
Women and Spanish Kiosk Literature (1907–1939)

THOMAS ANTORINO

Independent scholar



Abstract

Kiosk literature marked in early twentieth-century Spain a revolution in mass print culture, one that responded to and informed evolving literary tastes among an increasingly literate public. Thousands of works were published in dozens of popular literary collections between 1907 and 1939. The present study offers an introduction to the women writers of kiosk literature. Although a small percentage of the overall number of works, a group of approximately fifty of the most influential women of their age contributed over three hundred and fifty works of kiosk literature. Given kiosk literature's inherent relationship to modernity, I argue that female-authored kiosk literature gives us unique insight into the diverse ways in which women writers carved out their own space in a male-dominated literary scene and engaged with questions surrounding Spain's modernization, gender relations, the relationship between gender and modernity, and the gendering of literary genres.

Resumen

La literatura de quisco española de principios del siglo XX significó una revolución en la cultura impresa de masas que respondió a e influyó en los gustos literarios de un público cada vez más alfabetizado. Entre 1907 y 1939 se publicaron miles de obras en docenas de revistas literarias populares. El presente estudio ofrece una introducción a las más de cincuenta mujeres de novela corta de principios del siglo XX que produjeron aproximadamente trescientos cincuenta novelas breves. Se arguye que dada la relación inherente de la literatura de quisco con la modernidad, estos textos de autoría femenina nos dan una perspectiva única a las diversas maneras en las que las escritoras de la época negociaron su propio espacio en una cultura dominada por hombres y cómo en estos textos se plantean cuestiones importantes en torno a la modernización de España, las relaciones de género, la relación entre el género sexual y la modernidad, y la relación entre el género literario y el género sexual.

So named because it was sold out of street kiosks, kiosk literature in Spain was one of the most important cultural phenomena of the early twentieth century.¹ These short texts, published as standalone novels in literary collections or *revistas*

1 I am grateful for financial funding offered by Loyola University Maryland's Center for the Humanities, whose summer grant ensured the completion of research necessary to complete this project.

literarias, did not represent a peripheral cultural trend, but a mainstream means of publication by which the works of established and burgeoning writers could reach an extensive public. Inaugurated in 1907 with Eduardo Zamacois's *El Cuento Semanal* (1907–1912), it lasted well into the late 1930s and even into the post-war period. Contrary to what critics such as Luis S. Granjel (1968: 478) and Ángela Ena Bordonada (2013: 10) have suggested, publication of kiosk literature did not begin to decline in the early 1930s. Since the pioneering studies of Luis S. Granjel (1968), Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles (1975) and Louis Urrutia (1977), our understanding of early twentieth-century Spanish kiosk literature has increased substantially. Thanks to more recent efforts by Alberto Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa (1996) and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), scholars can now consult introductions and systematized catalogues of the most successful and widely read literary collections that appeared between 1907 and 1939. Similarly, Jeffrey Zamostny and Susan Larson's recent edited volume, *Kiosk Literature in Silver Age Spain* (2017), is the first effort to give a comprehensive picture of Spanish kiosk literature and its many facets.

What follows is an overview of the role women writers played in the production and development of Spanish kiosk literature. It begins to correct the dearth of scholarship dedicated to the women writers of kiosk literature by serving as an introduction to the authors and their texts. Moreover, contextualizing popular kiosk literature vis-à-vis the canonical works and authors of the time allows us to understand where women contributors fit into the rich cultural tapestry of Silver Age Spain. In general terms, the study of kiosk literature lies at the intersection of various disciplines, such as literary criticism, cultural studies and digital humanities. Conceived as an object of leisure – a means for personal entertainment and ephemeral pleasure – and as a medium through which writers could pursue artistic expression, kiosk literature inhabits a cultural space where both the material and the literary meet. As cultural artefact, it reveals much about evolving literary tastes, demands for new forms of inexpensive entertainment, the author-reader relationship, technologies of publication, and modernization more broadly in early twentieth-century Spain. As literary text, it has much to say, despite its intended obsolescence and disposability, about social anxieties surrounding the challenges of modern life, class conflict, gender relations and politics. Thus, by shifting our focus away from canonical texts, we see that kiosk literature – like all mass culture – tells a different story from the one promoted in official literary histories. The story told here is one of a remarkable group of women that, despite the structural odds against them, carved out a cultural space of their own in early twentieth-century Spain. It is also my hope that this brief, and by no means exhaustive, introduction to the women writers of kiosk literature will inspire more scholars to help recover the memories, texts and legacies of these fascinating individuals.

Judging by the numbers alone, kiosk literature was, like all cultural production of the time, a male-dominated area. However, the numbers rarely tell the whole story. Rather, they obfuscate the popularity of kiosk literature among

different generations of women, from Spain's most iconic writers to others whose names hardly appear in the footnotes of literary history. There lacks an updated understanding of these writers and the texts they produced. The only formal attempt to catalogue female-authored kiosk literature, Pedro Pascual Martínez's admirable '*Las escritoras de la novela corta*' (2000), is, unfortunately, incomplete and error-ridden. In sum, there were over 350 works written by approximately 60 women. This is, admittedly, a small percentage of the thousands of works published between 1907 and 1939. However, it is no less noteworthy, especially given the endemic sexism and other structural impediments that women writers faced in the early twentieth century. Kiosk literature was not, therefore, a male-exclusive genre. A close look at the texts themselves also makes it clear that the genre became a medium through which these women engaged with the most pressing political, social and cultural questions in an increasingly modernized society.

Most of the kiosk literature produced by women remains largely unknown beyond a small circle of specialists. Though important critical anthologies by Concepción Núñez Rey (1989), Ángela Ena Bordonada (1989) and Sonia Thön (2010) have helped bring a small number of authors and works to more mainstream attention, the recovery of kiosk literature remains a difficult task. This is due, on the one hand, to the poor condition of extant works. As a commercial product, kiosk literature was highly perishable, quick disposal being its intended fate. The widespread use in Spain in the early twentieth century of cheap, highly acidic paper that over time yellows and crumbles has also ensured that surviving works have severely deteriorated after a century or more of disuse. A further impediment is accessibility. Those works that remain intact are scattered throughout national and university libraries, many of whose databases are either incomplete or inconsistent. Many are held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, while others can be found in such disparate locations as the International Institute of Social History (IISH/ IISG) in the Netherlands, the University of California Los Angeles, the University of Virginia and a smattering of other university libraries.

There is an important gendered dimension to all this as well, for the women writers of kiosk literature have suffered a double exclusion from cultural histories of Silver Age Spain. The first is that women artists throughout history, based on sexist assumptions about female artistic talent, have suffered systematic exclusion from conventional literary histories. This experience the Spanish women writers of kiosk literature share with a long list of women whose legacies are either still forgotten or have only been recovered in recent decades. The second exclusion concerns traditional ways of writing literary history throughout the twentieth century. In Spain the privileging of 'high' culture over stigmatized 'low' culture, particularly under the Franco dictatorship, exacerbated a general disinterest among scholars in popular culture. As a result, mass-produced kiosk literature was hardly thought of as worthy of 'serious' attention by critics until the second half of the twentieth century. Studying the culture of early twentieth-century Spain through the lens of female-authored kiosk literature, then, raises

important questions about the relationship of Spanish women writers to modern literature, to the gendered politics of literary histories and to modernity more broadly. It also raises important questions about constantly shifting boundaries of gender relations, about the pressures of modernization on conventional understandings of gender and about the relationship between gender and genre.

Conventional literary histories refer to early twentieth-century Spain as *La Edad de Plata* and, as its name suggests, it was a period of high cultural production that rivalled the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Golden Age of Miguel de Cervantes, Garcilaso de la Vega, Lope de Vega, and Luis de Góngora. The Silver Age refers to the literary and visual experimentalism of modernism and the avant-garde and a time of the philosophical preoccupation with Spain's position vis-à-vis modernity and its own modernization. However, it is traditionally defined by the male authors of neatly defined 'generations': Antonio Machado, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, Pío Baroja, José Martínez Ruiz and Miguel de Unamuno of the Generation of 1898; José Ortega y Gasset, Ramón Pérez de Ayala and other so-called *novecentistas*; Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti, Pedro Salinas and others of the Generation of 1927. Women hardly figure in these groups.

Opposite the high cultural modernity of the Spanish Silver Age, there existed *La 'Otra' Edad de Plata*.² This marginal, 'low' cultural production, of which kiosk literature is a significant part, is less aesthetically experimentalist than the 'high' modernism of the canonical texts, but it is no less modern in its enthusiastic embrace of the advancements brought about by modernization. This is the modernity of consumer-driven mass culture made possible by the modernization of publishing technologies, the modernity of *sicalipsis* – popular erotic content that defied social respectability – and the modernity of alternative representations of women and womanhood made possible by challenges to traditional understandings of gender and gender relations.

Thus, it is one of the contentions of the present study that gender and its relationship to modernity serve as principal lenses through which we can understand the impact of women's kiosk literature. Kiosk literature, because of the sheer number of publications, allows us to analyse concerns about modernity by tracking the complex evolution of female archetypes, such as the *ángel del hogar* and the *nueva mujer moderna*. The trajectory of these representations in Silver Age Spain does not constitute a neat, linear progression from the domestic angel to the emancipated, modern woman. Instead, what reading female-authored kiosk literature reveals is what Susan Kirkpatrick has called 'la heterogeneidad de la participación de las mujeres españolas en la modernidad y cómo esta participación alteró de manera productiva las categorías generales de "feminidad" y "modernidad española"' (2003: 16). Women's relationship to modernity was complex, and women were, to borrow Ena Bordonada's word, 'protagonistas' in the development and expression of gender-specific experiences of Spanish modernity (2021: 26). The women writers of kiosk literature played an integral part in the evolution of female cultural icons, as many of the texts' female prota-

2 For a general introduction to the 'Otra' Edad de Plata see Ángela Ena Bordonada 2013.

gonists often serve as sites on which many of the anxieties around women's participation in modernity and modernity's effects on traditional gender roles were inscribed. Unlike the 'high' culture of the Modernists, which was often conservative in its preference for traditional gender roles, kiosk literature gave women writers the space to imagine alternative representations of modern women and of new gender and sexual paradigms.³ This was reflected in and contributed to societal debates about these questions, for the lived experiences of both authors and protagonists modelled modern alternatives to traditional gender relations for younger generations of women readers.

In her 1919 eponymous social treatise, the writer, activist and future parliamentarian of the Republic Margarita Nelken indicted what she called 'la condición social de la mujer'. She argued that women were, 'en su inmensa mayoría, dócil instrumento en manos de quienes saben manejarla según sus convenciones más prácticas' (1975: 183). Nelken understood this not as the result of women's 'natural' passivity but rather as the product of centuries of indoctrination:

Cierto es que no es posible decir de antemano cuáles son las condiciones naturales de un ser revestido casi en absoluto de prejuicios y reglas de conducta arbitrarios; lo impuesto es siempre postizo, pero la imposición metódica durante siglos y siglos, tradiciones y tradiciones, llega, en ciertos casos, no solo a presentarse con apariencias de realidad, sino también a tomar apariencia de *segunda naturaleza*. (1975: 43; emphasis in the original)

Nelken is criticizing the nineteenth-century, middle-class ideology of domesticity, which provided the foundation of conventional gender discourse in Spain in the early twentieth century. Women's prescribed 'mission' was rooted in purportedly scientific understandings of male and female sexual difference. Physiologically, the argument went, women were more affective beings than men and, therefore, were more 'naturally' suited to matrimony, maternity and domesticity. As Mary Nash (1999), Bridget Aldaraca (1989), Catherine Jagoe (1998) and Beatriz Celaya Carrillo (2006) have all shown, in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain, medical and pseudoscientific discourse surrounding anatomical differences between the sexes legitimated the existence of immutable gender differences between men and women. For example, in the mid-nineteenth century Don Miguel Mayoral y Medina claimed that

El Creador, al dividir el género humano en dos sexos, estableció entre ellos una diferencia que sostuviese el equilibrio social ... De aquí la muger [sic] no es igual al hombre ... [El hombre] fue destinado al trabajo, y al ejercicio del pensamiento, [la mujer] a las ocupaciones sedentarias, y al ejercicio de las afecciones del corazón. (1859: 7)

Nelken's criticism of the power of indoctrination on women shows a more modern understanding of gender as that which is defined by societal norms and dominant ideologies rather than as a fixed consequence of biology. However, the

3 For the conservatism of Spanish modernism vis-à-vis women and gender relations, see Beatriz Celaya Carrillo 2006, in which the author dedicates a chapter to this question. See also, the fourth chapter of Roberta Johnson 2003.

nineteenth-century discourse of domesticity was still mainstream well into the first third of the twentieth century. In 1920 biological essentialism formed the basis of famous endocrinologist Gregorio Marañón's justification for the inequality of the sexes: 'no es posible la igualdad absoluta de los dos sexos, porque [la] estructura biológica [de la mujer] es [...] fatalmente distinta. [...] Nuestra mujer [...] está hecha para ser madre, y debe serlo, por encima de todo' (1967: 14). If women were biologically 'destined' for reproduction and motherhood, then maternity, and by extension domesticity, were the fulfilment of Nature's (and God's) design for women.

Like Nelken, the women writers of kiosk literature often understood that discourse surrounding women's mission manifested itself in various forms of social control. According to Mary Nash, the discourse of biological essentialism 'legitimated a hierarchical order based on the subordination of women and social asymmetry [sic] between the sexes' (1999: 26). The idealized cultural model of domestic femininity, the *ángel del hogar*, represented the fulfilment of women's mission in the home. Although not a direct reflection of the daily realities of most women, this discourse delineated socially 'acceptable' behaviour for men and women. Thus, a woman who deviated from the norm by daring to transgress gendered social or sexual mores risked stigmatization as a deviant (Mangini 2001: 26). She was, in other words, not a true woman (Celaya 2006: 7).

At the same time, the early twentieth century in Spain was a period of accelerating, albeit uneven, modernization for women. Women were witnesses to and participants in a period of modernization as they began to enjoy more personal freedoms than did previous generations, although these were still limited by modern standards. In general terms, more women had access to education as female illiteracy declined, particularly in urban areas. Social change was slow and uneven, yet significant. Alongside these social changes, women were more active participants in artistic circles than ever. Friendships and romantic and sexual partnerships between women writers and the principal male writers of the Silver Age were common. Concha Méndez and Manuel Altolaguirre married in 1932, María Teresa León married Rafael Alberti, and Carmen de Burgos, a separated, single mother living in Madrid (divorce would not be legalized until 1932) carried on an intimate (and scandalous) partnership with Ramón Gómez de la Serna. Because of these connections they were intimately familiar with national and international developments in modern art. The founding of the Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (JAE) in 1907, the Residencia de Señoritas in 1915 and the Lyceum Club Femenino in 1926 further effected positive change for women's access to cultural developments.

This debate surrounding the potential benefits or drawbacks of modernization on women's lives was played out in the pages of kiosk literature. Images of the 'New' or 'Modern' Woman were made increasingly visible as they replaced archetypes of domestic angels. The evolution of these cultural icons reflected the constantly shifting boundaries of gender relations. If the *ángel del hogar* represented the fulfilment of women's domestic duties, then the modern woman

represented alternative visions of femininity that embraced modernity and its challenges to traditional gender relations. Women intellectuals were, of course, divided in the debate, thus revealing a spectrum of ideological diversity that we can also track in kiosk literature. To use the cultural figure of the New Woman as an example of this divide, she represented to progressives the promises of modernity, specifically female emancipation and a society free from socially imposed restraints on women's liberty. To critics, she signalled the degeneration of society via the erosion of traditional values brought about by modernity. Thus, analysing literary archetypes through kiosk literature allows us to track these evolving, yet non-linear, attitudes towards women. These archetypes served as cultural symbols replete with social meaning, not as signifiers of women per se but of varying attitudes towards women and their roles in a rapidly changing society.

Kiosk literature's intimate connection with modernity – as a direct product of the modernization of editorial and printing technologies, and as a genre that reveals an inherent relationship to modern perceptions of time and space (Zamostny 2017: 4) – offered women fertile ground to explore their own experiences of modernity. Inherent in female-authored kiosk literature are concerns about gender relations that reveal broader anxieties about Spain's modernization and women's relationship to it. As Kirkpatrick notes, fin-de-siècle Spain was a time when gender became 'a focus of debates about the possibilities and discontents of modernity' (1999: 117). *Modernity* often refers to fundamental transformations in (Western) society: the shift from rural to urban life; the political, social and cultural dominance of the bourgeoisie; the wresting of epistemological authority from the Church; and a confidence in scientific reasoning and progress inherited from the Enlightenment, among other aspects. It tends to imply some break with the past, although the tradition-vs-modern dichotomy is an oversimplification of a complex network of social, cultural, historical and political relationships to time and space. Silver Age writers and intellectuals – especially women – understood modernity in diverse ways, and they wrote about it in equally diverse ways shaped by the vectors of class, gender and politics. Yet there was a general perception that modernity did indeed present a threat to traditional gender relations, which in turn was fundamentally destabilizing to patriarchal conceptions of 'naturally' sanctioned gender roles.

Before turning to specific examples of female-authored kiosk literature, it is important to address questions of who the women writers of kiosk literature were and what attracted them to kiosk literature. In the appendix to this study I have listed the names of all the women writers that I have been able to catalogue and the number of works of kiosk literature that they produced. The literary collections appealed to writers of different generations and it would be a mistake to believe the negative stereotype that only 'minor' or insignificant writers produced this type of work. Some of the most widely read and established women writers since the 1880s, such as Emilia Pardo Bazán, Blanca de los Ríos and Sofía Casanova, produced kiosk literature. Most were middle or upper-middle class, well educated and enjoyed varying degrees of success and renown in their lives.

They almost invariably produced kiosk literature in either Madrid or Barcelona, with little overlap. Excepting the women who wrote for *La Novela Femenina*, a unique case, only Carmen de Burgos, Sara Insúa and Regina Opisso seem to have crossed ‘borders’ in this sense. Collections were also published in other major cities – e.g., Valencia and Sevilla – and highlighted the work of local writers (Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa and Santamaría 1997: 13). For example, Cecilia García contributed *Rosa del rosal cortada* (1936) to the San Sebastián-based collection *La Novela Vasca*.

In Barcelona the two most notable and widely read collections were *La Novela Ideal* (1925–1938) and *La Novela Libre* (1933–1937), both publications of the anarchist *La Revista Blanca* (1923–1936). The two most prolific women writers who produced texts published in *La Novela Ideal* and *La Novela Libre* were Federica Montseny and Ángela Graupera. Although most of the kiosk literature of Barcelona was written in Castilian, some was written in Catalan. *La Novel·la D’Ara*, initiated in 1923, was perhaps the most popular. It is not clear how many years the collection lasted, but there is record of approximately two hundred works published in the collection (Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa 1996: 114). Women do not, however, seem to have made up any significant portion of the contributors of *La Novel·la D’Ara*. Caterina Albert (‘Victor Català’), one of the most important Catalan writers of the early twentieth century, who hardly ever wrote kiosk literature, contributed approximately three titles for this collection.

One comment on female-authored *sicalipsis* is also necessary here. On popular ‘sicaliptic’ fiction in general, Maite Zubiaurre argues that it is quintessentially modern in that it

embraces foreign technology and its inventions to an extent rarely seen in high-cultural art and literature. It ‘imports’ modernity in the form of technoerotic artifacts such as bicycles and typewriters [...] It also engages modernity and its commodities in an intense and often ambivalent dialogue with tradition and with the production of stereotypically Spanish cultural objects. (2012: 2)

More importantly, women’s role as consumers of popular erotica is significant. The genre made it ‘possible for Spanish women to look beyond the Pyrenees and seek models in their more advanced and certainly more liberated foreign counterparts’ (Zubiaurre 2012: 2). Although women were represented as characters in erotic fiction, the role of women as producers of popular *sicalipsis* is much less clear. Zubiaurre only mentions Carmen de Burgos’s *La que quiso ser maja* (*La Novela Pasional*, no. 23, 1924) and *La confidente* (*La Novela de Noche*, no. 58, 1926). A look at the record reveals three additional names: Clara Isabel de Sade, Eva León and Laura Brunet. The first is clearly pseudonymous. Pseudonyms were common, especially among writers of ‘sicaliptic’ material, and it was not uncommon for men to write under female pseudonyms. For example, ‘Laura Brunet’, who wrote a series of ‘sicaliptic’ novelettes, ‘Aventuras galantes de la Pompadour’, and a treatise on nudism, *Desnudismo integral*, was the alias of Joan Sanxo Farrerons (1887–1957) who published numerous collections of erotic novelettes in Barcelona (Zubiaurre 2012: 291). ‘Eva León’ was the pseudonym of Pedro Morante (1887–1974) who contri-

buted a number of ‘sicaliptic’ novelettes to the collection *La Novela Sugestiva*. The identity of the evidently pseudonymous and provocative ‘Clara Isabel de Sade’, who contributed the ‘sicaliptic’ *Las simulaciones de Charito* (*La Novela de Noche*, no. 61, 1926) is completely unknown. Given the prevalence of men who assumed female pseudonyms, it is possible that ‘she’ is really a mask for a male writer. There is evidence that ‘Clara’ also submitted a manuscript to a contest sponsored by *La Novela de Hoy*, but beyond this there is no other trace of this writer (Pujante Segura 2017: 58–59).

In some cases, it is possible – even likely – that any woman interested in producing ‘sicaliptic’ fiction was dissuaded from doing so because of the obvious stigma associated with erotic material. It is difficult to know how many of these women wrote under male pseudonyms or simply ‘felt compelled to feign other literary vocations’ (Pujante Segura 2017: 55). However, woman or not, the question about what the writing under a female name *does* is still a relevant one, for the gender of an author of ‘sicaliptic’ fiction – pseudonymous or not – has important implications: it could be read as more scandalous, or it could be intended to attract a female readership.

Why did these women write kiosk literature? The dissemination of a particular political ideology was important, but the popularity of the collections was perhaps the primary contributing factor. It is difficult to understate how prolific these collections were. As Alberto Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa explains, ‘It grew common to reprint existing works, and print runs for new works ranged from the 10,000 initial copies of long novels to the 200,000 copies of certain issues of the collection *La Novela Corta* (2017: 40). Ena Bordonada specifies that the average number of weekly prints was between 30,000 and 50,000 (2001b: 235). To have a work published in one of the collections, therefore, offered notoriety. The early twentieth-century writer and journalist Alberto Insúa, himself a popular producer of the kiosk literature, wrote in his memoirs that to appear in *El Cuento Semanal* ‘era para los escritores noveles poner una pica en Flandes y recibir, durante seis días, el soplo de la fama’ (qtd. in Granjel 1968: 478). That the work of younger, less experienced writers could appear in the same collection as the most widely read writers of the time was an initial impetus for Eduardo Zamacois’s pioneering *El Cuento Semanal*. Published in the first title of *El Cuento Semanal*, the editorial team’s manifesto, ‘Nuestro propósito’, explained that they would accept ‘no sólo las firmas ya consagradas de los maestros, sino también las de esos jóvenes que hoy luchan en la sombra todavía, pero que están llamados a ser los conquistadores del mañana’ (*El Cuento Semanal* 1907). This had profound gendered implications for less well-known women writers. That her work could be published preceding or succeeding a work from a famous writer had the potential to increase the reach of her output. It also signalled to the public that her work was ‘worth’ as much as the work of someone as well known as, say, Galdós, Unamuno or Pardo Bazán.

Producing kiosk literature was also evidently lucrative, and it offered established and burgeoning women writers economic incentives they might not have found elsewhere. Writers were often paid quite well. As Sánchez Álvarez-

Insúa explains, ‘Many authors lived exclusively off their writing and were paid between 1,000 and 3,000 pesetas per short novel’ (2017: 40). The implications of this should not be lost. For the largest collections to pay this much money to contributors, revenue collected on individual titles must have been substantial, especially given the low price at which these were sold.

In fact, publishing in literary collections was so popular and lucrative that abridgments and *refritos* were common. For example, Emilia Pardo Bazán’s *La dama joven* (Los Contemporáneos, no. 292, 1914), *Bucólica* (Los Contemporáneos, no. 476, 1918), and *Los tres arcos de Cirilo* (Los Contemporáneos, no. 514, 1918) were republished decades after their original publications in 1885, 1884 and 1895, respectively. Likewise, it was not uncommon for abridgements of previously published full-length novels to appear as kiosk literature. Carmen de Burgos’s *La rampa* (1917; abridged in Los Contemporáneos, no. 655, 1921) and Sofía Casanova’s *El doctor Wolski* (1894; abridged in La Novela Corta, no. 255, 1920) are two notable examples. Opposite these, Concha Espina’s *Aurora de España* (La Novela de Hoy, 1927) was not an abridgement but rather became the first part of an expanded novel, *La virgen prudente*, published in 1929. Burgos even double-dipped in other ways. Her *Frasca la tonta* (El Libro Popular, no. 26, 1914) was republished as *Venganza* (La Novela Corta, no. 137, 1918), and there are similarities between *Cuando la ley lo manda* and *El brote* that are too striking to be coincidental. For example, each protagonist is passionate about horticulture; each of them meets, falls in love with, and ultimately decides to marry a British man born and raised in Gibraltar; and Burgos even repeats a scene almost verbatim in these works, as each protagonist includes an almost identical conversation with her female friends about their differing opinions on marriage.

More importantly, the topic of abridgments and *refritos* raises questions about the ultimate function of kiosk literature as a medium of short fiction. Individual works of kiosk literature were often referred to as *novelas cortas* or *novelas breves*, and there are important implications of the *corta*/ *breve* aspect. Espina’s *Aurora de España* (1927) and *La virgen prudente* (1929) are both prime examples. Teasing out the differences between the expanded novel and the original novella reveals different characterizations of the female protagonist. *Aurora de España* presents a much more idealistic image of the eponymous protagonist as a symbol of the modern woman than does *La virgen prudente*. If, as Judith Kirkpatrick has argued, *La virgen prudente* is ‘the closest to a “manifesto” of the possibilities for a “modern” Spanish woman to be written in the first half of the twentieth century’ (1992: 104), then *Aurora de España* in fact provides a much less conflicted representation of its protagonist than *La virgen prudente*. In the full-length novel, *Aurora* ends up seduced and impregnated by one of her male suitors, and the remainder of the novel explores her subsequent struggles. However, because this plot is absent in *Aurora de España*, the novella ends triumphant and hopeful. Its ‘message’ is clear: *Aurora*, true to her name, represents the ‘dawn’ of a new era for women, one in which women embrace the independence and agency promised by modernity and take care of themselves in a society that fundamentally cannot understand

them. This Aurora is ultimately less conflicted, does not surrender to carnal temptation and, therefore, is sexually pure, still virginal and free from concupiscence. Her only conflict is with the internalized patriarchal ideology of her disapproving mother. By presenting Aurora as a woman who embodies the sexual purity of the Virgin Mary while embracing the liberation of modernity, *Aurora de España* fuses the traditional and the modern to create the unique archetype of the perfect modern woman. This trimming down and consequent simplification of a more extensive plot is also apparent in Casanova's *El doctor Wolski* (1894; abridged 1920), but an in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of the present study.

Therefore, in works of kiosk literature, characters, particularly women, tend to be unidimensional types; they stand in for women's relationship to broader societal questions. Although not always an exposé of the individual female psyche, female-authored kiosk literature, with its wide range of themes and subjects from the most transgressive to the most conservative, allows us to track these tensions, anxieties and even imagined futures as women wrestled with pressing questions about their roles in a modernizing society. The explosion in popularity of kiosk literature reflects the fact that reading in general, particularly in the hands of marginal groups, could assume powerful social and cultural dimensions. Because cultural production is never neutral, responding in various ways to broader stimuli, the development of mass written culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries challenged bourgeois hegemony and was 'a threat to social control' (Sieburth 1994: 6). Kiosk literature in particular was a genre that signalled 'the transformation of literature into a battlefield of social reform', and women of different ideological backgrounds accepted this call to arms (Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa 2017: 40).

Although individual texts varied in their content and treatment of political and social themes, at times entire collections of kiosk literature were founded to disseminate a particular ideology. On the conservative end of the spectrum, the short-lived *Nuestra Novela* (1925–1926), fuelled by the rhetoric of the Primo dictatorship, became a moralizing voice of right-wing propaganda in reaction to the increased proliferation of 'pornographic' (i.e., erotic or 'sicaliptic') material in the 1920s. Tellingly, its slogan was 'El arte y la belleza al servicio de la verdad y del bien' (Villarías Zugazagoitia 2003: 33). During the Civil War, *La Novela de Vértice* (1938–1942) and *La Novela del Sábado* (1939–1940) were collections that promoted the nationalist cause to legitimate the cultural authority of the rebels. A few women contributed to these collections, and Concha Espina, who produced three titles, stands out among them.

Further left on the political spectrum, the Barcelona-based *La Novela Ideal* and *La Novela Libre* were long-lasting purveyors of political propaganda. Their political affiliation with the anarchist *La Revista Blanca* meant that the texts often deal with overtly left-wing political themes. Like *Nuestra Novela*, *La Novela Ideal* was explicitly conceived of as propaganda to be directed at young people of both sexes: 'Habiendo comprendido los redactores de *La Revista Blanca* la eficacia y utilidad de la propaganda de sus ideas por medio del diálogo, sobre todo entre

la juventud de ambos sexos, han resuelto publicar una novela corta quincenal los días 8 y 23 de cada mes' ('La Novela Ideal' 1924: 4). Questions of free love, social oppression, the hypocrisy of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, and libertarian militancy among independent-minded women are common in the texts published in these collections. The didactic impulse behind the publication of such content was made clear by the editors from the outset: '*La Novela Ideal* será casi el regalo la pujanza de *La Revista Blanca* ofrece a sus lectores y al público, con el propósito de interesarle [...] en las luchas para instituir una sociedad sin amos ni esclavos, sin gobernantes ni gobernados' ('La Novela Ideal' 1924: 4). What is more, the paratext of *La Novela Ideal* and *La Novela Libre* became a means by which editors could promote the sale of anarchist literature by Mikhail Bakunin, Luigi Fabbri, Adrián del Valle and other influential anarchist thinkers. Catalan women were regular contributors to these collections. Federica Montseny and Ángela Graupera were the most prolific, and Montseny herself helped found the collections. As the contributions of Espina, Montseny and Graupera to ideologically motivated collections attest, women were by no means neutral agents in the production and dissemination of specific ideologies.

The short existence of *La Novela Femenina* (1925–1926), published in Barcelona, exemplifies solidarity among early twentieth-century women writers to promote their work in a male-dominated culture. As a sort of preface to its inaugural title, María Luz Morales's *Maestrita rural*, the editors stated the collection's two guiding wishes:

el de hacer una nueva y curiosa colección en que se reúnan todos los valores literarios del bello sexo, que son muchos, y el de facilitar al mismo tiempo el acceso de las nuevas escritoras al palenque de las letras, hoy para ellas muy difícil. (Morales 1925: 2)

It published unedited works by women from different parts of Spain (women who, as mentioned above, rarely crossed regional lines to produce kiosk literature in other cities) and Spanish America. Thus, it bolstered an important transatlantic network of Spanish-speaking women (Rivalan Guégo 2015: 338). The women it attracted were also of diverse ideological backgrounds, from the progressive left to the Catholic right (Ena Bordonada 2017: 266). As I explore in more detail below, another goal of the collection was to combat the prevailing stigma of 'feminine' (i.e., inferior) literature. The editors of *La Novela Femenina* had to negotiate the collection's position in a male-dominated culture by promoting women's talents without appearing too 'feminine'.

Many women had to navigate slippery double standards, not just those who contributed to *La Novela Femenina*. The Salamanca writer and scholar of contemporary women's issues Ángela Barco (1878?–19??) was praised because her work

posee innegables dotes de escritor sustancioso y ningún resabio de la *literata* tradicional. [...] Su primer estudio [...] se distinguió por la agudeza de la observación, por el sentido objetivo y realista, por el desembarazo de la frase, libre de todo adorno empalagoso y falsamente sentimental. (C. C. 1909: 419; emphasis in the original)

Illustrative of the commentator's appraisal of Barco's skill, her only work of kiosk literature, *Fémína* (El Cuento Semanal, no. 171, 1910), was a finalist in a prestigious contest organized in 1908 by the publishers of El Cuento Semanal and judged by Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, Pío Baroja and Felipe Trigo. However, despite the well-deserved praise and notoriety, the gendered implications of the above commentary should not go unnoticed: Barco's writing is being celebrated, at least implicitly, for its *masculine* qualities; she is not a stereotypically *feminine* writer. Women writers of kiosk literature were aware of the gendered stereotypes surrounding so-called 'masculine' and 'feminine' literature. As a result, many works self-consciously distanced themselves, or outrightly rejected, the sentimentalism and moralization of nineteenth-century popular 'feminine' literature (Ena Bordonada 2001a: 89; Antorino 2019: 92). Despite this, the equation of the masculine with high quality and the feminine with low quality was a double standard that many women, Emilia Pardo Bazán most notably, had to navigate.⁴

The self-awareness that works published by La Novela Femenina and others were challenging the prevailing stigma of inferior 'feminine' literature is emblematic of the modernity (vs 'modernism') of women's kiosk literature. Roberta Johnson has called the engagement by women writers with the present concerns of the early twentieth century 'social modernism' to distinguish early twentieth-century women's socially conscious writing from the aesthetic modernism of contemporary male writers (2003: vii–viii). It is thus a useful lens through which to view women's participation in the production of kiosk literature. Women's use of the medium as a vehicle for social change and as a site in which to imagine alternatives to contemporary women's situation is, therefore, an inherently modern position without being modernist.

Modernity, in its many facets, thus occupies an important thematic space in female-authored kiosk literature. Elsewhere, I have written about the ways in which Margarita Nelken's *La aventura de Roma* (La Novela de Hoy, no. 40, 1923) and *Una historia de adulterio* (La Novela Corta, no. 448, 1924) are ultimately about the inability of the traditional Spanish man, as representative of Spanish society more broadly, to comprehend the modern woman and the challenges she poses to traditional gender relations (Antorino 2022). Nelken's female protagonists, not unlike Aurora of Espina's *Aurora de España*, represent the benefits of modernity on women's lives. However, not all works of kiosk literature conceive of women's relationship to modernity in such unidimensional ways. Carmen de Burgos's *¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!* (La Novela de Hoy, no. 417, 1930), for example, presents a more nuanced understanding of this question. It celebrates the two female protagonists' desire to rebel against the traditionalism of their austere father, while also exposing the gender-specific ways in which modern consumerism commodifies the female body. Women's relationship to modernity in Burgos's texts is often ambiguous. Moreover, as the women of La Novela Femenina show, the ideolo-

4 For a general discussion of the ways in which late nineteenth-century Spanish women writers dealt with the issue, see Bieder 1995a. For specific studies of Pardo Bazán's relationship to the male-dominated literary scene, see Bieder 1989 and Bieder 1995b.

gical impulses underlying these women's texts are hardly uniform. This is true even for texts of the same author. For example, though Burgos was a staunch defender of women's right to divorce, her *El brote* (La Novela Corta, no. 491, 1925) and *Cuando la ley lo manda* (La Novela de Hoy, no. 518, 1932) serve, in my readings, as conservative defences of marriage as a 'natural' fulfilment of feminine desire. These texts prove that kiosk literature does not always reflect the ideology of the authors and that the expectation of ideological consistency, even among more unidimensional works, should be avoided. Federica Montseny's *Una mujer y dos hombres* (La Novela Ideal, no. 312, 1932) is another example. It posits the sexually liberated woman as a model of social modernity, but it is possible to read the various narrative tensions and contradictions within the text as a perpetuation of the very stereotypes and prejudices the text seeks out to undermine in the first place (Soria 2018: 623).

Although the late 1920s was a time when the image of the modern woman was largely replacing that of the domestic angel of the previous century, on the right-wing end of the ideological spectrum Pilar Millán Astray's kitschy novelettes serve as conservative condemnations of the follies of modern womanhood. Her *Las dos estrellas* (Los Novelistas, no. 11, 1928) offers a clear moral: fame is fleeting, modern lifestyle is ultimately unfulfilling for women, and only true, unconditional love will bring happiness to the female protagonist. In doing this, the novel positions itself in opposition to the type of modern femininity that the protagonist initially represents.

These questions formed an integral part of many of the earliest works of women's kiosk literature. Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer's *Una Eva moderna* (El Cuento Semanal, no. 152, 1909), the author's only piece of this genre, is an early example of the inherent clash between traditional and modern forms of femininity. The text can be read as a dialogue between the protagonist's radical progressive feminism and the author's moderate feminism. The text, in many ways a defence of the author's beliefs over the protagonist's, combats the prevailing stereotype of the 'weaker sex', yet simultaneously celebrates a woman's 'natural' duty to her family, thus warning against the 'de-feminizing' effects of the more radical aspects of the protagonist's feminism. The plot centres on the educated, cultured and politically conscious Luisa, whose honour-bound duty to her family and personal desire conflict. When forced to choose between fleeing with her lover to fulfil their love affair and remaining loyal to her husband and daughter, she ultimately chooses the latter as an expression of a 'natural' moral imperative.

Luisa's conflict between duty and desire, not unlike that of Henrik Ibsen's Nora, not only represents the protagonist's inner conflict but also a broader debate around the ideals that the traditional *ángel del hogar* and the New Woman represent. On the one hand, Luisa's radical feminism – her political activism in favour of women's suffrage and her intellectualism – is foregrounded in the text, and, as the eponymous 'New Eve', she embodies a new 'gospel' for modern Spain. However, the text's ending is the reversal of Nora's ultimate decision in *A Doll's House* (1879). The text privileges Luisa's self-sacrifice over her desires, which

fundamentally contradicts, and therefore supersedes, the representation of Luisa as a self-actualized modern woman.

Ángela Barco's *Fémina* (1910) deals with a similar theme but is a much less self-contradictory text.⁵ The protagonist Gabriela, trapped by societal pressures into the limited unfulfilling role of the housewife, does not experience Luisa's personal conflict (between feminism and self-empowerment on the one hand and a woman's traditional duty as mother and wife on the other) in the same way. Instead, *Fémina* confronts the hypocrisy of bourgeois domestic ideology head on, criticizing the societal pressures that limit a woman's opportunities beyond the domestic sphere, impede female empowerment and prohibit her right to express her own individuality. In addition, by representing Gabriela as a victim of this discourse, the text simultaneously criticizes the conventional idea that woman's 'natural' role is inherently domestic, the same idea ultimately celebrated in Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*. Gabriela, an Emma Bovary-like character who yearns to experience the same adventures as the male protagonists of her adventure novels, attempts to rebel against the non-tyrannical authority of her well-meaning husband but ultimately dies of hysteria because she cannot escape the insular world of the bourgeois mansion. The house, likened to a prison cell and a cemetery, becomes her literal tomb at the end of the text. Barco's *Fémina* is, therefore, a straightforward condemnation of traditional discourse that forces women to submit to conventional gender norms. Unlike Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, which warns against the threat of modern feminism to traditional gender relations, Barco's text suggests that modernity – i.e., the liberation of women from gender-specific restraints – is the solution to the protagonist's struggle rather than its cause.

Una Eva moderna and *Fémina* thus posit a different answer to the same question: What happens when a woman's desire for individuality and self-empowerment conflicts with a traditional society that values women's self-sacrifice and submission as fundamental feminine virtues? Each text shows how these two extremes are fundamentally incompatible. However, whereas Luisa renounces her feminism in favour of a more traditional maternal role, Gabriela's hysteria and subsequent death are the result of her inability to live in a stifling, insular world that, by definition, is structured around the negation of woman's personal dreams and passions. Thus, while Luisa survives by conforming to society, Gabriela dies precisely because she cannot bring herself to conform.

Access to employment was another issue raised in female-authored kiosk literature, as modernization offered women alternatives to domesticity. For example, *La carabina* (La Novela de Hoy, no. 129, 1924) by Carmen Eva Nelken ('Magda Donato'), depicts the difficulties faced by single women with few labour opportunities beyond domestic jobs. The spinster protagonist can only serve as chaperone (*carabina*) to a wealthy family's daughter. In other texts, stage performance is presented as a possible alternative to domesticity, but this stigmatized career was controversial. Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* (1885; Los Contemporáneos,

5 For a more detailed analysis of Barco's *Fémina*, see my article (Antorino 2019).

no. 292, 1914), Millán Astray's *Las dos estrellas* (Los Novelistas, no. 11, 1928) and Burgos's *Guiones del destino* (La Novela de Hoy, no. 518, 1932) all deal with the figure of the actress in modern society. Similar to her *¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!*, Burgos's *Guiones del destino* reveals the sexual exploitation of young women – as erotic *cupletistas* – as an underlying consequence of the modern commodification of the female body. In all these cases, evolving conceptions of women's roles clash with conventional understandings of gender relations.

If, as Johnson's theory of social modernism and the aforementioned examples suggest, female-authored kiosk literature is modern in its social consciousness, it is also modern in that it raises important questions about the relationship between *gender* and *genre*. In particular, the gendering of literary history and specific genres as either masculine or feminine, and therefore 'appropriate' for writers of a specific sex, is often problematized in and by these texts. There is an awareness of and engagement with a tradition of popular literature that had been pejoratively considered *feminine*. As mentioned, *La Novela Femenina* is a case in point. The editors make it clear that the collection 'no es una publicación excesivamente blanca, ni excesivamente femenina, aunque el título parezca así indicarlo' (Morales 1925: 2). They assure an implied male reader that the works published will be diverse and 'interesante para el público en general'. Thus, the editors are aware that the *femenina* of the collection's title, which refers to the fact that works are produced by women, risks being misunderstood as works designed specifically for women. Female-authored kiosk literature often wrestles implicitly with the negative valuations that the gendering of popular women's writing produces. Throughout the nineteenth century, popular literature was increasingly gendered as feminine while 'sophisticated' literature like the Realist/Naturalist novel was often associated with the masculine values of reason and objectivity. As Catherine Jagoe has explained about the emergence of the Realist novel in Spain:

Moreover, in the latter part of the [nineteenth] century, we can trace the emergence of a new discursive tactic linking the [pre-realist] novel's inferior literary value with *feminization*, as male writers and critics began to equate what they saw as the need to improve the aesthetic standards of novels with increased textual *virility*. (1993: 230; emphasis added)

Galdós himself, in 'Observaciones sobre la novela contemporánea en España' (1870), dismissed the contemporary popular serial novel as imitative of foreign models, which contributed to the further feminization of popular literature (Blanco 2001: 125). (It is interesting to note that Galdós himself praised kiosk literature and actively contributed to various collections.) Although men made up a higher percentage of the literate population, nineteenth-century popular novels functioned primarily as manuals of moral conduct delivered, at times, to a specifically female public and emphasized a specifically 'feminine' mode of behaviour (Andreu 1982: 51).

However, kiosk literature, as a mass-produced medium born out of the modernization of printing technologies, inherently problematizes the gendered

association of mass culture with the *feminine*. Although texts such as Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna* and Millán Astray's *Las dos estrellas* conform to the conventions of so-called 'feminine' literature, texts by Burgos, Margarita Nelken, Barco, and others actively distance themselves from a popular literary tradition largely made up of sentimental and domestic novels by eschewing these same conventions. Contrary to prevailing sexist stereotypes, texts by all of these women, irrespective of political ideology (even those of Blanca de los Ríos, which are more conservative in their critique of modernity) are all modern in their commitment to theorizing women's place in a changing society. Many, if not all, of these texts reveal a modern self-awareness of being preceded by a series of literary stereotypes (of domestic angels, of self-sacrificing women, of swooning heroines) and plot structures (of adultery and romance), which many go on to subvert in various ways. Thus, they are modern in that they not only actively engage with, dialogue with, criticize and even reimagine literary conventions, but also in that they grapple with what modernity itself, in its many iterations, means for women.

Thus, I hope this brief introduction to women's kiosk literature has shown what can be gained by analysing these works. This also leads to an increased need for cataloging and digitization. As Zamostny writes, '[K]iosk literature's fragility brings us face to face with loss as a condition of modern change today, even as digitization creates the illusion of infinite memory' (2017: 4). The inherent ephemerality of kiosk literature points to why this corpus remains largely understudied today and to the urgent need to digitize these works. After all, kiosk literature was conceived of as a disposable object, and works will continue to deteriorate without more sustained efforts by scholars. Female-authored kiosk literature brings twenty-first-century scholars an understanding of the integral role of women writers, who in many respects were bringing about their own Golden Age of artistic production, in the development and dissemination of popular culture in Spain in the early twentieth century. Although female-authored kiosk literature is not recognized as part of the canonical Silver Age, analysing it reveals that the terms used to periodize literary history often obfuscate historical, social and cultural realities more than they reveal them. Given kiosk literature's inherent relationship to modernity, this genre gives us unique insight into the diverse ways in which women writers carved out their own space in a male-dominated literary scene and, by doing so, were essential protagonists in the social and cultural debates of modern Spain.

Works cited

- Aldaraca, Bridget, 1989. 'The Medical Construction of the Feminine Subject', in *Cultural and Historical Grounding for Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Feminist Literary Criticism*, ed. Hernán Vidal. (Minneapolis, MN: Institute for the Study of Ideologies and Literature), pp. 395–413.
- Andreu, Alicia G., 1982. *Galdós y la literatura popular* (Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería).
- Antorino, Thomas, 2019. 'Gender and the Question of Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain: De-Essentializing Femininity in Ángela Barco's *Fémína* (1910)', *Hispanófila*, 187.1: 79–94.
- , 2022. 'Myth-Busters: Women Writers and the Myths of Modern Male Individualism in Early-Twentieth-Century Spain', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 99.1: 53–79.

- Barco, Ángela, 1910. *Fémina*, El Cuento Semanal, no. 171, 8 April.
- Bieder, Maryellen, 1989. 'En-Gendering Strategies of Authority: Emilia Pardo Bazán and the Novel', in *Cultural and Historical Grounding for Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Feminist Literary Criticism*, ed. Hernán Vidal. (Minneapolis, MN: Institute for the Study of Ideologies and Literature), pp. 473–95.
- , 1995a. 'Gender and Language: The Womanly Woman and Manly Writing', in *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, ed. Lou Charnon-Deutsch and Jo Labanyi. (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 98–119.
- , 1995b. 'Sexo y lenguaje en Pardo Bazán: La deconstrucción de la diferencia', in *Actas del XII Congreso de La Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, 4: 92–99.
- Blanco, Alda, 2001. 'Gender and National Identity: The Novel in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Literary History', in *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, ed. Lou-Charnon-Deutsch and Jo Labanyi. (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 120–36.
- Burgos, Carmen de, 1925. *El brote*, La Novela Cora, no. 491, 18 April.
- , 1930. *¡La piscina!*, La Novela de Hoy, 9. no. 417, 9 March).
- , 1932a. *Guiones del destino*, La Novela de Hoy, no. 510, 4 March.
- , 1932b. *Cuando la ley lo manda*. La Novela de Hoy, no. 518, 29 April.
- C. C., 1909. 'La Vanguardia', *La Cataluña*, 3 July: 419.
- Celaya Carrillo, Beatriz, 2006. *La mujer deseante: sexualidad femenina en la cultura y novela de españoles (1900–1926)* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta).
- El Cuento Semanal*, 1907. 'Nuestro propósito', issue 1, 4 January.
- Ena Bordonada, Ángela (ed.), 1989. *Novelas breves de escritoras españolas: 1900–1936*. Biblioteca de Escritoras 10. (Madrid: Castalia: Instituto de la Mujer).
- , 2001a. 'Jaque al "ángel del hogar": escritoras en busca de la nueva mujer del siglo XX', en *Romper el espejo: la mujer y la transgresión de código en la literatura española, escritura, lectura, textos (1001–2000)*, III Reunión Científica Internacional (Córdoba diciembre 1999). (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba Servicio de Publicaciones), pp. 89–112.
- , 2001b. 'Sobre el público de las colecciones de novela breve', in *Homenaje a Elena Catena* (Madrid: Castalia), pp. 225–44.
- , 2013. 'Introduction', in *La otra Edad de Plata: temas, géneros y creadores (1898–1936)*, ed. Ángela Ena Bordonada. (Madrid: Editorial Complutense), pp. 9–18.
- , 2017. 'La Novela Femenina: A Collection by Women Writers in the 1920s', in *Kiosk Literature of Silver Age Spain: Modernity and Mass Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Zamoshtny and Susan Larson. (Chicago, IL: Intellect), pp. 255–84.
- , 2021. 'La invención de la mujer moderna en la Edad de Plata', *Feminismo/s*, 37: 25–52.
- Espina, Concha, 1927–1928. *Aurora de España*, La Novela de Hoy, no. 528, 22 April.
- , 1929. *La virgen prudente* (Madrid: Renacimiento).
- Gimeno de Flaquer, Concepción, 1909. *Una Eva moderna*, El Cuento Semanal, no. 152, 26 November.
- Granjel, Luis S., 1968. 'La novela corta en España (1907–1936)', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 222: 477–508.
- Jagoe, Catherine, 1993. 'Disinheriting the Feminine: Galdós and the Rise of the Realist Novel in Spain', *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, 27.2: 225–48.
- , 1998. 'Sexo y género en la medicina del siglo XIX', in *La mujer en los discursos de género: textos y contextos en el siglo XIX*, ed. Catherine Jagoe, Alda Blanco, and Christina Enríquez de Salamanca. (Barcelona: Icaria), pp. 305–67.
- Johnson, Roberta, 2003. *Gender and Nation in the Spanish Modernist Novel* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press).
- Kirkpatrick, Judith Ann, 1992. *Redefining Male Tradition: Novels by Early Twentieth-Century Spanish Women Writers*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University.
- Kirkpatrick, Susan, 1999. 'Gender and Modernist Discourse: Emilia Pardo Bazán's *Dulce Dueño*', in *Modernism and Its Margins: Reinscribing Cultural Modernity from Spain and Latin America*, ed. Anthony L. Geist and José B. Monleón. (New York: Garland), pp. 117–39.
- , 2003. *Mujer, modernismo y vanguardia en España: 1898–1931*, trans. Jaqueline Cruz. (Madrid: Cátedra).
- 'La Novela Ideal', 1924. *La Revista Blanca*, 15 October: 4.
- Mangini, Shirley, 2001. *Las modernas de Madrid: las grandes intelectuales españolas de la vanguardia* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península).

- Marañón, Gregorio, 1967. 'Biología y feminismo'. *Obras completas. Tomo III: Conferencias*, ed. Alfredo Juderías. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A.), pp. 9–31.
- Mayoral y Medina, Miguel, 1859. *Discurso pronunciado ante el claustro de la Universidad Central por el licenciado Don Miguel Mayoral y Medina, en el acto solemne de recibir la investidura de doctor en la Facultad de Medicina y Cirugía* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Pedro Morante).
- Millán Astray, Pilar, 1928. *Las dos estrellas*, *Los Novelistas*, no. 11, 24 May.
- Montseny, Federica, 1932. *Una mujer y dos hombres*, *La Novela Ideal*, no. 312, 29 July.
- Morales, María Luz, 1925. *Maestrita rural*, *La Novela Femenina*, no. 1.
- Nash, Mary, 1999. 'Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain', in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff. (Albany: State University of New York Press), pp. 25–49.
- Nelken, Carmen Eva ('Magda Donato'), 1924. *La carabina*, *La Novela de Hoy*, no. 129, 31 October.
- Nelken, Margarita, 1924. *Una historia de adulterio*, *La Novela Corta*, no. 448, 24 May.
- , 1925. *La aventura de Roma*. *La Novela de Hoy*, no. 40, 16 February.
- , 1975. *La condición social de la mujer en España* (Madrid: CVS).
- Núñez Rey, Concepción (ed.), 1989. *La Flor de La Playa y otras novelas cortas*. Biblioteca de Escritoras 8. (Madrid: Castalia/ Instituto de la Mujer).
- Pascual Martínez, Pedro, 2000. 'Las escritoras de novela corta', in *Mujeres novelistas en el panorama literario del siglo XX: I Congreso de Narrativa Española (en lengua castellana)*, ed. Marina Villalba Álvarez. (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha), pp. 67–84.
- Pujante Segura, Carmen M., 2017. 'Between Secrets and Simulations: Women Writers in *La Novela de Noche*', in *Kiosk Literature in Silver Age Spain: Modernity and Mass Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Zamostny and Susan Larson. (Chicago, IL: Intellect), pp. 53–75.
- Rivalan Guégo, Christine, 2015. '¡Completo! *La Novela Femenina* (Barcelona, 1925–1926) ¿un intento militante de colaboración femenina transatlántica?', in *No hay nación para este sexo: la re(d) pública transatlántica de las letras: escritoras españolas y latinoamericanas (1824–1936)*, ed. Pura Fernández. (Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana Ed. Vervuert), pp. 327–46.
- Sáinz de Robles, Federico Carlos, 1975. *La promoción de 'El Cuento Semanal', 1907–1925: un interesante e imprescindible capítulo de la historia de la novela española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe).
- Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa, Alberto, 1996. *Bibliografía e historia de las colecciones literarias en España (1907–1957)* (Madrid: Libris).
- , 2017. 'Literary Collections', in *Kiosk Literature of Silver Age Spain: Modernity and Mass Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Zamostny and Susan Larson. (Chicago, IL: Intellect), pp. 29–51.
- Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa, Alberto, and María Carmen Santamaría, 1997. *La novela mundial* (Madrid: CSIC).
- Sieburth, Stephanie, 1994. *Inventing High and Low: Literature, Mass Culture, and Uneven Modernity in Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Soria, Mar, 2018. 'The Erotics of Urban Female Work in Anarchist Kiosk Literature and the Contradictions of Modernity', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 19.6: 620–35.
- Thön, Sonia, 2010. *Una posición ante la vida: la novela corta humorística de Margarita Nelken* (Madrid: CSIC).
- Urrutia, Louis, 1977. 'Les Collections populaires de romans et nouvelles (1907–1936)', in *L'Infra-littérature en Espagne aux XIXe et XXe siècles: du roman feuilleton au romancero de la guerre d'Espagne*, ed. Victor Carrillo. (Saint Martin-d'Hères: Presses universitaires de Grenoble), pp. 137–63.
- Villarías Zugazagoita, José María, 2003. *Nuestra novela: una colección católica fundamentalista* (Madrid: CSIC).
- Zamostny, Jeffrey, 2017. 'Introduction: Kiosk Literature and the Enduring Ephemeral', in *Kiosk Literature of Silver Age Spain: Modernity and Mass Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Zamostny and Susan Larson. (Chicago, IL: Intellect), pp. 1–27.
- Zamostny, Jeffrey, and Susan Larson (eds), 2017. *Kiosk Literature of Silver Age Spain: Modernity and Mass Culture*. (Chicago, IL: Intellect).
- Zubiaurre, Maite, 2012. *Cultures of the Erotic in Spain, 1898–1939* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press).

Appendix

What follows is a breakdown of all known women authors and the number of titles they produced. It is the most comprehensive list to date, but due to limitations of space I cannot include the titles themselves. For a complete catalogue of authors, titles, and publishers, as well as PDF scans of works, see my recent digital project *Women and Spanish Kiosk Literature (1907–1939): A Digital Archive*, <https://loyola-notredamelib.org/wsns/exhibits/show/the-project-exhibit/the-project-overview>.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Number of titles</i>
Carmen de Burgos	71
Federica Montseny	52
Ángela Graupera	41
Emilia Pardo Bazán	17
Concha Espina	16
Regina Opisso	16
Sofía Casanova	12
Pilar Millán Astray	12
Margarita Nelken	8
Sara Insúa	8
‘Eva León’	8
María Solá	6
María Martínez Sierra (published under her husband’s name)	5
Blanca de los Ríos	4
Adela Carbone (Italian)	4
Margarita Amador	4
Carmen Eva Nelken (Margarita’s sister, writing under the pseudonym ‘Magda Donato’)	3
Antonia Maymón	3
María del Amparo Borrás	3
Cecilia García	3
Matilde Muñoz	2
Rosario Montes	2
Cristina Pérez	2
Celia Morales	2
Dora Ferré	2
Manolita Gutiérrez	2
Carlota O’Neill	2
Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer	1
Ángela Barco	1
Gloria de la Prada	1
Margarita Astray Reguera	1
Ana María Foronda	1
Concha Linares Becerra	1
Regina Opisso	1
‘Clara Isabel de Sade’	1
María Sepúlveda	1
Encarnación Viguri	1
‘Laura Brunet’	1
Libertad de Bosque	1
Antonia Opisso	1

Amalia Carvia	1
Asunción Hernández	1
Joaquina Colomer	1
Marta Espinosa	1
Caterina Albert	1
Lelia Cervera Martínez	1
Condesa de Castellá	1
María Doménech de Cañellas	1
Josefina Escolano Sopena	1
Ivonne Ferrer	1
Carme Karr	1
Leonor Martínez de Cervera	1
Romilda Mayer	1
María Luz Morales	1
María de Olariaga	1
Gloria de la Prada	1
Rosario Pruenca	1
Celsia Regis	1
Elvira Reina	1
María Mercedes Veñasco de Encinas	1
Palmira Ventós y Culell	1