern Europe that are considered the pioneers of this social and economic revolution that turned the history of mankind.”¹³⁰

¹²⁸ MNACTEC. (1993). *Exposició Tècnica, Cultura i Societat: el Museu Nacional de la ciència i de la tècnica de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Cultura. Museu de la Ciència i de la tècnica de Catalunya. (Accessed October 2020: <https://drac.cultura.gencat.cat/handle/20.500.12368/10550#page=5>)

¹²⁹ Roca-Rosell, Antoni. (2003). *Museés, technique et identité culturelle. L'exemple catalan*. Alliage. Culture- Science- Technique, num 50-51, pp. 151-164.

¹³⁰ Carbonell, Eduard. (1988). Introduction to the I Jornades d'Arqueologia industrial a Catalunya. [Conference held in 1988], L'Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991, p. 3.

4.3 INDUSTRIAL ARCHEOLOGY

On September 14th, 1984, one day after the *Avui* newspaper broke the news that the Vapor Vell would be considered a historic-artistic monument by the Generalitat, the *El Periódico* newspaper picked up the story. Next to a picture of the abandoned Mediterranean Swim Club swimming pool, we read the following explanation: “This decision is a consequence of the efforts of the neighborhood to achieve the recovery for public use of its almost 7,000 m². The Vapor Vell is property of Galerías Preciados, of Rumasa, and as such could be privatized.”¹³¹

Unfortunately, this was quite a misleading representation of the facts. While it was true that neighbors had been demanding the recovery of the Vapor Vell, what this article misrepresents is the fact that, in actuality, the part of the Vapor Vell which was to be monumentalized was not the same part that was owned by Rumasa and which was being claimed by the neighbors. Although the neighbors were quick to interpret the news from the Generalitat as a “popular victory,” this was not a simple case of the neighbors winning another urban protest for public resources.¹³²

In actuality, Jorba Preciados had only bought a part of the lands of the Vapor Vell back in 1976. A large piece of the property, including the factory's most iconic building and chimney, were not sold.¹³³ This, in fact, was the root of a general confusion about the Vapor Vell campaign-- sometimes the term ‘Vapor Vell’ was used to refer to the main factory building (which became monumentalized), whereas at other times, the term was used to describe the rest of the property which contained the ruins of additional buildings and warehouses. In February of 1982, when the neighbors’ petition for the rezoning of the Vapor Vell was approved, this only affected the part with the main building, which was occupied by Muebles Casas. This rezoning qualified the area for public remodeling, meaning that the land could not be resold to a private owner, but without any clause prohibiting the owners from demolishing the building if they so desired. In 1983, the neighborhood campaign to *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* was launched regarding the lands of the Vapor Vell which had been expropriated from Rumasa and, at least at first, had nothing to do with the iconic Vapor Vell building.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Protección para el Vapor Vell de Sants. *El Periódico*, September 14, 1984.

¹³² This misrepresentation is still common in the publications of the FAVB. For example, the exhibition ‘1970-2010. 40 anys d'acció veïnal,’ the description of the campaign for the Vapor Vell claims that, “L’acampada popular davant de la fàbrica (1985) va ser una acció clau per a la seva declaració com a monument històric.” In truth, the factory was already declared a historic monument by 1985. See: FAVB. (2010). 1970-2010. 40 anys d'acció veïnal. *Quaderns de Carrer*, volum V. (Accessed October, 2020: https://favb.cat/100-lluites/pdf/carrer5_026.pdf).

¹³³ Jorba no ha comprado aún el Vapor Vell. *TeleExpres*. June 4, 1976.

¹³⁴ The situation is explained in detail in an *Avui* newspaper article from December 8, of 1983 titled “Bona part del Vapor Vell ha de ser per a pisos” by J. Subirà. “*Els terrenys més orientals de l'antiga fàbrica de Sants, anomenada el Vapor Vell, han de servir per a fer-hi cases per als desnonats d'habitatges del barri. Així ho establí una resolució del ministeri d'Obres públiques i Urbanisme feta a petició d'entitats de Sants, Hostafrancs i la Bordeta, amb signatures de milers de veïns. La petició s'havia fet mitjançant recursos d'alçada*”

This situation changed however, with the launch of a separate campaign which, although it became conflated with the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign, was actually led by a different collective and organized for different motives. This other campaign was called *Salvem el Vapor Vell* and was officially inaugurated just a few months after the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign had started. On November 3rd, the first press release of *Salvem el Vapor Vell* went public. The *Avui* newspaper broke the story in which Francesc Xavier Hernández Cardona, representing the local assembly of the Nationalists of the Left party, claimed that the Vapor Vell was industrial architecture and that it should be designated as a historic/artistic monument. In his words, “[The Vapor Vell] has a strong emotional charge because it is one of the cradles where the Catalan labor movement was born.... A recreational and cultural aspect that should be considered is the use of a part of the building for installing a Museum of Industrial Work.”¹³⁵ Hernández, who had been present at the 1st Conference for the conservation and revalorization of industrial heritage the previous year, also mentioned the concept of ‘industrial archeology.’

In this chapter we will investigate the nature of the *Salvem el Vapor Vell* campaign, paying particular attention to the person behind it: F. Xavier Hernández. Whereas, in the last chapter we saw how Eusebi Casanelles acted as a bridge between the industrial heritage movement and the Catalan engineers’ project for a national museum of technology, in this chapter we will see how Xavier Hernández played a similar role as a bridge which linked the development of the new field of industrial archeology with a pre-existing movement to

*contra l'acord de la comissió provincial d'urbanisme que aprova el pla general metropolità el 14 de juliol del 1976. La resposta als recursos fou comunicada als recurrents amb data de l'11 de juliol del 1978. La Corporació Metropolitana ho assumí i proposa la modificació el 21 d'octubre del 1982. Finalment, el canvi s'aprova el 17 de març del 1983. La setmana passada, però, el consell del districte setè encara no ho sabia. La mateixa modificació establerta per la CMB afegeix una excepció per a una part dels terrenys afectats: els que fan cantonada als carrers de Galileu, Joan Güell i passatge de Serra i Arola continuaran essent qualificats com a 12, és a dir, cases del nucli antic que s'han de conservar amb els mateixos volums. Amb l'actual reivindicació de l'altra part dels terrenys del Vapor Vell- que són de Galerías Preciados, empresa del grup RUMASA- s'ha desempolsat l'expedient d'aquesta zona urbanística. Els promotors de la campanya reivindicativa han unit dues reclamacions amb un cert confusionisme. per una banda, hi ha el tros de Preciados, que te qualificació urbanística de remodelatge privat i que ara volen que l'Ajuntament el compri al govern que l'ha expropiat. Per l'altra, l'edifici principal del Vapor Vell i la xemeneia, que són al tros suara declarat de remodelatge públic per a habitatges dels que siguin desnonats d'altres edificis del barri. El propietari actual podria aterrar-lo. Segons les entitats i partits que ara abonen la campanya per a salvar el Vapor Vell, el tros comprès entre el carrer de Galileu i el que ha de ser prolongació del de Joan Güell- tret de les cases d'habitatges que hi ha- ha de ser per a equipaments públics. Un dels recursos d'alçada esmentats abans reclamava que la qualificació d'aquest tros passés de ser un 14b (remodelatge privat) a un 14a (remodelatge public). I els ho concediren. Segons la resolució del ministeri, el que justifica el canvi de qualificació és la destinació a habitatges per a la gent que es quedi sense en ser foragitats d'edificis que han de ser aterrats. Mentrestant, l'edifici principal del Vapor Vell és ocupat per una empresa de mobles, el propietari de l'edifici, que és un altre, només se'l pot vendre a l'Administració pública, però res no li priva de fer-hi obres o aterrar-lo mentre sigui seu. Ara els promotors de la campanya volen salvar l'edifici i la xemeneia del costat. Pretenen que s'obri un expedient per a obtenir la declaració de monument històric-artístic d'aquest edifici industrial del segle passat i l'altíssima xemeneia de secció octogonal que s'hi dreca a pocs metres de distància.” Subirà, J. “Bona part del Vapor Vell ha de ser per a pisos”. *Avui*, December 8, 1983.*

¹³⁵ Hernández Cardona, Francesc Xavier (Assemblea de la vila de Sants, Nacionalistes d'Esquerra). *Salvem el Vapor Vell!! Avui*, Nov 3, 1983.

reform Catalonia's school curriculum. We will look at the role of groups like the Rosa Sensat Association and the Group of didactics of the social sciences of the University of Barcelona where Hernández participated, as well as the Generalitat's 'Industrial Archaeology for Youth' campaign. Through Hernández's contacts with the neighborhood movement, as well as with Eusebi Casanelles, all of these various movements and groups were brought together over the question of what to do with the Vapor Vell. We can see the influence of these various constituencies in the types of heritage values projected on the Vapor Vell at this time, the preparation of didactic resources regarding the Vapor Vell, as well as in the elaboration of a proposal to reuse the building as a 'Museum of the town of Sants and the Catalan working class.' I argue that the case of the heritagization of the Vapor Vell demonstrates the limited success of industrial archaeology as an academic discipline in Catalonia, which, although it would often be invoked in the cause of conservation, would generally fail to systemically transform the way industrialization was understood, studied, and taught in Barcelona. In other words, industrial heritage was adapted to fit within a monumental, authorized heritage discourse, instead of fulfilling its promise of diversifying and democratizing heritage.

4.3.1 Salvem el Vapor Vell

One week after publishing the initial manifesto of the *Salvem el Vapor Vell* campaign, the papers picked up the story again with a new headline: "The historians want to save the Vapor Vell: The remains of the old Vapor Vell factory can still be saved if the City Council attends to the demands of the neighbors of Sants and of the hundred intellectuals which ask for the conservation of this relique of the industrial Barcelona of the first half of the 19th century."¹³⁶

By December, this list of signatures of academics affirming the campaign, which included academics of such fame as Pierre Vilar and many others which have already appeared in this investigation¹³⁷, was sent with a manifesto to the top cultural authorities at

¹³⁶ Los historiadores quieren salvar el Vapor Vell. El Noticiero Universal. Nov 11, 1983.

¹³⁷ Full list: Josep Termes, Historiador (UB); Miquel Izard, Historiador (UB); Pierre Vilar, Historiador; Rafael Aracil, Historiador (UB); Pau Verrie, Director Museu Historia de la Ciutat; Ignasi Ponti, President de l'Associació del Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica i d'Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya; Michel Vovelle, Historiador (Chair. Sorbona. Paris); Carles Martínez Shaw Historiador (UB); Josep Ma Ainaud de Lasarte, Historiador; Antoni Serra, President de l'Associació d'Enginyers Industrials de Catalunya; Jordi Carbonell, Arquitecte; Santiago Riera, Prof. Historia de la Ciència (UB); J.Maria Salrach, Historiador (UB); Enric Ras, Vocal Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica. Vic-rector de la UPB; Casimir Martí, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya; Horacio Capel, Geògraf (UB); Pelai Pagès, Historiador (UB); Eusebi Casanelles, Enginyer; Manuel Sánchez, Historiador (UB); Jordi Planas, Centre d'Estudis Històrics Internacionals; Ferran Mascarell, Director de l'Avenç; Ignasi Terrades, Historiador (UB); Agustí Casals, Secretari de l'Associació del Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica i d'Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya; Anselm Cartaña, Arxiu Històric de Sants; Josep M. Casals, Enginyer; Josep Miquel i Solé, Enginyer; Joan Marfà, Advocat; Jordi Maluquer, Historiador (UAB); Josep Maria Delgado, Historiador (UAB); Carles Sudrià, Historiador (UAB); Montserrat Duran, Historiador (UAB); Josep Maria Torres, Historiador (UAB); Jesus Contreras, Antropòleg (UB); Carles Carreras, Geògraf (UB); Mercè Tatjer, Geògrafa (UB); Jaume Barrull, CEHI; Manel Risques, Historiador (EUFP, EGB, UB); Gemma Tribó, Historiadora (EUFP, EGB, UB); Magda Fernández, Historiadora (EUFP, EGB, UB); Xavier

both city and state levels: the Councilor of Culture of the socialist city council, Maria Aurèlia Capmany, and the Councilor of Culture of the Pujolist Generalitat, Max Cahner. The letters were signed EL VAPOR: Grup de recerca arqueològic-industrial de Sants, or ‘GRAIS’ (“research group of industrial archaeology of Sants”), and stamped with the image of a factory. This was accompanied by an address, a phone number, and the signature of X.F. Hernández.¹³⁸

The peculiar thing about the EL VAPOR research group was that, behind the official-looking stamp and important-sounding press releases, the group was essentially comprised of one man, Xavier Hernández himself, who had not only founded the ‘group’ but had also commissioned friends to create the stamp and established his own home address and phone number as the “EL VAPOR” headquarters. Creating an association in order to project legitimacy wasn’t an uncommon tactic at the time, and anyways it’s not clear that it even mattered too much in the end that Hernández was essentially a one-man movement because he didn’t stay that way for long. As the success of his signature campaign demonstrates, Hernández had a knack for mobilizing people, and as his EL VAPOR stamp proves, he was resourceful, confident, and playing for a win.¹³⁹

Although he was not originally from the neighborhood, Hernández moved there with his wife and soon got involved in the neighborhood movement of the 1970’s. After Franco died, Hernández returned from serving his mandatory military duty, enrolled in the University of Barcelona and studied modern and contemporary history under Josep Termes, a well-known historian of the Catalan working-class. In 1974, Termes gave a presentation called “Catalan nationalism: Problems of interpretation” in which he problematized the more-or-less mainstream historical viewpoint of the time which viewed nationalism in Marxist terms as a bourgeois construct.¹⁴⁰ Regarding Vilar’s hypothesis of an economically motivated Catalan

Hernández, Historiador (EUFP, EGB, UB); Maite Arqué, Geògrafa (EUFP, EGB, UB); Maravillas Najar, Geògrafa (EUFP, EGB, UB); Lourdes Garcia, Geògrafa (EUFP, EGB, UB); Mercè Molleda, Catedràtica. Historia EUFP, EGB UB; Carmen Sierra, Historiadora (EUFP, EGB, UB); Lluïsa Gutierrez, Historiadora (EUFP, EGB, UB); Albert Gerones, Geògraf (EUFP, EGB, UB); Graziana Ramazzini, Geògrafa (EUFP, EGB, UB); Jordi Guiu, Sociòleg; Josep Florit, Historiador (UB); Santiago Albertí, Historiador; Albert Hernando, Historiador; Fèlix Manito, l’Avenç; Enric Homs, Enginyer; Joan Homs, Enginyer; Xavier Suñol, Historiador; Maria Josep Calvo, Sociòloga; Jaume Artigues, Historiador; Francesc Mas, Arquitecte; Antoni Segura, Historiador (UB); Rosa M. Martin, Enginyer; Àngel Calvo, Historiador; Ramon Grau, Historiador; Marina López, Historiadora; Carles Cameros, Geògraf; Francesc Imbernon, Director de "Guix"; Josep Benet, Historiador; Josep Fontana, Historiador; Joan Ignasi Moliné, Enginyer Industrial; Ferran Calabuig, Professor de l’Escola Industrial.

¹³⁸ See: Hernández, Francesc Xavier; Hernando, Albert. (1983). *El Vapor Vell: Un testimoni que cal salvar*. *L’Avenç* núm 66. December 1, 1983. See also: *Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. (Dec 13, GRAIS sends press release with manifesto.)

¹³⁹ A look at Hernández’s wikipedia page gives an idea of Hernández’s energy towards his interests and aptitude for getting things done. He not only published many books, but started more than one editorial, worked as an author, illustrator, educator, historical reenactor, and in general as a visionary of the wide field of didactic museology. He has also been an activist, a union representative, member of various political parties, and served on the Generalitat as General Director of Research, representing ERC.

¹⁴⁰ See Termes, Josep. (1974). “El nacionalisme Català: Problemes d’interpretació.” Presented in the *Col·loqui d’Historiadors*. Fundació Bofill, P. 32.

nationalism related to protectionism, Termes points out that, according to the Marxist construct, the Catalan bourgeoisie should have been involved in the construction of a Spanish national market, and thus a Spanish nationalism, rather than a Catalan one. Termes, on the other hand, portrayed Catalan nationalism as a project of the popular classes-- a thesis shared by members of the Nationalists of the Left (Nacionalistes d'Esquerra), a political party formed in 1979 in which Xavier Hernández was an active participant. 1979 was also the year Hernandez completed his thesis on the topic of the Spanish Libertarian Movement (MLE) during the early years under Francoism. After graduating, he took a job as a lecturer at the School of Teacher Education at the University of Barcelona and got involved with the Grup de Didàctica de les Ciències Socials, within the Institut de Ciències de l'Educació (ICE), where he collaborated with Magda Fernández, Mercè Tatjer, and Alícia Suárez on a project of writing a new set of didactic urban guides of Barcelona.¹⁴¹ Four years later, when the neighbors began the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign, it was Hernández's idea to seize the opportunity to vindicate the Vapor Vell as a heritage resource, despite the fact that he seemed to be the only one in Sants at the time aware of the potential of the industrial heritage discourse as a tool for neighborhood conservationism.

On December 2, 1983, Hernández was published in a flier from the Assembly of Nationalists of the Left of the town of Sants, for the 'Festa de la terra.' There, he repeated his vindication of the Vapor Vell as a historic-artistic monument, adding the following demands: "Conservation of the central building, used for public facilities and as a Museum of the town of Sants and of the Catalan working class. Green zone for the sectors in ruins."¹⁴² This is followed by a series of five points: "No to the depersonalization of the towns of the [Barcelona] plain. No to the annulment of popular historical memory. No to the third-sectorization of Sants. No to indiscriminate destruction and construction. No to speculation."¹⁴³

On December 14, a round-table discussion titled "The Vapor Vell and the reconversion of industrial spaces" was organized by the El Vapor group and the Secretariat at the University School of Teacher Training of E.G.B. in Sants. Among the participants were professors from the department of Geography and History of that center, representatives from the Centre Social de Sants, geographers from the University of Barcelona, and the president of the Historic Archive of Sants, Anselm Cartaña.¹⁴⁴

By January 25th, a response came back from the Barcelona City Council, similar to that given to the *Recuperem el Vapor Vell* campaign: "Dear friend, the request to conserve

¹⁴¹ Fernández, Magda; Hernandez, F. Xavier; Suárez, Alícia; Tatjer, Mercè; Vidal, Mercè. (1983-91). *Passat i present de Barcelona* (I), (II) and (III) [and unpublished (IV)]. Materials per l'estudi del medi urbà. Publicacions edicions Universitat de Barcelona.

¹⁴² Assembla de Nacionalistes d'Esquerra de la Vila de Sants. *Festa de la terra*. (flyer located in the Arxiu Històric del Centre Social de Sants, Vapor Vell box), December 2, 1983.

¹⁴³ (Ibid.)

¹⁴⁴ Secretariat d'Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. P. 15.

the "Vapor Vell" seems important to me and it goes without saying that I will do everything possible to help you all. At the moment, however, it is not clear what I can do to make your request a reality. I think it might be worthwhile to send me a summary of the situation, so that I can know what action we can take. According to this letter, I deduce that the municipality does not have much influence."¹⁴⁵

The following day, on January 26th, a letter was sent to the General Director of Artistic Heritage of the Generalitat. "The undersigned, citizens registered in the city of Barcelona, request the opening of a monumental declaration file to the set of buildings and remains of the old factory 'Güell, Ramis and cia.'; of Sants, popularly known as the 'Vapor Vell.'"¹⁴⁶ This was signed by Anselm Cartaña and a total of 32 people. As we have already seen, proceedings were begun to declare the factory as a historic-artistic monument on July 6th, although this was not published until September 12th, 1984 in the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat*.¹⁴⁷

According to Hernández, the idea to petition for the monumentalization of the Vapor Vell originated from discussions he had with Eusebi Casanelles, who at that time was working as a technical collaborator for the museum service of the department of culture of the Generalitat. The plan to conserve the building fit into Casanelles' broader strategy of completing an inventory and providing heritage protection for historically important Catalan industrial sites which were revalued as examples of 'Industrial architecture.'¹⁴⁸

The interesting thing about the *Salvem Sants* campaign was how it connected local historians (Historic Archive of Sants), the neighborhood movement (Centre Social de Sants, the Secretariat), Academics (urban geographers and historians from the University of Barcelona), Educators (University School of Teacher Training of E.G.B.) and the industrial heritage movement (Eusebi Casanelles, the Generalitat). One of the evidence of the contributions of this variety of constituencies was the elaboration of the industrial heritage values which the Vapor Vell was seen to represent, as published in *Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. They are three: industrial archeology, the social, political, economic and technical history of Catalonia, and the history and urbanism of Sants.

The Vapor Vell is an important element from the perspective of industrial archaeology. This is the last surviving factory of the generation of steam-powered

¹⁴⁵ (Accessed in the Vapor Vell box at the Archive of the Centre Social de Sants.)

¹⁴⁶ According to a copy preserved in the Vapor Vell box at the Archive of the Centre Social de Sants, the letter was sent January 26th, although in other sources it is recorded as February 6th. Secretariat de Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. P. 16. (Sol·licitud expedient declaració monumental entregat el 6 de Febrer.)

¹⁴⁷ This should have resulted in a suspension of the work permits and a study for a Special plan of internal reform of the zone of private remodeling. Parallel to this, there should have been a Special plan for conservation and protection of the area.

¹⁴⁸ Joan-Albert Adell i Gisbert, the head of the Technical Inspection section of the Architectural Heritage Service of the Department of Culture of the Generalitat de Catalunya (1981-1987), played a role in this process. (Hernandez, Xavier. Conversation with the author, January 24, 2017.)

factories in the plain from 1840. The Vapor Vell has unique buildings that have to be preserved as a sample of industrial architecture.

The Vapor Vell has to be saved for its significance in the social, political, economic and technical history of Catalonia. In fact it is an important symbol of the era of industrialization and obrerism ('the working class').

The Vapor Vell must be conserved for its significance in the history and urbanism of Sants. It must be taken into account that this factory, together with the Vapor Nou, was the cornerstone (*pal de pallar*) around which the urban space of 'decimonic' Sants was organized. It is therefore a fundamental part of the historic center of Sants and essential to maintain the personality of the town.¹⁴⁹

In section 4.2 we discussed the origins of the engineers' project for a national museum of technology and the recovery of this project in collaboration with the newly formed Generalitat, and in chapter 3 the topic of the local history and identity of Sants as an industrial neighborhood were discussed at length, including the role of the neighborhood movement and urban geographers. In what follows we will look at the constituency of educators and the context of pedagogical reform which was taking place at this time, with particular focus on how this group adopted and adapted industrial archaeology as a part of their platform.

4.3.2 The lack of Catalan education reform

Education reform and transition

Unlike other countries, which after a regime change underwent major redevelopment of their public school curriculum, the transition to democracy in Catalonia was marked by an absence of any such project. This is one of the main arguments made by Xavier Hernández in his doctoral thesis, published in 1993 with the title "Contemporary history of Catalonia in primary and secondary schools, 1970-1990."¹⁵⁰ Hernández starts with an overview of the development of public education in Spain from the 19th century, emphasizing the ideological nature and its hegemonic function of national unification in service to the ruling classes.¹⁵¹ Schools were places where the concept of nation was communicated along with its emblematic symbols-- the dominant language, the borders of the country, the character of its people, etc. Legitimizing the coherence and potency of the nation state constituted a key ideological role assigned to the subjects of geography and history in school. This was common across industrializing nations at the time, where public schooling was designed to ease social tensions by promoting a romantic interpretation of the nation.

In Catalonia, despite the efforts of the *Renaixença* movement in elevating the Catalan language from its second-class status to recover its literary and intellectual dimension, this

¹⁴⁹ See appendix, document 1, page 11.

¹⁵⁰Hernández i Cardona, Xavier. (1993). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. (Doctoral thesis) University of Barcelona. P. 169.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

project was unable to enter into the spheres of education, administration or of jurisprudence.¹⁵² According to Hernández, it wasn't just the Catalan language that was excluded, but also all of the areas of culture, arts, architecture, and techno-scientific development. The recovery and representation of the history of the country in schools was also blocked.

“Through the gigantic osmotic network that involved a well-organized and plotted civil society, the new representations of the history of Catalonia were sprinkled on groups of all social statuses. The history of Catalonia became a spectacle and indiscriminately appeared in the names of the streets, in the sculptural decoration of the new buildings, in the songs of the choral groups, in the outings of the excursionists or in the wrappers of chocolate bars. But this new representation of the country's history could not penetrate public education, and it could hardly finally achieve it in private education. Both public state education and private religious education could not, by their intrinsic nature, open up to national content.”¹⁵³

This ‘lack of prior experience’ is one of the factors that Hernández attributes to the lack of development of a Catalan historical curriculum during the transition to democracy, despite the fact that, under the Statute of Catalan Autonomy of 1979, the Generalitat had legal right to plan and implement such a reform. Other factors cited by Hernández include:

- New political culture little-rooted in the past and with little historical awareness (of which we have already commented on in chapter 4.1),
- Little clarification of Catalan historiography when interpreting the national question, and lastly,
- A misunderstanding or rejection by the teaching sectors of a history in education that includes the national framework.¹⁵⁴

This last point had to do with the fact that during the transition most of the innovative teachers were linked to left-wing political movements in which the Marxist framework carried significant weight regarding the national question. “In a way, they questioned the national framework as a framework for teaching history by making a naive reductionism: Catalonia = nationalism = bourgeoisie. In general, not even the most innovative teachers, most concerned with didactic aspects, came to consider that a regulated teaching of the History of Catalonia was, in essence, an option for normalization and democracy.”¹⁵⁵

As an editorial from the magazine “Escola Catalana” expressed it in 1987, “... We must break the wall of silence that has weighed on our history, we must break with the contradiction that we know the history of the United States, France or England, or the four topics that are taught on that of Spain, better than our own... And let it be clear that we do

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 551.

¹⁵³ Ibid., P. 551.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., P .246.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., P. 299.

not opt for a mythicizing and patriotic use of history, although we believe that we have every right to our dose of idealization or exemplification of periods, events and characters, no more and no less than any other country, precisely because we are not a second-class nation. We want, first of all, to spread the objective knowledge of the facts and the life of each epoch, of the characters and institutions, of the culture and, from this starting point, the free interpretation of each school or movement can begin... ”¹⁵⁶

Hernández’s own conclusions regarding the cause of this lack of national historiography go back to what he considers to be a lack of transition, or, at least, a transition characterized by the absence of a democratic rupture and the survival of the structures of the previous regime. “Political forces linked to the previous regime, backed by the broad cultural and sociological Franco regime that had been consolidated among the population, led the process of change at all times, setting rhythms and conditions. Franco's *de facto* powers and administrative apparatus remained intact and intact throughout the process. The symbolism and the ideological emblematic elements of the dictatorship, especially with regard to Spanish national cohesion, remained intact, although concessions were made to address the national concerns of certain communities through autonomy.”¹⁵⁷

The implications of this for education was that, as a whole, there were no significant structural or ideological transformations. The framework of the General Law of Education (LGE) which was established under Franco in 1970, was not questioned and continued to develop until it was fully deployed and settled. This was only substituted, progressively, by the Law of General Organization of the Educational System (LOGSE) in 1990. During this time, the platform of the Generalitat centered exclusively on the vindication of the Catalan language, with little regard to national history.

In the vacuum created by this lack of an official project, a variety of grassroots projects sprang up, above all in the area of the social sciences.

The project of the social sciences

One of the characteristics that defined the pedagogical renewal movements in Catalonia until well into the 1980’s was the interdisciplinary horizon of the social sciences. One of the most influential groups in this field was the association of teachers “Rosa Sensat,” which had a decisive impact on the approach of many schools, especially among the active Catalan private schools which were proposed as models for a new public model of education.¹⁵⁸ The group originated from multiple influences. On one hand, environmental studies, especially in primary school, had been widely developed by European pedagogical

¹⁵⁶ Publicació de la delegació d'ensenyament Català òmnium cultural. DEC-òmnium cultural. *Trenquem una llançà a favor de la història*. Escola Catalana, Number 232, March 1987. p. 1. (Cited in *Ibid.*, P. 235.)

¹⁵⁷Hernández i Cardona, Xavier. (1993). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l’Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. (Doctoral thesis) University of Barcelona. P. 167.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, P. 251.

renewal movements, and with good results.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, the *Eveil* or “awakening” reform in France, which had abolished the teaching of history in the French primary school, became an important reference. In this sense, the LGE, which promoted an area of synthesis of Social Sciences and formulating repeated recommendations from the environment close to students, became a good springboard for renewal. The new programs would be marked by their indicative, rather than prescriptive, nature, as well as by their focus on interdisciplinarity, connection with the local environment, and promotion of active, student-centered projects. In general, the social sciences were conceived with the goal of transforming society through the formation of democratic citizens capable of critiquing their own reality in order to transform it.¹⁶⁰

This educational philosophy stood in stark contrast to that of Francoism, which was presented in the romantic style in which the history of Spain appeared as the unveiling of God’s plan for the nation.¹⁶¹ This history was structured according to military events and famous leaders such as Sagunto, Numancia, Don Pelayo, the Valiant Cid, Fernando III the Saint, Guzman the Good one, Catholic Kings, Colon, Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba, You cut, Pizarro, Felipe II, etc. Textbooks usually ended with the glories of Franco who was portrayed as bringing down a dark republican regime. In the vast majority of primary school books, the word Catalonia was not mentioned even once.¹⁶²

The following example of the Francoist historical discourse is taken from a textbook published in Barcelona in 1945:

“The ‘*Caudillo*’ (chieftain) of Spain prepares the great final battles on the Ebro front. The Reds lose the battle of the Ebro, and, therefore, the National Army can chase them to the French border. And Spain obtains, as always the great victory over the enemies of God and the Homeland. Peace has returned, and, with it, order, justice and work. The Crucifix is put back in the Schools, which was torn by atheists and the Godless, although they could not remove it from the hearts of children. The

¹⁵⁹ For example, the work of Celestin Freinet in France and the Moviment de Cooperació Educativa (MCE) in Italy.

¹⁶⁰ Democracy and participation have constituted relevant issues in the teaching provided at the Summer Schools organized by the Rosa Sensat association since 1966. Simó Gil, Núria & Gelis, Jordi. (2015). L'Educació democràtica a les escoles d'estiu de l'Associació de Mestres Rosa Sensat (1966-2008). *Educació i Història: revista d'història de l'educació*: p. 177-209.

¹⁶¹ A more recent analysis of this topic is found in Pozo Nogales, Andrés. (2014). *Enseñanza de la historia en la escuela española entre 1931-1970. Análisis legislativo-pedagógico y su implantación obligatoria en los libros de texto. History and History teaching*, 40. As well as in the work of Ramon López Facal in: López Facal, Ramón. (1995). *El nacionalismo español en los manuales de Historia. Educació i història: Revista d'història de l'educació*, 119-128. And, López Facal, Ramón. (2008). *Identificación nacional y enseñanza de la historia: 1970-2008. Hist. educ.*, 27, pp. 171-193.

¹⁶² F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 276.

Government of the Caudillo gives Christian laws that defend the worker, the family and the child. Spain continues its History, and loves and applauds Franco ...”¹⁶³

Filled with discourses of this nature, it is unsurprising that the Catalan school reforms were marked by a general abandonment of textbooks and the direct elaboration of alternative materials to be used with students, through the use of self-published didactic materials. This was in line with a general trend in European educational renovation influenced particularly by the Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa Italia.¹⁶⁴

Many of the methodologies emphasized by the social sciences paralleled those of the new discipline of industrial archeology, which also prioritized interdisciplinarity and connection with the environment. It wasn't surprising, then, that one of the presentations given at the 1st Conference for the conservation and revalorization of industrial heritage, held in Bilbao in 1982, featured a group from the Rosa Sensat association and their 'Experiences regarding the use of industrial heritage for the teaching of social sciences in the 2nd stage of E.G.B.’¹⁶⁵ This experimental curriculum was designed and tested in various Barcelona schools in order to promote general and conceptual knowledge through investigation in the local social environment through direct observation. “When a boy enters a textile warehouse and hears for himself the deafening noise of the looms, he understands, perhaps for the first time despite the teacher's explanations, the harsh conditions of industrial work... That is why we see the conservation and didactic use of industrial heritage as essential.”¹⁶⁶

Over the course of three grades, students between the ages of 12-14 were taught about the history of industrialization from the agrarian reforms of the 18th century, the industrial buildings of other time periods up to the present, the current industrial landscape, the evolution of technology and its effects on the industrial process and the conditions of work, and the forms of social organization generated by industrialization. One project explained in this presentation is a field study in Barcelona's Poblenou neighborhood involving mapping the presence of factories, as well as establishing contact with the neighbors through the neighborhood association, the retirement home and the Aliança del Poblenou in order to interview the members about their opinion on the “past, present and future of the neighborhood.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Ballesteros, M. and Fernando, R. (1945). *Historia cultural de España*. Barcelona: La Espiga., p. 268. (Cited in F. X. Hernández i Cardona. (1995). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona. P. 281.)

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, P. 297. Also, D'Ascenzo, M. (2020). *Pedagogic Alternatives in Italy after the Second World War: the Experience of the Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa and Bruno Ciari's New School in Bologna*. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 7(1): 69-87.

¹⁶⁵ Oriol Sabater, Montserrat (Profesora de Ciencias Sociales) & Vilarrasa Cunillé, Araceli (Profesora de Ciencias Sociales del Grupo de Ciencias Sociales de l'Associació de Mestres Rosa Sensat). (1982). *Experiencias Sobre la Utilización del Patrimonio Industrial para la Enseñanza de las Ciencias Sociales en 2a etapa de E.G.B.* In: *I Jornades sobre Protecció i Revalorització del Patrimoni Industrial*. [Conference held in November, 1982], Bilbao: Gobierno Vasco; Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984, p. 547.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 551-552.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 554.

This project resonates to a great degree with the work of the Group of Didactics of the Social Sciences of the University of Barcelona, especially with regard to one of their first big projects-- a series of three Barcelona City guidebooks (and an unpublished fourth) called *Past and Present of Barcelona: Materials for the study of the urban environment*, published from 1983-91.¹⁶⁸ In the introduction, the authors contrast the scarcity of interdisciplinary teaching materials regarding Barcelona with the abundant supply of historical, urbanistic and geographical research. To this end, the objective of the authors is to “join the initiatives carried out by some institutions and educational centers” and “synthesize and make available to the school these sometimes difficult to access investigations.”¹⁶⁹ Essentially, these three books are made up of didactic, historical itineraries of Barcelona, with practical information for teachers including timetable details, location and numerical references that refer to a bibliography cited at the end of the work. While touristic itineraries had existed for many years prior to this, this work was unique for its time because of the types of routes chosen. For example, in volume II, covering the years from 1753-1832, we find stops detailing the first adoption of steam engines in the Raval district, and the conditions of life for the working class. Some of the research used to create these itineraries, particularly that of Raval, had been conducted by the young architect Jaume Artigues Vidal who in 1982 began a study in the field of industrial architecture on the topic of “The model of house-factory in the beginnings of industrialization.”¹⁷⁰ According to Mercè Tatjer, this project should have been published at the time by a group of architects, but in the end they dropped the project. The Raval area has traditionally been associated much more with its older, Romanesque character. Only later on, in 2014, would the MUHBA publish this research as part of a study on the phenomena of the House Factories of Barcelona.¹⁷¹

The book, *Past and present of Barcelona*, also contains a lengthy section on the neighborhood of Sants. The route, entitled “The industrialization of the towns of the [Barcelona] valley: the case of Sants” contains such stops as “The Vapor Vell and the Vapor

¹⁶⁸ Fernández, Magda; Hernández, F. Xavier; Suárez, Alicia; Tatjer, Mercè; Vidal, Mercè. *Passat i present de Barcelona (I), (II) and (III) [and unpublished (IV)]. Materials per l'estudi del medi urbà*. Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1983-91.

¹⁶⁹ F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Artigues Vidal, Jaume. (1982). *El model de casa-fàbrica en els inicis de la industrialització*. (Beginning of an investigation in the field of industrial architecture together with the historians Francesc Mas and Xavier Sunyol, and the socialists Maria José Calvo). A few years earlier, Artigues had co-authored a book on the history of the neighborhood published by the neighborhood association of District V: Artigues i Vidal, Jaume; Francesc Mas i Palahí, Xavier Suñol i Ferrer. (1980). *El Raval: història d'un barri servidor d'una ciutat*. Barcelona, Associació de veïns del Districte Vè., col·lecció Raval n° 1. On Artigues' CV he also notes his attendance at the 1st Conference for the protection and revalorization of industrial heritage, in 1982. (Accessed September 2020: <http://jaumeartigues.esy.es/curriculum.php>). In 1983, Artigues presented at the Conference of the Municipal Institute of History of Barcelona (Casa de l'Ardiaca) on the topic of “The historic archives of the neighborhoods of Barcelona.

¹⁷¹ Artigas, Jaume & Mas, Francesc. (2005). *El model de casa –fàbrica als inicis de la industrialització. Registre de fàbriques al Raval de Barcelona. 1767-1856*, Barcelona, 2 Vols. Also, Artigas, Jaume & Mas, Francesc. *El model de casa fàbrica als inicis de la industrialització. Registre de fàbriques de Ciutat Vella de Barcelona 1738-1807 / 1808-1856*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019.

Nou” and “Workers' housing in Sants.”¹⁷² Thematically, the project is similar to that of “Sants: 100 years of industrialization” which also takes the form of a teacher's resource for engaging students with the local history of industrialization through guided tours. This, it turns out, was no coincidence. Xavier Hernández was a member of this group of didactics of the social sciences at the UB, as well as Mercè Tatjer, Magda Fernández, Alícia Suárez and Mercè Vidal.

The most important didactic resource regarding the Vapor Vell was that created during the 1983-1984 school year, as part of the History of Catalonia course taught at the Barcelona teachers school.¹⁷³ The timing of this project, as well as the participation of Xavier Hernández as one of the authors,¹⁷⁴ puts it squarely in the context of the *Salvem el Vapor Vell* campaign which took place at the same time. The back cover of this booklet announces that it was assessed by both the Historic Archive of Sants as well as the “El Vapor” group of industrial archeology of Sants. In the introduction we read the following: “We hope that the Vapor Vell marks the beginning of the recovery and dignification of old Catalan factories and the rehabilitation of nineteenth-century working-class neighborhoods, so crucial in our history, as well as the promotion of the development of a historical discipline still in its infancy in our country: industrial archeology. The monumental declaration for the Vapor Vell would no doubt be a tribute to the hundreds of workers who left their lives and health in those gloomy rooms fighting for a better world they never knew.”¹⁷⁵

This introduction is followed by the following sections:

- The Vapor Vell: brief historical notice
- Description of the remains of the factory
- The life of Joan Güell i Ferrer
- Urbanism and housing in Sants in the mid-19th century
- The population
- Jobs and work
- Quality of life of the working population
- Customs, culture, normal life

¹⁷² Other stops noted for their relevance to industrial history include: La industrialització de la ciutat emmurallada, Els Vapors del Raval, Les condicions de vida de la població obrera, El Cementiri Vell, Les màquines de vapor. La Maquinista Terrestre i Marítima, La Vila de Gràcia, Les Associacions Obreres, Museu Marítim. Vaixells a vapor. L'Ictineu, El Born, La Porta de la Pau i el Monument a Colom, Les Cooperatives obreres durant el segle XVIII, La Fraternitat, El Vapor Batlló, La locomotora de vapor i l'expansió del ferrocarril a Catalunya.

¹⁷³ Col·lectiu de l'Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts. (1985). *Materials per a una Didàctica del Vapor Vell*. [Accessed: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat Barcelona.]

¹⁷⁴ The full list of authors includes: A Bernaus i Salisi; F.X. Hernández i Cardona; P. Hornos i Garcia; M. Sales i Sebastià; R. Torras i Conangla.

¹⁷⁵ (Ibid., p. 3.)

- Graphic Documentation
- Paper model: construct your own little Vapor Vell
- Chronology
- Bibliography

One of the most striking components of this work is that there is hardly a page that doesn't include a photo or illustration of some sort. This would be a recurring feature in Hernández's work, as he was a believer that a textbook could be evaluated by the quality of its illustrations.¹⁷⁶ He was also something of an artist himself, providing some of the illustrations for the work. See, for example, page 16 (*habitatge c/ del pou 25, a tocar del "Vapor Vell"*) and page 34 (*esquema del funcionament d'un "vapor"*).¹⁷⁷ As he remembers, at that time he was inspired by the works of didactic illustration by artists like David Macaulay (*Underground*, 1976), Sigvard Strandh (*Machines: an illustrated history*, 1979) and historian Asa Briggs (*The power of steam: an illustrated history of the world's steam age*, 1982). The power of illustration as a means of communication, in connection with written text, was a topic constantly featured in his work.¹⁷⁸

“In drawing, unlike period photography or paintings, it is the teacher who decides who should go out and why, in order to approach a historical period with guarantees. We propose an example. We can take a vintage photograph of the interior of a 19th century steam textile factory to illustrate what the factory work was like, and this photograph can certainly be interesting. However, a drawing on the subject can achieve a much higher didactic effectiveness. At the beginning we can reflect in the drawing everything that appears in the photograph, but we can go further. If we are interested in highlighting the work of women we can draw spinners or weavers. Likewise, if we are interested in representing different production processes, such as spinning or weaving, we can integrate different sections of the factory in the same perspective. If we are interested in highlighting child labor we can include in the drawing boys or girls collecting pieces or tanning breakdowns under machines. If we are interested in underlining the noise we can draw workers gesturing and shouting

¹⁷⁶ F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l'Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 491.

¹⁷⁷ In 1984, in collaboration with the Arxiu Històric de Sants, Hernández co-authored a book on the topic of “Housing and workers neighborhoods in Sants: 1830-1880.” See: Hernández Cardona, F. Xavier; Albert Hernando Bravo; Gloria Lozano Raimí i Jordi Romaní Montori. (1984). *Habitatges i barris obrers a Sants. 1830-1880*. Policòpia, Arxiu Històric de Sants. (Also presented at the II Jornades de preservació i revalorització del patrimoni industrial. Hospitalet de Llobregat, 1985.)

¹⁷⁸ Hernández participated in the development of didactic guides published by the mNACTEC in the collection, “Quaderns de Didàctica i Difusió del Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica de

Catalunya.” (More info available at: <https://www.mnactec.cat/ca/recerca/publicacions/quaderns-de-didactica-i-difusio>) The first of these guides was published in 1992: ‘Una Ciutat industrial: Terrassa,’ written by Josefina Casas, illustrated by Xavier Hernández and Jordi Ballonga, and coordinated by Magda Fernández from the Group of didactics of the University of Barcelona. (See: Fernández, Magda. (2000). *Les possibilitats educatives dels museus de ciència i tècnica*. Presented at the Seminari Permanent de Museus i Educació held in the year 2000 at the Barcelona Maritime Museum. (Accessed October, 2020: <http://museologia.cat/uploads/articulos/wercopx95x2jocg4lqdcy2e1t.pdf>).

at close range. If we are interested in reflecting social differentiation we can include the management office in an elevated and vigilant position, or the owner of the factory, suitably dressed, controlling the work, and so on. That is, drawing can become an absolutely fundamental and key didactic element to represent history. Logically, it must be of quality, not anachronistic, well-resolved, prudently realistic, and so on.”¹⁷⁹

Hernández also warned of the consequences of a well developed culture of historic iconography in England. “Our illustrators, when they have to illustrate a certain historical situation, are used to being inspired by or imitating the abundant illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon world. As a result, iconic representations of Anglo-Saxon history penetrate the iconographic representations of the country distorting its representative function. So, for example, when an illustrator is asked to illustrate a steam factory, he can imitate an English or Scottish factory, which have little to do with the Catalan factories. It should be remembered that Catalan industrialists, often suckers for aesthetics, had factories built that became true works of art both from a functional and aesthetic point of view; an unthinkable thing in the Anglo-Saxon world.”¹⁸⁰

One of the most imaginative components of the didactic materials is the paper model of the Vapor Vell which teachers are encouraged to photocopy, cut out, and assemble as a class project. This technique was not used just for the Vapor Vell, but had been elaborated for a number of Barcelona’s buildings as part of a project called “the city of paper.”¹⁸¹

Campaign of industrial archeology for young people

Besides the efforts of the Rosa Sensat association or the group of didactics of the social sciences of the University of Barcelona, there was another project for incorporating industrial archeology into the new curriculum in Catalonia. This was the *Campaign of industrial archeology for young people*, begun in 1985 by the Generalitat de Catalunya.

This built on the experience of educators in Madrid who presented at the 2nd conference of preservation and revalorization of industrial heritage in 1985 on the topic of “Scientific and industrial archeology for young people,” in which they discussed a campaign they had been formulated in the Fall of 1982 between the National Museum of Science and Technology and the National Radio of Spain (Radio 3). By 1983, they launched a first experimental campaign, later incorporating the Directorate General of Middle Education of the MEC and ADAMICRO of the Ministry of Industry and Energy, which, with the

¹⁷⁹ F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). *La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l’Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990*. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 491.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, P.491. Regarding Catalan industrial iconography, Hernández mentions the prevalence of the paintings by Casas i de Planella --La càrrega, and La teixidora-- which were often used to illustrate the social question of industrialization.

¹⁸¹ *La Ciutat de Paper*. El Born. El monument a Colom. La font Wallace. Els fanals a gas. Cotxes de cavalls. L’Arc de Triomf. Col·lecció de retallables. (As cited in Fernández, Magda; Hernández, F. Xavier; Suárez, Alcía; Tatjer, Mercè; Vidal, Mercè. *Passat i present de Barcelona (I), (II) and (III)*. Materials per l’estudi del medi urbà. Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1983-91.)

organization of the Institute of Youth of the Ministry of Culture, convened an annual campaign starting in 1984 for young people between 14 and 18 years old, “in order to locate and investigate objects of a scientific and technological nature that have an intrinsic value in the understanding of history.”¹⁸²

A couple elements stand out from this campaign. First of all is the idea that industrial archeology could be the means of eliminating an “absurd” distinction between science and letters. (“Young students, at the end of their studies, end up acquiring a distorted vision of the set of knowledge, which appears before them compartmentalized into disciplines that are difficult to articulate and confront each other in an artificial way.”¹⁸³) On the contrary, this program sought to present subjects from a great diversity of perspectives, including the linguistic, historical, technical approach, the relationship with the productive system, the evolution of scientific knowledge and the implications with the social environment. In this, industrial archeology was seen to parallel the interdisciplinary approach of the social sciences. A second curious element in this campaign is that it seems to have also included a recognition of “technological and scientific heritage of the educational centers,”¹⁸⁴ and sought the protection, revalorization, cataloging, and study of the school facilities including the furniture and didactic materials.

The presentation of this work in 1985 helped provoke Catalan pedagogues, as well as the Generalitat itself, to consider how to get on board the movement as well. On May 25, 1986, a meeting was called in Barcelona to consider how to introduce industrial archeology in Catalan schooling. A document from that meeting was later presented at the 1st Conference of industrial archeology of Catalonia, in 1988, titled “Industrial archeology and the education reform.”¹⁸⁵ The questions for the group were clear: “Should industrial archeology be a subject? Should it be an optional credit depending on the availability of the center and its location? Should it be institutionalized as a subject? Should it be relegated to 30% of the opt-in? Should it be an active tool for a History of Science and Technology program? Should a practical section with the same academic value as the theoretical part be introduced into the

¹⁸² Caicoya, Carlos F.; José María Losada Aranguren; Melquíades Prieto Santiago. (1985). *La Arqueología Científica e Industrial para Jóvenes y Educación*. In: *II Jornadas sobre la Protección y Revalorización del Patrimonio Industrial*. [Conference held in the Spring of 1985], Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya Comissió Interdepartamental de Recerca i Innovació Tecnològica (CIRIT), 1988.

¹⁸³ (Ibid.)

¹⁸⁴ (Ibid.)

¹⁸⁵ The work group consisted of the following people: Mercè Borràs Roca, Àngel Calvo Calvo, Josep Camps Roca, M. del Agua Cortés Elia, M. Rosa Ferrer Dalgà, Xavier Pardo de Campos, Montserrat Pedrola Gasa, Núria Roig Garriga i Pedro Latorre, coordinats per Marta Gallart Anguera. In that meeting they also had the support of Carlos F. Caicoya (director of the “Campanyes de Arqueologia Industrial de 1984 a 1986”) and also Eusebi Casanelles Rahola (director of the Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica de Catalunya). Gallart Anguera, Marta. (1988). *L’arqueologia industrial i la reforma educativa*. In: *I Jornades d’Arqueologia industrial a Catalunya*. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l’Hospitalet, 1991, p. 115.

social science program? In what proportions? In short, does INDUSTRIAL ARCHEOLOGY have an entity of its own or is it an instrument?”¹⁸⁶

In general, introduction of industrial archeology for youth in Catalonia was marked by a dispersion of studies, several private initiatives and a lack of coordination between professionals in the different fields of natural and social sciences in this regard.¹⁸⁷ For example, in Barcelona there was a school workshop titled “industrial archeology: from the steam engine to the computer sciences” which formed a part of the history workshops of the Societat Catalana d’Arqueologia, and the elaboration of an itinerary of “The industrialization of the towns of the Barcelona plain,” organized within the *Descubrim Barcelona* program-- both initiatives connected to the program *Barcelona a l’escola* (“Barcelona in the school”).¹⁸⁸ There was also the formation of the *Arqueojove* youth organization in 1985. The biggest project, however, was the campaign of industrial archeology for young people, started in 1986 by the Catalan Institute of Youth Services of the Generalitat, based on the experiences in Madrid. Essentially, this campaign involved organizing a competition for the twenty best research projects completed by students each year. During the years 1987 and 88 specifically, the campaign also included the organization of the “Specific Meetings of Industrial Archeology,” which were later discontinued.¹⁸⁹

Apparently, this campaign would eventually fizzle out. The archive at the MNACTEC preserves around 47 completed research projects submitted by students between the years of 1985 and 1993, where they are filed under the category “Concurs Juvenil de Recerca sobre l’Home i els Processos Productius (“Youth Research Contest on Man and Productive Processes”). In 1993, the MNACTEC organized an exhibition of the 12 winning reports from what it titles the VII youth context for research regarding the topic of industrial archeology, and it appears that this was the last year of the campaign.¹⁹⁰ The context of this campaign is also important in explaining the existence of what appears to be a student research project on the Vapor Vell from 1987, stored at the District Archive of Sants-

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁸⁷ Echave Jiménez, Cristina; Juan i Tresserras, Jordi (from the Arqueojove-Societat Catalana d’Arqueologia); Hoyas, Carmen; López-Caparrós Iñíguez, Constanza. (1988). La sensibilització dels joves envers el patrimoni industrial. (presented at the I Jornades d’Arqueologia Industrial a Catalunya).

¹⁸⁸ Boix, I; Pares, M; Saura, C; Tomas, C; Vilarrasa, A.. (1989). Barcelona a l’escola. Direcció de Serveis Pedagògics-IME. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

¹⁸⁹ Echave Jiménez, Cristina; Juan I Tresserras, Jordi (from the Arqueojove-Societat Catalana d’Arqueologia); Hoyas, Carmen; López-Caparrós Iñíguez, Constanza. (1988). La sensibilització dels joves envers el patrimoni industrial. (presented at the I Jornades d’Arqueologia Industrial a Catalunya). See also, Associació del Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica i d’Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya. Campanya d’Arqueologia Industrial per a Joves 1987-1988 (In the Butlletí d’Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica, num. 1), 1988. And, Associació del Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica i d’Arqueologia Industrial de Catalunya. Grup de Treball sobre el Valor Didàctic de la Campanya d’Arqueologia Industrial (In the Butlletí d’Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica, num. 1), 1988.

¹⁹⁰ See, MNACTEC. (1993). Memoria 1993. Museu de la ciència i de la tècnica de Catalunya. (Accessed October 2020: http://cultura.gencat.cat/web/.content/sscc/gt/arxiu_gt/memoria_1993/11_mem_1993_museu_ciencia_tecnic_a_cat.pdf)

Montjuïc. This anonymously authored report, “The industrialization of Catalonia. The Vapor Vell of Sants,” is not included in the MNACTEC’s archive, and is discussed in more detail in section 1.3.¹⁹¹

4.3.3 The limits of Industrial Archeology

As a discipline, industrial archeology promised the methodological tools to expand the industrial archive through the inclusion of new sources. Already in 1982, studies were done including photographic¹⁹², videographic¹⁹³ and oral histories¹⁹⁴, not to mention the focus of archeological science on studying the material remains itself. As Valentines writes, “These early sources, frequently underestimated by contemporary history, not only allow us to complement, contrast or dismiss traditionally forgotten documents, but also to ask new questions, glimpse revealing interpretations and fill historiographical gaps, often related to those social sectors without voices in traditional historical discourse (for example, illiterate people).”¹⁹⁵

In this respect, industrial archeology also had consequences for the concept of heritage which up until the sixties had only included monumentalist exhibitions, or what Hernández describes as the “evidence of the power of hegemonic social groups of other eras: churches, palaces, unique monumental buildings, unique monumental constructions...”¹⁹⁶ With the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia this heritage would begin to expand to include well-preserved urban landscapes, or even buildings that, although simple, were important for historical reasons, such as factories. The progressive democratization of Western societies also led to a progressive democratization of the concept of heritage.¹⁹⁷ According to Hernández, the contributions of new disciplines such as industrial archeology were very important in contributing to this diversification and democratization of the concept of heritage.

The year 1988 was big for the field of industrial archeology in Catalonia. In the first issue of the new bulletin of the Association of the Museum of Science and Technology and Industrial Archeology of Catalonia (AMCTAIC), Eusebi Casanelles announced that the

¹⁹¹ See appendix: document 3 (The industrialization of Catalonia: The Vapor Vell of Sants, 1987).

¹⁹² Lorenzo, Clara. (1988). La conservació del document fotogràfic. In I Jornades d’Arqueologia industrial a Catalunya. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l’Hospitalet, 1991, pp. 66-69.

¹⁹³ Lopez Izquierdo, Miquel; Ventosa Muñoz, Silvia. (1988). El document fílmic: Font de documentació, eina de recerca i suport de difusió. In I Jornades d’Arqueologia industrial a Catalunya. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l’Hospitalet, 1991, pp. 22-29.

¹⁹⁴ Marin, Dolors. (1988). Arqueologia industrial i història oral. In I Jornades d’Arqueologia industrial a Catalunya. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l’Hospitalet, 1991, pp. 54-60.

¹⁹⁵ Valentines, Jaume. (2004). Arqueologia Industrial i Ecomuseografia a les Universitats. El Cas de l’ETSEIB. Quaderns d’Història de l’Enginyeria, Volum VI.

¹⁹⁶ F. X. Hernández i Cardona (doctoral thesis). La Història contemporània de Catalunya en l’Ensenyament Primari i Secundari, 1970-1990. University of Barcelona, 1993. P. 462.

¹⁹⁷ (Ibid. P. 462.)

association had been busy organizing congresses, making videos for TV, giving conferences and organizing the campaign of industrial archeology for young people.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the museum's collection contained 4000 pieces and four sites in Capellades, Igualada, Vilanova and the headquarters in Terrassa. By the second issue of the bulletin, published the same year, Santiago Riera i Tuèbols, vice-president of the AMCTAIC, announced that during that year the association had grown from approximately 30 to 170 members, and also announced the first conference of industrial archeology of Catalonia, to be held from November 23-26, in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, organized by the AMCTAIC, the Catalan society of Archeology, the city council of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, and the Museum of science and technology of Catalonia.¹⁹⁹

The vision cast by Casanelles at this conference was for the establishment of a catalog of industrial elements in Catalonia to be used as a first step towards protection. As he described the situation, Catalonia had become a gold mine for foreign industrial collectors who took advantage of the undervalued technical heritage in Spain to enlarge their own collections. With no official protection or museums to deposit these objects, many items had already been sold. "Somehow," he lamented, "there is still no awareness that these goods are witnesses of the past, a past perhaps too present, which makes precisely this perception difficult."²⁰⁰

Casanelles's conservationist approach to industrial archeology would be criticized by others in the field,²⁰¹ most notably at the 1st Conference of Industrial Archeology of Valencia, held in November of 1990.²⁰² One of the express objectives of this conference, organized by the Valencian Association of Industrial Archeology (AVAI) and the Alcoi Center for Historical and Archeological Studies, was to "go beyond the approach which had characterized other meetings on the peninsula, focused primarily on the consideration of monumental heritage and its safeguarding and not on what, in the opinion of the organizers, should be a true industrial archeology, which always starts with the application of the archaeological method in order to produce a general understanding of the capitalist industrial

¹⁹⁸ Casanelles, Eusebi. (1988). In the *Butlletí d'Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica*, num. 1, 1988. (Accessed at the archive of the MNACTEC)

¹⁹⁹ Riera i Tuèbols, Santiago. (1988). In the *Butlletí d'Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica*, num. 2, 1988. (Accessed at the archive of the MNACTEC)

²⁰⁰ Casanelles i Rahola, Eusebi. (1988). *L'arqueologia Industrial a Catalunya*. In, *I Jornades d'arqueologia industrial a Catalunya*. [Conference held in 1988], Hospitalet de Llobregat: Museu de l'Hospitalet, 1991.

²⁰¹ "That industrial archeology. has not exceeded the level of research, cataloging and inventory of objects and buildings, is obvious (at least in Catalonia). As is also the priority that must be made of defending the conservation of industrial heritage." Riera i Tuèbols, Santiago. (1988). *Una reflexió sobre l'arqueologia industrial*. In the *Butlletí d'Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica*, num. 1, 1988, p. 3.

²⁰² Various Authors. (1990). *Arqueologia industrial: actes del Primer Congrés del País Valencià* [Alcoi, November 9, 10 and 11 of 1990]. Centre d'Estudis d'Història Local, 1991.

society.”²⁰³ This conference, which had been proposed during an earlier ‘Conference on the theory and method of industrial archeology’²⁰⁴ included the likes of Manuel Cerdà²⁰⁵, who presented on the topic of ‘Industrial archeology and the working class’ in which he argued that the tools of the discipline can bring us back to the materiality of the working and living conditions of marginalized groups ill-represented in traditional, written sources. The conference also featured guest experts from other countries, including Dianne Newell, who levied a strong critique in her presentation titled “Industrial Archaeology: Will it ever be an historical science?”²⁰⁶ Newell addressed what she viewed as a disconnect between the methodological promises of industrial archeology and how it was used in practice-- limited, basically, to the job of inventory and protection of monumental heritage. As Josep Torró wrote in a review of the conference, “As long as these obstacles are not overcome, there will be no achievement of any kind and Spanish industrial archeology will run the risk of becoming a field for vain, inert and repetitive theorizing, a refuge for wayward researchers who can hide their mediocrity behind an original and little-developed discipline.”²⁰⁷

In 1994, the Valencian Association of Industrial Archeology held their second conference (on the topic of material culture and social change), although a lack of funding would impede the convocation of a third conference and would also halt the publication of the association’s bulletin, published 1991-1996. By 1998, the association became inactive.²⁰⁸ In 2008, Cerdà published the book *Industrial Archeology: Theory and Practice*, in which he discusses the disappointing lack of fruit of the discipline in transforming the way of studying and understanding industrialization, arguing that to this day our culture has retained its aristocratic-bourgeois conception of heritage.²⁰⁹ Within this authorized heritage discourse, either industrial heritage is to be burdened with the task of taking on a monumental form, or

²⁰³ This is taken from Manuel Cerdà’s description of the conference as it appears on his personal website. (Accessed October 2020: <https://manuelcerda.com/2019/03/20/associacio-valenciana-darqueologia-industrial-avai/>).

²⁰⁴ Forner, Salvador & Miquel Santacreu, Josep (eds).(1989). *Jornades sobre Teoria i Mètodes d'Arqueologia Industrial*. [Alcoi, 18 i 19 de febrer del 1989], Alacant: Publicacions de la Universitat d'Alacant, 1990.

²⁰⁵ Manuel Cerdà, besides being a co-author (along with Rafael Aracil and Mario García Bonafé) of the first work of industrial archeology in Spain, *Arqueología industrial de Alcoi* (1980), was also involved in the investigation of working class history in Valencia. For example: Cerdà, Manuel. (1980). *Lucha de clases e industrialización. La formación de una conciencia de clase en una ciudad obrera del País Valencià (Alcoi: 1821-1873)*. Valencia: Almudín. Also, Cerdà, Manuel. (1981). *Els moviments socials al País Valencià*. València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim.

²⁰⁶ Newell, Dianne. (1990). *Industrial Archaeology: Will it ever be an historical science?* Primer Congrés d'Arqueologia Industrial del País Valencià.

²⁰⁷ Torró, Josep. (1990). 1er. Congrés d'arqueologia Industrial del País Valencià. *Historia Social*, No. 11 pp. 165-167.

²⁰⁸ According to the blog of Manuel Cerdà, in 2010 the association was reactivated, although this would only last a few years due to a lack of funding and institutional interest in the project. (accessed online November 2020: <https://manuelcerda.com/2019/03/20/associacio-valenciana-darqueologia-industrial-avai/>)

²⁰⁹ Cerdà, Manuel. (2008). *Arqueología industrial: teoría y práctica*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València.

else-- as Cerdà would prefer-- the discipline of industrial archeology is to explode this old, hegemonic conception, or at the very least to expand it.

We can see this ideological conflict play out in the case of the Vapor Vell. Although the Generalitat was responsible for the monumentalization of the Vapor Vell, the task of musealizing the old factory- that is to say, the tasks of studying, interpreting, and displaying- would be left to volunteers from local history and education groups. The collection of photocopied didactic materials gathered together and self-published by the *Col·lectiu de l'Escola de Mestres de Sants Les Corts* represented the most comprehensive work on the topic of the factory of the time-- and this was addressed to local grade-school teachers for use in their classrooms. Likewise, it was a group of volunteers from the Historic Archive of Sants who would track down and rescue the original book of receipts of the original business, Güell, Ramis i Cia, in 1988.²¹⁰ According to Hernández, when he read this document he considered it so important that he nearly decided to make it the subject of his doctoral thesis. Instead, it was decided that it should be published and made accessible for all. With the addition of some old photos of the Vapor Vell, and a short forward, that is exactly what they did.

Conclusion

As Putnam and Alfrey discuss in 'The industrial heritage,' an important feature of the industrial heritage movement in several countries has been the emergence of a sort of historian intrigued by the challenge of industrial heritage: "As often amateur as professional, these historians have been relatively uninfluenced by academic fashionability, or the priorities of research councils. They have their own agenda- the material culture of the modern period and its modes of life."²¹¹ As a discipline, industrial archeology emerged as a discipline which attempted to remedy the deficiencies of both academic study and of amateur histories. Its program suggests an alliance of particular histories based on artefacts and a grand conceptual dimension.

In the case of Catalonia, as discussed in the previous section, this 'grand narrative' would be that of Catalan nationhood as developed by the Generalitat in collaboration with the industrial engineers of Catalonia in the context of establishing a national museum of science and technology. The conferences of industrial archeology of Catalonia would be organized in order to promote case studies which reinforced this interpretive framework by promoting the boundaries of the discipline and a methodology which, despite its rhetoric of expanding heritage, tended to prioritize the task of conserving the most monumental exemplars of Catalan industrialization. In general, industrial archeology has tended to neglect one of the primary tenets of traditional archaeology, which takes a society and its people as its proper

²¹⁰ Arxiu Històric de Sants. (1988). *El Cost d'un Vapor. El Vapor Vell*, Barcelona: Edicions de l'Arxiu Històric de Sants.

²¹¹ Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. (1992). *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London. P. 4.

object of study; industrial archeology has developed procedures for the investigation and analysis of technical monuments and machinery, but has had little to say about the experience and organisation of working life.

We can understand the work of Xavier Hernández as an attempt to bridge this divide between national and local frameworks and between monumental and social discourses of heritage. We can see this effort in his proposal for a 'museum of Sants and of the Catalan working class,' as well as in the description of the heritage values of the Vapor Vell recorded in *Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular* in which the Vapor Vell is represented as valuable for a) industrial archeology, b) the social, political, economic and technical history of Catalonia, and c) the history and urbanism of Sants.

The disappointing story of how these heritage values would struggle to actually make it off the page and into the musealization of the Vapor Vell is the topic of the next section.

4.4 INDUSTRIAL MUSEALIZATION

The story of the monumentalization of the Vapor Vell of Sants is just one of many events which have shaped Barcelona's approach to musealizing its industrial past. The down-side of narrowing the focus of this investigation to the story of one particular factory is that we are certainly in danger of missing the forest for the trees so to speak-- of losing sight of the bigger picture needed in order to substantiate the scope promised by the title of this thesis. On the other hand, prioritizing an attention to the details and complexities of a historical case study offers its own benefits; for example, by challenging the traditional categories and analytical frameworks used to characterize the cultural politics and strategies of musealization.

In this final section, I aim to shift my focus from the particular to the general. I take the framework of industrial musealization, as developed throughout this investigation in order to analyze the heritagization of the Vapor Vell, and shine its analytical light on the city of Barcelona itself. To start with, the case of the Vapor Vell indicates that, rather than try to describe a unified politic for dealing with matters of industrial heritage, it is more accurate to model a 'clash of discourses' between different groups with different conceptions of heritage and uses for it. Here, I will limit my analysis to what I consider to be the three main groups involved in curating this musealization-- the Barcelona City Council, the Generalitat, and the neighborhood. As we have seen throughout this investigation, the approaches taken by these three administrations did not come from nowhere, but can be traced back to a wide array of interest groups, including industrialists (2.1), workers (2.2), Catalanists (2.3), engineers (2.4), social and economic historians (2.5), urban planners and activists (3.1), neighbors (3.2), local historians (3.3), urban geographers (3.4), political parties (4.1), industrial engineers and architects (4.2), archaeologists, educators and enthusiasts (4.3), etc. Not only have each of these groups been motivated by different objectives and recognized different industrial objects for various reasons, but they also materialized different heritage discourses-- that is to say, different ways of thinking about, relating to, and representing this past. I argue that the cultural strategies developed with the advent of the industrial heritage movement in Barcelona in the 1980's are connected with traditions of study, interpretation, conservation and display stretching back, oftentimes, to the context of industrialization itself. This is why it's important to approach an analysis of the cultural politics of industrial musealization from a historical perspective.

As we've seen, the Barcelona City Council took an 'anti-heritage' approach in the context of the Olympic Games of 1992, prioritizing issues of economic regeneration and architectural production over conservation, although this was eventually modified as a result of the work of activists and academics committed to raising awareness of the value of this urban memory as well as combating the pressures of speculative real estate enterprises on the health of their neighborhoods. At the Generalitat, the development of a cultural policy of industrial heritage centered on the project of the mNACTEC, where a 'national ecomuseum' was assembled

through the conservation and heritagization of the old monuments to national industry. At the neighborhood level, on the other hand, the emphasis remained on the recovery of the social heritage of industrialization. After the economic crisis of 2008 this project evolved from a primary concern of neighborhood conservation (3.3) to that of cultivating alternative economic models based on the recovery of the city's working-class legacy of cooperativism and mutual aid.

The first step, however, is to see how the campaign for the Vapor Vell was concluded and what actually became of the factory after it was proposed as a historic-artistic monument. In continuation, we will analyse these three constituencies--the Barcelona city council, the Generalitat, and the neighborhood--with the goal of exploring these three basic approaches to the musealization of the city's industrial past.

4.4.1 The end of the campaign

On June 21, 1985, the planning service of the Barcelona City council approved and published a document called "Criteria, objectives and general planning solutions for the urban sector around the old Vapor Vell factory."²¹² For the neighbors, the most significant part of this plan, undoubtedly, was the fact that it maintained the extension of Joan Güell Street, which had been planned since 1917 to be extended through the factory grounds and emerge on the other side at the Plaça de Sants. From an urban planning perspective, this would connect Madrid Avenue with the Carretera de Sants, two highly-trafficked roads. There was another factor involved in this as well-- the projected road cut through the part of the property where the now-monumentalized Vapor Vell building stood. This was an unfortunate oversight-- that a road bearing Joan Güell's name was destined, at least on paper, to provoke the demolition of one of his most iconic industrial legacies. Even more puzzling was the fact that this road extension had been included in both the Plan Comarcal of 1954, as well as the Plan General Metropolitana of 1976.²¹³ In anycase, the plan was not yet definitive, and the time period for receiving public feedback extended until the 20th of September.

Needless to say, the neighbors quickly expressed their deep dissatisfaction with the plan. On August 13, 1985, Jordi Clausell, representing all the neighbors associations of Sants, wrote a declaration against the project:

"As is well known, the addition of the towns of the Barcelona Plain to the growth of the City has always been made to the detriment of their own personalities and the reasonable and concordant development of their urban fabric as defined population units. In the case of Sants, its territory has always been quartered by the major access

²¹² Comissió Municipal Permanent. (1985). Criteris, objectius i solucions generals de planejament del sector urbà a l'entorn de l'antiga fàbrica del Vapor Vell. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

²¹³ Letter from Espinàs with response to the neighbors association, August 21, 1985. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.).

roads needed by Barcelona, which have sectorized its neighborhoods, isolating them from each other and suburbanizing their unity: the railway, the Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes, the Avenue of Madrid, the Cinturó de Ronda and the Station of Barcelona-Sants are good examples. On the other hand, the people of Sants have received very few benefits and those who have achieved some have had to win them from the Administration through fierce popular struggles.”²¹⁴

In this manner, with the issue framed as a repetition of the historic abuses of the “Gran Barcelona” against the neighborhoods, Clausell proceeds to list his specific complaints. First of all, he cites an issue of display. According to this plan, the newly monumentalized Vapor Vell would be locked inside a courtyard of houses without giving it any reasonably aesthetic perspective. Secondly, he condemns the opening of Joan Güell Street, citing a previous study from the Department of Urbanism of the *Escola Tècnica Superior de Camins, Canals i Ports de Barcelona* stating that the opening of Joan Güell Street would not solve a problem of circulation as the whole road would be collapsed by traffic at the intersection with the Carretera de Sants.²¹⁵

A week later, on August 21, Josep Espinàs, the district councilor from Sants, responded to these issues point by point. Interestingly, he notes that the cataloging of the building as a monument “does not necessarily involve any ordering or management measures.”²¹⁶ He also brings up another factor, that a Supreme Court ruling on July 9, 1984, provided a license for the construction of a housing complex on part of the property.

A few of the closest neighbors to the proposed construction also made their voices heard in letters to El Periódico newspaper. Maria Pilar Roca Palau, for example, wrote in saying that she lived on the upper part of the street and could assure the paper that no one had asked her if she wanted it to be left as a ‘dead end alley, unpaved, full of garbage, and surrounded by hooliganism, drugs and crime.’ As she concludes her denunciation of this situation, “Isn’t Mr. Maragall and company ashamed that a city that aspires to host the Olympics perpetuates this third world situation?”²¹⁷ It should be noted that the municipal

²¹⁴ (Carta en contra del Pla Especial VV. August 13, 1985. Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.)

²¹⁵ “*En nom dels veïns, industrials i comerciantes sotasignants, tots ells afectats per l’apertura del carrer Joan Güell... Sembla que la preocupació constant del nostre Ajuntament, sobretot ara que gaudim de democràcia i els seus regidors són elegits directament pel poble, hauria d’ésser, com a constant permanent, veïllar pel benestar dels seus representats i aplicar una estricta justícia a qualsevol resolució que afecti a l’estructuració dels barris de la ciutat.*” (Carta en contra del Pla Especial VV. August 13, 1985. Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.) See also: Varias asociaciones de vecinos de Sants-Montjuïc rechazan el proyecto del Vapor Vell. La Vanguardia. August 21, 1985.

²¹⁶ Letter from Espinàs with response to the neighbors association, August 21, 1985. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.)

²¹⁷ “*¿A quién no le gustaría tener como vecino el Museo de la Industria de Catalunya, rodeado de hermosos jardines? ¿Quién está interesado en que no se comuniquen los barrios de Sants y Las Corts? ¿Por qué el Ayuntamiento socialista no compró los terrenos de RUMASA cuando estos fueron expropiados por el gobierno del mismo partido? ¿Por qué se obstaculizaron las licencias de obras en esta zona? ¿Hay alguien interesado en dejar esta zona de Sants hecha una porquería para siempre? ¿Es necesario hacer tantas expropiaciones como dicen? Invito a los señores Espinàs y Sisquella a que se den una vuelta por la calle Joan*

“Barcelona, get pretty,” campaign would be launched in November of that same year, and on October 17th of the following year, 1986, Barcelona was officially selected as the site of the 1992 Olympic games.

The Centre Social de Sants began organizing a protest campout (“acampada reivindicativa”) to be held the night of November 16th. Based on the hot chocolate supplies purchased for the event (100 liters of milk) they were expecting about 300 participants. According to some reports, the actual number was closer to 1,000. The memory of this event and the rest of the campaign for the Vapor Vell has been conserved in the book *El Centre Social de Sants: Una experiència associativa*,²¹⁸ as well as in the local magazine *Trenc d’Alba*, published since 1982 as a source of information and cultural animation of the neighborhood.²¹⁹ The evening started with a parade through the town as part of a local custom known as a *cercavila*. Typically, this would include a procession of *gegants* in which giant figurines of fantastical animals and medieval Catalan characters were carried through the streets accompanied by pyrotechnics and plenty of percussion and *graella* players. In Catalonia, most towns have their own, uniquely representative *gegants*. As it is reported in *Trenc d’Alba*, some neighbors in Sants at this time decided that instead of a medieval aesthetic, they would make special figurines of a historic working class man and woman from the Vapor Vell.²²⁰ According to Xavier Hernández from the “El Vapor” group of industrial archeology of Sants, there were also plans to construct a giant steam engine on which fireworks could be placed as it was carried along. A picture of this design was produced, although it was never actually built.²²¹

Güell esquina Ladrilleros y verán los socavones, basuras, suciedad, fango y abandono, todo ello en el más puro estilo medieval.” In: *El Vapor Vell trae cola*. *El Periódico*, September 1, 1985. As cited in Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona: p. 118. Also: Freixas, Eulàlia. “El Vapor Vell, el cuento de nunca acabar”, cartas al director de *El Periódico*. September 2, 1985.

²¹⁸ “Josep Xarles encara recorda l’acampada com un cosa inoblidable: ‘Va ser una nit criminal’.” According to *El Periódico*, the campout was quite popular: “About a thousand people took part yesterday in the events organized by the entities of Sants, Hostafrancs and La Bordeta within the organized campaign to recover the facilities and land of the old Vapor Vell factory. ... about twenty tents...”. (In Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona: p. 122.)

²¹⁹ *Trenc d’Alba*. N.24, December, 1985: pp. 9-10.

²²⁰ *Trenc d’Alba*. N.23, October, 1985: pp. 0, 17, 18.

²²¹ (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuic. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.)

Proposal for a Gegant for Sants: a steam engine



SOCI PROTECTOR Nº 00058

DONATIU: 500 PTES.

PROJECTE D'UNA MULASSA QUE FES REFERÈNCIA AL PASSAT
INDUSTRIAL DE SANTS

Reportatge 19

TRENC D'ALBA



Xava i la Xinxe.

Sants ha estat un barri prou lligat amb el món obrer. Les fàbriques tèxtils són força representatives de la vida d'aquest i el «Vapor Vell» n'és un clar exemple.

El Xava i la Xinxe estan molt lligats a tot aquest vessant de la vida col·lectiva. Personatges que pertanyen al món tèxtil de començaments de segle no pretenen ser només testimoni d'una època sinó quelcom més. La gent que està treballant en aquest projecte i en concret les seves creadores, han volgut mantenir sempre una estreta relació amb la realitat i alhora connectar amb la col·lectivitat. També es pretén reivindicar tot un món propi i un espai molt relacionat amb aquella època: «El Vapor Vell».

EL XAVA I LA XINXE: BENVINGUTS!

Els gegants són personatges cabdals dins la festa popular, en són els reis per excel·lència, encapçalant l'inici dels actes festius.

El Xava i la Xinxe aviat deixaran de ser un projecte per convertir-se en realitat. Si els haguéssim de caracteritzar potser allò que destaca més d'ambdós és l'expressivitat dels seus rostres. La Xinxe d'expressió popular i riallera, bufoneta de mena, reflecteix el cansament d'una treballadora de l'època que no per això perd l'entusiasme i participa encara de la joia del viure. Possiblement si res no canvia abans de la seva presentació en públic vestirà una brusa ratlladeta, davantal, xal i monyo, peces totes elles indispensables en la dona treballadora de l'època.

El «Xava» té en les seves faccions una gran expressivitat. D'imatge potser un tant més rústega que ella, presenta un aire molt personal que atreu els ulls de qui el contempla. El seu vestuari no podia ser altre que el d'una bata amb els característics colors del ram tèxtil: blau tacat amb grisos, una gorra i uns bigotis que imposen d'allò més.

Els noms dels nostres protagonistes no es troben documentats però sembla ser que «xinxe» era la denominació que rebien les treballadores de les fàbriques del ram tèxtil; «xava» sembla ser que prové de la generació dels xaves de Sants. Es pensa que prové, potser, del mot «xacavà» però no ha estat pas confirmat.

La Maria i la Núria van pensar molt com seria la cara dels nostres protagonistes i es van documentar a l'Arxiu Històric amb la intenció sempre de ser fidels a una realitat concreta. Elles han dut a terme la part artística del projecte i han



gaudit d'una notable llibertat de creació, encara que han tingut una certa limitació en el temps. Però en aquest projecte cultural ha participat un gran nombre de gent, entre d'altres: la comissió cultural del Centre Cívic, el col·lectiu d'artistes del barri, i ha comptat amb el suport del Secretariat d'Entitats i el Regidor de Cultura de l'Ajuntament.

Actualment l'Àrea de Joventut del Centre Cívic vol crear un cos de portadors de geganters que els acompanyin en les seves actuacions.

Esperem doncs, veure aviat la imatge d'aquesta nova parella, que ben segur tindran una bona acollida per la gent del barri.

Roser Martínez Vila

CRISTALLEI

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- FUSTERIA D'ALUMINI
- MAMPARES DE BANY
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L'ocupació del Vapor Vell

Vàrem «aconseguir» que la plaça de Sants no fos un scalextric, que el solar de Cotxeres fos un Centre Cívic, hem aconseguit més o menys l'Espanya Industrial, però això no és tot. El nostre barri necessita espais verds, més llocs



De rates, cap ni una



El símbol reivindicatiu

socials, culturals i d'esbarjo. Per això els veïns hem fet una sèrie d'actes reivindicatius dins de l'antic i històric solar del Vapor Vell, per tal d'aconseguir-lo davant la possibilitat de perdre'l.



Vista aèria de l'acampada

AQUEST ÉS L'HIMNE DEL VAPOR VELL

VOLEM EL VAPOR VELL

«Galileu, Valladolid», passejant una amic em deia:
Sembla que senyali el cel, aquesta esvelta xemeneia,
El vaig desenganyar, ell no sabia que perillava,
I per poder-la conservar vam començar a cantar:

Pensem deixar la pell, lluitant pel VAPOR VELL
Cauran ben de clatell si ens obren JOAN GÜELL
Si ens obren JOAN GÜELL cauran ben de clatell.
Pensem deixar la pell, lluitant pel VAPOR VELL

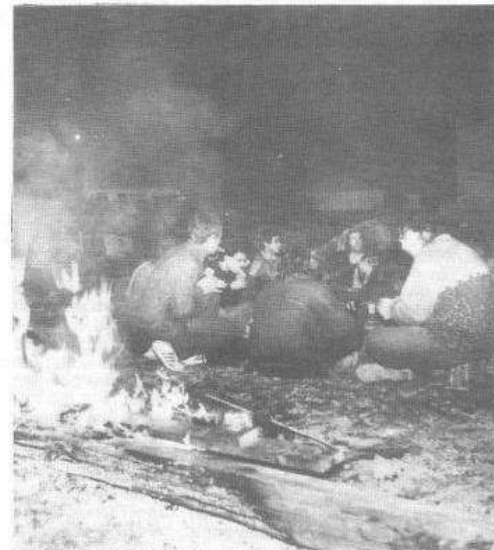
Nois que aquest barri ja està prou esquartrat,
amb vies de tren i avingudes de gran pas.
No n'han fet prou de desgràcies que volen continuar,
ara han d'obrir un gran carrer que tot ho assolarà,
ens trencarà moltes cases, s'endurà el VAPOR VELL
de tot això, que en diria el senyor JOAN GÜELL?

Pensem deixar la pell, lluitant pel VAPOR VELL.
Cauran ben de clatell si ens obren JOAN GÜELL.
Si ens obren JOAN GÜELL cauran ben de clatell.
Pensem deixar la pell, lluitant pel VAPOR VELL.

I a la història constarà, que la gent de Sants
cridàvem!! del més gran al més cadell...

TORNADA: Pensem deixar la pell...

Francesc Mir



«Pensem deixar la pell, lluitant pel Vapor Vell»

²²³ Trenc d'Alba. N.24, December, 1985: pp. 9-10.

As it described in the Trenc d'Alba article, the protest campout also included the singing of the "Hymn of the Vapor Vell" composed by Francesc Mir (translated below):

It seems to point to the sky, that slender chimney.

I let him down, he didn't know he was in danger.

And to be able to preserve it we began to sing:

(Chorus)

We plan to leave our skin, fighting for the VAPOR VELL

They will fall on their necks if they open JOAN GÜELL

If they open JOAN GÜELL, they will fall on their necks.

We plan to leave our skin, fighting for the VAPOR VELL

Folks, this neighborhood is already quartered enough,

with railway tracks and avenues of many lanes.

They haven't disgraced it enough, they want to continue,

Now they have to open a big street that will ruin everything,

It will break many of our houses, it will take away the VAPOR VELL

Of all this, what would Mr. JOAN GÜELL say?

And history will show that the people of Sants

We were shouting!! from the oldest to the youngest...

The singing of the hymne was followed by the reading of the manifesto in which four reasons were presented for opposing the municipal plan:

"1st- A road which cuts through the entire Vapor Vell, dividing it and rendering it useless for use as a recreational public space. 2nd- Affecting the neighbors and commercial workers on the Carretera de Sants in an unnecessary and unjustified manner. 3rd- Increased densification of the zone, with corresponding increase in the price of the land around the new road. 4th- Increase in vehicle circulation and increase of traffic and hassle for the neighbors of the sector. This coincides with the already congested Carretera de Sants."²²⁴

²²⁴ (Perquè volem el Vapor Vell. Accessed at the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.)

It's interesting to note that, based on this manifesto, the heritage discourse used to secure the monumentalization of the main building of the Vapor Vell is not made much use of here. Essentially this was an anti-road protest. It could be that this was a strategic move on behalf of the neighbors, who saw more likelihood in winning their cause by making urbanistic arguments regarding densification, fragmentation and traffic. In this discourse, the lands of the Vapor Vell are presented as a potential recreational space rather than as an industrial heritage landscape. Probably this is because, at this point in time, the industrial heritage/archeology discourse was mostly just a topic of interest for academics and had yet to be genuinely absorbed by the neighborhood movement. In fact, after achieving the monumentalization of the factory, the 'El Vapor' Group of Industrial Archeology of Sants, essentially made up of just Xavier Hernández, gradually disappeared. A final moment of triumph for this project came in 1988 when the original book of receipts of the founding company of the Vapor Vell, Güell, Ramis i Cia, dating to 1847, was discovered in storage at the Colònia Güell. Volunteers from the Historic Archive of Sants were alerted and went to rescue the document. It quickly became apparent that this document contained an amazing wealth of previously unknown historical information about the Vapor Vell and Catalan industrialization in general. According to Hernández, he considered making this document the topic of his doctoral investigation, although later he decided against this and focused instead on broader issues of Catalan historiography, iconography and musealization. After publishing his thesis on the under-representation of Catalan history in school curricula, he would go on to develop a didactic museology for the new Museum of History of Catalonia, located in the Barceloneta neighborhood in a historic port storehouse, opened to the public in 1997. According to Hernández, his goal was to apply the principles of interactivity and engagement of the Exploratorium science center in San Francisco to the subject of Catalan history.²²⁵ He also collaborated with the mNACTEC, authoring didactic materials regarding the Aymerich, Amat i Jover factory where this museum is headquartered.²²⁶ To this day, Hernández continues to work in the department of didactics of the social sciences at the University of Barcelona, although the focus of his work has shifted from industrial heritage to the heritage of armed conflict.²²⁷ He also spent time from 2003-2007 as the general director of research for the Generalitat (representing the ERC).

After the campout, the campaign for the Vapor Vell would continue as a long, drawn out affair. In January of 1986, the neighbors erected a kiosk in the Plaça de Sants to collect signatures against the municipal plan. A photograph from the time shows the kiosk with a big banner which reads "We will recover all of the Vapor Vell. There was a signature collection campaign and the organization of, assemblies, letter-writing, and special events to raise awareness. In the end, as one neighbor put it, "The repeated protests and the "We want

²²⁵ (Xavier Hernández, conversation with the author).

²²⁶ Casas, J.; Fernández, M.; Hernández, F.X. (1992). *El vapor Aymerich, Amat i Jover*. Barcelona: Publicacions del Museu Nacional de la Ciència i de la Tècnica de Catalunya/Generalitat de Catalunya.

²²⁷ Hernández, F.X. (2001-2004). *Història militar de Catalunya: aproximació didàctica*. 4 vols. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau.

all the Vapor Vell" campaigns and the paper cut-out models of the factory, which advised us to begin assembly with the windows, were useless."²²⁸ For a time, there was also a mixed commission of neighbors and representatives from the administration established in order to negotiate a solution, although, after a year of meetings it seemed as though no real progress was being made. The neighbors were once again confronted with a feeling of disillusionment regarding the democratic process. In a letter to the district councilor dated February 26, 1986, they wrote, "We believe in participation and negotiation, but these have to be held responsible by the neighborhoods; and that is why the AAVVs exist; and also held responsible by organizations such as the Secretariat of entities of Sants, Hostafrancs and La Bordeta. This responsibility has been present over the last 15 years and that is why these entities have been publicly supported by residents in general and also why a series of urban improvements in quality of life have been obtained."²²⁹

By September of 1986, the neighbors asked for more time to present their allegations against the municipal project, even though the plan had already been initially approved. In July of 1988, it was 'provisionally approved,' in May of 1989 it was 'definitively approved,' and in September of 1989 it received a 'definitive conditioned approval.'²³⁰ The final plan still included extension of Joan Güell Street, although it was made into a one-lane road and slightly curved so as to avoid hitting the main factory building. The ultimatum given by the City Council was that the neighbors either accepted this proposal or else the building would fall down on its own due to disrepair. Finally, in 1998, construction began to convert the factory into a library and primary school which was inaugurated in 2000, almost 25 years after the start of the neighborhood protest.

4.4.2 The City Council: Anti-heritage

From the neighbors' side, as we have seen, the campaign was seen as a 'mutilated project,' but what was the perspective of the city council regarding the Vapor Vell campaign? Generally speaking, it appears as though the priority of responding to the local concerns of the neighbors was eclipsed during these years by the exhilarating prospect of propelling the city onto the world's stage as the site of the 1992 Summer Olympics. The political approach developed in the context of the Olympic Games has been the subject of important investigations, some of which have already been cited in this investigation. In the introduction (1.1) we looked at the case of the destruction of the historically industrial neighborhood of Icària, starting in 1987. As we discussed, this was one of the catalyzing

²²⁸ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996, P. 122.

²²⁹ (Accessed at the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc. Vapor Vell box, number 6247.)

²³⁰ Information publicly available via the Barcelona municipal architectural heritage database. See: PE del Vapor Vell. Concreció de les alineacions del carrer Joan Güell i ordenació dels sòls qualificats pel PGM de zones 14b, 14a i 12 entre les places de Can Mantega i de Sants. (accessed October 2020: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/informaciourbanistica/cerca/ca/fitxa/S237/--/--/ap/>)

elements for the formation of the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Fòrum de la Ribera del Besós* and of the eventual establishment of an official plan for the protection of an increased number of industrial heritage sites in Barcelona. Essentially this took the form of the approval, in 2006, of a modification of the catalogue of historic-artistic architectural heritage of the district of Sant Martí of 2000.²³¹

It's worth noting that, while the Vapor Vell was one of the first buildings to be granted heritage protection based on its industrial character, other industrial elements had been included on municipal catalogs due to their monumental character since 1962 when the 'Drassanes' royal shipyard and 'La Seca' royal mint were added.²³² In the catalog from 1979, the Casarramona factory was added as a 'national monument,' as well as various 'local monuments' including: the Montaner i Simon and Casa Thomàs printshops, the watertower from the Gasworks of the Barceloneta, the watertower of the Tibidabo, the industrial complex Batlló factory which had been repurposed as the Barcelona school of industrial engineering, and the 'La Central' Vilanova power plant. The list also included certain buildings related to 19th century industrialization, including the Born, Concepció, Boqueria, and Llibertat market houses, the funicular station of Vallvidrera, the França train station and the two aerial towers of the port.²³³

In the Catalog of architectural and historic-artistic heritage of the city of Barcelona, published in 1987, the Vapor Vell was included, although instead of having its own heritage category it was listed as, 'having been filed by the Generalitat.'²³⁴ At this time, the municipal catalog acted more as a list than as a means of protection for these buildings. One of the ways this problem was addressed was through the drafting of district-based Special Plans for the Protection of Architectural Heritage in 2000, providing four different levels of protection.²³⁵ The highest level, Bien de Interés Nacional, or "Good of national interest," had already been

²³¹ Modificació del pla especial de protecció del patrimoni arquitectònic històric-artístic de la ciutat de Barcelona. Districte de Sant Martí. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2006. (This replaced the Pla Especial de Protecció del Patrimoni Arquitectònic i Catàleg. Barcelona: May 2000.)

²³² Catálogo de edificios y monumentos de interés histórico, arqueológico, típico o tradicional de Barcelona. Servicio de Edificios Artísticos y Arqueológicos y de Ornato Público, 1962.

²³³ Later, the three chimneys from Parallel Avenue, the Estació del Nord, the magazines of the wharf, the watertower of the Eixample, and the Vapor Vell building and chimney were added to this list. See: Antecedents: Evolució del tractament urbanístic del patrimoni industrial a Barcelona. In: Modificació del pla especial de protecció del patrimoni arquitectònic històric-artístic de la ciutat de Barcelona. Districte de Sant Martí. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2006.

²³⁴ Catàleg del Patrimoni Arquitectònic i Històric-Artístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1987, pp. 191-192, fitxa 329. (accessed online October 2020: <https://bcnroc.ajuntament.barcelona.cat/jspui/handle/11703/101775?locale=es>). Another interesting initiative from around this time was that of Veclus S.L., which, in 1991, deposited a detailed, 8-volume Documental study of 100 buildings in Sants and Hostfrancs in the District archive of Sants-Montjuïc by the private heritage company Veclus S.L.. The main building of the Vapor Vell was not included in this study, but another building from the property was.

²³⁵ Pla Especial de Protecció del Patrimoni Arquitectònic i Catàleg. Districte III. Sants-Montjuïc. Fitxes 2 (61-124). Barcelona: May 2000.

attributed to the Vapor Vell in 1998, when the Generalitat finally made good on its promise of heritagizing the factory.²³⁶

The gradual cataloging (and subsequent protection) of industrial buildings in Barcelona was only achieved through the intense and sustained efforts of academics and activists. This fact seems to substantiate the premise that the municipal government was not just ignorant or indifferent to the concept of industrial heritage, but actively against it. In their work investigating industrial heritage sites in transformation, Mieg and Oevermann develop an interpretive model for understanding this type of dynamic based on case studies of various European cities.²³⁷ They describe a common characteristic of heritage conservation debates in which various constituencies struggle to negotiate terms due to a fundamental difference in the types of discourse which they imagine they are having. On one hand there is the discourse of economic regeneration, typically held by the public administration and at odds with the heritage discourse of academics and local constituencies interested in preserving urban memory. Mieg and Oevermann also posit a third discourse, of architectural production, which can also contrast with these other two. In the case of Barcelona, we can understand this model to describe a situation in which industrial heritage was perceived by the municipal urban planning team as a roadblock keeping them from meeting deadlines and budget restrictions in preparation for the 1992 Olympic games. One can particularly imagine this to have been the case for the Icària neighborhood, where it was faster and cheaper to demolish the old factories (except for a couple chimneys) and start from scratch on building the new Olympic Village.²³⁸

²³⁶ “Resolución de 8 de mayo de 1998, del Departamento de Cultura, por la que se da publicidad al Acuerdo del Gobierno de la Generalidad, de 15 de abril de 1998, de declaración de bien cultural de interés nacional, en la categoría de monumento histórico, de El Vapor Vell de Sants, en Barcelona.” Boletín oficial del estado «BOE» núm. 131, de 2 de junio de 1998, pp. 18288-18289. (accessed October 2020: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1998-12806). Later published in the Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (22/05/1998).

²³⁷ Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

²³⁸ In order to make quick progress, the city council set up a private/public company called Vila Olímpica S.A. to carry out the work. One of the people on the payroll of this company from 1987-1992 was Martí Llorens, a young photographer who had just graduated at the time and was hired to document the project. As he explains it, keeping the Cerdà plan was seen as the easiest and quickest way to proceed by the team of three architects in charge of the project, including Oriol Bohigas. The project also included redoing the port, the beaches and a new drainage. At this time, Oriol Bohigas viewed the heritage discourse as a slippery slope which could potentially ruin the whole project. He opted, rather, to just get rid of everything. It wasn't just industrial heritage that was implicated. As the construction crews began installing the new drainage pipes down the *Passeig de Lluís Companys*, under the Arc de Triomf and through the Ciutadella Park, they hit into the buried remnants of the old Citadel. Martí Llorens was told not to tell a soul about this, and a barrier was put up around the site so the public wouldn't see that they were removing such an artifact. Of course, at that time, most people were pro Olympics. There was no space for dissent-- it was the big opening up of the city. Politicians could be seen at the construction sites, tearing down old factories with a smile on their faces. Nowadays, they would never be seen near a demolition site. Times have changed. The meaning of the photos Martí took of the Icària neighborhood have changed-- we see events differently after thirty years. (Martí Llorens, conversation with the author).

The case of the Vapor Vell affirms the existence of this conflictive dynamic between urban planning and heritage conservation. In fact, as we have seen, the neighborhood movement appropriated the industrial heritage discourse, in part, in order to ‘put the brakes on the rampant third-sectorization (*terciaritzacion galopant*) of Sants,’²³⁹ to halt the reprivatization of the lands of the Vapor Vell and lobby for its municipalization. The use of heritage, in this case, was to stop a project of economic regeneration that neighbors suspected would benefit the “Gran Barcelona” at the expense of the neighborhood. Based on this, it is not hard to understand why the municipality adopted such a hardline anti-heritage position when beginning the urban transformations along the coastline of Poblenou starting with the Icària neighborhood.

Even before highly mediatic events of the ‘destruction of Icaria’, neighbors from Sants had written that:

This attitude of Barcelona City Council is complemented by the lack of interest or simple ignorance, expressed by those responsible for culture and urbanism, regarding the importance of preserving the industrial heritage. It is also necessary to denounce the indifference shown by the Barcelona City Council regarding the fate of the old quarters of the old towns of the Pla de Barcelona, despised and given over to real-estate speculation.²⁴⁰

Here, the anti-heritage discourse of the Barcelona City Council is explained as a ‘lack of interest of simple ignorance.’ A more controversial claim that would be made is that this was a purposeful strategy of invisibilization of the industrial city due to a “fear of the socially and culturally powerful ‘Catalonia of the metropolis’.”²⁴¹ As Joan Roca wrote in 2004:

The factory is the image that must be hidden because it expresses the social conflict of classes. And the ‘oblivion’ of the industrial heritage of the capital of Catalonia seems to serve rather as a visually expressive distortion of our history in favor of an interpretation of the artisanal Catalonia and of the bourgeois face of Barcelona without its corresponding working-class side. I would say that the systematic denial that has been made for so many years of the metropolitan event is not accidental.²⁴²

I think Roca is right to characterize this as ‘not accidental’, although I also think it would be misleading to characterize this municipal heritage discourse as a type of elaborately devised ‘plot;’ or else, if it was a plot, at least it wasn’t very out of the ordinary. In fact, I argue that the municipalities ‘anti-heritage’ approach can viewed alternatively as a process of heritage production; although, instead of focusing on the monuments to Catalonia’s industrial past being collected and musealized by the Generalitat at this time, Barcelona was looking to the city’s economic future and creating the monuments to this new form of

²³⁹ See appendix, document 1 (Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular): p. 10.

²⁴⁰ See appendix, document 1 (Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular): p. 12.

²⁴¹ Roca i Albert, Joan. (2004). Has Barcelona been a great industrial city? *L’Avenç*, Magazine of History and Culture, number 288, 2004, pp. 22-29.

²⁴² (*Ibid.*)

capitalistic production: the production of space, real-estate speculation and the selling of the Barcelona brand to tourists. All of this was perfectly in line with the tradition of the capitalist city. It was still ‘Barcelona Artística i Industrial,’²⁴³ although now that industry had been transformed and a new model had emerged.

Roca’s characterization of the municipal policy of historical amnesia regarding the city’s industrial past as an expression of fear regarding the social and cultural symbolism it contains of the ‘Catalonia of the metropolis’ brings up some further questions. First of all, at least in the case of the Vapor Vell, there is little evidence that the working class at the time saw the old factories as a symbol of their struggle. As we have seen, the industrial heritage movement in Catalonia did not originate with the neighborhood movement nor with the workers movement. Rather, it was imported as an additional tactic useful for slowing down and blocking speculative real estate schemes which threatened the social fabric of the neighborhood. As I have argued in chapter 2, it is, rather, the social practice of fighting capitalistic speculation which we can consider a true working-class heritage. The fact that the neighbors of Sants used old factories and the trending academic field of industrial archeology to do so was more of a means to an end than an end in itself. In general, at least at first, it was not the destruction of the factories which bothered the majority of the neighbors of Barcelona-- it was that they were replaced with luxury condos rather than public parks and services. As Xavier Hernández remembers the campaign for the Vapor Vell:

“We acted as though it had been popular resistance against the destruction of industrial heritage, but in reality it wasn’t like this, it wasn’t. It was a popular resistance taking advantage of the industrial topic but not out of conscientiousness regarding industrial heritage, but because this was the only means of saving the space. But, well, all is fair in times of war.”²⁴⁴

An important follow up question which is left open in this investigation has to do with the involvement of worker constituencies in the elaboration of other industrial heritage campaigns in Barcelona. While the working-class was not a part of the campaign to save the Vapor Vell, in other neighborhoods, like Sant Andreu for example, associations of ex-workers played an important role in the musealization of particular industrial pasts.

4.4.3 The Generalitat: Authorized heritage

Unlike in Barcelona, where the topic of industrial heritage was absorbed into conflicts over urban management and memory, at the national, Catalan scale it was treated with a different approach, as reflected by the cultural politic for industrial heritage developed by the Generalitat in the context of the establishment of the mNACTEC (Museu Nacional de

²⁴³ Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros. (1917). *Barcelona artística e industrial*. MUHBA, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura Barcelona. (Reprinted in 2010 by the MUHBA), Barcelona:Ediciones de La Central.

²⁴⁴ (Hernandez, Xavier. Conversation with the author, January 24, 2017.)

Ciència i Tecnologia de Catalunya). As we have seen, the initial impetus for this project came from the association of industrial engineers of Catalonia who sought to recover an old museum initiative from the 1930s for a national museum of science and technology. With the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia, this project was expanded under the leadership of Eusebi Casanelles to include industrialization and the new discipline of industrial archeology was proposed as a means of expanding the objects of this heritage to include new sources and means of study, interpretation and display of this national, industrial past.

In practice, however, industrial archeology struggled to live up to its methodological promises, and was often instrumentalized merely as a tool for conservation. Consequently, this new, national industrial heritage began to take shape not as an expansion of heritage, but as the reassembling of the old objects of the authorized industrial discourses through means of musealization. Generally this involved the heritagization of a business archive which had been originally created with a monumental function related to bourgeois hegemony. One of the first big steps in this process was the purchase of the Aymerich, Amat i Jover factory in Terrassa as the site of the Generalitat's museum in 1983. This was a building already valuable from an art history/architectural perspective regardless of its industrial character and the decision to conserve the site hardly required expanding the concept of heritage. The architectural message of this factory as a sort of monument to Catalan industry had been 'built in' over a hundred years ago in a political context dominated by the conservative Catalanism of the industrial bourgeoisie. In the case of the Vapor Vell's history, we have a good representation of this constituency in the person of Eusebi Güell who participated in political as well as cultural Catalanism as a primary sponsor of the development of industrial modernism as a cultural form. The publication, in 1984, of the book *Arquitectura Industrial a Catalunya* ('Industrial architecture in Catalonia') followed in this same art-history framing of industrial heritage.

The following year, in 1985, the Generalitat's industrial heritage policy received a significant impulse from the field of economic history with the exhibition *Catalonia, the factory of Spain*, held in Barcelona's historic Born market. After crunching the numbers, Jordi Nadal and his team were able to support the thesis that, starting in the 1830's with the introduction of steam power at the Bonaplata factory in Barcelona, Catalonia had in fact undergone an industrial revolution similar to that of northern, industrialized European countries. This exhibition synthesized a proud national narrative of industrialization in line with the historical interpretation of the new hegemonic political power, following the discursive guidelines of Jaume Vicens Vives. This was particularly reflected in the Museum of History of Catalonia, where industrialization was interpreted through the lens of Catalan identity as a *fet diferencial*, or 'distinctive factor' between Catalonia and the rest of Spain.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ Vinyes, Ricard. (2000). Un conflicte de memòries: el Museu d'Història de Catalunya, L'Avenç, núm. 247, maig, 34-37. Also, Iniasta, Montserrat. (2000). La representació dels patrimonis nacionals. L'Avenç,

In the case of the mNACTEC, which in 1990 was established as one of the three national Catalan museums, this national framework was featured in particular exhibits like *Tècnica, cultura i societat*, in 1993, as well as at a structural level through the extended ‘territorial system’ of the mNACTEC which connected industrial heritage sites and museums into a unified project of a ‘national ecomuseum.’²⁴⁶ This also helped to define the criteria by which the material legacy of this past would be cataloged and conserved.²⁴⁷

Methodologically, the framework of economic history employed by Nadal in justifying his ‘Catalonia, the factory of Spain’ thesis lacked a social dimension. This was especially apparent in his subsequent work, along with co-author Xavier Tafunell, on ‘Sant Martí de Provençals, industrial lung of Barcelona (1847-1992).’²⁴⁸ In the introduction, he lays out this approach:

- “The point of view of the authors is not that of the town (or additionally, the neighborhood) of Sant Martí, but rather of the city of Barcelona, the leader of this process....”
- “The irredentism that still appears in some publications--which in other ways are admirable--of the Historic Archive of Poblenou (the sea-facing part of Sant Martí) has little founding....”
- “The protagonists of our story are the businesses and the business owners....”
- “Our focus is decidedly quantitative. The numeric apparatus, assembled in the form of statistical appendixes, constitutes the real skeleton of this work.”

Despite the contributions that this book made to understanding the history of Barcelona’s industrialization, some people were distracted by the glaring omission of any mention of the industrial neighborhood of Icària. What made matters worse was that the book had been sponsored by Santiago Roldán, president of Olympic Holding, SA-- a city/state financial entity developed to manage investment for the Olympic games. The appearance of Nadal’s

núm. 247, maig, 28-33. Regarding the debates about Catalan industrialization and national identity, see: La industrialització a Catalunya. Monografia de la revista ‘Debat Nacionalista’, number 22, 1994.

As Jaume Valentines writes, “*En el decurs dels canvis políticoculturals postfranquistes, els nous poders polítics hegemònics catalans es van apropiat, en certa manera, de la interpretació històrica del llegat material industrial, tot resseguint les directrius discursives vicentianes.*” (Valentines, Jaume. (2004). *Arqueologia Industrial i Ecomuseografia a les Universitats. El Cas de l’ETSEIB. Quaderns d’Història de l’Enginyeria, Volum VI.*) Another important exhibition in this respect would be that organized by the Barcelona chamber of commerce on the centennial of their formation in 1886. This was held at the Maritime Museum of Barcelona in 1986 and titled, “*La Llotja i l’economia catalana: del Consolat de Mar a la Cambra de Comerç (exposició commemorativa del Centenari de la Cambra Oficial de Comerç, Indústria i Navegació de Barcelona, 1886-1986).*”

²⁴⁶MNACTEC. *Exposició Tècnica, Cultura i Societat: el Museu Nacional de la ciència i de la tècnica de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Cultura. Museu de la Ciència i de la tècnica de Catalunya, 1993. (Accessed October 2020: <https://drac.cultura.gencat.cat/handle/20.500.12368/10550#page=5>)

²⁴⁷ Feliu, A. (Coord.). (2002). *Cent elements del patrimoni industrial a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Lunwerg editores.

²⁴⁸ Nadal, Jordi & Tafunell, Xavier. (1992). *Sant Martí de Provençals, pulmó industrial de Barcelona (1847-1992)*. Columna: Barcelona.

book coincided with the shelving of the historic-architectural study of the Icària neighborhood carried out by a large team of investigators including Manuel Arranz, the founding member of the Historic Archive of Poblenou.²⁴⁹

While the perspectives of economic history and art history contributed a lot to the development of the mNACTEC, the key constituency would be the industrial engineers and the AMCTAIC, an entity founded in 1979 to “highlight the impact that industry has had on Catalan society as an engine of technical and scientific progress and as a key element in explaining the history of the last two hundred years.”²⁵⁰ In 1988, they would help found the triennial Conference of industrial archeology of Catalonia, as well as curate two exhibitions for the occasion of the 100 year anniversary of Barcelona’s universal exhibition called “La industrialització a Catalunya i els Enginyers Industrials” and “Les Noves Tecnologies.”²⁵¹ As we saw with the history of the Vapor Vell, the spectacle made of technology displayed at industrial exhibitions as well as initiatives for technical and scientific education like that of the Vapor Vell’s technical director, Ferran Alsina, were seen as useful in easing class tensions through the portrayal of industrialization as a force of modernity and progress. This positivist discourse decontextualized science and technology from its social and economic setting and presented it as something to be entertained or instructed by, while invisibilizing key aspects of its materiality and history. One of the legacies of this cultural form was the development of science centers like that opened in Barcelona in 1980, which framed science and within this ahistorical, universalist approach. Another approach was the national, historical framework promoted by national museums of science and technology like that proposed in 1937 by the industrial engineers and on which the mNACTEC was originally based. Even though, unlike the Barcelona Science museum inaugurated in 1981, the mNACTEC is a public museum, its definitive opening was only made possible in 1996 with the help of private funding from Endesa, Spain’s main electricity company. The museum’s first permanent exhibition, ‘Energy’, offered a general overview of energy resources based on didactic models and reproductions, but also based on conserved pieces originating from Catalan industries in an attempt to make scientific communication and heritage conservation compatible, although, in Antoni Roca’s opinion, the latter was little, and poorly, highlighted. As he conjectures, perhaps this decision was made in order to better compete with the Science Museum which is aimed at a similar audience, has a similar number of visitors (approximately 250,000), and in some ways is a rival.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Inventari Catàleg: Francesc Caballé i Esteve, Reinald González i García, Teresa Navas i Ferrer. Arquitectura / Coordinació general: Xavier Güell i Guix. Història / Manuel Arranz, Francesc Caballé, Reinald González, Teresa Navas, Marta Puchal. Història i Vida quotidiana (Antropologia urbana) / M. Concepció Doncel Rasillo. Güell i Guix, X. (coord.). (1988). Estudi Històric-Arquitectònic del sector Avinguda Icària-Passeig Carles I. Poblenou, 7. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, Vila Olímpica, SA.

²⁵⁰ <https://www.eic.cat/noticies/40-anys-vefllant-pel-patrimoni-industrial-catal%C3%A0>

²⁵¹ Butlletí d’Arqueologia Industrial i de Museus de Ciència i Tècnica, num 2, 1988.

²⁵² Roca-Rosell, Antoni. (2003). Museés, technique et identité culturelle. L’exemple catalan. Alliage. Culture- Science- Technique, num 50-51, pp. 151-164.

In all probability, the mNACTEC's challenges in acquiring financing and attracting a public are closely related to an underlying issue which has been widely discussed since the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia in the 1980s-- the lack of awareness of the public regarding the value of industrial heritage. Already in the case of the Vapor Vell of Sants, in 1985, it was noted that:

“Finally, we must add the lack of awareness and knowledge that exists in general, at the level of society as a whole and of professionals in particular, with regard to the need to preserve the industrial heritage--a situation that has made possible the systematic and indiscriminate destruction of valuable elements of archaeological-industrial interest.²⁵³

This discourse, what we might call the ‘public valorization of heritage,’ is for heritage work what the ‘public understanding of science’ discourse is for scientific communication, and it is susceptible to the same critique-- that the discourse is predicated on a top-down conception of heritage as though it were something mediated by experts and to be learned and valued by a generally ignorant public. It is, in other words, an ‘authorized heritage discourse,’ although, in the case of the Generalitat’s industrial heritage policy, it has never been too successful in this regard. The farther this heritage has strayed from its more monumental elements (places like the crypt of the Colònia Güell, for example), the harder it has been to convince the public of the value of this heritage.²⁵⁴ Despite the monumentalization of the Vapor Vell, little effort has been made to further musealize the factory or the history of the Catalan working class which it has been claimed to represent. Part of this also has to do with the problem of display-- the social history of industrialization has been ill-served by the authorized heritage discourse with its traditional protagonists of factories (industrial architecture), businessmen (economic history) and science/tech education (positivism). When we look at the historical roots of this discourse and its hegemonic function in the context of industrialization itself this tendency comes less as a surprise.²⁵⁵

4.4.4 The Neighborhood: Social Heritage

Up to now we’ve looked at the ‘anti-heritage’ approach taken by the Barcelona city hall with the destruction of Icària, as well as the ‘authorized heritage’ approach of the Generalitat through the development of the mNACTEC. The last approach we will look at is the neighborhood level, where, as we have seen in the case of the Vapor Vell, the focus has been on a ‘social heritage’ approach in which campaigns for factory conservation occurred,

²⁵³ See appendix, document 1 (Vapor Vell: Victoria Popular): p. 12.

²⁵⁴ Terés López, Marta. (2008). *El Patrimoni Industrial: conservació i musealització, el Cas Català*. Masters Thesis, (Màster en Gestió de Patrimoni Cultural), Universitat de Barcelona, 2008.

²⁵⁵ Of course, this evaluation of the Generalitat’s industrial heritage policy is complicated by the fact that, in practice, the mNACTEC represents the efforts of a diverse array of constituencies and volunteer groups, with a variety of different motives for their involvement.

not because of much interest in their monumental character, but as sites for sociability and for improving the quality of life in neighborhood. The neighborhood movement has also counted on the involvement of local historians and academics who have, in the case of Sants, imbued their campaigns with a historical dimension based primarily on the vindication of the Catalan, working-class, and independent personality of the neighborhood. In the period following the Olympic Games, new campaigns were begun, especially in the Poblenou neighborhood, based on the idea of industrial landscape as identity.²⁵⁶

The next big shift direction of Barcelona's industrial musealization was instigated by the same type of event which had initially brought the concept of industrial heritage onto the scene-- an economic crisis. It was the crisis of 2008 which, more than any industrial heritage campaign, put a halt to many of the speculative urban regeneration projects which threatened to erase Barcelona's urban memory. At the same time, the crisis capitulated a strong citizen's movement based on indignance towards the public administration and a new wave of interest in Barcelona's neighborhood-based associative movement-- this time with a major focus on the topic of alternative economies.

A great example of this in Sants was the campaign to recover the Lleiàltat Santsenca, a historic workers' cooperative founded in 1891. In the 1950's, the building was used as a candy factory and later became the Bahia dance hall before being eventually shut down by the City Hall in 1988. After years of abandonment, in 2009, sixty neighborhood entities came together to promote a project to recover the site as a public resource. From a musealization perspective, the role of the Ciutat Invisible association in this campaign can not be overlooked. This was an association founded in 2004, in Sants, dedicated to recovering not only Barcelona's industrial history and architectural heritage, but its heritage of working-class social and economic practices as well, particularly that of cooperativism. In 2010, this entity published a study of the history of cooperativism in Sants which connected their current goals with a neighborhood tradition that had been mostly lost since the Civil War.²⁵⁷ By 2017, the Lleiàltat Santsenca was opened to the public, thanks to the initiative of these neighborhood constituencies.

In a 2016 article titled "Opening a crack in history. Residents of a Barcelona neighbourhood make use of historical research in their fight to reclaim a cooperative," Gorostiza describes a neighborhood campaign for the preservation of one of Barcelona's historic cooperatives, El Segle XX in the Barceloneta.²⁵⁸ Organized by the Barceloneta Cooperative Memory Research Group and the cooperative *La Ciutat Invisible*, the motivation for these activists was not for the recovery of a romanticized or idealized past, but for in order

²⁵⁶ Checa Artasu, M. (2007). "Geografías para el patrimonio industrial en España: El caso de Barcelona." *Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. XI, núm. 245 (32).

²⁵⁷ Dalmau, Marc; Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). *Les Cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions: Barcelona.

²⁵⁸ Gorostiza, Santiago. *Opening a crack in history. Residents of a Barcelona neighbourhood make use of historical research in their fight to reclaim a cooperative*. *Uneven Earth*. November 15, 2016.

to learn lessons about past experiences tried and failed, to understand past hopes for imagined futures, explore the daily life and the problems of the neighborhood in the past and its connections to today. As Santiago Gorostiza reports:

“More than an exercise of historical memory, it comes to us as a memory of the future: the practices of cooperation give us a powerful tool to face a present of cutbacks in social services and to build a shared future.”²⁵⁹

Discourses of this kind are examples of what Laurajane Smith calls the social practice of heritage.²⁶⁰ It is a heritage based on the remaking of the past in order to meet the needs of the future. In Barcelona, this kind of attitude is typically not described as a form of heritage, but rather as a form of *reinvindicació* or ‘the return of what is due.’ This is a discourse which posits a stolen past rather than an idealized one, and as Gorostiza describes, functions instead as a ‘memory of the future.’ The revival of the cooperative movement in Barcelona in the past few years is a good example of the kind of working-class social heritage discourse characteristic of the neighborhood movement in Barcelona.

One of the most important moments for this movement in Sants has been the victory of Can Batlló in 2011 after an almost forty year long campaign stretching all the way back to *Salvem Sants* campaign. Can Batlló was a historic textile factory established in 1878 as the ‘Fábrica de Hilados y Tejidos de Algodón, blanqueo, estampados, y aprestos de Juan Batlló,’ although after the crisis in the textile sector in 1964 it was bought by Julio Muñoz Ramonet²⁶¹, who subdivided the 10 hectares of warehouses into 700 sections to be sublet for small workshops and storage.²⁶² In 1974, as a result of the neighbor’s protests, the lands were qualified for public use and a green zone, although in the years that followed the negotiations with the Muñoz Ramonet family stalled. In 2010, in light of this delay, the ‘Plataforma Can Batlló és del Barri’ announced an ultimatum. They gave the City Council until June 11, 2011, to begin working on reconverting the space. When that day came and still nothing had been done three columns of neighbors set out from three different points of the neighborhood heading towards the factory. At 11:00am, they arrived on the grounds where, for fear that they would fulfill their promise of occupying the lands, the City Council decided to authorize their access, handing over keys to one of the industrial buildings. This was how the Espai Comunitari Veinal Autogestionat (ECVA) of Can Batlló was formed.²⁶³ Today the grounds of the old factory are managed through a weekly and monthly assemblies. There are various

²⁵⁹ (Ibid.)

²⁶⁰ Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

²⁶¹ “According to all those who have had the misfortune of having to plead with him - and there have been many - Julio Muñoz, who died in Switzerland, has been one of the most daring, most catchy and most imaginative businessmen in Barcelona ever produced by this country to cover the most fraudulent businesses with a legal basis.” Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcé i Fort, Josep. Centre Social de Sants. *Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona, 1996. P. 144.

²⁶² Giralt, Agustí. (2004). *Dels Batlló als Muñoz*. In: LaCol (coord.). *Inventari de Can Batlló*. Teixint una història col·lectiva. Barcelona, Ed. Riera de Magòria.

²⁶³ LaCol. (2012). *Com un Gegant Invisible*. Can Batlló i les Ciutats Imaginàries. (Documentary) Panòptica/LaCol. (accessed September, 2020: <https://vimeo.com/82442928>)

groups with different objectives which form a part of the project: to create neighborhood networks and mutual aid, to manage public and community spaces, culture and leisure, education and training, housing cooperative, and economic activity based on cooperative models of a social and solidarity-based economy.²⁶⁴ Unlike the campaign to Save Can Ricart, the campaign for Can Batlló was not based on a discourse of industrial heritage, but on a social heritage which, as I have argued, can be traced back to industrialization.²⁶⁵

At the neighborhood level, the consequence of expanding the authorized heritage discourse has resulted in a general abandonment of the concept of heritage altogether. A new discourse is in the process of emerging which has little to do with the type of heritage claims which were laid on Can Ricart back in 2004. The use of industrial heritage as a roadblock for speculation is being replaced by new practices of social and even economic heritages which take a more offensive posture in the often-cited ‘battle for Barcelona.’ In terms of industrial musealization, I’ve argued that this battle takes the form of a clash of discourses regarding the cultural politics of conservation, interpretation and display of these urban memories.

Conclusion

The discourses, constituencies and uses of this industrial past continue to evolve. In this chapter, I’ve analyzed what I consider to be three of the main contenders in this clash of cultural policies: the Generalitat, the City Council, and the neighborhood. There are many others, to be sure, as well as other ways of drawing these boundaries. Further complicating our analysis is the fact that these entities are not static.

A significant shift in municipal governance occurred on May 24, 2015. I remember that day well; I was touring the historic Fabra i Coats factory in Barcelona’s Sant Andreu neighborhood. Earlier that year, the Museum of History of Barcelona (MUHBA) had finished musealizing the boiler room of the factory and I was there to investigate. I was not prepared for what I found. The factory grounds --which have now been converted into a neighborhood cultural center, Catalan language school, ‘*Fàbrica de Creació*’ and Center for Contemporary Art--was full of people and camera crews were setting up for some sort of news report. Later I discovered that Ada Colau had won the municipal elections that day, representing Barcelona en Comú, a new political party which had recently been born out of a local, progressive citizen’s movement. Of particular significance to this investigation, however, was the fact that out of all the places in Barcelona to celebrate her election victory, she had chosen Fabra i Coats-- linking her political platform with the symbolism of this industrial site located in one of Barcelona’s peripheral and historically industrial neighborhoods.

²⁶⁴ Rigola, Oriol. (2019). De fábrica impulsada por vapor a impulsar autogestión: Can Batlló. In Tebar Hurtado, Javier & Gimeno Igual, Joan (coords.). Restos y rastros. Memorias obreras, patrimonio y nuevos usos de los espacios industriales. El viejo topo: Barcelona.

²⁶⁵ In Poblenou, the Taula Eix Pere Quart association was founded in 2014 with the objective of promoting the social, cultural, and economic revitalization of the area surrounding the historic Pere IV street. (See:<https://eixpereiv.org/>)

In the years since that day, the MUHBA has launched various musealization initiatives to conserve, interpret and display a municipal history ‘from below.’ One of the most recent of these has been the (still developing) project to musealize the *casas baratas* (‘cheap houses’) of Bon Pastor, an effort carried out in collaboration with the District of Sant Andreu, the Municipal Institute of Housing and Rehabilitation, the Association of Neighbors of the Bon Pastor, and the University of Barcelona.²⁶⁶ Part of the funding comes from the municipal “Plan de Barrios” which has incentivized cultural development in peripheral, generally low-income and historically industrial neighborhoods.

Still, there are still many things left to do. As Mercè Tatjer emphasized earlier this year:

“[M]uch of the economic effort of the City of Barcelona has been invested in recent years in supporting the so-called “*fábricas de creación*”, installed in old recovered industrial buildings. Some of them carry out cultural, artistic or leisure activities. But, although in most cases much of the factory buildings have been preserved, in general few traces of their past have remained; few of them have elements of furniture or their productive structures, apart from the chimneys. Nor do they usually have a complete explanation or signaling about their previous activity and their working and technical memory. That is why it would be necessary to give these spaces more uses in line with their industrial past and workers' memory, which would link them to the current digital industrial revolution.

This new reallocation of factory spaces could lead to the installation of a museum of the history of engineering and technology and workers' memory, which would offer a transversal vision, integrating the world of work and workers' and professionals' careers. The project should have a metropolitan vision, to coordinate and complete the efforts of Barcelona with proposals from other industrial municipalities of the Barcelonès and Baix Llobregat, with a wide and valuable heritage of industry and workers' struggles.²⁶⁷

The proposals for an industrial museum in Barcelona continue to be produced. I began my investigation back in 2015 in search of an unrealized museum, the Center of Industrial Culture of Barcelona (and later the Museum of Work). It seems fitting to end this investigation with Mercè Tatjer’s announcement of yet another project: the museum of the history of engineering and technology and workers’ memory. Only time will tell if this initiative will have more luck than its predecessors.

As we’ve seen with the case of the Vapor Vell and the unrealized proposal, in 1983, for a Museum of the Town of Sants and the Catalan Working Class, the feeling that Barcelona lacks an adequate cultural policy regarding its industrial memory goes way back. The critique

²⁶⁶ Portelli, Stefano. (2015). *La ciudad horizontal. Urbanismo y resistencia en un barrio de casas baratas de Barcelona*. Edicions Bellaterra.

²⁶⁷ Tatjer, Mercè. (2019). *La recuperación del patrimonio industrial y obrero metropolitano*. Publico (online journal), January 23, 2020. (Accessed November, 2020: <https://temas.publico.es/el-quinze/2020/01/23/la-recuperacion-del-patrimonio-industrial-y-obrero-metropolitano/>)

Mercè Tatjer makes of the 'Fábricas de Creación' as sites where 'few traces of their memory have been retained' could equally be made of the Vapor Vell as it exists today. The building has been conserved, but this architecture on its own is an empty shell. It lacks a project of interpretation and display. My hope is that the investigation carried out in this thesis will serve as a step in the direction of revitalizing a project for the Vapor Vell's musealization in the near future.

Conclusion

In this final section, I weigh the key ideas and findings of this investigation against recent scholarship in the field, as well as pointing out opportunities for further research and referencing ongoing projects.

In 2019, as I was fully immersed in the process of writing this thesis, a book was published which, edited by Stefan Berger, contains a collection of case studies which in many ways mirror the kind of study I've been doing of the Vapor Vell and industrial musealization in Barcelona in general. In the title of the book, 'Constructing industrial pasts: heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation,'²⁶⁸ we find the same basic object of study, 'industrial pasts', although, instead of 'musealization' the author chooses the more general verb 'construction.' As far as I am concerned, the meaning is essentially the same. The volume contains a number of fascinating case studies representing a wide range of countries. Unlike the scholarship which originally informed the development of my own investigation, taken primarily from European and North American examples of industrialization,²⁶⁹ Berger's book includes cases from post-communist Eastern Europe such as Romania ('Coal-Environment Nexus: How nostalgic identity burdens heritage in Romania's Jui Valley') and Hungary ('A special kind of cultural heritage: the remembrance of workers' life in contemporary Hungary--Case study of Ozd'). In addition, the volume includes two studies from China ('Ruins for politics: selling industrial heritage in postsocialist china's rust belt,' and 'The heritage of the Chinese Eastern Railway: Symbol of colonization and international cooperation'). Closer to Barcelona, Rubén Vega García provides an account of the ongoing deindustrialization of the coalfield in Asturias and the narrativization of this experience in contemporary music from the region (Sounds of decline: Industrial echoes in Asturian Music).

This word, 'narrativization', is used a lot in this book, and it seems to get at the heart of the question which I've been motivated to study in my own investigation: what stories are told about industrial Barcelona? Who is doing the telling? How are these stories told; and, for what purpose? In terms of methodology, these questions have led me to adopt an

²⁶⁸ Berger, Stefan (ed.). (2019). *Constructing industrial pasts: Heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation*. Berghahn Books.

²⁶⁹ Alfrey, Judith; Putnam, Tim. (1992). *The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses*. Routledge: London. Also: Mieg, Harald A. & Oevermann, Heike (eds.). (2015). *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*. New York: Routledge.

As Berger notes in the introduction, "Manchester in England has been to many the most iconic place of the industrial revolution. So much so that most other countries that industrialized after England have dubbed one of its cities that was among the early industrializers 'its' Manchester – thus Tampere is the Finnish Manchester, Chemnitz is the German Manchester etc., etc." In Barcelona, the Poblenou neighborhood has popularly been labeled the 'Catalan Manchester.' (See: Berger, Stefan (ed.). (2019). *Constructing industrial pasts: Heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation*. Berghahn Books, p. 3).

analytical framework based on an evaluation of discourses, constituencies, and uses. Generally speaking, this type of framework is shared among the case studies representing not only this book, but in that interdisciplinary field of scholarship generally grouped under the name of critical heritage studies. Personally, I picked this framework up from Laurajane Smith after reading her book on the ‘Uses of heritage.’²⁷⁰ Anyone familiar with this book will probably recognize this inspiration in my writing: in my insistence on understanding the work being done by heritage objects, my critique of ‘authorized heritage discourses’ and attempt to reimagine heritage as a form of social practice. I was happily surprised to find that Smith is even featured in Bergers’ collection of case studies with an article on the heritage of class identity (Industrial Heritage and the Remaking of Class Identity: Are We All Middle Class Now?).

Industrial narratives in the archives

For all the similarities that my investigation shares with this expanding field of research, there are also certain differences. Without a doubt, the most significant has to do with the timeline I construct in this investigation, based on three different historical contexts, namely: industrialization (the founding of Güell, Ramis i Cia discussed in chapter 2), deindustrialization (including the context of the neighborhood movement and the urban transformations of ‘third-sectorization’ experienced in Sants which I discuss in chapter 3), and finally, heritagization (including the arrival of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia in the context of the transition to democracy and the development of cultural policies at the national, municipal, and neighborhood levels which I discuss in chapter 4). I make up for the ambition of this historical scope by narrowing the focus of my analysis to one particular factory which, I argue, presents a fascinating case study at each of these historical moments. Most importantly, this approach allows me to frame the process of industrial musealization as a historical process with roots in the moment of industrialization itself.

In this, my investigation differs from that of most critical heritage scholarship, and, specifically, from that of Stefan Berger’s recent collection of case studies which he frames primarily in terms of deindustrialization. In addition, Berger concludes with a challenge for future scholarship in this field to avoid a reliance on homogeneous categories such as, for example, ‘top-down’ vs ‘bottom-up’ approaches to heritage conservation (‘Concepts such as class and community,’ he writes, ‘are good examples of the malleability of concepts at different times and places’). But whereas Berger concludes from this that we need to focus on trans-perspectives and a move away from Marxist class distinctions, I would offer different advice. Whereas it’s true that we need to move away from an oversimplified binary framework, the key is not to ‘move away’ from Marxist class distinctions, but rather, to

²⁷⁰ Smith, Laurajane. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

situate this class-discourse historically. Marxist analysis is, after all, one of the classic forms of narrativization of the industrial past. The challenge for critical heritage studies, I suggest, is to adopt a methodology in which these narratives are treated as historical actors, in the style of actor-network theory.²⁷¹ The task is not to decide if Marx was right or wrong, but rather, to understand what Marxism, as a historical object, does. In the style of Laurajane Smith, we must view it as a form of social practice.

In my own experience, adopting this type of historical framework has led me to one of the basic ideas of my thesis which is the simple, and by no means novel, reflection that history is not innocent. Between what actually happened and what gets recorded there is a significant bias based on who is telling the story. As I discovered, back in the olden-days of the mid-nineteenth century, story-tellers like Argullol (Joan Güell's biographer who I discuss in section 2.1) seemed to relish this interpretive aspect-- expanding and exaggerating his story in more-or-less obvious and entertaining ways. Nowadays, the role of historians as story-tellers is sometimes obscured by the encyclopedic, facts-only tone used. In Argullol's account of industry his motives are evident, but when historians adopt an almost scientific tone, as though they were working for 'posterity's sake' and not within any specific framework, it's harder to evaluate what is being invisibilized in their accounts and for what reasons.

This kind of critique is particularly applicable to science itself, the stories of which are quintessential of this 'scientific tone' or discourse. As I've discussed in section 2.4, the job of a good historian is to put this discourse into its historical framework. In this case, I've analyzed the figure of Ferran Alsina, the Vapor Vell's technical director, and tried to trace the utility of his techno-scientific discourse in the context of industrialization. My goal was not exactly to 'deconstruct' or critique these stories (although I'm not sure I've been particularly successful in that), but rather to amplify their reality as powerful historical agents.²⁷² In the case of this investigation, I've characterized three general types of stories (the three P's: paternalism, patriotism, and positivism) as playing a significant role in the way that industrialization has been framed historically. These 'authorized industrial discourses,' as I call them in section 2.3, played a hegemonic role in the creation of a capitalistic culture of work.

My final claim from this chapter, in section 2.5, is that these stories have been built into the physical city of Barcelona and embedded in industrial society, the legacy of which remains to this day. For this reason, constructing industrial pasts is not something determined just in the present. In Barcelona, both the availability of historical sources as well as the historians' methodological toolkit are in some ways products of this past, what I call the

²⁷¹ Latour, Bruno. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

²⁷² Felski, Rita. (2015). *The Limits of Critique*. University of Chicago Press.

‘business archive.’ Industrial musealization runs the risk of merely reactivating these pre-existing stories and ‘regimes of exhibition.’²⁷³

Whereas in chapter 2 I analyze the ‘business history’ of the Vapor Vell as a ‘top-down,’ or ‘authorized’ approach, in chapter 3 I focus on the emergence of alternative, ‘bottom-up’ framings in the context of Barcelona’s neighborhood movement and transition to democracy. Importantly, the industrial objects recognized in these two approaches are not the same. In the 1970’s, as part of the ‘Salvem Sants’ campaign, the Vapor Vell was represented not as a business but as a neighborhood resource to be recovered (section 3.2). Rather than a heritage discourse, the Centre Social de Sants developed a discourse of ‘*reivindicació*’ in which the popular self-management of the neighborhood was portrayed as a basic right to which the neighbors should lay claim. Tied up in this discourse was a remaking of the identity of both neighbor and neighborhood, and while this project began with a mostly urban focus, it expanded to include a cultural dimension in which initiatives like the Historic Archive of Sants and the Secretariat d’Entitats played an important role in recovering Sants’ social heritage and distinct personality (section 3.3). The collection, conservation, study, and display of this neighborhood identity involved the efforts of local historians, journalists and academics who saw in this project an immediate political utility as Barcelona neared the first democratic municipal elections of 1989 and considered issues of government restructuring and decentralization. In the final section of this chapter, I consider the neighborhood movement as a form of ecomusealization in which what was exhibited was the neighborhood itself and its inhabitants. This was the first context in which term ‘monument’ was attributed to the Vapor Vell-- as a monument to the industrial neighborhood of Sants.

In chapters 2 and 3, besides recognizing different types of industrial objects (business and neighborhood) and occurring at two very distinct times (industrialization and deindustrialization), these two chapters also contrast an important difference in sources and methodology. In chapter 3, for the first time, I had the pleasure of working with sources of oral history. Many of these are contained, for example, in José Martí Gómez and Josep Marcè’s book *El Centre Social de Sants* but others are also found in local magazines, bulletins, newspaper articles and even television and radio stations in which the voices and perspectives of a wide range of people are conserved.²⁷⁴ Working with this ‘social archive’ has undoubtedly imbued the story I tell in chapter 3 with a very different ‘tone’ than that of chapter 2 in which I had no choice but work with the business archive; it’s less a story about

²⁷³ Regarding the elaboration of the concept of ‘regimes of exhibition’ see: Zarzoso, Alfons & Pardo-Tomás, José. (2019). "Cultura material y regímenes de exhibición. Una propuesta para continuar". In: Pardo-Tomás, J.; Zarzoso, A.; Sánchez-Mencheró, M. *Cuerpos mostrados. Regímenes de exhibición de lo humano. Barcelona y Madrid, siglos XVII-XX*. México: Siglo XXI editores, pp. 201-210.

²⁷⁴ Martí Gómez, Josep; Marcè i Fort, Josep. (1996). *Centre Social de Sants. Una Experiència Associativa*. Fundació Jaume Bofill: Barcelona.

factories and businessmen (the usual ‘protagonists of the industrial revolution’²⁷⁵) and more a story about a community. Comparing Marcè and Gómez’s commemorative history of the Centre Social de Sants with Argullol’s commemorative history of Joan Güell (written one hundred years prior), demonstrates two very different uses of the narrativization of the Vapor Vell-- in the first case, to monumentalize the economic policy of protectionism, and, in the other, to conserve the memory of an associative experience. My general conclusion from this is that incorporating a historical approach to critical heritage studies can help the discipline to adopt a more situated and kaleidoscopic vision of industrial musealization. A move to trans-perspectives of memories of deindustrialization, as Berger recommends, is another promising direction for future study.²⁷⁶

Clashes, collaborations and creativity

A good example of an industrial object which has been represented over the years through a kaleidoscopic range of perspectives is that of the city of Barcelona itself. However, as Bau and Subirana note in their book *The Barcelona reader: cultural readings of a city*, these representations usually involve a dual, yet contradictory message-- for example, *La Ciudad de Ferias y Congresos* (during the dictatorship) vs *La rosa de foc* (of the anarchists).²⁷⁷ Another example of this is found in the introduction to this very thesis (section 1.1), where I employ the framework of a ‘city of marvels’ vs an ‘invisible city’ during my historical overview of the urban transformations along the coastline of Barcelona’s Poblenou neighborhood in which the city’s industrial heritage was destroyed to make way for gentrification. There are many more examples of this same, basic dualism (for example, *La Gran Barcelona de Porcioles* vs *La Barcelona de los Barrios*;²⁷⁸ *La Barcelona modelo* vs *La Barcelona real*;²⁷⁹ *La ciudad especuladora* vs *La ciudad asesinada*²⁸⁰). At the heart of these binaries is a narrative of oppression characteristic of marxist analysis; in other words, the bourgeois city vs the proletariat city.

Rather than base an analysis on these idealized categories, however, in chapter 4 I situate my investigation of the campaigns to ‘recover’ and ‘save’ the Vapor Vell (actually two different, overlapping campaigns) in the context of the newly elected democratic governments and the development of a cultural policy of industrial musealization at the level of the Generalitat (CiU), City Council (PSC) and neighborhood (associative network). For

²⁷⁵ Cabana, Francesc. (1993). “Els Cotoners”. (Fàbriques i Empresaris. Els protagonistes de la Revolució Industrial. vol. 2, Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana).

²⁷⁶ Berger, Stefan (ed.). (2019). *Constructing industrial pasts: Heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation*. Berghahn Books.

²⁷⁷ Bou, Enric; Subirana, Jaume. (2017). *The Barcelona Reader. Cultural readings of a city*. Liverpool University Press, p. 1.

²⁷⁸ Dalmau Torva, Marc & Miró i Acedo, Ivan. (2010). *Les cooperatives obreres de Sants. Autogestió proletària en un barri de Barcelona (1870-1939)*. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions.

²⁷⁹ Delgado Ruiz, Manuel. (2005). *Elogi del vianant: del model Barcelona a la Barcelona real*.

²⁸⁰ Borja, Jordi. (1972). *La Gran Barcelona*. Madrid, Alberto Corazón.

the neighborhood movement, this time period is experienced as a ‘clash’ between the promises of decentralization and popular self-management and the reality of institutionalization and the desertion of the local associations resulting in a general experience of disillusionment.²⁸¹ Despite the neighbors’ vindication of the Vapor Vell as a site for addressing the deficit in public services, and to slow the rampant third-sectorization of Sants, their demands fell on deaf ears at the municipal, national (Catalan) and state (Spanish) levels. It was only through a clever strategy developed by Xavier Hernández (the ‘*gran reivindicador del Vapor Vell*’ as Mercè Tatjer describes him²⁸²) to claim the factory as industrial heritage that the factory would eventually be recognized as an historic-artistic monument by the Generalitat and saved from destruction.

As I discuss in section 4.2, the introduction of the industrial heritage movement to Catalonia was also the setting of a clash of discourses-- in this case, regarding the significance of this heritage (Did Catalonia have a proud industrial past or was it underdeveloped and dependent?) as well as the appropriate methodology for studying it (Historians? Engineers? Could the new discipline of industrial archeology finally unite these ‘two cultures’?). This clash was particularly evident at the first conference for the protection and revalorization of industrial heritage, held in Bilbao in 1982 and jointly organized by the regional governments of Catalonia and the Basque Country. For the Generalitat, this was an important step in the process of founding a national museum of science and technology, a project originally promoted by the association of industrial engineers of Catalonia. In section 4.3 I highlight the role of educators from the social sciences in this and debates about the role of local and national (Catalan) identities in the concurrent curriculum reforms. Another clash had to do with the appropriate objects of this heritage-- industrial monuments like modernist factories or the recovery of working class memories? In Catalan, the words *industrialització* (‘industrialization’) and *obrerisme* (‘worker-ism’) are often used to differentiate between economic/technical/national and social objects.

The cultural policies developed at the national, city, and neighborhood levels, as I argue in section 4.4, were all different. Whereas the City Council prioritized economic production through the Olympic project and urban development, the Generalitat led the efforts to heritagize the industrial past within a national/technological/economic framework. Meanwhile, at the neighborhood level, ecological concerns of neighborhood conservation remained paramount (including, as I argue in section 3.4, a form of quasi-ecomusealization). This panorama shifted, however, after the economic crisis of 2008, when the neighborhood became the site of a growing initiative to recover the material and economic heritage of *obrerisme* such as the recovery of historic cooperatives and even (Laurajane Smith would be proud) the *social practice* of cooperativism.

²⁸¹ Vilarós, Teresa. (2018). *El mono del desencanto. Una crítica cultural de la Transición española (1973-1993)*. Madrid, Siglo XXI.

²⁸² (Tatjer, Mercè. Conversation with the author. December 26, 2016.)

Increasingly, an awareness seems to be growing that the extensive (and constantly expanding) bibliography of studies of Barcelona's working class history is not enough. As Queralt Solé discusses in an article from 2020 titled *The stones speak to us: spaces of obrerisme* in Barcelona:

“Barcelona has had and still has many possibilities to remember and pay homage to workers, and it has done so, but in a very unequal way. Thus, in the city we find monuments (few) erected to honor the workers' society and struggle, and we also find plaques on the walls of public and private buildings, the city's nomenclature minimally reflects its working past and chimneys have been maintained of old factories everywhere. All this has created a not inconsiderable volume of physical memory, although the feeling is that there has been no explicit global will on the part of any municipal government, and that it has been acting on the demands of civil society grouped in entities or associations.”²⁸³

Later, in the same article, Queralt writes that, “Possibly a thorough study would be needed to ascertain or refute that, with respect to the memory of the workers' struggle, it has taken [a] the passage of time, [b] the existence of its oblivion and [c] that those who ruled felt challenged to encourage the memory of workers in the city.”²⁸⁴ In other words, it is as Putnam and Alfrey noted all the way back in 1992: “In practice, conservation planning is reactive rather than proactive: heritage resources are often only recognized when under threat.”²⁸⁵ To this, I would add two other characteristics of the musealization of Barcelona's industrial past, based on the results of my investigation: it is collaborative, and it is creative.

The collaborative nature of industrial musealization is readily apparent when we look at the initiatives which have had some measure of success. It seems to be the case that developing a novel heritage resource takes a special kind of person. It's not just about being charismatic or having a good idea- it involves extending opportunities for involvement and what Alfrey and Putnam call ‘building constituencies.’ This is a pattern we can notice first of all in the Centre Social de Sants in its first years, starting in 1971, as it sought to achieve a global representation in the neighborhood through its unifying mission (see section 3.1). Collaboration also characterized the initiative of Eusebi Güell in expanding the industrial engineers' museum initiative to include a wide variety of participation through the organization of the triennial Conference of industrial archeology of Catalonia. In Sants, the key figure for the conservation of the Vapor Vell was Xavier Hernández, who acted as a bridge between the interests of the neighborhood associations, his colleagues at the University of Barcelona, education professionals, and the interests of the Generalitat in constructing a national, industrial past. The synthesis of this kaleidoscopic assortment of constituencies, discourses and uses of heritage is evidenced in the type of museum that

²⁸³ Solé, Queralt. (2020). Les pedres ens parlen: espais de l'obrerisme a Barcelona. In: La Rosa de Foc. Obrerisme i moviments sindicals a Barcelona 1909-1936. Barcelona Quaderns d'Història, Núm. 26: p. 203.

²⁸⁴ (Ibid. p. 206.)

²⁸⁵ Judith Alfrey; Tim Putnam. The Industrial Heritage. Managing resources and uses. Routledge: London, 1992, p. 11.

Hernández proposed for the Vapor Vell: A museum of the town of Sants and of the Catalan working class. A basic constituency analysis of this project reveals the following groups that Hernández sought to bring together in this project:

- Town of Sants: Neighborhood associations; The Historic archive of Sants; The Secretariat d'Entitats de Sants, Hostafrancs i La Bordeta; Urban geographers like Carles Carreras, Mercè Tatjer and Horacio Capel from the University of Barcelona...
- Catalan: Nationalists (including conservatives from the Generalitat as well as nationalists of the left); The association of industrial engineers of Catalonia; Architects; Industrial archeologists...
- Working Class: Historians from the University of Barcelona; Leftists; Progressive Catholics; Educators from the social sciences...

Finally, the case of the Vapor Vell demonstrates the importance of creativity in the activities of musealization. Just like telling a good story, constructing an industrial past is a craft. In this aspect Xavier Hernández particularly excelled. Not only had he studied contemporary history at the University of Barcelona under Josep Termes, but he was concurrently involved in the Group of didactics of the social sciences at the University of Barcelona-- a team involved in reforming the teaching practice and curriculum during the transition. The topic of industrialization, as we've already discussed, has a long history of narrativization; but, rather than just collect and conserve these old stories, Hernández created new ones. Didactic illustration was a particular emphasis in his work-- as well as paper models, timelines, photography, guided tours, blueprints, cutaway drawings, and more. The neighborhood movement was involved as well, putting the story of the Vapor Vell into songs, cakes, 'gegants,' murals, and public exhibitions, as well as in print. You can find a dossier of didactic materials for teaching the Vapor Vell in the appendix to this thesis.²⁸⁶ Later, Hernández would go on to establish the Group of didactics of heritage (DIDPATRI) at the University of Barcelona where musealization is now a part of his career.

Opportunities for further study

The case of the Vapor Vell of Sants is just one of many events which have shaped Barcelona's approach to musealizing its industrial past. While it has been a rewarding case for some of the reasons I've detailed above, the investigation is by no means complete. In this last section, I discuss three opportunities for advancing the research begun in this thesis.

The first of these is to expand the object of study from the Vapor Vell of Sants to include other important campaigns for industrial musealization, of which in Barcelona there are many. While the campaigns to save the Vapor Vell involved a wide variety of important

²⁸⁶Appendix, Document 2 (Materials per a una didàctica del Vapor Vell, 1986).

constituencies, there are some groups which are left out and which, in other campaigns in other neighborhoods, have had a determining role. In Barcelona's Sant Andreu neighborhood, for example, the campaign to save the Fabra i Coats factory was made possible with the help of the Amics de la Fabra i Coats association of ex-workers.²⁸⁷ What type of heritage discourse was promoted by this constituency and what relationship did they have with the neighborhood movement, the city council, and the Generalitat? These are questions which the case of the Vapor Vell does not answer, and they require further investigation. In Sants, worker groups and unions had little involvement at the Centre Social de Sants despite the fact that, while all the campaigning was going on regarding a future use for the Vapor Vell, part of the grounds were still in use as a place of work. Certainly these workers were not thrilled at the prospect of being relocated, yet their opinions and preferences on the matter were hardly represented and the idea of maintaining a partial industrial use of the space was never expressed. Visibilizing the discourse of this constituency would involve expanding the case study. As it was written following the proposed monumentalization of the Vapor Vell, in 1984: "We hope that the example of the Vapor Vell will also be useful for old industrial towns similar to ours: Sant Andreu, Sant Martí de Provençals, Sabadell, Terrassa etc."²⁸⁸ While some important work has already been done in these old industrial towns, a comparative approach is still needed.²⁸⁹ Likewise, at the international level, Stefan Berger points to four possible institutions in a position to further trans-perspectives and move away from the dominance of single case studies: The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH), the Association for Critical Heritage Studies, the International Oral History Association, and the Working Class Studies Association.²⁹⁰

Another opportunity for further research involves the incorporation of oral history into the methodology. The dialogical approach outlined in works such as D.S. Madison's *Critical Ethnography*, or Conquergood and Johnson's work on *Cultural struggles: performance, ethnography, praxis* provide a good starting point for development.²⁹¹ Particularly of interest for this kind of investigation are works that situate the investigation as a dialogue between investigator and participants, such as that described by 'engaged research' and the 'ethical quandaries' approaches.

²⁸⁷ MUHBA. (2014). *Fabra & Coats fa museu*. MUHBA Llibrets de sala, 16, Ajuntament de Barcelona. (Accessed September 2020: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/fabra-i-coats-fa-museu>).

²⁸⁸ Secretariat d'Entitats. (1984). *El Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular*. (Accessed in the Arxiu del Districte de Sants-Montjuïc).

²⁸⁹ See, for example: Marrero Guillamon, Isaac. (2008). *La fábrica del conflicto*. Terciarización, Lucha Social y Patrimonio en Can Ricart. Tesis Doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona.

²⁹⁰ Berger, Stefan (ed.). (2019). *Constructing industrial pasts: Heritage, historical culture, and identity in regions undergoing structural economic transformation*. Berghahn Books, p. 303.

²⁹¹ See: Madison, D. S.. (2005). *Critical Ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Also: Conquergood, D. & Johnson, E. P. (ed.). (2013). *Cultural struggles: performance, ethnography, praxis*. University of Michigan Press.

Related to this is the opportunity to connect scholarship of this kind with the needs of local communities and contribute in a constructive way to the development of museological initiatives that take a socially committed stance in constructing industrial pasts. This type of reflection has led me to consider the ways in which my own investigation could be made useful in this respect, as a launchpad for a local project of industrial musealization in the neighborhood of Sants.

One such project could be the creation of an exhibition on the topic of the heritage of industrial identities, dealing with questions such as: What does it mean to be working-class? To be a neighbor of Sants? To be Catalan? The story of the Vapor Vell is an excellent object of study for situating these questions during different historical contexts and in engaging, for example, with questions such as: What effect did industrialization have on those identities? How did those identities achieve new relevance during the transition to democracy? What is the relevance of these identities today?

An exhibition of this nature would not only provide a means for communicating the results of my investigation within the neighborhood, but it could also serve to mobilize a campaign for the collection of oral and visual memories regarding local experiences of industrialization and deindustrialization. By recording interviews, digitizing photographs and conserving materials in the relevant archives, this exhibit could take an active role in addressing one of the concrete problems identified in this investigation-- that the social history of industrialization, while it has been studied, has not been sufficiently musealized in Barcelona. As I discuss in this investigation, part of this has been due to challenges regarding sources, methodology and display (section 2.5), not to mention a municipal cultural policy which has not prioritized such initiatives (section 4.4). The project of creating an exhibit would require collaboration with a range of constituencies, as well as require getting creative and making use of didactic resources and material heritage to tell new kinds of stories while, in the process, contributing to the expansion of the archive by collecting the memories of those who have played a part in the ongoing story of industry and work.

Finally, I'd like to make note of some relevant investigations currently underway which promise to expand the material covered in this investigation. One of these is an investigation from the Universitat de Lleida titled "El llegat mediàtic del patrimoni industrial," winner of the 2016 RecerCaixa program. In a conference in 2018, organized in collaboration with the Museum of History of Barcelona (MUHBA), this project was revealed to already be achieving some very interesting results, including a variety of case studies and methodologies.²⁹²

Another current project is that of "MUSAUPOL: Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española," financed by the Spanish Ministry of

²⁹² Museu d'Història de Barcelona (MUHBA) conference. "El llegat del patrimoni industrial. El cas de BCN." November 29, 2018.

Science and Innovation from 2020-2022.²⁹³ Included in this research are case studies of the Barcelona Science Museum, the co-construction of nation and scientific-industrial heritage as evidenced in the musealization of the Farga Catalana throughout history (1914-2014) and the cultural politics of the Generalitat as analyzed through the case study of the National Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia (MNACTEC). The author is also a part of this group and aims to contribute in the near future with an article on the musealization of the Vapor Vell of Sants.

²⁹³ See: Sastre, Jaume & Simon, Josep (coords.). "Museos, Aulas y Política: Cultura Científica y Tecnológica en la Transición española" [MUSAUPOL, PID2019-104897GA-I00], 2020-2022.

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VAPOR VELL. breu noticia històrica

Cap el 1830 s'instal·là la primera màquina de vapor aplicada a la indústria tèxtil, en la fàbrica Bonaplata, del carrer de Tallers del Raval Barceloní. D'ençà aquest moment la indústria tèxtil catalana començaria una nova fase de relançament, superant i ampliant la tradició manufacturera, important, sobretot a Barcelona, d'ençà el segle XVIII. Entre el 1830 i el 1840 sovintejà la construcció de vapors al Raval, on encara es podien trobar espais lliures procedents principalment dels convents desamortitzats. Cal tenir present que Barcelona era encara una important plaça militar, encerclada per muralles i flanquejada per importants fortificacions. La ciutat, limitada per les defenses es densificà progressivament, noves fàbriques es construïen (zones industrials dels carrers de la Riereta, Sant Rafael, Sant Pacià, Carretes, Reina Amalia...) alhora que les cases artesanes es transformaven en pisos i vivendes obreres. A finals de la dècada dels 30 s'arribà a un estat de sadollament i era molt difícil trobar espais dins la ciutat on ubicar noves fàbriques de vapor. Les noves i grans empreses tèxtils que es projectaven exigien grans espais, i aquests calia cercar-los fora muralles. D'altra banda l'Ajuntament barceloní prohibí, en el 1846, la construcció de noves fàbriques dins del recinte murat, autoritzant-se únicament l'ampliació d'algunes de les existents.

On edificar? Quin seria el lloc idoni per instal·lar les grans empreses en projecte? Les muralles, que no serien enderrocades fins el 1854 gracies a l'esforç combinat de Pascual Madoz i dels ciutadans de Barcelona, necessitaven una zona de seguretat a les rodalies, per aquesta raó les ordenances militars prohibien, per raons tàctiques, la construcció d'edificis estables a menys de 1.200 metres dels murs. S'assegurava d'aquesta manera l'eficàcia de l'artilleria de plaça contra possibles atacants.

Aquesta situació va fer que els fabricants aixequessin els seus vapors (i es coneixien genèricament amb aquest nom les fàbriques tèxtils que empraven l'energia del vapor) en diferents municipis del Pla de Barcelona propers a la gran ciutat. Es a dir es construïen fora muralles però el més a prop possible d'aquestes.

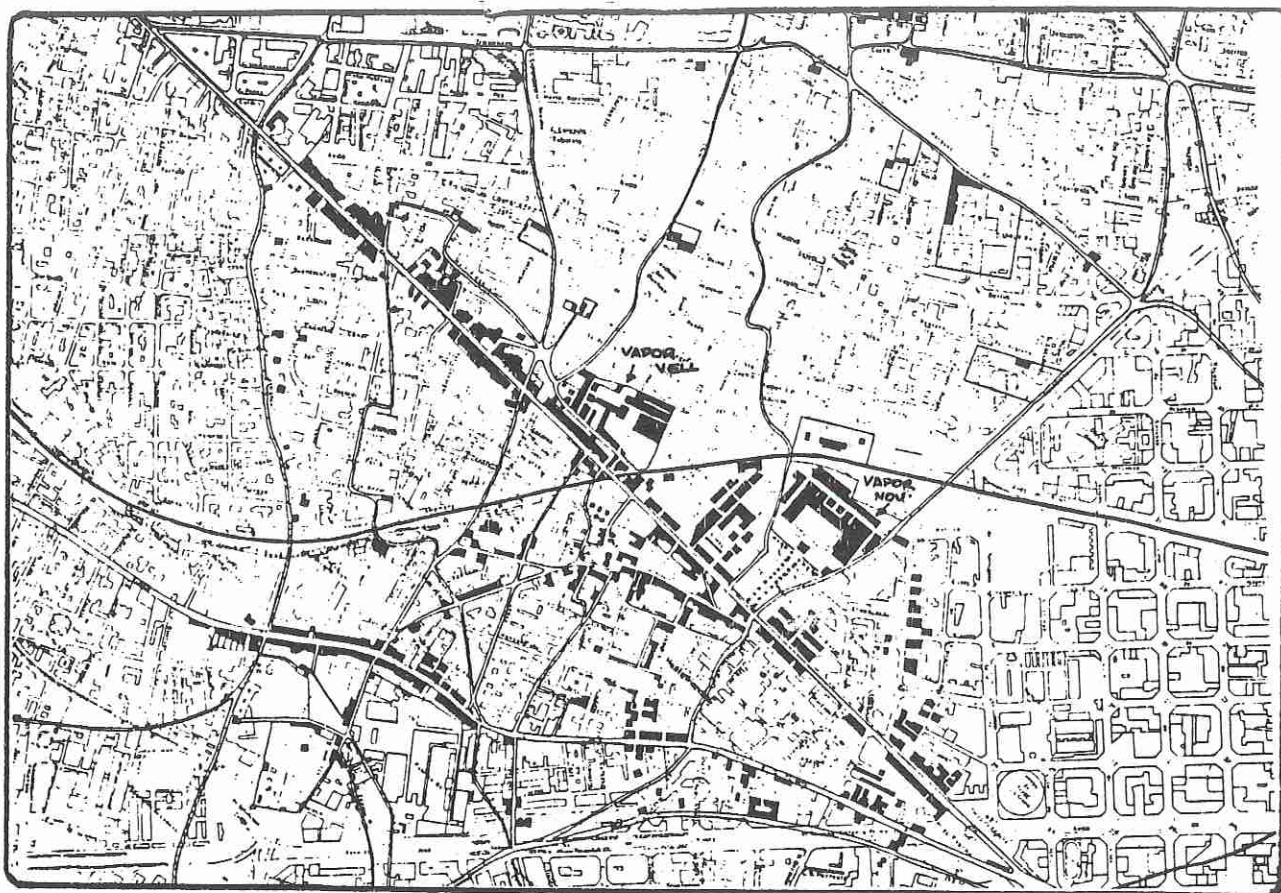
A Sant Andreu s'instal·laren el Vapor del Fil i el Vapor del Rei, a Gràcia el Vapor Vilarregut i el Vapor Puigmartí i a Sants serien el Vapor Vell i el Vapor Nou.

La construcció de vapors en el Pla de Barcelonà sovintejà principalment durant la dècada del 1840. De resultes els pobles del Pla es convertiren en grans viles industrials, esdevenint de fet la primera perifèria fabril de Barcelona.

El municipi de Sants dedicat en bona part a tasques agrícoles comptava però amb una bona tradició manufacturera i els seus terrenys s'aprofitaren d'antuvi per fer-ne prats d'indianes. D'ençà la construcció del Vapor Vell, Sants experimentaria una industrialització intensiva que canviaria decisivament la seva fesomia. El Vapor Vell (Güell Ramis i cia.) començà a aixecar-se en el 1840, i pel 1847 s'afegiria una altra gran fàbrica tèxtil: "La España Industrial" (Vapor Nou), ambdues fàbriques eren de les més grans i modernes de Catalunya, tant per la seva grandària com pel nombre de treballadors que ocupaven.

La construcció dels vapors capgiraria el vell Sants agrícola i manufacturer, ja que s'afegirien nous barris al voltant de les dues grans fàbriques, i seria a partir d'elles que s'ordenaria l'espai urbà del Sants de la segona meitat del segle dinové. La presència de la carretera de Carles III (Carretera de Sants), la inauguració de la línia de ferrocarril Barcelona-Martorell (1855), juntament amb la presència de noves fàbriques, serien igualment elements importants en la configuració de la nova vila. Els grans vapors vindrien acompanyats d'una munió de tallers i la proliferació progressiva de fàbriques mitjanes i petites, que s'aplegaren en aquest nou focus de desenrotllament industrial. A tombant de segle s'hi sumarien altres grans fàbriques: Can Batlló, La Porcellana, etc. que multiplicarien el caire industrial de la vila.

Amb el nom de Vapor Vell es conegué popularment la fàbrica tèxtil "Güell, Ramis y Cia", fundada per Joan Güell en el 1840. Sembla ser que el capital provenia en bona part de negocis d'ultramar i de la tracta d'esclaus. Va ser la primera gran fàbrica que s'instal·là a Sants i per les seves dimensions era, en el moment d'ésser construïda, la més important del Principat. El vapor estava situat vora la carretera de Madrid (de Carles III o de Sants) i les seves



SANTS EN EL 1855, amb els Vapors Vell i Nou

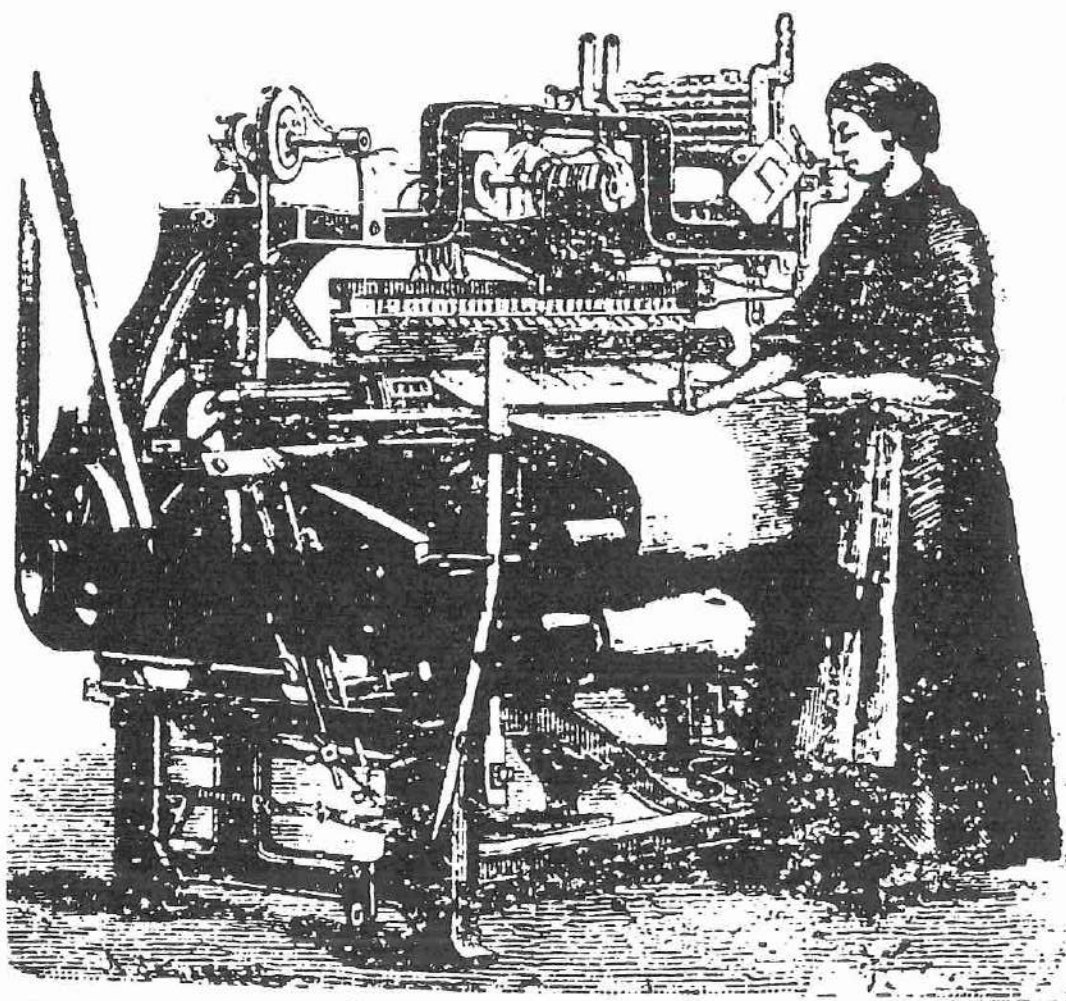
espectatives de comunicació millorarien encara més en construir-se la línia de ferrocarril a Martorell amb estació vora la fàbrica. Originàriament disposava de dues màquines de vapor de 80 cavalls cadascuna, que movien 42 cardes, 15 màquines de filar (amb un total de 7.000 fusos) i 274 telers mecànics. La fàbrica enquadrava un total de 230 treballadors i 184 treballadores.

Tant el Vapor Vell com el Vapor Nou entraren ràpidament en la història de les lluites socials del seu temps. Pel 1854 començà una onada de vagues i aldarulls en contra de la implantació de les màquines selfactines (que amenaçaven llocs de treball). Els obrers del Vapor Vell respongueren amb un parell de mesos de vaga, mentre que el Vapor Nou restà paralytitzat quinze dies. Pel 1855 esclatava la primera vaga general dels obrers de Catalunya motivada per les reivindicacions socials, econòmiques i polítiques, vaga que seria seguida als dos vapors i pel conjunt dels treballadors de la vila de Sants. Seria precisament al Vapor Vell que cauria mort en atemptat Josep Sol i Padrís, aleshores president de la "Junta de Fabricas"

màxim organisme patronal.

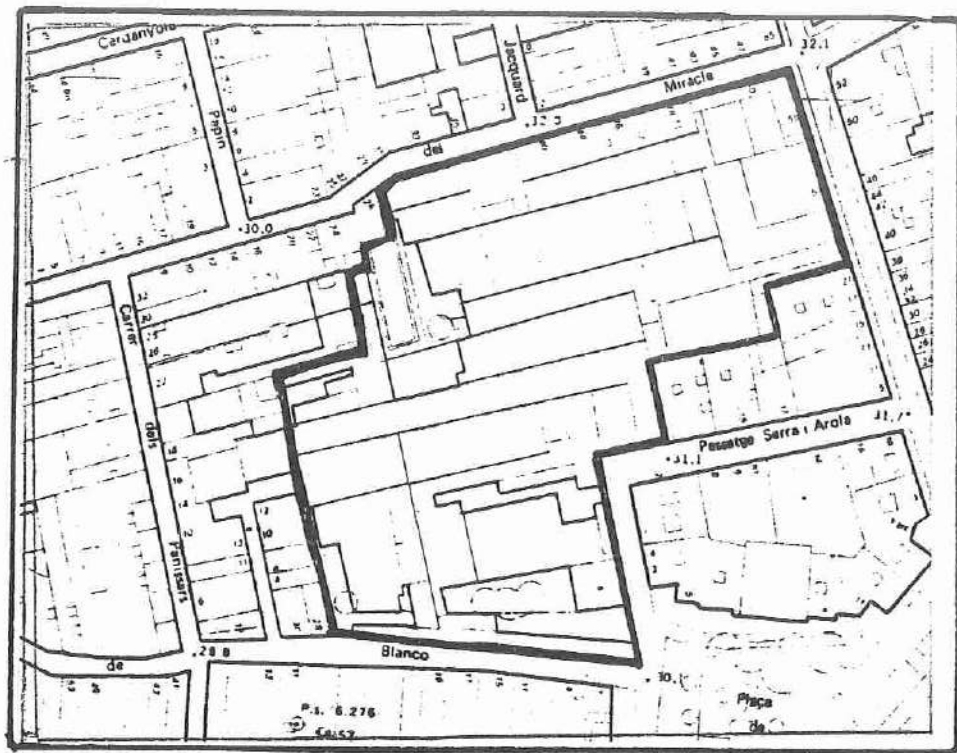
El 1870 amb motiu de la sublevació de les lleves els treballadors, i especialment el jovent obrer tornaren a deixar els carrers farcits de barricades.

En el 1891 Eusebi Güell tancà en conflictiu Vapor Vell i traslladà la fàbrica a Santa Coloma de Cervelló (Colònia Güell). Malgrat el canvi les activitats tèxtils continuaren sota la direcció de l'empresa "Parellada Flaquer y Cia.". Amb el temps les dependències es subdividiren per allotjar a petites empreses tèxtils ("Serra i Arola", "Miret i Flor"...). Durant la Guerra Civil bona part dels edificis del Vapor Vell estigueren ocupats pel Taller Confederal n.º 33, dedicat a activitats de fusteria. En els darrers anys els locals han donat cobertura a diferents tipus d'instal·lacions: piscines (Club Esportiu Mediterrania), fàbriques de mobles, tallers de ceràmica, magatzems d'empreses, etc.

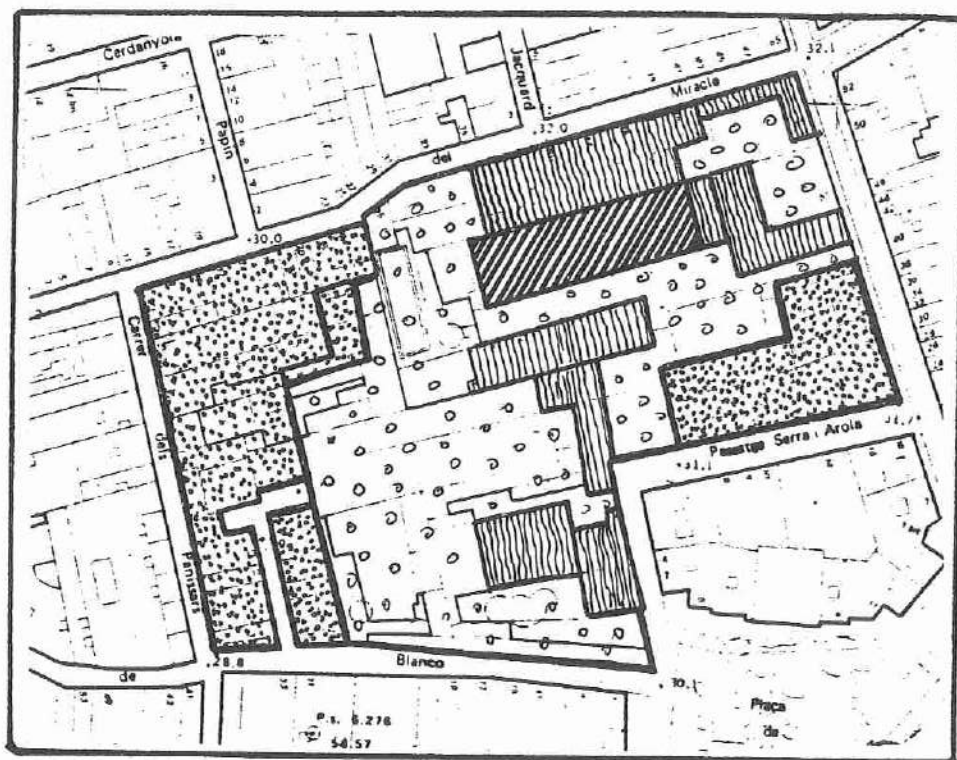


descripció de les restes de la fàbrica.

Les restes del Vapor Vell ocupen avui dia una ampla franja de terrenys, delimitats pels carrers del Miracle, de Galileu, de Serra i Arola, de Blanco i de Panissards, existint així mateix dins d'aquesta illa importants zones ocupades per habitatges. Per aquesta raó les dependències de la fàbrica únicament llinden parcialment amb alguns sectors dels carrers de Blanco, de Serra i Arola, de Galileu i del Miracle. Dins del conjunt dels terrenys es poden observar diferents tipus d'edificacions, que responien a les diferents necessitats productives de la fàbrica, que concentra tots els processos de producció en aquesta factoria. A la zona sud es troben les restes del que probablement foren les quadres de telers i magatzems, tots ells en molt mal estat quan no totalment enrunats. En aquesta mateixa zona i vora la Plaça de Sants es conserva l'edifici de la capella, en relatiu bon estat. A la zona nord trobem l'edifici amb més entitat on probablement estigueren instal·lades les filatures. Es un gran ortoedre cobert a dues aigües que consta de planta baixa i quatre pisos. Tant la façana nord com la sud tenen finestres distribuïdes regularment. El material de construcció predominant es la pedra de Montjuïc i el maó. Sota l'extrem oest hi ha les restes d'una piscina, utilitzada per un club esportiu santsenc fins fa pocs anys, segons notícies d'alguns veïns sembla ser però, que existí una bassa en el mateix indret (es tractava d'una zona rica en aigües) destinada a usos industrials. Ultra altres dependències i magatzems organitzats al voltant d'aquest edifici singular tenim les dependències de l'edifici de calderes i la gran xemeneia octogonal. Tornant a la zona sud, i fora ja del perímetre actual del conjunt de la fàbrica cal parar especial atenció al carrer del Pou (Demòstenes). Es tracta d'un carreró sense sortida on hi ha encara algunes vivendes de planta baixa i pis, contemporànies dels primers temps del Vapor Vell, i amb tota probabilitat estigueren destinades als treballadors. Es tracta en tot cas d'una interessant mostra d'urbanisme industrial de la dècada del 1840, una de les darreres que es conserven a Sants i a Barcelona.



Conjunt de la fàbrica Vapor Vell



- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------|
|  | habitatges |  | edifici central |
|  | zones enrunades
i patis. |  | edificacions cobertes |

aproximació a la problemàtica de Vapor Vell

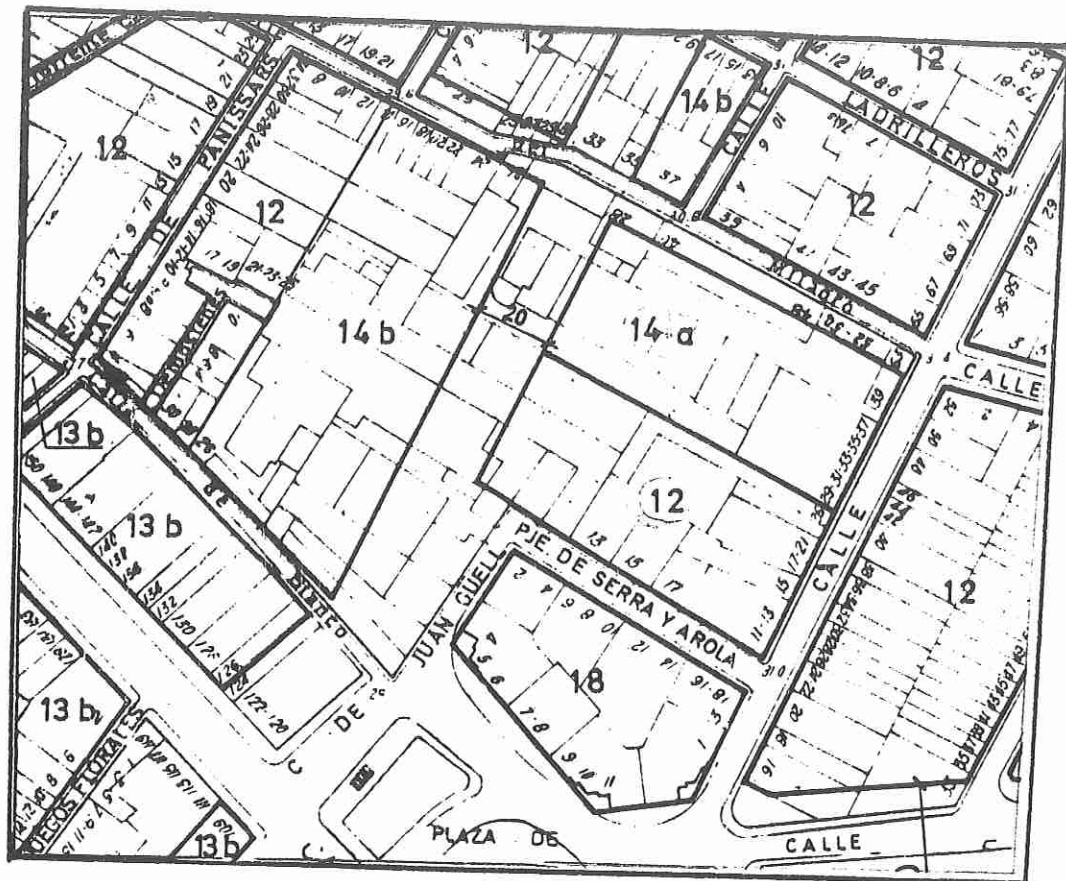
El Pla Comarcal, cap a el 1974, va qualificar els terrenys del Vapor Vell amb un 14 b (remodelatge privat), bona part de l'illa ocupada per habitatges quedava qualificada amb un 12 (casc antic, substitució d'habitatges antics). El Pla Comarcal preveia a més a més l'obertura d'un carrer (continuació del carrer de Joan Güell) que travessava el bell mig de l'illa pels terrenys del Vapor Vell afectant part de les seves edificacions.

L'acció decidida de les A.A.V.V., disposades a recuperar el màxim d'espais públics per a equipaments i zona verda va aconseguir que, si més no, una part dels terrenys de Vapor Vell (els de la dreta del futur carrer de Joan Güell) fossin requalificats amb un 14 a (remodelatge públic).

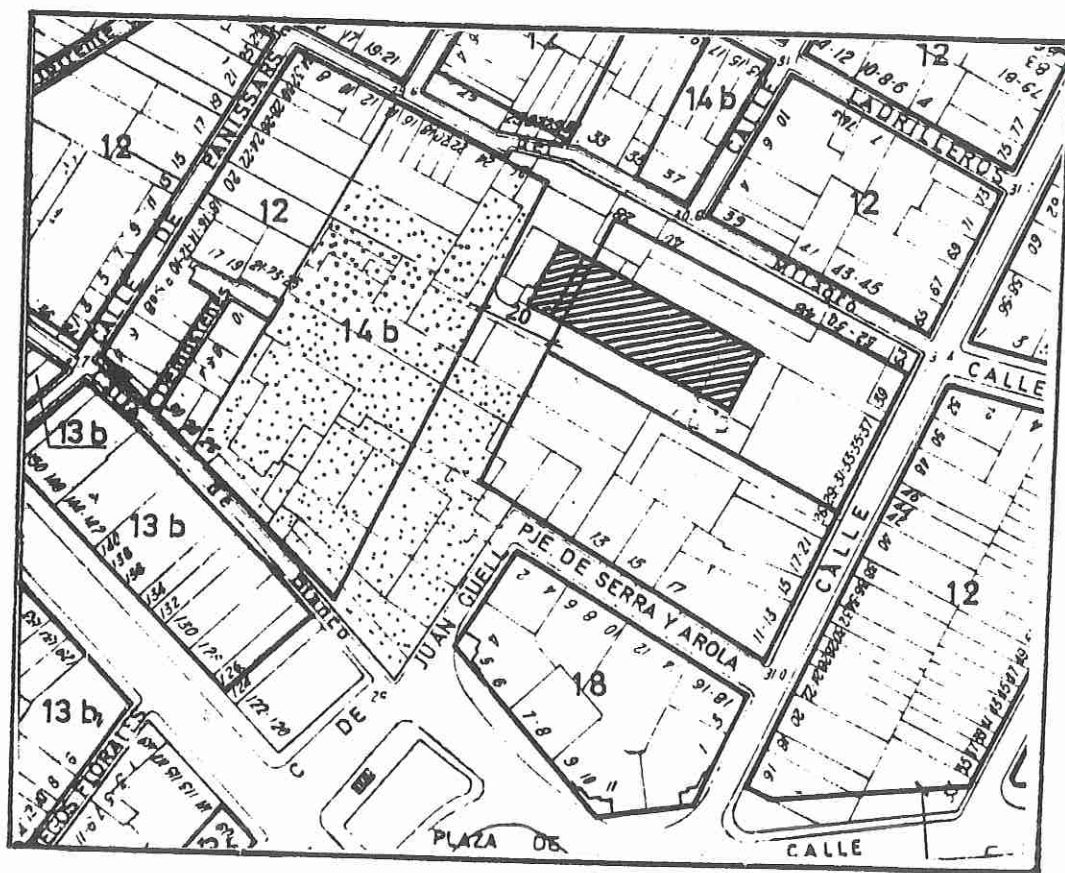
Pel 1976 "Galerias Preciados" va comprar bona part dels terrenys de Vapor Vell, amb l'intenció de bastir uns grans magatzems, en una zona cridada a ésser pol de referència de la Barcelona futura (estació de Sants, "Espanya Industrial, Escorxador etc.), objecte a hores d'ara d'importants moviments especulatius.

Pel 1977 Galerias Preciados va presentar el projecte dels magatzems a l'Ajuntament de Barcelona. Es preveia la construcció de planta i tres pisos, a més a més de tres plantès de sòtans. L'Ajuntament aprovà el projecte en Comissió Executiva el 2 d'octubre del 1977, passat a informació pública el 12 de desembre del mateix any. Les A.A.V.V. van impugnar el projecte al·legant que es presentava un volum d'edificació superior a la que, segons llei es podia bastir, la qual cosa afectava els drets de nombrosos veïns de la zona. Les al·legacions dels veïns i l'oposició general al projecte aconseguiren la retirada d'aquest pel gener del 1982.

A tot això arribà l'expropiació dels bens de "Rumasa", empresa propietaria del 75 % de les accions de "Galeria Preciados". Aquesta situació obria noves expectatives ja que hom suposava que l'Estat espanyol no faria especulació amb els terrenys



Qualificació dels terrenys segons el Pla Comarcal



Terrenys de Galeries Preciados
Cos principal de la fàbrica



i que els podrien vendre a l'Ajuntament de Barcelona o a la Generalitat a un preu raonable, aconseguint-se d'aquesta manera nous espais públics per Sants.

Situació actual dels terrenys de Vapor Vell.

- Avui dia tenim una important zona de Vapor Vell ocupada bàsicament per les runes de la fàbrica, qualificada amb 14 b i propietat de "Rumasa" (expropiada per l'Estat espanyol)
- Una zona central de l'illa on està prevista l'obertura del carrer de Joan Güell, obertura que afectaria decisiva i negativament a alguns dels edificis més interessants de Vapor Vell.
- La darrera zona, compresa entre el futur carrer de Joan Güell i de Galileu està qualificada amb un 14 a, es a dir que els propietaris estan obligats a vendre els terrenys a l'administració. Hi ha en aquest sector (a cavall del futur carrer) les dependències de Vapor Vell més interessants des del punt de vista arquitectònic, ocupades en molts casos per llogaters (magatzems i petits industrials) a precari.

L'anunci de reprivatització dels bens de "Rumasa" va catalitzar les diverses expectatives i posicions que havien al voltant de Vapor Vell i que giren, com veurem, al voltant de problemàtiques diferents:

- La recuperació de Vapor Vell, i la seva reconversió en espais d'ús públic, esdevé cabdal per Sants, ja que l'antiga vila no disposa encara d'una situació òptima en quant a equipaments (hospitals, dispensaris, escoles de F.P. biblioteques, museus...). D'altra banda, per les peculiars característiques de Sants (amb edificació intensiva damunt els paquets industrials deslliurats) la necessitat d'espais verds segueix estant a l'ordre del dia, ja que per molt que proliferin difícilment s'assolirà un nivell òptim. La recuperació de Vapor Vell podria significar una important millora en la lluita contra aquests dèficits crònics.
- El ple ús públic dels terrenys de Vapor Vell pot significar en bona part un fre a la terciarització galopant de la zona (Sol de Baix, Roma 2.000, estació d'autobusos...) lliurant

- aquest espai de l'especulació. Recuperació que alhora podria ser un factor important per a replantejar el futur d'altres paquets industrials i del casc antic de Sants.
- Un element, relativament nou, que incideix en Vapor Vell a partir del 1983 es la importància, fins ara menystinguda, de les restes de la fàbrica des del punt de vista històric i patrimonial, i que es podria concretar en els següents aspectes:

- a) Vapor Vell es un element important des del punt de vista arqueològic industrial. Es tracta de la darrera fàbrica que es conserva de la generació de vapors del Pla del 1840. Vapor Vell te singulars edificis que es tenen que conservar com a mostra d'arquitectura industrial.
- b) Vapor Vell te que salvar-se per la seva significació en la història social, política, econòmica i tècnica de Catalunya. De fet es un important símbol de l'època de la industrialització i l'obrerisme.
- c) Vapor Vell te que conservar-se pel que significa en la història i l'urbanisme de Sants. Cal tenir present que aquesta fàbrica, juntament amb el Vapor Nou va ser el pal de paller al voltant del qual s'organitzà l'espai urbanístic del Sants decimonònic. Es per tant una part fonamental del centre històric de Sants i cabdal per mantenir la personalitat de la vila.

Si be hem explicat les múltiples raons esgrimides per a la recuperació i ús públic de Vapor Vell cal enumerar també els aspectes que feien i fan dificultosa la seva recuperació:

- La voluntat del Govern Central de reprivatitzar els bens de "Rumasa" de manera rendable, la qual cosa suposa que difícilment el Govern malvendrà els terrenys a altres sectors de l'Administració Pública, i si no fa això obviament anirà a parar a l'extrem oposat, es a dir a convertir-se en especuladors del sol.
- La existència d'un Pla Comarcal que afecta decisivament l'illa

de Vapor Vell. Cal tenir present que l'obertura del carrer de Joan Güell i l'ampliació del carrer del Miracle suposarien l'enderrocament dels edificis més interessants de la fàbrica així com la xemeneia.

- La convicció errònia, per part de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, de que Sants es un barri suficientment dotat en el qual no cal invertir més. Aquesta posició s'ha manifestat en continuades negatives a propòsit de la compra de nous terrenys i els de "Rumasa" en particular. D'altra banda, i dins de la mateixa òptica, l'Ajuntament tenia previst a llarg termini, i en els terrenys qualificats amb el 14 b, enderrocar la fàbrica per bastir habitatges per a desnonats de tota la ciutat.

- Aquesta actitud de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona be complementada pel nul interès o simple desconeixement, manifestat pels responsables de cultura i urbanisme, respecte a la importància de la preservació del patrimoni industrial. Així mateix cal denunciar la indiferència mostrada per l'Ajuntament barceloní respecte del destí dels cascs antics de les antigues viles del Pla de Barcelona, menystinguts i lliurats a l'especulació del sol.

- Cal afegir finalment la poca consciència i coneixement que hi ha en general, a nivell de societat en el seu conjunt i dels professionals en particular, al respecte de la necessitat de conservar el patrimoni industrial. Situació que ha possibilitat la destrucció sistemàtica i indiscriminada de valuosos elements d'interès arqueològic-industrial.

origens i desenrotllament d'una campanya

Ja en el 1976 les A.A.V.V. començaren a reivindicar el paquet de Vapor Vell i en els anys successius, com ja s'ha explicat anteriorment, es presentaren al·legacions contra el projecte de "Galerias Preciados". Val a dir que el mal estat de Vapor Vell convertit en abocador provocava i provoca molesties al veïnat, això i el perill d'incendis va motivar continuades denúncies per part dels veïns exigint una intervenció de la sanitat municipal que a hores d'ara encara no s'ha produït.

El detonant de la darrera campanya Recuperem Vapor Vell va sorgir així mateix de les A.A.V.V. i sobretot del Centre Social de Sants, de resultes de l'anunci de la voluntat de reprivatitzar els bens de "Rumasa".

Les A.A.V.V. demanaven bàsicament que els terrenys de "Rumasa" fossin adquirits per l'Ajuntament per a equipaments públics. La proclamació d'un manifest, el muntatge d'un quiosc d'informació a la Plaça de Sants i la recollida de signatures foren el següent pas. La notícia salta amb força a la premsa i els mitjans de comunicació. Això succeïa a finals de setembre del 1983.

Quasi immediatament la campanya es veié complementada per una reivindicació paral·lela: la conservació dels elements més representatius de la fàbrica com a testimonis importants d'una època. Aquesta posició explicitada per El Vapor. Grup de recerca arqueològic-industrial de Sants, va rebre immediatament el suport d'historiadors i geògrafs del barri, professors de l'Escola Normal de Sants i membres de l'Arxiu Històric de Sants. El Vapor. G.R.A.I.S. va elaborar el seu propi manifest, recollint adhesions i signatures d'un centenar de professionals de la cultura.

Amb poca dificultat ambdues campanyes van convergir, unificant-se en una mateixa reivindicació inestriable la recuperació dels terrenys de "Rumasa" i la preservació dels elements més importants de la fàbrica.

Diferents entitats, partits polítics i personalitats donaren així mateix suport a la campanya, que s'ha mantingut fins avui dia i que encara continuarà fins a forçar una sortida favorable als veïns.

Pel febrer del 1984 un grup de ciutadans, representatius de diferents entitats de Sants, sol·licitaren formalment de la Generalitat de Catalunya la incoació d'expedient de declaració monumental per Vapor Vell. Els tècnics de la Generalitat després d'estudiar el cas i de considerar-lo favorablement donaren llum verda a la petició. El 12 de setembre del 1984, el Diari Oficial de la Generalitat anunciava la incoació d'expedient de declaració monumental al conjunt de Vapor Vell.

S'assolia d'aquesta manera una primera i prou important victòria, encara que no definitiva. La incoació d'expedient suposa la salvaguarda d'aquesta important mostra d'arquitectura industrial i hipoteca d'una manera quasi determinant el futur dels terrenys de "Rumasa" (que amb tota seguretat acabaran a mans públiques).

L'expedient conjura així mateix l'obertura del carrer de Joan Güell, que hagués malmès irremissiblement la fàbrica.

El problema, si bé ben encarrilat, es encara lluny de resoldre's: com i quan podran gaudir els santsencs de Vapor Vell ?

Quan comprarà l'Ajuntament de Barcelona el sector de "Rumasa" ? Quina solució es donarà a les rodalies de la fàbrica ?

Quan es dissenyarà un Pla Especial pel conjunt de la illa ?

Quan es netajaran els terrenys de Vapor Vell i deixaran de ser un abocador ?

De ben segur que aquest conjunt d'incògnites s'aniran solucionant en els propers anys...

Cal que quedi clar però, que la campanya continuarà fins aconseguir una solució satisfactoria i definitiva, i que els santsencs no renunciarem al Vapor Vell.

cronologia i documents

1980.- Denúncies continuades per part dels veïns a propòsit del greu problema higiènic dels terrenys de Vapor Vell convertits en abocador. Document 1.

1983.- OCTUBRE.- dia 1. A.A.V.V. i comerciants de Sants demanen que l'Estat cedeixi els terrenys de Vapor Vell, expropiats a "Rumasa", a l'Ajuntament o Generalitat, a fi d'aconseguir un ús públic. Comença la recollida de signatures en suport al manifest (document 2) divulgat pel Secretariat d'Entitats de Sants Hostafrancs i la Bordeta; Centre Social de Sants; Associació de Comerciants de la Creu Coberta; Associació de veïns i comerciants del Triangle de Sants. Divulgació de la campanya en els mitjans de comunicació. (documents 5,6).

Dia 11. Contactes amb la tinent d'alcalde Mercè Sala que manifesta la posició negativa de l'Ajuntament respecte a una possible compra (document 7).

Dia 15. Manifest de El Vapor. Grup de Recerca Arqueològic industrial de Sants, en favor de la conservació de les parts més importants del monument. Comença la recollida de signatures i adhesions de personalitats de la cultura i professionals. (document 4).

Dia 31. "Castanyes al Vapor Vell". Festa revetlla reivindicativa organitzada pel Centre Social de Sants a la Plaça de Màlaga. Ball amb l'orquestra Santsfaina.

1983.- NOVEMBRE.- dia 3. Programa monogràfic de Radio Obrera sobre Vapor Vell. Membres de El Vapor. G.R.A.I.S. s'entrevisten amb Pierre Vilar a l'Hotel Colon de Barcelona. L'historiador s'adhereix al manifest i ofereix la seva col.laboració en el que pugui ser útil. (document 39)

Dia 16. Reunió de representants de partits polítics de Sants, amb assistència de: P.S.U.C.; P.S.O.E.; P.C.C.; C.D.C.; N.d'E; M.D.T.; M.C.C.. Tots es comprometen a donar suport a la campanya en la mesura de les seves possibilitats.

1983.- NOVEMBRE.- dia 24. Finalitza la campanya de recollida de signatures protagonitzada per les A.A.V.V., amb un total de 3.000 ciutadans adherits, 32 entitats i practicament tots els partits polítics. (documents 17 al 32).
Dia 25. Difusió pública de dues cartes dirigides al president del govern espanyol Felipe Gonzalez, i a l'Alcalde de Barcelona Pasqual Maragall, reivindicant el patrimoni de "Rumasa" (documents 8,9). Ampli ressó en els mitjans de comunicació (documents 12, 15, 16).
Dia 26. Representants del Secretariat d'Entitats de Sants Hostafrancs i la Bordeta s'entrevisten amb Mercè Sala per fer-li entrega de 3.000 signatures i les adhesions de les entitats i partits. Mercè Sala es comprometé (cosa que no va complir) a estudiar la proposta i donar resposta en el termini d'un mes al respecte d'una possible opció de compra. (document 10)
Dia 28. Representants del Secretariat d'Entitats i una representació del Consell Municipal del Districte VII fan entrega a la Delegació del Govern a Catalunya de la carta dirigida al President del Govern Espanyol. (document 11).
Al llarg del mes de novembre la premsa es fa ressó de les posicions dels partits polítics i dels intel·lectuals (documents 13, 14).

1983.- DESEMBRE.- Dia 14. Taula Rodona a l'Escola Normal de Sants: "El Vapor Vell i la reconversió dels espais industrials", amb participació d'historiadors i geògrafs.
Dia 13. Finalitza la campanya selectiva de recollida de organitzada per El Vapor..., El llistat de personalitats adherides s'envia a la premsa, s'entrega al conseller de cultura Max Canher i es diposita en la secretaria de la Regiduria de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona (la regidora no va concedir entrevista). (documents 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40).
Al llarg de tot el més la premsa, entitats, partits continuen fent-se ressó de la campanya. (documents 34, 41, 42).

1984.- GENER. Dia 7. Recollida d'arbres de nadal i simulacre de zona verda a les rodalies de Vapor Vell. Pintades

de murals reivindicatius realitzades per espais del barri. Actes organitzats pel Centre Social de Sants. (documents 46, 48, 49, 50).

Dia 16. Es fa pública una carta adreçada al President de la Generalitat de Catalunya, sol·licitant el seu interès en la qüestió de Vapor Vell. (document 45).

Dia 17. Entrevista amb el Conseller d'Obres Públiques i Urbanisme Xavier Bigatà. Els veïns i el Conseller canvien impressions al respecte de les possibilitats d'actuació de la Generalitat. (document 47).

Dia 25. En lamentable carta, la regidora de cultura M^{re} Aurelia Capmany contesta el manifest de El Vapor G.R.A.I.S. argumentant que desconeix que es el que pot fer per preservar l'edifici. (document 47).

Dia 23. El Centre Social de Sants adreça una carta al President del Consell del Districte VII exigint que l'Ajuntament faci quelcom per resoldre la situació higiènica de Vapor Vell.

1984.- FEBRER. Dia 6. Un grup de veïns fa entrega a la Direcció General del Patrimoni una sol·licitud demanant la incoació d'expedient monumental al Vapor Vell. (document 53).

1984.- MARÇ. Dia 5. Inauguració en el Centre Social de Sants de l'exposició Recuperem Vapor Vell (document 54,56).

1984.- ABRIL. Dia 12. El Centre Social de Sants adreça una carta al Director del Patrimoni Nacional oferint una opció de compra. Paral·lelament la Tinent d'Alcalde Mercè s'adreça al Patrimoni de l'Estat advertint que Sants no tenia cap dèficit. (documents 57, 59).

1984.- MAIG, JUNY, JULIOL, AGOST. Continua la campanya a ritme baix i a l'espera d'esdeveniments.

1984.- SETEMBRE.- Dia 12. La Generalitat de Catalunya incoà expedient de declaració monumental al Vapor Vell. (documents 58, 60).

MATERIALS PER A UNA DIDÀCTICA DEL VAPOR VELL



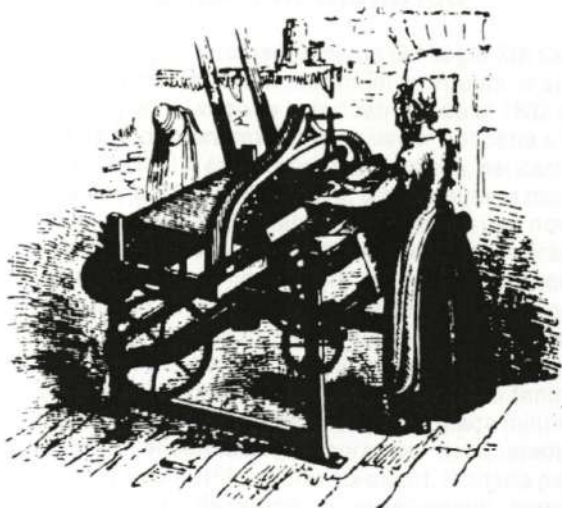
COLLECTIU
DE L'ESCOLA
DE MESTRES
DE SANTS
LES CORTS

A. Bernaus i Salis
F.X. Hernández i Cardona
P. Hornos i Garcia
M. Sales i Sebastià
R. Torras i Conangla

Aquest treball es va iniciar durant el curs 1983-1984, a l'Escola Normal, dins l'àmbit de l'assignatura **Història de Catalunya** i amb la voluntat d'enfortir els lligams de l'Escola Normal amb el seu entorn urbà, tot propiciant recerques i treballs amb utilitat i rendibilitat social.

Assessorament: Arxiu històric de Sants
El Vapor. Grup de Recerca Arqueològica Industrial de Sants

Edició a càrrec de: CONSELL MUNICIPAL SANTS-MONTJUÏC
SECRETARIAT D'ENTITATS DE SANTS, HOSTAFRANCS I LA BORDETA
ARXIU HISTÒRIC DE SANTS



1. A manera de presentació

El dia 12 de setembre del 1984 el *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat* anunciava la incoació d'expedient de declaració monumental per al *Vapor Vell* de Sants. La vella fàbrica, una de les més antigues que es conserven a Catalunya, té des de llavors la supervivència quasi assegurada. Tot i que la recuperació definitiva i pública del *Vapor Vell* i els terrenys que l'envolten serà encara llarga i complexa, estan posades les bases per a protegir aquest edifici que fou en el seu temps orgull de la industrialització catalana.

Els santsencs tenim sobrats motius per alegrarnos, ja que **es recupera una part important de la nostra història.**

En efecte, el *Vapor Vell*, construït durant els anys 1844-45, va ser un punt de referència important pel desenvolupament urbanístic de Sants i constitueix per a la nostra vila un veritable centre històric. Per primera vegada Sants, pionera de la industrialització, comptarà amb un monument nacional, però allò que és realment important és que el *Vapor Vell* és la primera fàbrica de Catalunya i àdhuc de l'Estat espanyol a la qual s'incoa expedient de declaració monumental. Fins ara aquesta denominació havia estat reservada a esglésies i palaus, i amb aquest precedent s'estén a una tipologia d'edificis que si bé no destaquen per la seva monumentalitat artística o arquitectònica, sí que ho han fet per la seva significació en la història social, política, econòmica i tecnològica. Sants es converteix doncs a partir d'aquest moment en pionera de la recuperació del **patrimoni arquitectònic industrial** en perill de desaparició malgrat la seva importància.

Esperem que amb el *Vapor Vell* comenci la recuperació i dignificació de les velles fàbriques catalanes i la rehabilitació dels barris obrers vuitcentistes, tan cabdal en la nostra història, impulsant

el desenvolupament d'una disciplina històrica encara en bolquers al nostre país: l'Arqueologia Industrial. La declaració monumental per al *Vapor Vell* significarà sens dubte un homenatge als centenars de treballadors i treballadores que deixaren anys i salut en les seves llòbregues estances lluitant per un món millor que mai no conegueren.

Aquest dossier, adreçat als escolars, els ciutadans més joves de Sants, té com a principal objectiu festejar aquesta important recuperació del nostre patrimoni històric. Pensem que conèixer la història del *Vapor Vell* i del Sants proletari és important, ja que ciutadans coneixedors del seu passat, i orgullosos d'ell, poden contribuir críticament a la transformació progressista de la nostra realitat.

El conjunt de documents que presentem en aquest dossier té la modesta pretensió d'ajudar a conèixer allò que va ser el *Vapor Vell* i com era Sants a mitjan segle XIX. Els materials, per la seva especificitat, estan adreçats indistintament als escolars-estudiants del cicle superior, batxillerat i formació professional. Cronològicament està centrat en el moment de construcció de la fàbrica (1844-45) i en els primers anys de funcionament (1846-55). Anys cabdals en els quals Sants es transformà de vila pagesa i manufacturera en un important pol del desenvolupament industrial.

El dossier no proposa cap pla de treball preestablert, únicament aporta documents, materials i propostes de treball que el mestre o educador podrà utilitzar de la manera que jutgi més útil i convenient en funció de la programació i característiques dels alumnes.

Esperem que sigui útil i que així mateix Sants pugui convertir-se en pionera quant a tractament del patrimoni industrial a l'escola.

Vila de Sants, 2 de març del 1985

2. El Vapor Vell. Breu notícia històrica

«Tot i que a començaments del segle XIX Catalunya ja havia estat testimoni d'intents d'aplicar l'energia del vapor a la indústria, cap el 1832 s'instal·là la primera màquina de vapor aplicada a la indústria tèxtil, en la fàbrica Bonaplata, del carrer de Tallers del Raval Barceloní. D'ençà aquest moment la indústria tèxtil catalana començaria una nova fase de relançament, superant i ampliant la tradició manufacturera, important, sobretot a Barcelona, d'ençà el segle XVIII. Entre el 1835 i el 1840 sovintejà la construcció de vapors al Raval, on encara es podien trobar espais lliures procedents en molts casos dels convents desamortitzats. Cal tenir present que Barcelona era encara una plaça militar important, encerclada per muralles i flanquejada per importants fortificacions. La ciutat, limitada per les defenses, es densificà progressivament, noves fàbriques es construïen (zones industrials dels carrers de la Riereta, Sant Rafael, Sant Pacià, Carretes, Reina Amàlia...) alhora que les cases artesanes es transformaven en pisos i habitatges obrers.

A finals de la dècada de 1830 s'arribà a un estat de sadollament i era molt difícil trobar espais dins la ciutat on ubicar noves fàbriques de vapor. Les noves i grans empreses tèxtils que es projectaven exigien grans espais, i aquests calia cercar-los fora muralles. D'altra banda l'Ajuntament barceloní prohibí, l'any 1846, la construcció de noves fàbriques dins del recinte murat, i s'autoritzà únicament l'ampliació d'algunes de les existents.

On edificar? Quin seria el lloc idoni per instal·lar les grans empreses en projecte? Les muralles, que no serien enderrocades fins el 1854 gràcies a l'esforç combinat de Pascual Madoz i dels ciutadans de Barcelona, necessitaven una zona de seguretat a les rodalies, per aquesta raó les ordenances militars prohibien, per raons tàctiques, la construcció d'edificis estables a menys de 1.200 metres dels murs. S'assegurava d'aquesta manera l'eficàcia de l'artilleria de plaça contra possibles atacants.

Aquesta situació va fer que els fabricants aixequessin els seus vapors (i es coneixien genèricament amb aquest nom les fàbriques tèxtils que empraven l'energia del vapor) en diferents municipis del Pla de Barcelona propers a la gran ciutat. És a dir, es construïen fora muralles però al més a prop possible d'aquestes.

A Sant Andreu s'instal·laren el «Vapor Vell» i el «Vapor del Rei», a Gràcia el «Vapor Vilarregut» i el «Vapor Puigmartí» i a Sants serien el «Vapor Vell» i el «Vapor Nou».

La construcció de vapors en el Pla de Barcelona sovintejà principalment durant la dècada del 1840. De resultes d'això els pobles del Pla es convertiren en grans viles industrials, i esdevingueren de fet la primera perifèria fabril de Barcelona.

El municipi de Sants dedicat en bona part a tasques agrícoles comptava però amb una bona tradició manufacturera i els seus terrenys s'aprofitaren d'antuvi per fer-ne prats d'indianes comptant també amb nombroses bòbiles i fàbriques químiques. D'ençà la construcció del Vapor Vell, Sants experimentaria una industrialització intensiva que canviaria decisivament la seva fesonomia. El Vapor Vell (Güell Ramis i cia.) començà a aixecar-se el 1844, i entre el 1847 i el 1850 s'afegiria una altra gran fàbrica tèxtil: «La España Industrial» (Vapor Nou), ambdues fàbriques eren de les més grans i modernes de Catalunya, tant per la seva grandària com pel nombre de treballadors que ocupaven.

La construcció dels vapors, capgiraria el vell Sants agrícola i manufacturer, ja que s'afegirien nous barris al voltant de les dues grans fàbriques, i seria a partir d'elles que s'ordenaria l'espai urbà del Sants de la segona meitat del segle dinovè. La presència de la carretera de Carles III (Carretera de Sants), la inauguració de la línia de ferrocarril Barcelona-Martorell (1855), juntament amb la presència de noves fàbriques, serien igualment elements importants de la configuració de la nova vila. Els grans vapors vindrien acompanyats d'una munió de tallers i la proliferació progressiva de fàbriques mitjanes i petites, que s'aplegaren en aquest nou focus de desenrotllament industrial. A tombant de segle s'hi sumarien altres grans fàbriques: *Can Batlló*, *La Procellana*, etc. que multiplicarien el caire industrial de la vila.

Amb el nom de Vapor Vell es conegué popularment la fàbrica tèxtil «Güell, Ramis y Cia», fundada per Joan Güell el 1844. Sembla ser que el capital provenia en bona part de negocis d'ultramar i del tràfic d'esclaus. Va ser la primera gran fàbrica que s'instal·là a Sants i per les seves dimensions era, en el moment d'ésser construïda, la més im-



moment del Dringinat El Vapor Vell estava situat vora, i les seves expectatives de comunicació millorarien encara més en construir-se la línia de ferrocarril a Martorell amb estació vora la fàbrica. Originàriament disposava de dues màquines de vapor de 80 cavalls cadascuna, que movien 42 cardes, 15 màquines de filar (amb un total de 7.000 fusos) i 274 telers mecànics. La fàbrica enquadrava un total de 230 treballadors i 184 treballadores.

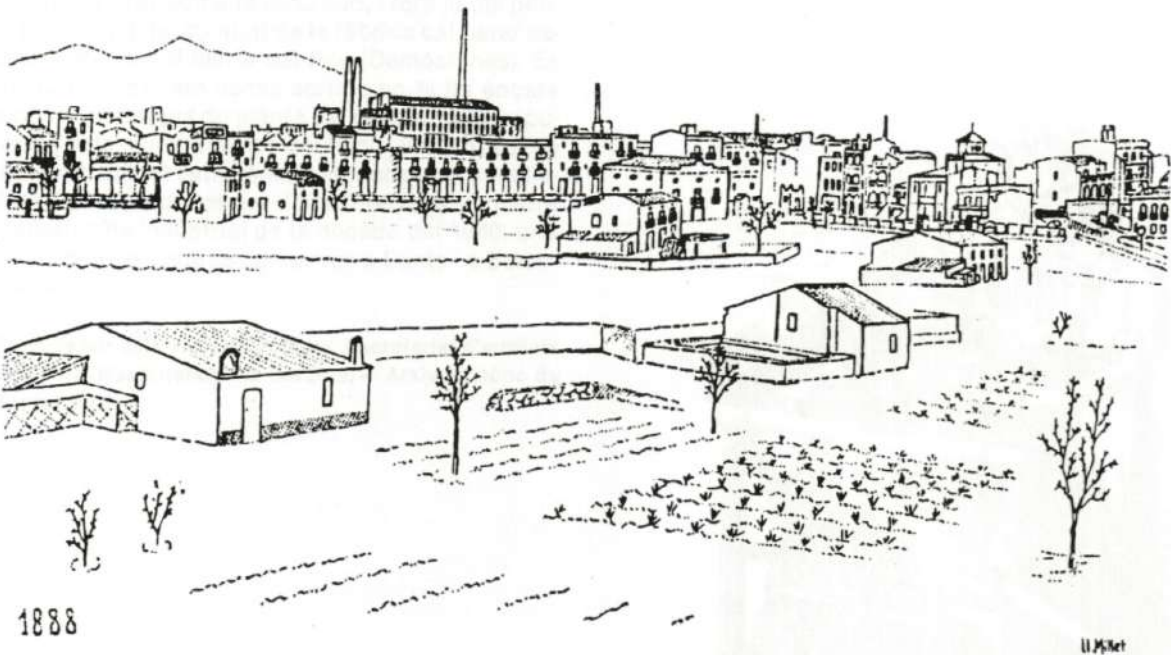
Tant el Vapor Vell com el Vapor Nou entraren ràpidament en la història de les lluites socials del seu temps. Pel 1854 començà una onada de vagues i aldarulls en contra de la implantació de les màquines de filar *selfactines* (que amenaçaven llocs de treball). Els obrers del Vapor Vell respongueren amb un parell de mesos de vaga, mentre que el Vapor Nou restà paralitzat quinze dies. Pel 1855 esclatava la primera vaga general dels obrers de Catalunya motivada per les reivindicacions socials, econòmiques i polítiques, vaga que seria seguida als dos vapors i pel conjunt dels treballadors de la vila

de Sants. Seria nomenat Josep Sol i Padrís, aleshores president de la «Junta de Fabricants», màxim organisme patronal.

Pel 1870 amb motiu de la *sublevació de les Illes* els treballadors, i especialment el jovent obrer, tornaren a deixar els carrers farcits de barricades.

El 1891 Eusebi Güell tancà el conflictiu Vapor Vell i traslladà la fàbrica a Santa Coloma de Cervelló (Colònia Güell). Malgrat el canvi les activitats tèxtils continuaren sota la direcció de l'empresa «Parellada Flaquer y Cia.». Amb el temps les dependències se subdividiren per allotjar petites empreses tèxtils («Serra i Arola», «Miret i Flor...»). Durant la Guerra Civil bona part dels edificis del Vapor Vell estigueren ocupats pel Taller Confederal nº 33, dedicat a activitats de fusteria. En els darrers anys els locals han donat cobertura a diferents tipus d'instal·lacions: piscines (Club Esportiu Mediterrània), fàbriques de mobles, tallers de ceràmica, magatzems d'empreses, etc.»

Font: «Vapor Vell. Victòria popular» Secretariat d'Entitats de Sants, Hostafrancs i la Bordeta — Arxiu Històric de Sants, 1981.



Panoràmica de Sants a finals del segle XIX. Es pot apreciar el «Vapor Vell» i la zona urbanitzada al seu voltant.
Font: Arxiu Històric de Sants.

3. Descripció de les restes de la fàbrica

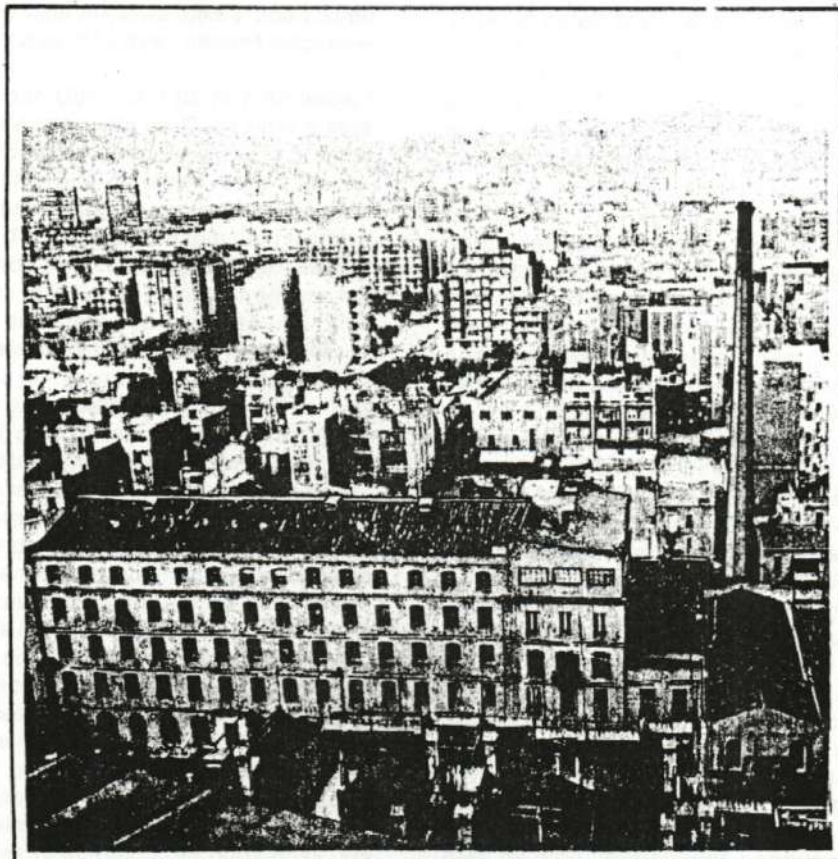
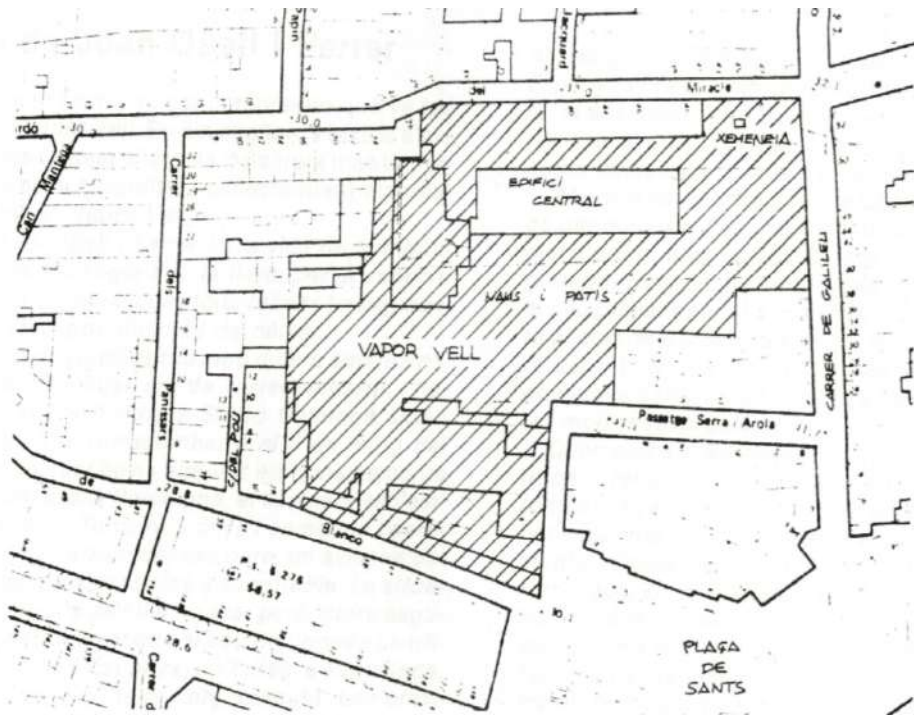
«Les restes del *Vapor Vell* ocupen avui dia una àmplia franja de terrenys, delimitats pels carrers del Miracle, de Galileu, de Serra i Arola, de Blanco i de Panissards, així mateix hi ha dins d'aquesta illa importants zones ocupades per habitatges. Per aquesta raó les dependències de la fàbrica únicament confronten parcialment amb alguns sectors dels carrers de Blanco, de Serra i Arola, de Galileu i del Miracle. Dins del conjunt dels terrenys es poden observar diferents tipus d'edificacions, que responien a les diferents necessitats productives de la fàbrica, que concentrava tots els processos de producció en aquesta factoria. A la zona sud es troben les restes del que probablement foren les quadres de telers i magatzems, tots ells en molt mal estat quan no totalment enrunats. En aquesta mateixa zona i vora la Plaça de Sants es conserva l'edifici de la capella, en relatiu bon estat. A la zona nord trobem l'edifici amb més entitat on probablement estigueren instal·lades les filatures. És un gran ortòedre cobert a dues aigües que consta de planta baixa i quatre pisos. Tant la façana nord com la sud tenen finestres distribuïdes regularment. El material de construcció predominant és la pedra de Montjuïc i el maó. Sota l'extrem oest hi ha les restes d'una piscina construïda durant la guerra civil utilitzada per un club esportiu santsenc fins fa pocs anys. Ultra altres dependències i magatzems organitzats al voltant d'aquest edifici singular tenim les dependències de l'edifici de calderes i la gran xemeneia octogonal. Tornant a la zona sud, i fora ja del perímetre actual del conjunt de la fàbrica cal parar especial atenció al carrer del Pou (Demòstenes). Es tracta d'un carreró sense sortida on hi ha encara alguns habitatges de planta baixa i pis, contemporànies dels primers temps del *Vapor Vell*, i que amb tota probabilitat estigueren destinades als treballadors. Es tracta en tot cas d'una interessant mostra d'urbanisme industrial de la dècada del 1840, una de les darreres que es conserven a Sants i a Barcelona.»

Font: *Vapor Vell: Victòria Popular, Secretariat d'entitats de Sants, Hostafrancs i la Bordeta.* — Arxiu Històric de Sants, 1984.

Proposta d'activitats

- Realització d'un itinerari a fi de conèixer la situació i estat del *Vapor Vell*. Podem començar a la Plaça de Sants, pujar pel carrer de Galileu i contornejar el perímetre de la fàbrica pel carrer d'en Miracle. A continuació podem baixar pel carrer de Panissards tot parant esment als edificis d'habitatge més antics fins el carrer d'en Blanco. Des d'aquí podem remuntar el carrer del Pou (Demòstenes) on queda el testimoni de les primeres cases que s'aixecaren a les rodalies del *Vapor Vell*. Si hi ha possibilitat és interessant pujar al terrat d'alguna casa de les rodalies a fi de copsar la magnitud de la fàbrica i els seus terrenys. Durant el trajecte es poden fer fotografies per enganxar-les posteriorment damunt un plànol mural de l'itinerari.
- Com que la recuperació definitiva de la fàbrica i els seus terrenys pot resultar encara llarga serà interessant assabentar-se dels orígens, desenvolupament i moment de la campanya de recuperació. En el **Centre Social de Sants**, del carrer d'Olinelles número 30, podreu obtenir tota la informació que desitgeu. Pel que fa als projectes urbanístics que l'Ajuntament de Barcelona té per aquesta zona podreu assabentar-vos en la seu del Consell de Districte.





Vista general de l'edifici principal del «Vapor Vell» en el 1984. Cal destacar l'estructura típica de la *fàbrica de pisos*, flanquejada per les dues torres laterals que permeten la comunicació vertical mitjançant escales.
Font: Arxiu Històric de Sants.

4. Vida de Joan Güell i Ferrer

Joan Güell i Ferrer va ser l'empresari que va fer construir el Vapor Vell. En els següents textos s'expliquen dues visions diferents dels trets més importants de la seva biografia, i especialment els relacionats amb el Vapor Vell.

«La vida de Güell i Ferrer és la vida de la indústria catalana del segle XIX, la lluita per la supervivència d'una indústria que molts teòrics havien condemnat a mort poc després de néixer.

La fortuna de Güell es féu amb diners americans. El seu pare, Pau Güell era de Torredembarra, i havia fet la carrera d'indià a Santo Domingo. Joan també nasqué a Torredembarra el 3 de maig del 1800 i quan tot just havia adquirit els coneixements més rudimentaris, a Barcelona, el seu pare se l'emportà a Amèrica. Tenia nou anys i començà l'aprenentatge al magatzem del seu pare, on aviat va saber fer de tot: de mosso fins a comptable. La situació de l'economia de l'illa no era, però, gaire segura, i Pau Güell va voler que el seu fill tingués un ofici millor; l'envià a Espanya, on cursà, a Barcelona, els estudis de pilot de la flota mercant. Les previsions del pare s'acompliren: s'arruïnà dues vegades i hagué de retornar a Catalunya per a morir sense haver pogut realitzar els seus ideals; Joan Güell no n'heretà gran cosa més que l'esperit emprenedor.

Poc després, Joan Güell se'n tornà a Amèrica, i encertà el camí de triar l'illa de Cuba com a veta inicial del seu prodigiós enriquiment. Els primers anys de Güell a l'Havana no tenen res d'espectacular; treballà en un magatzem, on l'amo sabia apreciar les qualitats d'aquell vailet espavilat i li anava donant cada vegada més confiança. Durant aquest temps, recollí dos mil duros, quantitat encara migrada per a tirar endavant cap empresa una mica seriosa, però d'aleshores endavant la carrera de Joan Güell a Cuba (tenia vint-i-un anys) sembla fruit d'un miracle. Dos amics seus havien recollit un fons de vuit mil duros i, disposats a independitzar-se, demanaren la col·laboració de Güell, tot oferint-li la direcció de la casa comercial que volien fundar.

Les cases fortes de l'Havana s'oposaven resoltament a tots els qui volien guanyar una independència i un nom en els negocis. La nova casa que dirigia Güell va haver de lluitar contra el clan dels grans magnats de l'economia cubana. La lluita era tan desigual que hom podia predir com s'acabaria; només un cop genial fóra el miracle, i Güell el va tenir. Sense fer soroll comprà d'un plegat tots els carregaments que hi havia al port de l'Havana i tots aquells que eren pel camí. Aquest acte, tan decisiu, li donà el monopoli del mercat durant quatre anys. Güell esdevindria un rival terrible amb qui calia mantenir bones relacions, i, en pocs anys, els comerciants més importants de l'Havana s'hi associaren i arribà a ésser director de l'Associació de les cases comercials més potents de la ciutat.

Aquesta carrera meteòrica li permeté de tornar a Espanya el 1835, amb una fortuna considerable. Però, ja ací, Joan Güell no féu la vida retirada i enyoradissa d'indià; la seva capacitat de lluita en el camp comercial només canvià d'escenari.

Abans d'establir-se a Barcelona féu un llarg viatge per conèixer l'economia i l'organització comercial d'uns quants països: Estats Units, França, Anglaterra, Bèlgica, Suïssa i Itàlia. Llavors concertà el seu primer negoci a Espanya: comprà una fragata al port de Barcelona amb tot el carregament, però durant l'anada a Amèrica s'enfonsà i, com que no estava assegurada, Güell va perdre una quantitat molt respectable.

Quan arribà a Barcelona, la indústria catalana es trobava tot just en la naixença: una colla d'homes, romàntics i emprenedors, feien els primers passos per crear una indústria moderna. El problema fonamental d'aquesta nova indústria era la fabricació i renovació de maquinària. Sense comptar amb una bona indústria pesant, la indústria tèxtil tindria sempre una vida migrada i dependent de les importacions de maquinària de l'estranger. Per això els inicis de la indústria pesant a Barcelona han anat lligats amb les necessitats de la indústria bàsica del país: la indústria tèxtil. Fins aquell moment, 1839, un parell de fracassos palesaven el perill d'establir una indústria de maquinària a Catalunya.

L'empenta de Güell no es podia aturar fent de soci d'una indústria d'esdevenidor més o menys segur; volia alguna cosa més important i, sobretot, més personal. Poc després d'arribar a Espanya començà a intervenir en la indústria tèxtil catalana, col·laborant a la fàbrica del seu cunyat; però, en morir aquest, es va llançar a muntar una fàbrica que fos tota seva. Havia provat de fer-ho amb la col·laboració d'un altre capitalista, però els criteris dels futurs socis eren tan divergents que se separaren abans d'haver començat. Joan Güell trià, com a camp de les seves experiències industrials, la fabricació de pana: la roba dels pagesos i menestrals, que perquè era de difícil fabricació ja havia fet fracassar uns quants industrials. Güell se'n volgué assegurar i sortí cap a Anglaterra, on estudià una mica les característiques tècniques de la fabricació: hom li planejà l'organització de la nova fàbrica, comprà les màquines i, després de llogar amb bons sous majordom i contramestres anglesos, se'n tornà a Barcelona. Els començaments foren difícils: els anglesos, amb la suficiència de qui es creu substituïble, sembla que rendiren menys que no feia suposar el bon tracte econòmic. I l'amo, en un cop d'audàcia, els despatxà a tots, i d'aleshores endavant dirigí ell mateix el treball, fent de majordom, amb l'ajut dels catalans més hàbils que ja havien après la tècnica dels anglesos. Els resultats, després de molts entrebancs i angúnies, foren bons, i la fàbrica Güell, el Vapor Vell de Sants, es constituí en nova potència del tèxtil català.

L'any 1844, amb la introducció de les màquines selfacting en la indústria tèxtil, arribà una altra tongada de problemes socials: automàticament minvà el nombre de treballadors que calia a les fàbriques, i els obrers iniciaren novament les protestes. L'any 1854, any de la revolució de Vicálvaro, la situació a les fàbriques de Barcelona era d'allò més tibat. Güell volia tancar la de Sants, però un dels socis, Josep Sol i Padrís, que ingressà el 1850, ple d'entusiasme, no volgué deixar la fàbrica. Aleshores, Güell sortí una temporada a França, des d'on anava seguint els fets, intentant, sense resultats, d'allunyar Sol i Padrís del perill que se li acostava. El 14 de juliol del 1854, grups d'obrers assaltaren algunes fàbriques. Les autoritats dissolgueren les associacions obreres, i la situació s'agreujà. L'11 de juny del 1855, Sol i Padrís era nomenat president de la Junta de Fàbriques, i el 2 de juliol fou assassinat a la fàbrica Güell, de Sants. Durant uns quants dies la situació a Barcelona fou tan confusa que els diaris no gosaren donar el nom de l'industrial assassinat: la por i la desconfiança ho dominaven tot.

Quan les coses s'apaivagaren una mica, Güell tornà a Barcelona i comprà, a la província de Lleida, una propietat agrícola, en la qual introduí tota

mena de reformes per crear-hi una explotació moderna. Abans havia demostrat ja un cert interès per l'agricultura catalana col·laborant, com a soci capitalista, a l'obertura del Canal d'Urgell.

Quan Güell morí, el 29 de novembre del 1872, encara no es podia preveure gaire clar el triomf dels seus ideals. Calia, segons ell, formar primer un estat d'opinió, desfer els malentesos, que havien errat, des dels començaments de segle, les discussions, però no era partidari d'imposar des del Govern les seves directrius sense aquest estat d'opinió favorable. A més a més, a Madrid no hi havia res preparat i calgué una evolució política fins a arribar al 1891, llavors que el partit conservador, amb la influència dels catalans de la generació que segueix la de Güell i Ferrer, imposà des del poder els ideals del proteccionisme.

Joan Güell i Ferrer fou el cap de tota una dinastia; el seu fill Eusebi Güell i Bacigalupi, primer comte de Güell, en casar-se amb la filla del primer marquès de Comillas, uní dues famílies. els Güell i els López, de les més representatives de la gran burgesia catalana del Noucents.»

Font: Vicens Vives, J.; Llorens, M.: *Industrials i polítics* (s. XIX). Vicens Vives, Barcelona, 1980, pàgs. 337-344.



Edifici central del «Vapor Vell» tal qual es trobava en el 1984.

Font: Arxiu Històric de Sants.

«Empleó algunos años en viajes por los Estados Unidos de América, por Inglaterra, Francia, Bélgica, Suiza e Italia, estudiando detenidamente la organización de estos países y observando las costumbres de sus pueblos. Mientras tanto, mandó comprar en Barcelona una fragata, que por su gran capacidad se consideraba entonces inútil; compróla con el intento de destinarla al transporte de los distintos productos de España, de la isla de Cuba, la América del Sur y los Estados Unidos. Salió el buque de este puerto para su destino y no llegó al término de su viaje; perdióse con la carga, y como por descuido del armador no salió la nave asegurada, perdió Güell parte muy considerable de su fortuna.

Nadie notó en su semblante señal alguna de pesar, sentimiento ó zózobra. Procuraban consolarle los amigos, pero Güell, impassible y sereno, demostróles que por pérdida de dinero no necesitaba consuelo. Quedábale con el resto lo bastante para atender a sus necesidades, que eran muy limitadas, y tranquilo y resignado respecto á este punto, procuró rescatar el capital perdido dando á su actividad nuevo objetivo y empleo.

En 1840 interesó en una fábrica de hilados con el doble objeto de aumentar el propio caudal y favorecer y ayudar á un cuñado suyo, propietario del establecimiento. Muerto éste al poco tiempo emprendió operaciones de mayor importancia; asocióse á un capitalista industrial muy conocido y los dos convinieron en dedicarse á la industria fabril en grande escala; á este objeto, Güell debía cuidar de la adquisición del terreno y construcción del edificio-fábrica, y el socio quedó encargado de la adquisición de la maquinaria; á los ocho meses D. Juan había cumplido su encargo; á los ochos meses se había levantado en el vecino pueblo de Sans el importante edificio llamado Fábrica de Güell o Vapor Vell con que aun se le conoce ahora; á los ocho meses el socio no había encargado aun la adquisición de las máquinas. Hubo con esto bastante para que conociese D. Juan que aquella sociedad no era conveniente y que de fijo sería para los dos ruinosa: «Usted, dijo á su compañero, perderá una semana por ahorrar un duro, y yo por adelantar un día gastaré ciento.» No hay sociedad posible con tan distinto criterio, y en efecto, se rescindió el convenio.

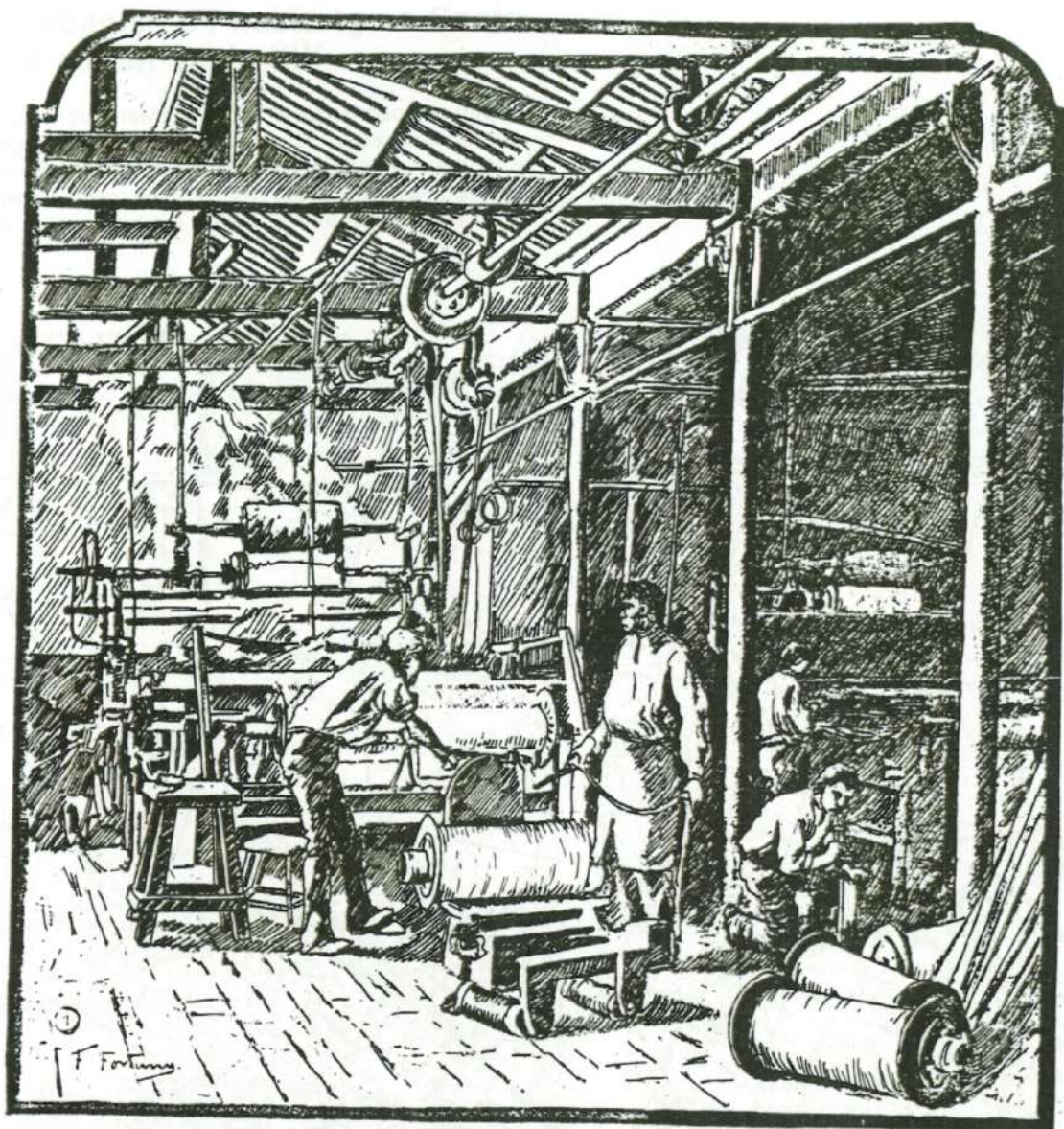
Llamó entonces poderosamente su atención el gran consumo de una tela y la importación de ella del extranjero. Todo su afán cifróse en vencer en el mercado á la industria de otras naciones y empeñó desde luego la batalla. Me refiero á la tela llamada pana, especie de terciopelo de algodón: la lucha comenzó con desventaja, las contrariedades fueron muchas y las pérdidas en un principio, enormes. No desconocía las frustradas tentativas á la suya anteriores: no ignoraba el desgraciado éxito de la fábrica de panas establecida en Manresa en 1820. Güell no se arredra ni desiste; como en Altafulla, como en la Habana, en lugar de retirar, em-

biste: trasládase á Sans: en la propia fábrica se instala, dedícase á la industria exclusivamente y conviértese en director y mayordomo: muy luego domina el negocio, perfecciona y abarata el producto, y en galardón de su esfuerzo consigue tan señalada victoria, como lo es arrojar del mercado español y cerrar por la concurrencia las fronteras á los productos similares del extranjero que hasta entonces lo tuvieron monopolizado é invadido. Así nació una industria que hoy vive lozana y proporciona el sustento á muchas familias; así queda España capital que de otro modo iría á fomentar la riqueza de otros pueblos; así se comprende, así se conquistan y merecen medidas protectoras; así se ponen de relieve la utilidad y los beneficios del sistema protector.»

Font: Argullol i Serra, J.: *Biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Güell y Ferrer, Sucesores de Ramirez y compañía*, Barcelona, 1881, págs. 12-13.



Joan Güell i Ferrer



Interior del «Vapor Vell» on s'aprecien molt bé els embarrats i el sistema d'il·luminació de les naus. Dibuix de Francesc Fortuny.
Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.

5. Urbanisme i habitatge a Sants a mitjan segle XIX

La industrialització que s'experimentà a mitjan segle XIX va fer créixer el territori urbanitzat del municipi de Sants. L'espai agrícola quedà ocupat progressivament per les grans fàbriques i els nous barris on residien els obrers que hi treballaven.



5.1. Sants en el 1835

En aquest mapa pots observar les edificacions i els camins que hi hauria a Sants el 1835, superposats damunt un mapa de la Barcelona actual. Quasi tot estava ocupat per camps de conreu. Les poques rengleres de cases les trobem localitzades en tres punts diferents: al llarg de la carretera que anava de Barcelona a Madrid (carrer de Sants-Creu Coberta), en el nucli d'origen medieval al voltant de l'església de Santa Maria de Sants i a la carretera de la Bordeta. La Bordeta adquirí molta importància a partir del començament del segle XIX, ja que es construí un canal, el *Canal de la Infanta*, que permetia la irrigació d'aquesta fèrtil zona.



5.2. Sants en el 1855

Vint anys més tard el paisatge havia començat a canviar. En aquest mapa apareixen ja els dos grans vapors: el *Vapor Vell* i el *Vapor Nou* que ocupen una àmplia extensió. Existeixen altres vapors a la zona de la Marina de Sants que no surten al mapa, però estaven molt isolats. Pots observar que el nombre d'edificis ha augmentat, singularment a les rodalies dels vapors, són els nous barris obrers que comencen a construir-se per allotjar la gent que treballa a les fàbriques. Es distingeix així mateix la línia i l'estació del ferrocarril *Barcelona-Martorell*, que passa justament entre ambdues grans fàbriques.



5.3. Sants i Barcelona en el 1855

En aquest mapa pots observar una visió de conjunt de la zona sud-oest del Pla de Barcelona. Barcelona encara està encerclada per l'àmplia franja de muralles. Les fàbriques ja no cabien a la ciutat i s'havien de construir fora. Arran de muralles no podia ser perquè haurien destorbat l'eficàcia dels canons, per aquesta raó entre altres el desenrotllament industrial continuà en les zones properes a la ciutat. En el mapa s'aprecia el gran desenrotllament de Sants i de Gràcia, viles industrials que es potenciaren, entre altres del Pla de Barcelona, durant aquest període.

5.4. Els primers habitatges obrers

«En els habitatges que es bastiren en els primers moments de la industrialització predominà l'adaptació d'una tipologia d'habitatge típic de les zones rurals catalanes, alhora que existí en alguns casos el reaprofitament d'antigues cases pageses per a usos menestrals o allotjaments obrers.

Els nous habitatges s'assenten sobre parcel·lacions força regulars de solars molt allargassats que donaran lloc a carrers transversals. En aquest primer moment — 1845 aproximadament — s'urbanitzen zones d'Hostafrancs i de les rodalies del Vapor Vell, resultant-ne conjunts de cases molt unifamiliars i acarrerades. Es tracta d'habitatges unifamiliars de planta baixa i pis. La modulació de l'ample de parcel·la és en general d'uns 4 metres, mentre que la profunditat mitjana és d'uns 10 metres, i en resulta una superfície d'uns 40 metres quadrats per planta. La coberta és a dues vessants, amb teula àrab i sense cambra d'aire. A la planta baixa s'obre un portal, mentre que al pis les obertures es redueixen a dues petites finestres, en alguns casos reconvertides en balcons. A la part posterior de l'habitatge s'obria un petit pati amb un o dos arbres (llimoners en alguns casos) per donar ombra. També hi havia aquí el pou per abastir d'aigua la casa i la comuna que desguassava en un pou mort que es podia netejar regularment...

Amb el temps aquests petits conjunts unifamiliars es dividiren en dos habitatges (un a la planta baixa i l'altre al pis) o bé en habitatge i taller o magatzem, i s'obrí en aquests casos una petita porta a la façana que donava accés al pis. Podem trobar encara avui dia restes d'aquests primers tipus d'habitatges industrials acarrerats als carrers del Vidriol, de Leiva, de Panissards i del Pou. Cal destacar el conjunt del carrer del Vidriol per la seva gran uniformitat i que recorda el caire campamental que deurien tenir aquestes primeres concentracions obreres...



...Al marge de les característiques generals dels habitatges cal fer esment de tota una sèrie de detalls que tenien veritable importància en la vida quotidiana de les famílies obreres. La il·luminació es cobria d'una manera precària: llums d'oli, espelmes, fins a les acaballes del segle XIX no va arribar el gas als habitatges santsencs ni a l'enllumenat públic, tot i que algunes grans fàbriques com el Vapor Vell ja disposaven d'instal·lacions privades de gas d'ençà 1845.

Els aliments es cuinaven en uns fogons d'obra que cremaven carbó, les cuines econòmiques triarien molt de temps a introduir-se...

A finals del segle XIX començaria la construcció de la xarxa de clavegueram i arribaria a Sants l'aigua corrent. La pavimentació dels carrers també arribaria molt tardanament i en alguns llocs no es va realitzar fins a molt avançat el segle XX.

Cal considerar en funció de l'anteriorment exposat que els obrers de la primera perifèria industrial barcelonina i, per tant, també els de Sants gaudien d'una millor qualitat de vida en comparació a la que a mitjan segle XIX es patia en els barris obrers de la ciutat emmurada i singularment en el Raval. Encara que les jornades i condicions de treball fossin igualment dures a la ciutat que al Pla de Barcelona, la disposició d'un habitatge relativament ampli i el treball en unes fàbriques si més no modernes i amb relatives condicions higièniques, contrastava amb la gèrnació i brutícia del Raval.

Per raons diverses la població dels barris obrers santsencs assoliria una gran cohesió social. Per una banda existia una gran proximitat entre l'habitatge i la fàbrica, exigència que venia donada pel precari nivell de transport de l'època i per l'oferta de sòls, de fet els habitatges obrers estaven freqüentment de prop de les factories.»

Font: F.X. Hernández; A. Hernando; G. Lozano; J. Romani: *Habitatges i barris obrers a Sants. 1830-1880*, Policòpia, Arxiu Històric de Sants, 1984.

Proposta d'activitats

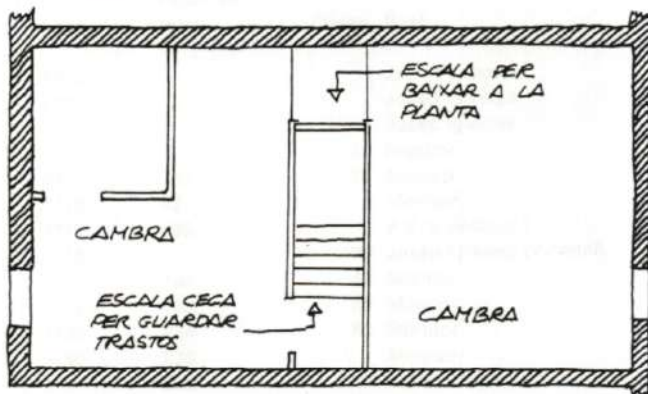
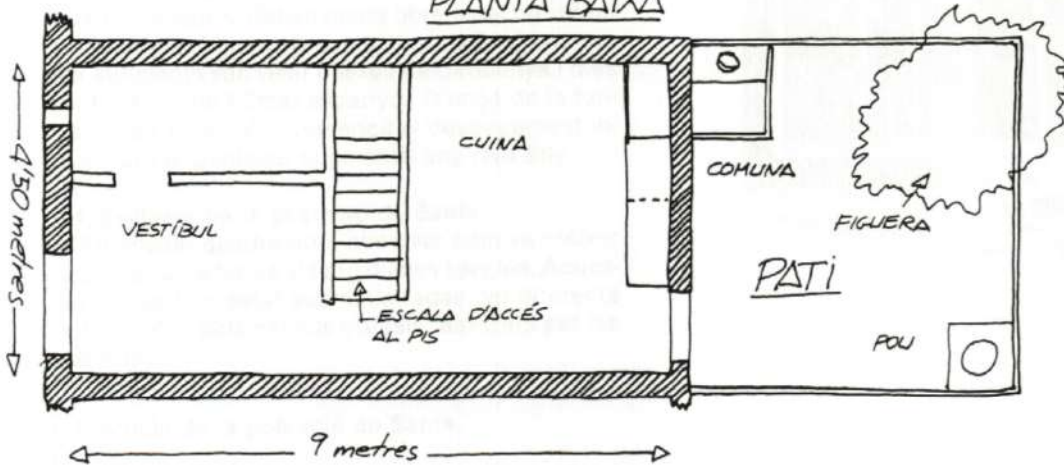
- Realització d'un itinerari a fi de conèixer els grups d'habitatges obrers més antics de Sants-Hostafrancs. Els conjunts més representatius són els dels carrers del Pou, Vidriol i Leiva, encara que se'n poden trobar molts d'altres de manera dispersa. Si és possible pot resultar interessant conèixer l'interior d'una casa d'aquest període, realitzant un pla d'ella i fotografies.

- Estudi de diferents mapes del Sants del segle XIX tractant d'establir quins elements s'han mantingut i quines han estat les principals modificacions i transformacions fins als nostres dies. En l'*Arxiu Històric de Sants* (Centre Cívic de les Cotxeres-Casa del Relloger) podreu trobar material cartogràfic suficient per realitzar estudis sobre l'evolució urbanística.

c/ del pou 25

(A TOCAR DEL "VAPOR VELL")

PLANTA BAIXA

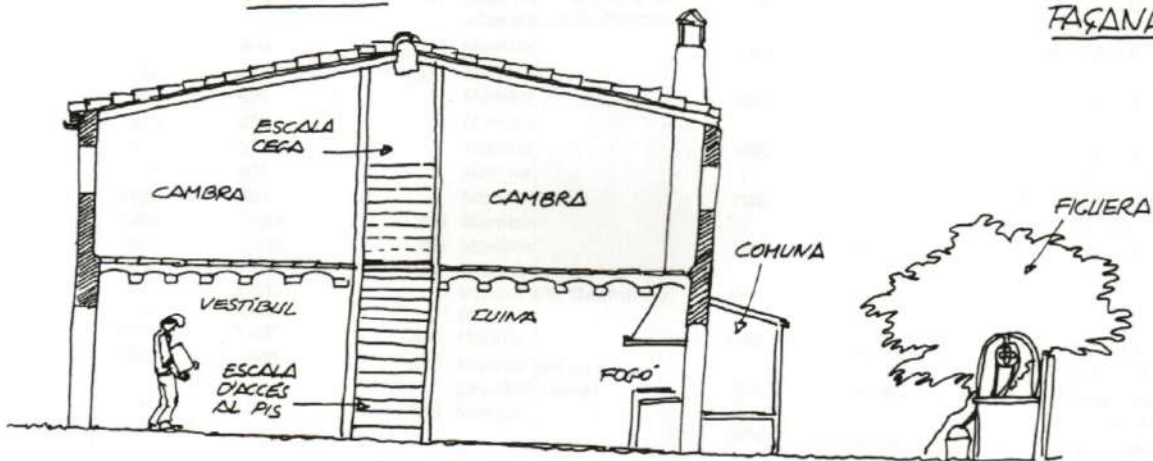


PIS



FAÇANA

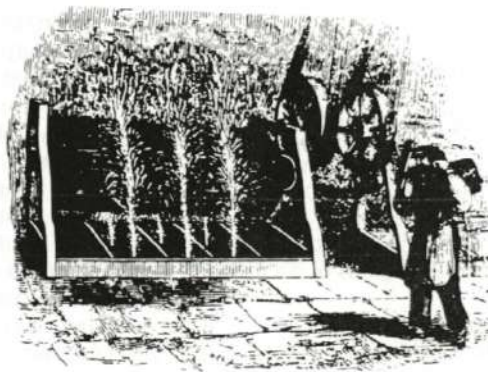
PERFIL



DATA DE CONSTRUCCIÓ APROXIMADA 1843. SUPERFÍCIE TOTAL (SENSE PATI): 90 m².
PARETS D'OBRA (PEDRA I MAÓ) BIGUES DE PI I ROURE SENSE TREBALLAR.
CAL PARAR ATENCIÓ A LA SITUACIÓ CENTRAL DE L'ESCALA, QUE AJUDA A L'APUNTALAMENT DE L'EDIFICI.

6. La població

La industrialització va fer créixer el nombre d'habitants de Sants. Calien molts obrers per fer rutil·lar les fàbriques i quan els que hi havia a Sants no van ser suficients van venir d'arreu de Catalunya i més tard d'arreu de l'Estat espanyol. D'ençà de la fundació del Vapor Vell començà el despegament industrial i la població augmentà any rera any.



6.1. Evolució de la població de Sants

En aquest quadre pots observar com va créixer la població de Sants al llarg d'anys i segles. Aquestes dades han estat subministrades per diferents estudiosos i pels censos oficials realitzats per les autoritats.

Evolució de la població de Sants.						
Anys	Població total	Cases	Font			
1359			Jacint Laporta	1844	2.849	M.U.E.C. a Bellmunt
1365			Josep Iglésies	1845	3.391	705 Monitor
1553			Josep Iglésies	1846	4.026	761 Monitor
1640		21	Monitor	1849	5.214	Jacint Laporta
1712	153	39	Monitor	1850	5.735	Monitor
1715	92		Monitor	1851	6.364	1.140 Monitor (Sants 4.214 hab. i 770 cases)
1716	495		P.V. a Bellmunt			Jacint Laporta
1718		28	Josep Iglésies (Vicenni)	1852	6.644	560 Pascual Madoz
1727	160	43	Monitor	1854	1.739	Cens Oficial
1732	183	56	Monitor	1857	6.739	1.052 Cens Oficial
1736	224	65	Monitor	1860	7.984	Acta Municipal d'electors (12.687 hab.?)
1740	239		Monitor	1870		
1741	225	73	Monitor			
1742		75	Monitor (Dr. Donyó)	1877	15.980	1.946 Cens Oficial
1763	385	100	Monitor	1877	19.105	2.476 Cens Oficial
1774	385	100	Monitor	1897	25.085	3.344 Cens Oficial (D.º VII: 76.294 hab.)
1774	475	127	Monitor			A.E.C.B.
1780	527	145	Monitor	1898	27.116	2.767 Cens Oficial (D.º VII: 80.456 hab.)
1786	662	154	Monitor	1900	28.186	A.E.C.B.
1787	434		Cens de Floridablanca	1904	28.138	6.103 A.E.C.B. (D.º VII: 86.361 hab.)
1789	500	97	Joan Mas, resposta al qüestionari de Zamora	1905	28.132	A.E.C.B.
1791	800	211	Monitor	1910	31.601	6.799 A.E.C.B. (D.º VII: 102.021 hab.)
1792	1.014		Monitor			A.E.C.B.
1803	825		Monitor	1915	34.436	(D.º VII: 110.146 hab.)
1810	436		Monitor			A.E.C.B.
1812	578		Monitor	1920	44.476	(D.º VII: 133.562 hab.)
1816	905		Monitor			A.E.C.B.
1820	883		Monitor	1930	70.314	4.226 Cens oficial (D.º VII: 115.809 hab.)
1824	1.158	238	Monitor	1945	89.781	Padró Municipal (D.º VII: 110.197 hab.)
1828	1.400	283	Monitor			Cens Oficial (D.º VII: 116.802 hab.)
1830	1.482	307	Monitor	1960	98.531	Padró Municipal (D.º VII: 117.720)
1833	1.700		Diccionario Geográfico			Cens Oficial (D.º VII: 121.280 hab.)
1836	2.036		Monitor	1965	100.617	Padró Municipal (D.º VII: 125.086 hab.)
1840	2.307	487	Monitor			
1842	2.930	570	Monitor (en un altre pàg. 657 cases)	1970	104.681	
1844	3.229	670	Monitor	1974	109.239	

Font: Reproducció parcial de les dades subministrades per Carreras i Verdguer, C.: *Sants, Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*. Serpa, Barcelona, 1980. pàg. 14.

Proposta d'activitats

- Construeix una gràfica de l'evolució de la població a Sants, durant el segle XIX, a partir de les dades de la taula 6.1. En l'eix horitzontal col·loca la cronologia i en el vertical el nombre d'habitants.

Observa els ritmes de creixement de la població. Fes un comentari escrit a propòsit de la lectura de la gràfica. Assenyala quins són els períodes de màxim creixement.

- Llegeix el text-document 6.2., assenyala en quin període hi ha més construcció de cases.

- A partir de la informació de la gràfica i amb l'ajut del text 6.2., esbrina les causes que provoquen el creixement de la població i del nombre d'habitacles.

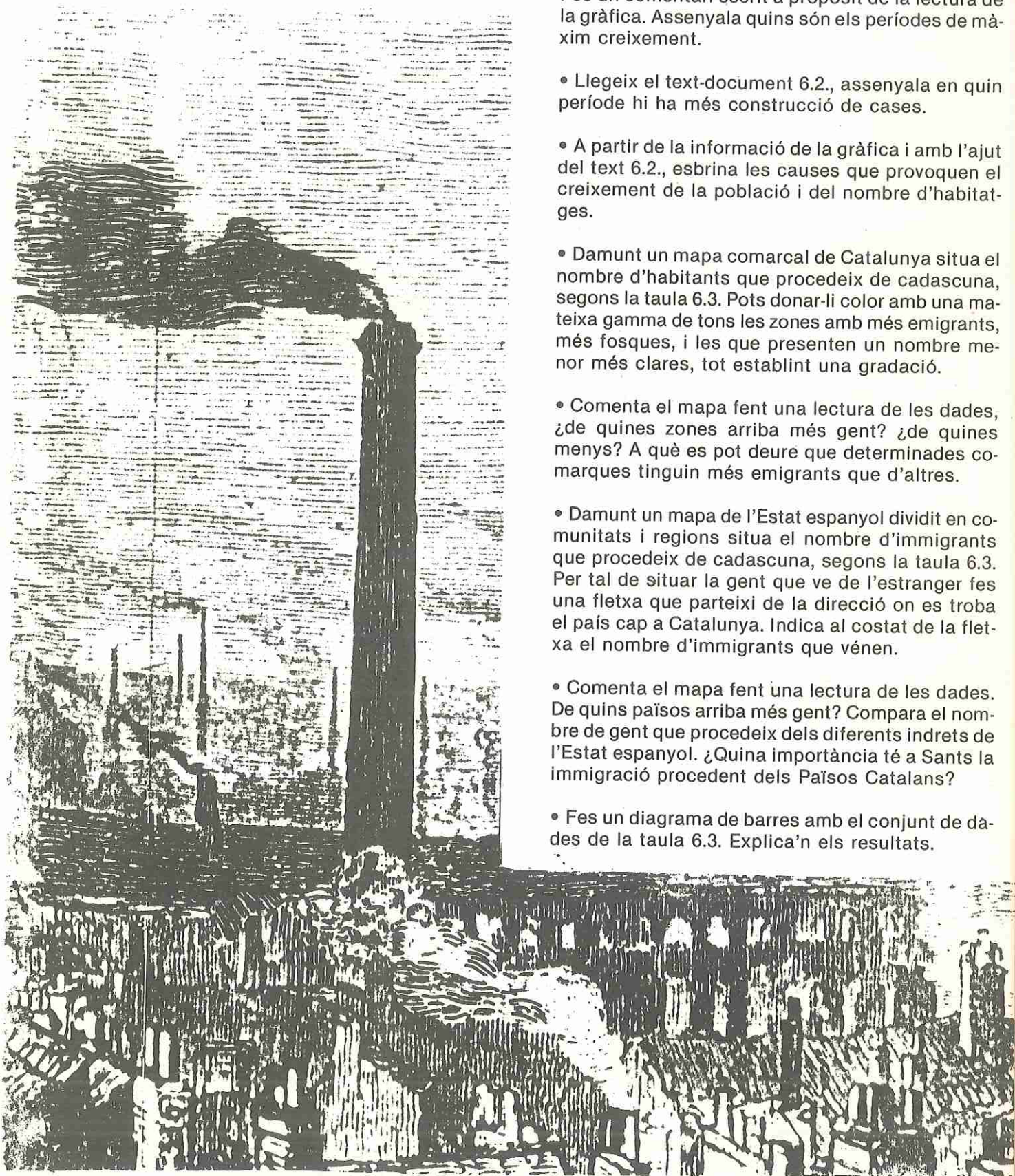
- Damunt un mapa comarcal de Catalunya situa el nombre d'habitants que procedeix de cadascuna, segons la taula 6.3. Pots donar-li color amb una mateixa gamma de tons les zones amb més emigrants, més fosques, i les que presenten un nombre menor més clares, tot establint una gradació.

- Comenta el mapa fent una lectura de les dades, ¿de quines zones arriba més gent? ¿de quines menys? A què es pot deure que determinades comarques tinguin més emigrants que d'altres.

- Damunt un mapa de l'Estat espanyol dividit en comunitats i regions situa el nombre d'immigrants que procedeix de cadascuna, segons la taula 6.3. Per tal de situar la gent que ve de l'estranger fes una fletxa que parteixi de la direcció on es troba el país cap a Catalunya. Indica al costat de la fletxa el nombre d'immigrants que vénen.

- Comenta el mapa fent una lectura de les dades. De quins països arriba més gent? Compara el nombre de gent que procedeix dels diferents indrets de l'Estat espanyol. ¿Quina importància té a Sants la immigració procedent dels Països Catalans?

- Fes un diagrama de barres amb el conjunt de dades de la taula 6.3. Explica'n els resultats.





Conjunt d'habitatges obrers del carrer del Pou tal com es conservaven a començaments del segle XX.
Font: Arxiu Històric de Sants.

6.2. Construcció d'habitatges a Sants

A mitjan segle XIX, Andreu Casanovas, mossèn de la parròquia de Santa Maria de Sants, va recollir moltes dades importants de la parròquia i del poble de Sants. Va escriure un treball molt important, anomenat *Monitor*, que explicava coses de segles i anys anteriors fins al 1851. Gràcies al *Monitor* podem saber moltes coses del Sants del segle passat. En els paràgrafs que reproduïm ens informem de quantes cases hi havia en el temps del *Vapor Vell*.

Podràs observar que el català escrit és un tant estrany perquè l'any 1851 el català s'escrivía de diferents maneres. Hem respectat la grafia original de la majoria dels documents del *Monitor* que s'han reproduït en aquest dossier a fi i efecte de mantenir al màxim el caràcter de la font d'informació.

«...75 cases resultan fetas en 1742. 657 son las que hi havia fetas en 1842. De modo que en una centuria se han edificat a Sans 582 casas cuuls números y dueños se troban continuats en la llibreta de comunions de aqueix any que es algun tant entretinguda.

Casi doble número de cases se han fet en los últims deu anys desde 1842 a 1852 de modo que en eix any de 1851 ja n'hiá 1.140 junt ab las que se estan edificant faran doble número en 1852.

Considerant aqueixa Població ab lo moviment que pren per rahó de las fábriques que novament se han fet considerant la sua grandiositat la industria que propaga, lo comers ques dilata, lo ganancial que en lo Poble deixa, tot a la veritat es creix. Aumenta la població, lo caserío y juntament lo ascendent del Párroco ja en rahó de la nova clasificació aument de asignació y drets com aument de importància.»

Font: Casanovas, A; *Monitor o consulta parroquial a Sta. Maria de Sants*, 1851. Carta mecanografiada a l'Arxiu Històric de Sants.

6.3. Procedència de la població

Pel 1846 la població de Sants superava els 4.000 habitants, d'aquesta bona part eren immigrants que s'adreçaven al poble a la recerca de treball, i tot i que els vapors no havien començat a funcionar, Sants es configurava ja com un pol de referència industrial que requeria mà d'obra. No tenim dades de quina era la proporció d'immigrants respecte al total de la població, però mossèn Andreu Casanovas ens va deixar en el *Monitor* referències que poden ser útils per escatir la importància de la immigració. En efecte en el *monitor* està recollida la procedència de 757 casats de la parròquia de Sants, i tot i que cal suposar que bona part dels immigrants serien solters i per tant la proporció de forans respecte al total de la població deuria ser més alta el llistat ens és útil i orientatiu per saber de quines contrades procedien els immigrants.

Proposta d'activitats

- Construeix una gràfica de l'evolució de la població a Sants, durant el segle XIX, a partir de les dades de la taula 6.1. En l'eix horitzontal col·loca la cronologia i en el vertical el nombre d'habitants.

Observa els ritmes de creixement de la població. Fes un comentari escrit a propòsit de la lectura de la gràfica. Assenyala quins són els períodes de màxim creixement.

- Llegeix el text-document 6.2., assenyala en quin període hi ha més construcció de cases.

- A partir de la informació de la gràfica i amb l'ajut del text 6.2., esbrina les causes que provoquen el creixement de la població i del nombre d'habitants.

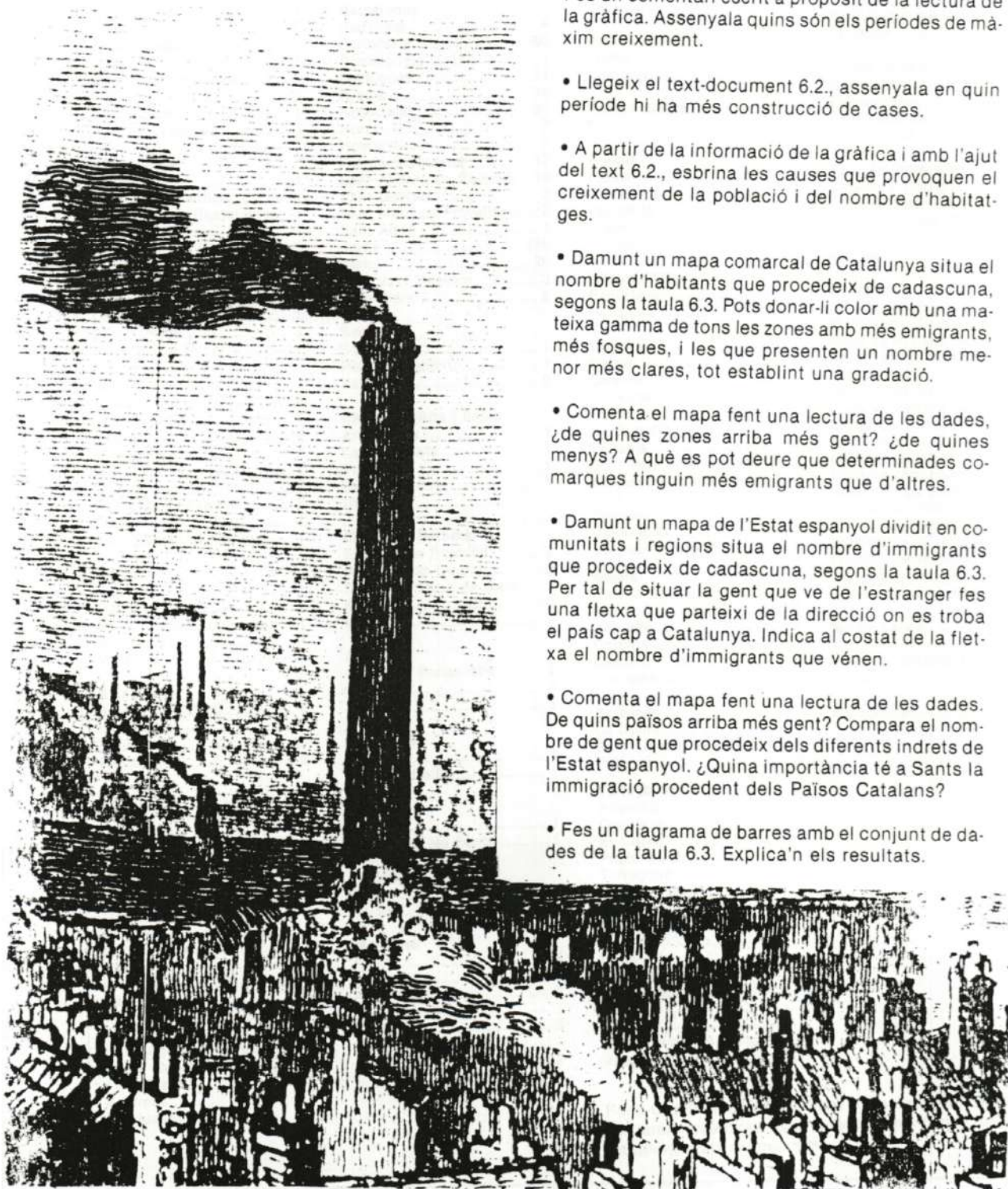
- Damunt un mapa comarcal de Catalunya situa el nombre d'habitants que procedeix de cadascuna, segons la taula 6.3. Pots donar-li color amb una mateixa gamma de tons les zones amb més emigrants, més fosques, i les que presenten un nombre menor més clares, tot establint una gradació.

- Comenta el mapa fent una lectura de les dades, ¿de quines zones arriba més gent? ¿de quines menys? A què es pot deure que determinades comarques tinguin més emigrants que d'altres.

- Damunt un mapa de l'Estat espanyol dividit en comunitats i regions situa el nombre d'immigrants que procedeix de cadascuna, segons la taula 6.3. Per tal de situar la gent que ve de l'estranger fes una fletxa que parteixi de la direcció on es troba el país cap a Catalunya. Indica al costat de la fletxa el nombre d'immigrants que vénen.

- Comenta el mapa fent una lectura de les dades. De quins països arriba més gent? Compara el nombre de gent que procedeix dels diferents indrets de l'Estat espanyol. ¿Quina importància té a Sants la immigració procedent dels Països Catalans?

- Fes un diagrama de barres amb el conjunt de dades de la taula 6.3. Explica'n els resultats.



Procedència dels 757 casats que hi havia a Sants l'any 1846.

PRINCIPAT DE CATALUNYA

Alt Camp

Alcover	1
Masllorenç	1
Montferri	1
Mont-ral	1
Valls	2
Vila-rodona	2

Alt Empordà

Albanya	1
Castelló d'Empúries	1
Figueres	2
La Jonquera	1
Port de la Selva	3

Alt Penedès

Gelida	1
Sant Martí Sarroca	1
Sant Pere de Riudebitlles ..	1
Torrelles de Foix	1
Vilafranca del Penedès	5

Alt Urgell

Arfà	1
Oliana	1
Seu d'Urgell	3
Vilanova de Banat	1

Anoia

Castellolí	2
Capellades	1
Igualada	4
Masquefa	2
Piera	1
Pierola	1
Pobla de Claramunt	2
Prats de Rei	1
Sant Sadurn d'Anoia	1

Bages

Cardona	1
Manresa	5
Moià	1
Monistrol	1
Mura	1

Baix Camp

Borges del Camp	1
Montbrió	1
Reus	10
Riudoms	2

Baix Ebre

Tortosa	3
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Baix Empordà

Sa Riera	7
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Baix Llobregat

Cornellà	6
Corbera	1
Esparreguera	4
Olesa	1
Prat	6
Sant Boi	9
Sant Feliu	1
Sant Joan Despí	2
Sant Vicenç dels Horts	1
Santa Creu d'Olorda	1
Torrelles	1
Vallirana	1
Viladecans	2

Baix Penedès

Albinyana	1
Calafell	1
Santa Oliva	1
Vendrell	4

Barcelonès

Badalona	4
Barcelona	60
Barceloneta	1
Esplugues	14
Gràcia	13
Hospitalet	31
Horta	7
Hostafrancs	3
Pla de Barcelona	17
Sant Andreu de Palomar ..	14
Sant Gervasi	3
Sant Martí de Provençals ..	7
Sant Adrià	1
Sants	159
Sarrià	26
Sant Just Desvern	3
Vallvidrera	2

Berguedà

Berga	1
Pont de Rabentí	1
Vallielles	2

Cerdanya (Alta i Baixa)

Angostrina	1
La Guingueta	1
Puigcerdà	1
Santa Eugènia	1
Ur	1

Conca de Barberà

Espluga de Francolí	2
Rocafort de Queralt	3
Santa Perpètua de Galà	1
Sarrià	5
Vilaverd	2

Garraf

Olesa de Bonesvalls	2
Sitges	2
Vilanova	6

Garrigues

Albí	1
Espluga Calba	1

Garrotxa

Olot	1
Sant Joan les Fonts	1

Gironès

Biert	1
Girona	1

Maresme

Arenys	2
Alella	1
Argentona	1
Cabrera	1
Mataró	3
Sant Iscle	1
Sant Vicenç	2

Noguera

Balaguer	1
Ponts	1

Osona

Sant Feliu de Torelló	1
Vic	3

Pallars Jussà

Tremp	2
Conques	1

Pallars Sobirà

Sort	1
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Priorat

Falset	3
Gratallops	3
Poboleda	1
Pradell	1
Torroja	4

Ribera d'Ebre

Benissanet	1
Rasquera	1

Segarra

Bellvei	2
Cervera	4
Freixenet	1
Guissona	5
La Guardia	1
Sanaüja	1
Sant Pere dels Arquells	1
St. Ramon de la Manresana ..	1
Torà	2
Torrefeta	1
Vallfogona	1
Vergós Guerrejat	1

Segrià

Alcanó	1
Alfès	1
Alguairè	2
Corbins	1
Lleida	3
Torrebesses	1

Solsonès

La Coma	1
Sant Llorenç de Morunys ..	1
Solsona	1

Tarragonès

Altafulla	1
Constantí	1
El Catllar	2
Pobla de Montornès	6
Tarragona	14
Torredembarra	10

Urgell

Agramunt	6
Claravalls	2
Guimerà	1
Mollerussa	1
Talladell	2
Tàrraga	7
Vallbona de les Monges	1
Vilagrassa	3

Vall d'Aran

Montcabau	1
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Vallès Occidental

Caldes	4
Palau de Plegamans	1
Sabadell	1
Sant Cugat del Vallès	4
Terrassa	6

Vallès Oriental

Granoilers	2
Palautordera	1
Sant Feliu de Codines	2
Sant Celoni	1

País Valencià, Illes

Aldaia (l'Horta)	1
Cervera (Baix Maestrat)	1
Rebollar (Plana d'Utiel)	1
València	3
Mallorca	4

Altres llocs

Lió (Occitània)	1
Montpeller (Occitània)	2
Mora de Rubiels (Aragó)	1
Aragó (sense especificar) ..	1
Nàpols (Itàlia)	1
Granada (Andalusia)	1
Guadix (Granada, Andalusia) ..	1
Alcalà del Rio (Sevilla, Andalusia)	1
Màlaga (Andalusia)	1
Còrdova (Andalusia)	1
Albacete (La Manxa)	1
Múrcia (Múrcia)	1
Rioja (sense especificar) ..	1
Salamanca (Castella)	1
França (sense especificar) ..	1
Portugal (sense especificar) ..	1
Alemanya (sense especificar) ..	1

No ho saben

Indret no localitzat	15
Samalda	1

No consten

.....	49
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Font: Quadre elaborat en base a les dades del Monitor. Cal tenir present que alguns dels pobles poden haver estat interpretats erròniament.

7. Oficis i treball

A mitjan segle XIX el ventall d'ocupacions que tenia la gent de Sants era molt variat, ja que les tasques agrícoles tenien molta importància, subsistien una gran quantitat d'oficis artesans, el sector de serveis també era present en funció de la proximitat a la gran ciutat i de la bona ubicació del poble a cavall de la carretera de Madrid, finalment cal esmentar el treball industrial, molt important, sobretot, a partir del 1846.

Reproduïm a continuació tres interessants documents. El primer explica els oficis o feines que feien els 757 casats sobre els quals mossèn Andreu Casanovas tenia informació. És un llistat procedent del *Monitor* i en el qual s'ha respectat la grafia original del document. Data del 1846. En aquesta data el *Vapor Vell* encara no havia començat a funcionar, per aquesta raó en l'apartat fàbrica de Vapor únicament consta un treballador, el vigilant de la fàbrica. En canvi a l'apartat de Prats, consta un nombre important de treballadors en «2 vapors», aquests dos vapors es refereixen a les naus industrials amb energia de vapor que ja en aquesta data funcionaven, propietat de Bertrand Serra. Aquests «2 vapors» estaven instal·lats al damunt dels antics terrenys del *Prat Vermell* explotats com a prats d'indianes per la mateixa família.

El document segon és una reflexió que sobre el llistat esmentat fa la C. Carreras posant de relleu les seves principals característiques.

Algun dels oficis que apareixen són de difícil interpretació i classificació però així i tot aquest document, encara que parcial, ja que recull únicament les activitats dels casats, és força orientatiu.

El tercer document data del 1851, i per tant el *Vapor Vell* ja està en ple funcionament, és un recull dels impostos o contribucions que pagaven diferents oficis i establiments de Sants. Apareixen ja en aquest document el *Vapor Vell* i el *Vapor Nou*, i fins i tot en el cas del *Vapor Vell* s'especifica el nombre de treballadors.

7.1. Oficis en què s'ocupen els 757 casats que hi ha a Sants:

A	
Albañils	16
Albeltars	3
Aputacari	2
Adrogué	1
Arteros —B. est—	2
Arangadé	1
B	
Barberias	5
Bosé	3
Boscaté	2
Blanquejadó	1
Basté	2

C	
Carretes de menal	43
Carreté fabrica n	4
Carnisé	7
Camalich	7
Cerradó	4
Café	2
Celadós o Vigilans	3
Cadiraire	3
Cirujá	3
Culleraire	1
Comandant	1
Contraban	3
Corredó de grans	4
Costuras	159
Cordé	2
Comerciant bastiá	1
Cistellé	1
Clavetaire	2
Couré	1
Cego	2

E	
Estudis (fills?)	207
Espardeñeries	8
Espardeñés	12
Estelladó	1
Esparté	2
Esmolet	1
Escrivent —B. Est—	2
Estanqué	1

F	
Fabrica Vapor	1
Treballadors	23
Fabrica Vidriol	3
Treballadors	9
Forns de pa	7
Fornés	10
Fusteries	5
Fustés	8
Ferreries	4
Fabrica Corda	1
Fidehué	1
Fab. Mistus —Est—	2
Fab. Porcelana. —Est—	1

Y	
Impresó	1

L	
Llauné	1

G	
Gitanus	9
Gerré	4
Gabelladó	2

M	
Manobra	26
Militars ret.	9
Magatsemé grans	6
Magatsemé vi	1
Magatsemé aiguardent	2
Mosus del Comú	4
Moliné	3
Matalot	2
Metge	1
Mañá	5

O	
Ortelá	9
Ollaires	7
Hostals	4

	P	
Pagesias		59
Pagesos		190
Prats		
2 Vapors		
1. 22 treballadors		
2. 44 treballadors		
Es. Tr. Prat		2
Trab. Prat		37
Padrera trab.		33
Pobres		8
Pescadó		3
Pastó		15
Parrot		3
Parxé		1
Pellaire		1
Pitiaire		1
Procuradó		1
Pisa. Trab.		1
	R	
Rejoiarías		21
Rejolés		57
	S	
Sastrerías		4
Sastres		7
Sabatés		4
Saboné		2
Serenos		2
Seguretá publ.		12
Safrané		3
	T	
Teixits Febr.		4
Teixidós		32
Tabernas vi		4
Tabernés		12
Tendés		12
Tartrané		4
Tinturé		1
Terraire		3
	V	
Vidrié		1

TOTAL: A = 25, B = 14, C = 97, E = 22, F = 56, G = 15,
 Y = 1, L = 2, M = 59, O = 20, P = 299, R = 57, S = 20,
 T = 65, V = 1, que no se sap = 6, Total = 757

Font: *Monitor*

7.2.

«Dels 757 casats un 67'8% serien homes de classes populars, d'aquests un 28'9% serien del sector primari —pagesos, hortelans, garbelladors, pastors, pescadors—, un 26'4% del secundari; prop de la meitat de ram tèxtil —teixidors, treballadors del prat i dels vapors, perxer, blanquejadors i un teixidor de pita— i la resta quasi tots de la construcció —paletes, manobres, treballadors de les rajoleries— restant només 9 treballadors d'una o varies fàbriques de vidriols. El 12'5% restant el podem considerar del sector terciari, aquest sector que és un calaix de sastre on hi caben des dels bisbes a les prostitutes; d'aquests un 3% són servidors públics: serenos, guàrdies, mossos del comú, celadors, birots, militars, —un 7% del transport— camàlics, carreters i tartaners— restant un esmolet, vuit pobres i nou gitanos.»

Font: Carreras i Verdaguer: *Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona*. Serpa, Barcelona, 1980, pàgs. 26-27.

Els teixidors de cotó eren un grup important dins del conjunt del proletariat del Pla de Barcelona i de la pròpia ciutat. Sovint organitzaven berenades o festes per a tota la gent del seu ram, com aquesta que apareix representada en un romanç vuitcentista.



7.3. Contribució d'indústria i comerç:

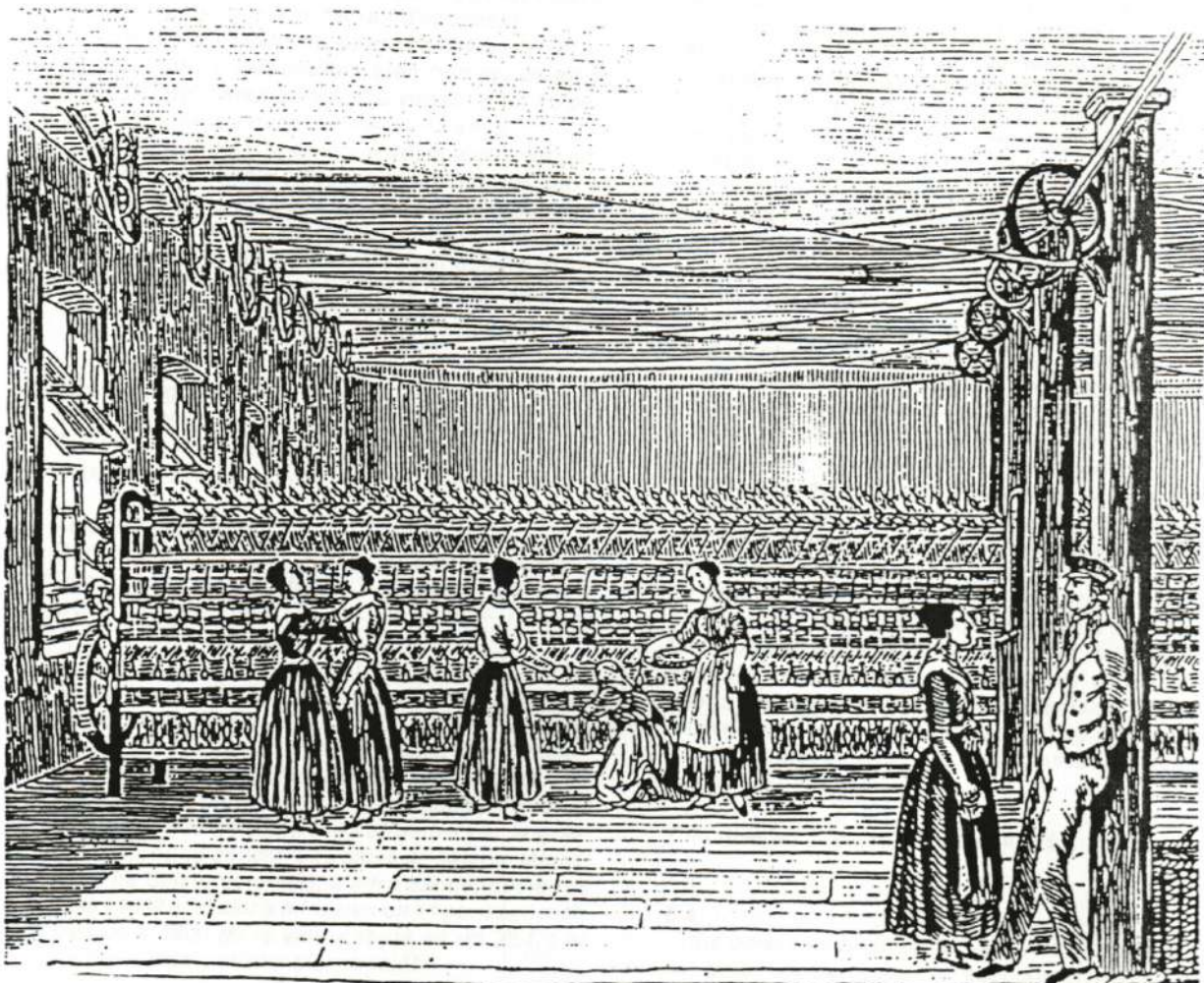
3 magatsems de aiguardent, cada hu paga		371	rs.	
3 magatsems de aiguardent, cada hu paga		371		
3 Cafés, els dos		299		el 3 93 rs.
4 Contractants de carn, els tres		299		el 4 223 rs.
1 Posada de carruatges, cada hu		150		
3 Aputacaris, cada hu		150		
1 Arquitecte Jph. Rafols, cada hu		149		a 107
20 Tendras de comestibles desde		143		
2 Droguers, cada hu		143		
2 Metges, cada hu		143		
2 Vidriers, cada hu		83		
4 Forners, sobre		83		
13 Tabernas, cada hu		83		
1 Tenda de gavinetes		83		
9 Mestres de cases	3 de 59 - 3 de	47		3 de 35
3 Albeitaras, cada hu		47		
6 Espardeñers	2 de 50 - 2 de	45		2 de 35
2 Tendras de aiguardent		47		
4 Tendras de menjar		47		
3 Gerrés		47		
1 Carnicer		47		
11 Fusters	1 de 64 - 1 95 -	69		1 de 59 - 6- 28
5 Fabricants de carros, cada hu		47		
3 Mañans		47		
1 Cirugià		47		
1 Llevadora		47		
4 Ferrers		47		
1 Liauné		47		
3 Sabaters	1 de 59 2 de	53		1 de 41
5 Sastres		47		
3 Culleraires ó marchants		47		
1 Boter		47		
1 Tenda de varios efectes		23		
3 Basters	2 de 28 3 de	23		2 de 16
7 Barbers		23		
2 Cistellers		23		
3 Espaters		119		
1 Boscater		419		3 de 300 i 1 179
8 Revenedors de grans, cada hu paga	1 de 431 - 2 de	107		
1 Joch de Pilota, cada hu paga	2 de 107 - 1 de	77		1 de 26
4 Villars		359		
3 Negociants de animals (gitanus), cada hu paga	3 de 2 animals	119		2 de 1 59
5 Tartraners	1 de 4 animals	114		3-3 86 3-2 57
7 Carraters		11		
2 Safreig de rentar		479		
1 Molí de Farina, Bordeta de Baix 3ª Tarifa				Treballan
1 Fabrica de Joan Güell y Ramis	2 maquinas de vapor ab la forsa de 80 caballs, 42 cardas; 7.000 fusos, 14 maquinas de filar, 144 talers mecánichs de empesa y 165 de balluts.			Homens 230 Donas 184 Total 414
1 Fabrica España Industrial	48 cardas; 68 mqs. ab 19.986 fusos. 275 telés mecánichs. 190 1 blanqueix, 3 cilindros de estampar.	5.666	rs.	7 ms.
1 Fabrica Enrique Grillet	2 parotidas. 2 cilindros estampar. 2 parotides	12.113	rs.	9 ms.
1 Teler de betas de 80 pesas plegadas		4.108	rs.	13 ms.
4 Tins vermells ó blanqueix, cada un paga		35	rs.	
1 blanqueix y bullidor (serra)		431	rs.	Erasmé, Regordosa, Nata
2 Fabricas de produchs. quimichs		1078	rs.	
1 Fabrica de Sabó		1078		Roure
1 Pellaire, total paga		856		Cros (avui Cros S.A.)
11 Fornes de Rajoler, Total		172		
		107		
		59		

Font: Monitor



Proposta d'activitats:

- Fes un ciclograma basant-te en les dades. Pinta d'un color diferent cada sector.
- Explica què vol dir sector primari, secundari i terciari.
- En aquests moments ¿quin té més importància a Sants? Per què?
- Comenta la poca diferència que observes entre el % de gent que treballa en el sector primari i secundari. Què va passar més endavant?
- Escriu el significat de les següents paraules: garbellador, porxer, teixidor de pita, «mossus» del comú, celador, birot, camàlic, tartaner, esmolet, matlot, mañà.
- De tots els oficis que s'anomenen en el text, ¿quins actualment encara tenen importància?



8. Condicions de vida de la població obrera

Ésser obrer a mitjan segle XIX no era gens fàcil, les condicions de treball sovint eren inhumanes, insalubres, els sous escassos... En els següents textos hem recollit algunes opinions diferents al respecte de les condicions de vida de la població obrera catalana, així com de les actituds que s'esperaven d'ella.

8.1. La vida quotidiana dels obrers i de les obreres

«Com ja ha quedat dit abans, els treballadors es dividien, cap al 1840, en operaris o obrers, que més tard foren coneguts com a proletaris, que eren, fixos o eventuais, els qui feien funcionar les fàbriques; artesans-obrers, que treballaven en els nombrosos tallers —fusteries, ferreries, etc.—; i la patuleia, que venia a ser «un grup format en gran part per gent jove, desplaçada o forastera, tal com solen indicar els textos contemporanis, i amb poca classificació professional», segons Ollé Romeu. En el pla econòmic, era una reserva de mà d'obra en atur en els moments de crisi i que treballava quan hi havia feina, o sia en temps d'expansió.

Segons les estadístiques més fiables, del 40 al 45 per cent de treballadors eren homes, un altre 40-45 per cent eren dones, i al voltant d'un 15 per cent eren nens i nenes entre 8 i 14 anys.

A mitjan segle XIX un obrer venia a guanyar entre 2.296 i 4.160 rals a l'any, segons que fos peó o teixidor, segons estigués casat o no, oscil·laven entre 2.301 i 4.176 rals, és a dir sobrepassaven, encara que per poc, els guanys. Un petit quadre extret de la Monografia estadística de la classe obrera de Barcelona en 1856, d'Idefons Cerdà, serà prou útil:

Tipus d'ingressos

Obrer corrent	2.295,95 rals/any
Teixidor	4.160,— rals/any
Teixidor llana	3.604,— rals/any

Tipus de despeses

Obrer solter	2.301,40 rals/any
Obrer casat (sense fills)	3.071,— rals/any
Obrer casat (2 fills)	4.176,— rals/any

Pràctica constant de la patronal en aquest període era la rebaixa dels sous quan la circumstància ho permetia. Entre 1840 i 1843 baixaren senzillament perquè augmentà la mà d'obra en llicenciar-se molts dels qui havien lluitat a la guerra carlina (1833-40). Tot i que tornaren a funcionar fàbriques de pobles que havien romàs aturades per la guerra, hi hagué en general una baixa de salaris. Miquel Izard ha deixat establert, d'altra banda, que entre 1849 i 1862 els salaris minvaren un 11 per cent, mentre que el cost de la vida s'apujà en un 36,1. I es tractava d'un període d'expansió!»

Font: Huertas Claveria, J.M.: *Obrers a Catalunya*, Avenç, L', Barcelona 1982, pàgs. 12-13-14.

8.2. Les dones i els nens

«No cal dir que, com fins ara a molts llocs, les dones cobraven menys que els homes, tot i treballar les mateixes hores i patir les mateixes condicions. La manca d'organització expressa de les dones del moviment obrer —els primers nuclis una mica organitzats trigaren a arribar encara— i la pròpia mentalitat dels homes dificultava qualsevol reivindicació en aquest sentit.

Pel que fa als nens i nenes, entraven a treballar en condicions igual de dures ben aviat, des dels 8 anys, que autoritzava la llei, per ajudar els seus pares. Durant el bienni progressista es preparà un projecte de llei, molt moderat, que establia que els nens i nenes de vuit anys només podrien treballar sis hores per donar ocasió que s'instruïssin —l'analfabetisme era brutal i pràcticament només el 15 per cent dels obrers havien rebut instrucció primària— i quant als adolescents de 12 a 18 anys, el projecte de llei establia que «només podran treballar deu hores diàries, és a dir, dues menys que els adults. Malgrat el to moderat, el projecte rebé crítiques duríssimes de la patronal i no va ser aprovat. Espanya no tindria cap llei social, o sia sobre qüestions laborals, fins al 1873, any de la Primera República. La duresa de les condicions laborals per als aprenents trigaria a desaparèixer, ja que cobraven menys que els adults i eren «bàsics», als ulls dels fabricants, per a l'economia dels seus tallers i indústries.»

Font: Huertas Claveria, J.M.: op. cit. pàg. 18-19.

8.3. Ni carn ni peix

«El menú quotidià de les classes treballadores no permetia incloure ni carn ni peix, llevat del dissabte, i encara aleshores era el que el metge higienista Pere Felip Monlau qualificava de «carn de dissabte», perquè era el dia que en menjaven, i no passaven de ser les deixalles de l'escorxador.

Els obrers esmorzaven pa i sardines salades, els pares; i amb pa i aigua, els nens. Dinaven fresols amb oli o escudella, i per sopar menjaven patates amb oli. De vegades, incloïen bacallà o una mica de carn de porc. La beguda habitual era el vi. Malgrat la precarietat i discreció d'aquests menjars, l'alimentació es duia el 53,69 per cent del pressupost. En èpoques de crisi funcionava als ajuntaments i als establiments de beneficència «l'olla pública», on donaven un plat de sopa o de llegum, no per humanitat sinó per por a les masses desvagades.»

Font: Huertas Claveria, J.M.: op. cit., 15.

8.4.

Els obrers es nodrien de pa, vi, verdures, bacallà, porc i les deixalles de l'escorxador —«carnes del sàbado».

Font: Pere Felip Monlau, metge, 1856.

8.5.

«Treballaven dotze o tretze hores diàries tan homes com dones i minyons, tan els forts com els febles, en locals infectes i poc airejats, i menjaven generalment bacallà i arengades, perquè no podien comprar carn, això els ressecava la gola i els induïa a beure vi i aguardent.

Joaquim Font, metge, 1852.

8.6. La curta vida obrera

«Un dels flagells més greus del segle passat era, i no pot estranyar ningú davant les condicions de vida descrites, la mortaldat a edats joves. A la dècada dels anys quaranta a Barcelona moria el 49,8 per cent dels nens menors de 5 anys, és a dir un de cada dos infants. Cal dir que, per aquesta raó, la mitjana de vida era molt baixa:

Període 1837-47

Mitjana anys de vida d'obers 23,55 anys
Mitjana anys de vida menestrals 25,15 anys
Mitjana de vida dels rics 36'47 anys

Laureà Figuerola, ministre liberal el 1869, ha deixat escrit un quadre literari en la seva Estadística de Barcelona en 1849 que val la pena de transcriure:

«Cuando veais un barrio sombrío donde los proletarios pululan, observaréis también inmensidad de criaturas demacradas que nunca pasan de la infancia. No oiréis allí los ruidosos juegos de niños traviesos, de alegre semblante y risa expansiva: allí la enfermedad tiene su asiento, allí el coche fúnebre halla continuo acarro; no hay allí hermosas fisonomías, juventud garrida: que la preocupación del propio sustento quita á la edad sus ilusiones, convirtiendo mal su grado en hombres á los que son mozos todavía.»

Les institucions de caritat eren, en aquest sentit, un dolorós seguit de morts prematurs, com ho prova que de 9.703 expòsits —o sia fills naturals— entrats entre 1836 i 1848 a l'hospital de la Santa Creu, només se'n salvessin 811, o sia el 8,35 per cent. Com ha afirmat, amb el seu càustic estil d'escriure, l'historiador Josep Fontana, «en aquella època la diferencia de fortuna entre el patrono y sus obreros no sólo se reflejaba en la posibilidad de obtener más goce de la vida, sino en la probabilidad de vivir el doble».

Tot i que és ben cert que hi havia llocs on es treballaven quinze i setze hores diàries, no ho és menys que en l'època a què ens referim a molts llocs s'havien pactat les 12 hores i es lluitava per aconseguir les onze. Concretament, a Sabadell, els obrers i fabricants de la llana havien arribat a un pacte de treballar 12 hores, amb prohibició expressa d'agafar gent de fora mentre hi hagués gent en atur que fos de la fàbrica, i nomenament d'un comitè mixt de dos obrers —designats pels fabricants— i de dos patrons —designats pels obrers— conjuntament amb l'alcalde de la població.»

Font: Huertas Claveria, J.M.: op. cit. pàg. 16-17.

8.7.

«Si alucinados los operarios, se declarasen en guerra abierta contra todos los establecimientos fabriles que les proporcionan su subsistencia i la de sus familias, ¿contarían, acaso, como un día de triunfo el día fatal, en que por consecuencia de los más horribles atentados contra la propiedad pudiesen exclamar: «ya no existe en Barcelona una fábrica de tejidos? ¿Sería posible que se dejasen seducir, hasta el extremo de concebir el absurdo de que el modo de conseguir más optimos frutos consiste en arrancar de raíz el árbol que los produce? ¿Sería prudente medio de asegurar la lactancia de los hijos clavar un puñal en el pecho de la madre que los alimenta?»

Font: Josep Melcior Prat, Governador Civil de Barcelona, 1835.

8.8.

«Nosotros bien os quisiéramos a todos ricos, muy ricos. Ya que no sean asequibles para todos grandes riquezas, quisiéramos que a lo menos, con vuestro honrado trabajo, pudieseis vivir holgadamente y sin las privaciones a que se ven sujetas vuestras familias. Pero y si con vuestras exigencias amedrentáis a los fabricantes, si les obligáis a que retiren sus capitales, si se cierran los talleres y quedan paralizados los trabajos, y perece nuestra industria,... ¿qué habréis conseguido?»

Antoni Palau, bisbe de Vic, 1855

8.9.

«De fet existia un puixant motiu d'incomprensió entre treballadors i industrials: la consideració, tan aferrada entre els catalans de tostemps, i a més estimulada per l'esperit burgès i liberal del vuit-cents, que el fabricant era l'amo absolut del seu afer i que podia acomiadar qui volgués, sense que les autoritats poguessin intervindre-hi. Aquesta doctrina, l'expressà més d'una vegada la Comissió de fàbriques, malgrat que la majoria dels seus dirigents militaven en el progressisme, o sigui l'ala esquerra del liberalisme. Escoltem el que diuen en 1835: «Que, así como el operario es libre de dejar el telar siempre y cuando le conviene, lo sea asimismo el fabricante en despedirlo cuando le convenga». Per a l'industrial d'aquell moment, que no adverteix la dramàticitat del sofisme que implica el seu concepte de llibertat d'opció, el treball era un simple contracte entre l'amo i l'obrer, al qual cadascuna de les parts podia renunciar sempre que li convingués.»

Font: Vicenç Vives, J.; Llorens, M.: Industrials i polítics (segle XIX), Vicens Vives, Barcelona, 1980, pàgs. 146-147.

Proposta d'activitats

• Text 8.1.) Tenint en compte els ingressos i les despeses, ¿com creus que es podien mantenir les famílies?

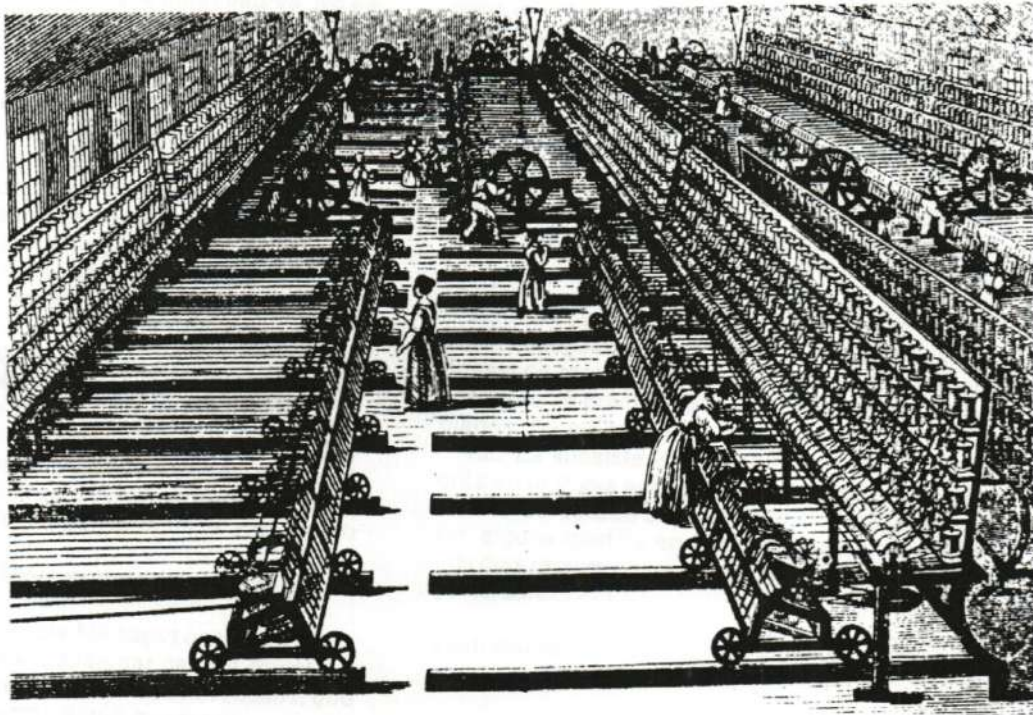
• Text 8.3.) ¿Com creus que vivien els nens en aquella època? Descricu com t'imagines que hauria de ser un dia de la vida d'un nen treballador. ¿Hi ha lleis actualment que regulin el treball dels infants? Quines són?

• Textos 8.2.) 8.4.) 8.5.) Compara la teva dieta usual amb les que estan esmentades als textos. Quines són les grans diferències? Hi ha productes que han variat molt de preu al llarg dels anys. Els textos citen el bacallà com a menjar de pobres. ¿Es pot considerar avui dia que el bacallà és un menjar de pobres?

• Text 8.6.) Esbrina quina és avui l'esperança de vida mitjana i quines són les taxes de mortalitat infantil. Compara els resultats amb els que es donaven entre els treballadors a mitjan segle XIX.

• Textos 8.7.) 8.8.) Des de quin punt de vista estan escrits aquests documents i quin punt de vista defensen.

• Textos 8.9.) Què opines del concepte de llibertat que cita el text.



9. Costums, cultura, vida quotidiana

Mossèn Andreu Casanovas va recollir en el seu *Monitor* diferents observacions a propòsit del caràcter i costums de la gent de Sants que poden ser bastant útils per conèixer com era la gent del poble en els inicis del període del maquinisme industrial. Reproduïm en aquest apartat els paràgrafs més interessants del *Monitor* al respecte d'aquesta qüestió, així com una cançó dedicada a les noies que treballaven en els vapors, anomenades «xinxes», i que si bé no sabem si es refereix estrictament a les treballadores de Sants és un testimoni interessant de cultura popular relacionada amb el desenvolupament industrial.

9.1.

Caràcter de la gent de Sans

«Primerament se deu distingir lo Poble en antic i modern, y lo poble vell an gent nativa y forastera.

La gent nativa ó domiciliada de molts temps han sigut sempre de un caràcter bondadós, dócil, inclinats al treball y bastant adictes á la Iglesia. Se veu per lo magnific temple que comensaren.

Tenian la bona costum de no deixar entrometre a ningun foraster en los cárrechs de Justicia.

Apesar dels vicis de la capital vivian en costums arreglades; aixis es veu que tot hom complia la Parroquia y no consta tingués may lo Curat ningun disgust.

2...Los forasters sempre han habitat en eix poble ab abundancia y de diverses clases, de manera que era un dicho comú, Sans es Andorra, altre també, Sans poch y vergants y la mitat lladres. No es estranys que se hagi acullit en los temps tota especie de mal factors pues el ser prop de la capital los proporciona ser aucells de bosch.

La autoritat de aqueix Poble sembla que se ha mirat sempre ab indiferencia la estada de tanta diferencia de gent, y miro ques al respecte que esta clase ha tingut de no fer mal al mateix Poble.

Entre los forasters se poden contar los gitanos que han fet sempre llinatge á part y han viscut ó aparentat viurer molt sumisos á la autoritat. Pero sempre han de menester rigor, sino es desmoralisan luego.

3...Era molt facil al Párroco dirigir la opinió en aqueil temps ja per la bondat y sensillez de la gent com també per la influencia que tenia en la elecció de ajuntament. Generalment era consultat lo seu dictament y seguit lo seu parer. Las suas insinuacions contra lo discol y malvat, com lo seus informes eran cregudas per la justicia y al mateix temps callades.

4...La moral del Poble modern se resent de lá marcha del segle.

La part sana del Poble hiá hagut ocasió en eixos anys que se ha deixat subjugar per los forasters, deixat acuquinar per una polilla de novensans, que li donarán ab lo temps algún quesentir.

Continuant lo modo actual de eleccions ab dificultat hi haurá bona unió y pau puig governar pretenen regularment los mes intrigants.

5...Se deu mirar lo caràcter de la gent actual en tres aspectes: genial en si... La generalitat son pacífichs, industriosos y aplicats; pero hiá molt egoisme, á la part que son generosos de genit, mesemblien avaros de fet. Segon en política... supera lo liberalisme pero com han tingut desengaños á la generalitat no li miro opinió determinada ni sistemática, sols voldrian pau y que lo govern anés bé per la felicitat de la nació. Murmurarán sempre mentres se vegin tant gravats de contribucions. Terce en religió... Regna molt lo indiferentisme. Hiá molt poca pietat, poca frecuencia de sacraments y en particular los homes. Per atraurels he fet comunions generals, han vingut altres confesors, no he deixat res per peresa y ha resultat que part han anat seguint posant lo rosari cada dia etc.

6...Si lo Curat es fret se perderán las funciones de iglesia que molt profit fan, y alomenos se logra que no se apagua del tot la fé. Aixis es que serán més ó menos religiosos segons les circunstancies, discreció, virtud y zel del Párroco.

Per un curat deixat y sense esperit eclesiástich no hiá Poble millor perque sinó te ganas de predicar dirán quels fa favor. Que fasia tot lo que vulga ab tal que no los amohini. Pero es com un malalt que no es cuidés que lo trobarian mort. Aixis serian las ánimas de eix Poble! Ay de tal Poble! ¡Ay de tal Párroco!

7...Son molt negligents en fer instruir la familia en lo tocant a religió y en forsa de prechs del Párroco vindrán en los diumenges un centenar á doctrina y encara sols hi van per les estampes y premis quels dono. Desde que hiá vapors non venen la mitat.

8...Lo Poble de Sans se pot dir poble rich perque tot hom treballa. Los fills externs ja en los prats, pedreras, fábricas, etc. Las miñonas en las fábricas de filats guañan bonas semanas, com son de dotse a vint pesetas. Aixis es que apenas hiá pobres. Del Poble los pobres que hiá son vells y forasters.

9...Una cosa molt bona hiá per lo Curat, que es pagar enseguida lo funeral y tothom procura fer bé. Apesar de ser tingut per car, procuren fer lo que poden; pero es precís que visiti lo malalt y se mostri piadós. De eix modo los atraurá á fer bé.

10... La subsistencia del Curat no está circumscrita en lo Poble sol perque Barcelona, pla de San Beltrán Bordeta de baix, Coll-blanch y las Corts portan alguns morts y en cas de necessitat, ó ab permis dels rectors algún bateig, també venen algunes parteras.»

Font: *Monitor*

9.2.

«Amb una arengada al damunt del pa, / un tros de tomàtec i un tall de pebrot, / cada dia, a l'hora d'esmorzar, / veureu a les xinxes que van al Vapor. / Amb les mans brutes mengen pel carrer, / i això per les noies no està gaire bé. / i ara vindrà que no es podran casar / perquè essent tan brutes ningú les voldrà.»

Font: Cançó popular recollida per Joan Amades.

Proposta d'activitats

• Llegiu el document 9.1.:

—¿Quin concepte té el mossèn de la gent Sants? i dels forasters? ¿Per què creus que és ferent el concepte que té d'uns i dels altres? —¿Com canvia el sentit religiós de la gent a par de la instal·lació dels Vapors?

• Llegiu el document 9.2., és una cançó relatoriada amb les treballadores del Vapor. Intenteu trobar-ne d'altres preguntant a gent gran del barri. Poden ser cançons, refranys, poesies, rodolins, etc...



Sentencia de los ladrones que robaron los cinco paisanos en el café del pueblo de Sans, en Abril de 1848.

Una turba de ladrones
al café de Saus entraron
y presos de allí se llevaron
á cinco honrados señores:
con los mas crueles rigores
en un pozo los metieron
de Badalona; y esigieron
de duros catorce mil,
y á este precio ruin
la libertad consiguieron.

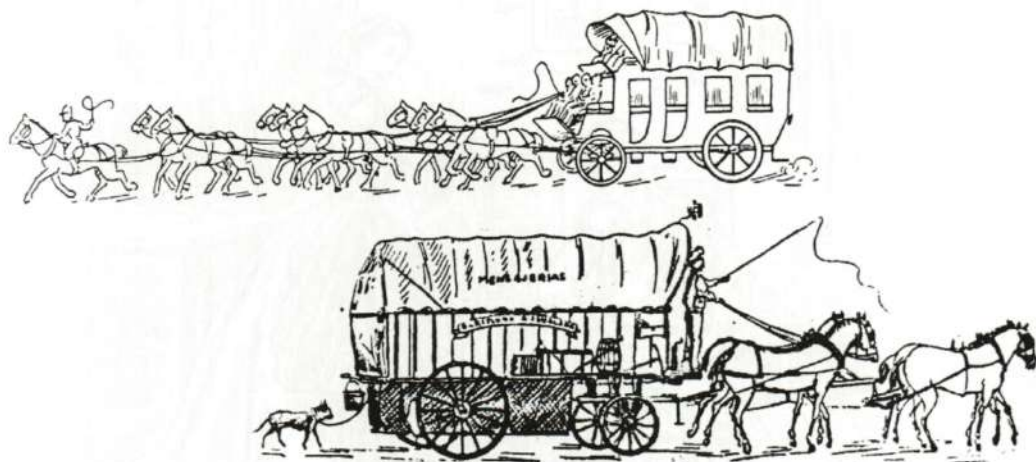
El gobierno noticioso
de tan infame atentado,
con diligencia y cuydado

á los viles persiguió,
y al cabo de una semana
de buscar de noche y dia,
á toda la gran coadrilla
con su jefe capturo.

Once fueron sentenciado
á morir en el suplicio
y allí pagaron su vicio
con infame desonor;
este es el fin que espera
á todo el hombre malvado,
que camina equivocado
por la senda del horror.

calle de la Palma de Sta. Catalina.

10. Documents gràfics



Quan es va construir el «Vapor Vell» encara no s'havien construït línies ferroviàries, ni tramvies. Els carros, tartanes, diligències, etc., eren el mitjà de transport més habitual en aquells anys i en els següents. En aquesta il·lustració pots veure com era una diligència vuitcentista, destinada al transport de viatgers, i també una «galera» de les que transportaven mercaderies entre Barcelona i Igualada tot passant per Sants.

Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Majoral de diligència, al fons dos vehicles representatius del període.

Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Les cases populars de mitjan segle XIX no disposaven ni de bany ni de dutxes. Higiene i la neteja s'havien de resoldre-la de manera improvisada. En aquest gravat es representa una sessió de bany per la quitxalla a la cuina d'una casa.

Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Jove matrimoni obrer, segons la capçalera d'un romanç vuitcentista, es pot apreciar la pobresa del mobiliari i la senzillesa dels vestits.

Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Interior d'una casa burgesa, hom pot notar el luxe d'alguns dels elements del mobiliari.

Font: Biblioteca de Catalunya.



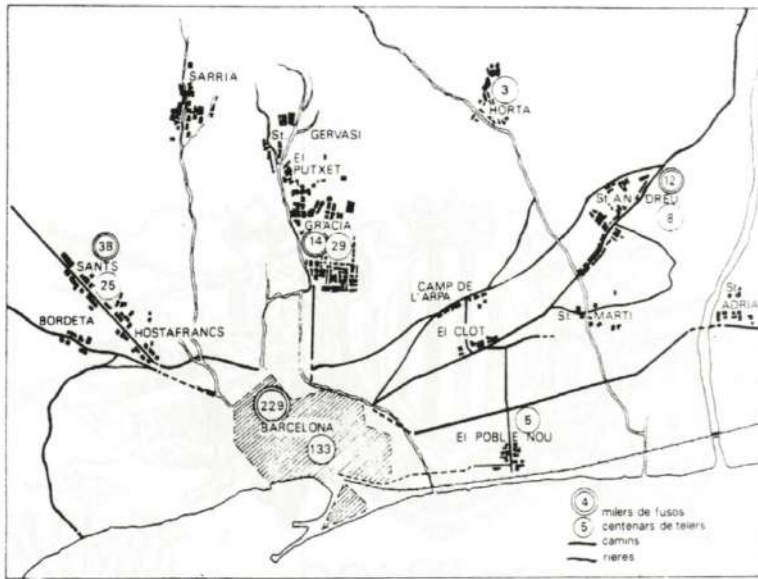
Cuina de mitjan segle XIX. Cal destacar la forma dels fogons, la campana per extreure fums, l'armari raconer, el llum d'oli per il·luminar l'estança, el cossi de la bugada i el canterer. El conjunt és representatiu de com seria la cuina d'un habitatge obrer de la segona meitat del segle passat.

Font: Biblioteca de Catalunya.

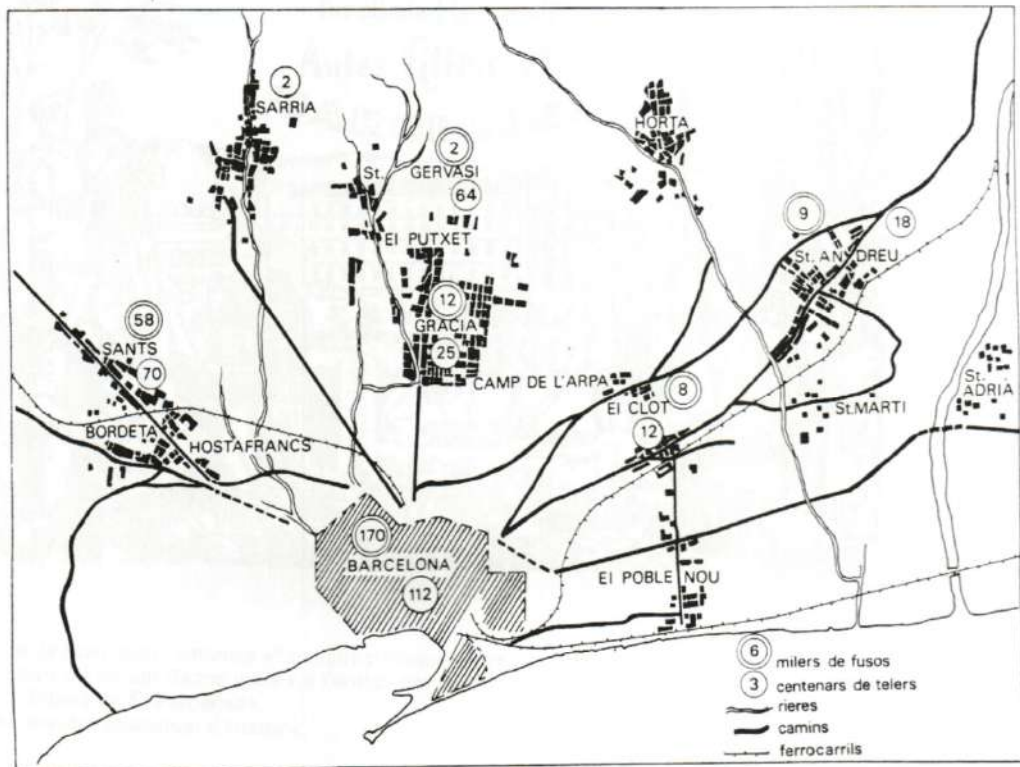


Boda de la primera meitat del segle XIX, els contraents són el jove de Can Diumenge, el Raval (Barcelona) i una fadrina de Sants.

Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Distribució de la indústria tèxtil al Pla de Barcelona cap al 1850 (segons Pau Vila).



Distribució de la indústria tèxtil al pla de Barcelona cap al 1860 (segons Pau Vila). Es pot apreciar la gran importància de Sants.



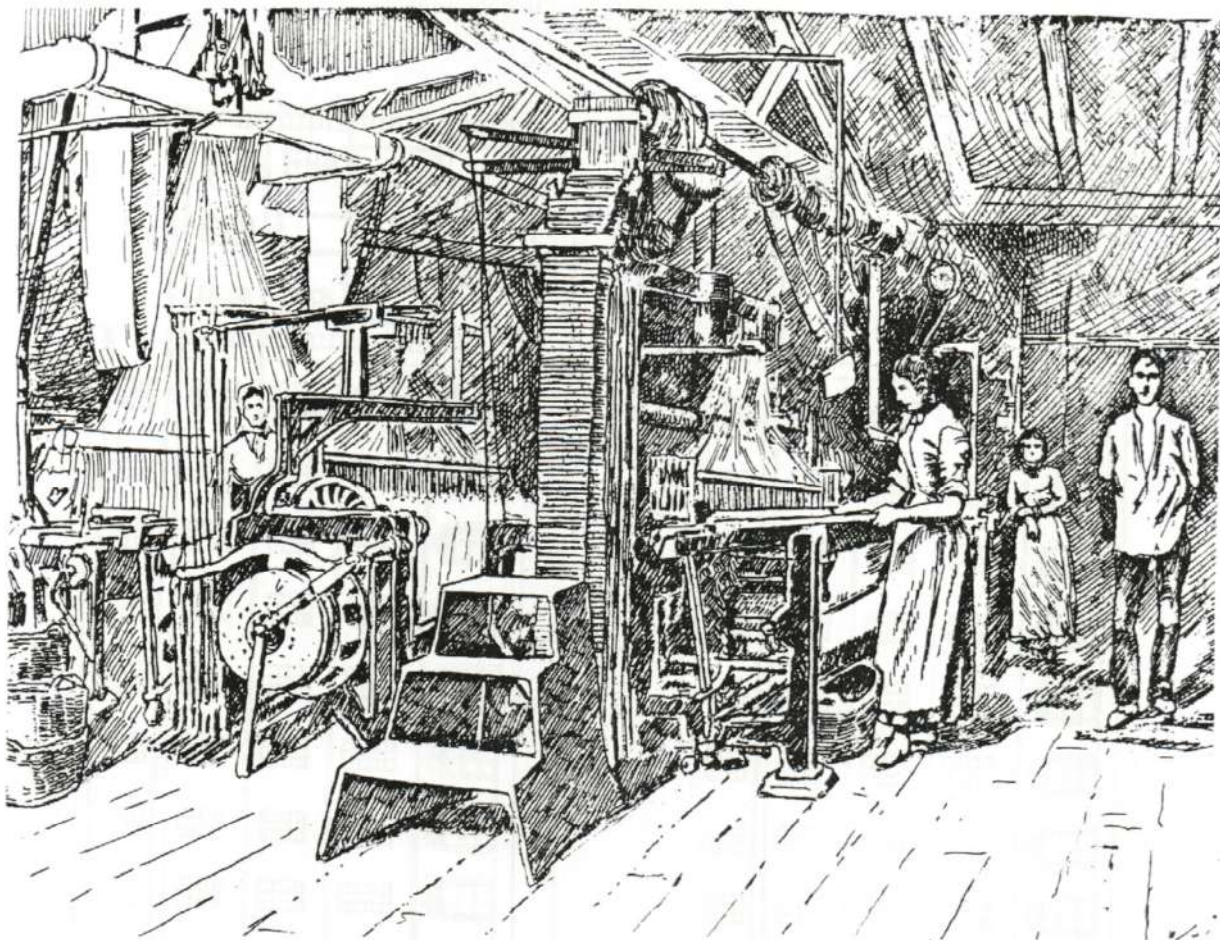
Marca de fàbrica de l'empresa «Parellada y Flaquer» que va substituir «Güell Ramis y cia.» a l'edifici del «Vapor Vell». Dibuix de F. Parcerisas.
Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Els balls eren una de les formes de diversió més a de tothom. En aquest gravat es representa un ball sonatges benestants.
Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.



Obrers al «Vapor Vell», segons dibuix de Francesc Fortuny.
Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.

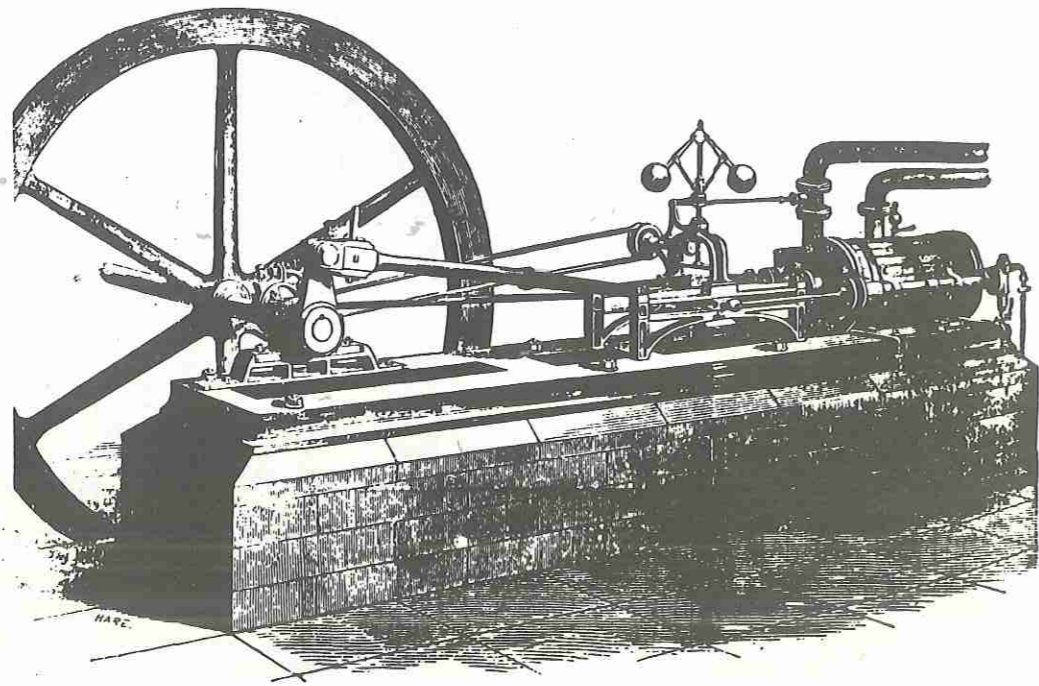
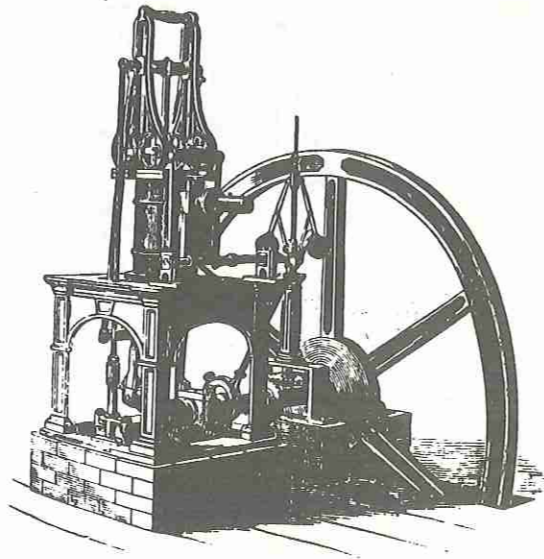
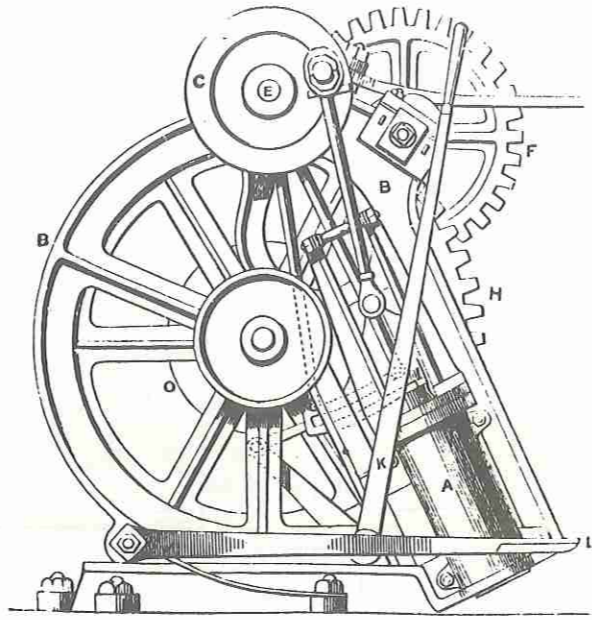
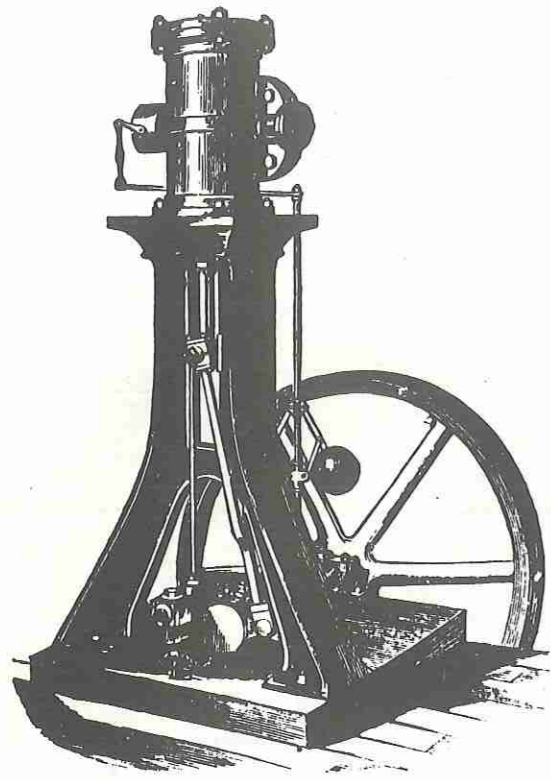


Treball a l'interior de les teixiduries del «Vapor Vell», es pot apreciar la indumentària obrera així com els embarrats que transmetien el moviment a les màquines. Dibuix realitzat per Francesc Fortuny en el 1890.
Font: Institut Municipal d'Història.

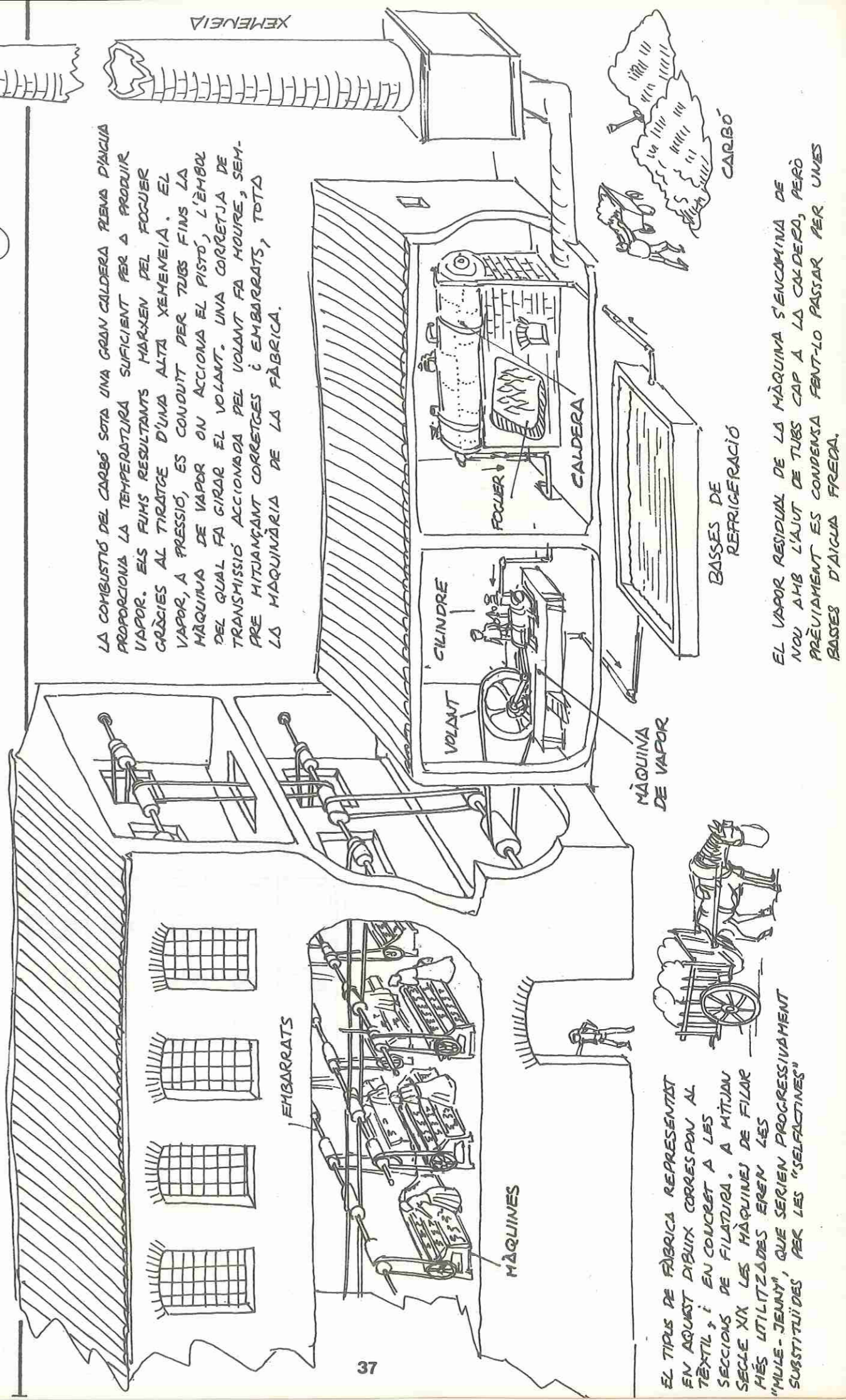


Passejar era una de les activitats d'esbarjo habituals, en aquest gravat apareixen diferents tipus populars. Al fons es distingeix un llum d'oli de l'enllumenat públic, dels que serien precedents dels fanals de gas.
Font: Joan Amades.

Diferents tipus de màquines de vapor de finals del segle XIX.

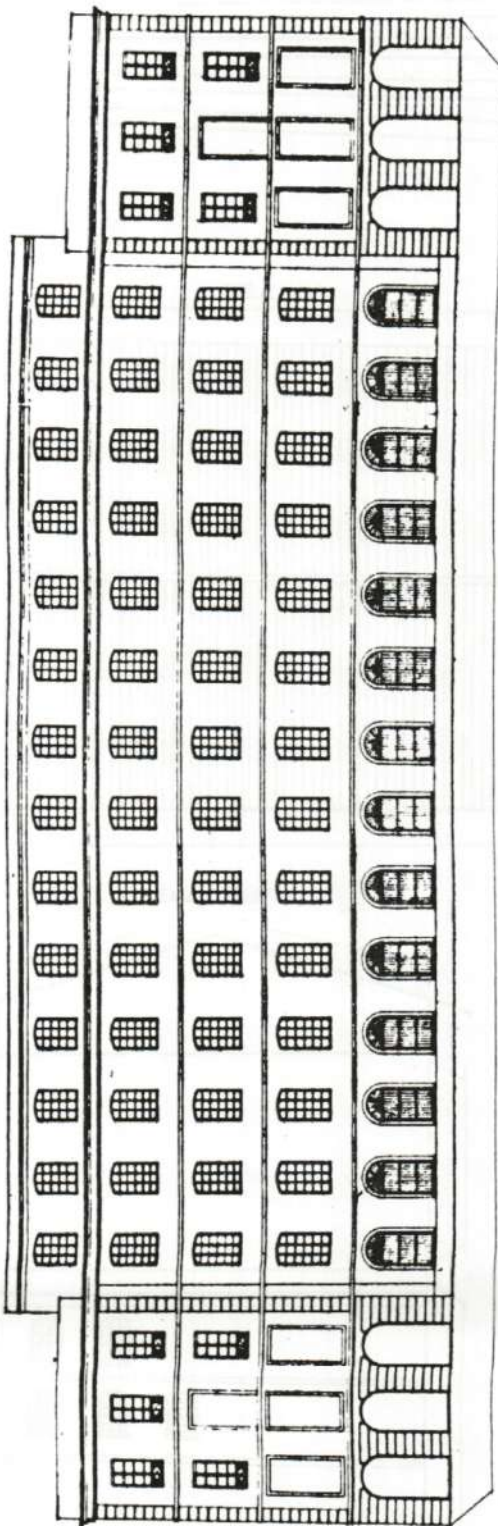


esquema del funcionament d'un "vapor"



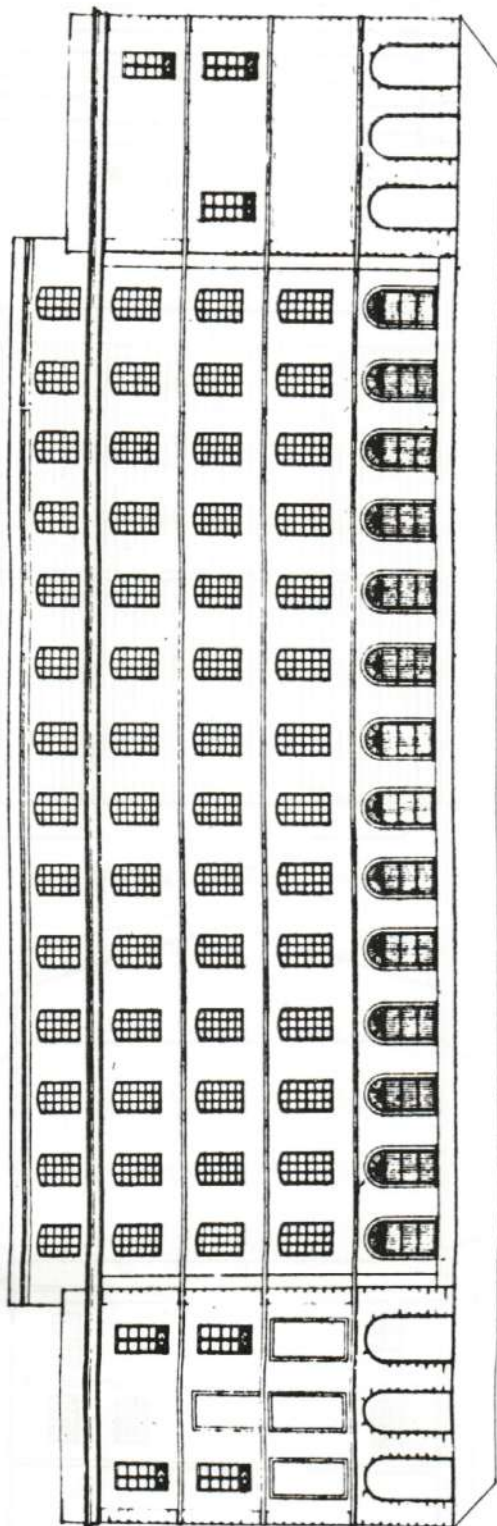
RETALLABLE: CONSTRUEIX EL TEU PETIT VAPOR VELL
(cal fotocopiar aquest original en una cartolina)

FAÇANA SUD



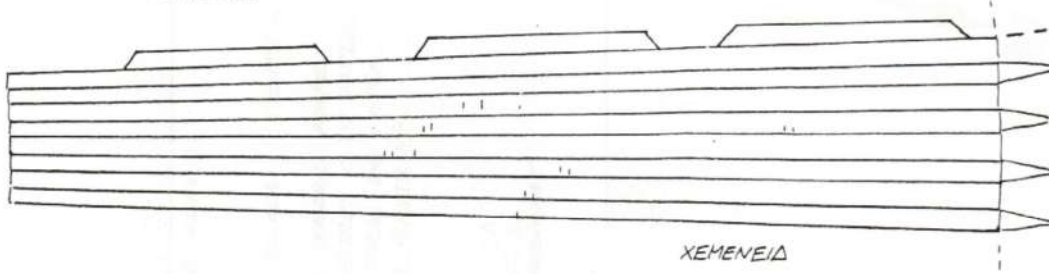
DOBLEGAR

FAÇANA NORD

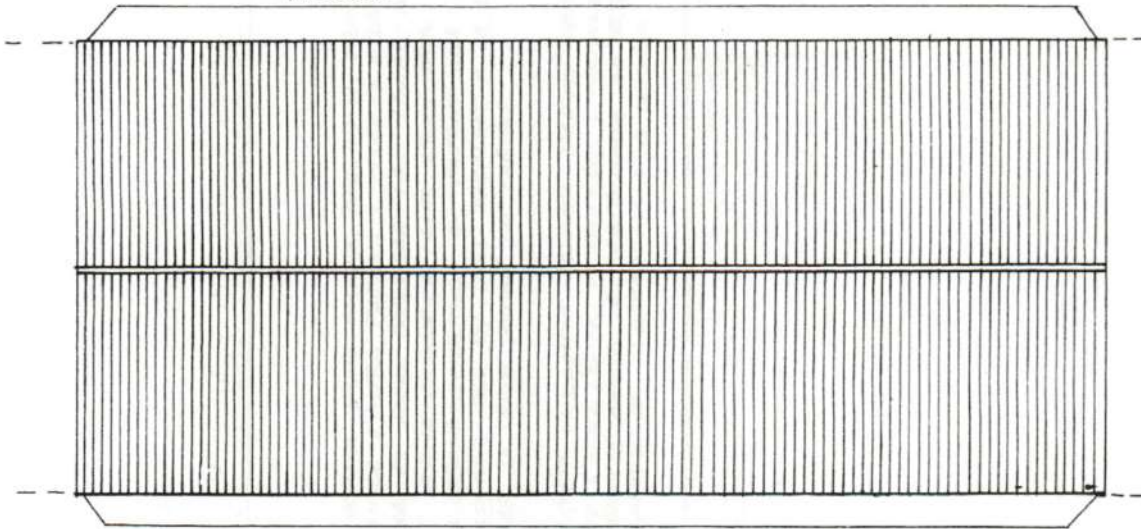


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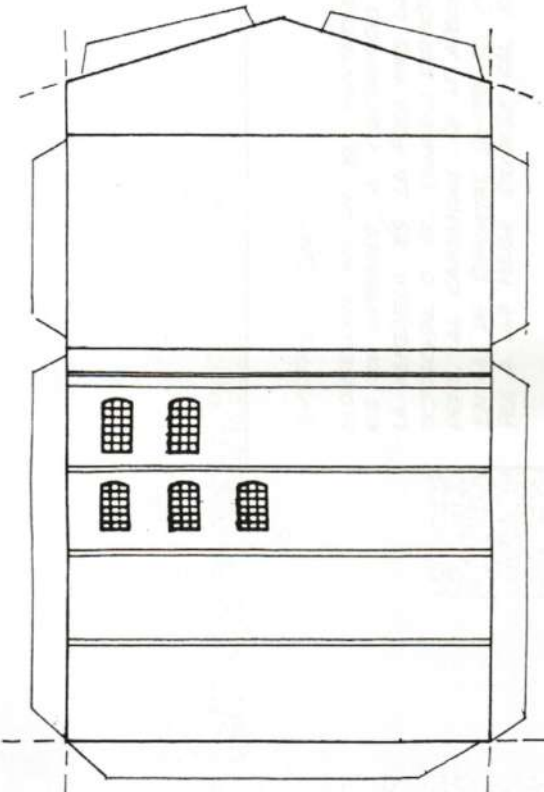
CORONA DE LA
XEMENEIA



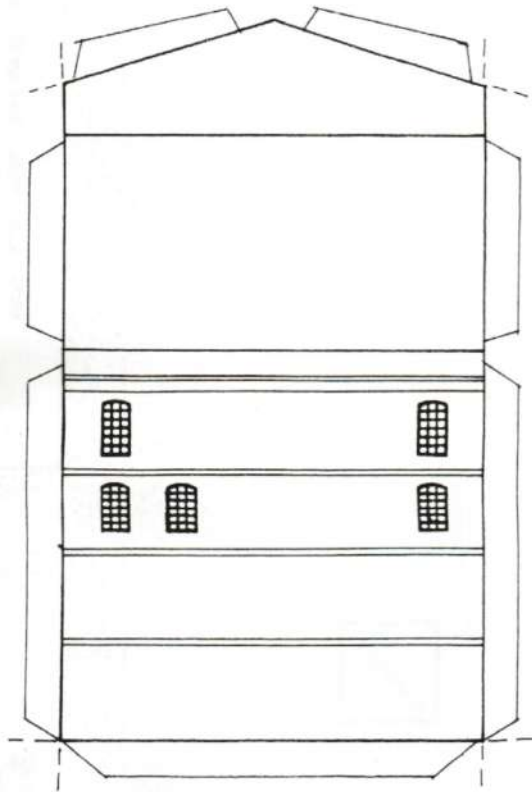
TEJADA



LATERAL EST



LATERAL OEST



(ENGANXAR EDIFICI)

INSTRUCCIONS

ACONSELLEM INICIAR EL MUNTATGE A PARTIR D'UNA FAÇANA, AFEGINT-LI, PRIMER, LA TEULADA i, DESPRÉS, ELS DOS LATERALS; A CONTINUACIÓ ENGANXAR L'ALTRA FAÇANA i FIXAR-LA A LA BASE. LA XEMENEIA ÉS LA PEÇA MÉS COMPLEXA, ES RODEN DOBLEGAR LES LÍNIES A FI DE DONAR-LI FORMA OCTOGONAL O BE DONAR-LI DIRECTAMENT FORMA CILÍNDRICA AMB L'AJUT D'UN LLAPIS ESTRET O UN PINZELL PETIT. AL CAPDAMUNT SE LI AFEGEIX LA CORONA I S'ENROTTILLA AL VOLTANT UNA PETITA TIRA DE PAPER. EN CAS DE DIFICULTAT SEMPRE ES POT SUBSTITUIR PER UN LLAPIS ENGANXAT A LA BASE AMB PLASTILINA. PER A UNA MAJOR SOLIDESA CAL ENGANXAR LA BASE AMUNT UN CARTÓ.

NOTES: ESCALA APROX 1:300. AQUESTA MAQUETA ÚNICAMENT COMPRÈN L'EDIFICI PRINCIPAL i LA XEMENEIA DEL "VAPOR VELL", NO S'INDICA L'EDIFICI DE CALDERES i MAQUINES PERQUÈ ES CONEIX ENCORA LA SEUA UBICACIÓ EXACTA. EL RETOLLABLE HA ESTAT CONFECIONAT PER F.X. HDB. EN BASE ALS PLANS DE P. BARBAGAN i B. DE SOLA.

XEMENEIA



11. Cronologia 1840-1855

Esdeveniments socials

1840

Maig: Es funda la primera societat obrera: la Societat de Teixidors o Associació Mútua de la Indústria Cotonera. Primera cooperativa de consum a Barcelona: La Cooperació. Apareixen arreu de Catalunya associacions obreres que segueixen l'exemple de la Societat de Teixidors.

1841

Gener: Primera prohibició de la Societat de Teixidors.

1842

Juny: Primera cooperativa de producció, creada per la Societat de Teixidors amb el nom de Companyia Fabril de Teixidors a Sant Martí de Provençals.

1843

S'organitzen els seguidors del socialisme utòpic que impulsa Cabet. Novembre: La Societat de Teixidors és dissolta.

1844

Traducció al castellà del *Viatge a Icaria*.

1845

Traducció al castellà del *Viatge a Icaria*.

1846

Comença a Catalunya una nova guerra de dos anys, la dita Segona Guerra Carlina o guerra dels matiners. El «Vapor Vell» resta totalment acabat amb la maquinària instal·lada.

1847

Nova crisi econòmica. Surt *La Fraternidad*, periòdic de Monturiol, Terradas i Sunyer i Capdevila. Es funda a Madrid «La España Industrial».

Fets polítics, econòmics, culturals

Puja al poder el general Espartero. Governen els progressistes. Juliol: Primera manifestació de masses a Barcelona. 80.000 persones reben Espartero. Juliol: Finalitza la I Guerra Carlina als set anys d'haver esclatat.

Octubre: Intent d'enderrocar la Ciutadella. Tensions entre Barcelona i el govern progressista.

Gas en la il·luminació pública. Novembre-desembre: Aixecament de Barcelona contra Espartero. Bombardeig de la ciutat. Repressió brutal: 15 afusellats. Abdó Terradas publica el primer periòdic republicà: *El Republicano*.

Crisi econòmica: Els preus assoleixen l'índex més baix de tot el segle. Juliol: Joan Güell gestiona la compra de maquinària anglesa (màquines de vapor) a la firma Hall de Londres. Juliol: Espartero abandona la Regència. Agost: Comença la sublevació de les juntes provincials catalanes. A Figueres, Abdó Terradas proclama la República. La sublevació serà aixafada entre novembre —nou bombardeig de Barcelona— i gener de 1844.

Març-abril: És creada la Guardia Civil. Maig: Pugen al poder els moderats. El dret electoral queda restringit als majors contribuents (1,02% de la població). Es creen les províncies. Fundació a Barcelona de la Caixa d'Estalvis i Mont de Pietat i del Banc de Barcelona. Comencen les obres de construcció del «Vapor Vell de Sants» en uns terrenys adquirits a J. Santomà.

Maig: És aprovada la Constitució moderada, que nega la sobirania i el poder constituent del poble. Primer cor de Clavé: L'Aurora.

Comença a Catalunya una nova guerra de dos anys, la dita Segona Guerra Carlina o guerra dels matiners. El «Vapor Vell» resta totalment acabat amb la maquinària instal·lada.

Nova crisi econòmica. Surt *La Fraternidad*, periòdic de Monturiol, Terradas i Sunyer i Capdevila. Es funda a Madrid «La España Industrial».

Efemèrides mundials

Proudhon treu *Què és la propietat?*, i Louis Blanc *Organització del treball*.

Fundació del Sindicat de Miners a Anglaterra.

Cabet publica el *Viatge a Icaria*.

Revolta dels teixidors a Silèsia. Fundació de la cèlebre cooperativa de Rochdale, Anglaterra. Morse inventa el telègraf.

1848

Ferrocarril Barcelona-Mataró, primer que funcionarà a Espanya. És inaugurat el Liceu. Es realitzen les principals carreteres de Catalunya. Juliol: Els patrons creen l'Institut Industrial de Catalunya.

Febrer: Revolució a França contra la monarquia. Proclamació de la Segona República. Intents revolucionaris a altres països, entre ells l'Estat espanyol, que són ràpidament reprimits. Viatge dels icarians a Amèrica. Publicació del *Manifest Comunista* de Marx i Engels.

1849

Comença a Sants la construcció de la fàbrica «La España Industrial».

1850

S'enfonsa l'Associació Protectora del Treball Nacional i de la Classe Treballadora, intent de conciliar els interessos patronals i obrers, creada cap al 1847.

1851

Memorial rabassaire que protesta contra la duració de 60 anys que té fixada la «rabassa morta» en el Projecte de Codi Civil. És demanada la perpetuïtat del contracte o una durada de 150 a 200 anys.

Concordat entre el Vaticà i l'Estat espanyol. Maig: Creació de l'Institut Agrícola Català de Sant Isidre, defensor dels propietaris de la terra. «La España Industrial» trasllada la seva seu administrativa a Barcelona.

Desembre: Cop d'estat que retorna la monarquia a França.

1852

El pare Francesc Palau funda a Barcelona l'Escola de la Virtut. Primer intent d'influència religiosa en mitjans obrers. Serà dissolta pel capità general el 1854.

1853

Març: Es crea la primera policia secreta.

Emigrants alemanys funden als Estats Units la Lliga Proletària.

1854

Març: Primera vaga general a Barcelona motivada per un conflicte laboral a la España Industrial. Juliol: Incendi de fàbriques per acabar amb les selfactines.

Juliol: Pugen al poder els progressistes. Còlera a Barcelona i a d'altres poblacions catalanes. S'prova enderrocar les muralles de Barcelona. Hi ha 7.000 aturats a la ciutat. Pi i Margall publica *Reacción y revolución*.

1855

Gener: Es crea la Junta Central de Directores de la Classe Obrera, regida pels obrers del ram tèxtil i que agrupa representants de totes les societats obreres. Juny: Execució del líder obrer Josep Barceló. Se signen alguns dels primers contractes col·lectius. Juliol: Segona gran vaga general en defensa del dret d'associació. Sol i Padrís assassinat al «Vapor Vell» de Sants. Agost: El català Ramon Simó funda el primer periòdic obrer a Madrid: *El Eco de la Clase Obrera*. Es recullen 33.000 signatures per a demanar el dret d'associació.

Nova llei desamortitzadora per als béns de l'Església. Serà suspesa en caure del poder els progressistes. Neix La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima, intent d'arribar a disposar de metal·lúrgia pròpia. Es construeix el canal d'Urgell. Apareixen sis bancs nous.

Elaborat en base a la cronologia de J.M. Huertas Claveria: *Obrers a Catalunya*

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SOLIO2-87

LA INDUSTRIALITZACIÓ DE CATALUNYA

EL VAPOR VELL
DE SAINTS

HISTÒRIA DEL VAPOR VELL

- Petita introducció en el temps:

A principis del segle XIX començava a rondar a Catalunya la idea d'instalar el vapor com energia per les indústries, com a la resta d'Europa, i cap el 1832 an funcionà un, per primera vegada, en un taller tèxtil del Raval de Barcelona.

D'ençà d'aleshores el Raval s'anà omplint de vapors, que s'usava aleshores en edificis vells i/o abandonats.

(al tenir present que aleshores Barcelona encara estava emmurallada i que per raons de seguretat no es podia edificar fora d'aquesta, a no ser d'un poble, però aquests quedaven lluny.

Arribà un punt, cap el 1847, en què dins la muralla no hi cabia cap indústria més i calia buscar altres indrets propers a les ciutats per edificar-los.

Per raons que ja hem explicat aquests indrets sols podien ser els propers pobles de Sants, Gràcia, L'Hospitalet o Sant Martí de Provençals entre d'altres.

A qualsevol d'aquests barris hi podia haver algun vapor amb els noms de "Vapor Vell", "Vapor Nou", "Vapor Rei"...

A nosaltres però sols ens interessa un vapor de sants, el "Vapor Vell".

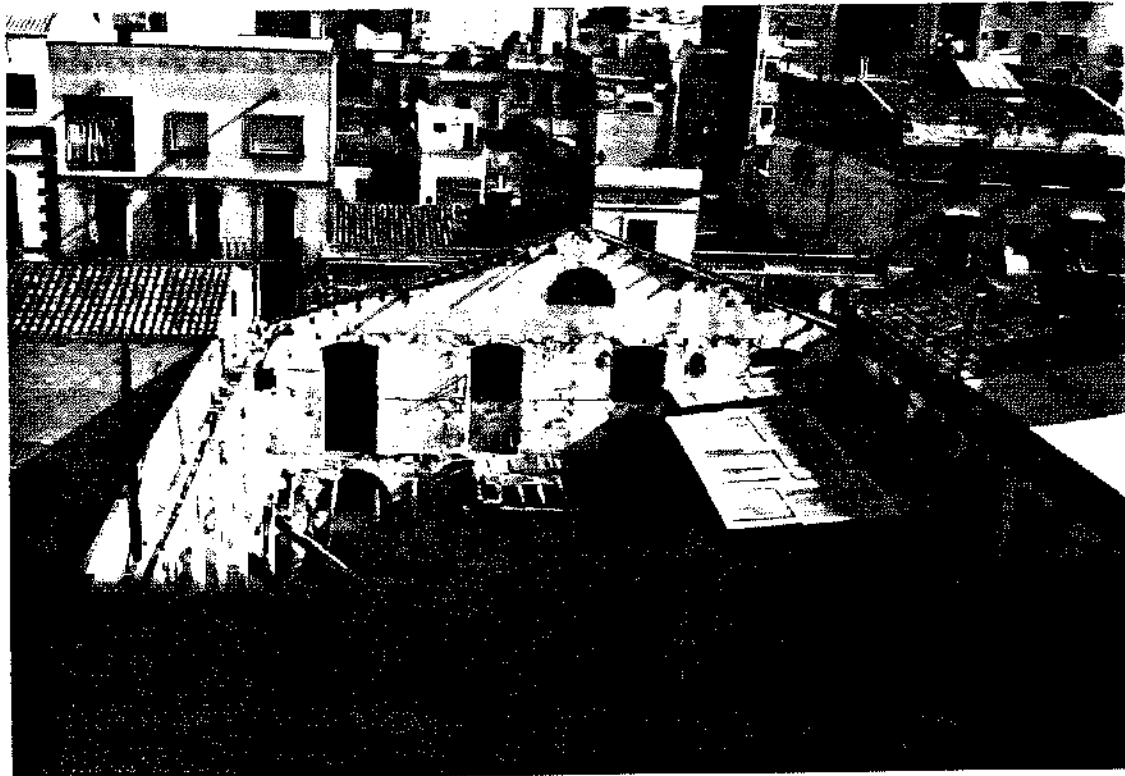
- El Vapor Vell:

Al principi la fàbrica "Güell, Rovins i Cia" no duia el nom de "el Vapor Vell". No fou fins quatre o cinc anys després, quan es va construir un altre vapor a Sants, que se-li posà aquest nom, i així els diferenciaven. El darrer s'anomenava "el Vapor Nou" i també se'l coneixia com a "l'Espanya Industrial."

La història del Vapor Vell ha sigut, en general, bastant moguda per les constants queixes dels treballadors a causa de la reducció de personal per la implantació de noves màquines, dels baixos sous... doncs cal tenir en compte que aquesta fàbrica fou, per les seves dimensions, per la data i la situació una de les millors i primeres fàbriques del país i, per tant, força sollicitada.

El Vapor Vell, fundada l'any 1844 per Joan Güell, fou traslladada pel fill del fundador, Eusebi Güell, a Santa Colònia de Cervelló, fent ja de les contínues queixes i problemes que li donà la fàbrica de Sants, fundant així la coneguda Colònia Güell.

* anomenem vapors a les indústries que utilitzaven l'energia del vapor



Aquestes són les restes d'un dels edificis del "Vapor Vell", que es va cremar.

El motiu d'aquest incendi fa, com ja hem anomenat abans molt per sobre, una revolta dels treballadors en protesta de la nova implantació de "Selfactors", unes noves màquines que estalviaven temps i energia però també necessitava menys treballadors i per tant molts es quedaren sense feina, motivant-se així a provocar aquesta pèrdua important, en aquells temps, d'un edifici de la fàbrica.

Els treballadors del Vapor Vell.

Amb la construcció de la fàbrica a Sants, el nombre d'habitants pujar sorprenentment. Feien falta molts obrers per tirar endavant tota la feina i amb la gent que vivia a Sants no n'hi havia ni per començar, així que vingueren d'arreu de Catalunya i de l'estat Espanyol i fins i tot hi havia algun estranger. Com és lògic aquests treballadors necessitaven una casa i, és clar, se la construïen ben a prop de la fàbrica, al mateix Sants, i per tant el nombre d'edificis també va augmentar.

Segons uns documents de la parròquia de Santa Maria de Sants, el nombre de ~~habitants~~ cases l'any 1742 era de ~~setanta~~ vint, un segle després, el 1842 n'hi havia ~~seixanta~~ cinquanta set i al 1852 - recordeu que el Vapor Vell fou construït l'any 1844 - ja n'havien construït mil cent quaranta i encara en feien de noves.

Cap el 1846 a Sants hi havien més de quatre mil habitants, la majoria dels quals eren immigrants que arribaven al poble cercant feina.

En el plànol de la pàgina següent podreu observar que de set-cents cinquanta set treballadors casats que hi havia a Sants (parlem dels treballadors casats ja que aquestes dades s'han obtingut dels documents de la parròquia de Sants i per tant

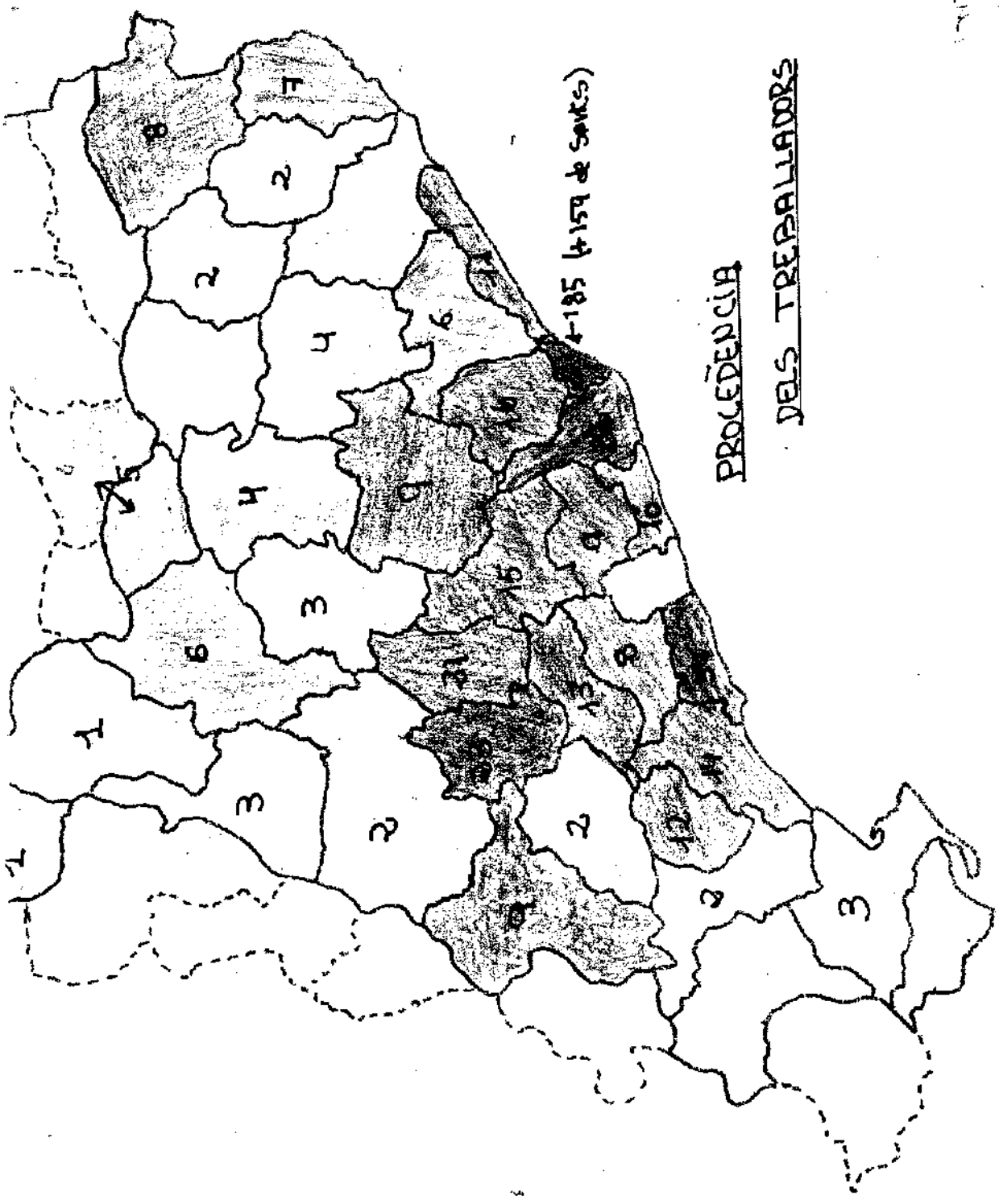
hi figuren els que no habien signat al llibre de registre)
el 159 eren nascuts al poble, però cal tenir en compte que molts
dels immigrants eren solters.

Així doncs podem deduir que el Vapor Vell va ser una peça
fundamental en la població de Sants.

- MALLORCA 4
- OCITÀNIA 3
- ARAÓ 2
- ANDALUSIA 5
- LA MANXA 1
- RIOJA 1
- MÚRCIA 1
- CASTELLA 1
- FRANÇA (N.E) 1
- PORTUGA 1
- ALEMANYA(N.E) 1
- ITALIA(NÚAPUS) 1

No contem 64 diuers
 N.E → no especificat al
 CATALUNYA lloc de proced
 COMARQUES
 ---Fronteres
 historiques

FONT: "L'ORGANISACIÓ DEL MANSO VELL"
 de l'Organització de mestres
 de Sant Joan de les Fonts



PROCEDENCIA
DELS TREBALLADORS

4-185 (4159 de sants)

SITUACIÓ

Com ja hem explicat abans, el vapor fou edificat a Sants, oncs a Barcelona, encara enmurallada, no hi cabia cap indústria, i molt menys encara de les dimensions del Vapor Vell, ni tampoc no es podien edificar fora de la muralla, havia fer-ho doncs en algun poble proper a la ciutat.

El Vapor Vell, com ja hem dit, estava situat en un lloc ideal, ja que era aprop d'una parada de ferrocarril i d'una carretera principal, l'actual carretera de Sants.

El Vapor Vell és envoltat per cases d'obrers, d'un o dos pisos d'alçada on actualment encara hi viu gent, treballin o no a la fàbrica.

L'ARQUITECTURA DEL VAPOR VELL

l'arquitectura del vapor vell és anomenada "arquitectura modernista".

Avalment aquesta fàbrica està esperant ser nomenada com a monument
deixar la producció, arreglar i restaurar les habitacions i les façanes
pauers, per fer-hi exposicions i festes. Com això de moment no es
possible fer-ho, doncs la fàbrica és de propietat privada i durà tem
entendres amb els anys.

Deiem doncs que aquesta fàbrica és modernista. Es construí en
l'inici de les primeres grans fàbriques i ocupa ben bé dues illes
de l'Eixample, per tant és força grandeta.

La seva construcció és base en la, també seva, arquitectura.

En primer lloc ens fixarem en les seves finestres. Aquestes són

força singulars ja que totes les finestres de la planta baixa
són en la part de dalt arrodonida mentre que les dels altres
pisos són totalment quadrades. Nosaltres hem deduït l'explicació
a aquesta diferència: ja la planta baixa no hi arriba
tanta llum i per això per aprofitar-la més van fer-hi
les finestres arrodonides, que resulten més grans i agafen més
claror que les quadrades dels pisos més alts, on hi arriba
més llum.

Pel que fa a les teulades, són del més modern d'aquella època.

Eren fetes de manera que a l'hora de treballar els obrers

no es fessinombra amb el seu propi cos. (cal especificar que el sostre era fet d'un material que deixava passar la llum.)

més a més, aquesta

forma

de



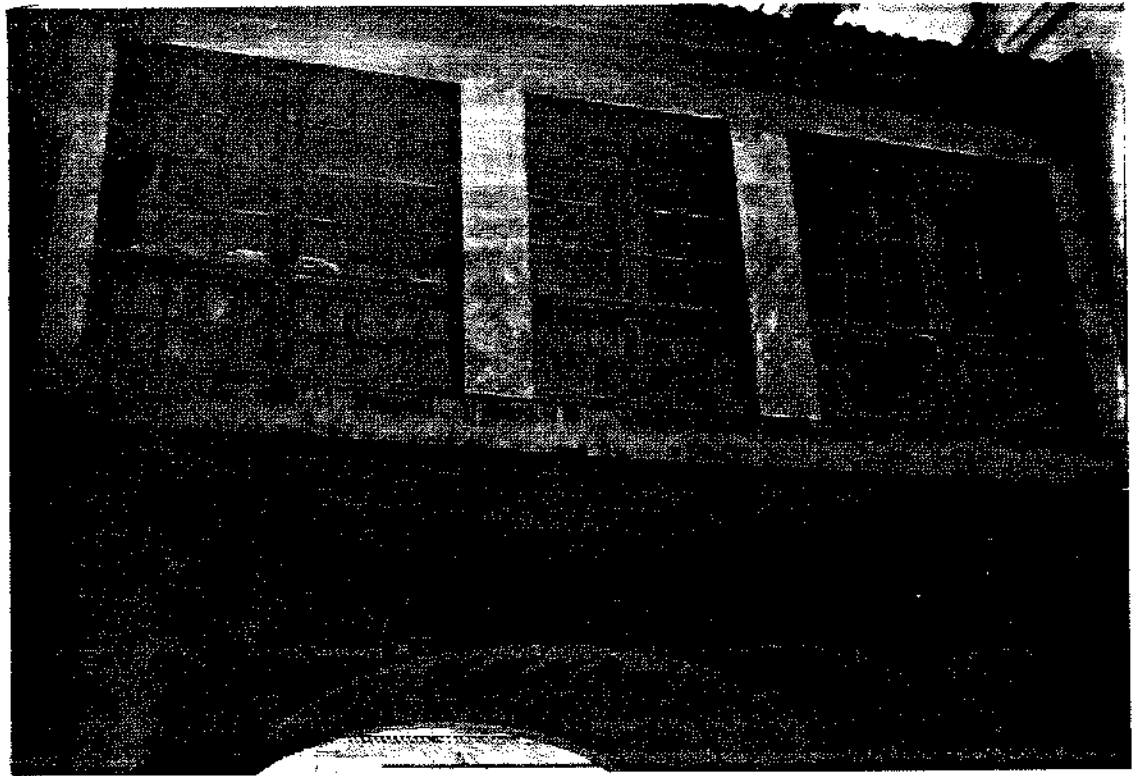
la teulada permetia ~~tenir~~ més llum solar més hores que si sols s'aprofités la que entrava per la finestra.

Un problema que duia aquesta nova forma era la de que quan plovia l'aigua es quedava estancada i hi havia perill de que s'ensorrés el sostre, però amb unes quantes canopies s'arreglà tot en un moment.

Aquests tipus de teulada encara es fa servir, doncs és de gran utilitat.

La xemeneia d'aquesta fàbrica, la qual encara es conserva, és bastant gran, d'un tamany proporcional al de la fàbrica també fort gran. Té forma octogonal i fa uns deu o vint metres d'alçada, potser més i tot, encara que no ho sabem ben bé, i uns tres d'am

La pedra amb la que es va fer la fàbrica provenia de Montjuïc: l'extreien i en un alt forn l'esmicolaven i coïen, fent-ne així maons per la construcció.



Es dos

blocs pertanyents a la fàbrica per un passatge - pont
per on es comuniquen.

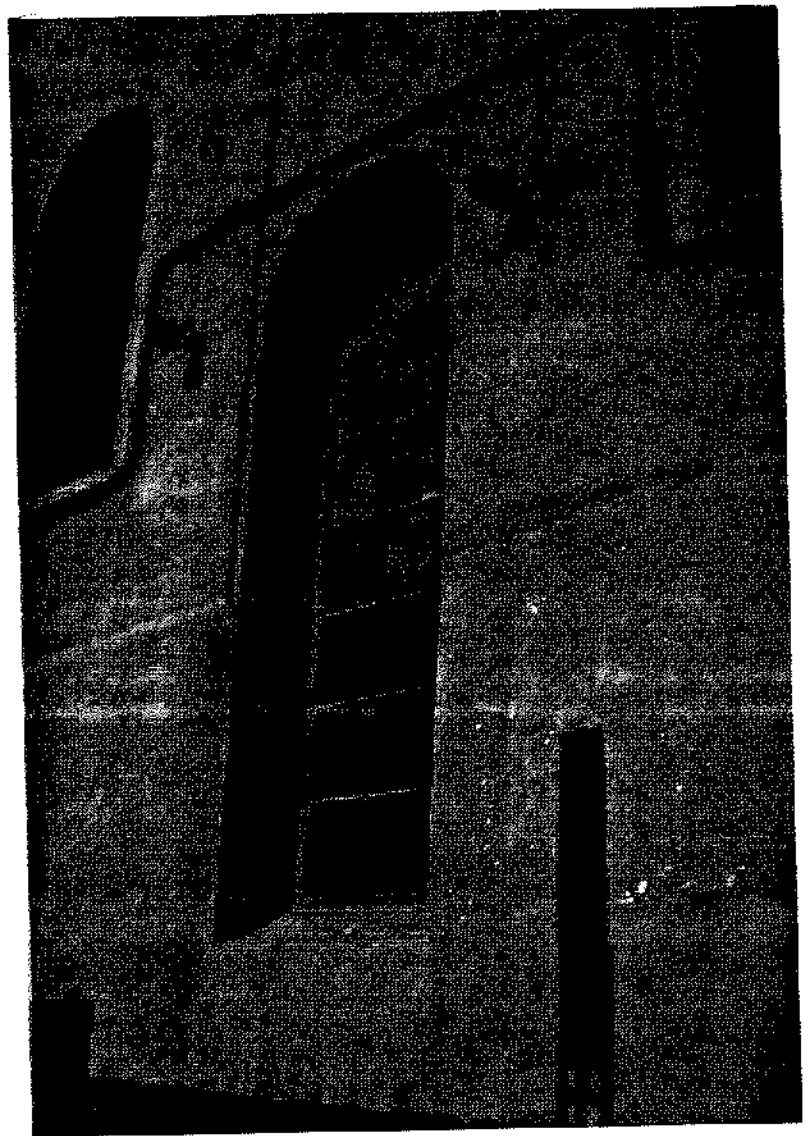
A la foto inferior s'hi veu una de les finestres de la planta
baixa. Declara també el mal efecte de convergència en que

es trova

la fàbrica.



Aquí s'hi veuen les
finestres arrodonides
de la planta baixa.



Les finestres més
altes de l'edifici són
més quadrades

i s'hi ens hi
fixem veurem
com el sostre
hi ha unes
plaques d'usa-
lita, per on
passa la llum.



Aquest és l'edifici
vist de diferents llocs.
Hi podem observar
de nou el mal
estat en que es
troien
les façanes i,
es suposa, la resta
de la fàbrica.



ENERGIA

indústria, del Vapor Vell, era de les més modernes, junt amb la ja esmentada, Espanya Industrial. Aquesta fàbrica data el 1844, època en les indústries més modernes empraven com a font d'energia, el vapor.

Així doncs ja sabem que l'energia del Vapor Vell es basava en el vapor.

Com es de suposar si una fàbrica funciona mitjançant el vapor necessitarà extremadament carbó, per escalfar l'aigua.

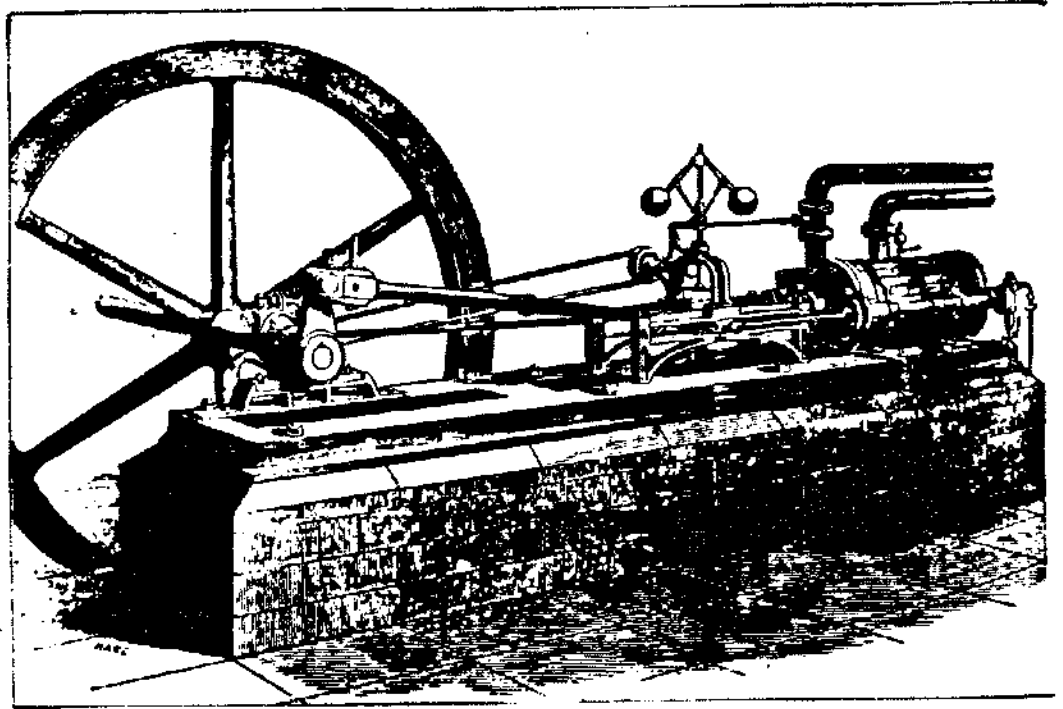
El carbó que utilitzava el Vapor Vell provenia al començament de Cantàbria, però com no era guaire bo i resultava bastant car acabar venent des de Anglaterra que tot i ésser més lluny, i per tant s'havia de transportar amb vaixell, sortia més bé de preu i de més bona qualitat.

Les màquines que utilitzava el Vapor Vell foren fonamentalment tèxtils. Les "Mule-Jenny" foren les primeres, i més tard es substituïren per les "Selfactines", que tants problemes dugueren. La utilització del vapor com a energia va solucionar molts problemes, tals com la rapidesa.

Actualment, aquesta fàbrica de sants, la qual ja no funciona com a una única indústria, però que encara es fa servir, no funciona amb vapor ni molt menys sinó que funciona

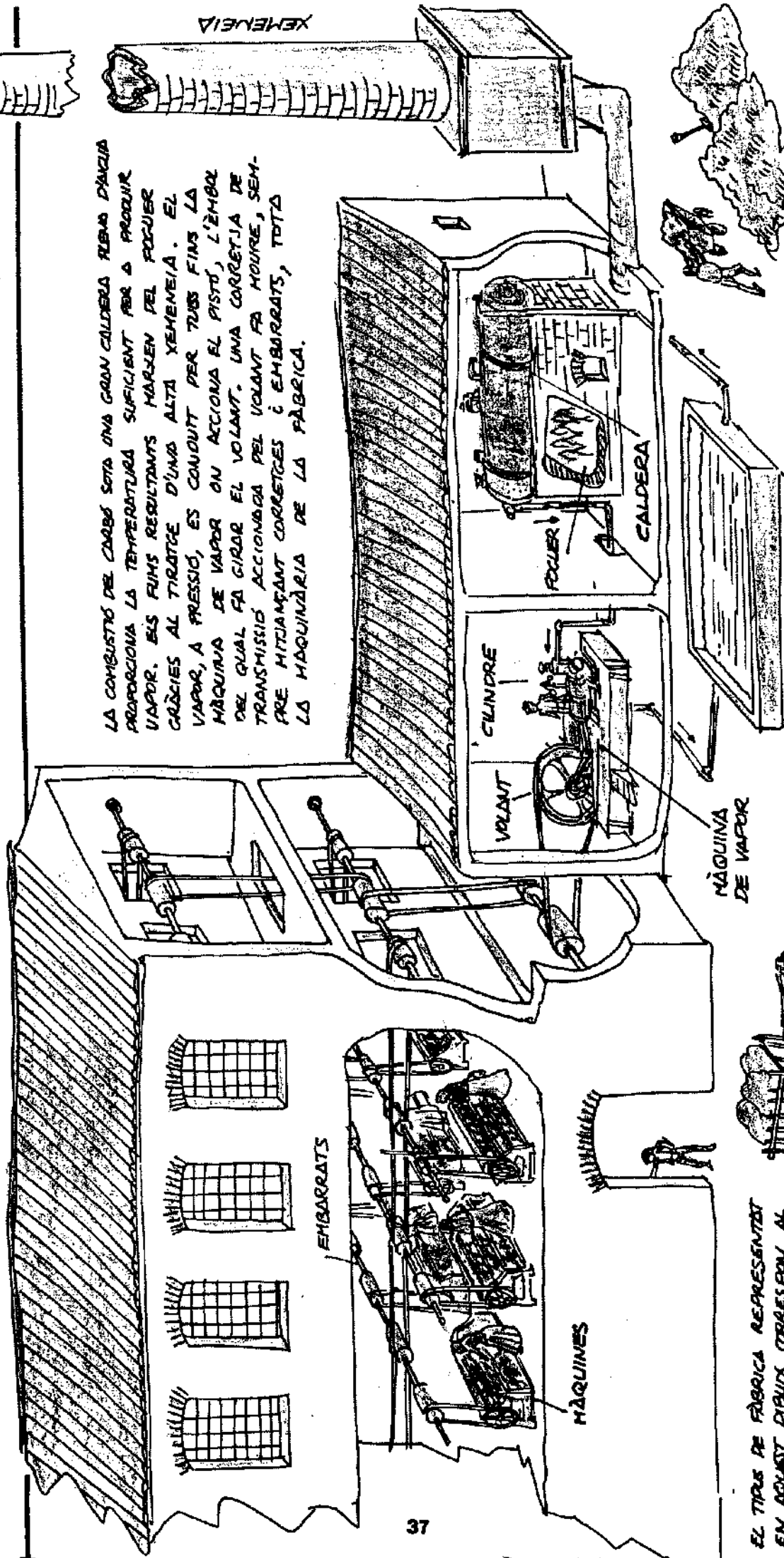
amb energia elèctrica.

Aquest és
el tipus de
maquinària
de vapor
que utilitza
va la fàbrica
del Vapor
vell.



En la seva època, el segle XIX, era de les més modernes
a Catalunya, encara que als països més
industrialitzats no era el model més modern.

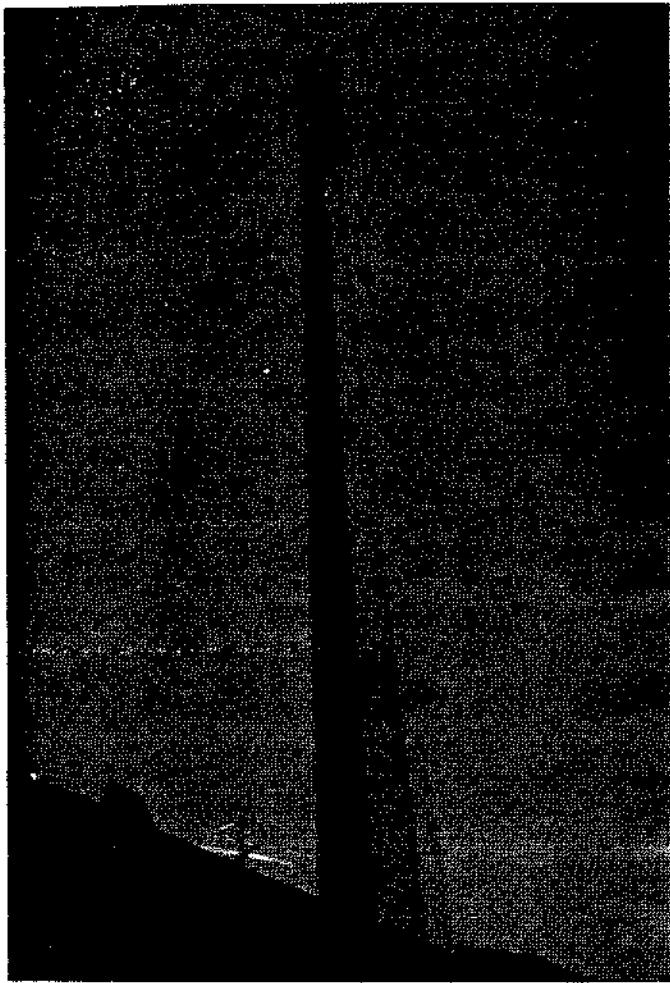
esqueema del funcionament d'un vapor



LA COMBUSTIÓ DEL CARBÓ SOTA UNA GRAN CALDERA FLENA D'ANGLIA PROPORCIONA LA TEMPERATURA SUFICIENT PER A PRODUIR VAPOR. ELS FUMS RESULTANTS MARXEN PEL FOCUER CÀRCHES AL TRATGE D'UNA ALTA YEMEMEIA. EL VAPOR, A PRESSIÓ, ES CONDUIT PER TUBS FINS LA MÀQUINA DE VAPOR ON ACCIONA EL PISTÓ, L'EMBOQ DEL QUAL FA GIRAR EL VOLANT. UNA CORRETTIA DE TRANSMISSIÓ ACCIONADA PEL VOLANT FA MOURE, SEMPRE MITJANTANT CORRETTES I EMBARRATS, TOTA LA MÀQUINÀRIA DE LA FÀBRICA.

EL TIPUS DE FÀBRICA REPRESENTAT EN AQUEST DIBUIX CORRESPON AL TÈXTIL, I EN CONCRET A LES SECCIONS DE FILATURA, A MITJAN DEL SECLE XIX LES MÀQUINES DE FILAR MÉS UTILITZADES EREN LES "MULE-JEANY", QUE SERIEN PROGRESSIVAMENT SUBSTITUÏDES PER LES "SELF-ACTING".

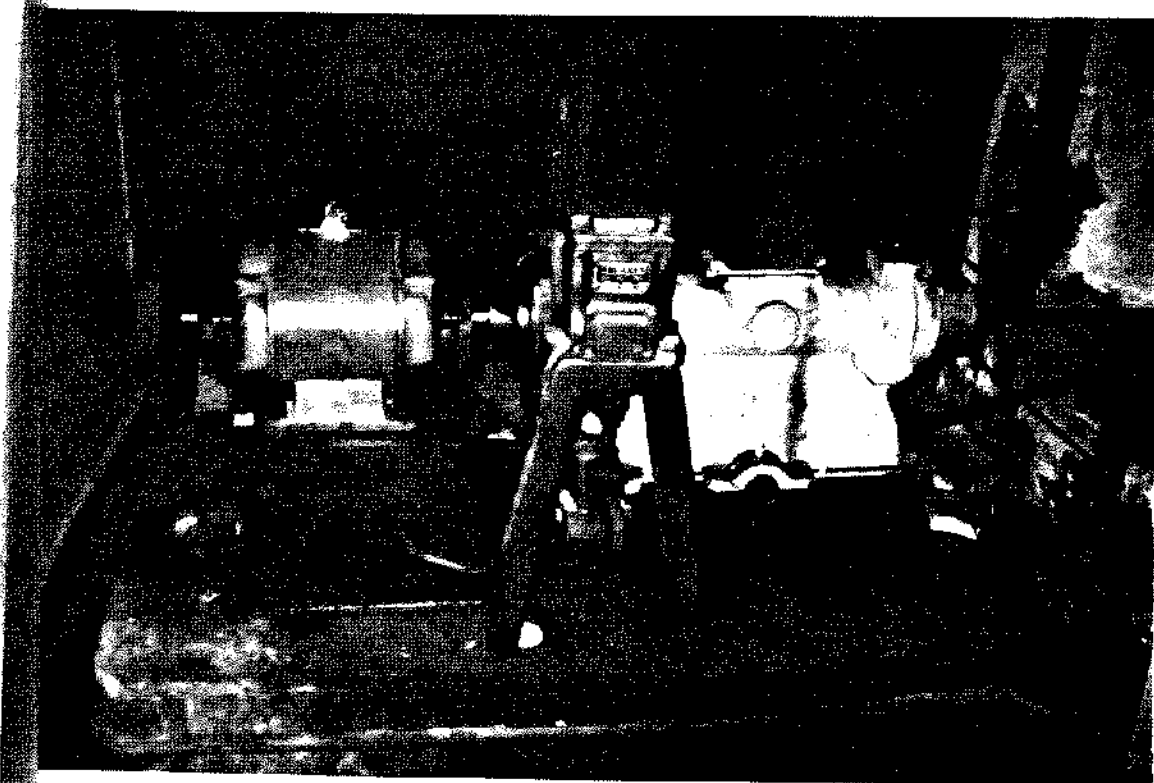
EL VAPOR RESIDUAL DE LA MÀQUINA S'ENCHINA DE NOU AMB L'AUT DE TUBS CAP A LA CALDERA, PERÒ PRÈVIAMENT ES COMPENSA FENT-LO PASSAR PER UNES BASSES D'ANGLIA FREDA.



Aquí veiem la xemeneia
del Vapor Vell,
la qual és octogonal.
Això ens confirma que
la fàbrica tèxtil del Vapor
vell, funcionava amb vapor.

Actualment l'antiga fàbrica
del Vapor Vell, funciona

amb energia
elèctrica.



Què es fa actualment al Vapor Vell?

Podem dir que aquesta fàbrica, antigament tèxtil, fou la primera de l'estat Espanyol en utilitzar maquinària de vapor, encara serveix i produeix alguna cosa, força diferent del que produïa antigament.

En arribar a la fàbrica només vam poder entrar a dins dues persones, potser fins i tot una mica d'amagatots, doncs el porter no volia que molestéssim a la gent que hi treballava.

La informació que vam trobar fou la següent:

Actualment aquest edifici que queda - ja hem comentat abans que un el van cremar als obrers - està dividit en dos blocs que pertanyen cada un a dos propietaris diferents.

Vam intentar connectar amb el senyor Serra, un dels propietaris, però es veu que en aquells moments no hi era i ens va atendre la seva secretària, la qual va deixar-nos clar que el senyor Serra no tenia res a veure amb en Guell l'antic propietari i fundador del Vapor Vell.

Va comentar que tant el senyor Serra com en Cavallero havien comprat la seva part de l'edifici a l'Ajuntament.

que treballaven individualment, sense dependre l'un de l'altre i tenir cap mena de coneixís en la seva feina, en d'altres paraules: que cada un feia el que en volia del seu tros.

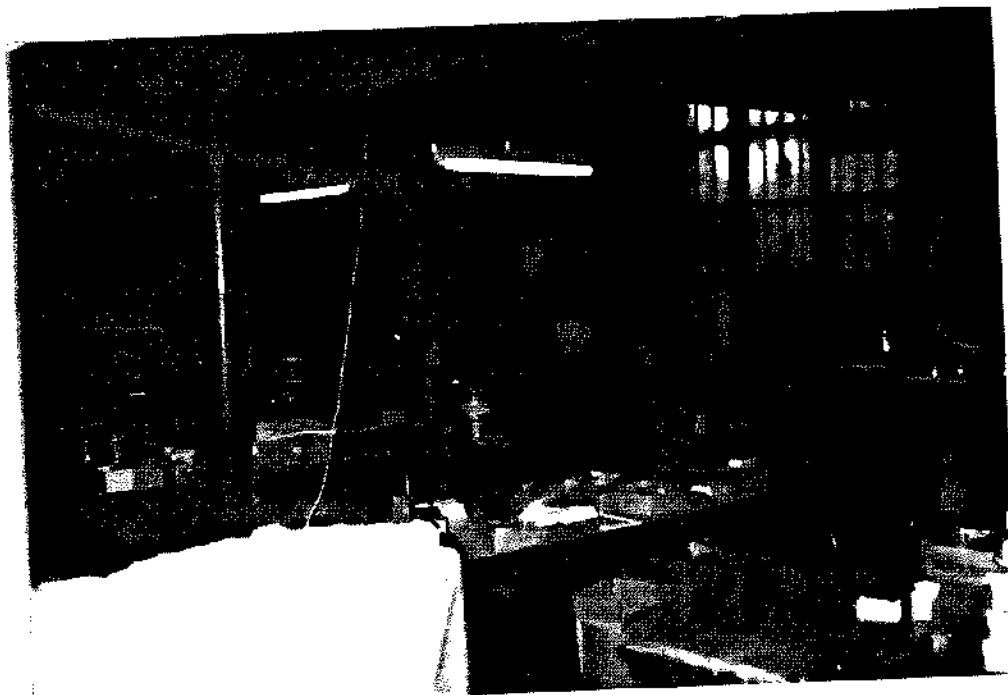
Només vam poder entrar en la propietat del senyor Serra i vam veure que era dividida en diferents parts: A cada un dels tres pisos que pertanyien a aquest senyor hi havia diferents coses:

- A la planta baixa hi havia instal·lat un petit taller de fornets, més enllà hi vam veure una pústenta i un lloc on hi treballaven el ferro, però no sabem ben bé el que feien.

Al segon pis hi havia el despatx del senyor Serra i del opicines.

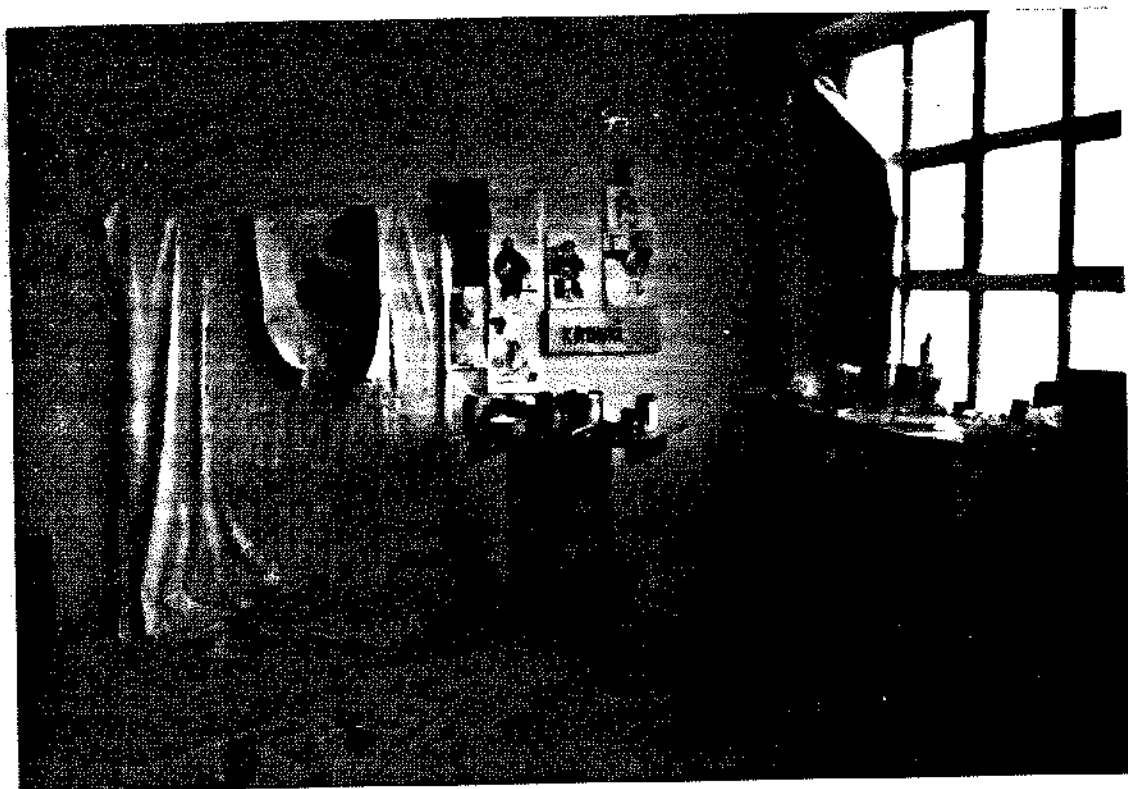
Els pisos següents estan dividits en petites parcel·les on hi treballa gent que, havent oblidat el seu tros, hi fan el que volen, : pinten, escriuen ...

Del que es fa a l'altra part, la d'en Cavals, no en podem dir res, doncs no vam poder-hi entrar.



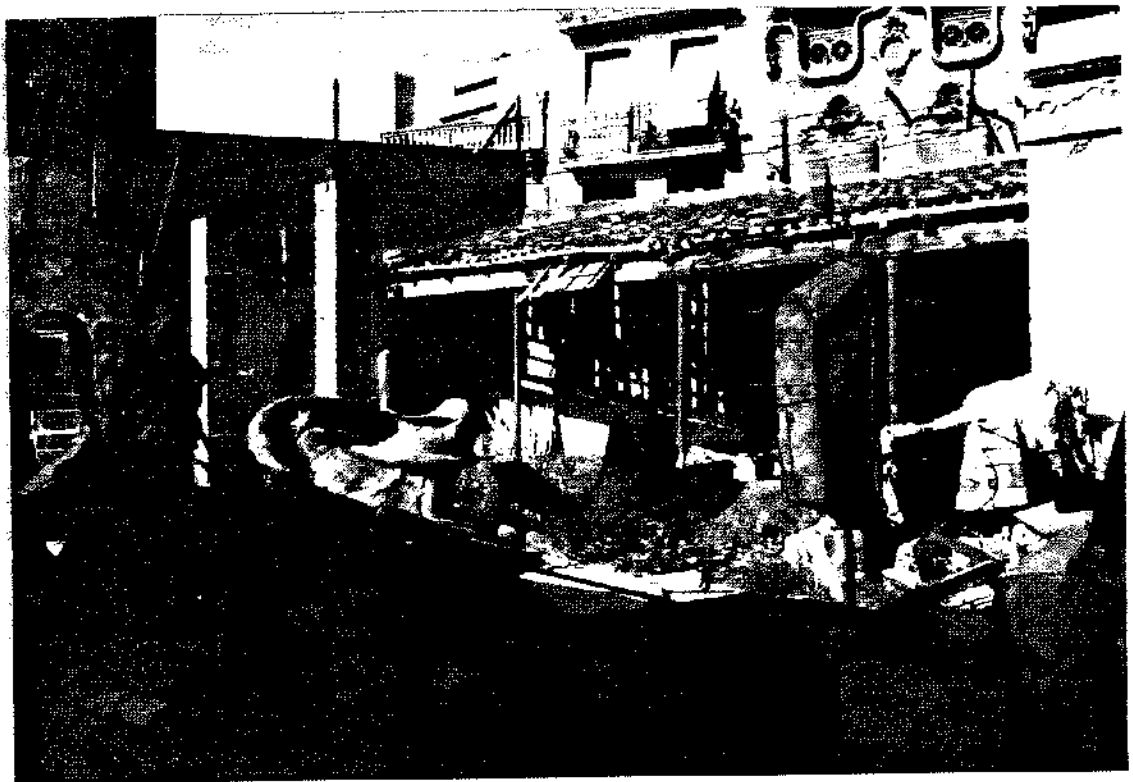
Aquest és el petit taller de la planta baixa on hi fan fonamentalment fornets. (foto inferior)





Aquesta és una de les parcel·les del tercer pis, llogada per una pintora. A baix s'hi pot veure la Feina que Fà (que no té res a veure amb el que es feia antigament al vap



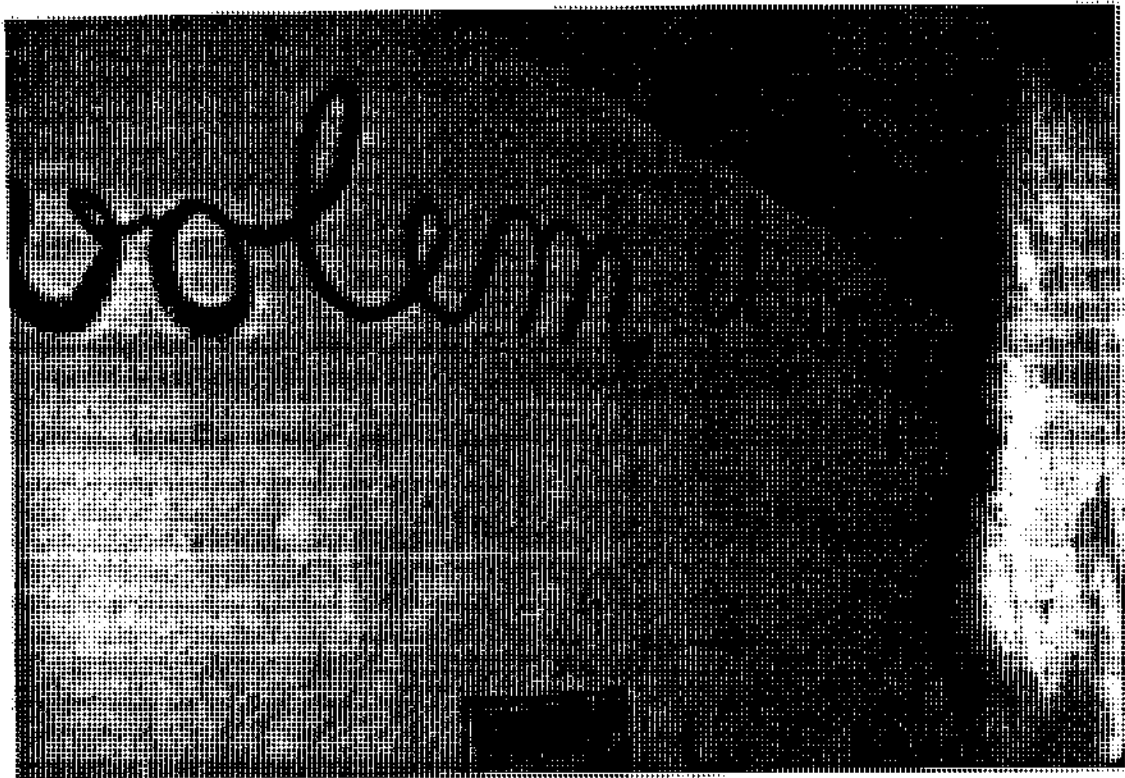


Aquí hi veiem, una vegada acabada, la feina
que es fa amb el ferro.



Al fons s'hi pot veure l'entrada de la fàbrica
i a mà dreta les coves, un tant destartades, dels
obrers.

questa
"estada" es
a l'abast el
través, abans
d'entrar al te-
rreny de la
fàbrica, i
declara



l'interès que té el barri de Sants per recuperar el vapor
i arreglar-lo com a centre cívic.



Al darrera
de la
fàbrica

hi ha unes petites casetes en ranglera que antigament
eren dels obrers i que foren construïdes alhora que la fàbrica.
Actualment hi viu gent que no té res a veure amb el Vapor Vell

- Les diferents fonts (llibres en general
don hem tret informació són:
"Didàctica del Vapor Vell" (dossier que
ens van donar al'ajuntament de districte
de Sants), Enciclopèdia Catalana, i
"Història Industrial de Catalunya" (de la Ca
de Barce



PERIODICH QUINZENAL, ARTISTICH, LITERARI Y CIENTIFICH

Any IX

Barcelona 15 de Juny de 1888

Núm. 190

Se publica 'ls días 15 y últim de cada mes				Fundador: Carlos Sanpons y Carbó	Se publica 'ls días 15 y últim de cada mes		
PREUS DE SUSCRIPCIÓ	ANY	SEMESTRE	TRIMESTRE	DIRECTOR	PREUS DE SUSCRIPCIÓ, PAGANT EN OR	ANY	SEMESTRE
Espanya	15 pessetas	8 pessetas	4'50 pessetas	FRANCESCH MATHEU	Cuba y Puerto-Rico	5 pesos forts	3 pesos forts
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Anuncis a preus convencionals.—Los unichs encarregats de rebre 'la anuncis estrangers son los Srs. Saavedra germans. Rue Blancho, 38, Paris							



D. EUSEBI GÜELL Y BACIGALUPI, PER P. ROSS

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CRONICA GENERAL

Efectivament lo dia 20 del passat s'inaugurà solemnement l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona. L'acte fou digne del gran esforç que ha fet la nostra ciutat pera patentisar sa superioritat respecte a les demés capitals d'Espanya. En aquella solemne festa s'executà una grandiosa cantata composta expressament pe'l mestre Rodoreda ab lletra de D. Melcior de Palau, y una composició del Sr. Bosch en qu'estan enllassats los motius dels himnes nacionals dels més importants pobles.

Ara ls madrilenys que han comparegut aquí ab motiu del certamen internacional, ja confessan que Catalunya es una gran terra y que Barcelona es altra cosa de lo qu'ells se figuravan; ara ja reconeixen que l'Exposició Universal no es de per riure y que ha d'ésser un poble gegant lo qui ha dut a cap una tan gran empresa; ara... ja volen que la gloria se la'n duga Espanya tota, perque tota ha ajudat a la cosa, y ab prou feynes donan importancia a l'iniciativa de la capital catalana.

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Fora tasca llarga passar en revista totes les festes ab que Barcelona ha solemnisat l'inauguració de l'Exposició Universal, a lo que ha contribuït no poch la presencia de la Cort d'Espanya; no s'pot fer més aquí que apuntar una llista dels festeigs que durant una bona sèrie de dies han entretingut l'atenció dels barcelonins.

La Reyna Regent va ésser rebuda'l dia setze ab la cortesia que'ns es pròpia, no descuydantse la nostra Corporació municipal d'engalanar la ciutat ab archs de triomph, lluminaries esplèndides y demés que calia en semblant ocasió. S'han donat funcions de gala en los principals teatres; reunions en l'hipòdrom, lluhides com may aquí s'havia vist; *espectacles nacionals* (los del torin) més sovint de lo que's solia; regates internacionals; gran serenata pe'ls coros en la Plassa de Sant Jaume; distribució de premis a la virtut; retirada militar; alborada en lo pati de la Casa de la Ciutat, en que s'executà una pessa pera veus de noys y noyes ab acompanyament de banda, composició inspiradíssima del jove mestre Sr. Sadurní; lluminaries y castells de foch en lo port, que fou sens dubte lo més maravellos qu'hem vist en tots aqueixos dies; colocació de la primera pedra del Hospital Clinich y de la nova Presó; inauguració del primer carrer de reforma; inauguració del gran monument a Colon y del que s'ha dedicat al malaguanat economista català don Joan Güell y Ferrer.

Es impossible consignarho tot, perque no ha parat en una pila de dies lo tragí de festa. Ja's pot ben dir que Barcelona, sab lluhirse quan convé y no'n té d'apendre de cap ciutat del mon. La reunió en aquest port de les esquadres de tantes nacions ha estat també un succés que no té exemple y del que Barcelona'n guardarà memoria.

*
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Lo *Missatge* endressat pe'ls catalanistes a la Reyna Regent durant sa estada en Barcelona ha mogut una tempestat de protestes entre'ls desafectes a la causa de l'autonomia de la nostra regió; aixó ja'ns ho esperavem, y no'ns ve gens de nou que'ls uns nos califiquen de criminals y'ls altres nos consideren dignes d'estar en un manicomí. Lo concepte que de la nostra conducta'n fassan certs personatjes no ha de torcer ni mica'l camí que segueix lo catalanisme; ells nos maltractan perque no'ns coneixen, y nosaltres en cambi'ls deixem dir y no'n fem cas, perque'ls coneixem massa.

Crech, y segurament no m'erro, que la meytat dels firmants del *Missatge* estariam en desacort ab l'altra meytat si anéssem a examinar per pessas menudes lo fi a que déu aspirar lo catalanisme; però tots estem conformes en que era convenient aquesta manifestació, pera despertar als qu'están ensopits y pera donar una proba de la nostra vitalitat; y que ho hem endevinat, res nos ho diu mellor que les desentonades frasses ab que'ns motejan los nostres adversaris (que Deu los fassa bons).

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A més dels Jochs Florals, que mereixen una ressenya extensa y separada, s'han celebrat durant lo mes de Maig tres importants certàmens literaris: lo de Figueras, lo de la Joventut Catòlica de Barcelona y'ls «Jochs Florals del primer diumenge de Maig.»

En la mateixa mesada s'han publicat entre altres obres les següents: *Manuscritos catalanes de la Biblioteca de S. M.*, per J. Massó Torrents, *Guta económica de Barcelona y la Exposición Universal* (en castellà y en francés), per D. Rafel Chichón; *Memorias de la Asociación Catalanista d'excursiões científicas*, volúms II y VIII; *Hostalrich*.—*Memorias de la Guerra de la Independencia* (ab grabats), per Manuel Urgellés; *Album de la colección de mobiliari, cerámica y vidrieria* de D. F. Miquel y Badia, publicat per la «Asociación Artístico-arqueológica barcelonesa»; *Guide de Barcelone et ses environs*; *Recort de las fiestas del 8 Setembre 1887 a Banyuls de la Marenda*, per Mossen Roux; *Obres del valeroso cavaller y elegantissim poeta Ausias March*, nova edició per Antoni Bulbena; *Influencia de la civilización romana en Cataluña comprobada por la orografía*, per J. Balari y Jovany; *Cura de cristiandad*, joguina en un acte y en vers dels Srs. Roca y Gumá estrenada en lo teatre Romea.

*
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La Real Acadèmia Espanyola fet y fet ha reconegut que la literatura catalana no s'ha de considerar com a estrangera dins de casa seva, y per tant les obres escrites en nostra llengua han pogut entrar en lo concurs obert pera adjudicar lo premi de 5,000 pessetes que oferí la Reyna a la mellor producció dramática de les estrenades en tot l'any passat en los teatres d'Espanya. Aquella sabia corporació, en conseqüencia ha concedit lo premi al drama *Batalla de reynas* del nostre popular Soler, fent constar que's premia així al teatre català y al fecundíssim autor que tan amunt l'ha aixecat ab ses numeroses produccions, entre les quals ja's reconeix que n'hi há de superiors en mèrit a l'obra distingida.

De mica en mica pot ser arribarán a concedir los castellans que Catalunya s'ha de tenir per espanyola pera alguna cosa més que pera contribuir a les càrregues de la nació.

*
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Entre una cosa y una altra umpliríam moltes planes si volguéssim traslladar en les nostres cròniques totes les impressions rebudes en les derrereres setmanes: Barcelona ha sobreixit de festes y cerimònies de tota mena; mentres nos aixordavan seguidament les canonades de tota una ciutat de forteses flotants, enlluernava'l brill de vestuaris que no estem acostumat a veure, y un moviment desusat donava a la nostra capital l'aspecte de les més animades ciutats d'Europa. Ara ha minvat aquell mareig de dies enrera, però no mancan espectacles pera anar fent grata l'estada dels forasters a Barcelona: concerts, funcions en tots los teatres, panorames, entreteniments de tota mena, convidan a aprofitar aquesta temporada pera distraure un xich l'ànim prou contristat quan se considera lo que seria aquest país si'l hi volguessen donar la má tots los que, podrián contribuir a sa prosperitat y ara ajudan més aviat a malmetre'l y a fer inútils sos esforços pera arribar al terme de ses nobles aspiracions.

J. LAPORTA

NOSTRES GRABATS

D. Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupe

Fa dos anys qu'anem al darrera de trobarli una bona fotografia per fer lo seu retrato; no'n hem trobada de mellor que la que'ns ha servit per ferlo.

Sabíam que demanarli era inútil perque'ns hauria prohibit sa publicació; hem esperat; però avuy, ab motiu de la inauguració del monument a son inoblidable pare, no podem esperar més, afanyosos de donar en un mateix número un testimoni d'admiració al talent y a la energia d'en Güell y Ferrer y una proba d'estima y agraïment al estudi y al patriotisme verament català d'en Güell y Bacigalupe.

Perdonins lo lector si alguna falta troba en lo grabat, y perdonins sobretot lo Sr. Güell si contrariem la seva voluntat ab la publicació d'aquest retrato que, per sa esquisida susceptibilitat, no pot ser mellor de lo qu'es.

Lo Vapor Vell, de Sans

Véjas l'article que va en altre lloch d'aquest número.

Barcelona.—Monument a Güell y Ferrer

Recordantse los serveys eminents que un digne fill de Catalunya D. Joseph Güell y Ferrer, prestá a son país quan los primers avensos de la maquinaria feren possible un principi de competencia ab los productes de las fábricas de filats y teixits estrangers; aixis com los lluminosos escrits econòmichs, en los que demostrá quan imposat estava dels principis que regulan de riquesa pública de las nacions y quan s'interessava per lo foment de la Catalunya y d'Espanya en general; Barcelona ha volgut erigirli un monument en un de sos mellors punts, lo carrer de las Corts catalanas en lo creuament ab la Rambla de Catalunya.

Lo monument no es excessivament fastuós, ni de dimensions exageradas; son estil recorda las bonas composicions del renaxement, ab tendencias platerescas y sos dos cossos flanquejats per elegants columnetas y capritxosos grifos, venen perfectament rematats per la estàtua de D. Joseph Güell y Ferrer

obra en la que brilla lo talent del escultor D. Rosendo Nobas.

Ha sigut l'autor del projecte del repetit monument y director de sa construcció, lo distingit arquitecte D. Joan Martorell.

Las estatuas decorativas sentadas de sas quatre caras, son respectivament dels següents escultors; la de la Agricultura d'en Sala, la de la Industria d'en Tasso, la de Navegació y Comers d'en Alentorn y la de las Arts d'en Pagés.

Tota la escultura de talla es obra d'en R. Casal, lo treball de picapedrer d'en V. Sorribas, lo de mestre de casas d'en Bassegoda y lo de marmolista d'en Ventura germans.

Lo marbre de la graderia y basament es de Castellá; y la demás pedra de Monovar (Alicant); esent las lápidas de venlilio de Macael.

Obra espontánea de las foras particulars, sens intervenció oficial, reconeixent aquellas quan convé enaltir als hòmens ilustres per los eminentes y desinteressats serveys prestat a son país, lo monument a Güell serà un testimoni ineludible de la gratitud de sos compatricis, y una ensenyansa als presents y esdevenidors, pera estimularlos a seguir per sas nobles vias.

D. Joan Güell y Ferrer

Aquest grabat reproduheix la estatua qu'ha esculpit lo conegut escultor Sr. Nobas y que corona 'l monument axecat en l'encreuament de la Gran Via y Rambla de Catalunya. Sols ne dirèm qu' es una de las millors obras qu' ha produhit aquell distingit artista, y qu' ha sigut reproduhida fidelment per lo dibuxant Sr. Ross.

Lo Papa St. Esteve després de son martiri
en las Catacumbas

Las escenas de martiris soferts per los primers hèroes cristians serán sempre asunto propi per inspirar a un artista de cor. Bé ho ha probat lo senyor Soler y Llopis en lo quadro que publiquem avuy, reproduhit pe'l llapis del Sr. Cabanellas. La composició ben distribuïda y las figuras correctament dibuxadas fan d'aquesta tela un' obra notable qu' ha merescut los elogis de tothom.

Lo company mort

Aquest quadro de 'n Vayreda, plé de sentiment, es una hermosa proba de lo molt que pot ferse ab poch, però ben conduhits efectes. Al fossar d'un poble rural, ha sigut conduhit lo cadáver d'un soldat, sobre una escala; son company se l'esguarda ab aquella impassibilitat propia de las armas, mes al mateix temps transparenta la profunda consideració de que tal volta no está lluny lo moment en que sia ell trasportat d'igual manera. La marjada ab los ninxos, lo vell xiprer y la creu de ferro del centre del fossar, dominant una sort de monument rústich y antich; tot está trobat ab ben entés estudi, no faltanhi tampoch algunas fullas secas per allí esparamadas, que acaban de donar lo tò a la composició tan acertadament disposada.

DON EUSEBI GÜELL Y BACIGALUPI

Pot dirse d'ell lo que deya Properci de Mecenas:

—«A favorit de la Fortuna podria seure al Forum, cubrir de tropheus lo seu palau y brillar entre 'ls primers,.... mes ell, tot al contrari, fuig de tota pompa, arria les veles que vol inflar un vent propici y s'amaga modestament a l'ombra.»

En efecte: per la posició que ocupa, per sa educació y per son talent, podria, si volgués, viure a la Cort y representarhi un paper dels més brillants,....

mes ell, no s'ha mogut de Barcelona. Podria aquí, en sa ciutat nativa, ocupar els primers llocs,.... mes ell, ni 's dona importancia ni figura. Podria tenir honors y títols, y únicament té 'l mèrit de no ésser ni sisquera *Excel-lentissim*.

Retirat modestament a l'hombra, com Mecenas, fa 'l Sr. Güell la vida de familia y viu a casa seva consagrat a la educació de sos fills, a l'administració de sos bens, y destinant les hores vagatives a l'estudi, fruyt del qual n'ha sigut lo libre qu' ara fa dos anys publicá a París y del que 'n breu temps s'ocuparen ab elogi les principals revistes científiques d'Europa.

S'erraria de mitj a mitj qui pensés que una vida tan retreta acuga en aquell que l'ha adoptada y la segueix un esperit débil y abatut ó bé un cor indiferent a la sort de son país. Precisament los qu' el coneixen, y aquí 'l coneix tothom, saben bé prou que sota aquell seu posat ple de modesta distinció y un si es no es fret y melancólich, s'hi amagan harmónicament agermanades les altes qualitats del *varò just e inflexible* qu' Horaci ens mostra sempre atent a la veu de son deber, sempre sort a la sediosa veu del poble que aconsella 'l crim, seré y tranquil devant la mirada fera del tyrá, may abatut per la desgracia ni ensuperbit per la fortuna y capás de sentir impávit croixir tot 'l Univers que absos enderrochs podrà ferirlo, no esglayarlo.

Homes aixís, fets d'una peça y tan sencers, natural es que sentin repugnancia vers tot lo que sia exhibirse y figurar no més per vanagloria, y que se allunyin indignats y pesarosos de tot lloch hont s'agitin y perorin les ànimes malaltes y envilides que tot volent treballar pe 'l bé comú y sacrificarse pe 'l país, enganyan als incauts y fan lo seu negoci.

Los homes d'aquest temple son, en cambi, los que 'n silenci y d'amagat treballan a tothora en bé dels altres, los que ajudan ja ab sos capitals, ja ab sos concells a la realització dels projectes verament útils al país, los que acullan tota idea noble y generosa, los que donan la mà al talent desvalgut y l'encoratgen, los que socorren la desgracia y la aconsolan y los primers, que 'n jorns de prova surten resoltos a fer cara al perill.

* * *

Ningú estranyará, després de lo que acabem de dir, que 'ls càrrechs públics qu' ha exercit lo senyor Güell sian ben poch; tot en gros ha sigut una vegada regidor y un' altre diputat provincial. Ha servit sa ciutat y sa provincia, y no ha passat de aquí; al Congrés no ha volgut anarhi may; y, ¿per qué no dirhoi de que no hi hagi anat ens en alegrem per ell y per Catalunya; per ell, perque sabem que 'ls que hi van, quant no s'hi corrompan fins a pèrdrehi 'l seny y la vergonya, hi perdan miserablement el temps repicant en ferro fret; y ens en alegrem per Catalunya perque per ella, qu' ha vist y veu encara per desgracia que son tants los fills seus que 's fan polítichs y van allà dalt per oblidarla, ha sigut un dolç consol lo veure 'n un qu' ha sapigut conservar-se pur entre tantes impures y que, fidel al testament de sos pares, ha sortit resolt y coratjós a defensarla reclamant per ella lo que 's de justicia que li tornin.

Era pe'l Març de 1885.

La Comissió Catalana que havia anat a Madrid per entregar al Rey aquell famós *Memorial d'agravis*, que tant soroll va moure, complerta sa missió havia tornat a Barcelona. L'acte per ella realisat y les paraules en aquella ocasió pe 'l Rey pronunciades no havían agradat, com es natural, al polítich d'ofici que, per aixó meteix, procuraven treure importancia al document, esforçant-se en fer creure a la Nació que tot allò no tenia més alcanç que 'l que pugui tenir una humorada d'uns poch beneys sense significació y que a ningú represen-

tavan.—Lo mateix si fa no fa que diuen ara dels firmants del Missatge darrerament presentat a la Reyna Regent.

Era, donchs, precís demostrar a Espanya que darrera aquella Comissió tan motejada y a la que fins lo Govern havia volgut fer passar per embustera, hi havia tot lo més important de Catalunya aprovant y aplaudint l'acte per ella realisat; y per aixó, no bé arribada a Barcelona, va resoldre 's obsequiarla ab un banquet al que assistissen representants de totes les classes socials del Principat.

Pera presidir aquella gran taulada, ningú millor qu' un home que fos tallat del mateix llenyam de nostres avis, de gloriosa recordació; un home que deslligat de tota mena de compromisos polítichs pogués representar ab tota sa puresa l'element sá de Catalunya; totes les mirades 's fixaren en don Eusebi Güell; ell fou lo *Ciudadà honrat* elegit per presidir aquell banquet.

Prou li costá, segons diuen, lo didicirse a sortir de casa seva per presentarse 'n públich: l'amor a Catalunya pogué més que sa modestia, y, convençut de qu' era arribada l'hora de parlar, ell que no havia parlat may en públich y que talvolta havia fet lo propòsit de no parlarhi may, alsá aquell jorn la veu per dir al Rey, de modo que 'u sentís tota Espanya, que «les aspiracions de Catalunya no son »altres que alcançar la verdadera estabilitat en la »conservació de son rich patrimoni de creencies, »lleys y costums, tradicions y llengua, recorts y esperances, de tot allò, en fi, que li dona fesomia, »carácter y vida propia» y que, si les paraules pe 'l Rey pronunciades al contestar a la Comissió que 'n aquell moment s'obsequiava, feyan que Catalunya pogués abrigar la confiansa de tenir en lo Poder Real un apoyo ferm y segur pera la realització de ses aspiracions, lo Rey, en cambi, podrà tenir la seguretat de trobar en «aquestes foras sólides y »permanents de cada provincia un apoyo més fort »y més segur que 'l que puguin oferirli 'ls partits »polítichs, inconstants com el vent, bellugadissos »com les ones y com elles també de curta y, efimera existencia.»

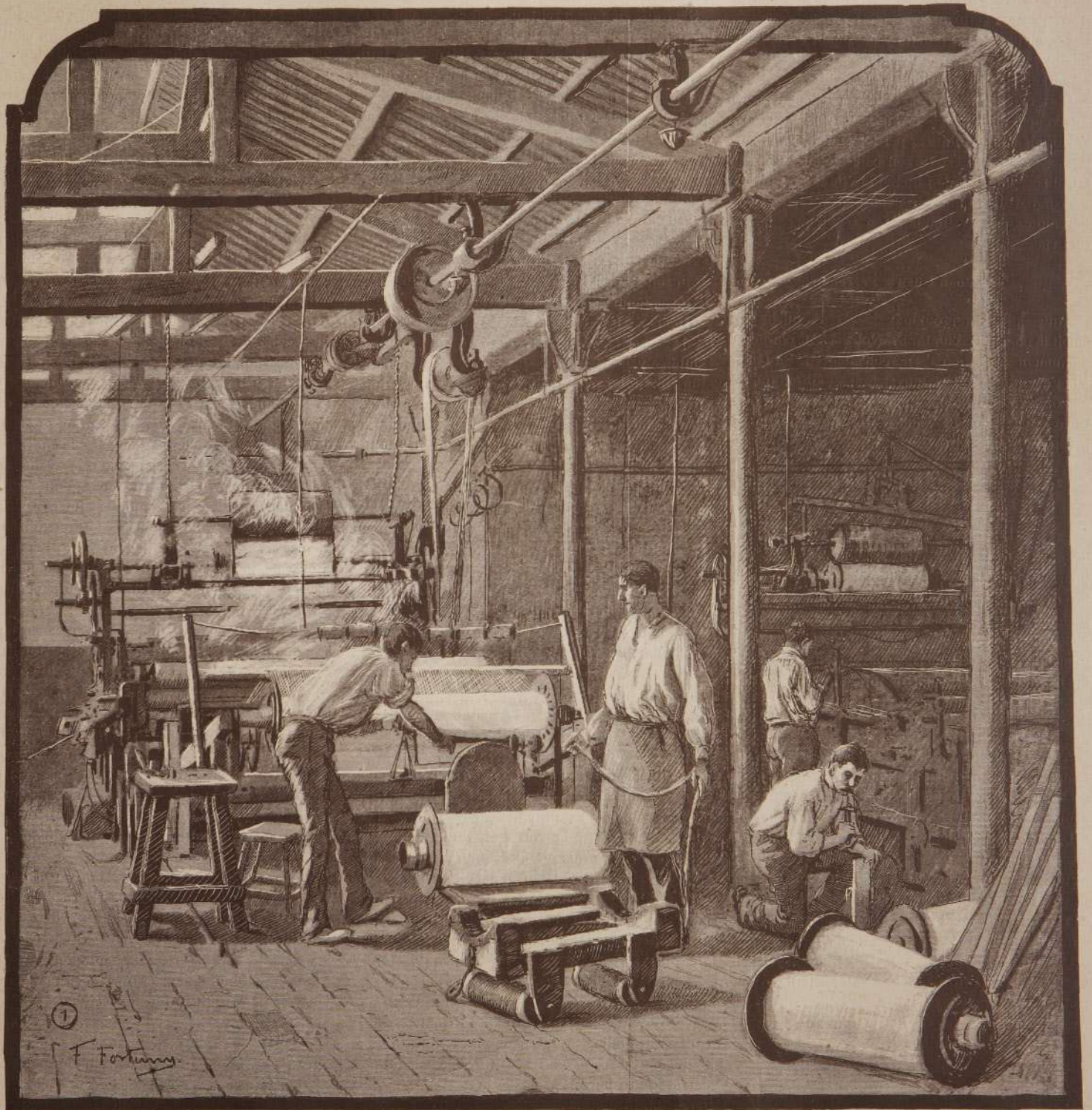
Y no pará aquí, sinó que ab varonil accent y ab ferma convicció, al ocuparse de les idees dominants en les altes esferes del Govern les acusa d'erronees, considerantles capaces, per lo funestes, de destruir l'Estat més fort; y aposta pera que les diverses regions d'Espanya ho sapiguessen, digué ben alt que «les aspiracions de Catalunya son no solament »respectables per lo legítimes, sinó perfectament »armòniques ab los interessos de les demás provincies fins al punt de que aquestes no poden prosperar mentres hi haja obstacles que impedeixin la »prosperitat de Catalunya.»

Recordá als catalans que «la justicia perseguida y afrontada, acaba per triuñar de sos perseguidors,» y coratjós y prudent a la vegada:—«No cal desesperansarnos, va dirlos; si treballlem ab fé y constancia, si sempre sorts a la tentadora veu de les »sirenes polítiques, deixem tota mena de banderies »per seguir sempre resoltos l'estandart sant de la »pàtria; si som prudents y sabem refrenar tota impaciencia, preferint esperar a que 'l fruyt caygui »per si mateix del arbre, un cop madur, enloch de »ferlo caure encara vert a cops de pedra; si aixís ho »fem, la idea que aquí 'ns aplega germinará cada »dia més per les demás provincies que, al conèixerla, acabarán per proclamar lo mateix que proclamem nosaltres.»

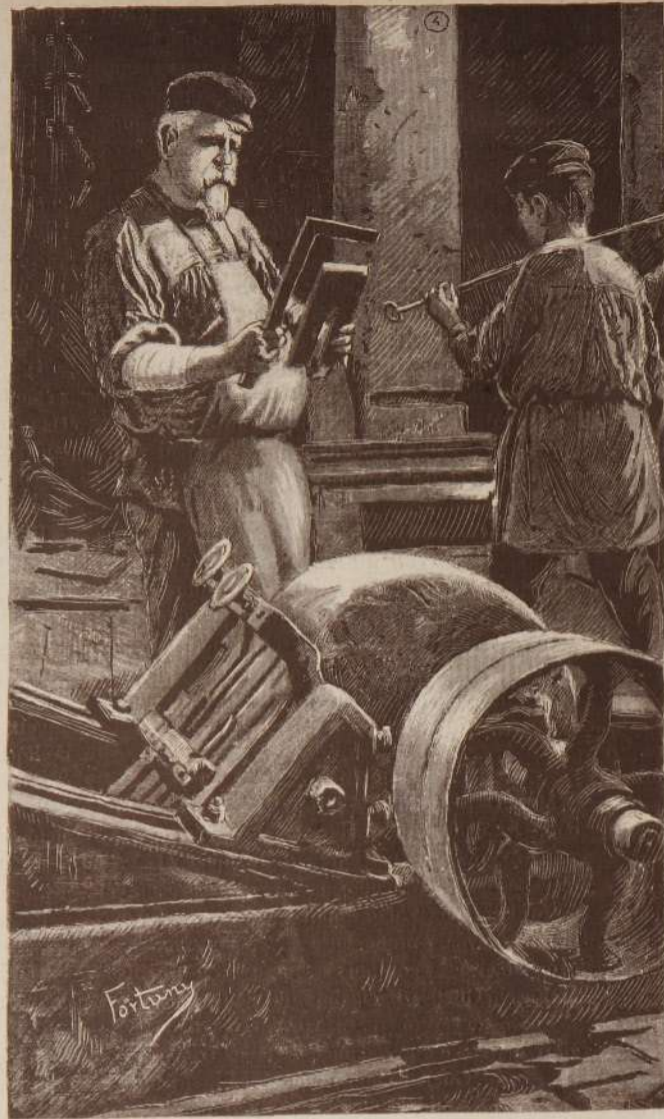
Bastan los párrafos transcrits pera que 's compregue que 'ls que designaren al Sr. Güell pera que presidís aquella festa no tingueren més que motius de felicitar-se d'el-lecció tan encertada.

Aquella festa y 'l discurs del Sr. Güell juntament ab los no menos eloqüents que hi pronunciaren lo inolvidable Maspons y En Valenti Almirall, farán época en los anals de nostre Renaixement: Aquell dia va desplegar-se al vent la Santa bandera del Re-

LO VAPOR VELL, DE SANS



DIBUJOS PER FRANCISCO FORTUNY



LO VAPOR VELL, DE SANS



LO VAPOR VELL, DE SANS

gionalisme que, desde ales hores, veu cada dia augmentar el nombre dels soldats que la segueixen.

Lo Sr Güell, pronunciades aquelles paraules que foren en sos llabris un solemne jurament fet a la Pàtria d' estar a son costat en los moments de prova, desaparegué y se'n torná a l' ombra abont se amagan «aquells bons patricis catalans que viuen »per la familia y pe'l treball y son, sense donarsen »compte los vertaders, conservadors del esperit nacional, del sentit comú del avior, los qui guardan »ab més puresa les honestes costums, la llengua y »la fé de la raça catalana.»

M. AGUILÓ

LO VAPOR VELL, DE SANS

Reproduhits en las planas... del present número trobará lo llegidor... dibuixos representant altrás tantas vistas parcials de seccions de la important y antiga fabrica de filats, teixits, tall, tint y aprestos de articles de cotó, coneguda en lo vehí poble de Sans per «Vapor vell» y en lo mon industrial y mercantil per la rahó social Parellada, Flaquer y Companyia (antes Güell y Companyia).

Figura aquest establiment de treball entre los primers de Catalunya; tant per lo temps en que comensá a funcionar, com per los géneros que en ell s' han fabricat y s' hi estan fabricant encara. Son fundador fou un patrici de grata recordansa; un catalá de bona mena; un home de empresa y gran cor com n' hi han poch, fou D. Joan Güell y Ferrer.

Quan en 1841 lo creixent esperit industrial del poble nostre comensá a sentirse encongít entre los antichs motillos de rutinas que dificultavan lo desentrotlló general del treball tal com lo desitjava lo geni emprendedor dels nostres pares qui; ab més fé que no pas medís, empengueren la patriótica y cent voltas santa obra de la rehabilitació de las abatudas forças de Catalunya, sortiren d' entre lo poble de la terra uns quants rebrots que sobre 'ls altres avansaren pera convertirse ben prompte en ufana brancada en la que nous brots, han produhit las flors y fruyts avuy presentats al costat dels fruyts y flors extrangers en los temples que al progrés del treball humá acaban d' obrirse en nostra benvolguda comtal ciutat.

Entre 'ls mellors dels rebrots dits, hi figurá lo fundador del establiment fabril al qui dediquem aquestas ratllas. Dotat per naturalesa, de gran esperit, no sapigué en Güell y Ferrer limitarse a entrar en la carrera fabril seguint las petjadas de la majoria dels hòmens treballadors de sa época, majoria que a las horas, com sempre, s' entretenia en aplicar la activitat a la obtenció de lleugeras variants de un mateix tema industrial; sinó que de cop saltá a major altura posantse atrevit sobre un nou camp, tan vast, que fins fa poch mesos ha sigut encara objecte de descubriments nous, que de cap manera podem creurer sían los darrers.

Sense més elements que son geni y un capital no gayre crescut, empengué 'n Güell y Ferrer la fabricació dels velluts de cotó, doblement difícil en aquella época, perque era ensemps complicada y enterament desconeguda en Espanya. Home de cap clar y carácter de bon tremp, ell se llessá a la empresa y comensá pujant la preparació y filatura, després montá los teixits; més tart las perxas y màquinas de dar farina y secar; seguí luego la difícilissima ensenyansa del tallar, y lo rentar de farina, aixó llest vingueren las complicadas montura y organizació de màquinas de respallar, grillatje, aparatos de descurar, aixís com l' establiment de tints especials, per cada diferente classe de vellut, y per fi l' arreglo d' eynas y ensenyansa de personal apropiat pera aprestar, dar llustre, respallar y acabar

las classes de velluts a qual fabricació la casa Güell y Companyia 's dedica desde son principi.

Ab tot y ser molt gran lo gasto de forças y temps que tot lo apuntat representa, no conseguí aixó sol omplir l' esperit d' en Güell y Ferrer. Son temperament enérgich, son criteri just y sobre tot son carácter independent perque com verdader home de treball se sentia segur de bastarse a sí mateix, feren que la influencia del treball del industrial catalá s' extengués més enllá de las parets de la gran casa per ell fundada, y fos ell per l' espay d' uns quants anys lo abanderat dels més valents defensors del treball catalá. En lluyta constant contra los enemichs de la prosperitat del pahis productor, y robant horas a son repós, aixecá al costat del monument de son durader establiment fabril, un altre monument que encara ha de durar més: lo monument d' un conjunt d' escrits económichs que l' hi guanyaren apreçi entre sos companys de treball y respecte entre aquells que no ho foren; respecte y apreçi sellats per lo temps a venir ab las pedras que forman lo bonich monument que milers de membres de la familia productora havem contribuhit a aixecar en nostra ciutat, a fi d' honrar per sempre més lo recort del company que avants honrá lo nostre treball enaltintlo y defensantlo.

* *

Mort D. Joan Güell y Ferrer, la casa per ell fundada ha cambiat de rahó social varias vegadas. Avuy es coneguda per Parellada, Flaquer y C.^a Ab tot y los cambis de nom, la casa ha permanescut essent la mateixa, aixó es: un establiment en lo que hi tenen feyna y profit sobre setcentas personas, de lo qual ha estat y continúa essentne nervi principal, D. Eusebi Güell y Bacigalupi, fill de D. Joan.

Ensenyat per son pare a estimar l' avens y la gloria de las manifestacions de la activitat patria, D. Eusebi Güell ha contribuhit com lo qui més a que en l' establiment fundat per son plorat pare, l' avens hi fos constant y la gloria no hi manqués may. A n' aquest fi, tan bon punt ell hagué esment de que en un raconet de Catalunya s' acabava de trobar y posar en práctica un nou procediment pera fabricar velluts de cotó llisos, de mellor apariencia y cost més baix que 'ls fabricats per los procediments introduhits en Catalunya, per son pare, se personá ell mateix acompanyat de personas peritas y de sa confiansa al lloch abont alló 's feya, pera pactar la adquisició immediata del procediment al que ell endeviná tot seguit brillant pervindre.

A n' aquí procediment, molt reformat desde la fetxa de son traspás, al «Vapor Vell» de Sans, se deuhen los nous y bonich productes que ab las denominacions de *Rodas*, *Mobles* y *Veludillos* figuran en los elegants aparadors de la instalació que en la nau 11 del Palau de la Industria, han aixecat los Srs. Parellada, Flaquer y Companyia.—(antes Güell y Companyia).

Digne successor de son actiu é intelligent pare, permétins D. Eusebi Güell que acabem aquestas quatre ratllas enviántli desde aquí un carinyós recort per lo fundador y una coral felicitació per lo continuador de la obra industrial que tant honra a la producció catalana.

F. A.

L' IMMUNITÉ PAR LES LEUCOMAINES

I

Ab lo títol *L'immunité par les leucomaines*, nostre amich N' Eusebi Güell Bacigalupi, acaba de publicar en la libreria Berthier, de París, una notable y ben escrita monografía en la que explica ab gran cópia de datos y forsa d' argumentació, la fn-

tima acció profiláctica de las vacunas, aclarant al mateix temps una série de punts que 's relacionan ab las malalties infecciosas.

Sense pretensions de cap mena, procuraréa primer resumir lo més breu que poguem dita obra, a fi de que 'ls nostres lectors se'n formin un concepte quant menos aproximat; farém després un estudi comparatiu de las diferentes teorías que sobre la patogénia de la malaltia infecciosa y l' acció de las vacunas están més en boga avuy día y mostrarém per últim lo inspirat que ha estat l' autor de la obra mentada al concebir y desarrollar com ell ho fé l' idea que s' havia proposat.

Dedica l' autor la primera part a la exposició de sa teoria de la immunitat, ocupantse avans de tot en las principals teorías sobre la vacunació y explicant com no es possible, segons se creu en general, que lo que produheix la malaltia sia al mateix temps profiláctich.

D' aquí passa naturalment a considerar als microbis com a causa de las malalties infecciosas, y atribueix a las materias d' excreció dels mateixos l' immunitat que 'ns comunican las vacunas. Per probarho se fica ab una premisa que sembla certa: per una part se presenta l' *bacillus virgula* com a causa del cólera y per altra tenim l' immunitat de aqueix per la introducció del caldo que ha servit de líquid de cultiu al dit bacilo y qual desarrollo está agotat.

Y ara l' autor se pregunta: «¿Quina es la composició d' aqueix caldo que produheix dita immunitat? ¿Sobre qué exerceix la seva acció si obra com a veneno?»

Per respondres a eixas preguntas estudia l' gran treball de la vida en los animals y en las plantas, la nutrició. En aqueixa s' observan dos fenómenos continuats y correlatius: l' assimilació y la desassimilació. *Los productos de desassimilació son tóxicos pe'l que 'ls elimina. Lo caldo de cultiu d' en Ferrán deu, donchs, contenir, sia en suspensió sia en dissolució, substancias tóxicas pera 'ls bacillus virgula; y aqueixas substancias, segons lo principi anterior, han d' esser las leucomaines de dits bacillus.*

Passant després l' autor a altres fenómenos, que relacionantse entre sí, apoyan la seva teoria, ve a dir lo següent:

Un home qu' ha sigut vacunat y un altre qu' ha sufert lo mal, tenen un punt de contacte, qu' es l' immunitat. Aqueixa immunitat que segueix a las malalties infecciosas, se déu, ó bé a la sustracció de substancias que es trovan en lo organisme, ó bé a la presencia de novas substancias. Ferrán diu que l' seu caldo conté solsament lo veneno del microbi que produheix la malaltia. Dit microbi, al desarrollarse en l' organisme, pren todas las substancias que necessita per la seva nutrició, substancias que al mateix temps son necessarias a las funcions vitals de l' home.

Per fer veure clarament que l' immunitat es deguda a la adició de una nova substancia, representa l' autor l' estat de salut per medi de la fórmula $3a + 3b + 3c + 3d$ y lo de malaltia per medi de la fórmula $1a + 1b + 1c + 1d$. Després de la malaltia l' home 's torna a trovar en la primera fórmula, y com qu' hem vist qu' aqueixa fórmula no dona l' immunitat, es precis, donchs, que s' hagin afegit novas substancias a l' organisme a fi de ferlo immune; y allavors queda representada dita immunitat per medi de la fórmula $3a + 3b + 3c + 3d + x$. Aqueixa x ja la coneixem, puig al exercir lo microbi las sevas funcions vitals, ja sia en l' organisme humá, ja sia en lo líquid de cultiu, ha degut deixar certs productes com a resultat inevitable de la seva existencia.

Y d' aixó 'n treu lo senyor Güell las següents conclusions, que tenim per molt importants y que forman lo cos de doctrina de sa teoria. Diu aixís en extracte:

1.^a Tota malaltia infecciosa es efecte de la per-

turbació produïda en l'organisme animal per la sustracció de substàncies necessàries a la economia i al mateix temps indispensables a la nutrició dels micro-organismes.

2.^a L'immunitat no es efecte d'una condició negativa de la economia, sinó de la presència de la leucomaina del microbi.

3.^a La vacuna, pera ésser tal, consisteix en introduir artificialment en l'organisme animal la leucomaina del paràssit.

4.^a La producció de las leucomainas pot obtenir-se per medi del cultiu en caldos ó limitat en lo cos animal.

5.^a Si després d'una malaltia infecciosa pot disfrutarse d'immunitat al mateix temps que de bona salut, es precis deduir que las leucomainas del microbi són compatibles ab lo estat de salut, y que la seva introducció en l'organisme per medi de la vacuna no déu produir símptomas tòxics.

6.^a y última. Si la vacuna s'verifiqués per medi del microbi, seria precis admetrer la presència de símptomas mòrbids.

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En la segona part de la seva obra demostra l'autor sa teoria apoyantse en los estudis de Pasteur sobre l'atenuació del microbi del cólera de las gallinas y l del carbuncle, usats com á vacunas, dihent que no es l'oxígeno ni las temperaturas més ó menos elevadas lo que contribuïx á atenuarlos, sinó ans bé sa acumulació, la qual, retardant la generació dels mateixos, fa que tingan una vida més raquítica y depositin leucomainas que dintre poch temps acabarán per matarlos.

Y no en vá s'apoya l'autor en los estudis de semblant autoritat; puig lo mateix Pasteur al parlar de la profilaxis de la ràbia confessa que l virus ràbich va acompanyat d'una materia no virulenta que determina per sí sola l'immunitat, materia que no pot ser altre cosa que la leucomaina del mateix virus (microbi ó célula).

¿Peró com pot explicarse ara lo retorn dels caldos atenuats á la virulencia?

L'autor resol perfectament aqueixa qüestió dihent lo següent:

Los caldos de Pasteur contenen dos factors que son: microbis, causa de la malaltia, y leucomainas, causa de l'immunitat.

Los caldos que contenen més microbis posseïxen lo màxim de virulencia; los que contenen microbis morts y més quantitat de leucomainas nos donan lo màxim d'immunitat. Clar es, donchs, que los caldos atenuats, sempre que continguin microbis vius y aquests se trasplantin en terrenos favorables al seu desenvolupament, adquiriran de nou la virulencia perduda.

Exposat lo anterior, fàcilment passa l'autor á explicar, segons la seva teoria, l'immunitat heredada.

Pera aixó se fica en los estudis fets per Davaine y Chaveau, los quals diuben que 'ls bastonets (microbis) del carbuncle no se transmeten á la sanch del feto, encara que la de la mare 'n continga en gran quantitat. D'aquí conclouhen dits microbiòlegs que lo contacte directe de las bacterias no es necessari pera l'esterilización de l'organisme fetal, y que las inoculacions preventivas obran principalment sobre 'ls humors, ja sia per la sustracció de substàncies indispensables á la proliferació bacterià, ja sia, y més bé, per l'adició de materias nocivas á la dita proliferació.

L'autor convé ab l'última part d'aquesta conclusió, y afegeix en resúmen que si bé la sanch en lo seu estat normal no pot contenir substàncies superfluas, y essent per altre part, necessàries á la vida de l'individu las mateixas substàncies que pren lo microbi, no pot menos d'admetres que l'immunitat heredada es deguda á l'adició de una nova substància generada pe'l micro-organisme en lo cos de

la mare, substància que per la seva difusibilitat pasará fàcilment á l'organisme del feto.

Peró aqueixas leucomainas que 'ns explican l'acció dels cultius atenuats del microbi del cólera de las gallinas, del carbuncle y de la ràbia que 'l mateix temps nos resolen l'immunitat heredada, ¿se trovan en tots los sistemas de vacuna com á causa d'immunitat?

L'autor se respón que sí; y reduhint á quatre los principals sistemas de vacunació, ó sia, lo dels virus mortals, lo de sa atenuació per medi del cultiu, lo de sa atenuació pe'l seu pas á otras especies vivas y lo dels cultius completament esterilizados, se fica principalment en lo segon sistema, y assegura que quan s'inocula un cultiu atenuat, si l'inoculació produïx símptomas mòrbids, aqueixos son deguts á l'introducció d'un número més ó menos gran de microbis, y que 'l no presentarse dits símptomas es degut á la no introducció de microbis vius, ó á que encara que introduhits s'han mort tot desseguida.

En aqueix últim cas, ben bé s'pot resoldrer la qüestió dihent que son las leucomainas lo que 'ns produïx lo benefici de l'immunitat.

Suposada l'existencia de las leucomainas en las vacunas, passa l'autor á exposar la manera com aquellas se poden produir sempre que s'usin antiséptics d'ordre físich, químic ó farmacològich y diu que aqueixos no tenen una acció directa sobre l'atenuació del virus, sinó que obran indirectament, aixó es, fent portar als microbis una vida que, encara que pobre, 'ls permet eliminar las sevas leucomainas.

Refutada ab tot lo dit fins ara la teoria del agotament, exposa l'autor la del antídoto, ó antiverí, que 'n téssis general apoya la seva y es avuy dia la més acceptada. Consisteix dita teoria en atribuir á la presència d'una nova substància en l'organisme animal la causa de la immunitat, y té junt ab la del autor tres variants, segons siga lo poder prohibitiu degut, ó á la presència d'una substància química produïda pe'ls teixits vius (Klein), á la producció directa ó indirecta de una substància que obraria com á veneno en lo cas d'un segon atac (Klebs) ó á la formació de las leucomainas dels micro-organismes (opinió del autor).

A primer cop d'ull, la teoria de Klein nos explicaria lo fenómeno de la no predisposició que tenen certs individus y també algunas especies á sufrir determinadas malalties infecciosas; però ¿com podrém explicarnos allavors que la presència continuada de las sustancias de desassimilació en lo cos que las ha produïdas no fos altament tòxica?

Reasumint al autor, dirém que la no predisposició, lo mateix pot ser deguda á la presència d'una substància elaborada pe'ls teixits vius, que á la falta en aquests d'alguns dels elements necessaris á la existencia dels microbis. Y aixís s'explica perfectament lo per qué no tots los microbis son patògenos.

La segona teoria, ó sia la de Klebs, com que no fica si es lo cos infeccionat ó l microbi lo que produïx la substància verinosa es més bé una teoria ecléctica, y per lo tant no 'ns entretindrem á analisarla.

Ab gust faríam aqueix análisis ab la del autor, si ja no vingués exposada extensament en lo cos d'aquest article: aixís donchs dirém ab ell que la teoria de las leucomainas nos explica perfectament la major ó menor immunitat de que gosan las vacunas, segons lo poder eliminador del organisme, segons la destrucció de ditas leucomainas baix l'influencia de certs cossos (com l'oxígeno), y finalment segons la selecció que pugan tenir per determinats órganos ó teixits.

Y aquí acabarem l'exposició de la segona part de la obra de N' Eusebi Güell Bacigalupi recordant á nostres lectors los fenomenos que tenen lloch en la fermentació del ví y de la cervesa, fenomenos que, sent las malalties infecciosas una verdadera

fermentació, clarament apoyan la teoria del autor; puig á la manera que l'ácit carbònic y l'alcohol matan lo paràssit que 'ls ha produït, troba lo microbi la seva destrucció en lo mateix a que avans havía donat éll existencia, que son las leucomainas.

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En la tercera part de la seva obra estudia l'autor d'una manera acabada las crisis en las malalties infecciosas.

Comensa per explicar detingudament los fenomenos crítics de ditas malalties, y trayent la consecuencia de la comparació avans feta diu: quan l'alcohol ha arribat á certa proporció, lo microbi queda inerte y la fermentació cessa: sent donchs las malalties infecciosas una fermentació, ¿no s'pot ben bé admetrer que lo moment en que sobrevé la crisis es aquell en que las leucomainas han arribat á la deguda proporció pera deturar la vida dels microbis?

Quan aixó succeïx, si 'ls elements del cos son suficients pera mantenir la vida del individu, clar es, que aquest recobrará la salut; al contrari, si dits elements son insuficients perque lo microbi se 'ls ha apropiat, allavors vé la mort del individu.

Del estudi d'aquest, aislat, pasa ara l'autor á estudiarlo en colectividad y ab la seva teoria explica fàcilment lo per qué una epidemia lleugera dura més temps que una altra d'intensa, dependint aixó, segons diu, de que 'n lo primer cas las leucomainas son pocas y per lo tant impotents, y en lo segon, moltes y per consegüent suficients pera auferir als microbis en sas propias excrecions. Además, l'autor atribuïx los cassos, bastant freqüents en las epidemias, de novas explosions després d'una tregua més ó menos llarga, á la gran quantitat de substàncies orgánicas que continuament se depositan en las poblacions, substàncies que donant un excés d'aliments als microbis, fan que aquests lluytin en millors circumstancies ab la seva leucomaina.

Y ara acabarem aquesta part, no resumint com hem fet fins aquí las ideas del autor, sinó més bé discrepant de l'opinió que emiteix sobre la ley de la tolerancia dels venenos en lo darrer capítol de la seva obra, capítol que, per altre part, no es necessari pera demostrar sa teoria.

La ley de la tolerancia dels venenos, la creyém certa sempre que s'tracti de venenos dosificats; però nó si son figurats ó animats, y per lo tant susceptibles de reproduirse, puig allavors podríen passar los límits de las dosis tolerables, á causa de la seva reproducció, y donar per consegüent efectes mortals.

Dita ley pot aplicarse sempre que s'tracti de virus atenuats perque los microbis, portant lo sello de la decrepitud, están impossibilitats de passar de l'activitat nutritiva á la reproductiva. En aqueix cas, com que sabríam lo rendiment de substància tòxica de cada un de dits microbis, podríam fins á cert punt, suministrarlos com si fossen venenos dosificats.

AUGUST PI GIBERT

(Seguirá)

D. JOAN GUELL Y FERRER

Quan s'inaugura 'l monument que Catalunya ha erigit á sa memoria, ¿tal dir quí era y què representava? Nò, certament: tots ho saben prou. Però, de totas maneres, es precis consignar los fets culminants de sa vida al publicar en nostras planas la estàtua que desd' avuy recordará als barcelonins un bon catalá.

Al colocarse 'l seu retrato en la Galeria de Cataláns Ilustres creada per lo nostre Ajuntament, llegí sa biografia 'l malaguanyat escriptor D. Joseph Ar-



BARCELONA.—MONUMENT A GÜELL Y FERRER, PROYECTO DEL ARQUITECTE D. JOAN MARTORELL, DIBUIX DE SUBIETAS-LLEOPART



D. JOAN GÜELL Y FERRER, ESTÁTUA DE NOBAS, DIBUIX DE A. ROSS

gullol, de la qual copiem alguns trossos en que 's condensa la vida pública d' aquell patrici exemplar. Després de consignar lo dia de son naixement, que fou lo 3 de Mars de 1800, á la Torredembarra, y de notar algunas anécdotas curiosas de la seva infancia, que revelan ja 'l caràcter de l' home, exposa las vicisituds y la marxa progressiva de sa vida privada, axís com los serveys prestats en l' illa de Cuba, y diu més endavant:

«Hèus aquí breu y senzillament descrita la vida d' un home que seguint un mètode quasi tan inviariable com sa bondat, sa constancia y son caràcter, dedicava las primeras horas del dia al estudi de las qüestions econòmiques, y al exercici y pràctica de las industrias fabril y agrícola lo restant del temps. Senzill y sobri com poch, no conegué per' ell lo luxu; entusiasta no obstant de la bellesa en totas sas manifestacions. Sever ab ell mateix y ab sa familia, era indulgent, lliberal y tolerant ab los altres. Sa autoritat y sa respectabilitat no tractava de ferlas sentir may, y s' imposava per la força de l' exemple. Modest sempre, sempre afable, sempre amich de la joventut, admirador constant del mèrit sortís d' hont sortís y vingués com vingués.

No pot dirse que milités en cap partit polítich: de jove, fou partidari de las ideas progressistas; més tart, acceptá las de la unió liberal. La experiencia li ensenyá que la felicitat dels pobles no depen exclusivament de las formas de govern, y si bé no las considerava indiferents, no 'ls hi atribuía gran eficacia: creya que sa bondat en bona part dependia de la bondat dels homes.

A mitjan sigle fou nomenat de R. O. individu del Municipi de Barcelona y un dels pochos reelegits pe'l vot popular. En 1856, després d' haver renunciat la candidatura, la acceptá pera diputat á Corts per un dels districtes d' aquesta capital: lluytá en los comicis, tingué per opositor al general Espartero y triunfá en Güell; lo mateix passá algún temps després anant en competència ab Escosura.

Entusiasta admirador y partidari de la política d' Odonell, lamentava que l' ilustre capdill, que tenia tan rellevants condicions d' home d' Estat, desconegués per complet la qüestió econòmica y no tingués criteri fixo en assumpto tan important.

En 1863, sent president del Consell de Ministres, lo marquès de Miraflores, fou D. Joan Güell nomenat senador del regne. Li causá verdadera satisfacció l' inesperat nomenament: s' anegué l' mateix any en lo Senat, y davant l' alta Cambra, en sessió pública y solemne, l' provocá D. Lluís M. de Pastor á un debat sobre la sempre batalladora qüestió de protecció ò lliure cambi; en Güell acceptá l' desafío, però ab lo condició de triar, com á provocat, las armas: poch fet al us de la paraula, triá la ploma y escrigué un notable folleto que li valgué generals aplausos.

Adalit constant del sistema protector, estudiá á fons l' historia econòmica d' Inglaterra, Fransa, Alemania, Bèlgica, Holanda y Portugal; escrigué notables opúsculs, formá part de varias comissions de aranzels, fou al mateix temps que industrial verdaer economista, obtingué esplendents victorias y per ellas meresqué felicitacions y regalos per subscripció nacional, figurant entre las firmas dels subscriptors la respectable del reformador de nostre sistema tributari D. Alexandre Mon.»

Enumera l' senyor Argullol las publicacions principals del senyor Güell y Ferrer, y cita entre altres lo notable escrit sobre la *Reforma Cubana*, las *Consideracions sobre alguns punts econòmichs y administratius*, *combatent alguns vulgarisats errors dels lliure-cambistas* (1852), las *Reformas aranzelarias y otras qüestions polítich-econòmich-administrativas* (1856), lo *Comers de Catalunya ab las altres provincias d' Espanya* (1853), los *Cereals. Reflexions sobre aquestas y otras qüestions aranzelarias* (1859), las *Observacions á la reforma aranzelaria proposta per Salaverrita* (1863), las *Causas econòmich-administrativas dels mals actuals d' Espanya*

y *justificació de la balansa de comers* (1866), la *Refutació del folleto escrit ab lo titol de PREOCUPACIONES SOBRE LA BALANZA DE COMERCIO* (1866), l' *Exàmen de la crisis actual del opúscul publicat per D. V. Vázquez Queipo* (1866), la *Polémica sobre qüestions econòmiques ab D. Lluís M. Pastor* (1869), los *Resultats á Inglaterra y Fransa del tractat de comers de 1860-1867*, la *Hisenda d' Espanya dirigida per los lliure-cambistas* (1867), y las *Observacions á la exposició que precedeix al Dret sobre impressió del dret diferencial de bandera.*

«Son per junt tretze voluminosos folletos, continúa dihent lo senyor Argullol, que ab altres molts articles escrits econòmichs y polítichs, suposan en son autor notabilíssims y extensos coneixements en ciencia social, molt especialment en política econòmica, raríssims en veritat y molt més en qui portá á cap empresas industrials de gran monta. Suposan, á més, sos nombrosos escrits, un talent clar, llargas horas d' estudi, una laboriositat inaudita y grandíssim amor á la pàtria. Donchs bé, tan distingit patrici no obtingué cap condecoració ni titol nobiliari; y no perque no hi hagués intent y propòsit de concedirlos, ni perque no fos pregat pera que 'ls admetés. No era enemich de las recompensas d' honor al verdader mèrit, molt al contrari; las aplaudia calorament, però las resistia sa natural modestia...»

Y nosaltres afegim que fins havia de resistirlas per orgull: de condecorat y excelentíssim avuy n' es qualsevol dels que passen oblidats pe'l peu del seu monument; molts que moriran sens dexar cap rastre; en cambi l' 22 de Novembre de 1872 marcará sempre als catalans la mort d' un fill predilecte de Catalunya, d' un patriota eminent que 's digué á secas: JOAN GUELL Y FERRER.

MISSATJE

á S. M. Donya Maria Cristina de Habsburg-Lorena

REYNA REGENT D' ESPANYA

COMTESA DE BARCELONA

SENYORA:

Deu que té en sas mans la sort dels homes, que es mestre y senyor de reys y de pobles, que es tot amor y justicia, no pot permetre que prevaleixi la iniquitat engendrada per l' esperit de venjansa, y fá avuy, al presentarnos nosaltres al davant vostre, que 's torni á obrir lo llibre immortal de la historia de Catalunya per sas planas més gloriosas, encara que més tristas; per aquellas planas en las quals lo nom de vostre llinatge se troba unit al nom de nostra casa, abdos escrits ab la sanch de las nostras venas.

Perqué no pot ésser fill del atzar, sinó degut á las disposicions més altas, que avuy, després de tants y tants anys de vérgonyós infortuni, que 'ns semblan llarga cadena de sigles, vinga á hostatjar-se en la capital de Catalunya, altra Arxiduesa d' Austria, altra Cristina d' Habsburg, regina d' Aragó y de Castella, y comtesa de Barcelona, com aquella que feu vida en nostra Ciutat, prometentnos en nom del soberá, que jamay, ni ella ni la seva casa abandonarían á la atribulada Catalunya.

Y no 's deu tampoch al atzar, sinó á las mateixas disposicions altíssimas, que nosaltres siguem, després de tants combats y de tantas caygudas, després de rebre tantas feridas en lo cos y en l' ànima, los mateixos catalans del comens de la passada centuria, y que ab lo mateix entusiasme de pàtria é igual amor de justicia que en aquellas jornadas d' estermi, nos presentem al davant vostre, gelosos de las constitucions y llibertats que tant ennobliren y feren poderosa á la nació catalana; y com en aquells dias, en los d' avuy, també de proba, vos vinguem á parlar de lo que es nostre, de lo que 'ls enemichs d' ahir nos prengueren y 'ls d' avuy nos negan.

Bé es veritat, Senyora, que si Vostra Casa y nosaltres no hem mudat los efectes de l' ànima, sentint, ab la mateixa vehemencia que avans sentíam, l' amor á aquesta terra, tenim avuy per nostra part de contenir los impulsos de la naturalesa pera que las llàgrimas, no totas de dolor, que 'ns acuden als ulls, se 'n tornin al cor. Y es que allavors, Senyora, la nació catalana, si bé 's trobava amenassada de mort, aixís y tot gosava encara de sa autonomia y per ella bregava ab sas armas propias, aussiliada per las de la Vostra Casa, davant de tot lo mon que tenia en ella fixa la mirada.

Avuy, Senyora, ni rastre 'n queda sobre la terra del pas per ella de la nostra gloriosa soberania. Suprimidas estan las nostras Corts nacionals; desapareguts los tres brassos que ab llur prudencia y sabiduria armonisavan los interessos de tots los catalans ab los interessos de la Corona; no existeix ja l' Consell de Cent ni 'ls altres Consells comunals de tota la terra, d' esperit verament democràtic; destituïts se troban nostres peculiars Tribunals de Justicia, tan dreturers com l' esperit del poble que 'ls engendrava; desnaturalizada 's mira la nostra Universitat y totas nostras ensenyansas catalanas, d' ahont sortí tanta claror de ciencia y de progrés; en una paraula abolit es tot lo que li es donat abolir á la lley de la força quan no hi há la rahó que la refreni.

Y nosaltres que som senyors de casa nostra, per voluntat de Deu, per voluntat de nostres avis y per voluntat propia, nos veyém obligats á acudir á Madrid pera captarho tot de jenolls d' una majoria de homes estranys á Catalunya, fins al punt de que sembla talment que 'ls hi haguem de demanar autorisació pera respirar l' ayre de la terra, y tot en la seva llengua, puig en lo llenguatge que 'ns vé de la ànima ni tan sols podem demanàrlos l' perdó d' un sentenciá á mort encara que ab ell poguéssim provàrlos que es ignocent y tingués ja en lo coll la afrontosa argolla.

Y allá dalt se disposa de nostres fills y germans, prenentlos de las mans las eynas del treball després de quintarlos despiadadament, lo que may se havia fet á Catalunya, y enviantlos á pahissos forasters sense fixarse en que, al olvidar allí llurs costums patriarcales, olvidan també l' afició al treball y lo amor á la familia y á la terra. Y allá se fá la tria dels homes que han d' administrar justicia en los Tribunals de Catalunya y de quins han d' ésser los que han d' ensenyar en nostras aulas, per més que uns y altres sovint ni entengan la llengua ni res de aquells ab quins han de tractar y alguns desconegan nostras lleys veneradas, ó coneixentlas los hi sían odiosas, y altres vingan á ensenyar á nostre jovent historias incompletas y parcials, ahont s' amagan los fets més gloriosos dels nostres passats y en las quals, si 's retrau la estada de vostres progenitors á Espanya, es no més pera ofèndrerlos á ells perqué vingueren y 'ns prometeren baix jurament, vetllar per las lleys de la terra, y á nosaltres perqué creguérem en llurs paraulas y pera defensarlas donàrem vidas é hisendas. Y allá dalt, Senyora, com si encara no n' hi hagués prou contra la terra catalana que es una é indivisible, se la ha partida inconsideradament en quatre provincias, ab lo qual se contribueix á aixecar entre ellas rivalitats y resels: no tenintne prou ab matar aquesta nacionalitat, sinó que, com á cos de criminal, ha esquarterat son cadáver la mateixa rancunia que en la sala de Sant Jordi del Palau del General de Catalunya llenzá á la foguera 'ls títols y prerogativas otorgats per vostra familia á fills de aquesta terra.

Pero no es aixó solzament: fins dintre de la mateixa organisació que per artifici s' ha creat, Catalunya no pot tenir, com tampoch las demás regions d' Espanya, garantida la defensa propia, perque 'ls representants que en las Corts portan lo nostre nom, son abans que tot y sobre tot servidors obligats de agrupacions polítichas subjectas al pensament d' un capdill absolut ó poch menos, lo qual no es d' estra-

nyar, ja que no més baix lo caràcter de tal vassallatge es concebible 'l predomini de una representació que té tan poch de formal pera la confecció de las lleys com molt d' irrisoria pera las regions representadas, las quals vanament confían en los que sovint ni son fills de la terra, ni tal vegada han posat en ella sos peus.

Y aquest arrebbament de tot lo que constituïa nostra personalitat dintre de la península ibérica, nos desposseïx de la iniciativa y en absolut del govern de nostra propia hisenda. De tal manera, que tot just teníam iniciat un període de relatives ventatjas, degudas als afanys y treballs comensats per los nostres pares, y per nosaltres continuats, quan, inspirantse en principis d' una fatal escola, los Guberns centrals, que no han volgut atendre á las nostras previsoras sollicituts, han produhit aqueix espantós desgavell y aqueixa afrontosa miseria que avuy nos afligeixen y de las quals son més víctimas las regions que major prosperitat havían conseguida defensantse ab sos suprens esforços.

Aixís s' explica que als que deurtam ser propietaris se 'ns vagi reduhint á la precaria situació de parcers, fins al día en que, per no poder pagar los impostos, nos desposseïxen de nostres bens los executors de sa desnaturalizada política; de aquí vé que la indústria tanquí las portas de sas fábricas y treguí al carrer als obrers als que tots los governs, igualment enganyadors en sos discursos, han garantit lo pá de llurs families: d' aquí vé que nostres pagesos no trobin qui 'ls hi compri, ni á preu miserable, lo que ab tants suhors y ab tantas llágrimas conreharen: d' aquí vé que las naus catalanas se pudreixin, abandonadas en los ports y 's venguin á Catalunya á pes de llenya ó vagin als estrangers pera que, mudant de bandera, nos dugan triomfalment á Espanya, á cambi del or del país, los productes trasformatos de la Indústria y la Agricultura; com d' aquí vé, Senyora, que veyém adolorits com totas las vías de mar y terra que portan avuy á Catalunya tants y tants viatjers ab motiu del Certámen Universal, serveixin també pera andursen cada dia més, com de terra malehida, al desvalgut pagés y al desamparat obrer, germans nostres, als que la política maléfica del Centralisme, ab lo mateix rigor que en altre temps tractá al juheu y al moresch, si bé ab formas més acomodadas al fingiment de la nostra época, los espulsa ignominiosament d' Espanya.

Y no vos enganyi, Senyora, la seva aparent prosperitat manifestada aquestos dias. Lo gegant que agonitza, glatinli 'l cor com en millors épocas, sentintse remoure l' ànima indomable dintre de sa descarnada ossamenta, ha fet avuy esforços suprem com lo fá qui 's despedeix de la vida y 's posa sas més pomposas galas y crida á parents y herents al entorn de son llit. Vos ho veuréu bé prou estudiant á fons la celebració d' aquest Universal Certámen en que ella, Catalunya, fá avuy un acte de soberanía, cridant á las demás nacions de la terra, pera donárlashi la coral abraçada de germanó, fins allá hont li permet arribar la decadencia de sas forsas.

Mes si nosaltres, conservant ab la mateixa puresa d' avans nostra virilitat y nostras aspiracions, hem arribat á tanta desdita, [qué diferenta no es, ho Senyora, la vostra situació avuy que 'ns trobem á las darrerías del sigle dinové, en comparansa ab la situació en que 's trobava vostra predecessora en los primers anys de la passada centuria! Vos, albergueu de segur lo mateix amor y 'l mateix afany de lograr la felicitat de aquesta terra que hi tenia la anyorada esposa de nostre rey Carles, sentint, com mare amorosa, ab la mateixa vehemencia, tot lo pés dels infortunis que aclapararen á nostra nativa pátria. Mes Vos ja no heu de temer, com ella, perdre corona y vida dintre dels murs de Barcelona, ni hauréu de abandonar la capital de Catalunya en nau estrangeira, casi fugitiva y ab la por en l' ànima, comprent que ab tot lo valor y ab tota la fidelitat dels catalans

no n' hi havia pas prou pera salvar á vostra familia de la pérdua dels ceptres d' Espanya. Avuy podeu girar los ulls, serens, entorn d' aquesta Ciutat oberta á totas las nacions de la terra, y en lloch veuréu rastre de fortaleza enemiga, y 'l cel de Barcelona se vos presentarà vestit de sa blavor transparenta, sense que la fumera de la pólvora la enmortalli, ni la pluja de la metralla ratlli sa puresa; que havuy, Senyora, la corona de regina d' Espanya que ceneix vostra testa no vos la disputa cap soberá de la terra. La pau dels Borbons ab vostra familia no ha sigut la pau venjativa é implacable que 's va tenir ab lo Príncipat, y nos ho diu ara—si ja altres fets anteriors no 'ns ho diguessen—lo que hagi sigut un Borbó, Alfonso V de Catalunya y XII de Castella, qui vos hagi feta entrega de sa corona, santificant lo sacerdot, en nom de Deu, aquestas esposallas que tandebo tingan pera Catalunya més trascendencia que la unió de dos sers en lo sacrament del matrimoni.

Per aixó dihem, Senora, y ho dihem bategant nos lo cor d' esperansa, que ha tornat á nostra Ciutat, com nos ho va prometre, la Arxiduquesa de Austria, la Comtesa de Barcelona, obrintse altre cop lo llibre de nostra procomunal historia y reobrintse ab ell lo procés de nostra causa nacional.

Y es á Vos, á qui está encomanat estudiar imparcialment la causa y revocar imparcialment la sentència; que á més de Deu que vos ho imposa, hi som nosaltres que vos ho preguem, hi son vostres gloriosos passats que vos fan memoria de llurs juraments, y devant de tots, s' aixeca, Senyora, l' ombra de vostre Espós, pera recordarvos també com en día no llunyá, presenciatho Vos, assegurá á representants nostres QUE ELL ERA ADVOCAT Y ADVOCAT CONVENSUT EN LA DEFENSA DE NOSTRE TREBALL Y DE NOSTRAS LLEYS.

Vos, millor que ningú en aquestos moments podeu judicar fins á quin punt está obligat per lo més sagrat dels debers un poble com lo nostre á reclamar lo que li pertany, que es tot lo jurat per los reys y que estava en vigor á Catalunya fins al any 1705; fundantnos, al reclamarho, en los drets antichs perque son la herencia de nostres majors y aquesta herencia no pot prescriure, y afirmántnos en l' esperit de la época que vol que 'ls pobles sian senyors de llur casa y guardadors y llegisladors de las propias lleys.

Y ho compendréu ab més forsa encara, perque, essent de una ilustre familia, heu vingut de un gran poble ahont se aten la vida de totas las nacionalitats agrupantlas armónicament al voltant del Cap del Estat, que exerceix lo poder respectant la autonomia de cada una de ellas, com vostre magnánim parent, Francisco Joseph I, qui may confon los poders, sinó que, esclau de lo que las lleys antigas disposan, se senyeix per igual la corona imperial de Austria y la corona real de Hungria, d' aquesta Hungria, mirall de Catalunya, ab qui tant s' assembla en fermesa de caràcter y en drets de nacionalitat, y ab qui ahir tant s' assemblava en desventuras. Y si avuy lo nostre país no s' iguala ab ella en la fortuna, es perque 'l seu soberá al véurela postrada y agonitzant, li doná la má pera alsarla, li cloqué ab amor las feridas y posantli altre cop en sas espatllas lo mantell de soberana, renová 'ls juraments de fidelitat á sas lleys payrals en tot lo concernent á la constitució, la independencia, las llibertats y la integritat territorial de la nació húngara.

A Vos, donchs Senyora, que en nom de vostre innocent fill sosteniu lo ceptre d' Espanya, á Vos acudim, pera recordarvos tot lo que constituïa la personalitat de Catalunya, puig si bé nosaltres per nostra voluntat, ab nostre amor al progrés, no volem fer prevaldre las lleys que hagi esborradas de la vida moderna la má del temps, no podem abandonar avuy ni may los que hagi esborradas lo dret del més fort.

Desitjem donchs, que torni á possehir la nació

catalana sas Corts generals, lliures é independents, obertas per lo Cap del Estat ó per son llochtinent, en las que hi tingan representació directa totas las classes socials, desde las més humils á las més elevadas: Corts en las que 's votin los pressupostos de Catalunya y la cantitat ab que té de contribuir nostre país als gastos generals d' Espanya: Que sia Catalunya senyora del govern interior de sa casa, senyalant ella mateixa lo contingent del exércit pera al Príncipat, no quintantse á sos fills, ni fentse á Catalunya llevas forsosas, sinó provehintse de soldats voluntaris y á sou, los que no degan sortir may en temps de pau de nostre territori: Que la llengua catalana sia la llengua oficial á Catalunya pera totas las manifestacions de la vida d' aquest poble: Que la ensenyansa á Catalunya sia donada en llengua catalana: Que sian catalans los Tribunals de Justicia y totas las causas y litigis se fallin definitivament dintre del Territori: Que 'ls cárrechs de la nació catalana los nombrin los catalans mateixos, procurant que recaiguin en catalans los cárrechs polítichs, los judiciales, los administratius y los de ensenyansa: Que vinga lo Cap del Estat d' Espanya á jurar á Catalunya sas Constitucions fonamentals, com á condició indispensable d' antich establerta pera exercir á drete lley la soberanía en lo Príncipat: Y per fi que 's reintegri á Catalunya tot lo que tenint que ser lletra viva se guarda com á lletra morta en los arxius y en lo fons de l' ànima dels bons fills de la terra.

Si á conseguir aqueixa reivindicació complerta ho encaminesseu tot, Senyora; si un día los nostres drets y llibertats se vejessen degudamen garantits; si vos logresseu deslliurarnos de la tutela que s' exerceix sobre Catalunya, tutela que no la ha imposada la justicia ni 'l testament de nostres avis, ni menos se despren del pacte d' igualtat ab que 'ls Estats se confederaren ab l' enllas dels Reys Católics, se trencaria, es cert, la unió monstruosa que ara tenim ab las altras nacionalitats d' Espanya, se trencaria la unió artificial que 'ns imposa 'l centralisme, pero seria pera agermanarnos de nou ab més noble fermesa per una estreta y llarguissima abraçada, sense rivalitats presents ni rancuniosas recordansas, ni desitj d' imposicions, puig bé sap Deu que no aspirem ni may hem aspirat á que 's vesteixi á las demás nacionalitats espanyolas ab los colors de Catalunya, sinó que cada arbre arrelí, creixi y tregui brotada y fruyts en son terror y de la sava de son terror, fent vots, sí, pera que s' otorgui á las regions despossehidas tot lo que 'ls hi hagi arrebbat la cobdicia mal entesa del unitarisme.

Senyora, la unificació política, lo voler lligar totas las nacions d' un gran Estat ab unas mateixas lleys, quan son tan diverses per historia, caràcter, llengua, usos y costums, tant en Austria com á Espanya, hi ha portat desastrosas conseqüencias, essent causa en l' un y l' altre país de la pérdua de extensíssims territoris, quals fills haurían trobat suau lo sistema autonómich. Mes en la pátria de vostra naixensa se han obert los ulls á la rahó y á la justicia y afluint las lligadas s' ha contingut l' esbarriament de moltas de las nacionalitats oprimidas, las quals d' altre sort haurían acabat per rompre las cadenas. En aquesta terra, sinó s' acut rápidamente á contenir la escampada, á la pérdua de tantas regions del nostre continent y del d' América com s' han separat en un tot d' Espanya, hi seguirán ben prompte altras regions. Vejáu que en l' altra banda del mar quedan encara pobles hont hi está clavada la bandera espanyola, que poden aixecar sacramental contra 'ls errors de la política uniformadora y absorbent, servintoshi d' esperó en son desitj lo comparar l' estat precari en que 's troban ab l' estat d' altres pobles germans que progressan separats d' Espanya.

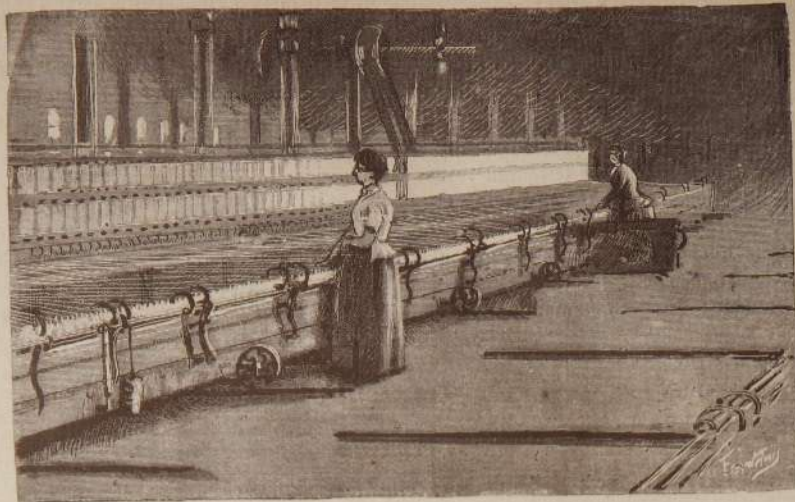
Senyora, en aquest mateix lloch, en l' ayre que ompla nostra ciutat benvolguda, sura encara quelcom d' aquella época que nosaltres vos havem vin-



LO VAPOR VELL, DE SANS



LO PAPA SANT ESTEVE DESPRES DE SON MARTIRI EN LAS CATAUMBAS, QUADRO DE SOLER Y LLOPIS



LO VAPOR VELL, DE SANS



LO COMPANY MORT, QUADRO DE VAVREDA, DIBUIX DE CABANELLAS

BUTLLETÍ DE L'ASSOCIACIÓ DE VEÏNS

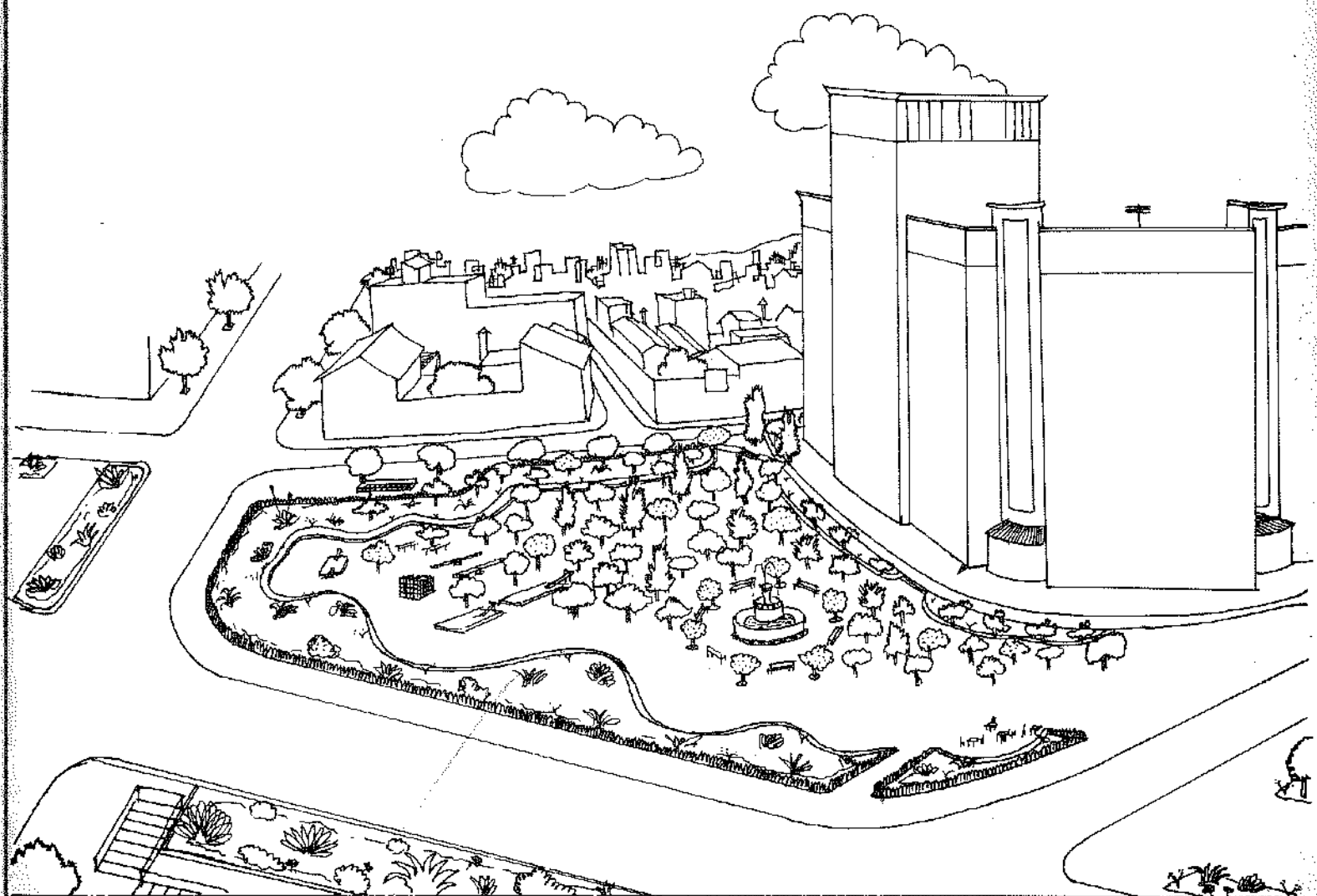
CENTRE SOCIAL DE SANTS

Setembre - Octubre

HEM SALVAT LA PLAÇA DE SANTS

EDITORIAL

EL PLAN COMARCAL EN EL D^o VII
LA ENT. MUNICIPAL METROPOL.
EN BUSCA DE LA PLAZA PERDIDA
FUMS A HOSTAFRANCS
ACTIVITATS EN EL BARRI
NOTICIARI



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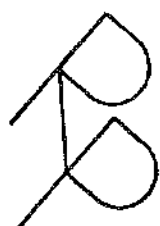


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AMB AQUEST NUMERO EL CENTRE SOCIAL DE SANTS ES PROPOSA COMENÇAR L'EDICIÓ REGULAR D'UN BUTLLETI QUE, ARA MES QUE MAI, SA'NS HA FET NECESSARI.

EL CENTRE SOCIAL VA NEIXER AMB L'OBJECTIU BEN CLAR DE DEFENSAR ELS INTERESSOS COL·LECTIUS DEL BARRI DE SANTS AMENACATS DE FORMA INMEDIATA PER UNA POLITICA URBANISTICA DICTADA PELS INTERESSOS D'UNS POCOS OPOSATS ALS DE LA MAJORIA. LA "GRAN BARCELONA" TRIOMFALISTA AMAGAVA I CONTINUA AMAGANT ESCANDALOSOS DEFICITS D'ORDRE SANITARI, ESPORTIU, DE VIVENDA, D'ESBARJO, DE COMUNICACIONS, ETC... QUE S'AGREUGEN EN DETERMINATS GRUPS DE LA POBLACIÓ COM ARA ELS JOVES O ELS VELLS.

EN AQUESTA TASCA DE DEFENSA, EL CENTRE JA TE ESCRITA LA SEVA PETITA HISTORIA AMB ELS ESDEVENIMENTS DEL GAS NATURAL, DE JOAN GUELL, DEL CAMI DE LA CADENA I AMB ELS INFORMES SOBRE LA SITUACIÓ ESCOLAR AL BARRI, PERO AVIAT, EN LA MESURA EN QUE ES VA APROFUNDIR EN EL CONEIXEMENT DE LES NECESSITATS DEL BARRI A TRAVÉS DE L'EXPOSICIÓ "COP D'ULL", EL CENTRE VA AFEGER A AQUESTA TASCA DEFENSIVA, TOT MANTENINT-LA, UNA ACCIÓ OFENSIVA QUE ES VA FIXAR COM A PRIMER OBJECTIU LA RECUPERACIÓ DELS GRANS ESPAIS EXISTENTS A FI D'INSTALAR-HI ELS EQUIPAMENTS NECESSARIS. AQUESTA ACCIÓ ESS VA CENTRAR EL CURS PASSAT EN LA CAMPANYA DE SALVACIÓ DE LA PLACA SALVADOR ANGLADA, DE LES COTXERES, I DE LA CASA DEL RELLOTGE, I EN LA DE REIVINDICACIÓ D'UNA ASSISTÈNCIA DIGNA PER ALS JUBLATTS, LA PRIMERA ESTA ARA A LES ACABELLES AMB UN RESULTAT QUE, SENSE EXAGERACIÓ DE CAP MENA, ES POT QUALIFICAR DE VICTORIOS, I LA SEGONA HA COMENÇAT A ASSOLIR RESULTATS PARCIALS.

LA CAMPANYA "SALVEM SANTS" NO HAURIA ARRIBAT ENLLOC SENSE LES TRETZE MIL SIGNATURES NI L'ASSEMBLEA DEL 12 DE MAIG AL GAYARRE, AQUI ES VA FEURE CLARAMENT QUE EL CENTRE ERA EFICAC EN LA MESURA EN QUE ERA CAPAC, D'UNA BANDA, D'INFORMAR ALS VEINS AMB RAPIDESA I AMPLITUD SOBRE ELS PROBLEMES SORGITS, I PER L'ALTRA, D'OFERIR POSSIBILITATS DE SOLUCIÓ, UN COP ACONSEGUIT AIXO, LA PARTICIPACIÓ DELS VEINS, QUE ES LA UNICA FORÇA CAPAC DE RESOLDRE ELS PROBLEMES D'UN BARRI, S'ENGEVA SOLA. UN FET INESPERAT COM VA SER L'APARICIÓ DEL PLA COMARCAL, VA OBLIGAR EL CENTRE A TREBALLAR AMB PRESSA EN AQUEST SENTIT. I EN UNA ALTRA VEGADA, LA RESPOSTA DELS VEINS VA SER MASIVA, DEMOSTRANT LA SEVA MADURESA AL NO QUEDAR-SE NOMÉS EN LA PRESENTACIÓ D'IMPUGNACIONS, SINO PASSANT A LA CONSTITUCIÓ DE NOVES ASSOCIACIONS. CAL ASSENYALAR TAMBÈ EL VALOR DE LA COL·LABORACIÓ DE LES ALTRES ENTITATS DEL DISTRICTE PERQUE AIXO HA PERMES LA CREACIÓ D'UNA REPRESENTACIÓ DEL BARRI AMB CAPACITAT DE CONVOCATORIA I ACCEPTADA COM A TAL PER L'ADMINISTRACIÓ EN EL DIALEG QUE S'HI MANTE CONSTANTMENT.

UN ALTRE ASPECTE DEL TREBALL DEL CENTRE QUE, JUNTAMENT AMB LES ACTIVITATS ESMENTADES, HA PERMES AQUEST CONTACTE CADA COP MES INTENS AMB EL BARRI, HA ESTAT EL DE XERRADES, CONFERENCIES I INFORMACIONS QUE S'HAN CENTRAT EN ELS CAMPS EDUCATIU, JUVENIL, SANITARI, URBANISTIC, FEMENI I ESPORTIU, I QUE CAL INTENSIFICAR. EN AQUEST SENTIT LA DIADA DE L'ESPORT MARCA UN TIPUS D'ACTES POPULARS QUE ACONSEGUEIXEN CRIDAR L'ATENCIÓ DEL BARRI.

ES PER AIXO QUE DEIEM AL PRINCIPI QUE, ARA MES QUE MAI, S'IMPOSA LA NECESSITAT D'UN BUTLLETI. SON MOLTS ELS VEINS DE SANTS, I TAMBE D'HOSTAFRANCS I DE LA BORDETA, QUE NECESSITEN UN ORGAN D'INFORMACIÓ DELS PROBLEMES DEL BARRI I DE COMUNICACIÓ ENTRE ELLS. EL CENTRE SOCIAL HA VIST LA NECESSITAT D'AQUESTA NOVA EINA DE TREBALL, I AQUI TENIU, A LES VOSTRES MANS, EL PRIMER NUMERO D'UN BUTLLETI QUE ARA SI QUE ESPERA DISPOSAR DE PROU GENT PER A TIRAR-LO ENDAVANT AMB UNA REGULARITAT I UN CONTINGUT ADIENTS PER A TOTS ELS VEINS I QUE QUEDA OBERT DES D'ARA A LA SEVA PARTICIPACIÓ.

REVISION DEL PLAN COMARCAL EN EL DISTRITO VII

Pocas veces hemos vivido en el distrito una preocupación, un movimiento, una conmoción tan intensa como en los pasados meses de Junio y Julio con la revisión del Plan Comarcal. Si pensamos que de las impugnaciones presentadas a la Comisión de Urbanismo, sólo las canalizadas a través del Centro Social superan las siete mil, nos daremos cuenta de la importancia de esta revisión y de lo que ha calado en los vecinos del distrito.

Después del caos urbanístico actual, de la planificación ciudadana al servicio de la especulación, de la carencia de servicios y equipamientos públicos, de experimentar la nefasta política de expropiaciones a bajo precio, de la falta de inversiones públicas en el distrito, de la falta de información y de canales de participación del vecindario, ect., la revisión del Plan Comarcal es un hecho trascendental, pues representa la posibilidad de establecer una planificación mas racional y efectiva, acorde con las necesidades de la mayoría, y de desarrollar unos mecanismos de participación, que permita programar y poner en práctica los planes de acuerdo con la población, o bien, al contrario, perpetuar el actual desorden.

En nuestro caso, nos hemos encontrado con una propuesta de revisión del Plan en la que hay de todo. Aspectos positivos, como la intención de ampliar y mejorar las zonas destinadas a espacios verdes y a equipamientos, y aspectos negativos, como la falta de garantías para llevar a cabo estas mejoras, y sobre todo una cantidad de afectaciones de viviendas realmente espectacular, consecuencia de unas injustificables nuevas vías y planes especiales.

La crítica a esta propuesta de revisión del Plan está ampliamente razonada en las alegaciones generales que sobre el transporte, la vivienda, los equipamientos y los espacios verdes, las contribuciones especiales y el control y la gestión democrática del Plan, presentamos los vecinos del distrito. Así mismo, en la segunda parte de nuestra impugnación queda claramente reflejada nuestra actitud frente al Plan, al oponernos a las afectaciones propuestas por falta de justificación y de garantías, y también al precisar tanto las necesidades que en materia de equipamiento público tiene el distrito, como las zonas del mismo que progresivamente deben ubicar dichos servicios.

En estos momentos la revisión del Plan Comarcal ha cubierto la primera etapa, al finalizar al pasado 30 de Septiembre el período de información pública. Hasta aquí los vecinos del distrito han hecho oír su voz con los millares de impugnaciones presentadas y apoyando los escritos con demostraciones bien claras, para el que quiera obtener, participando masivamente en las reuniones de vecinos realizadas en los barrios del distrito. Esto es sólo el primer paso, pero muy importante pues en toda Barcelona la voz que más se ha oído es la de los vecinos de los barrios.

En este proceso es interesante saber que también el Ayuntamiento ha presentado sus alegaciones, aunque muy generales, concretándose en estos momentos al estudio sobre las distintas zonas de la ciudad. De manera que no sabemos todavía que carta ha tomado y hasta que punto se recogen, como debiera ser, las aspiraciones de los vecinos.

Por ahora parece que no se ha tomado ninguna decisión respecto al Plan Comarcal y que están en estudio las alegaciones presentadas. Pero durante este verano se ha producido un hecho que puede repercutir sobre el futuro de la comarca de Barcelona, nos referimos a la creación de la Entidad Municipal Metropolitana. Si bien en otro artículo hablamos de ello, cabe decir aquí que este nuevo organismo tiene un gran papel en el Plan Comarcal, puesto que sustituirá a la comisión de Urbanismo que elaboró la propuesta de Plan que ya conocemos. Es decir que ahora pueden cambiar las cosas, o continuar el camino trazado, no se sabe...

Lo que si está claro, por lo que nos afecta, es que debemos estar atentos para continuar el proceso emprendido. Se trata de defender nuestros derechos contribuyendo a mejorar las condiciones de vida del barrio y de toda la ciudad.

Evidentemente, el tema del Plan Comarcal es tan importante, las actividades realizadas en nuestro distrito y en toda Barcelona tan ricas en matices, que hemos pensado dedicar el próximo número de nuestro Boletín al Plan Comarcal. En este número tendrán cabida nuestras impugnaciones, los trabajos realizados por las asociaciones y entidades de nuestro distrito, se recogerán hechos y opiniones interesantes de otras entidades ciudadanas y se esbozarán las perspectivas concretas de nuestro distrito, así como una amplia información sobre la nueva Entidad Municipal Metropolitana.

ASOCIACION DE VECINOS DE LAS CALLES, BADAL, BRASIL Y ADYACENTES

Esta asociación nació para defender los intereses de los vecinos, cuando en el año 1.968 el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona aprobó la Construcción del I Cinturón de Ronda, lo que en el tramo que transcurría por las calles Badal y Brasil, implicaba la expropiación de gran número de casas, la mayoría de pisos.

Durante los primeros años la Asociación solo se ocupó de la cuestión urbanística, pero ello dió lugar a una relativa sensibilización del barrio, poniéndose de manifiesto la falta de equipamientos en general, pero especialmente colegios y espacios libres.

La vida de la Asociación se desarrolla por unos caminos penosos y raquíticos. Barrio eminentemente obrero, donde la casi totalidad trabaja horas extras, poco tiempo les queda a sus habitantes para cualquier otra actividad. Actitud acentuada por los largos años de practicar un género de vida en que todo lo que no tiene retribución monetaria carece de sentido.

La asociación dispone de un servicio jurídico consultivo gratuito para todos los asociados y actualmente tiene encargado a un arquitecto el estudio de las posibles soluciones urbanísticas que permitieran que las obras aún pendientes de realizar no fueran a expensas de los habitantes de la zona, en cuando a expropiaciones y derribos.

Recientemente se ha montado la actividad recreativa de realizar excursiones en autocar por puntos cercanos a la ciudad, que en general ha tenido aceptación, probablemente por ser una zona donde abundan las familias sin coche propio.

Hay más proyectos que tal vez será posible realizar en un futuro, si se logra disponer de un local social y sobre todo una colaboración del vecindario. De lo que se logre se irá dando noticia.

EN BUSCA DE LA PLAZA PERDIDA

I. COMO SE PUEDE SALVAR UNA PLAZA

ANTE MUCHAS AGRESIONES UNA RESPUESTA

En los últimos años el proceso de degradación de las condiciones de vida del barrio de Sants había alcanzado un ritmo galopante. La corrupción y la especulación, inseparables compañeras en la apertura de nuevas vías, se habían adueñado por completo de la situación, arrancando los pocos espacios libres existentes, desgarrando la trama urbana y agravando enormemente el proceso ya habitual de densificación-congestión. Discretos espacios públicos donde se podía estar: Plaza del Niño, Campo del Sants, Pl. del Centro, Jardines de Amadeo Oller, se sacrifican implacablemente al transporte privado y a la especulación: Primer Cinturón de Ronda, Avda de Madrid etc.

Ultimamente ante tantos hechos inadmisibles, los vecinos de forma espontánea aunque aislada, habían empezado a responder a la agresión enfrentándose a la Administración en situaciones y lugares concretos, algunos de triste recuerdo (túnel de la calle Badal, explosión de gas en C. Ladrilleros, grietas en las viviendas de C. Juan Guell por obras del metro. . . . etc.).

Y así, de mal en peor, vemos como desde 1.969, durante cinco largos años, la plaza de Sants, centro del barrio, se convierte en una especie de zoua de "uso polivalente" muy agradable: almacén de obras de la nueva estación-parking sin ley-basurero público, con lo cual en forma paralela y como complemento a la densificación siempre creciente del sector, se logra la casi subutilización de un barrio, tradicionalmente sencillo pero habitable.

Y a mediados de 1.973, ¡ la gota que colma del vaso! : los vecinos se euteran del "Plan parcial de la travesera industrial" aprobado en 1.967, según el cual en la Plaza de Sants se construía un paso elevado a 6 m, de altura que destrozaba definitivamente el corazón del barrio.

Es entonces cuando los vecinos, frente al urbanismo oficial de planes parciales, pasos elevados, grandes vías o estaciones, sin información real ni garantías de ninguna clase, deciden por fin pasar a ser agentes que participan en la gestión de su marco de vida. Por primera vez los vecinos toman conciencia de que se han comportado durante muchos años como una masa inerte y sufrida sobre la que los especuladores, promotores y administradores actuaban impunemente. El significado de la campaña "Salvem Sants día a día" supone la voluntad de todos los vecinos de Sants de participar en la gestión de su barrio de forma responsable y razonada, enfrentándose en bloque, aunque paulatinamente, a los agentes de degradación de sus condiciones de vida. "Salvem" equivaldría a participación y defensa.

INICIOS DE UNA CAMPAÑA

A partir de un estudio - exposición de los problemas y déficits de equipamiento del barrio: "Cop d'ull a Sants", en el que habían colaborado las entidades del mismo, el "Centre Social" lanza una campaña por la plaza como centro aglutinante de toda una plataforma reivindicativa del barrio.

Conscientes de sus tristes records de 30 cm/h. de zona verde y 10.000 jubilados sin centro de reunión ni lugar para tomar el sol, se señalan una serie de espacios para uso público cuya recuperación fuera posible: "Can Batlló", La España Industrial, Magoria, las antiguas cocheras destinadas, y no era broma, a un futuro museo del transporte etc. Así el lema "Salvem Sants día a día, ni pas elevat ni museu del tranvía" quedaba completo aunque abierto a las sugerencias y necesidades del barrio. ¿Qué poner en lugar de un museo del transporte?. Cualquiera de los servicios reivindicados: asilo de ancianos, hogar del jubilado, ambulatorio, guardería, zona verde, . . . y tantos otros.





La "Casa del Relloje" masía del siglo XVIII, muy deteriorada, que era un peligro para los viandantes por sus derrumbamientos, es reivindicada como "Casal de Cultura".

La maquinaria de la campaña se pone en marcha: concurso de pintura infantil, posters, aucas, pegatinas, 20.000 tarjetas con dibujo de Gesc dirigidas al Sr. Alcalde, película sobre la campaña, jornada atlético-juvenil, preparación de una carta firmada por 23 entidades, campañas de radio y prensa y la elaboración por parte de los vecinos de un anteproyecto sobre la zona de la C. San Antonio - Pl. de Sants - C. Antonio Capmany, que salvara la plaza sin entorpecer en absoluto la circulación rodada. Una vez elaborado se decidió someterlo a información pública "stand" colocado en la misma plaza.

UN "STAND" CONFLICTIVO, 13.000 FIRMAS Y LAS DECISIONES DE UN BARRIO EN ASAMBLEA

Dicho anteproyecto, no solamente salvaba la plaza mediante un tunel, sino que la prolongaba en una extensa y significativa rambla por C. Antonio de Capmany que casi enlazaba con la zona cocheras - Pl. Málaga, formando en conjunto un buen espacio hábil que permitía la localización de varios de los equipamientos reivindicados. Este anteproyecto, que técnicamente era posible, añadía la ventaja de no realizar ni una sola expropiación.

El "stand" destinado a información, despues de varias y jocosas peripecias administrativas de montaje y desmontaje con el Sr. Concejaj, se inauguró felizmente con una afluencia masiva de público el 17 de Abril: junto a los anteproyectos técnicos del "Salvem Sants" había paneles informativos sobre el déficit escolar y situación de los jubilados, fotografías, chistes elaborados por los propios vecinos y un gran oleo-"collage" con caracter de reclamo publicitario. El continuo desfile de vecinos de Sants, colegios profesionales, corporaciones barcelonesas etc. cristalizó el día 11 de Mayo en 13.000 firmas de adhesión a la carta elaborada por las entidades.

La campaña se cerró el domingo día 12 de Mayo en el cine Gayarre con una asamblea de vecinos que abarrotaban el local y se ratificaron en sus demandas ante el Ayuntamiento, concretándose unas exigencias a corto plazo: 1º Oposición al paso elevado. 2º Con independencia de que se decida paso elevado o subterráneo, ajardinamiento inmediato de la plaza rescatándola del automóvil y de la basura. 3º Conversión de la "Casa del Relloje" en casa de cultura para el barrio. 4º Conversión de las cocheras del tranvía en equipamiento público a decidir. 5º Entrega de la carta y de las 13.000 firmas en mano al Sr. Masó y exigencia de respuestas concretas.

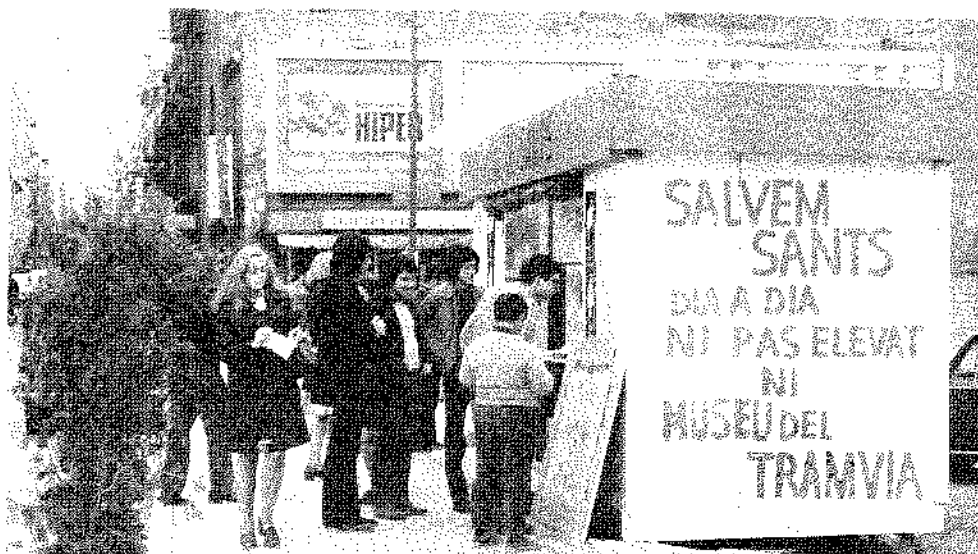


II. COMO EMPIEZA A SALVARSE LA PLAZA

EL AYUNTAMIENTO SE DA POR ENTERADO

Después de la no asistencia en la asamblea del cine Gayarre del Concejal Presidente y de la Junta Municipal, la entrega de la carta al Sr. Alcalde se iba retrasando. En este tiempo hay el Pleno del Ayuntamiento y en él el Sr. Masó anuncia

que no habrá paso elevado en la plaza de Salvador Anglada, y que las peticiones sobre las cocheras y la "Casa del Reloj" serán atendidas.



Tres semanas después, una comisión de 25 vecinos del barrio, representando a Centro Social de Sants, Calle Badal, U. D. de Sants, Orfeo de Sants, U. E. C. Sants, Centro Católico de Sants, Coral La Floresta, comerciantes y vecinos de la plaza de Salvador Anglada, jubilados y centros de enseñanza, se entrevista con el Sr. Masó y los Srs. Pujadas y Miró Burunat, Delegados de Servicios de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo.

El Presidente del Centro Social, hace entrega en mano al Sr. Masó de las 13.000 firmas y

seguidamente se exponen los problemas más urgentes; afectaciones en la calle Badal, Campo del Sants, Plaza de Sants, calle San Antonio... etc, y se discuten las posibilidades y dificultades técnicas y económicas de los mismos. Luego se inicia un largo y sustancioso diálogo con el Sr. Alcalde sobre los puntos reivindicados en la carta, uno por uno. Dicha entrevista, de más de tres horas de duración, tuvo un prometedor desarrollo y en ella se confirmó que no habría paso elevado. También el Sr. Alcalde prometió visitar nuestro barrio en fecha próxima. Le esperamos.

LOS VECINOS EXIGEN, EL AYUNTAMIENTO PROMETE

Respecto a la situación caótica de la plaza de Sants, los Delegados de Servicios recordaron el proyecto del Ayuntamiento, del cual después se hablará con más detalle, que convertía la plaza en un nudo circulatorio. Frente a este proyecto, un representante del barrio presentó al Alcalde en forma de croquis la primera idea que los vecinos habían elaborado sobre su plaza. El Sr. Masó se hizo cargo rápidamente de la idea y la alabó encarecidamente, instando a los vecinos del barrio para que la elaboraran de una manera completa.

Respecto al museo del tranvía, el Ayuntamiento, que ya había ordenado parar las obras, aceptó que el barrio, mediante concurso de ideas convocado después del verano, eligiera el proyecto más conveniente con sus necesidades.

En cuanto a la "casa del Reloj", el Ayuntamiento informó que se estaba tramitando la expropiación o venta con el propietario, con la finalidad de cederla al barrio para casa de Cultura y Biblioteca. Además, se darían órdenes para vallarla debidamente mientras tanto.

Finalmente, y volviendo a la plaza de Sants, el Ayuntamiento aceptó que el proyecto que elaboraran los vecinos fuese, una vez expuesto en el barrio, el que la Administración considerase como definitiva. Así, en pocos días, se trabajó sobre el primer boceto, incluyendo como un todo a la calle San Antonio una vez cubierta. Dicho proyecto, una vez elaborado, fué distribuido y expuesto en los comercios del sector, en la misma plaza o cerca de ella, con el lema "HEM SALVAT LA PLACA".

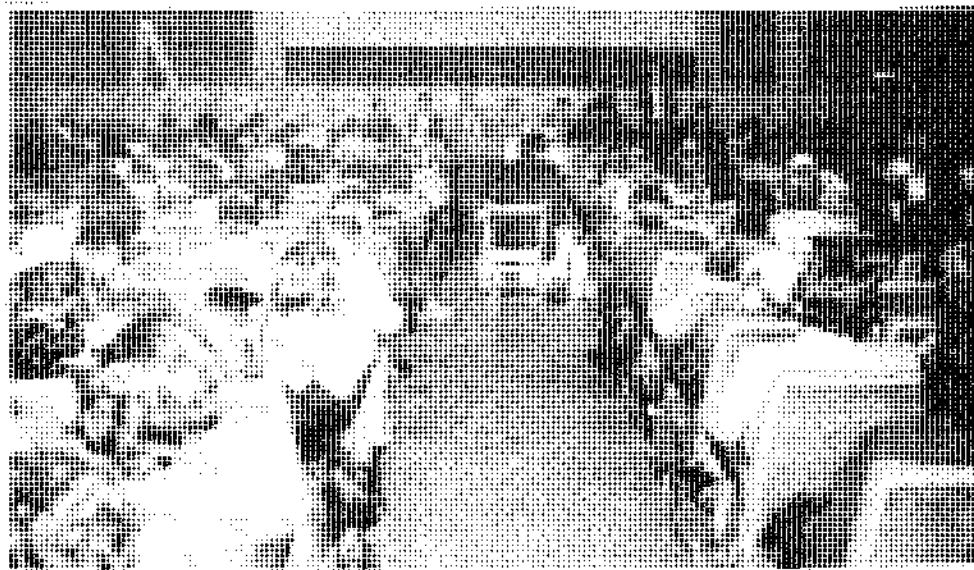
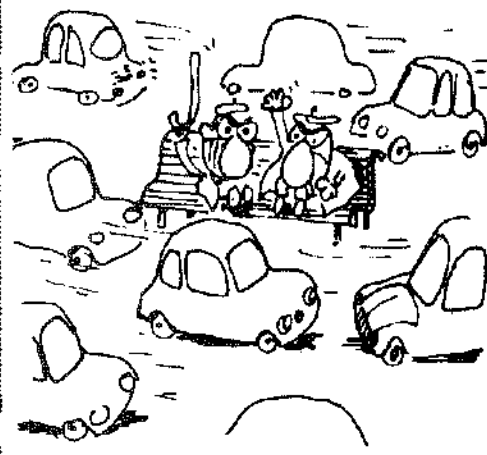


La sección de Vialidad del Ayuntamiento tenía un proyecto para convertir la plaza en un nudo circulatorio, al comunicarla con la futura estación Terminal mediante cinco carriles de ida y cuatro de vuelta por la calle de San Antonio. De estos cinco carriles que llegaban a la plaza, tres daban la vuelta por entre el edificio de la Caja de Ahorros y la zona verde de aquella, convertida así en una isla inhóspita rodeada continuamente por automóviles. Con el contrasentido, además, de que esta gran afluencia de vehículos desembocaba y debía ser engullida por la calle de Sants, con sólo dos carriles por banda, actualmente saturada ya por la circulación.

En fin, uno más entre los innumerables proyectos para el automóvil que ni siquiera solucionan los problemas del automóvil. Porque en definitiva, para resolver de verdad los áridos problemas del transporte privado en la ciudad, aunque fuera a costa de todo lo demás, ¿Cuántas cantidades crecientes de espacio y de dinero deberíamos gastar ininterrumpidamente?. Espacio que es de todos y dinero que sale de todos y cada uno de los contribuyentes. Otras capitales con muchos más recursos no llegaron a ninguna solución por este camino.

Aunque las estadísticas nos hablen y el sentido común nos demuestre que un vagón de metro, que un autobús dan más rendimiento y su coste... pero ¿para qué seguir?; todos hablan de la ciudad, de Barcelona y sus problemas, de la Gran Barcelona, y más allá aun, del Área Metropolitana, donde nada tiene rostro, o donde todos los gatos son pardos. Estas enormes entidades que han de ordenar y echar luz sobre el caos que rodea al desventurado contribuyente ¿quién las controlará? ¿a quién representarán? ¿qué finalidades perseguirán?. Porque se soslaya lo real, lo inmediato, lo que nos agobia: los barrios, los suburbios, el transporte público...

Inevitablemente, uno, cualquiera, incluso el afortunado con buen coche y casa de verano pasará más del ochenta por ciento de la vida en su barrio, llámese Sants, Gracia, Sarriá o Pueblo Nuevo. Y no hablemos ya de los ancianos, los enfermos o los niños: ellos necesitan un verdadero proyecto más que nadie, un proyecto para el vecino.



III. COMO VELAR POR SU CORRECTA SALVACION

UN PROYECTO DEL BARRIO PARA EL BARRIO

Vivimos aquí día tras día, "Nuestro proyecto" o "nuestra" alternativa en favor del vecino es algo que nos afecta, en el sentido literal de la palabra, a todos los del barrio.

Como "Parques y Jardines de Barcelona" se va a ocupar del ajardinamiento de nuestra plaza de Sants, reproducimos de nuevo el proyecto elaborado y elegido por los vecinos, justificándolo al mismo tiempo el porqué de su elección.

En primer lugar, si los principales usuarios de la plaza vamos a ser nosotros mismos, ¿quién mejor que nosotros conoce nuestros gustos y necesidades?. Creemos pues, que el ajardinamiento de la plaza, además de satisfacer las necesidades de los vecinos y usuarios, debe aportar algo personal y diferente a la ciudad. Porque en las verdaderas ciudades lo que da vida al conjunto es la diversidad de los barrios con su ambiente peculiar y sus lugares de reunión. Es una lástima ajardinar sectores urbanos o plazas en forma indiscriminada o convencional, y mucho más a la salida de una estación término.

Teniendo en cuenta las limitaciones de estos tiempos, es obvio que Barcelona no puede esperar de nosotros una plaza bellísima, pero sí, quizás, una plaza diferente, útil y discreta.

Este espacio urbano que oficialmente se conoce con el nombre de Salvador Anglada, posee bastante amplitud, una forma característica, una orientación especial y un cierto desnivel. Por ello hemos creído preferible adosar el espacio ajardinado a su edificio principal, para alejarse en lo posible del sector vial y aprovechar el sol al máximo. Luego, se ha repartido dicho espacio en varias zonas de convivencia, teniendo en cuenta la edad e intereses de los futuros usuarios:

ZONA I: destinada preferentemente a juegos infantiles.

ZONA II: principalmente para ancianos, jubilados y público en general.

Las dos zonas quedan unidas mediante un largo banco de obra que las bordea, dando una forma muy agradable.

Aparece también una tercera zona, alargada, de seto y arbustos del país, una verdadera muralla verde de altura mediana que aísla, en lo posible, el espacio de convivencia de los humos, ruidos y ajetreo de las calzadas adyacentes, zona sólo interrumpida por los pasos destinados a viandantes.

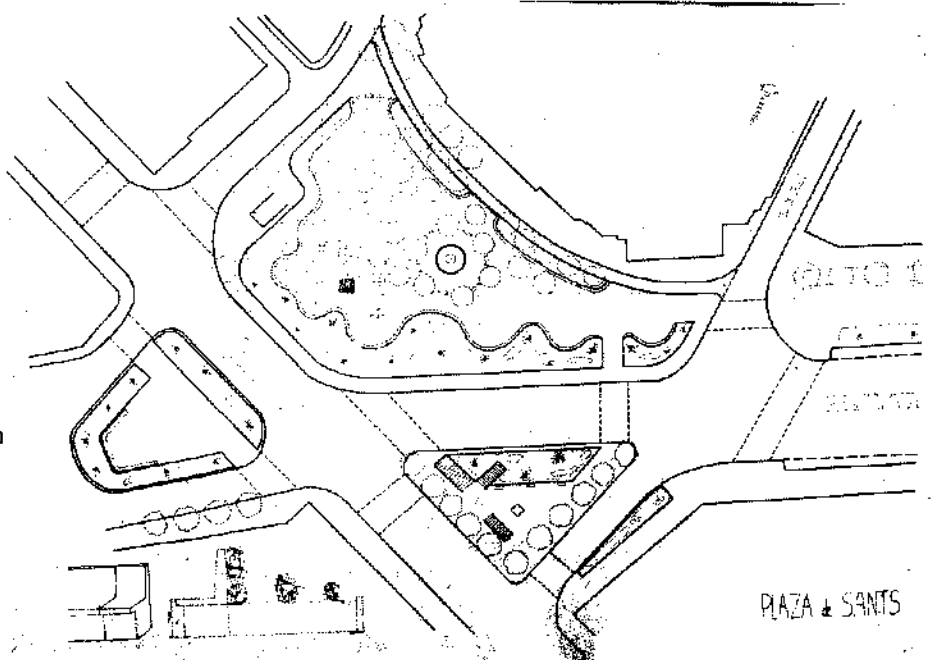
Y únicamente queda ahora en nuestro proyecto un último punto que nos parece muy importante: hemos colocado una fuente en el centro de la zona ajardinada, pues ya la plaza tuvo su fuente desde la década de los cuarenta. Nos gustaría una discreta fuente "monumental" que, aparte de su frecor, fuese un punto de referencia, una señal distintiva. Varios vecinos con aptitudes están dispuestos a presentar dibujos o anteproyectos de entre los cuales podría elegirse el mejor, el más sencillo, el más barato, el más estético, el más significativo.

EMPIEZAN LAS OBRAS

FALTAN CANALES

Como nos había prometido, el Sr. Alcalde y los Delegados de Servicios, las obras empezaron en su día. Se desalojaron los vehículos, se descargó material en abundancia, se iniciaron las mediciones: la obra está en marcha.

Pero, llegados a este punto, quedaban pendientes muchas cuestiones: ¿se iba a seguir nuestro proyecto hasta el final? ¿existiría cierta generosidad respecto al número y calidad de árboles a plantar? ¿comprenderían la necesidad de colocar una fuente para ordenar el conjunto?





¿se desvirtuaría el largo y sinuoso banco continuo que habíamos proyectado?

A medida que recorríamos los diferentes organismos del Ayuntamiento que se reparten el trabajo en nuestra plaza, Vialidad, Circulación, Parques y Jardines, e íbamos dialogando con los técnicos responsables de los mismos, nos ha sido necesario corregir y adaptar nuestro proyecto para no crear dificultades y retrasos en el terreno práctico. Sin embargo, se han salvado las directrices principales encaminadas al servicio de los vecinos del barrio:

- Zona ajardinada casi cerrada para protección de los niños.
- Aceras exteriores anchas para viandantes atareados.
- Zona verde alargada de separación entre las dos anteriores.
- Banco continuo bordeando la zona jardín que permita descanso y convivencia.
- Fuente en el centro de la plaza.
- El mayor número posible de árboles donde lo permita el subsuelo.

Así nos lo ha prometido el Arquitecto jefe de Parques y Jardines con quién hemos mantenido recientemente un diálogo amable y resolutivo.

Y llegados a este punto, hemos de preguntarnos: ¿cómo es posible que no existan unos canales que en forma habitual conecten de una manera real estas necesidades tan urgentes de los vecinos y los barrios con el Ayuntamiento y sus organismos técnicos? Sin ellos, las reformas más elementales no serán posibles o tendrán un alcance limitadísimo. Pues, en realidad, oficialmente, ¿quién somos nosotros, los que hemos trabajado por la plaza?: los vecinos, las asociaciones del barrio. Somos todo, pero no somos nada. ¿Quién nos representa? ¿quién debería representarnos?

UNA FLOR NO HACE VERANO

Nos han recibido con amabilidad en el Ayuntamiento, hemos conseguido dialogar con algunos organismos técnicos del mismo, se están realizando las obras de la plaza y nos han hecho promesas concretas respecto a su correcta salvación: algo. ¿Cómo velar ahora para que se cumplan las otras urgentes reivindicaciones?. El hecho es que nos encontramos ante un mínimo del mínimo; queda pendiente casi todo: biblioteca, dispensario, guarderías, hogar del jubilado, piscina, zonas verdes, ...etc. trabajo largo y complejo, en el que deberíamos participar todos, cada cual en su medida, jóvenes, profesionales, comerciantes, entidades, vecinos en general.

Sin embargo, esta pequeña y merecida victoria, la plaza de Sants recobrada por fin, bien merece una sonada inauguración: a finales de Diciembre o a principios de Enero, cuando sea, todas las entidades del barrio, los comerciantes y vecinos de la plaza, todos los vecinos, deberán participar en ella, para que resulte palpable y evidente que esto que hemos conseguido nos pertenece a todos por igual.

Pero, para acabar, recordemos de nuevo, de cara al futuro, que la participación y gestión democrática en los problemas de nuestro barrio es el único camino para que la gente modesta de Sants, la que año tras año sufre las inclemencias de los "agentes urbanos de desarrollo" - que nunca, aquí, han respetado nada ni a nadie - consiga al fin, un pequeño espacio humanizado, unos servicios mínimos, un barrio digno.

fums a HOSTAFRANCHS

Aquest estiu hom ha parlat d'Hostafranchs i d'un problema que els veïns han sabut resoldre: els fums d'una fàbrica de ceràmiques.

Hem cregut, per tant, que podria ser interessant demanar als mateixos veïns que han aconseguit l'atur dels fums, que ens expliquessin una mica com han pogut resoldre aquest problema.

"... VEÏNS D'HOSTAFRANCHS CONTRA ELS FUMS ...
... ELS VEÏNS SURTEN AL CARRER ...
... FUMS IL.LEGALS ..."

Aquests i d'altres titulars tan contundents foren escrits per la premsa de Barcelona al juliol passat, tot explicant a l'opinió pública un greu problema de contaminació que els veïns d'Hostafranchs no volen seguir patint.

"La fàbrica dels fums" -nom que ja comença a ser popular al barri- s'anomena Manufacturas Cerámicas S.A. i està ubicada a la zona compresa entre la carretera de la Bordeta, Gran Via i carrers Farell i Sant Roc.

La seva producció - no de ceràmiques precussament, sino de fum- arriba de vegades a assolir tanta importància que la visibilitat a menys de 50 metres resulta pràcticament impossible. En arribar l'estiu els veïns habiem de plantejar-nos periòdicament de o bé empassar-nos els fums o bé tancar les finestres, passant la consegüent suada, si volíem defensar els nostres pulmons.

Finalment, la situació va arribar a ser insuportable i el dia 13 de juliol per la tarde un veí va avisar a la policia municipal... que es limitá a prendre nota i a reconèixer la seva importància dient que per tal que la denúncia fos efectiva calia fer-la massiva: "quantes més millor", va dir.

Aquesta denúncia va portar a la movilització de tots els afectats que per escales ens vem anar concentrant al davant de la porta de la fàbrica fins reunir-nos un nombre considerable de veïns. Un cop allà, per aconseguir d'una vegada acabar amb els fums, vem anomenar una comissió de entre nosaltres encarregada de realitzar les gestions que es van apuntar durant la concentració.

Cal destacar aquí la decisió de fer una carta dirigida a la direcció de la fàbrica, en la que, entre altres coses dèien aixó: "... Creiem necessari explicar-los-hi els detalls de la situació en què ens trobem, ja que els suposem coneixedors de les molèsties que aquest fum, per la seva toxicitat i contingut, origina. Per altra banda no compremem com poden anar carregant la seva consciència amb un problema que atempta contra la salut de tots els veïns... Exigim resposta concreta pel proper dia 24 en el sentit de: 1) plas en que aquesta indústria pensa efectuar el trasllar, si així ho te decidit. 2) mesures immediates tendents a acabar d'una vegada amb els fums... Ens reservem el dret que com a ciutadans ens correspon de prendre totes les mesures que creguem oportunes per tal d'acabar amb l'actual situació.

Vam acordar entregar aquesta carta el dimecres dia 17 i en dos dies vam recollir unes 500 firmes per a la carta.

Conjuntament amb aquesta carta vam realitzar una visita als delegats d'Urbanisme i Obres Públiques de l'Ajuntament, Srs. Miró-Burunat i Pujades, explicant-los breu-ment el problema (que pel que van dir ja coneixien perquè dura des de fa ja molt temps). Simultàniament es va entregar a l'Ajuntament una instància demanant o l'acabament dels fums o el trasllat de la indústria.

El dia 24 -amb la presència de les forces de l'Ordre Públic- ens vam congregar novament els veïns per rebre la resposta a la nostra carta. Una comissió s'entrevistà amb la direcció de l'empresa i la responsabilitzà de tot el que passava. Malgrat d'algunes temptatives dels directius de desviar la qüestió, utilitzant conceptes tècnics que no ens dèien res, vam exigir respostes concretes que es van materialitzar així:

COMPROMIS per part de la fàbrica a canviar el procés de combustió per tal de limitar al màxim els fums i el seu absolut acabament al Desembre, dada segura de trasllat de la fàbrica a Martorell. Trasllet que-per altra banda- ens interessa molt aprofitar per tal que el terrenys que deixarà lliures la fàbrica reverteixin al barri com espais lliures on poder-hi col·locar el equipaments que tant necessitem a Hostafranchs i a tot el Districte VII.

Els veïns que hem participat en la solució d'aquest problema, tan extès avui a Barcelona, hem comprès que només unint-nos podem fer valdre els nostres drets (que de justos que son ja ni tan sols s'haurien d'haver plantejat). Alguns ens hem fet socis del Centre Social de Sants i la majoria estem esperant l'aprovació del Govern Civil de la futura Associació de veïns d'Hostafranchs perquè així, superant els nostres problemes particulars, siguem ciutadans actius d'una ciutat que malgrat les destrosses que hom li ha fet estem encara a temps de salvar.



LA ENTITAT MUNICIPAL METROPOLITANA (E.M.M.),

UN PAS ENRERA?

Pel decret-lley del 24-26 d'agost es crea un nou organisme per a dirigir el futur urbanístic de la Comarca de Barcelona, la E.M.M. al mateix temps es concreta la comarca formada per Barcelona i 27 Municipis mes.

Sobre aquest decret i l'organisme creat comença ha sortir un mar de comentaris i d'opinions, com el despertar d'una ciutat sorpresa per un cop d'amagat. No oblidem que el decret va sortir en plenes vacances, i que ja es llei sense consultar, o consultant a qui?

La E.M.M. es de gran importància i cal que ens informem i documentem molt sobre ella. Està en marxa organitzar xerrades i col·loquis sobre el tema, així com el difondre el dossier que la Federació de Veïns està elaborant. De moment creiem interessant donar a conèixer el document-declaració que el dia 4 d'octubre s'aprova per les associacions de veïns de Barcelona en l'assemblea de la Federació :

PRIMERO: El Decreto Ley por el que se crea la Entidad Municipal Metropolitana de Barcelona, incide directamente en el futuro de numerosos problemas ciudadanos que esta Federación ha venido tratando durante los últimos tiempos en el ámbito de su competencia : El caos urbanístico de nuestra ciudad, su alarmante densificación, la indisciplina urbanística, la falta de espacios para zonas verdes y de equipamientos públicos, y la urgente necesidad de una real democratización de los órganos de la administración de nuestra ciudad son temas que han ido aflorando en multitud de Asociaciones de Vecinos y como consecuencia en esta Federación, culminando en las alegaciones presentadas a la Revisión del Plan Comarcal de Barcelona en su período de información pública.

SEGUNDO: Por todo lo anteriormente expuesto deseamos poner de manifiesto nuestra preocupación por la nueva organización urbanística que establece el mentado decreto en los siguientes aspectos :

- A) El ámbito de la nueva Entidad Municipal Metropolitana resulta a todas luces insuficiente para afrontar problemas que requieren un tratamiento regional más amplio que los 28 municipios actuales. En este sentido resulta incomprensible la SUPRESION, sin ninguna justificación previa, de la delimitación del Area Metropolitana de Barcelona aprobada en 1968 que comprendía un total de 161 municipios.
- B) Las facultades y competencias que se asignan a la Entidad resultan insuficientes para alcanzar su cometido, máxime si tenemos en cuenta que carece de competencia para la aprobación de cualquier tipo de planeamiento urbanístico.
- C) Faltan asimismo los recursos económicos adecuados para paliar los enormes déficits acumulados en esta área, limitándose de hecho a aportaciones de los municipios que, aún con las nuevas cargas tributarias que se prevén, no podrán remontar los déficits acumulados en la actualidad. Para ello sería necesario una asignación económica adecuada precedente del presupuesto general del Estado, con lo que se lograría además una mayor justicia distributiva respecto a las aportaciones e inversiones de esta región.
- D) La creación del órgano desconcentrado nos parece un paso atrás en la línea de descentralización y democratización que todos deseamos.
Este órgano está exclusivamente formado por representantes designados por la administración central sin que figure ningún miembro de la administración local ni corporaciones o entidades ciudadanas.
- E) Este Decreto Ley en su disposición final 2ª crea una situación de grave inseguridad jurídica, al derogar la Ley de 3-XII-53, sin precisar la situación en que queda el Plan Comarcal de 1953 y su Proyecto de Revisión, cuya base legal reside precisamente en esta Ley ahora derogada.
- F) Finalmente es de lamentar que un tema de tanta trascendencia haya sido resuelto de forma precipitada en pleno mes de agosto y sin previa consulta a las autoridades y vecinos que deben sufrir sus consecuencias. Tampoco se han tenido en cuenta las maduras y razonadas opiniones que al respecto en Barcelona constituyen un auténtico sentir ciudadano.

SITUACIO SANITARIA ACTUAL A BARCELONA

Des de fa cosa d'un mes, la premsa diària ens ha anat informant d'alguns fets, relacionats amb l'assistència sanitària, que han cridat molt l'atenció pública, tot i estar acostumats a unes deficiències cròniques en aquest camp que ens impedeixen d'esferir-nos de quasi res. Aquests fets han estat:

- 1) EL CAS DE MONTCADA: Una nena neix morta sense que la mare fos visitada pel metge de la S.S. del barri, que es va limitar a fer-li un volant per a ser traslladada a la Residència i negant-se a visitar-la. L'ambulància no hi va anar fins al cap d'una hora i mitja, quan la nena ja era morta. Posteriorment, i malgrat que el Col·legi de Metges de Barcelona - defensa públicament el metge, aquest ha de fugir del barri, quedant els 8.000 veïns sense assistència de cap tipus.
 - 2) A SANTA COLOMA DE GRAMANET: Alguns centenars de veïns del barri Les Oliveres es manifesten el 11-9-74, al vespre, per la mort d'una dona de 28 anys que va ésser intervinguda pels metges sense comptar amb l'instrumental necessari - per a realitzar l'intervenció quirúrgica.
 - 3) A CORNELLA: Un home del barri Almeda té un infart de miocardi, i malgrat que es crida a una ambulància de la Creu Roja, aquesta no hi va, i més d'una hora després ha d'ésser un veí el qui acondicioni el seu cotxe per a traslladar-lo. Una hora més tard moria a la Residència.
 - 4) LA RESIDENCIA DE LA S.S. D'HOSPITALET: Per bé que la seva construcció va costar una millonada i encara no funciona del tot, n'hi ja prou que el dia 26 d'agost caigui un xàfec d'unes hores perquè es perfori la teulada d'uralita i els serveis no urgents de laboratori quedin paralitzats els dies 26, 27 i 28 d'agost. S' inunden algunes dependències.
 - 5) A MARTORELL: Es va produir un escap de gas clor, molt corrosiu per a les mucoses orgàniques (nas, boca, faringe, tracte digestiu...), a l'empresa Solvay, el dia 17-9-74. Setmanes enrera ja se n'havien produït d'altres menors. Afortunadament va ploure i això va disoldre el gas. Feia pocs dies que l'alcalde de Martorell havia visitat l'empresa a conseqüència d'aquestes fugues i l'empresa va assegurar que tots els sistemes de seguretat funcionaven perfectament.
 - 6) A MONTCADA I REIXAC: Els hi col·loquen una plaça de toros en un solar destinat a un nou ambulatori. Les deficiències sanitàries són brutals, perquè 13.106 afiliats a la S.S. (928.533.833 ptes. anuals a la S.S.) i no tenen ni un mal dispensari al poble, el servei d'urgència no té telèfon...
 - 7) INTOXICACIO PER FORMATGE EN MALES CONDICIONS: hi han casos, més de trenta a Sabadell, Badalona, Terrassa, -- Granollers, Tiana, La Llagosta, Lliçà de Vall, Santa Coloma de Gramanet, Montornés, Sant Celoni, El Figaró i Barcelona-capital. Els fraus alimentaris, tan freqüents, aquí tenen conseqüències generals, encara que, per sort, la totalitat de casos hospitalitzats es van recuperar.
 - 8) ELS METGES RESIDENTS DE LA S.S.: Es convoquen 150 plaçes per a un miler de metges que aquest any acaben la carrera. Els metges que han acabat confessen estar incapacitats per a exercir la medicina privada i liberal, i desitgen formar-se en -- institucions hospitalàries de la S.S., on sota la supervisió de companys amb experiència, es poden preparar per a exercir honestament la professió. Però, a més, s'exigeix un certificat de "bona conducta" expedit per la policia. Amb mesures com aquesta s'intenta coaccionar per a que no es denunciï mai cap deficiència des de dins de les institucions de la S.S.
- Tots aquests casos posen en evidència que un servei tan imprescindible com el sanitari, està completament descuidat per part dels seus responsables. Per sort també és evident que la gent que cotitza bastants diners cada mes a la S.S. no està disposada a pagar-ne personal i col·lectivament les conseqüències. A la falta de metges, d'hospitals, d'ambulatoris, de dispensaris, de centres d'urgència, d'ambulàncies, cada dia més es respón amb acusacions públiques des de les associacions, els mitjans de comunicació, amb recollida de firmes, fins i tot amb concentracions al carrer. Es un símptoma del fet que també la paciència té uns límits, i això els responsables del "tinglado" sanitari haurien de veure-ho. Que faci tan de temps que tinguem de re- - fiar-nos de la bona salut, o patir-ne les conseqüències de no tenir-la, no impideix que col·lectivament es reclami allò que és de dret: UNA ASSISTENCIA SANITARIA CORRECTA.

notícies.notícies.notícies.notícies

LA DESTITUCIO DE L'ESPONA, UN TRIOMF POPULAR

El cas del regidor de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona Espona Remús ha acaparat l'atenció dels ciutadans de Barcelona al llarg de cinc mesos. L'afer de les escales del carrer de Mercedes, la il·legalitat de l'edifici que l'empresa PIRSA (propietat del senyor Espona) estava construint i la seva actitud de força emparant-se en la seva condició de càrrec públic, són prou coneguts. No es tracta pas, doncs, de repetir una història que la premsa diària ens ha contat amb pèls i senyals, sino, bàsicament, de deixar constància de com ha estat una llarga batalla de veïns -els més directament afectats i també l'Associació de veïns del Sector Plaça Lesseps, de Gràcia - en contra de l'arbitrarietat i a favor del control democràtic de les actuacions públiques. La gran qüestió de fons ha estat aquesta: la participació ciutadana en el control de la gestió dels regidors. Encara que aquesta vegada més que del control de la "gestió" es tractava d'una actuació emparant-se en la pràctica immunitat que, fins ara, havia donat el càrrec de regidor... La decisió final del Ministeri de la Governació de destituir al senyor Espona no ha d'interpretar-se pas com un acte "graciós" de l'Administració, sino com el resultat d'una ampla campanya en la que hi han participat la premsa i tota mena d'estaments ciutadans exigint, almenys en aquest cas, el sanejament de l'administració municipal. Però és evident que resta una qüestió important: quants Esponas més pot haver-hi o hi ha hagut dins de l'Ajuntament? Quins mecanismes assegurin que un regidor no pugui fer servir el càrrec en benefici propi? I en definitiva: quin és el grau de participació dels barcelonins en els afers municipals? No n'hi ha prou en ésser cridats cada sis anys per anar a votar una tercera part dels regidors (i ja se sap que es tracta d'unes eleccions plenes d'entrebancs, apes solament per als qui tenen diners i estan "ben vistos" políticament), sino que avui, més que mai, es fa ben viva la necessitat d'una ampla democratització dels Ajuntaments que permeti l'elecció de tots els càrrecs, el rendiment de comptes als electors i la destitució dels càrrecs quan la seva gestió no respongui als interessos de la majoria.

primeres pedres simbòliques

Des de fa un cert temps diferents associacions de veïns estan portant a terme "inauguracions" simbòliques d'equipaments o obres en un intent de cridar l'atenció de les autoritats i de l'opinió pública davant de problemes plantejats i encara no resolt. Destaquem ultimament:

- COL·LOCACIO DEL PRIMER PI DEL FUTUR ESPAI VERD DE PROSPERITAT a mitjans del passat mes de setembre en un acte que va aplegar a centenars i centenars de persones d'aquell barri (que forma part de la zona dels "nou barris" o del sector TorreBaró-Vallbona-Trinitat). Es tracta del primer espai verd del barri, que arriba amb retard, ja que estava previst a l'any 1.957. El primer pi, al que han de seguir els que planti l'Ajuntament, s'ha col·locat en el solar que hi ha al costat de l'ex-camp de la Bloc, un espai lliure sacrificat en benefici de l'especulació. Els veïns de Prosperitat, després del dia de la inauguració simbòlica, han continuat aplegant-se al voltant del sue pi fent reunions de les que n'han sortit diversos contactes i entrevistes amb l'Ajuntament, que ha pres ja el compromís de realitzar l'espai verd. Els veïns de Prosperitat posen com a termini màxim per a la inauguració real del parc el de final d'any.

- PRIMERA PEDRA DE L'AMBULATORI DEL BON PASTOR el mes d'octubre en un acte organitzat per l'Associació de Caps de Família. En aquesta ocasió van reunir-se unes 3.000 persones aproximadament en terrenys que son ja propietat de l'Institut Nacional de Previsió. La primera pedra de l'ambulatori és com una mena de crida d'urgència en favor de la resolució de la resolució de les necessitats sanitàries del barri. Es de remarcar que si l'I.N.P. ha adquirit uns terrenys al barri (encara que no se sàpigue quan començaràn les obres de construcció de l'ambulatori) és gràcies en gran part, a la feina que durant gairebé un any han portat entre mans l'associació i els veïns que han destacat, per tots els medis possibles, la precària situació d'equipament que els hi ha tocat viure.

Però les "inauguracions" també coneixen allò d'"una de freda i una altra de calenta". El Govern Civil no ha autoritzat la colocació de la primera pedra de les obres d'encauçament del riu Llobregat que havia de fer-se el 21. de setembre en l'aniversari de les inundacions de Cornellà. L'acte estava organitzat per diverses associacions d'aquella ciutat del Baix Llobregat, les quals van ésser expressament convocades per l'alcalde per donar-els-hi a conèixer la decisió del governador civil. Amb tot, una gran quantitat de persones va anar al lloc on havia de celebrar-se l'acte, moltes d'elles amb vestits de pluja, paraigües i botes altes, malgrat el sol.

Tampoc ha estat autoritzada la plantació simbòlica d'un arbre al Turó de la Peira, organitzada per l'associació de veïns del barri...

ciens. notícies. notícies. notícies

LES ACTIVITATS DELS JOVES EN DIFICULTAT

Els joves dels barris de Barcelona cada vegada troben més dificultats per a realitzar les seves activitats. Un exemple prou clar ha estat el tancament del Vlub de Sant Felip Neri, depenent de l'oratori del mateix nom, per ordre de l'encarregat del culte i altres membres de la Junta Rectora. La decisió és incomprendible sobre tot quan falten tants locals i sembla contradir moltes de les declaracions que la jerarquia eclesiàstica ha fet referint-se al dret de reunió i d'associació i al foment dels valors de la persona humana. Durant varis dissabtes i diumenges joves de diferents centres de Barcelona s'han reunit davant de Sant Felip Neri i davant del Arquebisbat per expressar així la seva protesta contra la decisió de tancar el centre. Una carta ha estat entregada al doctor Jubany demanant la re-obertura del local.

Per altra banda tenim notícia de dificultats diverses per a l'organització d'actes dedicats als joves: no van poder celebrar tots els actes de la Setmana de la Joventut de Gràcia que havia organitzat l'Associació de Veïns de la Plaça Lesseps i també s'han trobat amb moltes dificultats els joves de Sant Andreu a l'hora d'engegar la seva.

Les "boîtes", això sí, continuen florint a tot arreu...

les "nostres" indústries perilloses

L'incendi del carrer de les Tàpies, amb el seu tràgic balanç de morts i ferits, ha posat damunt de la taula la qüestió de les indústries perilloses instal·lades en el cor dels barris, especialment en els nuclis antics que menys resistència ofereixen davant d'una possible calamitat. L'Ajuntament de Barcelona ha aprovat darrerament dues disposicions "protectores" que, de cap manera resolien el problema. Una és la famosa Ordenança contra Incendis -QUE ES REFEREIX NOMES A EDIFICIS DE NOVA CONSTRUCCIO, però no pas als vells- i l'altra L'Ordenança sobre Rebaixos, enderrocaments, etc. que preveu l'assistència d'un tècnic (arquitecte o aparellador) mentre s'efectuen les obres, però que corre el perill de convertir-se en un tràmit.

Com a primera mesura per a combatre realment el perill de les indústries perilloses i molestes (susceptible de produir incendis, però també explosions, fums, males olors, sorolls i en definitiva maldecaps al veïnat) ens sembla imprescindible LA REALITZACIO D'UN CENS a cada districte i l'augment de les mesures de CONTROL I INSPECCIO d'aquestes indústries perilloses. Si l'Ajuntament no té prou personal, per a efectuar aquestes feines de control d'inspecció cal que l'augmentí, però això no serà mai una excusa vàlida des del punt de vista dels ciutadans que en poden patir les conseqüències. Per exemple: quantes indústries perilloses hi ha el districte VII, al nostre districte? Ho sap la Junta Municipal del Districte? Ho sap l'Ajuntament? Quines mesures pensa prendre? Són preguntes que ens agradaria que fossin contestades...

la "casa del rellotge", totalment desprotegida

Els veïns de Sants, dins de la campanya "Salvem Sants" hem vingut reivindicant -i reivindiquem- la "Casa del Rellotge", antiga masia situada a la Plaça de Màlaga i que podria a complir una funció cultural. Més en concret els joves han llençat la idea de que podria acollir una Biblioteca (no n'hi ha cap, al nostre barri) o bé un centre per a activitats culturals o cíviques. Aquestes peticions, avalades amb 13.000 signatures dels habitants de Sants han estat traslladades a l'Ajuntament, com totes les altres iniciatives per a salvar el nostre barri. L'Ajuntament va dient q u e s í i pel que respecta concretament a la "Casa del Rellotge" se'ns va dir fins i tot que s'han iniciat ja els tràmits per a aconseguir que aquesta casa passí a ser, en un breu plaç, propietat municipal. La nostra sorpresa ha estat gran quan ens hem enterat que la "Casa del Rellotge" ha estat DONADA DE BAIXA del Catàleg Municipal, d'Edificis Històrics, Artístics i Monumentals que actualment està en període de revisió. Això vol dir que a la pràctica, i per damunt de paraules i promeses, LA CASA DEL RELLOTGE QUEDA SENSE CAP MENA DE PROTECCIO.

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el centre social de sants

membre de la federacio de veïns de barcelona

El passat juliol el Centre Social de Sants va entrar com a membre de la Federació d'Associacions de veïns de Barcelona, el mateix dia que ho feien les associacions de veïns de Sant Andreu, la Barceloneta, Poble Sec, La Pau, Joan Maragall (Guinardó), Nou Barris, La Sagrera N.ª. Sra. del Port, Plaça Lesseps, Poble Nou, Turó de la Peira i Sant Antoni.

La Federació de Veïns és l'entitat que té per missió la coordinació legal de les associacions de veïns, i de veïns i comerciants, de Barcelona, i per tant la possibilitat de representar-los conjuntament.

Fins ara eren majoritàriament membres de la Federació les agrupacions de carrera, és a dir de comerciants, amb una activitat limitada a aspectes molt parcials de la vida quotidiana, d'acord amb els interessos dels agrupats. Aquest any, coincidint amb la darrera renovació de la Junta de la Federació, es va notar un interès per a tractar tots aquells problemes que afecten a la majoria de ciutadans, encara que amb timidesa i com des de lluny. Ara que les associacions de veïns més actives de Barcelona són ja part de la Federació, tenim l'esperança que aquesta es converteixi en un instrument representatiu de les aspiracions dels veïns de Barcelona, instrument cada vegada més necessari per a poder plantejar les reivindicacions a escala ciutadana. Les actuacions de la Federació davant el Pla Comarcal, el problema del gas, o de l'Entitat Municipal, ens demostren que pot arribar a complir el paper que cal.

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Centre Social
de Sants.

DIPOSIT LEGAL:
B. 46078/1974.

« per un barri millor, feu-vos soci de l'associació »

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VIVEM A SANTS
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D'AVUI

UN H...
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uen dia
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A falta de escuelas y guarderías
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SANTS



inaugurem
la plaça!



CONCURS D'IDEES PER A
L'ORDENACIÓ DE COTXES,
RES, CASA DEL RELLOTGE
I PLAÇA MÁLAGA.

ARA ANEM A RECUPERAR
L'ESPANYA INDUSTRIAL I
ALTRES GRANS ESPAIS.



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Salvem Sants dia a dia
ni pas elevat ni museu del tramvia

LA PLAÇA

COM INAUGUREM LA PLAÇA?

La sortida d'aquest segon butlletí coincidirà amb la inauguració de la plaça. Més de seixanta entitats del Districte participaran, d'una o d'una altra manera, en les festes populars que s'han organitzat per a celebrar aquest esdeveniment. Aquest és un aspecte nou, i molt positiu, en el procés de recuperació del barri.

La tradició associativa a Sants, Hostafrancs i La Bordeta, és molt gran i molt rica, tenim entitats culturals, recreatives, esportives, associacions de veïns... i totes les entitats, sense excepció, han volgut estar presents en les festes populars.

PER QUÈ S'HA SALVAT LA PLAÇA?

La resposta és clara. Perquè es van recollir més de 13.000 firmes de veïns demanant la plaça. Perquè es va fer una assemblea com la del dia 12 de maig al "Gayarre". Perquè els infants van aportar les seves idees en l'exposició de dibuixos. En fi, perquè es va crear un autèntic estat d'opinió entre el veïnat que exigia una solució. Per això la plaça és de tots.

QUIN VALOR TÉ LA RECUPERACIÓ DE LA PLAÇA?

Tothom ha sabut veure que el que anem a celebrar va més enllà dels 2.000 metres quadrats de jardí. Que el veritable valor d'aquesta recuperació està en el fet que a Sants, per primera vegada d'ençà de la guerra civil, el veïnat ha estat capaç d'imposar les seves aspiracions davant d'uns projectes municipals contraris als seus interessos.

COM CONTINUAR?

El camí a seguir és clar. La plaça és només el primer exemple. Hem de treballar, buscant la unitat dels veïns, per aconseguir aquestes escoles, camps d'esports, llars i residències per a jubilats, dispensaris, etc. i per aconseguir, en definitiva, un barri millor per a tots.

COTXERES TRAMVIES I CASA DEL RELLOTGE:

Després de l'acord amb l'Alcalde Sr Masó, durant l'entrevista mantinguda abans de l'estiu amb 25 representants de les entitats del Districte, creiem que ha arribat el moment de promoure i realitzar EL CONCURS D'IDEES per a ordenar la zona compresa per les antigues cotxeres dels tramvies, la plaça de Màlaga, la Casa del Rellotge i espais annexes.

Es tracta, sens dubte, d'un espai privilegiat, realment únic, en el mateix cor del barri i que permetria, com a plaça pública, connectar la carretera de Sants amb la plaça de l'Església o de Màlaga, descongestionant així de vianants el carrer Olzinelles que té una densitat circulatoria i peatonal asfixiant en el seu últim tram, junt a la plaça de Sants.

No obstant, ull! , perquè les nostres necessitats són tantes —de fet tot ens urgeix— que podríem caure en l'error, tant nosaltres com l'Ajuntament, d'omplir simplement el buit de les cotxeres amb un sol equipament important, hipotecant així per sempre més les grans possibilitats de la zona. La cosa és molt diferent en els altres grans espais —Espanya Industrial, Magoria o Can Batlló—. En ells sí que hi cap tot: Hospital, Institut, Piscina Municipal, el Camp del Sants, etc. Aquí, en canvi, la zona no és tan extensa i en canvi és complexa si hi afegim els terrenys parroquials i la plaça Ibèria. Tot plegat ens fa veure la necessitat d'una ordenació en conjunt per aconseguir un veritable rendiment per al barri i, en definitiva, per a la ciutat.

QUÈ

EN FAREM

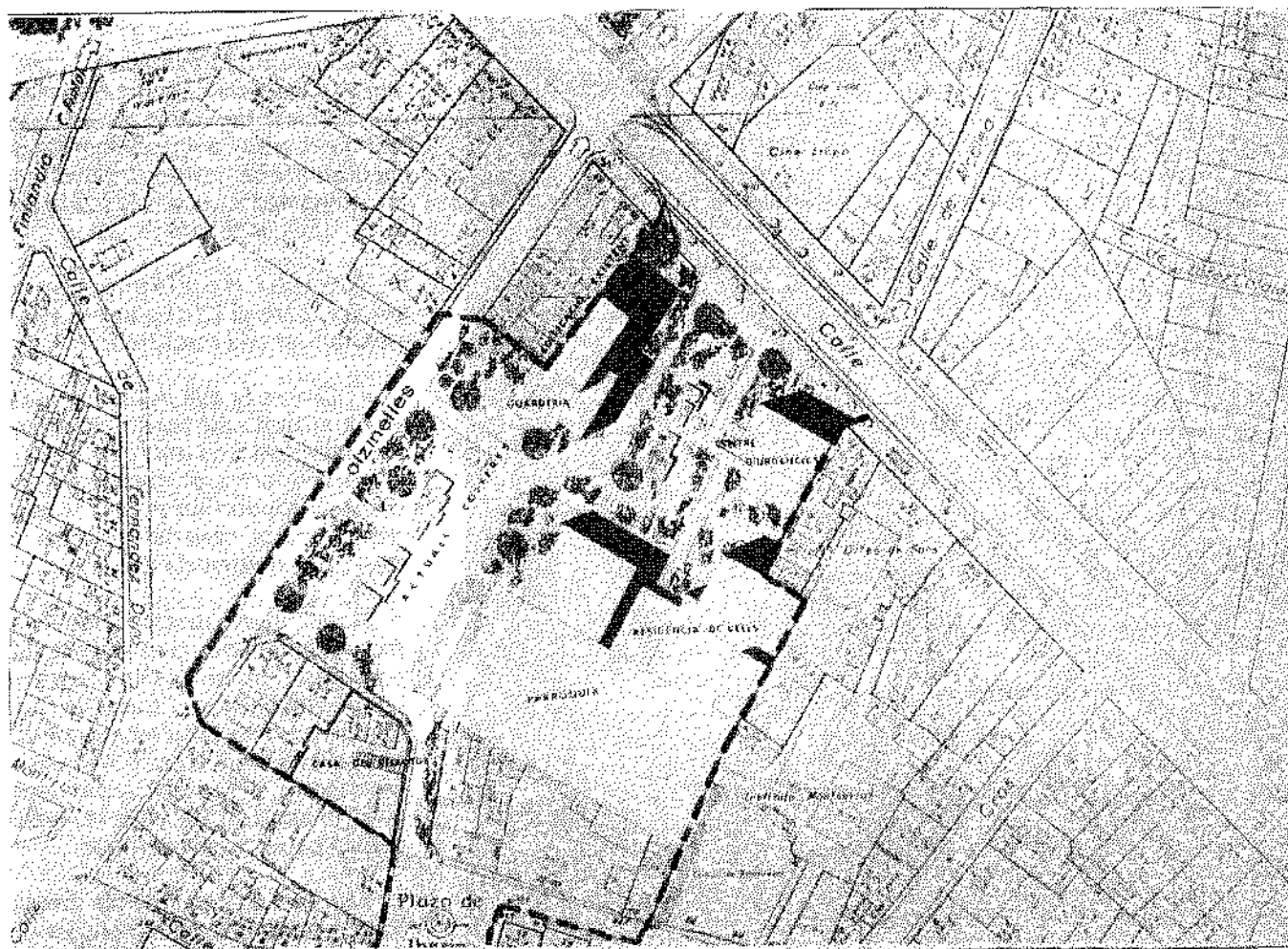
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Què ens demana, en primer lloc, un barri congestionat com el nostre si disposem d'un espai central? Aire, sol, comunicació. Però també ens demana la solució d'aquells equipaments urgents que siguin adequats. En primer lloc els que necessitin, amb preferència sobre altres, aquesta zona privilegiada i única. Segon, que no ocupin massa espai. Tercer, que siguin compatibles entre si i no bloquegin la comunicació necessària entre la plaça de l'Església i la carretera de Sants. Quart, que siguin realitzables a curt termini pels seus costos raonables.

Trobar la deguda proporció entre l'espai lliure i l'espai edificat, escollir els equipaments complementaris i combinar-los amb gràcia no és cosa fàcil i admet, a més, varies solucions encertades. Quin és el procediment idoni per aconseguir-ho? Evidentment un CONCURS D'IDEES. Per què?

- ▶ perquè inclou la participació dels veïns i entitats del barri;
- ▶ perquè tècnics especialitzats i professionals pensaran i proposaran una gran varietat de solucions concretes;
- ▶ perquè permetrà a l'Ajuntament executar unes obres d'urbanització a partir de dades reals i unes necessitats assenyalades pels propis i futurs usuaris.

Recordem, com a exemple, l'avant-projecte realitzat per a la campanya "Salvem Sants...". En ell s'apunta ven, per a l'esmentat espai, una guarderia, una residència per a jubilats i un centre d'urgències i es mantenia en el centre una petita plaça que comunicava amb la de Màlaga. Es evidència que els tècnics que realitzaren llavors aquell projecte ja intuïen, i de manera gens utòpica, la solució de l'espai a que ens veim referint.

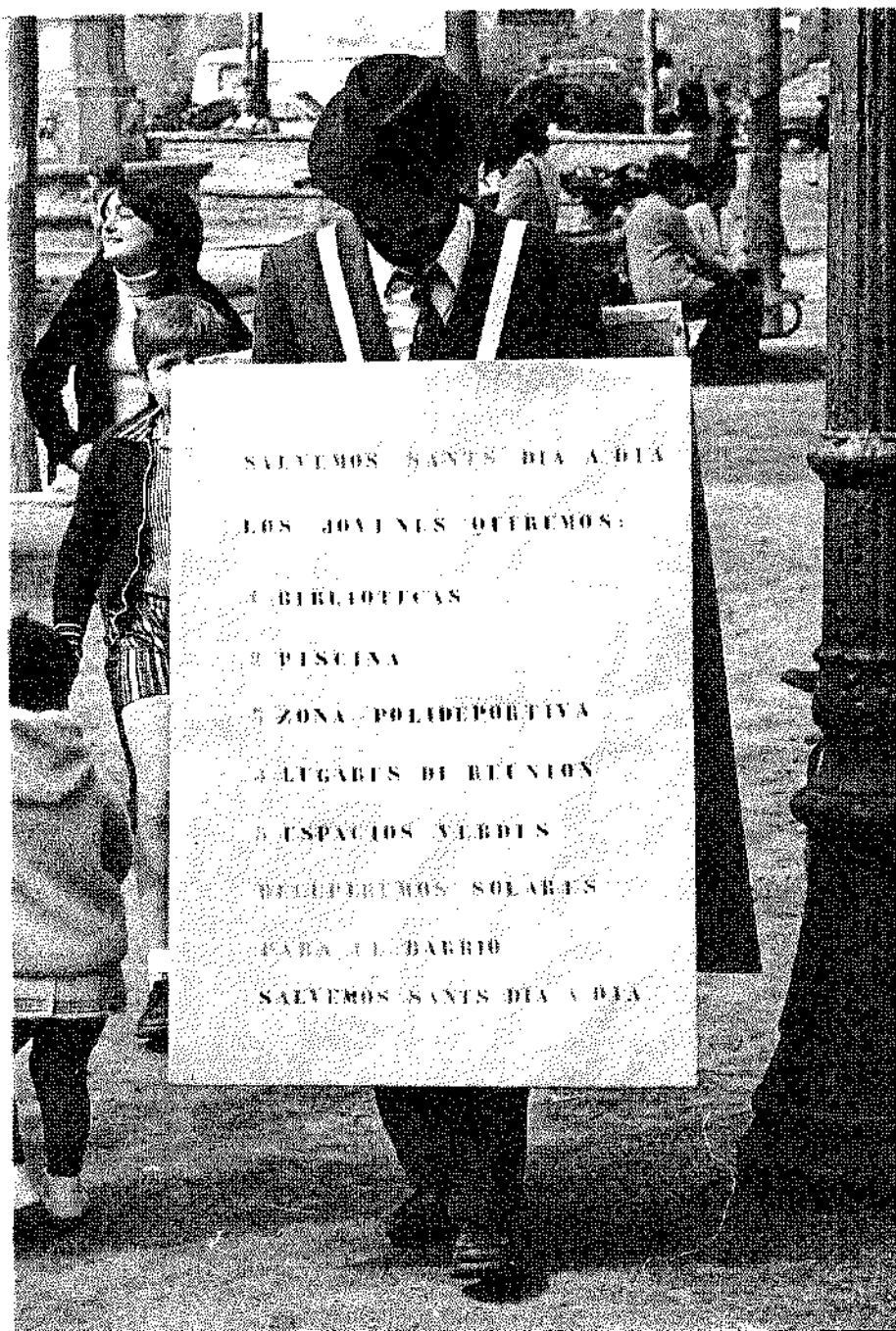


En aquest moment, les Associacions i Entitats del barri de Sants ja hem redactat unes bases per al Concurs que s'han entregat a l'Ajuntament, Col·legis Professionals i altres Entitats Ciutadanes interessades —com els "Amics de la Ciutat", Federació d'Associacions de Veïns— i s'han rebut propostes de col·laboració tècnica i per al finançament del concurs.

En aquestes bases es parlen de les principals etapes del concurs: convocatòria, admissió i selecció de projectes, presentació i exposició pública dels mateixos i elecció del millor. També es parla de la composició del jurat, les seves facultats, els premis per als concursants, assemblees de veïns per tal de recollir l'opinió de tot el barri, així com detalls de finançament, terminis, etc.

L'Ajuntament, a través dels seus Delegats de Serveis, ha expressat públicament el seu acord en celebrar i participar en el Concurs, havent-se de discutir quin caràcter vinculant tindria el projecte guanyador amb l'administració municipal, ja que l'Ajuntament argumenta que la solució més pràctica pot recollir-se de diferents projectes.

En fi, que el Concurs d'Idees està en marxa i molt aviat, després de la inauguració de la Plaça de Sants, podrà completar-se la primera etapa —informació i propaganda— a través de cartells, fulletons explicatius, etc.



Els joves hem col·laborat, també, en la recuperació de la Plaça de Sants i participem, del tot, en el triomf aconseguït. És per això que volem una vegada més fer participar dels nostres problemes i necessitats a tot el barri. Sense el seu ajut no podem aconseguir cap de les reivindicacions que ens venim plantejant.

Sens dubte es recordarà la tan "sonada" Diada de l'Esport que, amb la participació de 400 joves pels carrers del barri, posava de manifest la marca d'una zona poliesportiva així com d'equipaments culturals (casal de cultura, biblioteca, teatre, etc.).

Tots aquests problemes segueixen encara, però el barri compta avui amb possibilitats de resoldre'ls.

El Centre Social de Sants, junt amb altres entitats del barri i ciutadanes, han impulsat un concurs d'idees per a veure la forma d'utilitzar adientment els espais lliures com la cotxera dels tramvies, casa del Relotge i terrenys parroquials de Sta. Maria.

Nosaltres, els joves, incidim un cop més en anomenar la casa del rellotge perquè creiem que és un espai adient per a establir-hi un "Casal de Cultura" amb la possibilitat d'emmarcar-hi també una biblioteca. Fins i tot el Sr. Masó en un plé recent va fer constar que "la casa del Relotge estava destinada a equipament cultural".

Fem una crida a tots els joves del barri a participar en el concurs d'idees del Centre Social, aportant-hi iniciatives, per tal que les nostres reivindicacions siguin també escoltades.

Altres problemes, però, queden pendents encara: la ubicació d'una zona poliesportiva per al barri.

**Els joves del barri
volem "CENTRE DE CULTURA"
a la CASA DEL RELLOTGE.**

I de la ZONA ESPORTIVA

QUÈ ?

LA REVISION DEL PLAN COMARCAL

La revisión del Plan del 53

Tras más de veinte años del Plan Comarcal del 53, aparece a información pública la propuesta de revisión del Plan, por la Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona. El Plan del 53 consiste en una zonificación de la Comarca, espacios para zona de servicios, verdes, edificables, industriales, etc. concretando unos máximos de densidad en las zonas edificables.

Durante estos veinte años largos, de este Plan pocos han hecho caso, encontrándonos con zonas verdes edificadas, calificaciones de zonas cambiadas, alturas y volúmenes de edificación sobrepasados... También hemos conocido la política de nuevas vías rápidas que por parte de la Administración han ido desgarrando los barrios y que sin conseguir la solución de los problemas circulatorios, sí han conseguido revaluar terrenos, permitiendo grandes edificios pantalla, aplicando además una política de expropiaciones a bajo precio realmente nefasta.

Durante estos años se han producido grandes operaciones especulativas, en donde nuevas inmobiliarias y algunas constructoras han hecho "su agosto". Mientras tanto las necesidades de la población han ido aumentando, la vida en los barrios degradando y las arcas municipales endeudando.

La revisión de este Plan Comarcal se empezó a preparar hace unos 10 años y tras varios intentos de salir a la luz y con varios cambios de dirección de la Comi-

sión de Urbanismo, al año aproximado de administración Masó y con Serratosa en la Comisión sale la propuesta de Revisión.

La situación es grave, la falta de espacios libres, los déficits de equipamiento, las condiciones de los barrios, la escasez de zonas de reserva, realmente hace peligrar el futuro de la producción, y se propone un nuevo Plan con unos caracteres principales: nuevas vías de comunicación y zonas de reserva para servicios y equipamientos.

La información pública: los vecinos protagonistas

El Plan Comarcal es el centro de la atención ciudadana ocupando grandes espacios en la prensa diaria, originando gran cantidad de reuniones, mesas redondas, asambleas durante los meses de julio y junio del año 74. La información pública del Plan convulsiona a los barceloneses y no es para menos, además de la situación de ahogo existente en la Comarca, en la propuesta de revisión del Plan se recogen todos

LOS PLANIFICADORES: RACIONALIZAR LA PRODUCCION LOS VECINOS: OPOSICION A LAS AFECTACIONES (NUEVAS VIAS URBANAS) y RECUPERACION DE ESPACIOS (MEJORAR LAS CONDICIONES DE VIDA)

los proyectos de nuevas vías urbanas, creando una cantidad de afectaciones espectacular. Sólo en nuestro Distrito se aprecia que una quinta parte de las viviendas se verían afectadas por estas propuestas.

La reacción de los vecinos fue inmediata. Si las informaciones no fallan, se han presentado unas 40.000 alegaciones, de las que la mayoría se realizaron en los barrios a través de las asociaciones de vecinos, siendo más de 8.000 las recogidas entre Sants i Hostafrancs.

Estas alegaciones tienen un contenido claro: el Plan Comarcal debe revisarse, hay que acabar con la especulación, recuperar zonas para los vecinos, planificar en función de sus necesidades, los vecinos deben participar en esta planificación y poder controlar la ejecución

de los planes. Actitud respaldada por reuniones y asambleas masivas. Tanto en Sants, como en Hostafrancs y La Bordeta el movimiento desarrollado por el Plan ha sido impresionante y en general en todos los barrios los vecinos han sido los auténticos protagonistas de la información pública del Plan.

Es de destacar que las alegaciones presentadas por entidades ciudadanas como la Federación de Asociaciones de Vecinos, "Amigos de la Ciudad", Colegios Profesionales..., recogían ampliamente los argumentos de las alegaciones de los vecinos.

Las necesidades de los vecinos

Concretándonos en nuestro Distrito, las asociaciones y entidades del mismo, recogiendo la opinión del vecindario, realizaron un estudio de las necesidades actuales, para aportarlas a la Comisión de Ur-

banismo y el Ayuntamiento, para que fueran recogidas en la revisión del Plan. Los equipamientos de todo tipo necesarios fueron concretados y justificados, y también evaluada la superficie necesaria para instalarlos. El resultado de este estudio dio unas 40 Hectáreas como necesidad urgente. Al mismo tiempo se realizó una prospección de los terrenos a recuperar, incluyendo los espacios actualmente libres, los de propiedad pública y las grandes zonas industriales a extinguir, con ello y descontando los terrenos que no llegan a las 0,5 Hectáreas, se encontraron unas 50 Hectáreas.

Inversiones públicas en el Distrito VII^o

Las necesidades de equipamientos y zonas verdes, reflejadas en el cuadro adjunto contrastan escandalosamente con las inversiones públicas de los últimos 30

años en nuestro Distrito. Contrariamente a lo que pueda parecer, las inversiones públicas han sido considerables pero vemos que el gasto se ha hecho en grandes vías, sobre todo en el paso del 1er. Cinturón. En cambio, en materia de equipamientos o zonas verdes nada de nada, pero se han revaluado terrenos, se han hecho expropiaciones, han desaparecido plazas públicas, instalaciones deportivas (calle Madrid, plaza del Niño, del Centro, del Sants...).

RECUPERAR ESPACIOS LIBRES; TAREA URGENTE

Desde tiempo se viene insistiendo: no debemos perder una plaza más, sino empezar a recuperar espacios. La Plaza de Sants, las cocheras, la Casa del Rellotge son ya un hecho, pero no nos engañemos, esto es el principio de la solución a la situación del distrito. Esta solución pasa por calificar muchos de los espacios actuales en equipamientos, zonas verdes y como transformación de uso. Es muy

co del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona en el proceso del Plan. Tanto por su importancia como por la actitud de la actual Administración, al intentar clarificar las cuentas municipales, estudiar los déficits y señalar la necesaria intervención financiera del Estado, invirtiendo en la Comarca un porcentaje superior al actual de lo que la Comarca recoge a la Administración Central. Hasta ahora están las palabras. ¿Cómo se sigue adelante? ¿Pasará como antes? ¿Qué se decidirá sobre el Plan? ¿Se oirá a los vecinos? ¿Quién controlará la ejecución de los planes aprobados?



Oposición a nuevas vías urbanas

Está claro que la parte del león se la ha llevado el Cinturón de Ronda. Ahora, en la propuesta de Revisión del Plan nos proponen varios "cinturones" con las siguientes afectaciones: ampliar calles Numancia y Tarragona, prolongar Juan Güell hasta la Gran Vía, prolongar Aragón, Consejo de Ciento y Diputación hasta la Gran Vía por entre Hostafrancs, ampliar la Gran Vía por La Bordeta, prolongar la Avenida de Roma sobre la vía del tren.

Este desgarré urbanístico del distrito se propone injustificadamente, sin dar razones reales, pues ni siquiera se realiza un estudio serio sobre circulación, transporte y comunicación en un futuro próximo.

Pero además se origina una cantidad tal de expropiaciones que tanto Sants como, sobre todo Hostafrancs, cambiaría totalmente, resultando inimaginable de donde saldría el dinero para realizar estos cambios. Resultando, además, que el gasto en este tipo de "servicios" pasaría, como hasta ahora, delante del necesario y urgente a realizar para mejorar las actuales condiciones de vida del barrio.

serio y ahí juegan muchos intereses, pero o los actuales grandes espacios industriales quedan como zonas de reserva para el barrio o esto no tiene solución. Si queremos tener escuelas suficientes, dispensarios, instalaciones deportivas y culturales, zonas para el tiempo libre, para los niños, para los jubilados, necesitamos recuperar para el barrio los terrenos de La España Industrial, los de Can Batlló, los de Magoria, y también los del Vapor Vell, Manufacturas Cerámicas, los alrededores de la Plaza de La Farga, los situados entre Badal y Sugranyes, etc.

La E.M.M. nuevos cargos para la planificación

El futuro del Plan Comarcal está en nuevas manos, tras la puesta en marcha de la Entidad Municipal Metropolitana. Ello nos preocupa, pues si antes de su creación teníamos escasas posibilidades directas de intervenir, ahora es un poco más difícil. Además, la composición del actual Consejo Metropolitano no nos ofrece muchas garantías, al pensar las relaciones de algunos nombres con el mundo de la construcción.

Las responsabilidades del Ayuntamiento

No hay duda del peso específi-

Como ya apuntábamos en las alegaciones presentadas en su día, la revisión del Plan pone en primer plano la necesidad de disponer de unos órganos de control y gestión, muy ligado al proceso de democratización del Ayuntamiento. No basta que los hombres con cargo público expresen su acuerdo con los vecinos, sin que las instituciones municipales deben estructurarse de manera que los cargos públicos tengan que responder a quienes les han votado.

Como afrontar ...el futuro

Sin llegar a afirmar que el futuro está en nuestras manos, creemos que depende en gran parte de nuestra actitud, de nuestro trabajo, de que sepamos ir expresando nuestras necesidades.

Tal como comentábamos en el cine "Gayarre", el pasado 10 de noviembre, es importante que los vecinos de Sants, de Hostafrancs, de La Bordeta, de todo el Distrito estemos organizados. Para todo ello las Asociaciones de Vecinos existentes, con la colaboración de las Entidades del Distrito, se ofrecen decididamente para servir de cauce de expresión del vecindario, con todos los medios a su alcance. Las cosas se consiguen a base de trabajo, constancia, de diálogo y de presión si hace falta, con quien sea necesario.

Ante planes que pretendan por encima de todo grandes gastos en autopistas, originando expropiaciones, etc., deberemos oponernos con firmeza, estando unidos, expresando con toda la razón nuestras necesidades, convencidos de no permitir arbitrariedades.

Poniendo, además, todo el empeño en la solución real, en la recuperación de los espacios imprescindibles. Ahora es el momento oportuno. Está sobre la mesa la nueva calificación de nuestros espacios, y los de toda la Comarca.

* * *

LAS 40 HAS. QUE HACEN FALTA A NUESTRO DISTRITO

EQUIPAMIENTO EDUCATIVO

Maternal (0-2 años)	1.200 plazas	10 centros	5 m ² /plaza	6.250 m ²
Preescolar (2-5 años)	2.400 plazas	12 centros	5 m ² /plaza	12.500 m ²
E.G.B. (5-14 años)	4.500 plazas	7 centros	8 m ² /plaza	35.000 m ²
Bachiller (15-17 años)	1.600 plazas	2 centros	10 m ² /plaza	16.000 m ²
Profesional (15-17 años)	1.600 plazas	2 centros	10 m ² /plaza	16.000 m ²
Especial	300 plazas	3 centros	20 m ² /plaza	6.000 m ²

91.250 m²

EQUIPAMIENTO SANITARIO

Hospital General	600 camas	60 m ² /cama	36.000 m ²
Dispensarios-urgencia	4 unidades	2.500 m ² /unidad	10.000 m ²
Hospital psiquiátrico	100 camas	100 m ² /cama	10.000 m ²

56.000 m²

EQUIPAMIENTO PARA JUBILADOS

Residencia ancianos	1 unidad	0,1 m ² /habitante	12.000 m ²
Hogares jubilado	4 unidades	2.000 m ² /unidad	8.000 m ²

20.000 m²

EQUIPAMIENTO DEPORTIVO

Complejo tenis	1 unidad	5.000 m ²	5.000 m ²
Campo fútbol-atletismo	1 unidad	15.000 m ²	15.000 m ²
Piscinas	2 unidades	6.000 m ²	6.000 m ²
Polideportivos	4 unidades	3.000 m ² /unidad	12.000 m ²
Gimnasios	4 unidades	3.000 m ² /unidad	12.000 m ²

50.000 m²

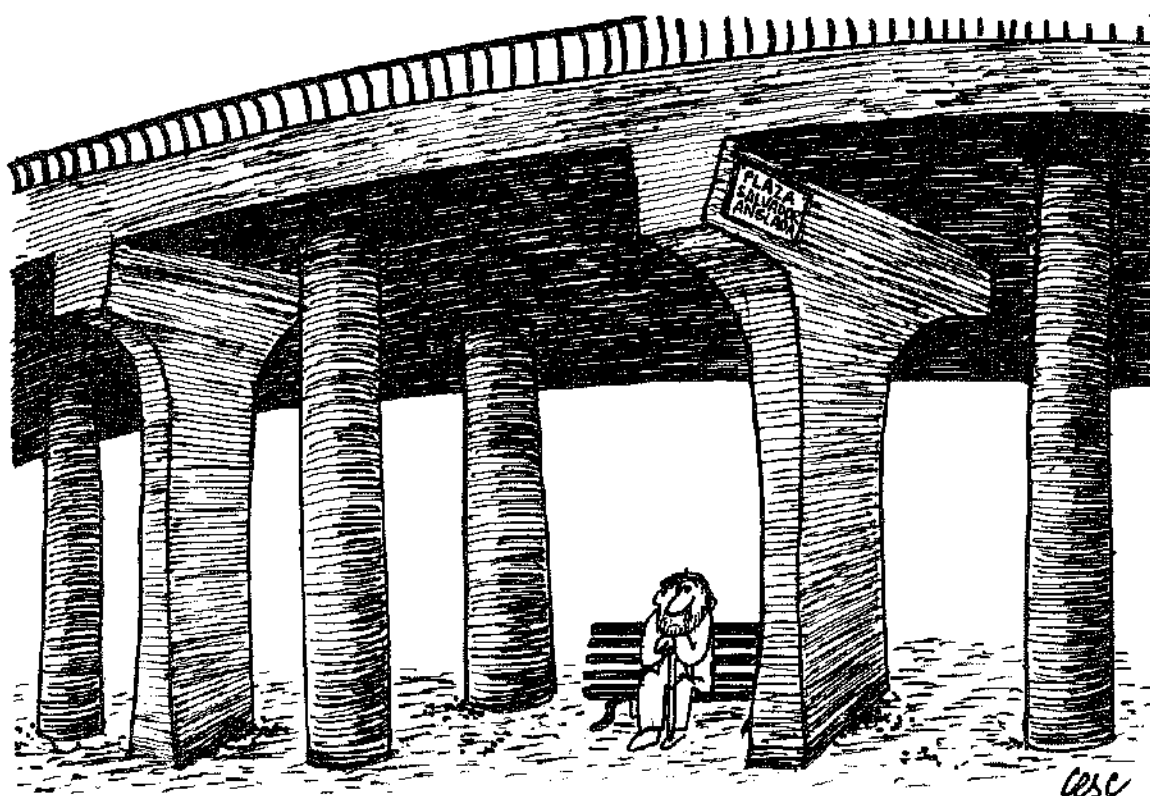
EQUIPAMIENTO COMERCIAL

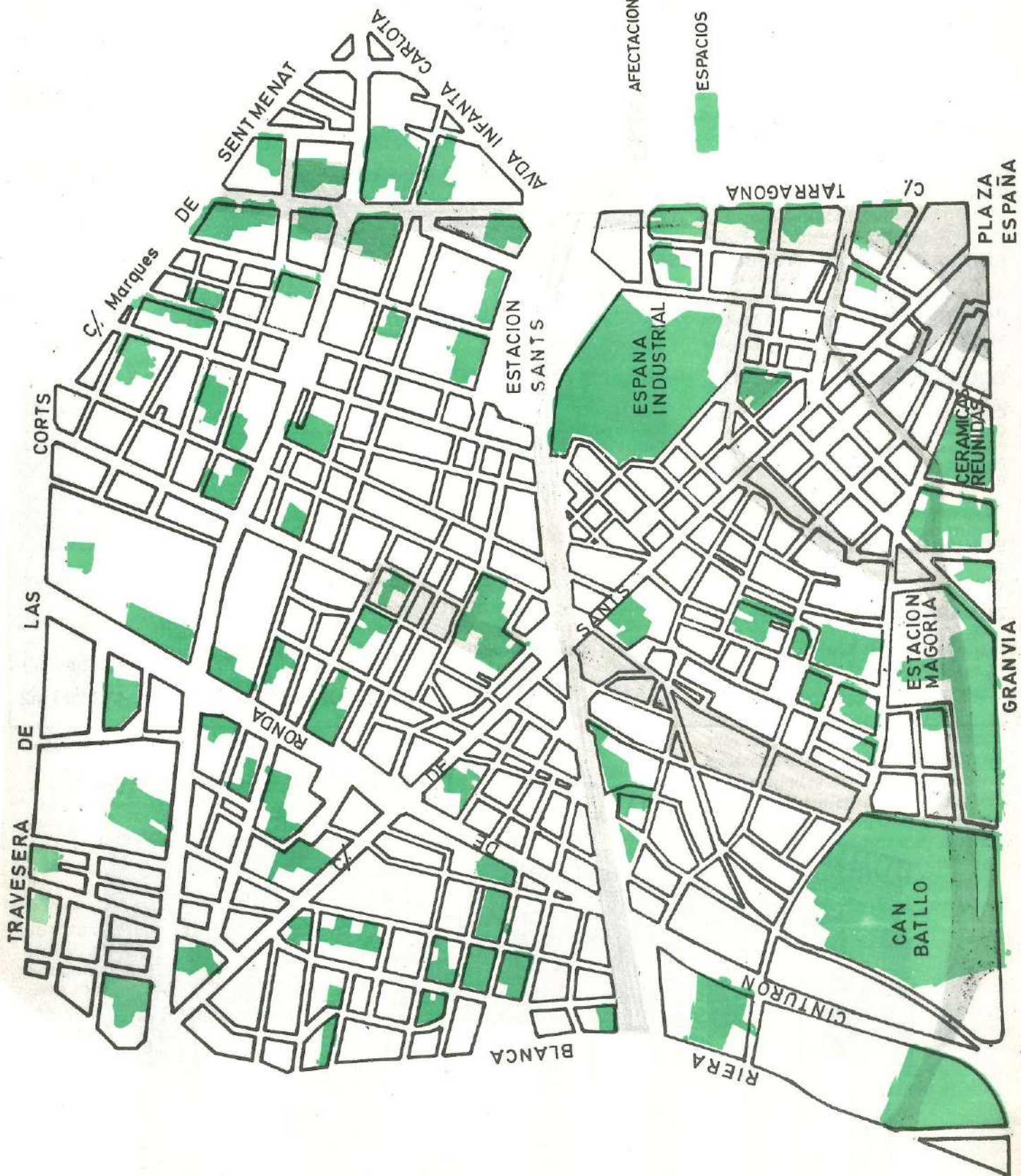
Mercado	2 unidades	3.000 m ² /unidad	6.000 m ²
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ZONAS VERDES

Según la Ley del Suelo correspondería un 10 o/o de la superficie, pero consideramos un mínimo de sus dos terceras partes	200.000 m ²
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TOTAL SUPERFICIE 423.250 m²





AFECCIONES PLAN COMARCAL

ESPACIOS A RECUPERAR

TRAVESERA DE LAS CORTS
 C/ Marques DE SENT MENAT
 AIDA INFANTA CARLOTA
 ESTACION SANTS
 ESPANA INDUSTRIAL
 TARRAGONA C/
 PLAZA ESPAÑA
 CERAMICAS REUNIDAS
 ESTACION MAGORIA
 GRANVIA
 CAN BATLLO
 CINTURON
 RIERA
 BLANCA

LAS «HISTORIAS» DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL

1. LA PREHISTORIA

Comienza el 3 de diciembre de 1953 con la aprobación por ley del Plan Comarcal de Ordenación Urbana de Barcelona.

Termina con el período de información pública del "Plan Parcial de Ordenación del Sector limitado por las calles Párroco Triadó, Ermengarda, Muntadas, Unidad, Watt, Zumalacarregui, Vallespir, Viriato y Avenida de Roma" (PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.).

Veamos qué diferencias existían entre los dos planos para los aproximadamente 61.800 m² de terreno que se destinaban a viviendas:

	PLAN COMARCAL 1953	PLAN PARCIAL ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL
ZONIFICACION	Tolerancia Vivienda e Industria y Casco Urbano	Ensanche Intensivo
CONSTRUCCION MAXIMA	1'75 m ² construidos por cada m ² de terreno	3 m ² construidos por cada m ² de terreno
HABITANTES	1 habitante por cada 25 m ² de terreno	1 habitante por cada 11 m ² de terreno
POBLACION MAXIMA	$\frac{61.800}{25} = 2.472$ habitantes	$\frac{61.800}{11} = 5.618$ habitantes

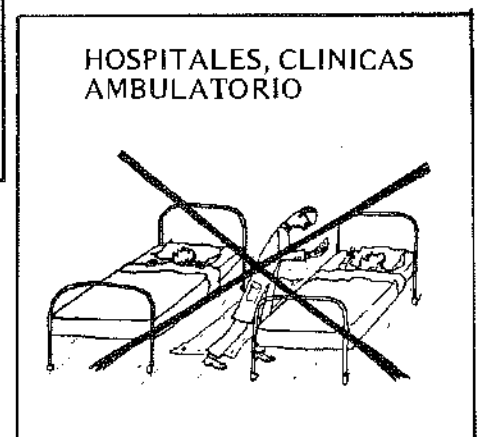
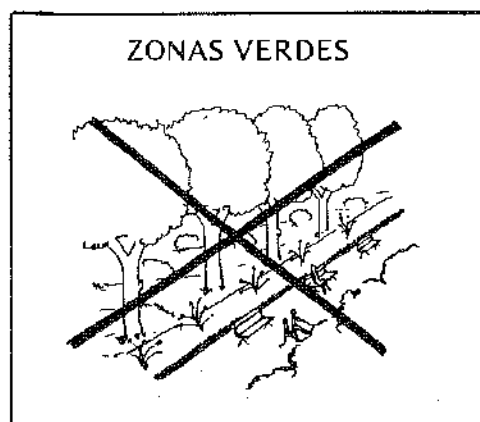
Pero en realidad en el Plan Parcial había una población de: **9.250 HABITANTES**

¿QUE REPRESENTABA EL PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.?

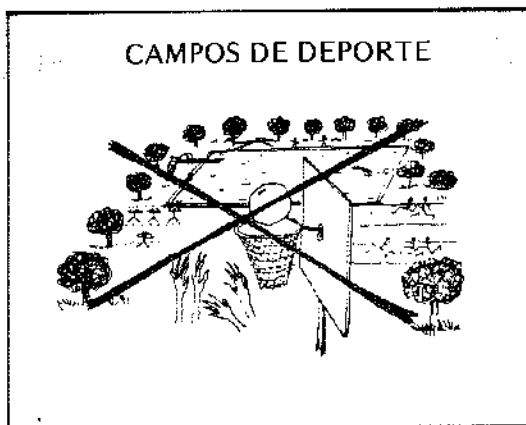
- CUADRUPLICAR LA POBLACION PERMITIDA
- DOBLAR LA CONSTRUCCION PERMITIDA

¿QUE PROVOCABA EL PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.?

- AUMENTAR CONSIDERABLEMENTE LOS DEFICITS DE:



CAMPOS DE DEPORTE



TRANSPORTE Y DENSIFICACION



PERO...

¿Cómo es posible que se redactara una planificación de estas características?

Bueno esa es otra historia, es...

2. LA HISTORIA DEL PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.

— El 28 de junio de 1967 el Ayuntamiento aprobó provisionalmente el Plan Parcial, enviándolo a la "Comisión de Urbanismo y Servicios Comunes de Barcelona y otros Municipios" para su aprobación de trámite.

— El 17 de junio de 1968 los Servicios Técnicos de la Comisión de Urbanismo presentaron a la Gerencia el informe sobre el Plan Parcial. Proponía el informe (firmado por el ingeniero y el arquitecto) la devolución del Plan al Ayuntamiento para que se rectificasen o aclarasen una serie de puntos por parte de la sociedad promotora (ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.).

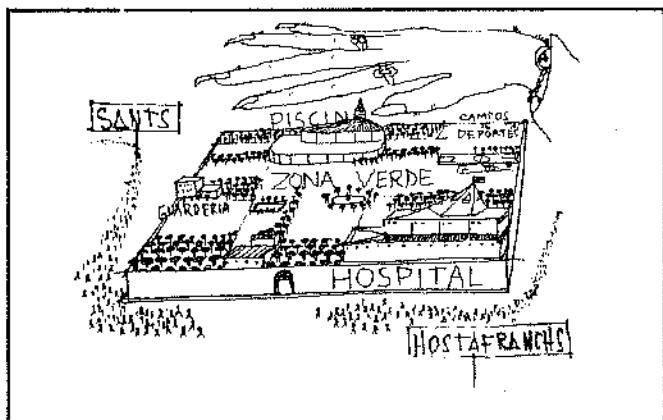
Estos puntos podrían dividirse en dos grupos:

1er. GRUPO

Correspondiente a las atribuciones del ingeniero, trataba de modificaciones de la estación de Sants, solicitaba informes técnicos al Ayuntamiento y pedía una mayor claridad en cuanto a rasantes y cruces de calles.

2o. GRUPO

Correspondiente a las atribuciones del arquitecto, insistía en que la organización del sector debería corresponder a la REMODELACION DE UNA MAYOR ZONA (O SEA, QUE LOS TERRENOS DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL DEBIAN CUBRIR PRIORITARIAMENTE LAS NECESIDADES EN SERVICIOS URBANOS Y ZONAS VERDES DE LOS BARRIOS VECINOS).



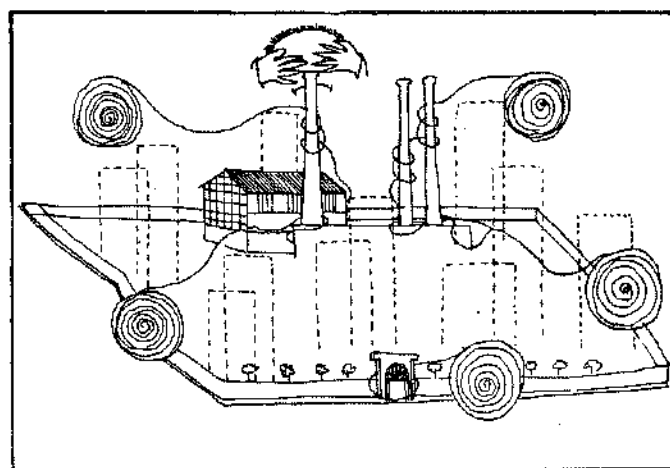
Manifestaba que la zonificación de aplicación era la de Tolerancia de Vivienda e Industria y no la de Ensanche Intensivo, pues esta ERA UNA DIFICULTAD EN LA SOLUCIÓN DE LA REMODELACION DE LA ZONA, uno de los tres temas en que se basaba la JUSTIFICACION DEL PLAN.

Decía además que: HA DE JUSTIFICARSE TODO CAMBIO DE ZONA.

* * *

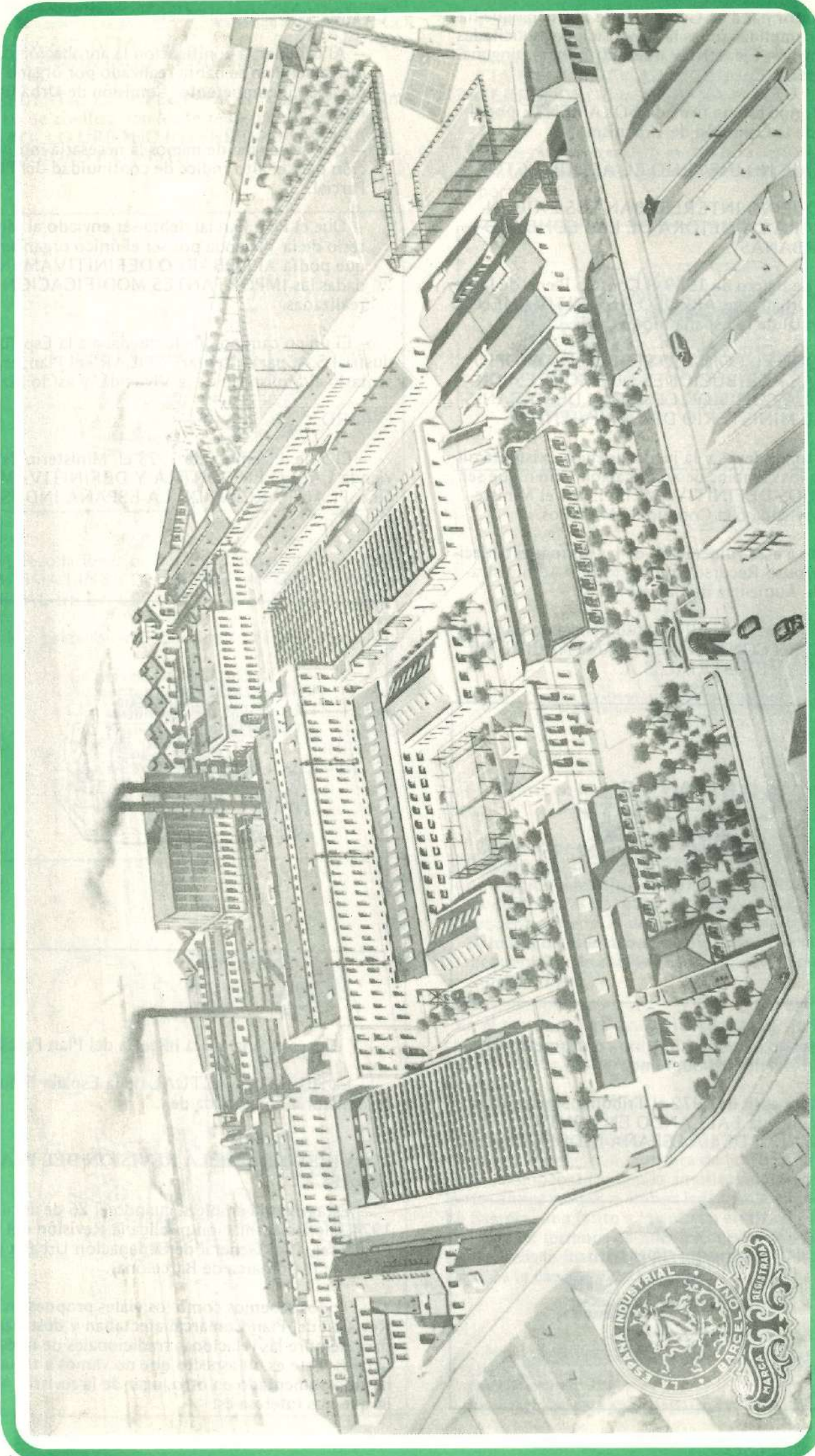
— El 20 de junio de 1968 la Comisión Ejecutiva de la Comisión de Urbanismo acordó remitir todo el expediente al Ayuntamiento, para que notificara a la sociedad promotora que ajustara el Plan a lo dispuesto en los puntos del 1er. GRUPO, luego a cuestiones de detalle en las infraestructuras.

¿PORQUE LA COMISION EJECUTIVA PRESCINDIO DE LOS TEMAS DE LA REMODELACION, DE SERVICIOS URBANOS, DE ZONAS VERDES, DE CAMBIOS INJUSTIFICADOS E ILEGALES DE ZONIFICACION, O SEA LOS PUNTOS QUE TRATABAN DE UNA MEJORA DE LA CALIDAD DE VIDA DE LOS CIUDADANOS?



— El 18 de enero de 1969 el Ayuntamiento devolvió a la Comisión de Urbanismo el expediente del Plan Parcial con las modificaciones y aclaraciones solicitadas.

— El 25 de enero de 1969 los Servicios Técnicos



L'ESPANYA INDUSTRIAL, UN TERRENY QUE ENS CAL

volvían a informar a la Gerencia. Se afirmaba que habían sido cumplidas todas las disposiciones solicitadas por la Comisión Ejecutiva y no se introducía ninguna nueva cuestión.

Este informe estaba firmado SOLAMENTE por el ingeniero de la Comisión de Urbanismo.

¿POR QUE NO INFORMO EL ARQUITECTO?

¿POR QUE NO INTERESABAN SUS EXIGENCIAS PARA LA MEJORA DE LAS CONDICIONES URBANAS?

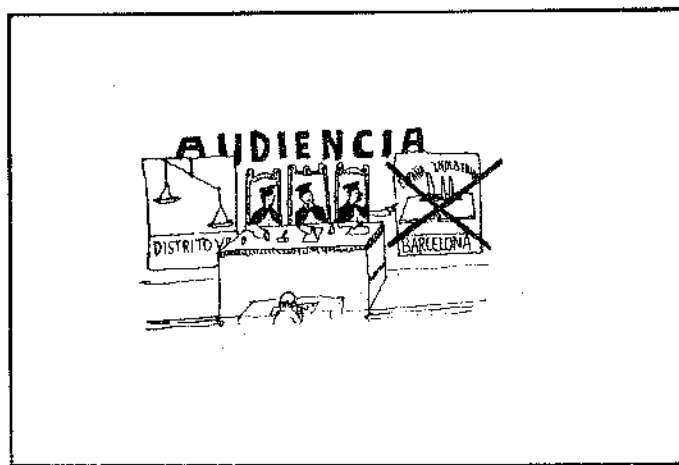
— El 13 de marzo de 1969 el Consejo Pleno de la Comisión de Urbanismo APROBO DEFINITIVAMENTE el Plan Parcial de la España Industrial S.A.

¿POR QUE EL CONSEJO PLENO SE APROPIO DE UNAS ATRIBUCIONES QUE CORRESPONDEN A LA COMISION CENTRAL DE URBANISMO DEL MINISTERIO DE LA VIVIENDA?

En efecto, las leyes y la jurisprudencia existente disponen que los cambios de zonificación tienen que ser APROBADOS DEFINITIVAMENTE por el Ministerio de la Vivienda o el Consejo de Ministros.

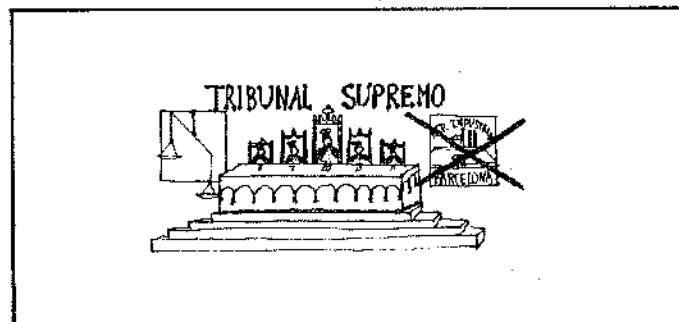
— Frente a esta vulneración de las normas establecidas se interpuso Recurso Contencioso — Administrativo ante la Audiencia de Barcelona.

— El 26 de mayo de 1970 la Audiencia de Barcelona FALLO EN CONTRA DEL PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.



— La España Industrial S.A. no conforme con el fallo recurrió al Tribunal Supremo.

— El 24 de abril de 1972 el Tribunal Supremo confirmó la sentencia FALLANDO EN CONTRA DEL PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S.A.



En síntesis la sentencia decía:

— Al cambiar la zonificación la aprobación definitiva del Plan se había realizado por órgano jerárquico incompetente (Comisión de Urbanismo).

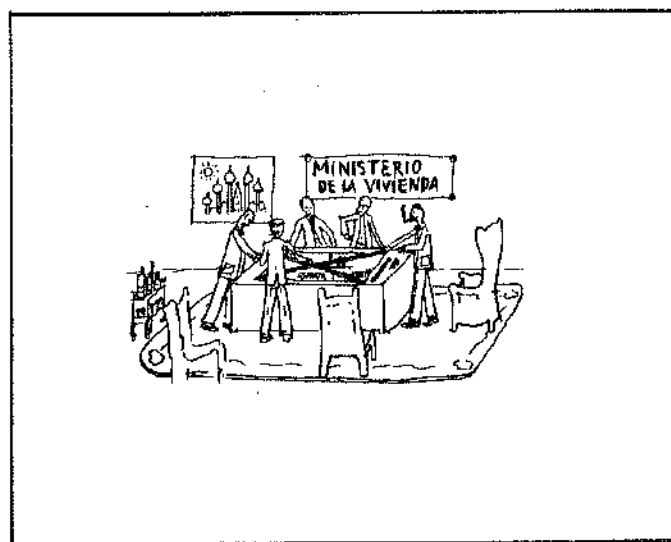
— Que se echaba de menos la necesaria motivación para el alto índice de continuidad del Plan Parcial.

— Que el Plan Parcial debía ser enviado al Ministerio de la Vivienda por ser el único organismo que podía APROBARLO DEFINITIVAMENTE, dadas las IMPORTANTES MODIFICACIONES realizadas.

— El único camino que le quedaba a la España Industrial S.A. para intentar "COLAR" el Plan, era presentarlo al Ministerio de la Vivienda, y así lo hizo.

PERO...

— El 5 de diciembre de 1973 el Ministerio de la Vivienda FALLO EN CONTRA Y DEFINITIVAMENTE DEL PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A.



- Y este es el final de la historia del Plan Parcial.

— La HISTORIA ACTUAL de la España Industrial es la historia no acabada de...

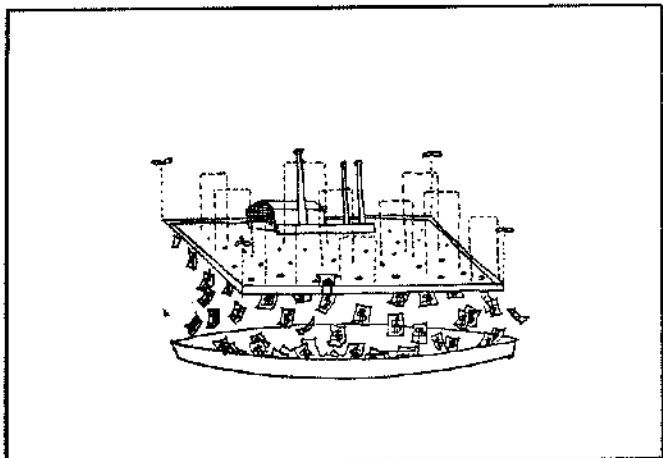
3. LA HISTORIA DE LA REVISION DEL PLAN COMARCAL

— Esta historia empieza cuando el 26 de abril de 1974 sale a información pública la Revisión del Plan Comarcal (Plan General de Ordenación Urbana y Territorial de la Comarca de Barcelona).

— Todos sabemos como los viales propuestos por la Revisión del Plan Comarcal afectaban y destrozaban para siempre las relaciones tradicionales de nuestros barrios. Este es un aspecto que no vamos a tratar, pues ha sido comentado en otro lugar de la revista. Aquí lo que nos interesa es:

¿EN QUE FORMA LA REVISIÓN DEL PLAN COMARCAL "AFECTABA" A LOS TERRENOS DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A.?

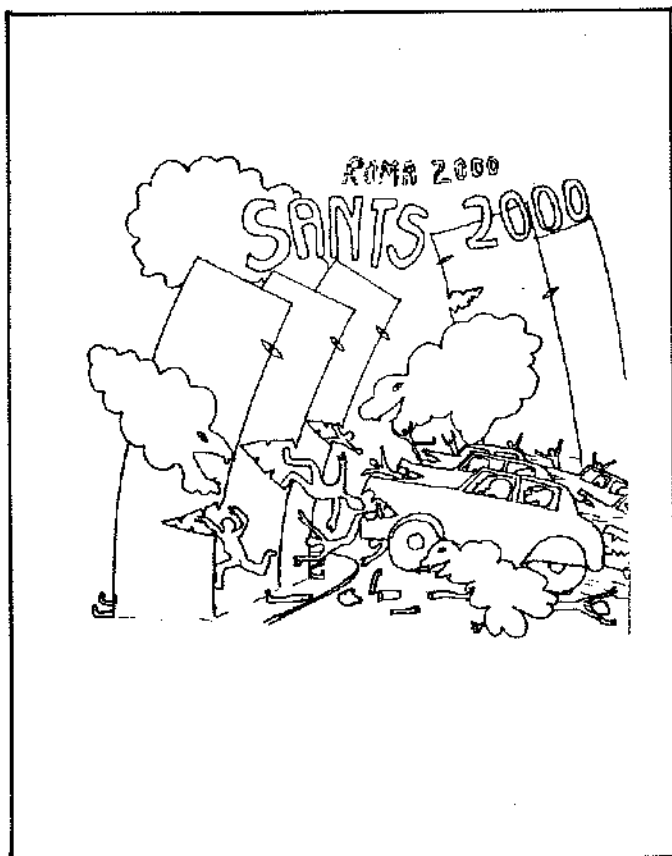
RESPUESTA: La "AFECTACION" consistía en cambiar de zonificación los terrenos por la de DESARROLLO URBANO INTENSIDAD 1 (MAXIMA DENSIDAD PREVISTA).



— Luego la Revisión del Plan Comarcal ESTA EN LA MISMA LINEA DEL DESAPARECIDO PLAN PARCIAL DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL.

— Nos pretende imponer dentro de sus normas:

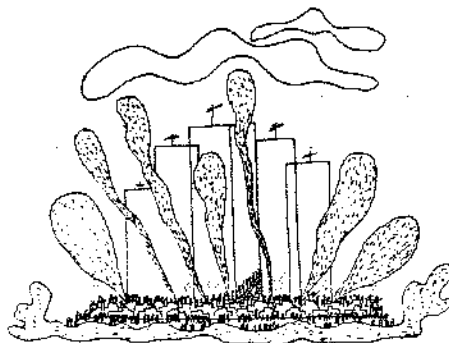
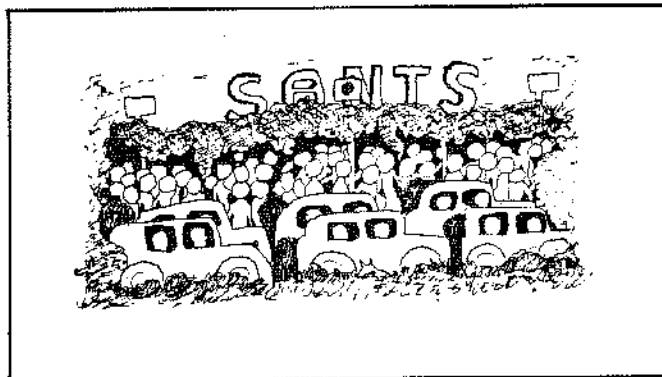
- La mayor DENSIDAD;
- Aumentar la MOTORIZACIÓN
- CONGESTIONAR MAS SANTS, HOS-TAFRANCS Y LA BORDETA, AL PROVOCAR LA APERTURA DE NUEVAS CALLES Y LA DESTRUCCION DE NUESTROS BARRIOS.



PERO...

¿POR QUE ESTE INTERES Y ESTA INSISTENCIA EN DENSIFICAR Y CONGESTIONAR LOS TERRENOS DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL, S. A.?

— Pues ya hemos visto en la "otra historia" que estas malas intenciones fueron denegadas sucesivamente por:



— Además en los documentos del Plan Comarcal se dice:

"En el sector de la Bonanova y de Galvany, en San Gervasio de Cassoles las propuestas son mínimas en relación a las disposiciones del anterior Plan por las dificultades de recuperar espacios libres, por la pequeña dimensión de la parcelación y por la inexistencia de industrias que posibiliten aprobar esta recuperación de suelos en una política de descongestión urbana".

"En el sector de la Plaza de las Glorias el Plan prevé la creación de un gran parque urbano en los terrenos de la Estación de Vilanova y en suelos existentes hoy industriales".

"...Los problemas que la Estación y el I Cinturón de Ronda ocasionan con la rotura de la trama urbana vienen compensados con la ampliación de dos importantes zonas verdes, a ambos lados de la Estación de La Sagrera, una junto a la antigua ermita de St Martí y la otra en terrenos de nueva recuperación sobre antiguas áreas carretera de La Sagrera".

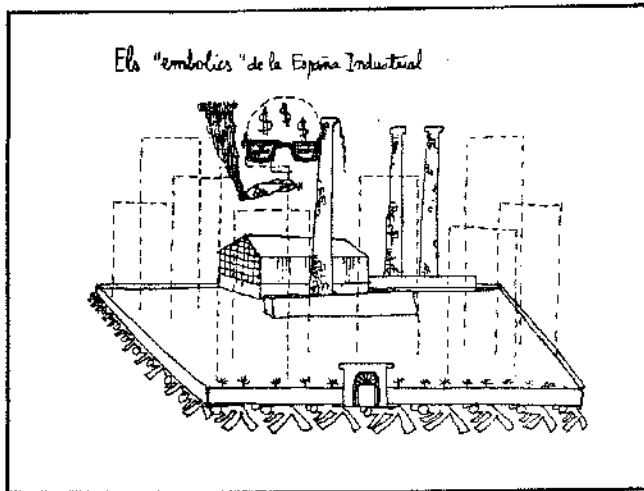
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— Nos volvemos a preguntar:
¿POR QUE ESTE INTERES Y ESTA INSISTENCIA EN DENSIFICAR Y CONGESTIONAR LOS TERRENOS DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A.?

— Y nos seguimos preguntando:

¿POR QUE LA ESTACION DE SANTS NO PUEDE RECIBIR EL MISMO TRATAMIENTO QUE LAS ESTACIONES DE VILANOVA Y LA SAGRE-RA?

¿POR QUE NO SE RECUPERAN PARA MEJORAR LAS CONDICIONES URBANAS DE LOS VECINOS DE SANTS Y HOSTAFRANCS LOS "TERRENOS INDUSTRIALES" DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A.?



— UNA COSA ESTA CLARA:

La voluntad de los técnicos que realizaron la Revisión del Plan Comarcal era:

a) En cuanto a áreas industriales:

RECUPERAR LOS TERRENOS PARA ZONAS VERDES Y SERVICIOS URBANOS.

b) En cuanto a estaciones:

CREAR PARQUES URBANOS Y ZONAS VERDES EN INMEDIATO CONTACTO CON ELLAS, PARA FRENAR LA FUERTE CONGESTION DE ESTAS INFRAESTRUCTURAS A NIVEL DE CIUDAD Y DE NACION.

— OTRA COSA NO ESTA CLARA:

¿POR QUE LA REVISION DEL PLAN COMARCAL

CUANDO TOCA LOS TERRENOS DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A. ENTRA EN CONTRADICCION CON LOS PRINCIPIOS OBJETIVOS Y VOLUNTAD DE PLANEAMIENTO DEL PROPIO PLAN Y DE SUS TECNICOS?

— BUENO QUIZA NO ESTE TAN CLARO PERO TRANSPARENTA...

— Ante estos hechos y apoyadas en argumentaciones y bases sólidas, las entidades del Distrito:

- Unión Deportiva Sants
- Centro Social de Sants
- Unión Excursionista de Cataluña-Sants
- Asociación de Vecinos "Los Cármenes"
- Sociedad Coral "La Floresta de la Bordeta"
- Orfeo "Canigó"
- Asociación de Vecinos y Comerciantes de C/ Vallespir
- Agrupación de Comerciantes y Vecinos C/ Cruz Cubierta
- Sociedad Cooperativa "La Nueva Obrera"
- Centro Católico de Sants
- Centro Parroquial San Medín
- Sociedad Colombófila de Sants
- Ateneo Montserrat
- Patronato de la Vejez de Hostafrancs

— Presentaron, en clara demostración de la solidaridad y conciencia que todos los vecinos de Sants, Hostafrancs y La Bordeta tenían de la gravísima propuesta del Plan Comarcal, una impugnación en la que se decía entre otras cosas:

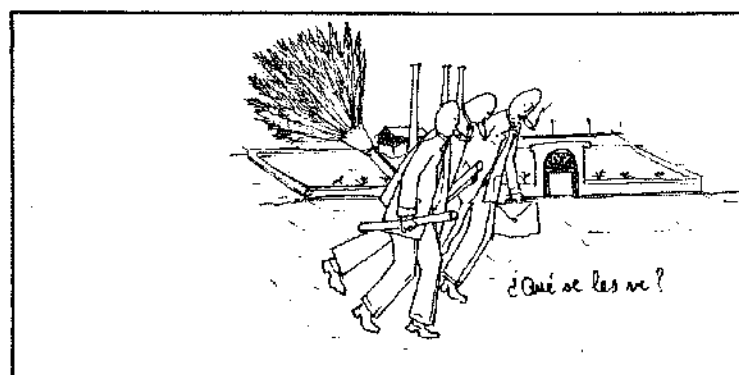
"La afirmación de que aún es posible recuperar los espacios imprescindibles para satisfacer las necesidades anteriormente numeradas no es gratuita. Hemos realizado un inventario de espacios libres y de uso industrial que pone en evidencia la existencia de terrenos más que suficiente para satisfacer nuestras necesidades y la posibilidad de llegar incluso a los standards legales. Acompañamos plano de la situación de este suelo potencialmente útil para, a través de la transformación de uso, permitir el asentamiento de los equipamientos y zonas verdes necesarios. Como puede verse, a pesar de haber omitido en esta información los solares de dimensión inferior a 5.000 m² que son muy numerosos, aparecen casi 50 Ha. de terrenos actualmente libres u ocupados por industrias que permitirían resolver nuestros problemas".

"Por obvias razones, pues, los terrenos de la España Industrial deben destinarse inexcusablemente a zonas verdes o de equipamientos de uso y dominio público al servicio del Distrito".

— Ante las fuertes razones y graves hechos expuestos, nuestras peticiones deben ser recogidas por la Administración y quedar reflejadas en la próxima información pública de la Revisión del Plan Comarcal.

Dado el consenso de los vecinos creemos que será así y que entonces terminará aquí la "HISTORIA DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A."

— En caso contrario estamos obligados a construirnos la "FUTURA HISTORIA DE LA ESPAÑA INDUSTRIAL S.A."



SOLUCION

EL PLUMERO