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The Politics of State-Sponsored Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain, 1833-1914

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A thesis submitted to the University of Kent in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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April 2021

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Firstly I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Mark Lawrence, for his patience, constant support and sharing his immense knowledge with me throughout this process. It has not always been an easy journey, but without his dedication, insightful comments and continuous encouragement this thesis would not have been possible. I am deeply grateful for your help and I thank you.

To my second supervisor, Natalia Sobrevilla and supervisory chair, Ben Marsh, Thank you both for your time, support and interest in my research.

Without the help of the help of numerous librarians and archivists conducting the research for this thesis would have been nearly impossible. Thank you to the staff of the: British Library; Archivo Historico, Madrid; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Academia de San Fernando, Madrid and the Archivo y Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Prado. Finally, I would like to give a special thank you to the reference and archival staff at the Archivo General de la Administración. Of the many places that I have conducted research throughout the course of this project, this archive was always my favourite to visit. Each member of staff was incredibly kind and helpful to me during my numerous visits.

A huge thank you to all of my friends and colleagues around the world; particularly Ally, Cole, Elmira, Emma, Harry, Nunzia, Rachael and my PhD cohort in the School of History. Thank you for your ever present enthusiasm, advise and listening about my research when I needed someone to talk to (even if you had no idea what I was talking about!). Thank you all for keeping me sane and never failing to provide me with some much needed laughter and a cup of coffee (or two…).

To my husband Oli, thank you for being my peaceful respite, voice of reason and shoulder to lean on through every moment of this process. Thank you for believing in me when I did not believe in myself, for your unfaltering encouragement, immeasurable patience and care which have helped me beyond what words can express. We have overcome the harrowing experience of our PhDs as well as life's many obstacles hand in hand and I can't wait to start a new (less stressful) chapter of our life together. I love you.

To my parents, I owe all my success to the two of you and I hope that I have made you proud. I could spend a lifetime thanking you for everything that you have done for me and it would not come close to being enough. Thank you for teaching me the value of hard work, dedication and perseverance. Thank you for supporting me during my many ambitious endeavours and throughout my entire life. Thank you for always believing in me and always pushing me to believe in myself and my abilities. I love you so much and I dedicate this piece to the both of you.

S. R. Klein
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
March 2021

List of Figures

Abstract

Nineteenth-century Spain is an era characterized by its almost constant state of political upheaval. Spanning from the era of the First Carlist War to the beginning of the First World War, this thesis uncovers the influential trends, continuities and advancements in official state-sponsored cultural initiatives in nineteenth-century Spain. By viewing culture through the lens of the labyrinth of nineteenth-century Spanish politics, this thesis is able to explore various themes such as nationalism, the role of empire, cultural identity, 'Spanishness' and cultural patrimony, amongst others. Challenging the notion of the 'lost' nineteenth century by traditional scholars and critics alike, this thesis shows how the politics and products of state-sponsored culture of the nineteenth century had an enduring impact on the cultural landscape of modern Spain. This thesis is one of the first studies of its kind in the English language and is largely based off of primary material from a Spanish archive that remains underutilised by researchers- the Archivo General de la Administración.

Introduction

When visiting a new country or city for the first time, tourists often consult guidebooks for maps, local activities and significant locations to visit. In the opening pages of the 2020 edition of the *Top 10: Madrid* guidebook, the reader finds a list of the 'Top 10 Madrid Highlights'; all of the 'must see' attractions for any visitor to the Spanish capital.[1] Of the ten 'world-class' attractions listed, six have a cornerstone in the nineteenth century.[2] However, within the guidebook's list of the 'Top 10 Moments in [Madrid's] History' the nineteenth century is completely ignored.[3] In listing these important milestones in the history of the Spanish capital, the guidebook skips from detailing the 'Insurrection' of 2 May 1808, when the people of Madrid rose up against their French occupiers, to discussing the 'Re-awakening' of 1919, when Alfonso XIII inaugurated the city's first underground line 'after decades of inertia.'[4] The editorial choices of the guide book poses a significant question for scholars of modern Spanish history. Why is the history of nineteenth century Spain, so critical to the history and development of six of the capital's ten 'must-see' landmarks, neglected within the rest of the guide? This omission might seem trivial to travellers when researching a holiday in the Spanish capital, but it echos a broader neglect of the nineteenth-century within popular and academic treatments of modern Spain. Both academically and culturally, the century has been pushed to the fringes of historical consciousness.

[1] Christopher Rice and Melanie Rice, *Top 10: Madrid, 2020* (London: Penguin Random House, 2020)
[2] Ibid., pp. 10-11, 26; The guidebook mentions the Palacio Real (Plaza Oriente), Museo Nacional del Prado (nationalization), Plaza Mayor (statue of Philip III), El Rastro (statue of Eloy Gonzalo and Puerta de Toledo), Parque del Retiro (nationalization and Monument to Alfonso XII) and the Museo Arqueologico Nacional (and Biblioteca Nacional de Espana)
[3] Ibid., pp. 46-47
[4] Ibid., p. 47

In Spain, the nineteenth-century is an era typically framed by its near-constant state of disorder and political turmoil. When discussing the impact of the nineteenth century on Spanish history, it was generally seen as a disaster by both contemporaries of the era and by those retrospectively assessing its impacts on the twentieth century. Spanish politician Francisco Silvela, who served as Prime Minister at the turn of the twentieth century, remarked 'our actual situation is the most calamitous that has been since our nationality was constituted…by the Catholic monarchs' as he took his office[5]. The loss of the American and Pacific colonial empires, the loss of Spanish global prestige, deep regional factionalism, economic crisis and political instability all contributed to this inimical notion. One of the most prominent and outspoken leaders of this point of view was none other than dictator, General Francisco Franco. In 1942, Franco professed that the liberal monarchy and progressive governments of the nineteenth century were directly responsible for losing 'the greatest pieces of [Spain's] *patria*' and for the deterioration of the nation leading up to the Disaster of 1898.[6] Furthermore, he called their actions a 'treasonous' betrayal of the nation that caused the 'sunset of the Spanish Empire' in the nineteenth century.[7] During the inauguration of a monument for José Calvo Sotelo on 13 July 1960 (the Minister of Finance under the military dictator Primo de Rivera and a key figure in the anti-Republican movement) Franco stated that 'Spain's decadent spirit' of the previous century '[had] made it unable for her to continue to be the head of an empire or to shoulder the weight of her former glory.'[8] He continued by audaciously stating that 'I want to erase [the

[5] Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer, *The Last Years of the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1901), p. 520
[6] Juan Pablo Fusi, *Franco: Autoritarismo y poder personal* (Madrid: Taurus, 2011), p. 40
[7] Ibid., p. 40
[8] Ibid., p. 40

nineteenth century] from the history of Spain.'[9] The 'paradigm of failure' narrative that surrounds the study and discussion of the nineteenth-century was perpetuated by a variety of individuals; from foreign travel writers visiting Spain and Spanish art critics in the early 1830s through to the political elites of the latter half of the twentieth century. Contemporary Spaniards of the early nineteenth century, moreover, perceived a notion of Spanish backwardness through its failure to remain culturally relevant or on par with the nation's European neighbours due to sustained domestic military conflicts—from the Napoleonic War of Independence to the First Carlist War. Comparatively, in the twentieth century this view of Spanish 'backwardness' was solely focused on promoting perceived failures of the 'liberal state' and the shortcomings of the nation as a whole to modernise at pace with the rest of the world.[10]

Historiographical Developments on Nineteenth-Century Spain

Among the civil wars, imperial conflicts and political discord that dominated the landscape of the history of nineteenth century Spain, social unrest, economic instability and a national crisis of identity layered together to form an era to which many scholars traditionally found little utility in studying. The 'paradigm of failure' narrative has only come under revision in the last fifty years, and more prominently after the fall of the Franco regime in Spain. More modern historians from differing schools of thought, using varying methodologies, began to reframe established thinking on the century. In starting to ask more dynamic questions, these recent histories have brought to

[9] Ibid., p. 40
[10] This topic will be discussed at length throughout the thesis, for key sources discussing this notion of Spanish 'difference' please see Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 1960); *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Nigel Townson (Brighton: Sussex Academy Press, 2015)

light new areas of inquiry and highlighted where Spain fits into the paradigm of study of Western Europe.[11] Predominately, prior to the refinement of Spanish history by modern historians, Spain had primarily been seen as separate or disengaged from 'mainstream' Europe. The poem *Spain* by WH Auden brilliantly describes this imagined barrier when describing Spain as an 'arid square, that fragment nipped off from hot Africa, soldered so crudely to inventive Europe.'[12] In this thesis, I build on recent innovations in political and social histories of Spain to reassert the importance of the nineteenth-century as a crucial period of continuity and change. The various government's use of state-sponsored culture established continuity throughout the political and social upheaval present in nineteenth century Spain. I contextualise Spain's development in line with the rest of Western Europe, and demonstrate the continued significance that state-sponsored culture of this era carried well into the twentieth century.

Political histories of the nineteenth century emerged in the mid-twentieth century, and focus on the major political discourses of the era. Raymond Carr's foundational history, *Spain 1808-1975*, lays the groundwork for understanding the chaos of nineteenth-century political history in Spain. Carr's study meticulously untangles the web of political events from Spain's War of Independence until the death of Franco. However, the main, and most consequential, portion of the book details the essential understanding of the how the Spanish state functioned throughout the majority of the nineteenth century as well as the reasons for its ultimate failure. Although Carr states that social change in nineteenth-century Spain was considerable, he ultimately

[11] Please see: Nigel Townson, *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015)
[12] WH Auden, *Spain* (Faber and Faber, 1937)

determines that the downfall of the liberal revolution in Spain during the nineteenth century lies with the fundamental failure of the political system.[13] The Spanish political system of the nineteenth century, as outlined by Carr, consisted of an interdependent triad of the crown, the army and political factions or parties.[14] Throughout his work, Carr shows how these institutions grappled against one another and failed to act in unison to create a strong, balanced system of government. According to Carr, the most predominant example of this can be seen in the nineteenth century Spanish phenomenon/tradition of the *pronunciamiento* (pronouncement or declaration). The *pronunciamiento* was a unique, typically bloodless, rebellion led by a small faction of the military in order to mobilise public opinion against the sitting government or monarch. If a *pronunciamiento* gained support from the rest of the military and political factions, then the sitting government would resign or the monarchy would be forced to make changes or could even be deposed. For Carr, the crown's loss of support from the army as well as the major political parties in the middle of the nineteenth century resulted in major *pronunciamientos* and socio-political, revolutionary changes in both 1854 and 1868.[15] Conversely, in 1856 and then again in 1874, the military, bolstered by leading politicians, supported the constitutional monarchy against that of revolutionary coalitions. Understanding the relationship between the monarchy, the military and the state is of critical importance to understanding any history of nineteenth-century Spain. Although Carr achieves this balance convincingly,

[13] Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), p. 1.
[14] Ibid., pp. 210-218.
[15] Carr, *Spain: 1808-1975* (1982), p. 210, The Revolution of 1854, also known as *La Vicalvarada*, ended the Moderate Decade and ushered in the Progressive Biennium in Spanish politics. The Revolution of 1868, or *La Gloriosa*, saw the end of the reign of Isabel I. She was forced to flee Spain due to the armed *pronunciamiento* and a provisional liberal government was installed following her deposition.

he avoids major discussions of social elements such as development of the middle class and cultural factors more broadly.

In comparison to Carr's panoramic political history, Charles A. M. Hennessey takes a more focused approach to political history in his study on Spain's First Republic in *The Federal Republic in Spain: Pi y Margall and the Federal Republican Movement, 1868-1874*. Published in the early 1960s, it was one of the first in-depth studies in English to critically examine the short-lived First Spanish Republic, its origins and its leaders. Specifically, the text disseminates in great detail the interplay between major party members, drawing heavily on unpublished diplomatic papers as well as underutilised contemporary primary material to help frame the complex era of the Democratic Sexennium from 1868-1874. Hennessey highlights this era as the apex of Spanish liberalism culminating in what he describes as a period of rapid social and political change. To Hennessy, Republicanism was a form of national regeneration- it was a movement that intellectually deconstructed barriers of Spain's isolation as well as connected the modern age and renewed ideals of Spain to the rest of the European community.[16] He highlights key figures in this movement, notably Francisco Pi y Margall, a Catalan-born political philosopher, leader of the Federalist movement and President of the fleeting First Spanish Republic. Critically, Hennessey pinpoints that the ultimate failure of the Federalists and the First Republic was not due to the lack of abundant political change, but the lack of social change that accompanied it.[17] What this thesis will show, that Hennessey's political history fails to note, is that although the liberal political agenda of the Democratic Sexennium ultimately failed with the collapse of the First Republic, the official state-sponsored

[16] Charles Alistair Michael Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain: Pi y Margall and the Federal Republican Movement, 1868-74* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. xii.
[17] Ibid., pp. 246-252.

cultural initiatives carried out by the various liberal regimes of this era were of fundamental importance in changing the cultural landscape of Spain- so much so that many of these changes have endured to the present day. While Hennessey's study highlights the political activity from the Revolution of 1868 to the collapse of the First Republic, like most traditional political histories, it does not venture far from the known narrative of the era to explore any impact on social or cultural influences. Hennessey's book exemplifies the orthodox view among historians on nineteenth-century Spain; that the cultural impact of this period was of little to no value and does not merit serious study. In a review of *The Federal Republic in Spain*, Derek Lomax states that Hennessy 'rightly gives [social and cultural factors] little importance, for the political development of Madrid was not seriously affected by such matters and few politicians seem to have understood them.'[18] As this thesis will demonstrate, such statements have little bearing in fact. Culture played a major role in the operations of the Spanish state and in the minds of politicians throughout the nineteenth century. Such historians not only ignore the prevalence of culture and cultural initiatives, but more crucially, the widespread connection that existed between culture, politics and power in the nineteenth century.

While the vast political histories published in the middle of the twentieth century added a greater understanding to the complexities of the interworking of the chaotic nineteenth-century political systems, it was not until the advent of social history that new avenues of inquiry came to light. Social historians since the 1960s developed new approaches to reading Spanish history influenced by the interplay between class dynamics, politics and society as a whole. As social history examines the structures that compose the building

[18] Derek Lomax, 'C. A. M. Hennessy, "The Federal Republic in Spain"', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, n. 40, v. 3 (1963), p. 194.

blocks of society, it is essential to understand how different historians uncovered connections within these numerous facets and then related them to the history and culture of ninetieth-century Spain.[19] By exploring these social histories in depth, we gain an understanding of broader changes and historical trends over time; tempering 'top down' political histories in the process.

In his monograph, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939*, Charles Esdaile provides an expansive history of Spain from the Peninsular War to the end of the Spanish Civil War. As the first major volume in English since the publication of Raymond Carr's *Spain 1808-1975* in 1982, Esdaile blends political, social and military histories together to examine the key areas throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. He explores the enduring impact of the Peninsular War on the social and political atmosphere of nineteenth century Spain as well as the political complexities that existed between the crown, army and the state.[20] Esdaile's expansive work narrates over a century of Spanish history and in doing so he uncovers the various inadequacies and instabilities present in nineteenth century Spain's political and societal institutions that he concludes led to the ultimate failure of Spanish liberalism.[21] In Esdaile's 'War and Politics in Spain: 1808-1814', he again explores nineteenth century Spanish politics of the Peninsular War at the start of the nineteenth century as a vehicle to discuss the notion of 'Spanish difference'. He indicates that both contemporary perceptions and modern studies of Spain have been prejudiced due to centuries of entrenched thinking that Spain is somehow different from the rest of Europe- that Spain is a country that is stuck in the past, home to the Inquisition and the Black Legend and that

[19] Sasha Handley, Rohan McWilliam and Lucy Noakes (eds.), *New Directions in Social and Cultural History* (Bloomsbury: London, 2018), p. 87.
[20] Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).
[21] Ibid.

Spaniards are lazy, prideful, and superstitious.[22] In being seen as 'different' or 'other' by the international community, Esdaile explores how this effected Spain's war effort against the British during the Peninsular War.

The question of Spanish 'difference', both positive and negative, lies at the heart of historical and historiographical treatments of Spain in the nineteenth century. Contemporaries and subsequent historians have often compared Spain to rival European powers France, Britain and Germany in terms of state building and the path towards 'modernity' and 'modernisation'.[23] Since the 1990s, revisionist works have successfully unpacked the loaded meanings of terms such as 'modernisation' in the Spanish context to present a more nuanced treatment of perceived Spanish difference both nationally and internationally. Was nineteenth century Spain a nation apart from broader European developments? Yes and no. It grappled with many of the same historical currents noticeable within other European powers, but these were always shaped in historically and contextually specific ways. European trends, in this sense, cannot be reductively described as a 'European model'. Townson pinpoints that the revolutionary process in Spain was more of an evolutionary progression throughout the nineteenth century rather than a single, radical moment of change in Spanish history.[24]

It is this distinction that recent initiatives have sought to stress. Nigel Townson's *Is Spain Different?: A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries*, is a varied edited collection that delves into the notion of 'Spanishness' and Spanish difference during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The collection contextualises Spanish difference by blending thematic

[22] Charles Esdaile, 'War and Politics in Spain, 1808-1814', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 31, n. 2 (1988), pp. 295-297.
[23] Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1992).
[24] Nigel Townson, 'Spain: A Land Apart?', in Nigel Townson (ed.), *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015), p. 7.

and chronological analysis from authors of differing perspectives. Many of the more traditional markers of Spanish singularity, such as its perceived lack of industrial or bourgeoisie revolution, its waning imperial assets and 'limited' cultural influence, are often comparisons made to Britain, France and Germany- not Europe as a whole.[25] This comparison is significant as contemporary Spaniards believed themselves to be on par with or equal peers to that of these 'more advanced' nations. However, Spain's European counterparts did not reciprocate this notion. The French philosopher Voltaire was quoted as saying, 'we are no better acquainted [with Spain] than with the most savage parts of Africa, and which does not deserve the trouble of being known.'[26] Throughout Townson's volume, it is stated that greater levels of similarity can be found between nineteenth century Spain and 'Southern European' nations including Portugal, Italy and Greece which were perceived internationally as places that were 'stuck in the past' or untouched by modernity; although even here significant variations occurred.[27] The 'European model', in this sense, is often unconvincingly applied to mean 'Western Europe'. Other themes within modern Spain, when looked at in closer detail, highlight more complexity rather than a clear-cut explanation. Debates between Catholic and liberal images of Spain as well as clericalism and anticlericalism, indicate how the European forces of modernity were moulded by national contexts in Spain. The lines between these two camps, Townson reminds us, were neither 'fixed nor homogenous'.[28] Spain's civil wars and revolutionary confrontations of the nineteenth century, specific as these were to the survival of Carlism, had much

[25] Townson, 'Spain: A Land Apart?' (2015), p. 5, 8.
[26] Elena L. Delgado, Jordana Mendelson, and Oscar E. Vázquez, 'Recalcitrant Modernities—Spain, Cultural Difference, and the Location of Modernism,' *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, v. 13 (August–December 2007), p. 107.
[27] Townson, 'Spain: A Land Apart?', (2015) p. 11.
[28] Nigel Townson, 'Anticlericalism and Secularization: A European Exception?', in Nigel Townson (ed.), *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015), p. 70.

in common with the broader revolutionary movements which swept across mainland Europe.[29] As the authors convincingly indicate throughout the book, 'Spain followed its own path to modernization, while sharing much in common with the rest of the Continent, especially Southern Europe'.[30] This thesis posits that the trope of Spanish 'backwardness' that is present in many contemporary accounts of nineteenth century Spain is just that- a stereotype perpetuated by ideas of Romanticism and the legacy of the anti-Spanish Black Legend.[31] Although primary accounts of ideas of Spanish cultural, political and economic 'backwardness' appear in this thesis, these clichés serve only to show the misconception of the progress and advancement throughout the century. This thesis will demonstrate that the concept of modernization was at the forefront of Spanish thought throughout the nineteenth century and will show how political actors used culture as a primary vehicle to showcase Spanish modernity and a collective national identity to its citizens and to the international community.

Borja de Riquer i Permanyer in his 1994 article 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX' ('The Weak Nationalization of Spain in the Nineteenth Century'), contends that the Spanish state inadequately provided the framework for a strong nationalization process on par with the rest of Western Europe and because of this, failed to create a strong nationalization effort through the nineteenth century.[32] Riquer states that the weak construction and operation of the liberal regimes throughout the nineteenth century paled in comparison to

[29] María Cruz Romeo Mateo, 'The Civil Wars of the 19th Century: An Exceptional Path to Modernization', in Nigel Townson (ed.), *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2015), pp. 42–69.
[30] Townson 'Spain: A Land Apart?', p. 11. Also see Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848* (London: Cardinal, 1973).
[31] Javier Fernández Sebastián and Gonzalo Capellán de Miguel, 'The notion of Modernity in nineteenth-century Spain: An example of conceptual history', *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (October 2005)
[32] Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX', *Historia Social,* v. 20, (1994)

the strong regional identities present throughout Spain, notably both Catalan and Basque. He outlines that due to this and constant political turbulence, the centralized Spanish state failed to create channels for a strong integration of nationalized political, cultural, ideological and linguistic programs.[33] In failing to create a new united national consciousness in the Liberal Era, the competing regional identities rejected the integration of a centralized national identity into their society as there were a number of strong regional identities that provided an alternative nationalist sentiments.[34] Borja de Riquer i Permanyer posits that in comparison to the French and Italian models of nationalization, in Spain there was an 'incoherent' and 'uneven social penetration of standardized messages and lack of conviction' for the State's political and administrative nationalizing efforts.[35] He continues saying that the Spanish state was not effective at implementing national political, social, economic or cultural programs as it only 'superficially' manufactured a new Spanish patriotism within the framework of unstable liberal regimes.[36] He goes on to clearly state that 'the Spanish liberal state was ineffective in coordinating and promoting a real economic, cultural and linguistic unification' and it also failed to 'politically integrate the majority of [its] citizens.'[37]

The notion of the perceived 'weakness' of Spanish nationalization efforts in the nineteenth century has since undergone a historiographical renovation by many Spanish historians in recent years. Contrary to the work of Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, it is the stance of this thesis as well as historians Manuel Martí and Ferrán Archilés Cardona, that a unified Spanish national identity was present throughout the vast majority of nineteenth-century Spain. Furthermore,

[33] Riquer i Permanyer, 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX', (1994)
[34] Riquer i Permanyer, 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX', (1994), p. 98
[35] Riquer i Permanyer, 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX', (1994), pp. 98-99
[36] Riquer i Permanyer, 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX', (1994), p. 99
[37] Riquer i Permanyer, 'La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX', (1994), p. 99

throughout the seven decades covered by this this thesis, the Spanish state had continually and effectively promoted nationalization efforts which are still in effect and present in Spain today. Martí and Archilés Cardona make the case that while Spanish nationalism in throughout the nineteenth century followed a unique path to that of other European nations, it nonetheless was a strong and integral part of the Spanish state.[38] As evidence, Martí and Archilés Cardona point out that Spain is one of only three countries in Europe that had not had its continental borders altered since the end of the Napoleonic Wars and as such, Spanish national identity in the nineteenth-century had a firm and consistent footing.[39] Moreover, they state that throughout the Isabelline regime in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Carlist Wars, the war in Africa and other overseas military campaigns forged a new nationalist rhetoric for the Spanish state to capitalize on (a point which will be further discussed in Chapter I of this thesis).[40] During the era of the Liberal Sexennium, the state had a robust program of nationalizing existing institutions and creating national cultural programs. Through the liberal/oligarchic structure of the Restoration, lasting from 1874 well into the twentieth century, had a major stabilizing effect on the nation and as such, the Spanish state was able to 'sufficiently meet all social and political functions.'[41] It was not until the events of 1898 that Spanish national identity had really started to be questioned. The 1898 crisis presented an occasion for the educated urban classes and intellectual elites to question

[38] Manuel Martí and Ferrán Archilés Cardona, 'La construcción de la Nación española durante el siglo XIX: logros y límites de la asimilación en el caso valenciano', *Ayer*, v. 35 (1999),
[39] Martí and Ferrán Archilés Cardona, 'La construcción de la Nación española durante el siglo XIX', (1999), p. 174
[40] Martí and Ferrán Archilés Cardona, 'La construcción de la Nación española durante el siglo XIX', (1999); this point will also be elaborated on in Chapter I
[41] Martí and Ferrán Archilés Cardona, 'La construcción de la Nación española durante el siglo XIX', (1999), pp. 174-175

basis of Spain's identity.[42] Further countering Riquer's argument that strong regional nationalisms disrupted the nationalization process, Martí and Archilés Cardona state that it was not until the beginning part of the twentieth century that the consolidation of Catalan nationalism, that came with considerable political support, managed to considerably challenge the collective Spanish identity built throughout the nineteenth century.[43] This thesis strongly contends that the various nationalizing efforts of the Spanish state in the nineteenth century were hugely impactful in creating a centralized national identity.

Scholars have articulated various explanations of 'nationalism' and 'national identity', drawing on the critical period of nineteenth century state-building. For Ernest Renan, writing in the 1880s, 'nationalism' relates to a metaphysical 'soul', a 'spiritual family' of peoples.[44] For some scholars nations and nationalism arose together (with nationalism creating nations), whilst others are more reserved in tying these phenomena together.[45] Debates on nationalism were driven forward by Benedict Anderson's influential concept of 'imagined communities' in the 1980s—denoting the social and cultural construction of imaginary bonds tying peoples together.[46] Furthermore as historian Carlos Reyero Hermosilla discusses, the repetition of uniquely Spanish characters and symbols throughout the nineteenth century formed a coherent discourse in which one could clearly recognize the 'national soul' of Spain.[47] Reyero Hermosilla goes on to suggest that as the nation is at its core the result of an 'intellectual construction' and that the artistic and cultural symbols which

[42] José Alvarez Junco, 'La nación en duda', in Juan Pan-Montojo, ed., *Más se perdió en Cuba: España, 1898 y el fin de siglo* (Madrid, 1998)
[43] Martí and Ferrán Archilés Cardona, 'La construcción de la Nación española durante el siglo XIX', (1999), p. 175
[44] Ernest Renan, *What Is a Nation?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018 [1882]).
[45] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Lord Acton, 'Nationality', in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso, 1996), p. 21.
[46] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
[47] Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, 'El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia. El uso espacio-temporal de pinturas y monumentos en España' in *Arbor, v. 185* n. 740 (2009), p. 1197

form the building blocks of the nation can be transformed, or manipulated, in different circumstances to form new ideas of the nation based on political ideology.[48] For example, a painting can take on different meanings depending on the lens and viewpoint of the viewer; to one it may just serve an aesthetic purpose, but to another viewer in a different time, the same painting can be imbued with meaning and seen as a national icon. The same image at different times and places can be used to seek different aims.[49]It is within this rich historiography that discussion on Spanish nationalism in the age of nationhood sits. For Jose Álvarez Junco, Spain represents something of an anomaly. Unlike other European nations, a cohesive nationalist project struggled to take off in Spain.[50] Regional Spanish identities are rife, but this is explained by an implicit or explicit hostility to broader Spanish identity.[51] Spanish national identity, he urges, is best explored through political-cultural analysis. Focusing on Madrid as the political and geographical capital of the country- exploring Spanish national identity from its creation at the centre to its dissemination to the peripheries– forms a useful starting point. For Álvarez Junco, the Spanish nationalist project was distinctly top-down; a programme engineered by elite figures in their re-shaping and re-imagining of Spain during a period of imperial insecurity. As historian Sebastian Balfour has asserted, empire in Spain was not only a symbol of status on the world stage during the height of western European colonisation in the nineteenth century, but also a symbol of national strength and identity.[52] The thesis also finds advantages in focusing on Madrid as its unit of analysis, as it considers how state-sponsored cultural

[48] Reyero Hermosilla, 'El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia', (2009), p. 1198
[49] Reyero Hermosilla, 'El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia', (2009), p. 1198
[50] Jose Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[51] Ibid, p. 2.
[52] Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 48-50.

products contributed to ideas of Spanish identity at different moments across the nineteenth century.

Themes of empire, nationalism and memory are intertwined in Christopher Schmidt-Nowara's *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century.*[53] Perceptions of Spanish national identity at this time were, perhaps unsurprisingly, shaped by a wider imperial context. Identities in the metropole were crafted in relation to the shifting context of empire—one which was in rapid decline. Justification for Spain's existing colonial holdings after the loss of the majority of the Americas required a reformulation of cultural and collective symbols (both in Spain and Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines). The continued 'conquest of history' to support imperial insecurities was a conflict waged by contemporary historians, although this did not produce coherent messages. The mobilisation of Christopher Columbus, for example, formed an important component of the cement Spanish nationalists used in re-crafting the memory of Spain's history– with colonialism at its core. Historians transformed the sixteenth century image of Columbus returning to Spain chain-bound with the heroic, pioneering adventurer who discovered the Americas and spread Spanish values around the globe. Yet imperial subjects, particularly those with republican or revolutionary hopes for Cuba, resisted this re-working; forcefully deploying older images of Columbus to generate alternative representations to imperial frameworks. The Columbus example is one of many within this vein. Whist cultural and political figures may have found utility in recasting the present image of empire based on re-writings of Spain's imperial history, this was not without complication.

[53] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006).

Historian Kate Ferris' *Imagining 'America' in Late Nineteenth Century Spain* shows how notions of America and the American way of life impacted elements of the socio-political landscape of late nineteenth century Spain. This comparative study reveals how the Spanish government imagined Spain's 'place' in global society and to what extent their efforts were successful both nationally and internationally.[54] To contemporary Spaniards, the United States was the epitome of modernity and as such, the United States served as a kind of conjectural testing site for the development of contemporary liberal political ideas, theoretical democratic and social reforms and modern technological innovations.[55] Public discourse throughout late nineteenth century Spain focused heavily on the United States. Contemporary Spanish newspapers such as *El Imparcial* and *La Epoca* even went as far as to deem the United States the 'young' or 'model Republic'.[56] Spanish politicians, such as Rafael Maria de Labra, Emilio Castelar and Francisco Pi y Margall, attempted to model Spanish constitutional policies after the United States Constitution and education reform. Incidentally, as Ferris explains, not all perceptions of the United States in Spain were positive. Beginning as early as 1820, American politicians began to show strong interest in purchasing Cuba. President Thomas Jefferson wrote of the 'the most interesting addition' that Cuba would make to the value of the United States.[57] In the view of the United States, the dwindling Spanish empire was regarded as a weak and barely living entity. Additionally, due to the predominance of Spanish culture in its former colonies and remaining imperial vestiges, the Hispanic world was seen as a group of 'living museums'.[58] Their

[54] Kate Ferris, *Imagining 'America' in Late Nineteenth Century Spain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 2.
[55] Ibid., p. 2.
[56] Ibid., p. 59.
[57] Ibid., p. 11.
[58] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), p. 6.

'Spanishness' persisted in stark contrast to the 'noble virtues', such as modernism, in the United States.[59] Historically, the United States has always shown varying levels of interest in Cuba, much to the alarm of the Spanish public and government. Mid-century filibustering attempts in Congress, with the aim of soliciting the Cuba's annexation form Spain, and the American government's plan to purchase the island from the Spanish government largely tampered with Spanish attitudes towards the United States.[60] The continued and growing interest in Cuba was seen as American aggression and potential military competition to Spanish interests in the Caribbean. This constant political threat coupled with technological and economic advancement from the United States manifested into a tense relationship between the two countries which eventually led to war in 1898. Contemporary Spaniards were both impressed and threatened by the United States. Spaniards saw the United States as the model of a modern liberal utopia, a symbol of social progress, and a standard for political, technological and economic advancement. At the time them, they understood American imperial ambitions as a threat to their international affairs. [61] Ferris outlines that the changing positive and negative perceptions of the United States played a definitive role in shaping Spain's political, intellectual and social environment as Spaniards tried to fashion a 'modern empire' towards the end of the nineteenth century. [62]

Similar to Ferris' comparative approach highlighting Spain's views of America throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, M. Elizabeth Boone's *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality": Spain and America at the World's Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876–1915* presents a comparable

[59] Ibid.
[60] Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 7.
[61] Ferris, *Imagining 'America'* (2016), p. 14.
[62] Ibid., p. 11

assessment through the lens of culture. Boone expertly highlights the relationship between the United States and Spain in the nineteenth century by examining Spanish representation and participation in numerous international cultural events from 1876 to 1915, such as World's Fairs and International Exhibitions.[63] In doing so, Boone illuminates how perceptions of Spain and Spanish culture as 'other' held by international audiences obstructed the government's plans for cultural distinction and the recognition of their historical legacy on the global stage. Furthermore, she asserts that through the participation in these international events, the Spanish government endeavoured to define a new 'state-sponsored memory' or image of Spain that displayed the nation's significant contributions to the history of the Western world while at the same time presenting a modernised peer to United States, France or Great Britain (putting to rest any notions of Spanish backwardness).[64] While both Ferris and Boone recognise the value in this type of trans-Atlantic comparative study, this approach limits the scope of their work both thematically and chronologically. This thesis will draw upon certain aspects of comparative analyses used to contextualise the US/Spanish relationship throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in the latter chapters. Additionally, numerous case studies will be presented throughout the thesis as examples of the use of official culture as an extension of the state by various government regimes to form a stronger sense of cohesive nationhood, showcase developing modernity and demonstrate the historically significance role that Spain played in the development of the Western world.

[63] Mary Elizabeth Boone, *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality": Spain and America at the World's Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876–1915* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).
[64] Ibid., p. 40

A notable example present throughout the thesis is the examination of monuments, memorials and official cultural sites scattered around Madrid.[65] Memorials and monuments constitute important sites where politics and culture collide. Occupying public spaces, they are often designed to fulfil specific political functions through their binding of communities. This public dynamic needs to be tempered by their personal and emotional dimensions, however.[66] These spaces constitute locations where people's feelings and emotions are worked through. This is perhaps unsurprising given that monuments and memorials are created to commemorate rupture moments in history—such as wars, periods of national instability or triumph as well as revolutions and its heroes. In the twentieth-century European context, for example, memorials emerged in large numbers (in specific political forms and more organically) as a way to process the impact of mass death during and after the First World War. As Pierre Nora highlights, periods of rupture are always prone to the mobilisation and politicisation of the past.[67]

The massaging of emotional economies through the mobilisation of the past is a useful trend developing within the historiography on memorialisation. Writing in the context of modern America, for example, Erika Doss contends that the sharp rise in memorials in modern times constitutes a deliberate attempt to massage public anxieties and insecurities. This 'memorial mania', a term she uses to describe the mass proliferation of memorials in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, highlights an 'obsession with issues of memory and history and an urgent desire to express and claim those issues in visibly public

[65] This thesis does not exclusively cover monuments and memorials in Madrid- there is ample discussion about cultural sites in Barcelona, Cuba and the United States. Please see Chapters III and IV for details.
[66] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 10.
[67] Pierre Nora, 'Between History and Memory: Les Lieux De Mémoire', *Representations*, vol. 26 (1989), pp. 7–25.

contexts'.[68] Memorials, she urges, are used to represent and articulate complex emotions including grief, fear, gratitude, shame and anger. They are 'archives of public affect, repositories of feelings and emotions' embodied in material forms.[69] Of course, the variety of memorials and spaces in which they are located often explains what kinds of emotion or memory they are concerned with. Local or regional memorials often display stark differences to national memorials, for example. Given the present study's concern with Madrid as an imperial capital, the monuments selected for analysis evoke historical, national and metropolitan identities rather than distinctly local or regional ones. In their evocation of past national memory, state-sponsored monuments and memorials reveal something of the political concerns of ruling governments in the specific historical moment(s) in which they were created. Reading the construction of memorials in this way—as cultural signifiers of shifting trends in nineteenth-century Spanish politics—provides a very different lens through which to assess national identity politics and statecraft. Gauging the impact or reception of monuments remains a more difficult task, as this relies on anecdotal evidence in local/regional newspapers. Despite this lack of evidence, I argue that memorials (and the political discourses surrounding them) are useful tools in understanding the relationship between politics and society in nineteenth century Spain. The monuments, memorials and official cultural sites focused on in this thesis are unique in that they serve not only as markers of a specific moment in history but as valuable archival sources themselves within the urban landscape of the capital- a series of tangible public primary sources. These monuments and cultural sites are national landmarks, funded by the Spanish

[68] Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2011), p. 2. For more on the development of memorials and monuments across the nineteenth century in Europe, see Lars Berggren, 'The "Monumentomania" of the Nineteenth Century: Causes, Effects, and Problems of Study', in Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (eds.), *Memory and Oblivion* (Kluwer Academic Publishers: Boston, 1999), pp. 561–566.
[69] Doss, *Memorial* Mania, p. 13.

government, and as such continue to preform as an extension of the state. In order to perpetuate notions of a collective memory, societies need constant reminders of these associations. National monuments, memorials and cultural sites can draw tangible continuities between the past and the present. As Maurice Halbwachs states, 'there are no perceptions without recollections.'[70]

Of course, the study of material culture and memory has its roots in cultural historical approaches which constituted a 'turn' in historical studies from the 1990s. It is along these lines that this thesis focuses on the connection between cultural and political history. These two methods are naturally suited-culture inherently has political dimensions and political histories of Spain in the nineteenth century have broadly neglected the important role that culture played in shaping the development of the century. An excellent example of this approach exists in art historian Oscar E. Vázquez's *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain*. Vázquez's work is unique in that it expands on the typical methodological approaches of art historians by examining the relationship between art/culture and the economic, urban and administrative history of the beginning half of the nineteenth century, particularly during the Isabelline regime. In coupling these social and political histories, Vázquez skilfully analyses economic trends in the art market of Madrid, the effect of the state-sponsored urban re-planning of Madrid during the 1850s on the audience of art and culture in the capital, as well the crown's involvement in the economic impact of state patronage.[71] To date, Vázquez's study is the only work to utilise interdisciplinary methods that showcases the true importance that state-sponsored culture had in nineteenth century Spain.

[70] Sarah Anne Carter, *Object Lessons: How Nineteenth-Century Americans Learned to Make Sense of the Material World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 169. This text was originally published in 1925.
[71] Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

However, Vázquez's work is limited in its chronology- only examining the Isabelline era in great detail. This study in particular highlights a general issue with cultural histories. Broadly, cultural approaches tend to be more concerned with specific representation(s) rather than broader historical currents, as is typically seen in social or political history. This thesis stretches cultural history beyond its usual limitations by focusing on a longer time period of dynamic political and social upheaval. In examining a period of over eight decades from an interdisciplinary perspective, this thesis draws on a diverse source base to present a unique evaluation of the important role that state subsidised culture played in shaping the history of the nineteenth century.

Methods and Aims

This thesis investigates and analyses the politics of state-sponsored culture and its outcomes from the First Carlist War, beginning in 1833, to the beginnings of the First World War. In doing so, the goal is not to necessarily fully rewrite the cultural narrative of nineteenth-century Spain, but to complicate it by reframing and highlighting the vital role which state-sponsored culture played in the development of nineteenth-century politics. As Carlos Reyero Hermosilla states, history, art and culture are not autonomous to the influence of political agendas.[72] A number of core research questions lie at the heart of this study. How was state-sponsored culture used and what was its importance in the context of nineteenth century Spain? Were there specific themes or institutions that were targeted? Was there any continuity between changing political regimes? And broadly, what outcomes did this have for each regime and what did that mean for the nation as a whole as it entered into the twentieth-century?

[72] Reyero Hermosilla, 'El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia', (2009), p. 1198

In order to trace this complex history, and its implicit connections with state-sponsored culture, this study blends cultural and political approaches—assessing the ways in which politics and public history collided. Theoretically, the thesis offers a two-pronged synthesis–exploring the political history of nineteenth-century Spanish culture whilst simultaneously offering a cultural reappraisal of Spanish politics in contemporary context. Blending cultural and political approaches in this way seems a natural choice given the wider impact of cultural history on political history–resulting in 'new political histories' attuned to the broader circulation of power politics in society.[73] In the context of nineteenth-century Spain, such an approach offers distinct advantages. It allows for the re-consideration of state-sponsored cultural initiatives as extensions of state power, and an examination of what this says about state power during the period, as well as considering the century's turbulent political transformations through the prism of culture. Culture, as the thesis demonstrates, has inherently political elements; political elites and the monarchy also depended on the influential power of culture to create a modicum of stability throughout the chaos of nineteenth century Spain.

The thesis brings the most recent innovations in cultural history to bear on the context of nineteenth-century Spanish politics–including themes of public history, gender, memory, and their intersection with materiality.[74] Tracing the significant place of museums, art, national fairs, international exhibitions and national moments as sites where the political and cultural collided in physical form, it considers the wide variety of forms in which state-sponsored cultural power was exercised. As Sasha Handley, Rohan McWilliam

[73] David M. Craig, '"High Politics" and the "New Political History"', *Historical Journal* vol. 53, no. 2 (2010), pp. 453–75.
[74] Joan Scott, 'A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review* vol. 91, no. 5 (1986), pp. 1053–75; Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* vol. 26 (1989), pp. 7–24.

and Lucy Noakes highlight, the act of looking and of relating objects and things involves 'deconstructing the visual conventions of a culture' as well as the power dynamics behind those cultural forms.[75] Whilst a number of historians have begun using these methods for similar purposes–notably, as we have seen, Oscar E. Vázquez–the analysis of materiality has not been used to assess the dynamic relationship between state-sponsored culture and its connections to political change across the nineteenth-century explicitly. The thesis also investigates the integral role that empire and imperial conflicts played in nineteenth-century Spanish politics (such as that of Morocco and Cuba) and how this was subsequently represented within state-sponsored cultural products.

For the purpose of this thesis, state-sponsored cultural initiatives will be the main focus of primary analysis. The study of culture remains open to virtually endless interpretation. Since the emergence of 'new cultural history' in the 1980s, historians began drawing on the anthropological innovations of Clifford Geertz in order to reassess culture beyond focus on historical elites.[76] At its core, cultural histories, unlike social histories, are concerned with *representations* in history (rather than structures or processes) and how those representations influence historical discourse(s). A variety of sub-fields have emerged since the onset of cultural historical approaches, including gender history, memory studies, and historical approaches to race. Questions of power, who has power and how it is circulated through various different mediums, remain central to these histories. As such, cultural historians typically utilise a range of sources in order to re-construct marginality– comparing more familiar

[75] Sasha Handley, Rohan McWilliam and Lucy Noakes (eds.), *New Directions in Social and Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 85.
[76] Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1989); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Hutchinson: London, 1973).

archival documents and official papers with cultural products including newspapers, statues, monuments and art. Of course, cultural methods feature a range of limitations. Cultural histories often fixate on narrow time periods or micro historical themes. They have a tendency to divorce themselves from wider patterns of meaning; failing to link their conclusions with broader historical trends. Any cultural historical approach must therefore be mindful of these limitations and seek to temper them with additional methods.

As David Lloyd and Paul Thomas suggest, the development of the modern state during the eighteenth-century played a crucial role in contemporary understandings of the relationship between the state and culture.[77] Lloyd and Thomas define the modern state as 'an institution that derives from the people and one which expresses at a higher level the still developing essence of that people.[78] Furthermore, the development of this relationship can be explored when one considers the influential nature that culture can have on a nation's people when creating a cohesive sense of national pride, identity—what Benedict Anderson calls 'imagined' communities.[79] State-sponsored culture then, for the purposes of this thesis, refers to the elements of official cultural programs, laws, policies or initiatives that were funded by and/or promoted by the Spanish government at the time of its creation relating to the arts, heritage, history, education and national identity. The thesis does not explore state subsidized propaganda products (such as posters or short films) but rather focuses on the Spanish government's more permanent or semi-permanent cultural initiatives, including national/international events, official political decrees, architectural changes to Madrid's landscape, as well as the creation or dismantling of specific

[77] David Lloyd and Paul Thomas, *Culture and The State* (London: Routledge, 1998).
[78] Ibid., p. 3.
[79] Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*

organizations and institutions throughout the nineteenth century. This was done as a way of analysing the most consequential (versus ephemeral) elements of official culture, and its enduring impact upon target audiences. State-sponsored culture is a distinct term devised for this thesis; it is related to but maintains a clear difference to similar terms like propaganda, political culture and royal patronage. Propaganda emerged out of growing literacy rates and the development of technology to be able to spread cultural products to a wider audience. In doing so, propaganda tended to be serially produced by agents with varying agendas. 'Propaganda' also means different things at different times. Its modern meaning was born of the total war era, and transformed radically during the age of totalitarianism and dictatorship in 1930s Europe. These typically ephemeral pieces were characterized by a highly charged, bias or misleading political message. Royal patronage is benefaction for projects by the monarch. As patron of the arts, royal patronage was typically used to fulfill an aesthetic function for the adornment of private buildings or galleries. These commissions were usually given to elites who were in favour with the current regime. State-sponsored culture explores elements of political culture and can also contain elements of royal patronage, but in the political system of nineteenth century Spain, the Spanish State was the main proprietor of large scale cultural programs, nation wide initiatives such as education reform, national/international events, as well as primary the administrator for governing and funding of cultural institutions. For the purposes of this thesis, State-sponsored culture is a tool that exercises political authority to selectively interoperate the past in order to create a historical narrative that legitimizes contemporary political agendas. State-sponsored culture throughout the nineteenth century was used in a variety of situations, but namely was the used by regimes to reinforce political strategies and

policies through culture initiatives. In doing so, the state-sponsored culture propagated by the varying regimes of the Spanish state throughout the nineteenth century created a unique situation unlike any before in Spanish history.[80]

Serving Spain as capital since the late sixteenth century, Madrid serves as the backdrop for this thesis. The city is seat of the Spanish government and the home to many prominent intuitions, intellectuals, universities, museums and theatres. As the political and cultural hub of the Spanish state, the government chose to centre the majority of its state-sponsored cultural initiatives in Madrid. As outlined by María Ángeles Layuno Rosas, the creation of cultural districts all through Madrid aided in the physical and ideological impression of the city as the capital of Spanish culture.[81] The presence of museums and other cultural landmarks, monuments, plazas and cultural institutions '[generate a] collective public space and collective memory' through its function as a social space, a site of prominent architecture and integral piece of the urban landscape of Madrid.[82] These cultural districts created and maintained by the Spanish state, such as the Paseo del Prado, Plaza de Oriente, Puerta del Sol, and Plaza Mayor, display the integral role that state-sponsored cultural initiatives played in generating an alternative to older collective ceremonial spaces, such as churches or universities, that were accessible to all Spanish citizens and tourists alike. In Madrid, these cultural sites serve as an 'urban monument' and symbol of the modern nation.[83]

Whilst the Madrid served as the premier site for the political mobilisation

[80] Ainhoa Gilarranz Ibáñez, El Estado y el arte. Historia de una relación simbiótica en la España liberal 1833-1875 (Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2021)
[81] María Ángeles Layuno Rosas, 'Las funciones del museo en la construcción del espacio urbano: El Paseo del Prado en Madrid', *Arte y Ciudad - Revista de Investigación*, v. 10, (2016)
[82] Ángeles Layuno Rosas, 'Las funciones del museo en la construcción del espacio urbano, (2016), p. 130
[83] Ángeles Layuno Rosas, 'Las funciones del museo en la construcción del espacio urbano, (2016), p. 132

of culture, a much larger cultural geography also existed. In the nineteenth century, regional nationalisms developed very strongly throughout the Spanish empire, particularly in Catalonia and in Cuba.[84] These independent regional identities served as a form of counterculture that the official Spanish government worked to thwart by producing strong messages of a cohesive national Spanish identity in the capital of the Empire through constant production of official state-sponsored projects. No matter the political orientations of the government in control, the focus was always concentrated on the centralised state as the priority. In addition to strong regional and imperial identities, the nineteenth century Spain was continually redrafting the relationship that existed between the Church, Crown and the State. In the nineteenth century, the Church was no longer the sole legitimate source of authority in Spain. The death of Ferdinand VII and the onslaught of the First Carlist War had thrust the Church into an environment where it openly faced harsh criticism, widespread anticlericalism and clashed, sometimes aggressively, with the Spanish liberal state.[85] As stated by William Callahan, the liberal Spanish state throughout the nineteenth century dictated that the Church conform and adapt to a changing modernized secular society.[86] Though many politicians were practicing Catholics, the rebuffing of the Spanish state against Church involvement in secular affairs, such as politics and education, caused considerable social and political friction. Additionally, the Church was replaced as a primary patron of the arts in Spain by the Crown, the state and, by the end

[84] See Angel Smith, *The Origins of Catalan Nationalism, 1770-1898* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race Nation and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999) and David Sartorius, *Ever Faithful: Race, Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013) for studies on competing regional nationalisms to that of the official state-sponsored cultural production of Madrid.
[85] William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Spanish Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 145-146
[86] Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Spanish Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (1984), p. 146

of the century, a growing middle class.[87] Throughout the nineteenth century, the role of the Church would shift considerably; ranging from an organization more robustly involved in Spanish politics and society to being an exclusively religious or philanthropic entity and everywhere in between.[88]

As Eric Hobsbawm noted, 'nations do not make states and nationalisms, but the other way round.'[89] As the Spanish government made up the political seat of the nation, it was able to control and promote its own ideals of Spanish nationalism that were officially produced through its state-sponsored cultural initiatives which went hand-in-hand in the formation of a constructed national identity.[90] Throughout this thesis, the term 'national identity' appears with relative frequency. Drawing from John Breuilly's work on nationalism, the thesis understands 'national identity' to constitute 'the maintenance and continual reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that form the distinctive heritage of the nation'.[91]

Intricate military and political histories have cemented the nineteenth-century as an afterthought in modern treatments of Spanish history. In producing this piece of work, I hope to soften the artificial boundaries that exist between political, military, imperial, artistic and cultural history. Recent innovations within and beyond the study of Spain reveal the utility of interdisciplinary methods.[92] In order to achieve the most thoroughly researched

[87] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection*, (2001)
[88] Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Spanish Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (1984)
[89] Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 10
[90] Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-14.
[91] John Breuilly, 'Changes in the political uses of the nation: continuity or discontinuity?, in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 68.
[92] For excellent examples of the benefits of interdisplinary research regarding nineteenth century Spain, please see: Mary Elizabeth Boone, *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality": Spain and America at the World's Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876–1915* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (University Park:

project within the scope of such an undertaking, this study utilises archives in the United Kingdom and the United States, but places the most predominant amount of emphasis on archival material found in Spain. Specific to this thesis, a relatively unknown government archive was used in collating the majority of the primary material for this study. The Archivo General de la Administración, located in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, is the largest government archive in Spain and the third largest archive, in terms of volume, in the world.[93] Perhaps because of its location outside of the capital, the Archivo General de la Administración remains relatively untouched by both Spanish and English-speaking researchers.[94] The documents uncovered from this under-utilised institution form an essential pillar of the primary material of this thesis, and as such, many of the primary sources presented throughout this thesis have yet to be considered by historians. Aside from the Archivo General de la Administración, the collections of major national archives and libraries were consulted in detail such as those as the Archivo Histórico Nacional and Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid as well as the British Library in London. Furthermore, the archives, libraries and collections of cultural institutions such as the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and the Museo Nacional del Prado proved to be of great significance to this thesis. Lastly, many observations were gathered from time spent in person searching for and examining specific monuments, plazas and buildings around Madrid in great detail that pertained to thesis.

Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Ignacio Peiró Martín, *En los altares de la patria: La construcción de la cultura nacional española* (Madrid: Ediciones AKAL, 2017).

[93] Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte: Archivos Estatales, 'Presentación del Archivo General de la Administración', 12 October 2014.

[94] Only one book I have come across throughout the last five years of research has cited the Archivo General de la Administración. Please see: Eugenia Afinoguénova, *The Prado: Spanish Culture and Leisure, 1819-1939* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017) for this lone reference. Many works from various disciplines could have benefited from the rich resources that this archive has to offer. Scholars of imperial history, cultural history, political history and social history can find an abundance of unpublished material for future scholarship.

This thesis aims to shed new light on the importance of state-sponsored cultural initiatives of the nineteenth century and depict how the ever-evolving and continually fluctuating government/political structures influenced these cultural outputs. Spanish politics and political events are of vital importance to this study. A complete understanding of the use and influence of state-sponsored culture in nineteenth century Spain cannot be understood without having a sound basis of the complex political situation and key players of each political phase throughout the century. That being said, the discussion and analysis of each chapter of this thesis is presented alongside a chronological narrative of the era's major political events.

Chronology, Scope, and Chapter Overviews

Chronologically, the thesis spans the time period from the First Carlist War, beginning in 1833, to the start of the First World War in 1914. Whilst its primary focus remains on state-sponsored culture, it connects this history with broader themes in modern political and cultural history; including regionalism, race, religion and gender as well as analysing key themes that cut across each chapter such as the role of empire and the importance of museums, national monuments, cultural sites and the creation of a cohesive national identity. This study opens with an analysis of the impact of the reign of Isabel II and the enduring effects of the First Carlist War on state-sponsored culture in the first half of the nineteenth-century. After an evaluation of the origins of Carlism and its significance, this chapter examines Juan Álvarez Mendizábal's *desamortización eclesiástica*, or ecclesiastical disentailment, in great detail.[95] While Mendizábal's disentailment has been studied previously by many historians, such as Francisco Simón Segura and Francisco Tomás y Valiente, for

[95] Please see Chapter I, pages 52-60 of this thesis for more on this topic

its wide ranging social and economic impacts, this study uncovers a previously hidden cultural discourse surrounding the political side effects and unintended cultural ramifications of this act.[96] As will be detailed in Chapter I, Mendizábal's *desamortización* inadvertently provoked a series of major cultural reforms, the implementation of a series of cultural patrimony laws and the formation of Spain's first national museum that were all supported by the Isabelline regime. Furthermore, Chapter I discusses how the fluctuating governments under the reign of Isabel II, from 1833 to 1868, used elements of state-sponsored cultural mechanisms to create symbols of a shared national history and culture, and created national heroes centred on the collective Spanish nation. In 1833, the Ministerio de Fomento, Ministry of the Interior, was created as a 'superministry' that oversaw the restructuring of government sub-delegations and their funding.[97] This political restructuring (coupled with an increase in public expenditure by the Isabelline regime) led to the allocation of funds for public projects, artworks, the modernisation of landmark plazas in Madrid and the creation of national spectacles such as the bi-annual *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes*. By publicly and overtly associating images of the young Queen Isabel II with these cultural landmarks and modernisations throughout the Spanish capital, the government attempted to legitimise their queen in the midst of a civil war, fight notions of Spanish 'backwardness' which persisted both nationally and internationally, as well as create a national Spanish identity legitimised by the state. Moreover, the ministers of Isabel II furthered this tactic by creating clear and unmistakable associations in literary works and artworks,

[96] Please see Francisco Simón Segura, *La desamortizacioón espanñola en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Ministerio de Hacienda, 1973) and Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *El marco político de la desamortización en España* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1977) for more discussion on this topic.

[97] Diego López Garrido, *La Guardia Civil y Los Orígenes Del Estado Centralista* (Barcelona, 1982), pp. 37-39.

such as murals in public buildings, between Isabel II and the historic kings of Spain's past as well as her famous and beloved namesake, Isabel I.

Chapter II begins by detailing the Glorious September Revolution of 1868 which resulted in Queen Isabel II fleeing to France in exile and the creation of a provisional liberal government which took command of the Spanish state for the next six years. This era in Spanish history, known as the Liberal or Democratic Sexennium, was turbulent and in many ways unique. After the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy and Isabel II, the Provisional Government of the Republic, headed by the leaders of the Revolution, immediately started to make sweeping cultural changes to the Spanish capital; such as renaming streets to represent key figures of the Revolution, the immediate publication of literature immortalizing the heroes of the Revolution, the creation of new periodicals and journals dedicated to, and run by, supporters of the revolutionary government. However, after nearly two years after the Glorious Revolution of 1868, Spain was still without a monarch or permanent leader. Chapter II then unpacks the subsequent intricate political periods of the Liberal Sexennium including the reign of the elected king Amadeo I, his abdication as well as the rise and fall of the First Spanish Republic. Through investigating these complex and rapid political changes within the fragile era of the Liberal Sexennium, this study exposes the important impact that state-sponsored culture initiatives had on the nationalisation of the Spanish state in the midst of revolution, imperial conflict in Cuba and social unrest. This had an enduring legacy which persisted through the various other political regimes of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries through to today. Even in the chaos from the 'Glorious' September Revolution, the Spanish revolutionary leaders determined that there was enormous potential in nationalisation initiatives; spending as they did a great

deal of funds on state-sponsored cultural projects such as the nationalisation of the Museo del Prado, the nationalisations the Parque del Buen Retiro, the creation of new museums focused on the Spanish Empire and academic societies as well as the creation of places of public memory that celebrated the glory of the Spanish nation. [98] This chapter analyses the relationship that existed between the complex political situation of this period and compares state-sponsored cultural policies, initiatives and public programs and their long-term successes within the political context of this turbulent epoch. In discussing the relative successes and failures of the experimental liberal regimes from 1686-1874, Chapter II shows that each government placed a great deal of importance on funding numerous state-sponsored cultural initiatives to distinguish their time in office, no matter how brief.

The third chapter of this study outlines some of the major cultural policies and events of the first half of the Restoration regime from 1874 to 1898. With the collapse of the First Spanish Republic in December of 1874 by a *pronunciamiento*, the Bourbon monarchy was restored under the crown of Alfonso XII, son of the deposed Isabel II, and the leadership of Prime Minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. Architect of the Restoration regime, Cánovas del Castillo was a conservative statesman and avid historian who came to be hailed as the greatest politician of the nineteenth-century in Spain. In order to restore social, political and economic order to Spain in the aftermath of the collapse of the First Republic, Cánovas devised a manufactured political system called the *turno pacífico* that relied on voter fraud and backing from the crown and national government. The *turno pacifico*, or peaceful turn, alternated at regular intervals between the conservative statesman, Cánovas, and his liberal counterpart Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. With full public awareness, this synthetic

[98] Decreto, Ministerio de Fomento, 31 May 1869.

system brought much sought after political and economic stability to Spain for the first time in almost a century.[99] Chapter III investigates and compares the continuity of the political agendas of the Liberal Sexennium and the Restoration regime, as well as analysing the similarities and differences in cultural policies and projects during the different periods of the *turno pacifico* (between the Cánovas and Sagasta). In doing so, this study analyses varying cultural policies to uncover previously unknown patterns or continuities in the discourse of state-sponsored culture throughout the nineteenth-century.

In light of this radical political shift, Chapter III primarily analyses one of the most important cultural, political and social landmark events that was celebrated around the world during the latter of half of the nineteenth century: the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' Discovery of America. In Spain, this historic anniversary was celebrated around the country at an extravagant cost. Factions within the Restoration government set aside their political differences and focused on promoting a cohesive national Spanish identity focused on representing Christopher Columbus, Isabel I and the Spanish Empire as the historical progenitor of modern Western culture. In the capital, no expense was spared as Madrid was turned into an international fair ground for no fewer than six exhibitions celebrating military, cultural, scientific, artistic, agricultural and literary achievements of numerous countries from around the world, but namely focusing on Spain's historical legacy.[100] The development of these large-scale state-sponsored international exhibitions and events in Madrid served as way for the Restoration government to reaffirm Spain's historical importance, re-establish a connection with its former colonies and make strides

[99] Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936-1975* (London: Phoenix, 2000), p. 5.
[100] Almost two times the budget was spent on the Historic American Exhibition alone in comparison to the Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888, which was all subsidized by the Ministerio de Fomento. Please see Chapter III for more details on this topic.

towards modernity on a global platform following nearly a century of political chaos and internationally perceived decline. Additionally, the extensive celebrations surrounding the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Spain in 1892 at the Historic American Exhibition in Madrid and then famously at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, were used as propagandistic tools for the Restoration government to manipulate the past in order to present contemporary Spain in way that re-established or reinforced Spain's political and cultural importance on the global stage.

Finally, the concluding chapter of this thesis explores state-sponsored culture in the build up to the Spanish American War of 1898 and its transformations in the aftermath of the war in a post-imperial Spain. This chapter aims to expound upon the notion of the 'Disaster' of 1898 on the Spanish political and economic system in line with more modern historical interpretations as well as to demonstrate to what effect the loss of empire had on post-imperial Spanish state-sponsored culture.

In the build up to war, the relationship between *fin-de-siècle* Spain and the United States is explored in detail. While Spain was being torn apart in the American press as the two nations collided on opinions over Cuba in the mid- to late-1890s, official political Spanish-American relations were full of admiration and great respect. As tensions steadily grew over the Cuban issue and American ire further erupted following the explosion of the *USS Maine* in February 1898, Spain and the United States would come to bear arms against each other. This was less than a decade after Spain was the guest of honour at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair celebrated Christopher Columbus and the profound historical connection between Spain and America. The war raised many cultural issues, prompting a good deal of public discussion. The American public worried about what became of famous members of the

Spanish delegation from the 1893 World's Fair whilst the Spanish wondered what would become of their valuable cultural artefacts in the colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines) if the United States were to win the war.[101] After only three months, Spain was defeated and had to cede the remains of its empire to the United States; the catalyst that spurred on the birth of the American Century and rise of the United States as a major global power. For Spain however, the loss of the Spanish American War was known as the 'Disaster of 1898'. It was seen by contemporary Spaniards as a 'divine punishment for a nation gone astray' and 'proof of the inferiority of the Spanish character.'[102] Although the aftermath of the Spanish American War caused a dramatic change on an international political level, especially in regards to the United States, Cuba and the Philippines, this study shows how Spain's defeat in the war did not cause a collapse of the Spanish government, its political system or economy. Additionally, Chapter IV demonstrates that although the Restoration regime had to make changes in their state-subsidized cultural projects, such as the closure of colonial museums and institutions, the theme of empire was still an ever-present symbol as it was intended to reclaim Spanish pride and to represent/restore the nation to its former imperial glory. Spain's nineteenth- century is an era hallmarked by disorder and confusion. In spite of the political chaos and social unrest of this century, Spain emerged into the twentieth-century a politically and economically stable nation. Throughout the four chapters of this thesis, this study will continually demonstrate that state-sponsored culture played a continued, and critical, role for each political regime throughout the nineteenth century regardless of their administrative allegiances or political viewpoints.

[101] Please see Chapter IV for more information on these topics.
[102] Sebastian Balfour, 'Riot, Regeneration and Reaction: Spain in the Aftermath of the 1898 Disaster', *Historical Journal* vol. 38, no. 2 (1995), p. 405.

While this study is not the first to present the idea of the connections and influences of state-sponsored culture in nineteenth-century Spain, it is unique in that it focuses on a long chronological period to expose wider historical trends. It uses a relatively untapped source base to uncover the nature of the relationship between politics and state-sponsored culture. In demonstrating the depth of the relationship between the chaotic and ever-changing political landscape of the nineteenth-century, this thesis shows the 'big picture' impact of state-sponsored culture within the larger continuum of events that occurred within the nineteenth-century. Furthermore, this thesis is presented in English, opening the accessibility of Spanish history to wider audiences, as a great deal of the present literature on the topic and surrounding literature is in Spanish. This study therefore makes a substantial contribution not only to the general study of culture in the nineteenth-century but, more specifically, it opens up present scholarly understandings of how state-sponsored culture was utilised as a political tool to create national unity, historical legacy and stabilise the nation in times of chaos in specific historical context.

The nineteenth-century was an era of almost continual chaos in Spain. So much so that it has been dismissed as an era of little development, end of empire and the devastation at the loss of the international prestige of the Spanish nation and its people. This thesis seeks to readdress this omission, shedding light on the important and wide-ranging cultural developments made by the Spanish governments of each political 'phase' that changed the landscape of modern Spain despite the political and social chaos of the era. These previously dormant cultural discourses and developments in Spain, ranging from the nationalisation of royal institutions, the construction of monuments, cultural ties between allies, as well as adversaries, and landmark

cultural heritage protection law were vital to the discourse surrounding the evolution of Spanish history and much of the Western world well into the twentieth century. This thesis aims to change present understandings of the ways in which state-sponsored culture evolved and dynamically impacted Spanish history, as well as the significant role that it played in the development of the politics and national identity of Spain in the nineteenth-century.

Chapter I:

1833-1868

The Enduring Devastation of the First Carlist War and the Growth of State-Sponsored Isabelline Culture

Just after the turn of the nineteenth century, Spain had been invaded and occupied by Napoleonic troops, as was most of Europe. After a long and bloody guerrilla war known as the Peninsular War, or in Spain, the War of Independence, Spain's exiled monarch, Ferdinand VII, was welcomed back to his country with open arms- but with one provision. In the king's absence, a coalition of local *junta* leaders, who were fighting the gruesome war in the name of the Spanish king, assembled in Cadiz after the *Cortes* (parliament) was convened in 1810 and penned the Constitution of 1812. The Constitution of 1812 was the first constitution in modern Spanish history and was one of the most liberal documents of its era.[103] Soon after Ferdinand VII returned to Madrid, backed by the political elites, the Church hierarchy and crucially disaffected army elites, the king abolished the liberal Constitution of 1812 and restored himself as an absolute monarch. This provocation of Ferdinand VII led to a major divide in Spanish politics between the liberals and conservative factions, giving way to the rise of Carlism, which served as a catalyst that would lead to severe division and reoccurring civil war for almost an entire century.

[103] For more information on the significance of the Constitution of 1812, please see: Scott Eastman and Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, *The Rise of the Constitutional Government in the Iberian Altenic World: the Impact of the Cádiz Constitution of 1812* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2015) and Stephen G.H. Roberts and Adam Sharman, *1812 Echoes: the Cadíz Constitution in Hispanic History, Culture and Politics* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013)

Carlism was one of the most divisive factors in modern Spanish history. It shaped the political, social and cultural landscape of Spain well into the twentieth century, even in inadvertent ways. The Carlist movement began in the early part of the nineteenth century and played a major role both politically and culturally within Spanish society. Deriving its name from don Carlos, known to his followers as 'Carlos V', Carlism was a movement dedicated to restoring the traditional, absolutist and Catholic rule to Spain. After King Ferdinand VII was reinstated as king following the expulsion of Napoleon's troops in 1813, Ferdinand began to make major changes to the Spanish government. Although married three times, Ferdinand VII had no sons. In accordance with the traditional Salic law, which had been signed into law during the previous century, Ferdinand's younger brother, don Carlos, was assumed to be the next king of Spain. Near the end of his reign however, Ferdinand VII issued the highly controversial Pragmatic Sanction of 1830. This act stated that Isabel, the oldest daughter of Ferdinand VII and his third wife María Cristina, would be the next monarch of Spain.[104] Naturally, this declaration sparked considerable political and social controversy leading don Carlos and his followers to reject the implementation of the Pragmatic Sanction. On 29 September 1833, King Ferdinand VII died and the issue of succession came to head. As Isabel was just three years old at the time, her mother, María Cristina, assumed the position of Queen-Regent in her daughter's name while the late king's brother assumed the title of 'Carlos V'. From this point forward, the *cristinos* or *isabelinos*, the supporters of María Cristina and Isabel II, and the *carlistas*, supporters of the Pretender 'Carlos V', were officially at war. This civil war, known as the First Carlist War, would last from 1833 to 1840 and

[104] *Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 1, 1 January 1833, p. 1.

would then be followed by a series of conflicts positioned against the Carlists from 1846-1849 and again from 1872-1876.

The First Carlist War officially ended with the Treaty of Vergara in the summer of 1839. However, although the war was officially over, there would still not be peace in Spain. Factions of Carlists and Liberals alike continued to carry out terrible atrocities through to the summer of 1840, almost a year after the Vergara armistice was signed, further cementing the First Carlist War as Spain's bloodiest civil war, which cost the lives of between two to four percent of Spain's population. [105] Comparably, this meant that the Carlist War produced as many, if not more, casualties than the infamously brutal Spanish Civil War of the 1930s.[106] In the wake of this devastating war, the Carlists would continue to remain a presence in Spanish political and cultural life through to the end of the 1870s after their defeat in the Third Carlist War.[107] In spite of the Carlist conflict's major impact on nineteenth-century Spanish society and the Isabelline regime, official state-sponsored culture shied away from directly confronting Carlism and avoided officially addressing the subject on a public platform, for example the commissioning of a national monument or a creating a day(s) of remembrance, celebration or reconciliation. Rather, the period immediately following the First Carlist War created an environment that necessitated the active growth of Isabelline state-sponsored culture. The necessity to legitimize the reign of Isabel II in response to the divisive nature of the First Carlist War saw a rapid growth of large public cultural displays sponsored by the state with

[105] Mark Lawrence, *Spain's First Carlist War, 1833-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 221-224. The percentages given are based on the population of Spain in 1833.
[106] Mark Lawrence, *The Spanish Civil Wars: A Comparative History of the First Carlist War and the Conflict of the 1930s* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), p. 120.
[107] Carlism was in a state of decline from 1876 through to the beginning of the twentieth century and the emergence of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931. Carlism was used as a form of counter-revolution to the liberal republicanism of the Second Spanish Republic. For more on this, please see Martin Blinkhorn, *Carlism and crisis in Spain, 1931-1939* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1975), pp. 1-40, 141-162.

particular interest placed on developing the young queen's historical legitimization, the creation of official policy related to the protection of Spanish cultural patrimony and the expansion of national state-sponsored cultural programs. Following the cultural measures after 1840 were attempts to 'invent' tradition. Space in the national consciousness and public discourse by way of constructing a permanent space in the cityscape of the Spanish capital was a tool habitually used by the Isabelline regime. In changing the urban landscape of Madrid through the creation of monuments, memorials and official cultural sites, the political elites of the Isabelline regime became the official 'cultural custodians' of Spanish culture.[108] While these monuments propagated national histories and notions of Spanish identity, they also served as a way to create a lasting historical legacy focused around the Isabelline monarchy. To borrow from historian Eric Hobsbawm, new traditions can be made or invented using old symbolic material 'smuggled in by formal symbolic assent' as was the case in Plaza Oriente.[109] The Isabelline regime invented a tradition of historical legacy through their state-sponsored cultural initiatives to communicate a refreshed narrative of Spanish national/cultural identity with the young queen, and her regime, at its centre as the inheritors of the power, prestige and respect associated with the monarchs of Spain's past in the wake of the First Carlist War. [110] This was done through numerous channels such as the restoration and creation of important cultural centres in Madrid, the construction nationally significant monuments and the creation of national exhibitions, all with the underlying theme of creating constructed public spectacles to serve as a historical legitimisation of Isabel II and her administration.

[108] Doss, *Memorial* Mania, p. 24
[109] Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), pp. 6-10
[110] Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), pp. 6-10

Most important to the theme of this chapter, the First Carlist War, like most civil conflicts, was bloody and politically polarizing event that brought major political and cultural changes throughout Spain. Historically, studies of the Carlist War and *carlismo* have typically been limited to local regional studies. However more contemporary historians such as Gregorio Alonso, John Coverdale, Josep Carles Clemente, Mark Lawrence and Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza to name a few, have revitalized the study of Carlism in contemporary historiography. These more modern studies detail the events of the Carlist War, Carlism's ties to specific geographic areas of Spain, the war's economic and military impacts, and have most importantly begun to highlight the importance of the Carlist War in both a national and international context, but have yet to highlight the impact that Carlism and the Carlist War(s) had on state-sponsored culture of the Isabelline regime.

Although scholarship concerning the Carlist War since the mid-twentieth century has been subjected to more rigorous academic analysis, these studies namely focus on the social and military aspects of the war itself or its overall political effects. What is lacking in the current historiography is a study of the lingering cultural effects of the Carlist War in the post-war era and how those effects spurred the development of state-sponsored culture in nineteenth-century Spain. This chapter will not place an emphasis on the political or military details of the First Carlist War as that has already been expanded upon in existing scholarship. Rather, it will focus on the enduring cultural effects of the war, such as the unintended cultural consequences from Mendizábal's *desamortización* and various aspects of the post-war emergence of Isabelline state-sponsored culture that were indented to mobilize national sentiment in an attempt to develop a Spanish national identity.

Expanding on John Fiske's definition of official, or 'high', culture in his essay on the 'economy' of popular culture, for the purposes of this chapter, Isabelline state-sponsored culture will constitute as an act subsidised by the crown or government administration that is institutionally legitimised for the public, meaning that it is produced with the direct aim of using cultural capital to propagate state or government initiatives.[111] In order to unpick the origins of the development of Isabelline state-sponsored culture through the long-term effects of the Carlist War, this chapter will first shed some light on the most culturally significant policies implemented during the war by the first half of the Isabelline government under the regency of María Cristina. This discussion of the First Carlist War's cultural consequences will be used to form a foundation for the emergence of Isabelline official state-sponsored culture through until 1868. Next, this chapter will provide an analysis of the expansion of the Isabelline regime's efforts to produce a series of state-sponsored cultural projects, ranging from the refurbishment of *plazas* (public squares), construction of various monuments, creation of national exhibitions, sponsoring of academic institutions and more, all aimed at propagating a historically legitimized image of the Isabelline monarchy and its government. This was done in order to mobilize national sentiment and public opinion in order to develop a Spanish national identity centred around the state as opposed to regional identities, religion or Carlism for example.

The *desamortización* and the exodus of the arts

For the purposes of this chapter, one of the most culturally significant events of the First Carlist War was the implementation of Juan Álvarez

[111] John Fiske, 'The Cultural Economy of Fandom', in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa Lewis (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 30-32.

Mendizábal's *desamortización eclesiástica* (dissolution of monastic properties). Mendizábal became Prime Minister of Spain in 1835 under the regency of María Cristina and subsequently instituted a series of liberal reforms with the aim of both systematically weakening the Carlists and their supporters while also attempting to 'revive the deteriorating war effort' and to offer liquidity to an indebted government. [112] Mendizábal employed the *desamortización eclesiástica,* a series of systematic confiscations and redistributions of the Church's property and assets throughout Spain. This *desamortización* was not an assault on Catholicism, as Mendizábal himself was a practicing Catholic, but rather it a wider wartime tactical move against the institutional and political power of the Church in line with the widespread anti-clerical Progressive tradition popular throughout Cristino Spain. [113] The disentailment effectively nationalised Church property then sold it at auction as government property. Mendizábal's designs were implemented in the hopes that this series of property confiscations and subsequent redistribution would support Cristino finances during the war and that the act would serve as the starting point for a long term liberal property revolution while also offering buyers of alienated properties a material interest in the defeat of Carlism. [114] Mendizábal's *desamortización* led to sweeping confiscations of Church lands and ecclesiastical property along with the dismantlement of religious orders in order for the state to seize numerous, spiritually and economically, valuable objects. In comparison to the attention given to the economic and political aspects of the *desamortización* in works by Angel Ramón del Valle Calzado and Francisco

[112] Lawrence, *Spain's Frist Carlist War* (2014), p. 101. Additionally, without the desperation produced by the First Carlist War/need for strong political leaders, liberals like Mendizábal would not have been allowed back to Spain and given a position of such power of after the events of the 'Ominous Decade' and their exile from Spain

[113] Mark Lawrence, 'Juan Álvarez Mendizábal,' in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, eds. Adrian Shubert, José Álvarez Junco (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 391-392.

[114] Ibid., p. 391.

Simón Segura, the cultural impact has been disproportionately understudied.[115] However, this decree, with very clear political and economic motives, had an inadvertent yet profound effect upon the arts and development state-sponsored culture during, and even well after, the Isabelline era in Spain and Western Europe.[116]

In Spain, as was the case elsewhere in Europe, the quality of the artistic and cultural achievements of a nation were seen as a point of national pride and a claim to cultural/social superiority. Contemporary Spanish art critics almost exclusively blamed the on going Carlist War for retarding Spain's cultural growth and superiority. In the *Gaceta de Madrid,* writers echoed this sentiment saying that they saw the 'star of our greatness eclipsed in history' with the 'disappearance' of the arts.[117] Other journals, such as *el Semanario Pintoresco Español,* also focused on this topic a great deal. The *Semanario Pintoresco* noted that the Carlist War all but halted the advancement of Spanish culture and because of this, Spain had lost its position of greatness in comparison to its other European counterparts such as France and England.[118] In an article written in 1836, the *Semanario Pintoresco* poetically states that *las bellas artes* can only prosper 'under the shadow of peace and tranquillity' but the contemporary atmosphere was so overwhelmed by 'the horrendous rumble of weapons' and 'opposing interests' that the deterioration of the quality of Spanish arts and culture was imminent.[119] Alluding to the Carlist War yet again, another article published just two years later in 1838 repeatedly speaks of the

[115] For existing cultural studies surround Mendizábal's disentailment, please see: Francisco Martí Gilabert, *La desamortización española* (Madrid, 2003) and Rebeca Carretero Calvo, *Después de la desamortización: el patrimonio conventual de Tarazona a partir del siglo XIX* (Zaragoza, 2015).
[116] The research that I have conducted thus far does not suggest that earlier disentailments, such as that enacted by Secretary of State, Manuel Godoy, under the reign of Carlos IV, had a comparable impact on official culture
[117] *Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 5178, 16 November 1848, p. 4
[118] *El Seminario Pinteresco Español*, n. 135, 1838, pp.753, 755
[119] *El Semanario Pintoresco Español*, n. 1, 1836, p. 1-4

'sad situation' that Spain found itself in.[120] The article continues on saying that in comparison to other 'prosperous and tranquil countries…we lament the time we live in, such a miserable and unhappy era.'[121] Even internationally during the era of the Carlist War, it was noted that on an artistic level, Spanish artists did not come close to equalling the skill of their contemporaries. The Parisian journal *L'Illustration* noted that in a 'brilliant' international exhibition of the great artistic schools from around Europe, 'the exhibition proved that the French and Belgian schools are the ones who will continue on' and that the once famed Spanish school 'no longer exists.'[122] Additionally, throughout the war many Spanish intellectuals and politicians voiced their concerns over the loss of national patrimony due to damage, neglect and the pilfering of Spanish artworks across the border to foreign countries.[123] In October 1835, José María de Armedo, secretary of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* (Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando) in Madrid, wrote of his concerns saying that it was 'in the interests of the nation' to 'prevent [Spain's] artistic riches' from being taken and sold out of the country to the British (or French) due to the chaos of the war and *desamortización*.[124]

One of the most immediate consequences of the *desamortización* was the destruction and abandonment of numerous works of art, church archives and libraries.[125] Many of these abandoned artistic treasures were taken and sold outside of Spain, mostly in England and France.[126] As detailed by historian and art critic Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, works by Spanish masters such as Murillo,

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[120] *El Seminario Pinteresco Español*, n. 135, 1838, p.753
[121] Ibid., p. 753
[122] L'Illustration, Journal Universel, v.18 (July-December 1851), p. 119
[123] Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 108-109
[124] Archivo de la Academia de San Fernando, 1-35/7
[125] Francisco Simón Segura, *La desamortización española en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Ministerio de Hacienda, 1973), p. 274.
[126] Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *La pintura española fuera de España: Historia y catalogo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), p. 21.

Goya and Velázquez were highly coveted abroad. Gaya Nuño estimates that over 3,100 works by Golden Age Spanish masters alone were taken and sold abroad during the era of Mendizábal's *desamortización*.[127] Vicente de la Fuente described that when a Spaniard would visit a foreign museum, they were confronted with more works of fine Spanish art than they were in Spanish museums.[128] American travel writer Richard Ford also noted the vast exodus of significant Spanish pieces due to the Carlist War as he cautioned his readers from buying art during their trips to the Iberian Peninsula. In his 1855 *A Handbook for travellers in Spain*, Ford writes, 'Our readers are most earnestly cautioned against buying pictures in Spain; they will indeed be offered, warranted originals, by Murillo, Velazquez and so forth, more plentiful than blackberries; but *caveat emptor*. The Peninsula has been so plundered of its best specimens…in war, and so stripped in peace by the gold of purchasers, that nothing but the varies dregs remain for sale.'[129]

One significant example of this phenomenon is the history behind the creation of the *Galerie espagnole* in the Louvre. Taking advantage of the chaos caused by Mendizábal's *desamortización*, in 1835, with the help of Baron Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor, King Louis Philippe of France began assembling a collection of Spanish art for the Louvre. Taylor was sent to Madrid, Extremadura, Andalucía and Castile on a secret mission by the French king.[130] With an unlimited, and unconditional, sum of money provided by King Louis Philippe, Taylor was specifically tasked with going to the various convents and monasteries throughout Spain that had been affected by Mendizábal's

[127] Ibid., p. 21.
[128] Francisco Martí Gilabert, *La desamortización española* (Madrid: Ediciones RIALP, 2003), p. 106.
[129] Richard Ford, *A Handbook for travellers in Spain* (London: Murray, 1855), p. 55.
[130] Baticle, Jeannine and Cristina Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre, 1838-1848* (Paris: Ministere de la Culture, Editions de la Reunion des musees nationaux, 1981), p. 17.

desamortización to purchase precious objects and works of art which had not yet been confiscated by the Spanish state. According to French journalist Henri Blaze, who published an article titled 'Galerie espagnole au Louvre' in 1837 detailing Taylor's exploits, Taylor would approach poor monasteries and convents offering them enough money to restore their various canvases if, in return, he was allowed to chose one work 'at random' to take with him back to France.[131] According to Blaze, Taylor 'never failed' to acquire the 'most precious' pieces in their collection.[132] The French press hailed Taylor, calling him and his men '*saints missionnaires*' as they went to Spain 'facing the dangers of civil war [the Carlist War] for art's sake.'[133] In the view of the French press, Taylor was offering the priceless works by Spanish masters an 'inviolable asylum' to save them from the on going Carlist conflict.[134] The Carlist War that ravaged Spain provided the French king, via Taylor, the perfect opportunity to take advantage of the political and social disorder effecting Spain to acquire a rather astonishing collection for the Louvre.[135] Opening in January 1838, *La Galerie espagnole* debuted with 446 paintings acquired by Taylor, 406 of which are attributed to Golden Age Spanish masters.[136]

Taylor's antics caught the eye of officials at both provincial and national levels throughout Spain. Hesitant to act against an agent of French crown, as the French were aiding the *cristinos* fight in the war against the Carlists, the Isabelline regime had to use a less direct approach, in the form of official

[131] Henri Blaze, 'Galerie espagnole au Lourve,' *Revue des deux mondes*, series 4, n. 10 (1837), p. 535.
[132] Ibid., p. 535.
[133] Ibid., p. 534, see also Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 125.
[134] Blaze, 'Galerie espagnole au Lourve,' (1837), p. 539.
[135] Baticle, *La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre, 1838-1848* (1981), pp. 16-17.
[136] Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (1972), p. 128.

cultural policy, to safeguard their cultural patrimony.[137] Noticing this mass exodus of Spanish patrimony, President of the Supreme Junta of Suppressed Convents, Sebastiano de Moraga, capitalised on Mendizábal's *desamortización* to take a major step in advancing the state's protection of art and cultural patrimony. Under the influence of Moraga, María Cristina signed a royal decree on 4 September 1836 prohibiting the sale of 'national properties' outside of Spain, deeming that the pilfering of 'original or antique paintings' was 'prejudicial to the progress of arts and sciences'.[138] In another royal decree from 19 February 1836, it was noted that these historic buildings and artistic objects needed to be preserved to 'honour the memory of the nation'.[139] In a letter to the President of the Academia de San Fernando, Moraga further suggested that in order to halt the exodus of Spanish cultural patrimony into foreign art markets, that the Academia send experts to the properties effected by the *desamortización* in order to create a detailed inventory for the government and place the pieces of 'notable significance' until they could be transferred to a safer location.[140] Furthermore, in January 1836, the *convento de los Trinitarios Calzados* was converted into a storehouse for all of the noteworthy cultural and artistic objects that were confiscated from religious institutions as a result of the *desamortización*. The following year, another decree was issued ordering that the Trinidad convent, which now contained religious treasures from Madrid, Toledo, Avila and Segovia, be converted into an official collection of the state's artistic patrimony.[141] The *Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura* (National Museum of Painting and Sculpture), better known as *Museo Nacional de la*

[137] Alisa Luxenberg, *The Galerie Espagnole and the Museo Nacional, 1835-1853: Saving Spanish Art or the Politics of Patrimony* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 64-67
[138] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), pp. 109-110.
[139] Real Decreto, Reina Gobernadora Doña Mª Cristina de Borbón, 19 February 1836
[140] Archivo de la Academia de San Fernando, 1-35/17, letter from Sebastiano de Moraga to President of the Academia de San Fernando, 21 April 1838
[141] Archivo de la Academia de San Fernando, 1-35/17

Trinidad after the converted convent in which it was housed, served as Spain's first national museum. The *Museo Nacional de la Trinidad* was inaugurated and opened to the public in 1838, but due to a lack economic funding and the poor condition of the works housed there, the museum was quickly shut and not fully reopened again until after the end of the Carlist conflict in 1842.[142] In addition to confiscating works of art and sculpture from religious institutions during the *desamortización*, 70,000 volumes seized from Church properties were added to the collection of the newly renamed Nationa*l* Library (formerly called the *Royal* Library until 1836).[143] Additional volumes from suppressed religious orders were to be used to create a library open to the public which was to be open 'at least six hours a day'.[144] Famous works such as *Dos* and *Tres de mayo* by Goya, that were painted in 1814, had come to be seen as to be seen as national symbols that represented Spanish nationalism, national pride and the strength of the Spanish people. These masterpieces adorned a colossal archway as a part of the fanfare that welcomed Ferdinand VII back to Madrid from France after the War of Independence and hung in numerous galleries around Madrid to be displayed to as many onlookers as possible. Due to their prominent status and the cultural exodus of the arts and valuable objects occurring in Spain at the time, in the mid-1830s, both *Dos* and *Tres de mayo* were a part of the *deposition grande*, or great deposit, of paintings that were introduced into the collection of the Museo del Prado to secure their place in the royal collections as a consequence of Mendizábal's *desamortización*. Regionally, the *desamortización* had similar effects. In each

[142] Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, 'El Museo Nacional de la Trinidad,' in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1947, p. 22
[143] Wadda Ríos-Font, 'National Literature in the Protean Nation: The Question of Nineteenth-Century Spanish Literary History,' in *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity*, eds. Bradley Epps and Luis Fernández Cifuentes (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005), p. 131.
[144] Real Orden, Reina Gobernadora Doña Mª Cristina de Borbón, 22 September 1838

province, a *Comisiones de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos* (Historic and Artistic Monuments Commissions) was created and operated under the direction of the *Comisión Central de Monumentos* (Central Commission of Monuments) and the Ministerio de Fomento. The officers of these organizations were assigned to visit each property affected by the *desamortización* in the region and collect anything of value.[145] As a direct result of this effort, numerous regional fine art museums were founded in the 1840s such as those in Seville, Cordoba, Cadiz, Valencia, Zaragoza and Valladolid.[146] The most valuable pieces of work would then be transferred on to the collection of the *Museo Nacional de la Trinidad.*

Contrary to Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño's assertion that Mendizábal's *desamortización* was an enemy to the arts and cultural heritage in Spain, the *desamortización* inadvertently, but effectively, initiated a policy that not only preserved the national patrimony of Spain but also managed to create the foundation of what would become the country's public national collections that would evolve into the *Museo del Prado* after the 1868 revolution.[147] As waves of art and works by Spanish masters were flooding out of the country to France and England, the disentailment stemmed the flow of this loss of patrimony and, as a direct result of this, laws were put in place to keep Spanish works in Spain. Thus, Mendizábal's *desamortización* served as one of the single most culturally significant events in the nineteenth century effectively reshaping the cultural landscape of Spain.

[145] José María Lanzarote Guiral, 'National Museums in Spain: A History of Crown, Church and People', in *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010,* v. 1., 2011, p. 858
[146] Guillermo S. Kurtz Schaefer and Juan Manuel Valadés Sierra, 'Museos, investigación y provincia, aproximación a la historia de los museos provinciales en España' in *Revista de Museología*, v. 30, 2004, p. 58-59
[147] Gaya Nuño, *La pintura española fuera de España: Historia y catalogo* (1958), pp. 21-32.

Isabel II and the Growth of Isabelline State-Sponsored Culture

The end of the First Carlist War in 1840 brought with it the end of the *ancien regime*. This crucial transition brought sweeping shifts in politics, economics and culture as well as a new queen. Being declared of age to rule in 1843 at the tender age of thirteen, Isabel II ascended to the throne at a tumultuous time in Spanish history. For the majority of her reign, Isabel II was a controversial figure; ambitious politicians and military leaders, *pronunciamientos* and scandal dominated her twenty-five year reign.

As Spain's first female monarch since Isabel la Católica and Spain's first ever constitutional monarch, Isabel II monarchy 'generated a series of cultural tensions' dealing with issues of gender stereotypes and nascent reconstruction of values by the middle-class nineteenth-century Spain.[148] From a young age, Isabel II was portrayed as a symbol of innocence in Cristino Spain during the Carlist War. Travel writer George Borrow observed this perception of Isabel II in popular imagination first-hand. 'The soldiers who escorted us from time to time sang patriotic songs, breathing love and attachment to the young Queen Isabel, and detestation of the grim tyrant Carlos;' they sang: 'don Carlos is a hoary churl, of cruel hart and cold; But Isabel's a harmless girl, of only six years old.'[149] A Valencian newspaper echoed this sentiment saying, 'These are the days of that angel of candour and innocence before whose virginal smile fierce passions set aside their fury…'[150]

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[148] Isabel Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class: The symbolic failure of Isabel II of Spain', *Social History*, vol. 29, no. 3 (August 2004), p. 301. For a detailed analysis of the growth of the middle-class in nineteenth-century Spain, please see Jesus Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011).

[149] George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain: Or, The Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an Attempt to Circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula* (London: J. Murry, 1844), pp. 140-141.

[150] *Diario Mercantil de Valencia,* 19 December 1843.

After the war was over and Isabel II ascended to the throne, she developed a rather salacious and negative reputation. Isabel Burdiel states that the queen never conformed to the set societal standards when it came to her personal or professional life; it was well known that Isabel II and her husband disliked each other and shortly after their marriage, Isabel II had a very public affair with political and military leader General Francisco Serrano.[151] In a comparison between Isabel II and the British Queen Victoria, Burdiel analyses how the public perception of their personal lives affected the outcome of their reigns. Both women ascended the throne at a young age and under similar circumstances of great domestic crisis.[152] Whereas Queen Victoria came to be seen as the 'embodiment of nineteenth-century womanhood', Isabel II cast as an improper, childish, sexual deviant. This sensationalised reputation of Isabel II would ultimately play a major role in the collapse of the Isabelline regime, deposition and exile. In 1854, the British ambassador wrote that 'evil has its origins in the Person now occupying the high post of regal dignity' and that Isabel II's character was 'so peculiar as to be hardly definable, and which is only to be understood by imagining a simultaneous compound of extravagance and folly, of capricious fancies, of perverse intentions, and of inclinations generally bad.'[153] Isabel II's cousin, the Infante Enrique, wrote freely of his disgust with the queen:

> 'You have divested yourself and your inviolability through lack of self-respect as a woman and of noble feelings as queen…You were born to represent a harem court, with a turban on your head, rather than a constitutional European nation…What sceptre but yours has reduced the most solid and venerated monarchy to a skeleton?'[154]

[151] Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class,' (2004), p. 302
[152] Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class' (2004), p. 305.
[153] Public Records Office, Foreign Office, 72/844, n. 48. Otway to Clarendon, 16 July 1854; cited in Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class' (2004), p. 308.
[154] Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia, *Colección Narváez-II,* v. 20, docs 10 and 11, Paris, 18 January 1868; cited in Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class' (2004), p. 316.

However, historian Sarah White points out that the representation of Isabel II as a 'hysterical child, given to tantrums and sentimental religious fervour' was 'essentially limited to the narrow circle of the court'; publicly however, Isabel II remained quite popular throughout Spain until the major political crisis that ended her reign in 1868.[155] The *El Avisador Malagueño* describes a scene from the queen's visit to Málaga in 1862 where throngs of people cheered out 'el nombre mágico de Isabel II'.[156] Burdiel counters this notion arguing that upholding the 'new symbolic capital' of the monarch was the most important function of the monarchy in the constitutional era as the monarch was a representation of the nation.[157] Furthermore Burdiel asserts that Isabel II's life as queen was a 'popular spectacle' that needed to reflect the moral values of society.[158]

In Isabel Burdiel's seminal biography of the Spanish queen, she has argued that Isabel II was predominately manipulated by the political/military strongmen of the era, namely Serrano, Espartero, O'Donnell, etc; this era would also become known as the 'Regime of the Generals'. Burdiel's extensive investigation into the life and personality of Isabel II cuts through her infamous public stereotype as a weak and sexually deviant woman who, with her indecent actions, brought down her regime culminating in the Revolution of 1868. In doing so, Burdiel argues that Isabel II's ministers exploited the queen and her public image as a way for them to achieve their own political ends.[159] Although Burdiel's thesis is correct in stating that Isabel was manipulated by

[155] Sarah L. White, 'Liberty, Honor, Order: Gender and Political Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Spain', in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Victoria Lorée Enders, Pamela Beth Radcliff (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 236.
[156] *El Avisador Malagueño*, 16 October 1862
[157] Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class' (2004), p. 303.
[158] Ibid., p. 304.
[159] Isabel Burdiel, *Isabel II: una biografía, 1830-1904* (Madrid: Taurus, 2010)

the politicians and military leaders around her, the queen however retained her agency, however limited, when it came to some elements of state-sponsored culture. As an artist herself, Isabel contributed her own pieces to various exhibitions on a number of occasions.[160] In addition to this, Isabel's grandiose style of collecting, especially works form the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes* and other major artist commissions, caught the eye of artists and the press alike, aligning herself as an esteemed patron of culture and the arts.

In 1856, exclusively through the patronage of Isabel II, the *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* was established.[161] Due to the lack of a robust system of patronage from the Church or established private collectors, the Spanish state became the principal patron of the arts in Spain.[162] These national exhibitions were set up as biannual art fairs where only Spanish artists, or foreign artists who created their works on Spanish soil, could showcase their work to both a domestic and international market.[163] Before the inception of *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes*, various regional academies would host their own exhibitions leaving no interaction with the majority of Spanish artists or their works on a national scale. Managed by the Ministerio de Fomento, headed by Agustín Esteban Collantes, the main objective behind the decision to create such an official ceremonious event was to revive the arts in Spain, to recreate an environment that fostered the legendary artists of Spain's great artistic legacy, such as Goya and Velázquez.[164] What is important to note about the creation of this national exhibition is that directly under the auspices of Isabel II, the government's official state-sponsored cultural initiatives

[160] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), p. 125
[161] Bernardo de Pantorba, *Historia y critica de las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes celebradas en España* (Madrid, 1948)
[162] Micah Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897.* PhD dissertation, University College London (2016), pp. 9-10
[163] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), p. 115.
[164] Boletín Oficial de Madrid, n. 143, 14 June 1854, pp. 1-3.

expanded to include work by new up-and-coming contemporary artists in an attempt to create new cultural patrimony of Spain.[165] Additionally, the creation of this event was an attempt to furnish the nation with this newly created national patrimony produced by Spanish artists that were intended to be housed in exclusively Spanish museums and institutions.[166] The winners of the *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* were housed exclusively in the royal collection at the Prado while other works by top participants were housed in government buildings around Spain.[167] A panel made up of academics from the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid as well as political appointees and occasionally a popular public figure, such as a prominent author, that was appointed by the Minesterio de Fomento judged each contest.[168] The *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* was an equivalent event to the prestigious Parisian *Salon des Artistes Français*. However unlike the French *Salon*, in Spanish *Exposiciones* few pieces were ever sold to private collectors or institutions- the pieces were purchased by the state and immediately placed into the royal collection. Before each *Exposicion Nacional,* contestants were presented with direct themes for their work such as the 'legitimacy of [Spanish] Culture be contextualized within an authoritative past' or the 'apotheosis of Spanish art as symbolized by the grouping of the great men who have cultivated it'.[169] These idealized patriotic themes left little room for contemporary artists to present critical pieces of work confronting difficult

[165] Pantorba, *Historia y critica de las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes celebradas en España* (1948), 20-23
[166] Pantorba, *Historia y critica de las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes celebradas en España* (1948), pp. 25-30, The vast collecting done by the Crown and government officals during these fairs can be presumed to act as a replacement for the Works lost during/surrounding the Carlist conflict.
[167] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), p. 9
[168] Esperanza Navarrete Martínez. *La Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999)
[169] Oscar E. Vázquez, 'Defining Hispanidad: Allegories, genealogies and cultural politics in the Madrid Academy's competition of 1893', in *Art History*, vol. 20, n. 1 (March 1997), p. 101

or controversial themes. In the beginning decades of the *Exposición Nacional* the most prominent genre produced was historical painting, but these paintings were routinely interpreted as having contemporary political meaning.[170] Throughout the course of the eighteen *Exposiciones Nacionales* that took place during the nineteenth century, 95% of the top prizes were awarded to historical paintings.[171] The queen purchased a total of sixty-four paintings dealing with historical themes.[172] Seven featured Christopher Columbus and the discovery of the New World, four specifically featured Isabel la Católica, another seven dealt with the *reconquista* of Spain from the Moors and the remaining seventeen paintings featured a number of different important national figures such as Cervantes and previous monarchs.[173] Even paintings related to war by artists at the *Exposición Nacional* focus mainly on historical battle scenes rather than more contemporary military events such as the Carlist War. For instance, prominent nineteenth century painter Ricardo Balaca y Orejas-Canseco painted scenes from War of Succession and Spanish victories during the War of Independence which were very popular at the *Exposición Nacional* and with government officials. Their popularity can be seen in the praise that these works received; these depictions of the battles of Almansa and Bailén were given honourable mentions at the *Exposición Nacional* and were purchased to be placed in the royal collection.[174] Isabelline state agencies, namely the Ministerio de Fomento, became the primary consumer of works at the *Exposición Nacional*.[175] These pieces were mainly themed around the artist's

[170] Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *Historia de la crítica de arte en España* (Madrid: Ibérico Europea de Ediciones, 1975), pp. 191-193.
[171] Bernardino de Pantorba, *Historia y Crítica de las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes Celebradas en España* (Madrid: Jesus Ramon Garcia-Rama J., 1980)
[172] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), p. 119.
[173] Ibid., p. 119
[174] Museo Nacional del Prado, *Pintura del Siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado: catálogo general* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015) pp. 87
[175] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), p. 121

interpretation of a reconstructed, mythologized 'golden age' and were placed in government buildings, office and public spaces around the country. Furthermore, following the era of the *desamortización*, government's purchases from the *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* supplemented the state's 'collected' pieces from Mendizábal's *desamortización*, which augmented the national collection in the *Museo Nacional de la Trinidad*. While the most popular *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* took place between the years of 1856 and 1897, the money that flowed into Spanish art by way of government purchases created a surge of new artists that became dependent of the government for patronage. [176] Before 1850, there was no unified 'Spanish' school, only a handful of regional fine arts academies with very few students. [177] In 1862, the Isabelline regime made numerous administrative changes in order to better the Spanish school. First, the numerous regional arts academies were centralized, with the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid. Although Academia de San Fernando was by far the oldest academy of the arts in Spain, founded in 1752, it was not the most prestigious. According to Francisco María Tubino, a notable art critic and author, the newly consolidated Spanish Academy in Madrid was an opportunity to '[combat] the decline both in reversing the poor opinions [of the Spanish school] held by foreigners and in developing the citizen'. [178] Additionally, following the French example, the leadership of Madrid's Academia de San Fernando was replaced by the Minesterio de Fomento who selected government appointed administrators in lieu of artists in order to create a consistent and robust art curriculum

[176] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), p. 12
[177] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), pp. 35-37
[178] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), pp. 86-87

throughout Spain's arts academies. [179] Wanting recognition and government patronage, Spanish artists flocked in large number from regional academies to Madrid causing a growing regional/national tension.[180]

These ceremonious national exhibitions demonstrate the government's role as a protector of the arts after the era of the First Carlist War, where artists and intellectuals alike noted a severe stunting of the growth of Spanish artistic culture and *patrimonio.*[181] In order to combat this, the Isabelline administration used these national exhibitions as a propagandistic tool to project nationalist themes. By purchasing objects relating the Golden Age to that of contemporary Spain, the *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* served as a platform for the state to 'recuperate the lost or damaged national identity' after the turbulent events of the first half of the century including the 'divisive trauma…of the Carlist Wars' while also '[regenerating] national self-esteem to the public' and 'the incorporation of a common *patria*' after the Carlist War. [182]

While her administration used patronage of the arts as a propagandistic tool, the queen remained one of the most important patrons in nineteenth century Spain. Isabel's patronizing of the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes,* is an area where she was able to express her own independence. Although Burdiel's thesis of the political/military advisors that manipulated the young queen for their own political gains holds true, Isabel II did retain, at least in part, her own agency in regards to her cultural contributions to state collections.

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[179] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), p. 40
[180] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), p. 43
[181] *El Seminario Pintoresco Español*, n. 135, 1838, pp.753-755, *El Semanario Pintoresco Español*, n. 85, 1837, p. 352
[182] Enrique Arias Anglés, *Los orígenes del "fenómeno" de la pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España* (Alicante : Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2007), p. 210.

The *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes* was one of a series of projects produced by the Isabelline regime in order to propagate a specific image of the monarchy and the government. These various government initiatives and commissions were produced to mobilize national sentiment and public opinion in order to develop a Spanish national identity centred on the state rather than on religious or regional identities. The concept of a Spanish nation however was not yet solidified. As José Álvarez-Junco explains in detail, the nineteenth century idea of modern Spain and 'Spanishness' had most of its origins in medieval times specifically rooted in the idealized figures of the great *reyes católicos*, Fernando and Isabel.[183] Their reign was a momentous point in Spanish history as it signified the convergence of two great kingdoms while also adding territory through their famed Reconquista against the Moors and Columbus' expedition, and subsequent discovery, of the New World. The romanticism of the era surrounding the famed *reyes católicos* came to be known as the *siglo del oro* of Spanish culture and identity.[184] Their legacy created historical figures of popular imagination that reflected an era of mythologized glories of the Spanish past which persisted for hundreds of years.[185] The 'invention of collective narratives', which Gregory Jusdanis states as one of the fundamental parts of nation building, in nineteenth century Spain was perpetrated by linking the Isabelline regime to this historical era of 'Spanish greatness'.[186] The Isabelline government wanted to align itself with this era to play upon the mythologized past in order to create a state-sponsored national identity that would further legitimize the rule Isabel II and her administration.

[183] José Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 20-32.
[184] Ibid., p. 186.
[185] Ibid., p. 28.
[186] Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (University of Minnesota Press, 1990), p. 28.

In order to construct this state-sponsored national identity, the Isabelline regime instituted both political and cultural changes to create an 'imagined community', a term coined by socio-political historian Benedict Anderson, in nineteenth century Spain.[187] Anderson, in his pivotal work analysing the origins of a nation and nationalism, states that the 'imagined community' is a socially constructed group which makes up a nation. Anderson also makes clear that although 'imagined communities' produce political action and change, they are intrinsically a culturally based phenomenon. For example, he states that both novels and newspapers are the agents primarily responsible for '"re-presenting" the kind of imagined community that is the nation.'[188] In addition to Anderson's theories, Hobsbawm's thesis of the 'invented tradition' is particularly relevant. By constructing a state-sponsored national identity around Isabel II to historically legitimise her reign in the wake of the First Carlist War, the Isabelline government was inventing a tradition based in 'reference to the past and established cultural idioms.'[189] Four hundred years after the Catholic kings, in nineteenth century Spain, a true national Spanish identity had not yet been solidified. In the case of the Carlist War, strong allegiances to regional identities rather than to the state contributed to further divide supporters between the Carlists and the supporters of the crown. In light of this, throughout the Isabelline regime the government took steps both politically and culturally to attempt to invent a new tradition of an 'imagined community' centred around the Spanish state.

Politically, the Isabelline administration attempted to facilitate political change by creating a new administrative map of Spain. On 30 November 1833,

[187] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)
[188] Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983), pp. 24-25.
[189] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), pp. 4-5

a royal decree separated Spain into forty-nine new territorial divisions which served to create a more powerful centralized Spanish state while also working to combat those areas in Spain that held strong ties to Carlism.[190] Converting the presence of strong regional and local identities to the liberal-backed idea of a strong and, more importantly, unified nation-state was of critical importance to combating provincial radicalism, Carlism and ensuring the success of the new regime.[191] It was hoped that by redrawing the traditional regional kingdoms of Spain, the strong allegiance shown to regional identities would shift to that of a cohesive feeling of 'Spanishness' represented by the Spanish state led by María Cristina then her daughter Isabel II.[192]

Furthermore, the reorganization of power of certain ministries within the government played a vital role in maintaining control of the publically projected images of a state-sponsored national identity. Created in the 1833 by *Moderado* Javier de Burgos as a ministry of internal development, Ministerio de Fomento served as one of the Isabelline regime's most powerful ministries. Described as a 'superministry', the Ministerio de Fomento was in command of all of the state's administrative government activities.[193] The ministry overshadowed and overpowered local governments in favour of the centralized Spanish state overseeing numerous sub-delegations for public works, agriculture, industry, commerce and the arts. Culturally, the Ministerio de Fomento was actively involved in the Comisión de Monumentos, Museo Nacional de la Trinidad, Real Museo del Prado, the prestigious Real Academia

[190] Sebastian Martin-Retortillo, *Descentralización administrativa y organización política* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1973)
[191] Isabel Burdiel, 'Morir de éxito: El péndulo liberal y la revolución española del siglo XIX', *Historia y Política*, v. 1 (1999)
[192] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), pp. 99-101.
[193] Diego López Garrido, *La Guardia Civil y Los Orígenes Del Estado Centralista* (Barcelona, 1982), pp. 37-39.

de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and other artistic and academic institutions.[194] Additionally, during the first half of the Isabelline regime, specifically from 1830-1850, public expenditure increased by twenty-five percent per capita in Spain.[195] This expansion allowed for the Isabelline government to allocate money into public projects such as the refurbishment and modernization of the main plazas and landmarks of Madrid as well as creating government offices and institutions, operating mostly under the Ministerio de Fomento, targeted towards generating state-sponsored culture.[196]

In addition to the redistribution of power within government ministries during the first half of the Isabelline era, reforms in education were made in order to modernize Spain and to create a sense of national identity by implementing the teaching of national Spanish histories. With a growing middle class, schools were a prime target for broadening historical narratives surrounding the Spanish state. As early as 1836, national Spanish history was required subject to be taught in schools. Unfortunately because of disruptions due to political instability from the Carlist War, the implementation of a nationalized education program was halted.[197] However, by mandatorily incorporating the teaching of Spanish national history in schools, it wove nationalism into the cultural fabric of the nation. As these children aged, they would be learn a collective national identity and shared history that would, in time, develop throughout each region of Spain.[198] During the mid-nineteenth century, more than 60% of Spaniards were illiterate compared to 17% in France,

[194] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), pp. 99-101
[195] Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983), pp. 76
[196] Ibid., 76
[197] Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 74
[198] Gonzalo Pasamar Alzuria, 'La invención del método histórico y la historia metódica del siglo XIX', *Historia Contemporánea*, v. 11 (1994), pp. 185-186

13% in the United States and 5% in England.[199] The remaining 40% of literate Spaniards were educated in private, predominately Church-run, schools that chose to negate the government-sponsored curriculum.[200] Throughout the beginning decades of the nineteenth century, from the Constitution of 1812 to the Liberal *Trienio* to the Isabelline regime, the state continually attempted to formulate a functional national education program to be implemented or supervised by the state.[201] The Constitution of 1812 states that education is 'national in character and so that public opinion can address the great objective of forming true Spaniards and honest men who live their *patria*, it is essential that the management of public education should not be put into mercenary hands'.[202] The enlightened vision of the 1812 Constitution is also reflected in Moderate policies of the 1845 when secondary education was ultimately institutionalised under an educational initiative titled the Pidal Plan.[203] Formalised under the auspices of Pedro José Pidal was a precursor to the Ley Moyano of the 1850s. As noted to the public, the Pidal Plan and education was of great significance, 'the teaching of youth is not a commodity that can be left to the greed of speculators, nor should it be equated with other industries in which only private interest dominates.'[204] As education was such a fundamental part of nation building, further argued by both José Álvarez Junco and Carolyn P. Boyd, it became necessary for the state to control public education. By teaching national literature, liberal values and texts such as Fernando de Castro's histories of the 'Spanish nation', through a state-sponsored medium like public education, the state had the opportunity to mould the next

[199] José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa* (Madrid: Taurus Hisotria, 2001), p. 546
[200] Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa* (2001), p. 546
[201] Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), pp. 329-332.
[202] From 1812 Constitution, translation cited from Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 330.
[203] Boyd, *Historia Patria* (1997), p. 13.
[204] Boletin oficial de instruccion pública, n. 18, ed. Javier de Quinto, 30 September 1845

generation of Spaniards who could then become intellectuals and politicians continuing on the ideals set by the Isabelline administration.[205]

After the Concordat of 1851, a reestablishment of the relationship between Spain and the Church after many anti-clerical acts such as Mendizábal's *desamortización* during the Carlist War, the Cortes finally passed a national public education law constructed by the Catholic Minister for Public Works, Claudio Moyano. The *ley Moyano* was established in 1857 and implemented a national education system, an obligatory curriculum and more accessible public schools.[206] The law, modelled after the French *Loi Falloux* of 1850, stated that it was compulsory for children to attend school from the ages of six to nine, that teachers would now be required to complete formal training and lastly that institutions of higher education, such as universities, were to be run by the state.[207] The educational system was broken down into three stages: primary, secondary and university. The mandatory primary education level for children was run by the local council and was made free to children who could not afford to pay school fees. The provinces managed secondary schools but had a mandated syllabus outlined by the state. And finally, the universities were strictly run by the state and the Ministerio de Fomento.[208] Linguistically, Spanish (Castellano) was regulated as the language of religion, of teaching and of the taught literature in schools.[209] The Ministerio de Fomento oversaw the hiring/firing of teachers, teacher training, textbooks, school openings and curriculum leaving no room for influence from the Church or local

[205] Boyd, *Historia Patria* (1997)
[206] Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa* (2001), p. 546.
[207] *Ley Moyano*, 1857
[208] John M. McNair, *Education for a Changing Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 18
[209] Fernández Sebastián and Capellán de Miguel, 'The notion of Modernity in nineteenth-century Spain', (2005), p. 177

governments.[210] The goal of this law, according to Moyano, was to create 'an economically productive, politically integrated and enlightened citizenry.'[211] By introducing this law, the state gained access to a potentially very influential medium by which their political ideals and culture could be filtered down through the classroom influencing future generations of Spaniards. As Fernández Sebastián and Capellán de Miguel highlight, literacy, geography and the history of Spain occupied a great deal of the school day in order to 'train individuals to be able to participate in national culture.' [212] While the law was deemed not as successful at accomplishing these lofty goals, it did however serve as a step to stabilize the relationship between the Church and the Moderate-led liberal state as well as to promote a system of national education.[213]

Another import factor in the development of the educational system in Spain was the most influential school of thought in nineteenth-century Spanish Liberalism: Krausism. Brought to Spain in the 1840s by Spanish philosopher Julián Sanz del Río, Krausism spurred a philosophical movement of intellectual freedom that molded together ideas of 'scientific reason, mysticism, positivism, and idealist philosophy into a totalizing theory for political, legal, educational, and economic reform.' [214] Sanz del Río, along with other proponents of educational reform, wanted to completely overhaul the university educational system in Madrid. The Krausists attempted to systematically 'revitalise and

[210] McNair, *Education for a Changing Spain* (1983), pp. 18-19; Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 3-40
[211] Boyd, *Historia Patria* (1997), p. 6.
[212] Fernández Sebastián and Capellán de Miguel, 'The notion of Modernity in nineteenth-century Spain', (2005), p. 177
[213] To discuss the relationship between the Church and Spanish politics and culture in detail is beyond the scope of this thesis. For this thesis, the relationship between the state and the Church will not be a dominant line of inquiry because it is presented thoroughly in modern historiography. See William Callahan's *Church, Politics, and Spanish Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
[214] Sandie E. Holguin, Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 20.

liberalise' Spain in order to reform Spanish society and modernize the country.[215] On 10 April 1865, a student protest turned deadly, known the *Noche de San Daniel,* took place in Puerta del Sol. Protesting against the dismissal and censorship of Emilio Castelar, a liberal political leader and professor at the University of Madrid, students and protesters gathered in the plaza only to be met with armed troops. Resulting in the death of fourteen civilians, the *Noche de San Daniel* sparked political outrage against the Isabelline regime by contemporaries such as Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. Of the event, Castelar that the government 'threatens us with its systematic violence and its entourage of evil.'[216] the *Noche de San Daniel* along with the San Gil barracks uprising in the following year, put forward an academic Krausist counter-culture that would develop into the La Institución Libre de Enseñanza (The Free Educational Institution) after the collapse of the Isabelline regime in 1868 which will be explored further in Chapter II.

As determined by both Anderson and Álvarez-Junco, the 'imagined community' of a Spanish nation was continually promulgated throughout the nineteenth century by modern authors of histories of the 'Spanish nation', poets, playwrights, painters and other artists.[217] The state contributed heavily to this initiative by constructing state-sponsored cultural landmarks and monuments around the capital. After the collapse of the *ancien regime* after the First Carlist War, the Isabelline administration was tasked with creating a new symbolic presence in the capital. It was determined that filling public spaces with representations of a 'new patriotic morality' represented by figures honouring the *padres de la patria*, the historic/rulers figures of Spain's past,

[215] Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), p. 303
[216] Emilio Castelar, *La Democracia*, 18 April 1865
[217] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), pp. 157-190

would create an 'imagined community' for the Spanish *nation* as well as to symbolically legitimize the rule and power of the Isabelline administration in the wake of the First Carlist War- effectively making Isabel II *la made de la patria* by association.[218] From 1833 to 1868, a series of public commissions were sponsored by the Isabelline government to be placed throughout the capital in order to accomplish this goal. During this era, cultural events such as the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes* were implemented, the main plazas around Madrid were reconstructed, modernized and fitted with historical monuments, the Teatro Real was completed and military monuments were erected throughout Madrid. The creation and presentation of these state-sponsored projects were essential to the dissemination of nationalist sentiment and were an integral part of the Isabelline regime's state-sponsored cultural initiatives.[219]

Plaza de Oriente was one of the first major areas of Madrid to undergo efforts of the state-sponsored revitalization process by the Isabelline administration. This plaza, originally a rather unremarkable and empty space beside the royal palace, became a spectacle of the grandeur of the Isabelline monarchy. In 1844, the statue of King Philip IV was moved from the gardens of the Palacio del Buen Retiro to the act as the focal point of the new plaza.[220] The use of the statue of Philip IV was significant as he is considered one of Spain's greatest artistic patrons and notably the monarch that was the great benefactor of the Spanish Golden Age master, Diego Velázquez- having painted no fewer than seven portraits of the king himself and countless other works for the royal family including the famous *Las Meninas*. In order to give the bronze

[218] Ibid., p. 339.
[219] Ibid., p. 335.
[220] This information was taken from the plaque accompanying the statue which was placed there by the Ayuntamiento de Madrid as well as the inscription on the back of the statue's pedestal.

figure more emphasis, the piece was raised and put on a large rectangular pedestal in the centre of the plaza adorned with fountains, bronze lions and historical reliefs. Orbiting the statue of Philip IV, a troop of white stone statues of the ancient kings of Spain was installed circling the plaza. With the Royal Palace serving as the plaza's backdrop, a bold inscription on the front of the bronze statue's pedestal read simply: 'For the glory of the arts and ornamentation of the capital, this statue was erected by Queen Isabel II.'[221] In depicting the illustrious history of the Spanish monarchy with the queen at the centre, the Isabelline regime reinforcing the idea that the Crown had constituted a first reference of collective identity for the Spanish nation.[222] The remake of Plaza Oriente turned this unused area of Madrid into a public gallery. In doing so, the Isabelline created a different lens for the every day citizen to view the royal palace. As the physical representation of the crown, the palace as seen from Plaza de Oriente transformed into a site of national cultural significance rather than an archetypal political representation of the ancien régime.[223]

The aggrandized nature of the reconstruction of Plaza de Oriente demonstrates the importance of mediating the royal legacy of Isabel II to the public. Just four years after the end of the First Carlist War, this refurbished plaza functioned as a way to legitimize the young Isabel II's position as queen and the power of her government to the public as doubts continued to linger surrounding the validity of her rule. Interestingly enough, the figure of Isabel II appears nowhere in the plaza. The decision to use a statue of Philip IV as opposed to a statue of Isabel II or other female counterparts, such as the regent

[221] Original text: *Para gloria de las artes y ornato e la capital erigió Isabel segunda este monumento*
[222] Reyero Hermosilla, 'El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia', (2009), p. 1198
[223] Ainhoa Gilarranz Ibáñez, *El Estado y el arte. Historia de una relación simbiótica en la España liberal, 1833-1875,* (Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2021), p. 13

María Cristina or even Isabel I, highlights the dynastic sexism still present in Spanish society immediately following the Carlist War given that the catalyst for the war was her right, or not, to inherit the Spanish throne based on her gender. As social historian Theda Skocpol notes, pre-existing cultural allegories are typically 'more anonymous, and less partisan.'[224] By focusing on more overt and 'safer' symbols of national significance, such as lions, historical kings and Philip IV decorating the majority plaza while still positioning Isabel II as the metaphorical pillar at its centre, this space became a physical representation of symbolic elements of Spanish national identity that now became intrinsically linked Isabel II. Additionally, the implementation of numerous statues in the capital city coincides with larger nineteenth-century European trends. The French *'statueomanie'*, or 'statuemania', as historian Maurice Auglhon details, was a broader nineteenth-century development that 'united the body politic' with the 'consensual national mythology' set in motion by the state.[225] These large physical manifestations of material culture often reconfigure the more than just they physical places that they exist in. By the Isabelline regime linking their state-sponsored cultural program so closely with the reconstruction of the urban geography of Madrid, they were also reconstructing the psycho-geographical nature of the city in that these public symbols would gradually over time become historical landmarks that are woven into the fabric of the city's, and the nation's, history.

[224] Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 204
[225] Maurice Agulhon, 'La 'statueomanie' et l'historie,' *Ethnologie française*, vol. 8, n. 1 (1978), pp. 145-172

Figure 1.1: Image of Plaza de Oriente y Palacio Real, Charles Clifford, Madrid, (1857)
Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 17/30/19

Figure 1.2: Image of Plaza de Oriente con el Teatro Real de Madrid al fondo, Charles Clifford, Madrid (1853)
Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 17/26/111

Standing just opposite the newly redesigned Plaza Oriente was the *Teatro Real de Madrid* (Royal Theatre of Madrid). Formerly known as the *Opera del Oriente*, the *Teatro Real* was established in 1818 by Fernando VII, but due to his rather chaotic political rule and lack of funding, the theatre was never completed.[226] Historically in Spain, theatre was an important medium for disseminating national sentiment. For example, during the reigns of Charles III and Charles IV no fewer than one hundred plays were written and performed dealing with themes of Spanish history.[227] As site of great historical and cultural importance, the administration of Isabel II undertook the project of the completion of the Teatro Real. As a directive from the queen, the theatre was to finally be completed and was subsequently inaugurated in November 1850.[228] The completion of the theatre in conjunction with the reconstruction of Plaza de Oriente and the establishment of the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes* in the 1850s projected an image of a monarch and a government that were committed to the reinvigoration of Spanish arts and culture. Additionally, through the creation of the various cultural initiatives, the Isabelline regime was symbolically legitimizing the reign of Isabel II by associating herself with an extensive royal lineage.[229] In addition to connecting Isabel II with the great kings of Spain's past, there was also a concerted effort made to connect Isabel II with her namesake Isabel la Católica. As stated very clearly by Vázquez, 'it was through the image of Isabel la Católica that a historical construction of the modern Isabel was imaged.'[230] This mythologized narrative was another example of the Isabelline regime's attempt to invent a tradition that took the beloved image of Isabel la Católica and 'modified, ritualized and

[226] Preckler, *Historia del arte universal de los siglos XIX y XX* (2003), p. 188
[227] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 160
[228] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 5654, 22 January 1850, p. 1
[229] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 339
[230] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), p. 144

institutionalized' it 'for new national purposes' of intrinsically linking the two monarchs in public consciousness.[231]

The auditorium of the main library at the then Universidad Central de Madrid, now the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, is a perfect representation of this association. Created in 1858, the mural that adorns this ceiling shows Isabel la Católica on one end and Isabel II on the other bordered by notable figures of science and academia. In this work painted by Joaquín Espalter, Isabel la Católica peers across the mural to Isabel II who is depicted on a throne surrounded by symbols of modernity and progress such as trains, the telegraph and canals.[232] The symbolism and implication that the Isabelline regime was tied to the idea of a modernised nation counter the contemporary notions of Spanish 'backwardness'.[233] For example, the 'Prescott Paradigm', a term coined by historian Richard L. Kagan, is a model of the interpretation that asserts an inherent backwardness to Spanish politics, society and culture. Following the prolific writings of nineteenth-century American historian William H. Prescott, Kagan developed an archetype used by Prescott that contrasts the ideas of nineteenth-century American liberty and modernity with Spain, which he refers to as '[America's] antithesis.'[234] Other prominent contemporaries also made note of the 'backwardness' of nineteenth-century Spain. George Ticknor, Harvard's first professor of modern languages, visited Spain in the early 1800s. Of his trip he wrote, 'Imagine a country so deserted and desolate, and with so little travelling and communication, as to have no taverns' that was found

[231] Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (1983), p. 6
[232] Ibid., p. 144.
[233] For an in depth history of the notion of Spanish 'backwardness' or 'Spanish difference', please see: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 1960); *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Nigel Townson (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015)
[234] Richard L. Kagan, 'Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain,' in *The American Historical Review*, v. 101, n. 2 (April, 1996), pp. 430-431.

wanting for both 'cultivation and refinement.'[235] American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow once remarked in a personal letter 'There is so little change in the Spanish character, that you find everything as it is said to have been two hundred years ago.'[236]The parallel created in the mural by Espalter demonstrates the connection drawn between the two queens, implying that the contemporary Isabel II was both modern and the successor not only of the ancient queen's name but her prestige.

This explicit link between the two Isabels is further reiterated in the book *Paralelo entre las reinas catolicas Doña Isabel Ia y Doña Isabel II* by José Güell y Renté. Published in 1858, just a decade before Isabel II's reign would come to a end by revolution, Güell y Renté published this book, dedicated to '*el pueblo*', as an 'impartial' comparison showing the connection between the two queens.[237] However, as Güell y Renté was married to Isabel II's sister-in-law, Josefina Fernanda de Borbón, his connection to the crown makes his claimed impartiality impossible. Furthermore, born in Havana, Güell y Renté became a wealthy industrialist in Catalonia and was actively involved in liberal politics during the Isabelline era. The book begins by drawing a comparison between the times and lives of the 'two immortal queens', of Isabel la Católica and Isabel II.[238] To do this, Güell y Renté relies heavily on William H. Prescott's three volume *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic*, originally published in 1837.

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[235] George Ticknor, *Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor* (Boston, 1876), p. 198.
[236] Andrew Hilen, *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, v. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,), p. 222
[237] José Güell y Renté, *Paralelo entre las reinas catolicas Doña Isabel I^a^ y Doña Isabel II* (Paris: Imprenta de Jules Claye, 1858), p.1.
[238] Güell y Renté, *Paralelo entre las reinas catolicas Doña Isabel I^a^ y Doña Isabel II* (1858), p. 25.

> 'Clouds and darkness have, indeed, settled thick around the throne of the youthful [Isabel II]; but not a deeper darkness than that which covered the land in the first years of her illustrious namesake; and we may humbly trust, that the same Providence, which guided her reign to so prosperous a termination, may carry the nation safely through its present perils, and secure to it the greatest of earthly blessings…'.[239]

By presenting this quote from Prescott, a well established historian, Güell y Renté is presumably attempting to intertwine his opinions on Isabel II with historical fact about Isabel la Católica to support his own subjective narrative on the current queen. Structurally, this seems to be the case. All the while citing Prescott, for one page Güell y Renté writes about an event in the life of Isabel la Católica then on the subsequent page, describes a similar situation that affected Isabel II. For example, Güell y Renté describes the childhood of Isabel la Católica as rather tumultuous but she was looked after and cared for by her mother. Güell y Renté then draws a parallel to the life of Isabel II, just a child when her father died and the bloody Carlist War began while her mother assumed the regency to defend her daughter's claim to the crown.[240] Another comparison Güell y Renté describes is that both Isabel la Católica and Isabel II united the nation; Isabel la Católica through her marriage united the kingdoms of Spain where as Isabel II united a country 'separated by customs and immense distance' through political and cultural initiatives.[241] Detailing the numerous reconstruction and cultural projects implemented by the Isabelline regime taking place throughout Spain, some of which have been discussed above, Güell y Renté writes that these projects were done to modernise the country as was done in 'France, Portugal, England and the rest of Europe.'[242] Focusing namely on Madrid, as it was the 'capital of the monarchy', Güell y

[239] William H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic*, vol. 1 (New York: A. L. Burt Publisher, 1837), p. 10; see also: Güell y Renté, *Paralelo entre las reinas catolicas Doña Isabel I[a] y Doña Isabel II* (1858), pp. 3-4.
[240] Güell y Renté, *Paralelo entre las reinas catolicas Doña Isabel I[a] y Doña Isabel II* (1858), pp. 26-34.
[241] Ibid., pp. 48-50.
[242] Ibid., p. 51.

Renté writes that Isabel II was passionate about these projects as she was 'always looking to advance her nation.'[243] He further insinuates that these projects were of personal importance to the queen as each monument that was erected was Isabel II's way of commemorating the legacy of her predecessors and important events in Spain's history.[244]

Furthering this parallel between Isabel la Católica and Isabel II, Güell y Renté refers to both queens as 'the Catholic queens', a moniker which is traditionally only associated with Isabel I. As stated by Güell y Renté, '…as Doña Isabel I conquered the immense difficulties of her time; Doña Isabel II has triumphed over so many conflicts, with a marked protection of the divine'. [245] Following Burdiel's thesis on the connection between gender, nineteenth-century moral values and the collapse of the Isabelline regime, by connecting the name and moniker of one of the most pious monarchs in Spanish history to Isabel II, this may have been a direct attempt to promote a strong moral image of the queen as rumours continually swirled around the Spanish court of her depravity.[246]

As is made clear by Güell y Renté's book as well as the numerous visual representations and public monuments throughout Madrid, there was a clear initiative by the Isabelline regime to assert the legitimacy of Isabel II's rule and the authority of her administration by creating a historical link between the queen and the other great monarchs of Spain's past. This historical association served as a way to continually legitimise Isabel II as questions of her legitimacy continued in the wake of the Carlist War.

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[243] Ibid., pp. 50-56.
[244] Ibid., pp. 55-61.
[245] Güell y Renté, *Paralelo entre las reinas catolicas Doña Isabel I[a] y Doña Isabel II* (1858), pp. 7-8.
[246] Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class: The symbolic failure of Isabel II of Spain', *Social History* (2004)

According to both Benedict Anderson and Jesus Cruz, the main groups of people that were exposed to these new implementations of state-sponsored culture were what Anderson describes as the 'reading class', members of the old nobility and landed gentry, the Church and courtiers as well as the new bourgeoisie class that emerged from the revolutionary period of the early 1800s consisting of industrial leaders, rising middle class professionals and politicians. [247] This 'reading class', or otherwise commonly called the bourgeoisie, developed out of the revolutionary era in early nineteenth century Spain between 1812 and 1843.[248] However, despite the political and social changes as a consequence of the First Carlist War and subsequent collapse of the *ancien regime*, the cultural landscape in nineteenth-century Spain remained virtually unchanged as argued by historian Jesus Cruz. Cruz creates a 'museum of families' that details all of the major families present in nineteenth century Spain and then traces their history to see if in fact there was a creation of a new burgeoning social class. His determination is that after the collapse of the *ancien regime*, the old order survived, but just in a different form. Cruz states that 'although there had been intense class conflict, the landholding elite of the old regime survived the revolution and was able to regenerate itself in the high society of the nineteenth century.[249] However, the collapse of the *ancien regime* brought with it a new market of collectors, consumers and viewers of Spanish art and *patrimonio* in order to align themselves socially with the traditional aristocracy. For example, through assembling their own prominent collections by purchasing heavily from state-subsidised arts-patronage societies and the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes*, this emerging market of collectors

[247] Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983), pp. 75-76; Jesus Cruz, *Gentlemen, bourgeois, and revolutionaries: Political change and cultural persistence among the Spanish dominant groups, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996), pp. 3-15.
[248] Cruz, *Gentlemen, bourgeois, and revolutionaries* (1996), p. 4.
[249] Ibid., p. 265.

were easily able to create a facsimile of the collections of the older, more established aristocracy.[250]

Empire and Nineteenth-Century Spanish Culture

The military increasingly became a predominant force in Spanish politics and society throughout the nineteenth century. As the military was such a vital component of nineteenth-century Spain, it was also necessary to employ state-sponsored cultural initiatives linked with contemporary military exploits. Beginning with the mobilization of revolutionary forces for the War of Independence in 1808 to the First Carlist War, various colonial wars and ending with the War of 1898, the military played a significant role in the domestic affairs of Spanish politics, society and culture. As Carolyn Boyd wrote about the Spanish tradition of the *pronunciamiento* in nineteenth century Spanish politics, the 'politicization of military affairs encouraged military intervention in politics'.[251] This Spanish phenomenon led to a complicated political structure consisting of a controversial constitutional monarch and a revolving series of military generals rotating as prime ministers from 1840-1868.

After the gradual loss of *las colonias ultramarinas* during the first half of the century (the majority being between 1808-1824), with the exceptions of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam, the Isabelline regime focused on promoting cultural projects based on imperial expansion as a way to capitalize

[250] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), pp. 69-96.
[251] Carolyn P Boyd, 'The Military in Politics', in *Spanish History Since 1808*, ed. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 70.

on the domestic patriotic fervour that surrounded these conflicts, especially under the ministry of Leopoldo O'Donnell. From 1858 to 1866, Spain embarked on a series of military campaigns in Vietnam, Santo Domingo, Mexico, Chile, Peru and Morocco. This series of conflicts is what historian Stephen Jacobson defines as 'micromilitarism', a term used to describe a country's use of smaller military campaigns that would be 'quick wars and easy victories with few domestic causalities' in the face of imperial decline.[252] Modern examples of the concept of micromilitarism are the Suez Crisis in 1956 with the British Empire and the various American conflicts in the post-Vietnam War era.[253] In mid nineteenth-century Spain the military budget, in addition to the budget for the Ministerio de Fomento, accounted for a sixty per cent of the national budget.[254] The inflated military budget in conjunction with the multitude of widespread international conflicts in less than a decade shows a renewed drive in Spanish overseas expansionist activity. By the mid-nineteenth century, although the Spanish empire had reduced drastically in size, Spaniards did not perceive themselves as living in an era of imperial decline. The Cuban sugar boom of the 1830s as well as a boost in transatlantic trade prompted massive economic

[252] Stephen Jacobson, 'Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline: Micromilitarism and the Eclipse of the Spanish Empire, 1858-1923', *Endless Empire: Spain's retreat, Europe's eclipse, America's decline*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), p. 75., Jacobson also connects these smaller, 'easier' conflicts with larger, more devastating wars, such as the Ten Year War in Cuba, major conflicts in the Philippines and the Rif War in Morocco.
[253] Jacobson, 'Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline' (2012), p. 75.
[254] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 331.

and urban development, especially in areas such as Catalonia.[255] From the late 1830s, Cuba's sugar and coffee plantations brought a much needed financial recovery to a struggling Spain and Cuba became one of the world's most industrious colonies.[256]

After over four centuries of colonial rule, Spanish identity was 'inextricably linked' to its empire. [257] As historian Christopher Schmidt-Nowara has demonstrated, the idea of Spain and empire are so intertwined that ideas of colonialism were essential to the formation of ideologies of modern Spain.[258] He further goes on to maintain that the politics of colonial rule and representations of the empire were of paramount importance to nineteenth-century Spanish identity.[259] In the nineteenth century, to many liberal factions, including the progressives and radical intellectuals, colonialism was seen modern project and it was necessary to the future of the nation to continue to expand and modernize to remain on par with other European contemporaries such as England or France.[260] Now in the 'Age of Empire', many European powers sustained an aggressive expansionist policy spanning the globe. Colonialism and the empire it produced became the ultimate judge of the

[255] Jacobson, 'Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline' (2012), pp. 77-78.
[256] Josep M. Fradera, 'Empires in Retreat: Spain and Portugal After the Napoleonic Wars,' *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse America's Decline*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), p. 66.
[257] Alda Blanco, 'España en la encrucijada: ¿Nostalgia imperial o colonialismo moderno?', *Visiones del liberalismo: Política, identidad y cultura en la España del siglo XIX,* eds. Alda Blanco and Guy Thomson (València: Universitat de València, 2008), p. 221.
[258] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), p. 28.
[259] Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History* (2006), pp. 54-55.
[260] Blanco, 'España en la encrucijada: ¿Nostalgia imperial o colonialismo moderno?' (2008), pp. 222-223.

nation which it represented.[261] Upon election in 1858, the platform of Leopoldo O'Donnell and his Liberal Union party was to be a 'national government committed to overcoming rivalries, pursuing economic development, and raising the international prestige of a country devastated by civil war for much of the first half of the century.'[262] As argued by both Schmidt-Nowara and Álvarez-Junco, the following series of micromilitarism conflicts were not nearly as territorially expansive as the imperialist efforts of other European contemporaries such as Great Britain and France, but they 'gave rise to such patriotic enthusiasm' that remained ritualised in Spanish culture and military discourse well into the twentieth century.[263]

The war in Morocco, also called *la Guerra de África*, was of particular significance to mid-nineteenth century Spanish culture. Lasting only six months, from October 1859 to April 1860, the conflict in Morocco was fought with the Moroccan tribesmen and armies of the sultan for infringing upon Spanish territories in northern Morocco. After a rare unanimous call for a declaration of war from the *Cortes* Spanish troops took up military action and the end result of this brief war was that Spanish territories around the cities of Ceuta and Melilla were expanded.[264] This six-month conflict in Morocco and subsequent victory was heavily capitalized on by the Isabelline government. The state used

[261] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 296.
[262] Jacobson, 'Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline,' (2012), pp. 78-79.
[263] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 302.
[264] Adolfo Campoy-Cubillo, *Memories of the Maghreb: Transnational Identities in Spanish Cultural Production* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-3.

the wave of national sentiment following the victory in Morocco as a platform to promote the reinvigorated military prowess of the nation and colonial expansion through elements of state sponsored culture.

Leopoldo O'Donnell, a popular figure in nineteenth century Spanish politics, led the campaign in Morocco. Shortly after securing Spanish victory at the Battle of Tetuán, General O'Donnell was made the Duke of Tetuán by royal decree from the queen in order to 'perpetuate the memory of the glorious campaign of Africa'.[265] Additionally, when O'Donnell and his troops retuned to Madrid, there was a grand military procession throughout the capital to further memorialize this victorious event with the public. In 1860, two bronze lions were commissioned to be cast from the cannons captured from enemy troops to then be placed on either side of the Spanish parliament building's main entrance.[266] Furthermore, this military campaign became the common theme of contemporary literature and theatrical productions in the mid-nineteenth century. The conflict in Morocco was seen as a massive 'patriotic event' and numerous productions such as *Los moros del Riff, ¡Españoles, A Marruecos!* and *El pabellón español en África* were some of the many theatrical productions produced celebrating this brief conflict.[267]

[265] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 39, 8 February 1860, p. 1.
[266] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), pp. 339-340.
[267] Blanco, 'España en la encrucijada: ¿Nostalgia imperial o colonialismo moderno?' (2008), p. 224.

The campaign in Morocco and O'Donnell's victory brought with it a kind of popular nationalism.[268] The War of Africa appealed to Spaniards from varying political backgrounds by invoking the historic military campaigns of the *Reconquista* which appealed to the more religious and conservative parties as well as the liberal ideals.[269] By capitalising on the swell of patriotic fervour that was sweeping throughout Madrid after the victory in Morocco, the Isabelline regime was able to, in the words of Emilio Castelar, 'nourish the tree of [Spanish] nationality.'[270] The overblown state investment on the cultural symbolization and memorialization of Spanish 'imperial memory' furthered the creation of a national Spanish identity constructed by the state.[271]

[268] Josep M. Fradera, 'La importancia de tenir colonias,' in *Catalunya i ultramar: poder i negoci a les colònies espanyoles* (Barcelona : Ambit Serveis, 1995) p. 22-52.
[269] Geoffery Jensen, 'War and the Military,' in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, eds Adrian Shubert, José Álvarez Junco (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 336.
[270] Emilio Castelar, *La Discusión*, 6-II-1860; cited in Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 303.
[271] Ibid., p. 220.

Figure 1.3: Image of O'Donnell junto a las tropas de la Campaña de África pasando por la Puerta del Sol en 1860, Madrid (1860)
Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 17/32/43

Figure 1.4: Image of lion commissioned from enemy cannons following Spain's War of Africa in 1860, photograph by author

In addition to the bronze lions commissioned to represent victory in the war in Morocco, various other monuments were commissioned during the Isabelline regime to commemorate of significant military events that had a

significant impact on the nation. In Madrid, the most prominent of which is the *Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo*. As Anderson makes clear, 'no more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers' and the *Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo* functions as just that. Just months before the end of the Carlist War, this monument, more commonly referred to as the Monument of the Fallen, was dedicated by the queen on 2 May 1840 to the heroes of Spain's War of Independence. Erected on the cite of the *Dos de Mayo* massacre, this monument created an inclusive, non-partisan space where those of all political persuasions could come together as Spaniards and give respect to the fallen soldiers of the War of Independence or *los padres de la patria*.

The monument is a large obelisk, measuring almost six meters tall, atop a base that is adorned with lions, which are traditionally used as symbols of strength and bravery, as well as symbols of the city of Madrid and the monarchy. Additionally, the monument is decorated with four Hellenistic style figures that represent virtue, patriotism, courage and constancy. The front of the monument, below the sculptural allegory of patriotism, is an unmarked tomb that is supposed to contain the ashes of the victims of the *Dos de Mayo* massacre. Above this sarcophagus is a medallion with the faces of Luis Daoíz and Pedro Velarde who are heroic martyrs in Spanish national memory as they were killed during the *2 de Mayo* uprising.

This national monument was of paramount importance as it symbolically memorialized the moment when Spain had 'emerged as a modern nation'.[272] In representing this pivotal moment in the form of a permanent physical and public place of remembrance, as opposed to a commissioned portrait or a

[272] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 339.

national holiday, this monument serves as a physical representation of the creation of Spanish nationalism that historians argue was conceived in this exact moment (2 May 1808) at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[273] Located along the *Paseo del Prado,* this symbol of national significance came into being just as the First Carlist War was coming to a close. This is significant because even with the end of the war, Spain was still very much politically and socially divided. In creating this monument, focusing on the massacre of Spaniards by an invading foreign power, this monument would, in theory, draw attention away from the internal struggles following the Carlist War and would symbolically represent the shared cultural significance of *Dos de Mayo* to all Spaniards regardless of political affiliation. French writer, journalist, poet and art critic, Théophile Gautier, remarked in his 1845 book, *Voyage en Espagne*, that the Monument of the Fallen was 'quite beautiful' and was constructed in such a way that reminded him of the great obelisk of Luxor in Paris.[274] He also noted that the location of the monument was an excellent location as it was extraordinarily close to the Museo del Prado that housed the famous paintings, *Dos* and *Tres de Mayo*, that were painted by Francisco Goya in 1814 and came to be seen as international symbols of the horrors of war. [275] However, on his visit to the newly inaugurated monument, Gautier also openly criticised the Spanish government's choice of historical event to commemorate. Although he called the events of Dos de Mayo a 'heroic and glorious episode' he also believed that the Isabelline regime 'slightly [abused]' the historical catastrophe to its own advantage by oversaturating the Spanish people with contestant images and reminders of the events and claiming the event as their

[273] José Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 9-12 and Elie Kedourie, Nationalism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 1

[274] Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne* (Charpentier, París: 1845)

[275] Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne* (Charpentier, París: 1845)

own rather than a watershed moment of unifying Spanish nationalism.[276]

Comparably, the various monuments erected commemorating the sinking of the *USS Maine* served a similar purpose for the American public. Immediately preceding the Spanish American War of 1898, tensions still remained high surrounding the American Civil War, which ended over thirty years prior. The tragedy of the mysterious explosion of the *USS Maine* in Havana Harbour provided an opportunity for political and cultural reconciliation as it rallied the American public for a call to arms against Spain. Commemorations and monuments of this event began to emerge all over the United States and were an important factor in the cultural unification of American national identity in the wake of the Civil War.[277]

In a similar attempt to reunite a fractured Spain by focusing on the War of Independence, in 1985 King Juan Carlos rededicated the monument to serve as a 'tomb of the unknown soldier' in memory of all the fallen heroes of Spain. During this rededication, an eternal flame was added in front of the tomb of ashes as well as a gold inscription which reads 'In honour of all those who gave their life for Spain.' As this was just a decade after the death of fascist dictator, Francisco Franco, like the Isabelline regime, the Spanish government was attempting to recreate the notion of a Spanish identity centred on a new regime in the wake of a traumatic civil war.[278] In the creation, and subsequent rededication, of this monument, the Spanish state attempted to generate a politically neutral place of national remembrance in order to begin to reunite a fragmented public and form a shared space of national historical remembrance.

[276] Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne* (Charpentier, París: 1845)
[277] Richard E. Wood, 'The South and Reunion, 1898,' in *The Historian*, v. 31, n. 3 (May 1969), pp. 415-430
[278] For more on this point, please see Hamilton M. Stapell, Remaking Madrid: Culture Politics, and Identity after Franco (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Figure 1.5 Image of *Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo*, also known as the Monument of the Fallen, Madrid, photograph by author
Inscription reads: *Las cenizas de las victimas del 2 de mayo de 1808 descansan en este campo de lealtad. Regado con su sangre. ¡Honor eterno al patriotismo!*

Figure 1.6: Detail image of *Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo*/ the Monument of the Fallen, Madrid, photograph by author
Inscription reads: *Honor a todos los que dieron su vida por España*

Conclusions and the Glorious Revolution of 1868

In conclusion, the period immediately after the end of the First Carlist War and *ancien regime* brought with it significant political and cultural change. Lingering cultural effects of the First Carlist War, specifically the need to legitimize the rule of Isabel II and Mendizábal's *desamortización*, spurred the necessity of rapid development of state-sponsored cultural projects during the Isabelline regime. Throughout the period from 1833 to 1868, these various cultural initiatives served as a means of propagating a specific image of the monarchy and its government to mobilize a nationalist sentiment and public

opinion in order to develop a Spanish national identity centred around the state.

Culturally, it is clear that the effects of the *desamortización* of 1830s had an enduring effect on Spain's cultural landscape throughout the nineteenth century. Starting with the initial seizing of Church lands and property, this act prompted administrative change when it came to restrictions on selling Spanish works abroad and was directly responsible for the establishment of a national collection which would later turn into one of Spain's most prestigious cultural institutions, the *Museo del Prado.* [279]

Politically, the Isabelline administration used the creation of the Ministerio de Fomento to facilitate the implementation of various cultural projects to both legitimize the government of Isabel II by drawing connections to the Golden Age of Spain's past, as well as to create an 'imagined community' of a national identity centred around the Spanish state. These projects ranged from the establishment of the *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* under the patronage of Isabel II, the re-presentation and reconstruction of culturally and historically significant locations around Madrid such as Plaza de Oriente and the Teatro Real, to the creation of patriotic military events and monuments to memorialize Spain's imperial legacy and national heroes. This is significant because just thirty years earlier, at the end of Ferdinand VII's reign in 1833, there were no patriotic monuments in Madrid.[280] Throughout Isabel II's reign, the capital was flooded with monuments and tributes to symbolize a shared national history and culture, military triumphs and national heroes. These events and monuments were designed to embellish Madrid as the capital of the *state* which would eventually become synonymous as the capital of the *nation*.

[279] Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection* (2001), pp. 108-109.
[280] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 338.

Isabel II's reign came to an abrupt end in September 1868. Led namely by generals Juan Prim and Francisco Serrano, the Revolution of 1868 drove the queen and her family into exile in Paris where she would live out the remainder of her life. As the liberal Progressive movement increasingly became the prevalent opinion throughout Spain, by 1868 the stability of the Isabelline monarchy rested solely on a small faction of Moderates that proved not enough to prop up Isabel II's regime.[281] This coalition of anti-Isabelline political and military factions came together to overthrow the Isabelline regime by *pronunciamiento*. The manipulation of the crown by the overzealous politicians and numerous generals surrounding Isabel II coupled with the negative image of the queen herself, which was in part produced by these manipulations, consequently dismantled the legitimacy of her reign.[282] Jacobson describes Isabel II's reign as a hodgepodge of 'conservative constitutionalism, Bonapartist administrative centralisation, liberal economic policies, and old-regime –style royal gluttony.'[283] Leading up to the Glorious Revolution, as it would come to be known, throughout Spain Isabel II's public image continued to decline as she was perceived as a reprehensible, immoral and deviant figure that led Spain into chaos and disaster through political cartoons and in the press.[284] Throughout her reign, Isabel II became a 'focal point for national frustration' as Spain suffered from increased political and economic tensions during the last years of her reign.[285] As queen, Isabel II's Spain experienced major periods of political instability, economic crisis, social and political reformations and both international and domestic conflicts. Isabel Burdiel cites the popular song, sung to the tune of *el Himno de Riego* of the Liberal Triennium, that depicts the

[281] Carr, *Spain: 1808-1975* (1982), pp. 292-298.
[282] Isabel Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class: The symbolic failure of Isabel II of Spain', *Social History*, vol. 29, no. 3 (August 2004)
[283] Jacobson, 'Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline' (2012), p. 82.
[284] Burdiel, 'The queen, the woman and the middle class' (2003), pp. 307-310
[285] White, 'Liberty, Honor, Order' (1999), p. 237.

widespread animosity towards the queen on the eve of the Glorious Revolution: '…if the queen wants her crown to be made of virtue, then the Spanish crown is not for any whore…'.[286] After Isabel II was removed from power, the provisional government of the revolution struggled to produce a satisfactory plan that would unify the numerous political factions all volleying for power in the wake of Isabel II's deposition. As described by María Sierra, the 'liberal experiment' of this provisional government would attempt to redefine and restructure liberal politics and society during the *Sexenio Democrático* and the subsequent short lived First Spanish Republic.[287]

[286] Burdiel, *Isabel II: una biografía* (2010), pp. 812-813.
[287] María Sierra, 'The Time of Liberalism: 1833-74,' in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, eds Adrian Shubert, José Álvarez Junco (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 41-45.

Chapter II:

1868-1874

The Glorious Revolution, the Liberal Experiment and the Nationalisation of State-Sponsored Culture

La 'Gloriosa' of 1868 and the Democratic Sexennium

In Cadiz during the morning of 17 September 1868, Admiral Juan Bautista Topete gave a proclamation to the people of Cadiz. Accompanied by thirteen ships and a 21-gun salute, the admiral gave notice that he and others like him were in open rebellion against the government. Topete opened his address by proclaiming that:

> Our unhappy country had for years submitted to the most horrible dictatorship; our fundamental laws have been shattered; the rights of the citizens ridiculed; a fictitious basis of representation created; the bond uniting the people and the throne, and forming the constitutional monarchy, has been completely broken.[288]

His address continued stating that 'we desire that the legitimate powers- the people and the throne- should perform their functions within the orbit marked out for them by the Constitution' to restore the 'harmony' between them which had been 'destroyed and broken'.[289] The following day Topete was joined on ship by General Juan Prim, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta and Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla. Upon his arrival, General Prim delivered a proclamation meant for the whole of Spain: 'To arms, citizens, to arms! …Let us destroy what time and progress

[288] Address given by Admiral Juan Bautista Topete, Cadiz Bay, on board the Saragossa, 17 September 1868; Edward Henry Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution, 1868-1875* (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), pp. 1-2; Edward Henry Strobel was an American diplomat serving in Madrid until the 1890s before he was recalled to Washington. He went on to become the Third Assistant Secretary of State, US Ambassador to Chile and US Ambassador Ecuador.
[289] Ibid., p. 3

ought, step by step, to have transformed.'[290] Upon landing in Cadiz, the revolutionaries were greeted with 'enthusiastic cheers' and with that, the Glorious September Revolution of 1868, or *La Gloriosa*, had begun.

As word of this rebellion reached Madrid on the 18 September, the city was put under martial law.[291] On 29 September, the Provisional Government of the Republic issued a statement following their apparent victory in deposing Isabel II and her forces:

> There is universal joy and confidence. A provisional junta, sprung from the bosom of the Revolution, has just determined upon the arming of the national militia and the election by universal suffrage of a permanent junta, which will be constituted tomorrow…To the people of Madrid: The provisional committee adheres unanimously to the cry of the nation, which has proclaimed the national sovereignty, the expulsion of Isabel of Bourbon, and the future incapacity of all Bourbons to sit upon the throne of Spain.[292]

Queen Isabel II, being absent from Madrid, eagerly pushed to get back to the capital after news of Topete's decree. However, due to the triumph of the Revolutionary forces, Isabel II and her family, including future King Alfonso XII, were forced into exile in France. Leaving for France in the early morning of 30 September 1868, Isabel II left a final address to her nation. She writes that the Revolution has 'thrown Spain into the horrors of anarchy' and that those who had turned against her had broken their word to protect and serve their country.[293] She also writes that the Revolution 'imperil[s]' Spain's religion, legitimacy independence and honour.[294] She goes on to say that the 'sad series of defection' and 'acts of incredible disloyalty' personally wounded her pride

[290] Address given by General Juan Prim, 18 September 1868; Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution, 1868-1875* (1898), pp. 6-7
[291] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution, 1868-1875* (1898), p. 10
[292] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution, 1868-1875* (1898), pp. 19-20
[293] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 274, 30 September 1868
[294] Ibid.; In the following year, the Provisional Government of the Revolution would create the Constitution of 1869 would indeed 'imperil' Isabel II's notion of Spanish religion as it would introduce religious liberty to all those born and living in Spain.

and 'offended [her] dignity'.[295] Furthermore, the Queen asserts that she is still the legitimate ruler of Spain. Her station was 'secured by law, ratified and sworn to by the nation' in comparison to the lack of legitimacy of the Provisional Government of the Revolution stating that their decrees are nothing more than the 'impulse of demagogic passion' that represent the 'mortal enemy of traditions and legitimate progress'.[296] Isabel II concludes her multipage address by reminding the people of Spain that a 'monarchy of fifteen centuries of combat, victories, patriotism and grandeur cannot be destroyed in fifteen days of perjury, corruption and treachery…In the just and patriotic aspiration to sustain right, legitimacy and honour, your spirits and your efforts may always count upon the energetic decision and maternal love of your Queen.'[297] Unfortunately for Isabel II, she would spend the remainder of her life in exile in France until her death in 1904. The Revolutionaries were now in control of Spain; the Bourbon monarchy was gone and a new era of liberal administration was beginning. The Glorious Revolution of 1868 and its insurrectionists succeeded in disrupting the political system Spain as outlined above, but did that translate into other areas of government? Did this period produce substantial changes to that of the previous government's state-sponsored cultural initiatives?

The revolutionary cause united Spain's liberal parties, the Unionists, Progressives, Democrats and Republicans, in a temporary alliance against the Isabelline regime and the crown. Cries of revolution such as 'Down with the Bourbons!', 'Down with what exists!' and 'Long live national sovereignty!'

[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.

echoed throughout the country.[298] The Provisional Government of the Revolution, also sometimes referred to as the Provisional Government of the Nation, issued a memorandum on 19 October 1868 outlining the goals of the Revolutionary government including religious liberty, free schools, financial reforms and liberty of the press among other 'benefits of the Revolution' which would be extended to citizens in Spain as well as those in the colonies.[299] The manifesto also touches upon notions of Spaniards' own perceptions of Spanish backwardness, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The Provisional Government of the Revolution denounced the Isabelline regime saying that the 'dethroned dynasty [had] been in opposition to the spirit of the age and a barrier to all progress.'[300]

In addition to the official manifesto of the Provisional Government of the Revolution, a number of official books and leaflets were created and distributed around Madrid to inform the citizens of the goals of this new, more liberal, regime. These publications functioned as an additional way for the state to spread propaganda about the accomplishments of the Revolution as well as to disseminate liberal ideals to the public. Although this propaganda technique was not new to time periods surrounding revolutions in Spain, such as those in the 1820s and 1840s, the oversaturation of literature produced would have flooded the country which would be effective in reaching a large amount of the population, especially in larger urban areas. A small booklet titled 'Cartilla para electores o catecismo popular' (Notebook for voters or popular catechism) was published in the immediate aftermath of the September Revolution. This free booklet, as noted by historian Emily Delivre, was a very popular tool to quickly

[298] María Sierra, 'The Time of Liberalism: 1833-74,' in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, edited by Adrian Shubert and José Álvarez Junco (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 41.
[299] Gaceta de Madrid, n. 293, 19 October 1868
[300] Ibid.

disseminate political information to the public since the early part of the ninetieth century in Spain.[301] This particular booklet was 'dedicated to the indefatigable defenders of freedom who have prepared, directed and carried out the glorious revolution of September'. The booklet contains questions and answers that are clear and concise, instructing the reader about important topics regarding the Revolution. Within the book, the author explains hypothetical questions about a Spaniards rights, government structure, opportunities and civic responsibilities after the Revolution.[302] For example, a question asks 'Does the voter have responsibilities?' and the author responds 'Yes…It is the duty of the voter to vote…as up until now, a great majority of Spaniards did not have [the right to vote], it was a privilege'.[303] The author also writes about the impressive qualities of his countrymen while at the same time attempting to promote civic duty in his fellow citizens. 'Spaniards wanted to be free, and they had courage, effort and perseverance to be free ... Let us know the value of this victory. Let us know how to appreciate the rights so as not to lose them: we can appreciate the freedoms to ensure them.'[304]

Themes of the nation and nationalism were ever present in the post-Revolutionary press and publications. After the success of the September Revolution, the Revolution and its leaders were romanticised as national heroes who brought about the rebirth of Spanish politics, society and culture. This glamorized portrayal was very evident in numerous publications such as Mariano Calavia's book *Reflexiones acerca de la Gloriosa revolución de Setiembre de 1868*. In this book, Calavia, a noted doctor, publicist and writer,

[301] Emily Delivre, 'The Pen and The Sword: Political Catechisms and resistance to Napoleon', in *Popular Resistance in the French Wars: Patriots Partisans and Land Pirate*s, ed. Charles Esdaile (Basingstoke: Pelgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 161-180
[302] Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, *Cartilla para electores o catecismo popular: dedicado a los infatigables defensores de la libertad que han preparado, dirigido y llevado a cabo la gloriosa revolución de setiembre* (Madrid, 1868)
[303] Díaz de Benjumea, *Cartilla para electores o catecismo popular* (1868), pp. 13-14
[304] Ibid., p. viii

gives an extraordinarily detailed history of the origins of the Revolution of 1868 as well as a day-by-day account of the events following Topete's address to the people of Cadiz.[305] Calavia continually boasts of the 'unparalleled magnificence' and significance of the September Revolution.[306] He writes that during the Isabelline regime, Spain was under the leadership of a 'cruel' queen that sapped the passion, character and ambition out of the country.[307] Calavia credits the Revolution and its heroes for 'regeneration' of the nation and the realisation that the 'old world institutions', such as the Bourbon dynasty, 'were incompatible with…the progressive spirit of the nineteenth-century.'[308] Echoing these overwhelmingly popular attitudes about the Revolution, already by 4 October, 1868, less than a week after the Isabel II fled for France, the streets of Madrid were renamed to represent the heroes of the Revolution. For example, the former Calle de la Reina running through central Madrid was renamed Calle de Prim.[309] As highlighted by Ulrike Capdeón, ancient European cities that are not based off of a modern city plan, such as Madrid, rely heavily upon their streetscape, for example street names, public squares and monuments, to form a manufactured symbolic imagery throughout the city.[310] Although renaming streets and plazas is not a new function unique to this era, it does suggest that the provisional revolutionary government was attempting to immediately

[305] For some more information on Calavia and his beliefs, please see: Gifford Davis, 'The Spanish Debate Over Idealism and Realism Before the Impact of Zola's Naturalism', *Modern Language Association*, vol. 84, n. 6 (1969), p. 1652 and *Revista Europea*, 21 March 1875, pp. 117-118

[306] Mariano Calavia, *Reflexiones acerca de la Gloriosa revolución de Setiembre de 1868* (Madrid 1868), p. 9

[307] Ibid. p. 17; More recent publications, such as Isabel Burdiel's impressive biography of Isabel II published in 2004, significantly redefined the image of Isabel II which counteracts Calavia's notion of the 'cruel queen'. This is discussed at length in Chapter I.

[308] Ibid. pp. 17-21

[309] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 278, 4 October 1868; Although this practice is quite commonplace after a major revolution in any country, it is still import to note its occurrence and the prominent individuals that the government chose to single out of the pack of many notable revolutionaries

[310] Ulrike Capdepón,'Challenging the Symbolic Representation of the Franco Dictatorship: The Street Name Controversy in Madrid.' *History and Memory*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2020), p. 102

reshape the cityscape of Madrid in order to create a new layer of official public and collective memory to the Spanish capital. [311]

While the new leaders of the Spanish government were drafting the Constitution of 1869 in the aftermath of the September Revolution, one of the most pressing issues was which type of government would rule over post-revolutionary Spain. Those in favour of a Spanish Republic included famed orators Emilio Castelar and Francisco Pi y Margall, which would become very important in the coming years.[312] However, as early as October 1868 the Provisional Government of the Revolution explicitly stated its desire to continue the monarchical government system in Spain as it was seen as the best fit with the traditions and customs of the ancient Spanish nation.[313] Spain was a nation of 'long life and indestructible organic antecedents' where the institution of a monarchy was a vital necessity for the continuation of the country's greatness.[314] After considerable debate, it was eventually decided that Spain would continue in its monarchical tradition without the Bourbon dynasty.

Nearly two years after the September Revolution, Spain was still without a monarch while Serrano continued to serve as Regent; General Prim was given the responsibility to find a new Spanish king.[315] After scouring all of Europe, and inadvertently provoking the Franco-Prussian War, Prim found the most suitable candidate in in the second son of the King of Italy, Vittorio Emmanuele.[316] By a majority in the Cortes, the Duke of Aosta was proclaimed Amadeo I, King of Spain on 16 November 1870.[317]

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[311] Ibid., p. 102
[312] These men continued to promote the idea of a Republic as well as Republican ideals until the First Spanish Republic was founded in 1873 which will be discussed at length later in this chapter.
[313] Decree of the Provisional Government of the Revolution, 19 October 1868
[314] Ibid., p. 30
[315] Ibid., p. 129
[316] The Franco-Prussian War was, on a surface level, caused by European competition for the Spanish throne. Were a Prussian prince to ascend to the Spanish crown, France would have be

Although Amadeo I was 'determined to be the very model of a constitutional monarch', division and infighting between political parties in Spain would make that nearly impossible.[318] On 27 December 1870, Amadeo I set sail from Italy to Cartagena with Victor Balaguer, a prominent politician, author and Catalan nationalist, who wrote in his journal that with 'immense responsibility' Amadeo I was being taken to 'an unknown country, agitated by the tempest of political passions...what great sadness, what eternal regret, if political tempests, evil passions, or our own madness prevent us from realising the end aim of our efforts!'[319] On that same day General Juan Prim had been shot multiple times and later died from his wounds Madrid.[320] Upon Amadeo I's arrival to Spain he was greeted with the unfortunate news that his biggest supporter had been assassinated. After over thirty years of political service to Spain, Prim was considered to be a large part of the 'soul' of the Spanish Revolutionary government and his death was a shock to the newly elected King and to the nation[321] Topete said that when visiting with Prim just before his death he saw the 'fatherland, the national honour and the Revolution itself, wounded.'[322] Amadeo I's first official visit upon his arrival to Spain was to view his friend, General Juan Prim's body; the moment was most notably captured in this painting by Spanish artist Antonio Gisbert Pérez. Gisbert was a well known artist in Madrid at the time and a friend to many of the revolutionaries from 1868 and a close personal friend of Amadeo I.[323] Although he had won top prize at the Spanish National Exhibition of Fine Arts in 1860, it was his personal

in an isolated position between Spain and Prussia. This, coupled with growing diplomatic pressures between France and Prussia initiated the outbreak of war in 1870.

[317] Ibid., p. 129

[318] Ibid., pp. 120-133

[319] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution* (1898), p. 115

[320] Ibid., p 119

[321] José A. Piqueras Arenas, *La revolución democrática, 1868-1874: cuestión social, colonialism y groups de presión* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1992), p. 402

[322] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution* (1898), p. 120

[323] Luis Alberto Pérez Velarde, 'El pintor Antonio Gisbert (1834-1901).' (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Faculty of Geography and History, 2017), p. 119

connections to government officials and the king which earned him the commission for this painting and the job of the state's official painter as well as added benefits to his professional career.[324]

Figure 2.1: *El rey Amadeo I ante el cadáver del general Prim*, Antonio Gisbert Pérez (1870)
Source: Museo de Historia de Madrid

In the painting, the central figure, Amadeo I mourns alone over Prim's body. Surrounded by top government officials and members of the Cortes, such as Prim's Revolutionary compatriots General Serrano and Topete, as well as members of the clergy, all men present in the scene solemnly look upon the body of the late General Prim. The very official, yet mournful, scene was captured by Gisbert in the Cathedral de Atocha located in central Madrid upon Amadeo I's immediate arrival to the capital.[325] This painting also strikingly

[324] Velarde, 'El pintor Antonio Gisbert (1834-1901).' (2017), pp. 67 and 119; Gisbert won first prize at National Exhibition of Fine Arts in 1860 for his work titled La *Ejecución de los comuneros de Castilla* (The Execution of the Comuneros of Castille)
[325] This painting is currently in the collection of the *Museo de la Historia de Madrid* (Museum of the History of Madrid)

represents contemporary attitudes towards three distinct elements of Spanish culture- the Church on left, the nation's leader in the centre and the people on the right by way of the leaders of the revolution of 1868. The leading figures of the Revolution on the right, Amadeo I and even Prim's corpse are presented at the forefront of the painting with bold colours, defined lines and in bright favourable lighting. Meanwhile, the figures representing the Church on the left of the painting are faceless, cloaked in shadow and indistinct. This reflects a larger trend of widespread anticlericalism and campaigning for religious freedoms throughout this period of the nineteenth century by progressive liberals.[326] Although immediately following the Glorious Revolution of 1868, relations between the Church/state were similarly aligned, according to historian Gregorio Alonso, these opinions quickly shifted. [327] Many contemporaries felt that was the *ancien regime,* as far back as Ferdinand and Isabel, had 'confused' Spain's national identity with a Catholic identity and that 'each revolution was more anti-Catholic than the last'.'[328]

Though Prim was officially remembered as the 'soul' of the Revolution, in the time immediately preceding his death, Prim had faced harsh public criticism for breaking his word regarding military conscription policies in light of the war in Cuba.[329] To combat this negativity, official portraits, such as Gisbert's, were commissioned in order to re-establish a sense of veneration for the assassinated general and statesman. In addition to this portrait, the government published numerous tributes to Prim in the press as well as

[326] Julio de la Cueva Merino, 'Religion,' in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, edited by Adrian Shubert and José Álvarez Junco (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 277
[327] Gregorio Alonso, La nación en capilla: Ciudadana católica y cuestión religiosa en España, 1793-1872 (Granada: Comares, 2014), p. 295
[328] Alonso, La nación en capilla (2014), pp. 297-298
[329] Piqueras Arenas, *La revolución democrática, 1868*-1874 (1992), p. 402; The rebellion and political situation in Cuba will be discussed at length later in this chapter

condolences from foreign rulers, such as Queen Victoria.[330] On 31 December 1870, only one day after his death, the *Gaceta de Madrid* published statements by numerous ministers, including Serrano, commemorating the life of General Prim. Eugenio Montero Ríos, the Minister of Justice, wrote that Prim's death put the 'nation [into] mourning' as Spain lost 'one of its most illustrious sons.'[331] Ríos, along with the other members of the Cortes, unanimously voted to have Prim's name 'recorded' next to the 'heroes of our nation.'[332] Sagasta further elaborated on this point as he wrote that Prim 'gave his life for freedom and for the Revolution.' [333] Additionally, Sagasta claimed that the 'national misfortune' of Prim's death should only further solidify the dedication to the government which he worked so hard to build, but would never see to fruition.[334]

Amadeo I's short reign was distinguished by conflict; social conflict, military conflict and political conflict all took their toll on the newly elected king. From the moment he arrived in Spain, Amadeo was greeted with news of General Prim's death. Nearly a month after the September Revolution of 1868, war broke out in Cuba, which would go on to last ten years before reaching its climax in 1898. Additionally, a third Carlist War broke out in 1872 plunging Spain once again into civil war. After just over two years of his reign, Amadeo I abdicated and returned to Italy on 11 February 1873.

[330] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 365, 31 December 1870, p. 1
[331] Ibid., p. 1
[332] Ibid., p. 1; A monument would later be erected in 1887 in the heart of Barcelona paying tribute to the late Catalan general. Unfortunately, this statue is no longer in existence as it was destroyed in 1936 during the events of the Spanish Civil War
[333] Ibid., p. 1
[334] Ibid., p. 1

The Liberal State's Culture, Nationalisation and the Museo Nacional del Prado

Immediately after the chaos from the 'Glorious' September Revolution began to settle, the Provisional Government of the Revolution made sweeping political and cultural changes. In addition to the political advancements outlined above, the 'Glorious' September Revolution of 1868 proved to be a major cultural catalyst in nineteenth-century Spain. The Revolution provided liberal politicians the opportunity to take control of cultural institutions and manipulate state-sponsored culture in way that broke with the traditional model set up by the Isabelline regime. The liberal governments of the Revolutionary Era, from the September Revolution of 1868 to the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration in 1874/1875, instituted a number of cultural initiatives. These state-sponsored programs were intended to promote the liberal ideals of the post-Revolutionary governments and enhance Spain's cultural prestige by creating a 'rebirth' of Spanish culture inspired by the people and events of the Revolution, creating laws to protect Spain's cultural patrimony and nationalizing former royal institutions into state-run institutions.

One example of this is the case of the *Panteón Nacional de Políticos Ilustres*, or National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians. The idea of creating the *Panteón Nacional de Políticos Ilustres* began under the regency of María Cristina, mother of Isabel II, in 1837. In line with the general state-sponsored cultural program of the Isabelline regime as detailed in the previous chapter, creating this monument would further the Isabelline regime's attempt to legitimise the crown and government of Isabelline Spain by drawing on historical connections or associations to past great Spaniards. The National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians was intended to be a sort of national mausoleum housing the remains of the countries most significant politicians

and those men who had made the greatest impact upon Spanish history. In a decree dating 6 November 1837, it was deemed that the National Pantheon was to be housed in the Church of San Francisco el Grande in central Madrid, very near to the royal palace.[335] This church was one of the many buildings and institutions that were confiscated under Juan Álvarez Mendizábal's *desamortización*; the Church of San Francisco el Grande was confiscated in 1836 and subsequently became part of the growing cultural property of the crown known as Patrimonio Real.[336] However, the National Pantheon was never completed. As the Church of San Francisco el Grande was converted into an army barrack in the late 1830s, it can be presumed that due to the on-going Carlist War, the Isabelline regime's plans for the Pantheon were indefinitely halted.[337]

Although the idea for this project was first made public by a decree dating 6 November 1837, during the era of the Carlist War, it was not until after the Revolution of 1868 did the plans for the *Panteón Nacional de Políticos Ilustres* officially started to take shape and become a reality. It is also worth noting the interesting parallel in this situation: the idea for the National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians commenced under the leadership of a liberal Prime Minister, Mendizábal, and that those plans only came to fruition under the liberal regime following the Revolution of 1868. In carrying on the cultural legacy Mendizábal's government's state-sponsored cultural initiatives, one can assume that this was an intentional choice for the Provisional Government of the Revolution to pay homage to their liberal predecessors.[338] To further this

[335] Españoles ilustres, cuyos restos han de ser traslados al Panteón Nacional en el solemne día de su inauguración, 16 de junio de 1869 (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Carlos Frontaura, 1869), p. 9
[336] See Chapter I for more details on the Mendizábal's 1835 *desamortización*
[337] Pedro F. García Gutiérrez and Agustín F. Martínez Carbajo, *Iglesias de Madrid* (Madrid: Avapiés, 2006), pp. 230-234
[338] Mendizábal's remains, housed in the *Monumento a la Libertad*, would be added to the Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians (later renamed Pantheon of Illustrious Men) in 1912.

point, after Mendizábal's death, a statue of him was to be created in order to honour his legacy in the spring of 1856, but a changing of political tides meant that it was not until the Progressives held power again after the Revolution of 1868 that Mendizábal's statue would finally be erected.[339] On 31 May 1869, the Ministerio de Fomento announced its decision to revive the National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians project to 'celebrate the glory of *la patria,* represented by the remains of [Spain's] great men, awakened from their dark tombs where ancient Spain has forgotten them'. [340] The National Pantheon was meant to serve has a monument or 'temple of immorality' in order to glorify and honour the nation's 'illustrious sons'.[341] In doing so, the creation of this monument would serve to '[educate] that Nation to follow the example of these eminent men'.[342] Interestingly, this decree states that the renewal of past plans to create the National Pantheon were reintroduced at this time because the Glorious September Revolution of 1868 provided and 'auspicious moment' leading to the 'rebirth of the nation'.[343]

In order to be inducted into the National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians, an applicant had to be put forward for review by the Royal Historical Society. There must have been a minimum of fifty years after the death of the applicant before one could be considered for entrance into the National Pantheon. Only after fifty years would the Royal Historical Society then perform an investigation into the life and accomplishments of any applicant.[344] It is also worth noting that the set requirement of fifty years before one could be considered for entombment in the National Pantheon was an

[339] Lawrence, 'Juan Álvarez Mendizábal' (2018), p. 393
[340] Decreto, Ministerio de Fomento, 31 May 1869
[341] Ibid.
[342] Ibid.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Alfonso García Tejero, *Historia Política-Administrativa de Mendizábal*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de J. A. Ortigosa, 1858), pp. 367-368

issue that was greatly contested by contemporaries. Famous Spanish writer, Alfonso García Tejero asked, 'do the English need fifty years before they erect monuments of Wellington, of Nelson, and of all the great men whose statues we see in London and in all parts? Does there have to be precisely fifty years in France to do the same?'[345]

After a thorough investigation by members of the Royal Historical Society, it was deemed that fourteen historically significant men were to be the first inductees into the National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians in a large celebration during June 1869. Some of the inductees included Juan de Mena, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (otherwise known as *el Gran Capitán*), García Laso de la Vega, Ambrosio de Morales, D. Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, Juan de Lanuza, Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca and Andrés Laguna. These men, all political, military or cultural leaders, were exhumed from their graves all around Spain, their remains were then brought to Madrid and paraded throughout capital in a grand and lavish processional rivalling that of Spain's *Semana Santa* celebrations. Although government-sponsored parades and large public spectacles were present in the pre-1868 Revolution era, such as O'Donnell's victory parade following his success in the Moroccan campaign as detailed in Chapter I, this particular parade and celebration was noted by the press as being an exceptionally lavish and ornate occasion. On 20 June 1869 a parade for the official inauguration of the National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians was organised and publicised in great detail. The processional route shut down Madrid for many hours as the remains of these 'illustrious' men were paraded throughout the capital, around

[345] Tejero, *Historia Política-Administrativa de Mendizábal* (1858), p. 368; This notion perpetuates themes of Spaniards comparing themselves to their European counterparts, namely Britain and France, which typically tend to denote elements of 'Spanish backwardness' as noted in the previous chapter.

to each of the city's important landmarks all the while being accompanied by a squadron of the Civil Guard, 100-gun salute and large bands.[346] In attendance at the parade were members of the Council of Ministers, Constituent Cortes and, of course, the Regent, General Serrano.[347] The Provisional Government decreed that the homes or neighbourhood in which these men lived to be lavishly decorated with 'verses, flowers and crowns'[348] According to the *Gaceta de Madrid*, there were no less than sixteen large and ambitious parade floats.[349] Each float had been assigned a theme relating to Spain, Spanish culture or was designed to represent elements of the life and achievements of one of the men that were being entombed in the newly opened National Pantheon. These floats were adorned with intricate decorations, symbols of the nation and symbols relating to the important role that each man played in the history of the nation. For example, the first parade float of processional was a float dedicated to the nation. The float was adorned with 'the shield of all the provinces, the columns of Hercules, the lion and the national flag' accompanied by a military band.[350] Another float, dedicated to royal architect Don Juan Villanueva, was complete with actors in historical costumes and tools that mimicked the architect's workers. As one of Villanueva's greatest accomplishments was the construction of the grand building along the Paseo del Prado that houses the Museo del Prado, it was apt that he was given a place of such importance in the parade, third float from the front, and a place in the National Pantheon given the importance that the Museo del Prado played for the cultural landscape of the post-Revolutionary era.

[346] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 171, 20 June 1869, p. 4
[347] Ibid., p. 4
[348] Ibid., p. 4
[349] Ibid., p. 4
[350] Ibid., p. 4

The post-Revolutionary government also put forward laws concerning the nationalisation of culture. On 25 January 1869, the Minister of Public Works, prominent Revolutionary Ruiz Zorrilla, announced in a decree that 'all archives, libraries and other scientific, artistic, and literary collections of the cathedrals, chapters, cloisters, and military orders' were to be made national property.[351] According to Ruiz Zorrilla, many valuable objects and documents had been destroyed or lost due to the incompetent care of the clergy so the confiscated objects were to be housed in state-run public museums, libraries and depositories for better keeping and public use.[352] Ruiz Zorrilla stated in a speech to the Cortes that it was the 'ignorance and carelessness' of their 'clerical caretakers' which had caused the destruction of so many Spanish cultural treasures.[353] Given that a similar argument was made regarding the Church's inability to care for the objects of great historical and monetary value during the era immediately preceding Mendizábal's *desamortización* in the 1830s, it is unclear whether Ruiz Zorrilla's point was genuine, a reiteration of liberal propaganda or a combination of the two.[354]

The Museo Nacional del Prado

In the midst of the Glorious September Revolution, revolutionaries flooded the streets of Madrid and eventually came knocking at the doors of the *Museo Real de Pintura y Escultura* (Royal Museum of Painting and Sculpture). On the evening of 29 September 1868, supporters of the Revolution came armed, equipped with ammunitions and torches, to the museum in order to disarm the royal guards stationed there and in the surrounding area of the

[351] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution* (1898), p. 39; also see Decree, 25 January 1868
[352] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution* (1898), p. 39
[353] Ibid., p. 46
[354] See Chapter I for more information on Mendizábal's *desamortización* and its lingering effects on the culture nineteenth-century Spain and France

Retiro.[355] Aside from the numerous political changes brought about by the Glorious Revolution of 1868, the expulsion of the Bourbon monarchy, the liberal Constitution of 1869 and the installation of a foreign constitutional monarch, this period's cultural impacts were far reaching. In regards to the Museo Real, as the museum was no longer personal property of the Crown, the Provisional Government of the Revolution almost immediately began the process of nationalising the museum and other royal spaces and institutions such as the Parque de Madrid, otherwise known as the Parque del Buen Retiro, in addition to various royal museums and academic institutions.[356]

What type of role did the museum play in nineteenth-century culture and politics? Art historian Christopher Whitehead provides an in depth study of the socio-political power of national museums in the nineteenth century. As Whitehead argues, the museum played an important role in defining the nation during the nineteenth century. He points out that nineteenth-century art museums were critical in establishing an official history of the nation, emphasising specific moments while undoubtedly attempting to erase others from public memory by specifically curating and exhibiting powerful pieces which feed into the state's desired image of the nation.[357] Oscar Vázquez similarly affirmed the importance of the role of the museum, specifically the Museo Real and Museo de la Trinidad, in the political and cultural landscapes of nineteenth-century Spain. Vázquez states that in spite of political differences, the arts were a primary focus of nineteenth-century administrations as state

[355] Archivo del Museo Nacional del Prado, caja 14294, letter dated 4 November 1868; There is no description of a violent encounter in the account of this night so I would assume that upon seeing the large armed mob, the the royal guards surrendered without protest

[356] The 1865 Law of Royal Heritage took the Museo Real and its collection out of the Crown's personal possessions. In 1868, the Provisional Government of the Revolution took this act a step further by moving to nationalize royal institutions such as the Museo Real, the Retiro gardens, academic institutions and other former royal museums. More detail will be provided throughout the remainder of this chapter.

[357] Christopher Whitehead, 'National Art Museum Practices as Political Cartography in Nineteenth-Century Britain,' in *National Museums: Studies from Around the World,* eds. Simon Kell et. all (London : Routledge) pp. 105-122

collections and the collection of the Museo Real became a 'symbolic representation' of the nation.[358] In Spain, the Museo Real and the state-run Museo de la Trinidad represented 'the splendour of the state' and that grandeur was one of the main 'motives that attract[ed] foreigners' and therefore the museum served as a 'temple of the great capital city'.[359] Furthermore, museums and large urban arts exhibitions served as a cultural staple in the life of the growing middle class throughout nineteenth-century Spain. As historian Jesus Cruz notes, the arts became a point of fascination for the members of the growing ranks of the bourgeoisie as they attempted to assimilate themselves into high society.[360] The museums' exhibitions played a key role in disseminating the 'historical underpinnings of national identity.'[361] The implementation of educational programs and state-sponsored artistic projects facilitated by museums and academic institutions, namely the Museo del Prado and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid, created 'heightened [public] interest' in Spain's artistic culture.[362] As described by Ainhoa Gilarranz Ibáñez, the museum became an educational space for the citizens of the modern state.[363] Expanding upon the education reforms during the Isabelline era, such as the Ley Moyano and the implementation of Spanish history to school curriculum, the newly nationalized Museo del Prado served as an important educational tool for the Liberal Sexennium (and subsequent regimes). The museum functioned as a key centre for encouraging a collective

[358] Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 102-103
[359] 'Apuntes sobre el estado de nuestros museos con relación a la restauración de cuadros', *La Discusión*, 26 June 1861, n. 1691
[360] Jesus Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), pp. 198-202
[361] Ibid., p. 198
[362] Ibid., pp. 202-203
[363] Ainhoa Gilarránz Ibáñez, '¿Qué hace la nación por las artes? Problemáticas patrimoniales y modelos museísticos en las colecciones del Prado y la Trinidad, *Hispania*, v. 79, n. 262, (2019)

Spanish national identity by displaying a collection that encompassed the heritage of the nation.

Additionally, there was a great amount of importance placed on the museum not only to take up its traditional role of representing and displaying culture, but to represent politics as well as the nation. This nineteenth-century phenomenon can be seen clearly in the way that contemporary visitors thought and wrote about Madrid's cultural institutions. Visitors to Ferdinand VII's Museo Real in the early part of the century, such as French writer Louis Viardot, found the museum's collection to be paradoxical. Separated into two sections were works by old Spanish masters and the 'third salon', as it was called by the museum's cataloguer Luis Eusebi, presented contemporary Spanish art.[364] As discussed in the previous chapter, due to the on-going events of the Carlist War, contemporary Spanish art was as lesser quality than that of works by the old masters.[365] On the one hand, Viardot noted that the works by old Spanish masters housed in the museum were very impressive. However, on the other hand, he remarked that the more contemporary Spanish art presented the viewer with the 'complete oblivion of [Spanish] art and its traditions.'[366] In 1835, with the opening of the Spanish Gallery in the Lourve, Spain's comparatively lacklustre Museo Real, in the words of writer Marino José de Larra, served as 'an accurate reflection of the state of affairs in a "*qusi*-nation" of "*quasi*-men" united in a "*quasi*-certain" hope to become someday "*quasi*-free"'. [367] Historically, the Museo Real, established by Ferdinand VII, was structured in a way that provided the king an opportunity to create a Royal Museum of his personal collection on a state budget 'while also arranging for all competing

[364] Eugenia Afinoguénova, *The Prado: Spanish Culture and Leisure, 1819-1939* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 47
[365] See Chapter I, subheading 'The desamortización and the exodus of the arts'
[366] Louis Viardot, 'Le musée de Madrid,' *Revue Républicaine*, December 1834
[367] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 64

projects to fail' enabling the Crown to '[manipulate] emerging artistic patriotism in order to win the right to pose as a cultural authority'.[368] The Museo Real not only served as a royal institution but as a 'semiprivate extension of the king's own property.'[369] Additionally, as Afinoguénova further explains, the complex political structure of the Museo Real served as a way to 'inscribe the monarchy' into a slowly modernizing nation. In displaying the crown's treasures in the Museo Real, the museum was '[glorifying] the nation…to make Spaniards understand how much they owed to their monarchs culturally.'[370] Therefore, the Provisional Government's decision to nationalise the Museo Real was extremely important and influential to nineteenth-century Spanish culture. The nationalisation and political transformation of the Museo Real into the Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura (National Museum od Painting and Sculpture) was not only a significant cultural moment for the arts in Spain, but it was also an important initiative carried out by the Provisional Government of the Revolution to instil liberal values into Spanish political and cultural institutions. As, historian Eugenia Afinoguénova points out, there were four key participants in the running and governance of most nineteenth-century European museums: the court, state, academies and the church.[371] After nationalising the Museo Real following the September Revolution of 1868, the Provisional Government of the Republic effectively neutralised the power of the court, the influence of the academic academies and the Church, leaving only the state remaining in official control of the museum. Therefore, the Provisional Government of the Revolution capitalised on the historical importance and modern significance of the Museo Real in Spanish culture in order to 'articulate a unified national

[368] Eugenia Afinoguénova, *The Prado: Spanish Culture and Leisure, 1819-1939* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 33
[369] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 36
[370] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 82.
[371] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 29

identity and effect its citizens' incorporation into modernity.' [372] Almost immediately after the Provisional Government of the Revolution took control of the nation, official changes in the cultural sector began to occur. The Museo Real was renamed the Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura, also called the Museo Nacional del Prado.[373] In November 1868, Federico de Madrazo, who had been the head of the Museo Real and the director of the Academia de San Fernando since 1860 and whose father, José de Madrazo had previously been the director of the museum as well as official court painter for Ferdinand VII as well as Isabel II and an integral part of the artistic scene in Madrid, was dismissed from his position. Federico de Madrazo's dismissal is significant because throughout the museum's entire history, regardless of political or monarchical changes, the Madrazo family had always been at the helm of the Museo Real. Enraged, Federico de Madrazo wrote a letter to his son in Rome stating not only his discontent with the change in leadership at the Prado, but how, in his view, the country was falling apart: 'I am greatly contented to think that you and Mariano [Fortuny] are in Europe and not dependent on [government] employ and that you work for Europeans…I wish that I were ten or fifteen years younger! I would not be in Madrid in these times! Nor would I think on what happens in this degraded and putrefied country!'[374] In his place, the Provisional Government of the Revolution selected artist Antonio Gisbert Pérez to be the director of the museum under the new liberal regime.

Antonio Gisbert Pérez was born in Alcoy and was a well-known Spanish artist who trained in Rome, Paris as well as the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid. He had numerous years of continued success at the

[372] Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain* (2011), p. 203
[373] The museum's shorthand name, the Prado, was taken from the building's location boarding the famous Paseo del Prado running through central Madrid.
[374] Federico de Madrazo, letter to Raimundo de Madrazo dated 20 December 1868. Published in *Epistolarios*, Vol 2. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1994), p. 674

National Fine Arts Exhibitions put on by Queen Isabel II where he focused mainly on large historical paintings. In 1860, Gisbert submitted a highly controversial political work titled *El Suplicio de los Comuneros,* for exhibition during the National Fine Arts Exhibition. Although he did not win first prize, due only to a hung jury of panelists, copies of the work were widely reproduced and distributed among the liberal press and it became a symbol of government reform.[375] Most interestingly in regards to this thesis, Gisbert was very involved liberal politics of the era. He was a close personal friend of both General Juan Prim as well as the newly elected king, Amadeo I. Gisbert was specifically chosen to replace Federico de Madrazo as Director of the new Museo Nacional de Prado because he was committed to the liberal cause.[376] In his appointment to the museum, it was stated that through his tenure as director, Gibert's mission was to demonstrate that the Museo del Prado 'did not belong to the last ruling family of Spain, but to the nation'.[377] It was also directed that Gisbert publish a new museum catalogue as soon as possible in order to showcase the wide range of great art and literary works present in the collection to bring 'honor and glory' to *la Patria*.[378] Additionally, Gisbert was tasked with making renovations to the interior of the museum, mirroring like changes to national museums in Germany and in Italy, in order to have more space and make the museum's collection more accessible to the public.[379] Equipped with a budget of over three thousand *escudos* (about 30,000 *reales*) a

[375] Christensen, *Madrid. Rome. Paris. Spanish history painting from 1856 to 1897* (2016), pp. 80-83
[376] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 107
[377] G. Cruzada Villaamil, 'Lo que ha hecho y lo que falta que hacer a la revolución, en el personal, en la administración y en la enseñanza de las bellas artes' in *El Arte en España* (Madrid, 1868) pp. 268-269
[378] Ibid., pp. 286-269
[379] Ibid., pp. 286-269

year, Gisbert was given the museum's top budget in order to purchase objects and paintings for the Spain's new national museum.[380]

The Revolution of 1868 transferred the Museo Nacional del Prado from heritage that revolved around the crown, to becoming the property and heritage of the state; with control of this important cultural landmark, the Provisional Government of the Revolution declared the museum to be a nationalised public institution. Only from 1853 was the Museo Real partially opened for public viewing. On Francisco de Asís' birthday, husband and king consort of Isabel II, the Queen declared that the museum was to be made (moderately) accessible to the public.[381] After 1853 decree, the museum would be 'immediately open' on Sundays, where there would be limited public access to the museum's hall of painting and on Mondays, the hall of sculpture.[382] Aside from accessing only these two sections of the museum on a restricted schedule, the Museo Real was very difficult to access even for artists and researchers. In order to view the museum's collection, visiting artists or scholars would have to write to the Ministerio de Fomento asking for royal permission to view a specific piece or section of the museum.[383] After the September Revolution, the Museo del Prado was open six days a week with extended opening hours to accommodate for middle class and working class citizens.[384] In a letter written by Gisbert discussing the transfer of objects from the Museo de la Trinidad to the Museo del Prado, he comments on his desire for the newly enhanced Museo del Prado to be 'public' and 'accessible' to all those

[380] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6785, Budget for the Museo Nacional del Prado, 1870
[381] *La España*, 23 May 1852
[382] *La Esperanza*, 29 May 1852
[383] Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain* (2011), p. 202
[384] Archivo del Museo Nacional de Prado, Oficio de Antonio Gisbert, Director del Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura al Conservador del Establecimiento por el que solicita relación de los movimientos de las obras en el Museo tras la fusión con el Museo de la Trinidad, 22 March 1872, Caja 354, Legajo 18.15, n. exp. 1, n. doc: 5

who wish to see the museum's collection, including artists, travellers, aristocrats and workers alike.[385]

The National Gallery in London is commonly referred to by numerous historians, such as Eugenia Afinoguénova, Christopher Whitehead and David Howarth, as a fruitful comparison to the newly nationalized Museo Nacional del Prado.[386] Britain's National Gallery was the first state-sponsored art museum in modern Europe; the National Gallery was opened in 1824 without any sponsorship from the monarchy, only the House of Parliament.[387] The National Gallery catered to an audience of 'voters, taxpayers and patriots' while also promoting 'general civility' and supporting new and training artists.[388] In London, the National Gallery was designed as a place of respite in order for the public to not just view art, but as a form of social control where men and women could freely go to absorb culture rather than engage in unsuitable Victorian past times such as heavy gin drinking.[389] As a similar approach was taken in Madrid, the nationalisation of the museum was not only beneficial for the public, but as the museum no longer had an obligation or ties to the Crown, the institution could represent the Liberal ideals of the Spanish culture and the nation as the museum was no longer forced to display traditional monarchical propaganda. As a nationalised institution, the staff of the Prado was able dictate the exhibition schedule, new acquisitions, opening hours and archival access without royal interference.[390]

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[385] Ibid.
[386] Please see: Eugenia Afinoguénova, *The Prado: Spanish Culture and Leisure, 1819-1939* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), Christopher Whitehead, *Public Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (London: Routledge, 2017) and David Howarth, *The Discovery of Spain: British Artists and Collectors: Goya to Picasso* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2009)
[387] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 17 and p. 30
[388] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 30
[389] Christopher Whitehead, *Public Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 107
[390] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), pp.106-109

Concerning the governance of the museum, in a letter dating 17 February 1870, director of the Prado, Antonio Gisbert, along the Ministerio de Fomento requested control of the former Museo Real.[391] As discussed in Chapter I, the Ministerio de Fomento was the ministry in control of almost all state-sponsored cultural initiatives. By taking control of the museum, the Ministerio de Fomento would have the ability to control and regulate as concerns as museum exhibitions, purchases, budgets and staffing. On 22 March 1870, a declaration from the Regent, General Serrano, officially transferred the former Museo Real from the Ministerio de Hacienda to the control of the Ministerio de Fomento.[392] In addition to this transfer, later that same year, the collection of the Museo de la Trinidad was merged with that of the Museo del Prado. Although the Museo de la Trinidad was technically Spain's first 'national' museum, it was only deemed as 'national' because the collections were made up of pieces collected from Mendizábal's *desamortización* rather than a collection of objects owned by the crown. The Museo de la Trinidad also did not function as a public museum as the museum was very difficult to visit due to a lack of any kind of museological layout and immense over-crowding.[393] This massive undertaking was due in part to the desire, both from the state and the public, to have a '*Gran Museo Nacional*' after the Revolution as well as financial decision as the government could no longer support two national museums.[394] As early as 1868, Vicente Poleró, a contemporary artist and head restorer at the Museo Real, called for not just a merger of the collections of the Museo de la Trinidad and the Museo Real (soon to be renamed the Museo

[391] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6783, letter dating 17 Feburary 1870 between Antonio Gisbert and the Ministerio de Fomento
[392] Santiago Alcolea Blanch, *The Prado*, translated by Richard-Lewis Rees and Angela Patricia Hall. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), p. 59
[393] Castillo-Olivares, 'El museo de la Trinidad, germen del museo público en España' (1998)
[394] María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo-Olivares, 'El museo de la Trinidad, germen del museo público en España' in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, series VII, Historia del Arte, n. 11 (1998), pp. 395-396

Nacional del Prado), but for a larger merger consisting of the museums collections, in addition to the collections of the Academia de San Fernando, Royal Palace and other royal sites as well as a selection of objects from Spanish churches into a '*Gran Museo Nacional*'.[395] This concept was prompted in order to for the new Museo Nacional del Prado to be modelled after the great national museums of France and Italy, namely the Louvre and the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.[396] These museums stood as representations of their respective nations and the Provisional Government wanted to model their success by reshaping the collection of the Prado beginning with the merger of its collection to that of the Museo de la Trinidad. Gisbert stated that as the director of the Museo Nacional del Prado, he now had the opportunity to '[raise] this centre of art to among the finest museums in Europe' due to its numerous 'famous originals and precious objects.'[397]

The inauguration of the National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians and the nationalisation of the former royal property, such as the Museo Nacional del Prado, and its subsequent development were part of the largest state-sponsored cultural initiatives to come out of the era immediately following the Revolution of 1868. These changes honoured the new state's liberal predecessors while at the same time breaking with the traditional roles of institutions and state-sponsored cultural initiatives as set out by the Isabelline regime. The National Pantheon of Illustrious Politicians served to display the rebirth of the Spanish nation under a new liberal state. The lavish parade and ceremonial spectacle demonstrated to the people of Madrid that although

[395] Vicente Poleró y Toledo, *Breves observaciones sobre la utilidad y conveniencia de reunir en uno solo los dos museos de pintura de Madrid y sobre el verdadero estado de conservación de los cuadros que constituyen el Museo del Prado* (Madrid, 1868)
[396] Pierre Géal, 'El salón de la Reina Isabel en el Museo del Prado (1853-1899)', *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 19, n. 37 (2001) pp. 143-172
[397] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6783, letter dating 19 April 1870 between Antionio Gisbert and the Ministerio de Fomento

Isabel II and the Bourbon monarchy was no more, the Provisional Government of the Revolution was paying homage to Spanish history while at the same time working to revive contemporary Spanish culture by revitalizing and improving a historical cultural initiative started under the ministry of Mendizábal. Additionally, with the nationalisation and consolidation of royal institutions such as the Museo Nacional del Prado, the museum took on a role of great importance after the turmoil of the Revolution and became a vehicle for the government to represent the nation which it would continue to do for years to come. In doing so, the Provisional Government of the Revolution and subsequent liberal regimes during the Democratic Sexennium made permanent changes to the cultural landscape of Spain.

The Creation of Spain's First Republic

On 11 February 1873, Amadeo I abdicated from the Spanish throne under chaotic conditions, insurrection in Cuba, another civil war with the Carlists, severe factionalism within political parties and an 'impossible' constitutional government.[398] The same day as Amadeo I's official abdication, Francisco Pi y Margall gave a speech to the Cortes declaring Spain a Republic. He said that in the absence of a the monarch 'the National Assembly resumes all powers, and declares the Republic to be the form of government of the nation.'[399] Notable Republicans such as Estanislao Figueras y de Moragas, Emilio Castelar, Francisco Pi y Margall and Nicolas Salmeron headed the prominent office of the newly inaugurated First Republic. The Republicans, headed namely by Castelar, Pi y Margall and Salmeron, can be categorised as

[398] Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: from Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 132-133
[399] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution* (1898), p. 177

an ideological political party that was divided into Castelar's 'unitary' Republicans and the 'federal' Republicans headed by Pi y Margall.

The Revolution of 1868 provided an opportunity for the resurgence of the Republican party as its leaders attempted to chip away at Spain's 'intellectual isolation from the rest of Europe.'[400] The Republicans, like the other liberal parties in the Provisional Government of the Revolution, attempted to have a 'national regeneration' of liberal ideals after deposing the politically and socially repressive Isabelline regime.[401] The First Republic ushered in an era of assertive radical liberal reform, such as the desire to separate Church and state as well as policies regarding abolition and autonomy to both Cuba and Puerto Rico.[402] Additionally, modern philosophies such as the teachings of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause and Proudhon as well as ideas from contemporary Spanish intellectuals such as Pi y Margall and Castelar, acted as a theoretical justification for the success of the ideals of federal republicanism.[403]

In addition to the numerous political charges brought about by the emergence of Spain's First Republic, Republican leadership also spurred a host of cultural changes. In a decree dating 16 December 1873, the first National Law of Historic Patrimony was introduced into law. The decree stated that the Republic would not be responsible for the destruction or vandalism of Spain's historical past.[404] 'The Republic, looks to the future, without denying the past at all; that has to link in harmony and formulate our traditions with progress. The Republic must grant resolute protection to all the great manifestations of human

[400] Charles Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain: Pi y Margall and the Federal Republican Movement 1868-1874* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. xii
[401] Ibid., p. xii-xiii
[402] Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age* (2000), p. 134
[403] Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain* (1962), p. xiii-iv; These philosophers as well as their teachings and impact on nineteenth-century Spanish culture will be discussed in detail later in this chapter
[404] Decree, 16 December 1873; for further analysis, please see: Miguel Ángel López Trujillo, *Patrimonio: la lucha por los bienes culturales españoles, 1500-1939* (Madrid: Ediciones Trea, 2006)

activity.'[405] The implementation of this decree is an important element of state-sponsored cultural protection. Following the application of this National Law of Historic Patrimony, the state would provide money to regional museums for restoration work as well as allocate funds for conservators to travel from Madrid in order to repair pieces in need of assistance.[406] For the first time, a radical left-leaning government made the decision to disassociate the political context of buildings, public sculpture, monuments, art, etc., from the importance that those pieces played as a piece of history, history of the development of the Spanish nation and cultural heritage. The preservation of these pieces was seen in a distinctly artistic light without any tinge of its previous political, royal or religious connections.

Meanwhile, in light of Amadeo I's abdication, the Museo Nacional del Prado was left without a director. As previously stated, the museum's director, Antonio Gisbert Pérez, was a close personal friend of the king. Following his abdication, Gisbert abruptly left his station at the Museo Nacional del Prado without giving any notice.[407] In a letter he wrote to the his assistant director, José Gragera, Gisbert stated that his reason for leaving his prestigious post of director of the Museo Nacional de Prado was because of political difference between him and the institution of the Republic.[408]

Assuming the mantle again as director of the Museo Nacional del Prado was Federico de Madrazo, who was director of the Museo Real from 1860-1868. Considered an 'honest' and 'fitting' candidate for the position, Madrazo was

[405] Decree, 16 December 1873
[406] Archivo del Museo Nacional de Prado, caja 1378, legajo 11.284, n. exp. 3, March 1874, memo from the Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura discussing the travel of one of their lead conservators
[407] Luis Alberto Pérez Velarde, 'El pintor Antonio Gisbert (1834-1901).' (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Faculty of Geography and History, 2017), pp. 131-132
[408] Archivo del Museo Nacional de Prado, caja 1378, legajo 11.282, n. exp. 2, n. doc 3, letter dated 16 July 1873 between Jose Gragera, Assistant Director of the Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura and Antonio Gisbert

reappointed to his former position in September 1873.[409] Always bitter towards Gisbert after he was replaced by him during the September Revolution of 1868, Madrazo wrote to a friend that 'the rascal Gisbert should be prosecuted for leaving his position as Director of the Museum without any warning or notice!'[410] Madrazo went straight back to work after his re-appointment as director; he commissioned a new catalogue of the museum to be done in order to see the state of the museum's collection from his absence. Written by his brother, Pedro de Madrazo, the 1873 Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado (Catalogue of Works of the Prado Museum) was published. This was significant as it was the first comprehensive catalogue of the museum since the merger of collection between the Museo Nacional del Prado and the Museo de la Trinidad.[411] For the purposes of this thesis, the introduction written by Pedro de Madrazo holds particular interest. In the introduction to this catalogue, Pedro de Madrazo specifically refutes the writings of Richard Ford from his book titled *A Handbook for travellers in Spain* (1855).[412] As discussed in the previous chapter, Ford's *Handbook* provided a bleak picture of the arts in Spain as well as a highly critical view of the country's cultural institutions, such as the Museo Real, claiming that only the 'dregs' of Spanish art remained in Spain.[413] Pedro de Madrazo, mentioning Ford and his book by name, says that Ford's notion that 'almost all of the paintings in the Museum have suffered the most pitiful and barbarous' fate was completely preposterous. He additionally states that the rumour which Ford manufactured about the then director of the museum, Jose de Madrazo, was equally as absurd. Ford wrote that Jose de

[409] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 90.
[410] Pérez Velarde, 'El pintor Antonio Gisbert', (2017), p. 132
[411] Don Pedro de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado, 1873* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Biblioteca de Instrucción y Recreo, 1873)
[412] Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado* (1873), pp. viii-ix; Ford, Richard. *A Handbook for travellers in Spain* (London: Murray, 1855), a discussion of Ford's *Handbook* and his comments about Spain and Spanish art can be found in Chapter I
[413] Ford, Richard. *A Handbook for travellers in Spain* (1855), p. 55; also see Chapter I

Madrazo 'declared war [with] a knife to the whole gallery' and that the director 'began to devastate, one painting at a time, leaving hardly one Murillo intact.'[414] These assertions, Pedro de Madrazo surmised, were Ford's way of slandering Spain and Spanish culture in a negative, 'barbaric' light.[415] With his new catalogue, Pedro de Madrazo proclaimed, especially to 'all the foreign connoisseurs and critics more knowledgeable than Mr. Ford on the subject', that the 'paintings of the [Museo del Prado] in Madrid are at the very least on par with the best public galleries of Europe' and that each piece in the museum's care was given the 'greatest care and the most exquisite diligence' by its directors and staff.[416]

In addition to Pedro de Madrazo's important comprehensive catalogue of the museum's collection, new educational initiatives were taken at the museum under the auspices of the First Republic. Firstly, the director of the Prado was specifically tasked by the government to find and collect pieces for the national museum that were 'in conjunction with the ideals of the Republic.'[417] Furthermore a decree promulgated on 14 November 1873 directed the Museo Nacional del Prado to research and commence a 'series of public conferences on the subject of aesthetics, criticism, and history of fine arts' for the purposes of increasing Spain's 'artistic and literary [reputations].'[418] The Prado's new director, Francisco Sans Cabot, who took over for Federico de Madrazo in late 1873, was tasked with carrying out this 'forward looking' educational program.[419] The decree's aim was to create a more contemporary institutional agenda, modelled after museums in Britain and in France, to create

[414] Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado* (1873), pp. viii-ix
[415] Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado* (1873), pp. ix-x
[416] Ibid., pp. ix-x
[417] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6793, letter dating 15 December 1874 from José Gragera to the Director General de Instrucción Publica y Bellas Artes
[418] Decree, 14 November 1873; Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 112
[419] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 112

a system of art education and outreach.[420] Additionally, this new legislation made it possible to track visitor numbers to different exhibitions, notes about the collection and statistical data about the museum which was a huge step in the modernization of the institution.[421] During this time period is when the Museo del Prado began to charge an entrance fee for all days with the exception of Sundays and national holidays to supplement the museum's budget. In using the newly available statistical data about the museum's visitors, as made assessable by the previously mentioned decree, it was noted that there were a 'disproportionately large' number of paying visitors to the museum, in addition to a spike in in foreign visitors, which further signified the growth of interest in the museum, especially by the middle-class. [422]

Interestingly, as current research has shown, national and international perceptions of the museum's modernity greatly differed. These varying perceptions came to directly impact the policies implemented by the museum's staff and the governments of the Liberal Sexennium. As Afinoguénova discusses, foreign travel writers, particularly Anglo-Americans, viewed the Prado as a 'completely unknown' refuge from crowds and tourists that possessed the 'finest collection of pictures in the world'.[423] This romanticized image of the museum greatly bolstered its international reputation as the Museo del Prado came to be seen as a unique and peaceful undiscovered respite from the chaos of other popular European museums and the modern world, much like the rest of Spain.[424] Conversely, Spanish art critics, such as Francisco María

[420] Ibid., p. 112
[421] Ibid., p. 112
[422] Eugenia Afinoguénova, 'Art Education, Class, and Gender in a Foreign Art Gallery: Nineteenth-Century Cultural Travelers and the Prado Museum in Madrid,' *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, vol. 32, n. 1 (2010), p. 9
[423] Ibid., p. 11
[424] For more on the topic of Spanish difference, please see the edited collection *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Nigel Townson (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015)

Tubino and Ceferino Araujo Sánchez, spoke very critically of the museum's lack of modern initiatives before the First Republic. Specifically, Tubino and Sánchez were very vocal about the museum's displays and collections as they only showcased old masters, such as Murillo and Velázquez, and the 'gems' of the former royal collections.[425] In doing so, critics like Tubino and Sánchez insinuated that by not changing the structure of the museum and overhauling its displays to focus on the 'Spanish school' as a whole rather than just a few select artists, the new liberal regime continued to perpetuate the culture of the old regime through their '[continued] elitism'.[426] For many Spaniards visiting the Museo del Prado, Spain's national museum, the dissemination of art and art history was of greater importance than seeing select masterpieces.[427] Tubino for instance called the Museo del Prado a 'warehouse, rather than a museum, of art' while Sánchez mocked the museum referring to it still as the '*Museo del Rey*' (The King's Museum). [428] Even after the creation of the First Republic and the implementation of the previously mentioned modernization and educational initiatives carried out by the Museo del Prado, the museum was still faced with an identity crisis. Was 'new' Prado going to place more importance on the opinions of its foreign travellers by continuing to only showcase the masterpieces of the royal collection? Or was the museum going to change its collection to represent a changing, modern, liberal nation as demanded by Spanish critics? Ultimately, the political and social chaos of the First Republic, ranging from competing political factions to the war raging in Cuba, proved to be tragic for the overall development of the museum and cultural initiatives employed during the this era. As the Museo del Prado continued to rely most

[425] Afinoguénova, 'Art Education, Class, and Gender in a Foreign Art Gallery', (2010), pp. 16-17
[426] Ibid., pp. 16-17
[427] Ibid., pp. 16-17
[428] Ibid., p. 17

heavily upon its international prestige to secure the nation's cultural importance, the modernizing initiatives implemented within the museum during the era of the First Republic were ultimately not very effective and were never fully realized.

Empire: Cuba and the Ten Years War

The three major military conflicts fought during this era, the Cantonal uprisings in southern Spain, the Third Carlist War and the Ten Years War in Cuba all played a major role throughout short-lived the First Republic Beginning less than a month after the 'Glorious' September Revolution in 1868, war broke out in Cuba. When most of the former Spanish Empire revolted into independence movements throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, Cuba, the 'ever-faithful Isle', remained loyal to the Spanish crown.[429] The economic prosperity provided by Cuba's sugar boom in the 1830s kept an alliance between the Cuban planters on the island and the Spanish government.[430] By 1868, Cuban sugar production represented almost thirty per cent of the world's sugar.[431] After the Spanish Empire's loss of the loss of its American colonies, Spain, fearful of a slave revolt or independence movement in Cuba, tightened its grips around its most important remaining colony. Despite Cuba's wealth and importance to the Spanish Empire, the island had no political power within Spain. Beginning in 1837, the Spanish government abolished Cuba's position in the Spanish Cortes, where they had had representation in 1810 as well as 1820-23, which greatly agitated those on the

[429] Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 1-2
[430] Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba* (1999), p. 1
[431] Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 73-77

island.[432] Additionally, the Capitan General of Cuba was given almost unlimited power to govern the island as he saw fit; opposition to the Spanish government was silenced, the press was heavily censored and heavy import taxes which were crushing on an island population so heavily dependant on foreign imports. [433]

As a result of these new restrictions, increase in taxes as well as an economic recession due to a major drop in the price of sugar, discontent was beginning to simmer throughout the island, especially prevalent in the creole elites on the eastern half of the island. According to Sherry Johnson, a major revolt in Cuba was almost inevitable as it was just a matter of time 'until the majority of Creoles could overcome their loyalty to an institution that long ago had abandoned them.'[434]

The Cuban revolt, which would become known as the Ten Years War, was started on 10 October 1868 and led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes. Céspedes was a Cuban-born lawyer and plantation owner. In his famous *Grito de Yara* (Call to Independence), or manifesto, which began the revolt, Céspedes and his fellow revolutionaries stated their opposition to Spain's treatment of Cuba and its inhabitants stating, 'when a people arrives to the extreme of degradation and misery in which we see ourselves, no one can condemn another who takes up arms to escape from a state so full of ignominy.'[435] Cuban revolutionaries wanted greater control over their own

[432] Jose Garcia de Arboleya, *Manual de la isla de Cuba: Información sobre reformas en Cuba y Puerto Rico*, vol. 1 (New York: Imprenta de Hallet y Breen, 1867), pp. xxvii-xxviii

[433] Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (2011), pp. 91-92; the overwhelming power of the Cuba's Capitan General would lead to major scandals, including the resurgence of Spain's Black Legend from the Inquisition which attracted a lot of negative international attention, especially from the press in the United States. This would be one of the main contributing factors to US intervention in the Cuban War of Independence (1895-1898)

[434] Sherry Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 189-190

[435] Archivo Histórico Nacional, Ultramar, Legajo 4933, caja 1, exp. 2, doc. no. 21, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, 'Manifiesto de la Junta revolucionaria de la Isla de Cuba dirigido a sus compatriotas y a todas las naciones,' dated October 10, 1868

affairs and more political freedom under a democratic constitution. The manifesto declared the desire for the Cuban people to have universal suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press and gradual emancipation of slaves among other demands.[436] These conditions were not too dissimilar from those made by Topete and Prim which began the Glorious Revolution in Spain just a month prior. As historian David Sartorius surmises, Spain's own revolution in 1868, its heroes and the constant flow of liberal ideals also influenced the start of the Ten Years' War.[437] In response to Céspedes' manifesto, the Provisional Government of the Republic in Madrid attempted to calm the swelling insurrection with promises of reforms in Cuba. Later in the war, in conjunction with the hostile political environment of nineteenth century Spain, the Republicans and other liberal leaning parties, saw abolition in Cuba as a topic of great importance. At the forefront of this debate was Rafael María de Labra.

Rafael María de Labra was born in Havana to Spanish parents in 1840. After moving to Spain when he was eight, Labra was well educated in Madrid and became a lawyer, journalist, political philosopher, liberal politician and writer.[438] A prolific author, Labra's prolific career was centred around three main objectives: the abolition of slavery, individual rights and colonial autonomy.[439] Throughout his career, Labra constantly strove for a closer, better functioning relationship between the Spain and *las colonias ultramarinas*. He states that there is a 'great intimacy' between Spain and the Antilles which his contemporaries seek to take advantage of rather than develop into an equal

[436] Ibid.
[437] David Sartorius, *Ever Faithful: Race, Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 94
[438] María Dolores Domingo Acebrón, *Rafael María de Labra: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Las Filipinas, Europa y Marruecos, en la España del sexenio democrático y la restauración, 1871-1918* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006), pp. 27-30.
[439] Ibid, p. 159.

relationship. [440] Labra categorizes domestic policy regarding Spain's international possessions as 'restrictive' and 'absurd'.[441] On the issue of slavery and abolition, Labra published numerous works throughout his career focusing on these topics as well as their wider political and economic impacts for the Spanish Empire. Labra believed that the integrity of the nation was directly tied to the abolition of slavery but that it was impractical to have an abrupt end to slavery.[442] He affirmed that a gradual transition to abolition in Cuba and Puerto Rico was necessary to its long-term success citing the 'disasters' that had occurred earlier in other areas of the Caribbean.[443] By abolishing slavery, Labra's peers thought that abolition would ease the growing insurrection in Cuba and win over the loyalty of the Creoles and former slaves to the First Republic.[444] After years of war, it is estimated that over 150,000 people died from combat related deaths, disease, injury or from starving.[445] Upon visiting Cuba at the end of the Ten Years War, notable physician Federico de Córdova compared the island's appearance to that of a 'cemetery in a desert.'[446]As one of Spain's most important, and profitable, remaining colonies, war in Cuba was disastrous for Spain. Although initially Cuba's savage revolt had a limited impact on day to day life in Spain, the war caused further strain, economically, politically and socially, on the a very fragile political system.[447] Most historians are in agreement that the Cuban revolt beginning in 1868, turned the Ten Years War, was a major factor in the downfall of the era of the Liberal Sexennium.

[440] Rafael María de Labra, *La crisis colonial de España (1868 a 1898): estudios de política palpitante y discursos parlamentarios* (Madrid: Tipografía Sindicato de Publicidad, 1901), p. viii.
[441] Rafael María de Labra, *América y la Constitución española de 1812: Cortes de Cádiz de 1810-1813* (Madrid: Tipografía Sindicato de Publicidad, 1914), p. 183.
[442] Labra, *La crisis colonial de España (*1901), pp. 61-66.
[443] Rafael María de Labra, *La abolición de la esclavitud en el orden económico* (Madrid: Sociedad Abolicionista Española, 1874), p. 458.
[444] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833–1874* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), p. 140
[445] Antonio Pirala, *Anales de la guerra de Cuba*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Felipe Gonzalez Rojas, 1898)
[446] Ramiro Guerra, *A History of the Cuban Nation: The Ten Years War and other revolutionary activities from 1868-1892* (Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nación Cubana, 1958), p. 245
[447] Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age* (2000), pp. 127-129

Charles Esdaile called the situation in Cuba 'cataclysmic' to the post-revolutionary governments.[448] Conservative historian Raymond Carr called the war in Cuba a 'cancer' that '[sapped] the vitality' of the varying governments of the liberal *Sexenio*.[449] The Ten Years War continually plagued the governments of, and after, the Revolution. This war, inherited from the era of the Isabelline regime, continued through the Provisional Government of the Revolution, the reign on Amaedo I, the First Republic and the beginning of the Restoration Era in the in Spain.

It is in this context that the Spanish government conceived the idea for a new museum. In attempt to re-forge a connection with the colonies the government of the First Republic commissioned the opening of a new museum called *el Museo Ultramarino* (the Museum of the Overseas Empire) which would be the first museum of its kind in Spain. Announced in the *Gaceta de Madrid* on 28 September 1874, an order was placed by the Executive Power of the Republic to create an institution for the purpose of showing off the richness and pride of Spanish possession in Asia, Africa and the Americas.[450] The museum was entrusted to represent 'even the remotest of places' and 'without any exclusion' was to display the 'the magnificent nature, ingenuity and activity' from Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines or Fernando Póo.[451] The Museo Ultramarino would be under the direct control of the Ministerio de Ultramar (Minister of the Overseas Empire). This was done in particular so that the Overseas Minister's budget could be used to supplement the creation of this museum, rather than other government ministries such as the Ministerio de Fomento.[452] Additionally, the new museum was under the directive to be

[448] Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age* (2000), p. 127.
[449] Raymond Carr, *Spain, 1808-1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 306.
[450] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 271, 28 September 1874, p. 1
[451] Ibid., p. 1
[452] Ibid., p. 1

opened as soon as possible as it was of the 'highest importance' to provide the various provinces of the Ultramar with a 'harmonious grouping' within Spain and specifically Madrid where the objects presented alongside other renowned institutions where they would be 'under the constant admiration' of Spaniards and foreigners alike.[453] In order to acquire these objects, a decree stated that in the capitals of each province, Havana, San Juan, Manila and Santa Isabel, a committee would be formed in order to decide what objects should be sent off to the museum in Madrid.[454] The objects in the museum were to be divided into twelve categories: Objects from Agriculture and agricultural industries, Forest and forest exploitation, minerals, mining and metallurgy, construction materials and building materials in general, naval, marine and fishing art, chemical industry, other various fine arts such as glass and ceramics, public instruction, anthropology and ethnography, fine arts, archaeology and numismatics and military art.

The Museo Ultramarino was envisioned to be a 'patriotic' establishment, that would attempt to strengthen the bond between Spain and her empire.[455] In reviewing a handwritten draft of a booklet that was later published about the museum titled 'Expediente creación del Museo Ultramarino por el Ministerio del Ultramar' (Expedient creation of the Museum of the Overseas Empire for the Ministerio del Ultramar), dated 27 September 1874, just one day before the museum became official news to the public, there were numerous instances of anti-Cuban and anti-revolutionary sentiment present which were written by the author.[456] Some of this critical text was written in the main body of the draft of

[453] Ibid., p. 1
[454] Ibid., p. 1
[455] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6960, draft of a booklet titled 'Expediente creación del Museo Ultramarino por el Ministerio del Ultramar', dated 27 September 1874
[456] Ibid.

the publication and other pieces were scribbled in the margins in red ink. [457] For example, in the draft of the official booklet, it states that the Ministry has an 'unwavering determination' to represent the best parts of each nation the new museum 'in spite of the wicked war in Cuba as the enemies of *la Patria* sustain war against the nation.' It further goes on to criticize those who 'unnecessarily provoke' Spain into 'fruitless struggles' which damage the reputation of both the nation and its citizens.[458] Written in conjunction with the Overseas Minister Antonio Romero Ortiz, it can be assumed that these anti-Cuban sentiments would counteract the main initiative of the museum, to 'splendidly represent each nation' in a permanent display to facilitate a strong and 'positive connection' with all of *las provincas Ultramarias*.[459] Due to this, all of the critical comments about the war in Cuba were crossed out and ultimately did not make it into the final printed publication of the booklet.[460]

As well as trying to forge a stronger relationship with the *colonias ultramarinas* from the Peninsula through the creation of the Museo Ultramarino, throughout the Ten Years War, the Spanish government also attempted to do so in Cuba. One primary example of this is the Spanish state's involvement in the *Casino Español de la Habana* (The Spanish Casino of Havana). Founded eight months after the outbreak of the Ten Years War, the Casino Español de la Habana was established by a group of wealthy Spaniards living in Havana. In creating this institution, it was the goal of the founders of the casino to 'represent Spanish interests on the island' in spite of the competition presented

[457] Ibid.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6960, 'Expediente creación del Museo Ultramarino por el Ministerio del Ultramar', October 1874

by the Cuban rebels.[461] After the initial creation of the casino, its founders wrote to the government in Spain asking for funding or participation by the Spanish state as the Casino Español de la Habana was '[reinforcing] the *patria* of the Motherland of Spain in Cuba.[462] After this exchange the Casino Español de la Habana officially became sponsored by the Spanish state.[463] A popular attraction in the city, in addition to the casino, the building housed a theatre, bar, library and various game rooms all of which 'displayed and promoted' Spanish art.[464] Mainly historical paintings to do with traditional subjects such as Columbus were chosen to adorn the walls of the casino because they 'brought the memory to life, recalling the glorious deeds of [their] ancestors awakening their hearts to the to the noble and legitimate pride as sons of the [Spanish] nation.' These pieces by Velazquez and Murillo were brought to be displayed in the casino as having these 'brilliant' masterpieces surrounding the Cuban people reminded them of them of the 'glorious' and immense' lineage to which they belonged.[465] The Casino Español de la Habana would continue to serve as an influential state-sponsored Spanish cultural stronghold until the Spanish American War in 1898 when Cuba gained its independence from Spain.[466] In initiating the creation of the Museo Ultramarino in Madrid as well as capitalising on the opportunity to be a part of the Casino Español de la Habana, the First Republic used these state-sponsored cultural projects as a

[461] Martha Elizabeth Laguna Enrique, *El Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de la Habana y la colección deretratos de la pintura española de siglo XIX* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013), p. 436
[462] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6906, letter to the Ministerio de Ultramar dating 27 July 1869
[463] According to my research, the Casino Español de la Habana may have been one of the only state-sponsored cultural institutions in Cuba. Other Spanish Casinos were opened in Cuba in subsequent years, towards the end of the nineteenth century but none of them were as large or as influential as the Casino Español de la Habana
[464] Laguna Enrique, *El Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de la Habana* (2013), p. 436
[465] 'Proyectos de reformas propuesto por la Sección de Recreo y Adorno de la Junta Directiva', ed. by the founders of El Casino Español de la Habana (Havana: Inprenta de Díaz y Compañía, 1871), pp. 11-12
[466] Laguna Enrique, *El Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de la Habana* (2013)

way to manipulate, and ideally enhance, popular opinion about Spain in Cuba and its remaining colonies.

Collapse of the First Republic and the Bourbon Restoration

Historian Kate Ferris best encapsulates this turbulent era of Spanish history when she wrote, 'between the Glorious September Revolution and the Restoration, in 1874-1875, Spain experienced revolution, two military coups (*pronunciamientos*), a liberal-democratic constitution, civil war and a colonial war, an imported monarch, as well as, for eleven months, its first republic.'[467] Unable to cope with the constant burden of instability due to warring political factions and the immense financial debt accrued from fighting an overseas war against Cuban insurrectionists as well as internal civil conflicts against the Carlists in the north and cantonalists in the south, Spain's First Republic collapsed after not even a full year of rule. Ending by a military *pronunciamiento* led by distinguished military leader and hero of the Ten Years War, General Arsenio Martínez-Campos, the First Spanish Republic came to an end in late December 1874/beginning of 1875. In lieu of another Republic or Liberal government, the victors of the *pronunciamiento* proclaimed Alfonso, the son of the former Queen Isabel II, to be King of Spain at the age of seventeen, which effectively ended the era of the Liberal Sexennium. The political mastermind behind the reign Alfonso XII, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, would shape a new political system, including the *turno pacifico* (the Peaceful Turn or Transition) which would, in its own way, stabilise Spanish politics for the first time in the nineteenth century.

[467] Kate Ferris, *Imaging 'America' in Late Nineteenth Century Spain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 6.

While looking back at this Revolutionary era in Spanish history, Edward Henry Strobel stated,

> Although, as I have said, the history of the [Revolutionary era] stands apart from the periods before and after, and although the aims of its promoters were doomed to failure, it is but just to remember that the Revolution bore good fruit in the improved method of government which has distinguished the reign of Alfonso XII and the Regency, and in the twenty years of tranquility enjoyed by the country from the date of the Restoration to the breaking out of the insurrection in Cuba.[468]

The constant political changes and rampant instability brought about by the revolutionary changes from a Bourbon constitutional monarchy, to a Provisional Revolutionary government, to an elected monarch to Spain's First Republic all within a six year period seem to make Stroble's point about an era that was 'doomed to failure' ring true.[469] The complex internal political disputes starting immediately after the Revolution of 1868 up until the failure of the First Republic essentially rendered the liberal political factions almost completely ineffectual.[470] The instability after the assassination of General Prim, the abdication of Amadeo I, civil conflicts against the Carlists and catonalists and the devastating war in Cuba all prevented the full development of each regime during the post-Revolutionary era. However ultimately unsuccessful the era of the liberal *sexenio* was in establishing real political change in Spain, this turbulent six-year era of Spanish history certainly had a profound and lasting effect on the cultural landscape of nineteenth-century Spain. The fast paced, ever changing governments of the Liberal Sexennium made it difficult for most of the cultural initiatives created by each regime to take hold completely. Nonetheless, each new administration in the era of the liberal *sexenio* placed a

[468] Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution, 1868-1875* (1898), p. i
[469] Ibid., p. i
[470] Demetrio Castro, 'The left: from liberalism to democracy', in *Spanish History Since 1808*, ed. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 90

great deal of importance on culture and used numerous state-sponsored cultural initiatives to distinguish their time in office, no matter how brief.

A central focus to all governments during the Sexennium was the Museo Nacional del Prado. This museum played an important role in the Provisional Government of Revolution after the institution was transformed from the Museo Real to the Museo Nacional del Prado in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution. In nationalizing the museum, the Provisional Government of the Revolution was able to take control of the museum and all its possessions as well as former patrimony of the Crown. Additionally, the new Revolutionary government was able to use a traditional landmark in Madrid and transform it into piece of cultural heritage that exclusively represented the interests of the state rather than the personal prestige of the monarch. During the First Republic, the Museo del Prado once again played an important role in disseminating the liberal state's ideals to the public. The decree of 14 November 1874 was profound as it required the museum to begin planning public education and outreach surrounding the museum's collection in order to enhance the prestige of Spanish arts and culture.

Another common factor between all of the varying governments of the Sexennium was the war in Cuba. The revolt beginning not even a month after revolutionaries deposed Isabel II and the Bourbons from the throne, would go on to outlast the entire Liberal Sexennium era. The war proved to be an extraordinarily divisive note during each change in leadership during the Sexennium which always contributed to furthering the instability of each regime. However, that being said, the government of the First Republic attempted to capitalize on the situation by materializing a connection between the distant and warring provinces in Spain's remaining overseas Empire. In creating the Museo Ultramarino, the First Republic created a physical space for

each province to be represented in in the capital. This museum provided an opportunity for the colonies and Spain to reconnect over their shared history and historic bond in an age where the majority of Spain's empire had withered away.

The era of the Spanish liberal experiment had come to an end and with its failure, the politics of the Restoration would revert to a pre-revolutionary configuration.[471] Alfonso XII along with Antonio Cánovas del Castillo would usher in a period of political stability. The resonation of the Bourbon monarchy to Spain, the manufactured politics of the *turno pacifico* and the dramatic events of the end of the century provide an interesting lens in which to look at Spanish state-sponsored culture.

[471] Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain* (1962), p. xv, pp. 220-243

Chapter III:

1875-1898

The Canovine Restoration and the Uses of State-Sponsored Culture and its Impacts During the Era of the Commemorations of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America

Cánovas del Castillo and the birth of the Restoration System

The beginning of the new year of 1875 brought with it the start of a new chapter in Spanish history. After the collapse of the Liberal Sexennium and the failure of the First Spanish Republic at the end of 1874, a successful *pronunciamiento* led by distinguished war hero and military leader, General Arsenio Martínez Campos, in late December 1874 saw the reinstitution of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain. Alfonso XII, the teenage son of the exiled queen Isabel II, ascended the Spanish throne under the guidance of one of Spain's most notable politicians of the nineteenth century: Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. The conservative statesman and architect of the Restoration system, created a government based off of the British parliamentary system that would last well into the beginning of the twentieth century. This era, known as the Restoration, is generally separated into two phases: before and after the Spanish American War of 1898. The first half of the Restoration was marked by a heavily controlled 'flexible political system' known as the *turno pacifico.*[472] The *turno pacifico* was a rigged system of manufactured elections that involved cooperation between the king, the national government in Madrid and the local

[472] Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno Luzon. 'The political system of the Restoration, 1875-1914: political and social elites', *Spanish History Since 1808*, ed. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 93

cacique leaders throughout Spain. This system, carefully engineered by Cánovas, saw a peaceful change in governments from conservative to liberal at regular intervals throughout the end of the nineteenth century. According to historian Stanley Payne, this system of manufactured politics under the first half of the Restoration represented the majority of major political interests and in doing so, it 'achieved sufficient coherence to maintain stability' for the first time in almost a century.[473]

The manufactured surface-level political stability that the Restoration regime provided under Cánovas allowed for sustained economic, industrial and cultural development.[474] This stability and economic growth allowed for funds for the government to invest heavily in state-sponsored cultural programs. During the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s, the Restoration regime produced a number of large-scale state-sponsored cultural events specifically geared towards international audiences. The organization and participation in these spectacular events, such as the 1892 Historic American Exhibition, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and other commemorations of the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of America, allowed for the Restoration government to create an official cultural narrative of the importance of Spain's historic legacy around the globe and demonstrated the nation's significance in the modern world against the perceived decline of the Spanish Empire.[475]

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[473] Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936-1975* (London: Phoenix, 2000), p 5.

[474] Cánovas' *turno pacifico* undoubtedly had a strong effect on Restoration politics and did indeed lead to a time of political stability, which some historians refer to it as a 'Silver Age' in Spanish history. However, this political stability only had so much reach, as decent within various facets of the Spanish empire, political/social outliers such as Anarchists and social classes would strain Cánovas' system to its limit well into the twentieth century.

[475] For more on this, please see: Kate Ferris, *Imagining 'America' in Late Nineteenth Century Spain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), Moradiellos, Enrique, 'Spain in the world: from great empire to minor European power', *Spanish History Since 1808*, ed. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (London: Arnold, 2000); Additionally, contemporary Spaniard's did not see themselves or their empire in a state of decline, this is a common notion that is brought about by foreigners visiting Spain or speaking about Spain which are further explored at various points throughout this work.

Christopher Columbus and the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America

The nineteenth century saw the rise of the tradition of the international exhibition.[476] Whether the central focus was on art, science, industry or history, among various other themes, the exhibition itself was a staple of nineteenth-century culture all over the world. Whatever the theme, these grand largely international exhibitions were, as cultural historian Marina Muñoz Torreblanca describes, 'conceived as being miniature versions of modern totality', in other words, participation in the exhibition allowed for the contributing countries to showcase the height of their country's technical advancements and cultural superiority on an international platform.[477] Additionally, these sizeable events were promoted, mainly by the government, with the aim of bolstering economic development of the cities where they were being held in addition to advancing the reputation of the country as a whole.[478] The power and influence of the international exhibition was not lost upon leaders of government in the nineteenth century. American President William McKinley stated that international exhibitions 'are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people and quicken human genius…Every [exhibition], great or small, has helped this onward step.'[479] The international exhibition of the nineteenth century was a perfect example of political authority being wielded

[476] Although terms like 'World's Fair', 'Great Exhibition', 'Universal Exhibition', 'International Exhibition' and 'World Exhibition' are quite similar, they are often used interchangeably which is an incorrect practice. Each of these titles denotes a specific scale of event, amount and type of exhibitors, visitor audience and objective. For more information on this topic please see: Marta Filipová, *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2016)

[477] Marina Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888: An A Typical Case of a Great Exhibition' in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, edited by Marta Filipová (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 45

[478] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 2

[479] 'President McKinley Favors Reciprocity,' *The New York Times*, 6 September 1901

through cultural initiatives. The international exhibition became a public arena for the host city and country to preform for millions of visitors, to show off the best of their society and culture. As pointed out by Bjarne Stoklund, what became most important at these events was the display space, or what Stoklund refers to as the 'visual code', for each individual country.[480] This 'visual code' symbolically communicated and represented each nation, their history and identity to a global audience.[481] The visual communication through the intricate displays presented at the international exhibitions not only informed public opinion, but became a great point of national pride- exhibition makers and government officials alike continually strived to have bigger and more elaborate displays at subsequent fairs to show the progress of the country to the global audience in the modern era.[482]

The first of these modern international exhibitions took place in 1851 and was located just outside of central London in Hyde Park. Countries from around the globe were invited to participate in the now famous Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations.[483] In addition to attracting an unprecedented number of domestic and international visitors, this exhibition showcased Britain's great modern industrial achievements that made the nation a focal point of global interest, importance and technological advancement.[484] Millions of visitors from around the world came to view the exhibition, see the famed Crystal Palace, purchase souvenirs and to take part in the Victorian extravaganza. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was seen as a major success for Britain, Queen Victoria, and was lauded as a 'public display of national power

[480] Bjarne Stoklund, 'The Role of the International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century', *Ethnologia Europaea*, vol. 24 (1994) p. 38
[481] Ibid., pp. 38-39
[482] Ibid., pp. 36-38
[483] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 10-12
[484] Louise Purbrick, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001), p. 3

and wealth' by prominent members of British society.[485] Culturally, the 1851 exhibition served as the starting point for the development of the nineteenth-century tradition of grand international exhibitions which continues into the twenty-first century. Major influential exhibitions of this kind would go on take place in France, Belgium, Australia and the United States throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.

London's Great Exhibition of 1851 was one of the first 'mega-events' in modern history. The term 'mega-event', as coined by historian and sociologist Maurice Roche, describes as a 'large scale cultural event which [has] a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance.'[486] These events, often organized by national governments or international committees, commonly present themes of 'official' culture to its audience. Meaning, that by staging these events, the hosting country's government and organizing committees were able to present the manufactured or ideal forms of 'national progress, potential and destiny' not only to its own citizens, but also to the public and dignitaries of the visiting nations from around the globe.[487] The development of these politically charged 'mega-events' such as world's fairs, international exhibitions and the modern Olympic games in the nineteenth century became a way for nations to showcase their technological and cultural modernity as well as represent the 'story of the nation', its historical legacy and status in the contemporary world.[488] Prominent Spanish journalist and news correspondent for the *Gaceta de Madrid,* Miguel Chevalier, wrote a letter back to periodical from London describing the 'magical energy' that the Great

[485] Jeffrey Auerbach, 'The Great Exhibition and Historical Memory', in *Journal of Victorian Culture*, v. 6 n. 1, (2001), p. 91
[486] Maurice Roche, *Mega-events and Modernity Olympics and expos in the growth of global culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 1
[487] Roche, *Mega-events and Modernity Olympics and expos in the growth of global culture* (2000), p. 6
[488] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Exhibition of 1851 brought to the city of London.[489] Chevalier wrote to the *Gaceta* and to the people of Madrid that he was '[envious] of this precious quality for homeland of Spain' as he believed that an event of this magnitude showcased the 'sincere and stable nation.'[490] In his review, he also goes on to describe his awe at the organization and the industry which produced such wonders as the Crystal Palace saying that '[this] was all only possible in England.'[491] Interestingly, Chevalier gives no mention of Spain's participation in the exhibition. The Spanish government was invited to participate in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and was given a centrally located place on the ground floor of the Crystal Palace.[492] Coverage from the *Gaceta de Madrid* throughout the course of the Great Exhibition of 1851 also kept constant track of the amount of visitors and estimated profits made.[493] Although direct evidence of this has yet to be uncovered, it can be assumed by the extensive and detailed financial coverage of the event, that the Spanish government was impressed by and very interested in the profits made by a large-scale cultural event of this kind.[494] Furthermore, Spain's participation in other international events of this nature, such as the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, gave additional motivation for the Restoration government's interest in hosting an international exhibition on Spanish soil. Government correspondences from the Ministerio de Fomento in Madrid, Carlos Navarro y Rodrigo, explicitly state that Spain would participate in Philadelphia exhibition in order to 'cultivate Spain's

[489] *La Gaceta de Madrid,* n. 6241, 15 August 1851, p. 3
[490] *La Gaceta de Madrid,* n. 6241, 15 August 1851, p. 3
[491] *La Gaceta de Madrid,* n. 6241, 15 August 1851, p. 3
[492] The Spanish exhibition space was located those of Portugal and Italy within the Crystal Palace. The Spanish display included various paintings, numerous religious artifacts and cultural objects from every corner of the Spanish empire as well as fragments from important historical landmarks within Spain such as the Alhambra
[493] *La Gaceta de Madrid,* n. 6250, 24 August 1851, p. 4
[494] The profits made from the London's Great Exhibition of 1851 were in excess of £180,000 which was an extraordinary sum of money that Prince Albert and the other organizers used to create a cultural/educational district for London – South Kensington and opened the South Kensington Museum (which would later be renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899)

trade and markets with Latin America...advance fine art…and to align Spain with the other modern countries of Europe.'[495] It was the goal of Spanish to use these large cultural events to their political and economic advantage- and what better way to do that than by hosting an international exhibition of their own. Additionally, in an extensive report of the 1876 Philadelphia exhibition that was given to the Canadian Minister of Education, Spain's display and its contents were given less attention by the author and were described as 'effectively arranged' and 'handsome' but other than that, unremarkable.[496] The Spanish government had funded a rather large display at the 1876 exhibition. Spain's contribution to the Philadelphia exhibition consisted of a number of priceless paintings from the Museo del Prado and the erection of three separate structures to show off industrial, agricultural and cultural displays.[497] However, in the author's overall summary of the exhibitors, he wrote that 'the decaying vigour of Spain was paralleled by the *effete* youth of some of the South American countries' whereas the showings of other European nations such as France and Germany were described as '[refined]' and 'solid excellency,' respectively.[498] This example demonstrates that a country's performance at a prominent exhibition directly reflects on the perceived position of the nation and its reputation on an international platform. As these grand international events happened with relative regularity after 1851, the Spanish government would presumably have wanted to control the narratives surrounding Spain and its empire, gain international clout and even economic success by hosting

[495] Archivo Histórico Nacional, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Relaciones Culturales, Letter from the office of the Ministerio de Fomento in Madrid, signed by Carlos Navarro y Rodrigo, 'Exposiciones y Concursos – Exposición de Filadelfia' dated 6 de octubre 1874
[496] John George Hodgins, *Special Report to the Honourable the Minister of Education on the Ontario Educational Exhibit: And the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876* (Ontario: Hunter Rose, 1877), p. 143
[497] Boone, *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality"* (2019), p. 30
[498] Hodgins, *Special Report to the Honourable the Minister of Education on the Ontario Educational Exhibit* (1877), p. 234

an international exhibition of their own in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The development of numerous state-sponsored large-scale international exhibitions in Spain during the late nineteenth century, specifically in Madrid, served as a significant and fashionable avenue for the Restoration government to reaffirm Spain's historical legacy, establish a reconnection with its former colonies and showcase strides towards modernity on a global platform following nearly a century of constant political chaos and internationally perceived decline.[499]

After the Great Exhibition of 1851, an exhibition fever took off during the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century with international and national exhibitions taking place in major cities all over the world. The 1888 Universal Exhibition was held in Barcelona and this was the first exhibition of its kind in Spain. Following the development of the tradition of nineteenth-century international exhibitions, the 1888 Universal Exhibition in Barcelona proved to be a noteworthy cultural event in nineteenth-century Spain. In the past, Spain had held numerous large cultural exhibitions and fairs, such as the *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes* (National Exhibition of Fine Arts) started under the auspices of Isabel II in 1856 as discussed in Chapter I. However, as Muñoz Torreblanca confirms, the international impact of these fairs was very limited as they were restricted to national events which were overly technically specific about who was able to participate or exhibit work.[500] In the National Exposition of Fine Arts for example, only native-born Spanish artists were able to submit their work for entry into the competition. Although this rule would later evolve to include the participation of international artists

[499] Salvador Bernabeu Albert, *1892: el IV centenario del descubrimiento de America en España. Coyuntura y conmemoraciones* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1987, pp. 19-20

[500] Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2016), p. 46

living in Spain and artists who created work within Spain, the regulations of the National Exhibition of Fine Arts were too restrictive to garner a large international following similar to that of an international or universal exhibitions present in other countries throughout the nineteenth-century.[501] Interestingly, numerous large public international exhibitions had been attempted to be organized by various Spanish regimes throughout the nineteenth-century but they all ultimately failed to come to fruition. For example, the Public Exhibition of Spanish Industry and the Great Spanish Exhibition of Industry and Arts were mentioned in a number of official decrees dating from 1852 until 1881 but none of these efforts were ever fully realized.[502] However, in 1888 after years of planning with substantial local and national government funding, the Universal Exhibition in Barcelona was established. As Spain's industrial capital, Barcelona was flooded with businessmen, industrialists and intellectuals who were eager to host an event of such international significance as the region had recently flourished economically during a period known as the *Febre d'Or* which took place from 1871-1885.[503]

Eugenio Rufino Serrano de Casanova was the man responsible for bringing an international exhibition to Barcelona. Once a former Carlist soldier, after he left the army Serrano de Casanova became a journalist and businessman focusing primarily on tourism.[504] As he showed a great interest in the potential business and enterprise of these grand events, the Spanish government named Serrano de Casanova as part of the official envoy to represent Spain at the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia in

[501] For more information of the National Exposition of Fine Arts and its impact on nineteenth-century Spanish culture, please see Chapter I.
[502] María Teresa Solano Sobrado, 'Antecedentes históricos de la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea*, vol. 6 (1988), p. 165
[503] Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2016), pp. 47-48
[504] Juan Prados Tizón and Jaume Rodón Lluís, *Eugenio R. Serrano de Casanova i l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 2010), p. 23-35

1876.[505] Following this experience, he was then named Commissioner of Spain's International Exhibitions in Europe by the Restoration government, a title that he held through late nineteenth century.[506] Under his tenure, Spain participated in major international events such as international exhibitions in Paris, Frankfurt, Bordeaux, Amsterdam, Nice, Antwerp and Liverpool.[507] Upon his return to Spain in the mid-1880s, Serrano de Casanova proposed the idea of having an international exhibition in Barcelona. Although Barcelona was not the capital city of Spain, Serrano de Casanova argued that Barcelona's proximity to railways and to the French border would make it very popular with tourists as well as that the city's industrial character would make it more than capable of hosting an event of this magnitude.[508] Serrano de Casanova along with the mayor of Barcelona, Francesc Rius i Taulet, began plans for Spain's first international exhibition in 1885.[509]

Seeing the mounting costs for such a large endeavour, Rius i Taulet travelled to Madrid to request a loan from the Restoration government for the amount of two million pesetas, without which plans the Universal Exhibition would not have been able to come to fruition.[510] The central government in Madrid was under the direction of liberal prime minister, Práxedes Mateo

[505] Mary Elizabeth Boone, *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality": Spain and America at the World's Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876–1915* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), p. 143
[506] Prados Tizón and Rodón Lluís, *Eugenio R. Serrano de Casanova i l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona* (2010), p. 145-166; From my research, Eugenio Rufino Serrano de Casanova may have been the only person to have ever held the title of Commissioner of Spain's International Exhibitions in Europe. It is unclear if that is because such a position ceased to exist in Spain due to the forthcoming 'Disaster' in 1898 (even through Spain still participated in international exhibitions and world's fairs) or if due to a variety of other political circumstances, these exhibitions became less of a priority for the Spanish government in the twentieth century.
[507] Pere Hereu i Payet, 'L'arquitectura de l'Exposició', in Xavier Fabre i Carreras et al., *Arquitectura i ciutat a l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona, 1888* (Barcelona: Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 1988), pp. 194-199
[508] Boone, *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality"* (2019), p. 143
[509] Ibid., p. 143
[510] Stephen Jacobson, 'Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888', eds. William Whyte and Oliver Zimmer, *Nationalism and the Reshaping of Urban Communities in Europe, 1848-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2011), p. 81

Sagasta. As Rius i Taulet was a prominent member of the Liberal Party, the mayor of Spain's second largest city and industrial capital, Sagasta was not in a place to refuse his request. However, Sagasta also saw this as an opportunity- firstly, hosting (and funding) an international exhibition in Spain would generate great excitement for the Spanish government and the crown and secondly, it would be a positive step towards ingratiating the people of Barcelona/Catalonia with the central government in Madrid.[511] By the Spanish state contributing major funding to the Universal Exhibition, they were praised by the locals for creating some 25,000 construction jobs for the exhibition grounds, monuments, temporary buildings, pavilions and more.[512] According to contemporary sources, these jobs 'fed 100,000 mouths' of the citizens of Barcelona and surrounding area, earning Sagasta and the Restoration government much admiration in a politically tense area.[513] However, not everyone involved with the planning of the Universal Exhibition was happy to involve Madrid or take money from the state. Valentí Almirall, a leading member of the Centre Català and one of the central figures of Catalan nationalism in the nineteenth century, among others voiced his great opposition to working in conjunction with the central government when it came to Universal Exhibition in any regard as he wanted it to remain a strictly regional project.[514]

The Universal Exhibition in Barcelona took place from April to December 1888. Twenty-seven countries from across the globe participated in the event which also hosted an estimated two million visitors. The city of

[511] Ibid., pp. 81-82
[512] Saturnino Lacal, *El libro de honor: Apuntes para la historia de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Tipografia Fidel Grió, 1889), p. 42
[513] Ibid., p. 42
[514] Ibid., pp. 23-27; Centre Català was founded in Barcelona in 1882 and led by Frederic Soler and Valentín Almirall. It was an organization founded primarily on the basis of working towards uniting the people of Catalonia, promoted regionalism, the Catalan language and economic protection.

Barcelona was transformed into a 'modern metropolis' in order to emulate the modernity of larger European capitals such as London and Paris in advance of the 1888 Universal Exhibition.[515] Old buildings and neighborhoods were torn down then modern wide streets and contemporary buildings by local architects such as Antonio Gaudí were constructed to replace them.[516] The recently refurbished grounds of the Parc de la Ciutadella in central Barcelona became the chosen site of the Universal Exhibition of 1888 by the organizing committee. The fairground of the Parc de la Ciutadella was an emblematic location to host the exhibition for the city of Barcelona. The site of a former eighteenth-century citadel built by Philip V, this area of the city was a matter of great symbolic importance to the people of Barcelona. During its construction, thousands of homes were destroyed, violence was carried out by royal troops, liberals were executed within the walls of the citadel and countless people had died in its prison cells- the citadel became a much reviled symbol of government persecution of the Catalan people. Over the course of the nineteenth century, various political leaders from General Espartero to General Prim ordered the destruction of sections of the citadel, eventually turning control of the property over to the city of Barcelona, to curry favour with the industrial capital of Spain, after the Glorious Revolution in 1868.[517] By holding the exhibition in this park, the organizers were making a statement- it was a representation of the triumph of the liberalism and modernity in Spain. In a similar statement, at the entrance to the Universal Exhibition visitors were greeted with a statue of General Juan Prim, Catalonia native, former Prime Minister and hero of the Glorious Revolution of 1868. As historian Stephen

[515] Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2016), pp. 49-50
[516] Ibid., pp. 49-50
[517] Jacobson, 'Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2011), p. 83

Jacobson pinpoints, General Prim was a Spanish national hero, something akin to a Napoleon Bonaparte or Giuseppe Garibaldi, that Catalonia could claim as its own.[518] The large equestrian state of the martyred General Prim p, raising him as a military hero and a brilliant statesman, stood at the entrance to the Universal Exhibition of 1888 as a symbol of Catalonia's contributions to state of modern Spain.

One of the most remarkable landmarks of the 1888 Universal Exhibition was a colossal monument dedicated to Christopher Columbus. A national competition was held for a Spanish artist to win the opportunity to design and construct a centerpiece for the exposition. After nearly thirty designs were submitted to the Exhibition committee, Catalan architect, Cayetano Buigas Monrabá, won the competition and after six years, the monument was finished in advance of the commencement of the Barcelona Exhibition in 1888.[519] After a public fundraiser in Barcelona raised an impressive equivalent of $200,000 in the buildup to the monument's construction, the Restoration government contributed an additional $25,000 to the project in order to for it to be completed in time for the opening of the exposition.[520] The monument, standing at sixty meters tall was erected in the famous *Las Ramblas* area of Barcelona. The monument commemorates Columbus' return from his first voyage to the New World when the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel, received him in Barcelona. The structure's pedestal, column and capital are generously decorated with statues of important historical figures interwoven with mythological creatures as well as symbols of the history of the Spanish nation. The monument's base is adorned with numerous life size sculptures

[518] Ibid., p. 83
[519] Néstor Ponce de León, *The Columbus Gallery: the "Discoverer of the New World" as represented in portraits, monuments, statues, medals and paintings* (New York, N. Ponce de Leon, 1893), pp. 84-92
[520] Ibid., p. 86

and brass reliefs depicting the story of Columbus' first voyage to the New World as well as representations of the various places that he visited along his journey, mostly representing important colonial cities. According to contemporary sources, it was supposedly the tallest monument in the world at the time of construction, taller than Nelson's Column in London and the Statue of Liberty in New York (without the base), another testament to Spain's modernity and achievement.[521] During the monument's dedication in June of 1888, Prime Minister Sagasta, Queen Regent of Spain, the toddler King Alfonso XIII, along with members of the royal family and prominent members of Spanish society, oversaw a lavish ceremony that included an international armada consisting of fifty-six man-of-war ships from Spain, America, Austria, Britain, Netherlands, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Russia.[522] This extravagant dedication demonstrates the significance of this monument to the exposition. The veneration of Columbus, Isabel I and Spain's vital role in the discovery of the New World as shown in this monument would go on to be one of the most prominent elements of the Restoration government's state-sponsored cultural program through the 1890s.

Success in Barcelona, in terms of the positive receptions that the Universal Exhibition received from visitors and the press alike, prompted further celebrations of a similar nature elsewhere in Spain. After viewing the triumph of the Universal Exhibition of 1888, Spanish officials in conjunction with the Queen Regent arranged to have a series of celebrations, academic conferences, exhibitions and commemorations surrounding Christopher Columbus, the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of the Americas and the

[521] Jacobson, 'Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2011), p. 88
[522] Ponce de León, *The Columbus Gallery* (1893), p. 86

importance of his monumental voyage in the Spanish capital of Madrid.[523] Just as the 1888 exhibition gave Barcelona the opportunity to present a revived city to an international audience, the Restoration government began to plan a number of massive commemorative celebrations for the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America in the nation's capital. In using Madrid as the primary location for the main state-sponsored celebrations surrounding the landmark centenary, the Restoration government endeavored to use the capital as cultural focal point of Spain and the Spanish Empire, even though Madrid had never been a city typically associated with Columbus or the Catholic monarchs.[524] Additionally, by using the historical figures of Columbus and Isabel I as well as other symbols that represented Spain's major contributions to the discovery of the New World as the focal point of the exhibition, Spanish officials strategically attempted to position Spain as the historical progenitor of modern Western culture.

The grand monument of Columbus in Barcelona was one of many representations of Columbus that had begun to appear not just in Spain, but also in the former countries of the Spanish Empire, the remaining Spanish colonies, the United States as well as in numerous European counties. According to Néstor Ponce de León, there were no fewer than 275 known statues, portraits, medals, monuments and other types of visual representations that depicted Columbus and his voyage created around the world in the late nineteenth century. The vast majority of those were shown to have been various projects or commissions of the Restoration government in Madrid as

[523] Although I have found no direct evidence stating the geographical importance of this decision, it can be assumed that from the success financial success, support for the local citizens as well as the international favor from the exhibition in Barcelona, the government in Madrid wanted to capitalize and expand on this momentum leading up to the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America in the 'heart' of the Spanish nation and empire – Madrid.

[524] Some cities that are more closely associated to Columbus and the Catholic monarchs in Spain are Cádiz, Sevilla and, most importantly, Granada.

well as regional projects throughout Spain and the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. [525] His exhaustive study, published in 1893, was produced in order to showcase the life and achievements of Columbus through this detailed catalogue. Published in the midst of various celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America around the world as well as the 1893 Columbian World's Fair in Chicago, this publication was meant to exhibit the global impact of the great explorer as well as to emphasize Columbus' important impact in the development of the modern world.

Ponce de León describes Columbus as 'one of the greatest men who ever existed' in spite of his contradictory contemporary depictions of the historic figure which appeared in the works of Roselly de Lorgues and Aaron Goodrich.[526] Although born in Cuba, Ponce de Léon regarded Columbus as one of history's most important and influential figures. The extent of the enthusiasm surrounding the commemoration of Columbus in the latter part of the nineteenth century and his discovery of America can be seen in Ponce de Léon's own life. A Cuban born journalist and lawyer, Ponce de Léon was against Spanish rule on the island. After writing a two-volume piece on his opinions of Spanish occupation and reforms in Cuba and Puerto Rico, Ponce de León was forced into exile in the United States. During his thirty-year exile, Ponce de León lived and worked in New York City as a lawyer and continued to be an influential writing expressing his views on the relationship between Cuba and Spain alongside other important exiles such as José Martí. Even after being sentenced to death in Cuba by Spanish authorities because of his

[525] Please see the index of Néstor Ponce de León, *The Columbus Gallery: the "Discoverer of the New World" as represented in portraits, monuments, statues, medals and paintings* (New York, N. Ponce de Leon, 1893) to view the full list of works depicting Columbus during the era of the 400th Anniversary of the Discover of America

[526] For more information on the contradictory views of Columbus in the late nineteenth century, please view Antoine François Félix Roselly de Lorgues, *Histoire posthume de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1885) and Aaron Goodrich, *A History of the Character and Achievements of the So-called Christopher Columbus* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874)

boisterous writings and his three-decade exile in the United States, Ponce de Léon still viewed Columbus, his achievements and his connection to Spain in an idolized fashion. Ponce de Léon wrote that Columbus '[accomplished] the most wonderful discovery ever dreamed of by the human mind…In truth, Judging Columbus with strict justice according to moral canons of his times, he in entitled to be considered as one of the best and purest men of that period of ferocity and demoralization.'[527] Ponce de Léon even goes as far to imply that Columbus may not have been Italian, opening it up to the possibility for Spain to claim the discoverer as the country's own national symbol. Ponce de Léon states that '…there is not a single trustworthy document in existence which proves [that Columbus was born in Genoa] in an incontrovertible manner, and over twenty different places contend for the honor of having been his birthplace.' [528] Other contemporary sources also doubt Columbus' Italian heritage. Aaron Goodrich writes that in Genoa, there a 'most accurate' record kept of births with the city's registrar, but when it comes to tracking down Columbus' birth records, his is suspiciously nowhere to be found.[529]

Although people from all around the world celebrated the accomplishments of Christopher Columbus, the great historical figure had become a particularly important symbol in Spanish history. However, as is well known, Columbus was not Spanish; he was born in Genoa, Italy. How then did the Spanish government manufacture such a strong connection that turned the Italian born admiral into one of the most renowned figures in Spanish history? As Christopher Schmidt-Nowara details, numerous countries contended for the right to claim the famed explorer's life and memory. Countries such as the

[527] Ponce de León, *The Columbus Gallery* (1893), p. 2
[528] Ibid., p. 1
[529] Aaron Goodrich, *A History of the Character and Achievements of the So-called Christopher Columbus* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874), p. 144

United States, Cuba and the Dominican Republic also asserted their strong connections to the famous explorer.[530] However Genoa, in modern day Italy, as the birthplace of Columbus remained the greatest rival to Spain's competing claim to Columbus' memory. As the discoverer of the New World, fostering the connection between Spain, Columbus and his important discoveries was of critical importance for the Restoration government. Columbus became an international icon that served as a permanent link between Spain and the rest of the world. Particularly relying on the connection between Spain and the Americas, the Restoration government repeatedly used the symbol of Columbus as a way to foster the relationship with its remaining colonies, especially in regards to Cuba. Even before the Restoration era, the historical figure of Columbus was prevalent in state-sponsored culture. In the early part of the century, just after the loss of the American colonies in the late 1830s, Maria Cristina, acting as regent for her daughter Isabel II, in memory of the great fifteenth-century discoverer, gave Columbus' descendant Pedro Colón, Duke of Veragua, the right to wear the iconic uniform of the Admiral of the Indies which belonged to his ancestor.[531] Additionally in 1863, a statue of Christopher Columbus was erected in the entryway of the Ministerio de Ultramar.[532] However, during the first half of the Restoration era, the figure of Columbus became especially prominent. His likeness was used repeatedly as a symbol of an ideological representation of Spain's link to modernity through its pioneering discovery of the New World serving as a constant reminder of Spain's critical importance in the development of the modern world.[533] Additionally, through continually venerating Columbus and his

[530] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), pp. 53-95
[531] Ibid., pp. 53-54
[532] Ibid., p. 55
[533] Ibid., pp. 55-57

accomplishments, the Restoration government also portrayed the renewal of a strong bond between the former and current Spanish colonies, especially in regards to Cuba following the end of the Ten Years War in Cuba.

Christopher Columbus became the 'official face' of Spain throughout the first half of the Restoration.[534] In selecting Columbus as a national figure, the Restoration government chose a concrete historical figure, as opposed to other mythological or allegorical Spanish figures like Don Quixote, who was known throughout the world and whose impact spread through all aspects of Spanish life such as culture, the arts, literature, politics, the military and more. Most importantly for the Restoration government, Columbus also represented the importance and profound influence of Spain's historical legacy to the rest of the world. For example, in 1877 there was a major controversy surrounding the supposed discovery of the bones of Christopher Columbus in a cathedral in the Dominican Republic.[535] This became a matter of great international interest as Columbus' bones, as well as the remains of his closest descendants, were supposed to have been buried in the cathedral in Havana, Cuba since 1795 - still a part of the Spanish Empire and therefore a part of Spain's national cultural patrimony. Upon hearing the news of this 'discovery', Cánovas immediately began to order a series of official inquires as to the true nature of the newly discovered remains and considered their authenticity to be a matter of 'great national importance'. [536] In the end, the remains found in the Dominican Republic were never conclusively identified, but this incident nevertheless clearly demonstrated the significance of Columbus to

[534] Ibid., p. 59
[535] The Dominican Republic had recently won a second war of independence called the Dominican Restoration War (1863-1865) that was fought with Spain after the Spaniards had recolonized the Dominican Republic. This short war ended with Spanish troops withdrawing from the island and the installation of the Dominican Second Republic.
[536] Archivo General de la Administración,Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 15, caja 51, 3609, Carta de la Real Academia de la Historia al presidente del consejo de Ministros Esta Real Academia, 5 November 1877

contemporary Spaniards and the lengths that Restoration government would go to in order to claim his legacy, over a decade before anyone in Madrid began seriously discussing the a major celebration of the 400th anniversary of Columbus discoveries.[537]

However, not all Spaniards were comfortable with the idea of the Italian explorer being used as such a prominent symbol of Spanish culture. Instead, critics of Columbus were in favour of using native-born Spaniards to represent Spain during the lavish state-sponsored fourth centenary of the discovery of America celebrations in Madrid and throughout Spain. These critics, such as Cesáreo Fernández Duro, pushed for stories and images of Columbus to be replaced with Martín Alonso Pinzón and his brother Francisco Martín Pinzón, native Spaniards who accompanied Columbus as captains of the *Niña* and *Pinta* respectively, or the Catholic monarchs, specifically, Queen Isabel I. [538] Fernández Duro believed that by minimizing Columbus' impact in the historical narrative of the discovery of the New World, and by placing a more nationalistic emphasis on the native-born Spaniards who aided in the discovery, the Spanish government would have a stronger cultural and historical validation in their connection to the Americas in light of various controversies and rival claims to the life and memory of Columbus.[539] In spite of these debates however, Columbus remained the principal figure at the helm of Spain's upcoming celebrations of the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America as a 'foreigner adopted by Spain'.[540]

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[537]Archivo General de la Administración,Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 15, caja 51, 3609, Carta de la Real Academia de la Historia al presidente del consejo de Ministros Esta Real Academia, 5 November 1877; Carta de la Real Academia de la Historia al presidente del consejo de Ministros, 11 Nov 1878

[538] Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History* (2006), pp. 54, 80-83

[539] For more information advocating for the veneration of the Pinzóns, please see the various publications of Cesáreo Fernández Duro such as *Colón y la 'Historia póstuma'* and *Colón y Pinzón*, *Pinzón en el descubrimiento de las Indias*

[540] Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History* (2006), pp. 53-54

Planning for the commemoration in 1892 started more than a decade in advance of the actual anniversary year. In 1881, the Fourth Congress of the International Association of Americanists was held in Madrid, headed by a descendant of Columbus, Cristóbal Colón de la Cerda and Cesáreo Fernández Duro, in order to begin preparations for a celebration of the centennial. In 1885, a large monument was erected of Columbus in central Madrid near the National Library in Plaza de Santiago.[541] Created by renowned Spanish sculptor Jerónimo Suñol, this monument was sponsored by the Restoration government to adorn the capital to celebrate the wedding of Alfonso XII and María Cristina of Austria. The monument was constructed as a tribute to the Golden Age of Spanish history and unveiled to the public on 4 January 1886 in order to commemorate the anniversary of Columbus' return to Spain from his first voyage when he brought with him news of his ground-breaking discoveries of the New World.[542] In 1888, as detailed above, the Universal Exhibition in Barcelona became Spain's official international celebrations for marking the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyage.

In seeing the success of the 1888 Universal Exhibition in Barcelona, the Restoration government, led by Sagasta at the time, together with the Queen Regent, assembled a committee by royal decree of the leaders of the royal academies of history, fine art, sciences and language as well as the Admiral of the Spanish navy, the Capitan Generals of the army, the Archbishop of Toledo (along with four other dignitaries of the church), the Minister of Ultramar, and the President of the Geographic Society to start to put together plans put together the grand celebration in Madrid.[543] This commemoration was unique

[541] This plaza was later renamed Plaza Colón in 1893 in honor of the great explorer.
[542] *El Imparical*, 'La Vida Artística: Nuestros escultores, Jerónimo Suñol', 24 August 1893, p. 4
[543] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Document 15, Copia del Real Decreto de 28 de Febrero de 1888

as there had never been a large-scale official celebration of Columbus or the discovery of the Americas in Spain by the Spanish government. The 1892 celebrations marking the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America, was the first of it kind in Spain. For the previous centenaries in 1592, 1692 and 1792, the Spanish government put on no form of major celebration or commemoration.[544] After nearly four hundred years, why in 1892 did the Restoration government choose to celebrate Columbus and his discovery of America on such a large scale, international stage?

The Restoration government took control of Spanish national cultural identity illustrated the invaluable role that Spain played in the history of shaping the modern Western world. Although a contentious figure, under the Restoration government Columbus became a symbol of Spanish innovation, adventure, Empire and modernity as stated above. Spain publicly vied for 'ownership' over the life and memory of Columbus with various European and American countries throughout the late 1800s. Spurred by this rivalry, debates surrounding the historical figure and the competitive spirit as other countries were set to have large celebrations commemorating the same events, such as the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America in Madrid was set to be one of the largest state-sponsored events in contemporary Spanish history. As historian Jaime Vicens Vives would go on to say, the era of the 1892 centenary celebrations would be seen as the 'golden jewel' of the Restoration government.[545]

As Spanish historian Salvador Bernabeu Albert explains, the purpose of any centenary, in particular the Historic American Exhibition of 1892, was to

[544] Bernabeu Albert, *1892: el IV centenario del descubrimiento de America en España* (1987), p. 12

[545] Jaime Vicens Vives, *Historia de España y América: Burguesía, industrialización, obrerismo* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1961), pp. 303-304

reconstruct the historical narrative of a particular event, in this case the discovery of America, that was specifically constructed around the organizers' particular motives in order for the historical event to resonate with the contemporary generation.[546] As also confirmed by Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, the 'capacity to reconstruct' the past and cultural memory necessitates that each 'society in each era [reconstruct its history] within its contemporary frame of reference.'[547] As the conveyers of national cultural memory, the Restoration regime manufactured a series of events surrounding the 1892 centennial which attempted to position the most notable events of Spain's Golden Age within the framework of late-nineteenth century Spanish politics and culture. As the successors to this great historical legacy, the extensive celebrations surrounding the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America were used as a propagandistic tool for the Restoration government to manipulate the past in order to present contemporary Spain in way that re-established or reinforced Spain's political and cultural importance on the global stage.

Although this was an important cultural event in nineteenth-century Spain, politics played a decisive role in the planning and execution of the Historic American Exhibition. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, a renowned politician as well as an avid historian of Spanish history, was very heavily involved in the commemorations and celebrations around Spain, but particularly the events in Madrid, surrounding the fourth centenary of the discovery of America. Cánovas created a *junta* comprised of representative from different government ministries as well as heads of important academic and

[546] Bernabeu Albert, *1892: el IV centenario del descubrimiento de America en España* (1987), p. 21

[547] Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,' in *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995), p. 127

cultural institutions to organize and plan the proceedings of the 400th centenary. Práxedes Mateo Sagasta's role was equally as important. As the *turno pacifico* dictated, the two main political parties of the Spanish government rotated regularly in conjunction with the electoral manipulation as outlined above. Sagasta and Cánovas alternated regularly during the planning process of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America exhibitions. During the intricate planning of this event, Cánovas was in office from 1884-1885, 1890-1892 and again 1895 until his assassination in 1897; Sagasta was 1885-1890, 1892-1895 and 1897 through until 1899. Interestingly, although Sagasta and Cánovas were on opposite ends of the political spectrum, there was a congruency in their policies surrounding the events of the 400th anniversary celebrations. Although no explicit evidence of any such communications have been found between the two politicians surrounding the fourth centenary celebrations, there appears to have been an unstated cooperation between Cánovas and Sagasta to present the events of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America in a bipartisan manner. This coordinated political understanding in regards to the policies, funding, planning and execution of the centenary celebrations is a unique aspect of the Restoration political system as it is not present throughout the majority of the politicians' other political initiatives. The concept of using state-sponsored cultural initiates as a common denominator between is opposing political factions a unique notion. Although the fragile bonds of the *turno pacifico* linked the conservative Cánovas and the liberal Sagasta, each statesman had differing political philosophies and ideas for the future of Spain. However, the importance of the official planning and execution of the exhibition and celebrations in Madrid transcended either party's political agenda. Additionally, the Historic American Exhibition of 1892 and the surrounding fanfare of the commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of

the Discovery of America were created in conjunction with the government of the Restoration in order to enhance the prestige of the Spanish monarchy which had been welcome back to Spain after being in exile to rescue the country after the failed liberal experiment of the previous regime.[548]

The Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America has been generally glanced over by many historians who instead draw attention to the famous World's Fair in Chicago which would take place the following year in 1893. However, historians such as Salvador Bernabeu Albert and Dení Ramírez Losada have attempted to fill the void of research around this important cultural event. Bernabeu Albert's work is unique as it dissects the year of 1892 in Spanish political and cultural life as well as uncovers specific details of the 400th anniversary celebrations of the Discovery of America in Madrid which have not been previously discussed in the existing literature.[549] Bernabeu Albert's research focuses heavily on the political circumstances surrounding the 1892 Historic American Exhibition in Madrid as well as the contemporary analyses of the exhibition from both national and international perspectives. Ramírez Losada's work goes into the specifics of how the Restoration government and exhibition organizers chose to organize and present the displays of each country in the main hall of the Historic American Exhibition in 1892. Specifically, she analyses the way in which the Spanish exhibition organizers chose to display the objects and information pertaining to former and current Spanish colonies, particularly Mexico, and how those displays impacted the overall message of the exhibition.[550] In spite of the interesting contributions of these authors, neither of them fully discuss how the planning

[548] Bernabeu Albert, *1892: el IV centenario del descubrimiento de America en España* (1987), p. 23
[549] Ibid.
[550] Dení Ramírez Losada, 'La Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid de 1892 y la ¿ausencia? De México' in *Revista de Indias*, vol. LXIX, num. 246 (2009)

and execution of this major cultural event, mainly subsidized and organized in large part by the Restoration government, impacted Spanish politics, international relations with other countries such as the United States, or how the exhibition influenced other aspects of state-sponsored culture.

As the capital, Madrid played host to no less than six large international events from 1891 to 1893 that specifically dealt with themes commemorating the 400th centenary of Columbus' discovery of America. These events included two international fine arts expositions, a historical maritime exhibition, the *Exposición Histórico-Europea* (Historic European Exposition), the *Exposición Histórico Natural y Etnografica* (Natural History and Ethnography Exposition) and the *Exposición Histórico-Americana* or the *Exposición Ibero-Americana* (Historic American Exhibition or the Ibero-American Exhibition). As the host of these wide ranging international exhibitions, the Spanish government positioned the nation at the forefront of late-nineteenth century cultural modernity.[551] Of all the official events and celebrations surrounding Columbus and his voyage to the New World, by far the largest was the Historic American Exhibition. This particular exhibition was originally set to take place in Madrid from 12 October 1892 until 31 December 1892, in order not to interfere with the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, but the timeline for the Historic American Exhibition was extended until February 1893 to accommodate the large influx of visitors to Madrid.[552] The purpose of this particular exhibition was to 'illustrate the state of civilization' of the pre and post Columbian era.[553]*

[551] Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888 (2016), p. 45
[552] Ramírez Losada, 'La Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid de 1892 y la ¿ausencia? De México', (2009), p. 275
[553] United States Commission to the Madrid Exposition, *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid. 1892-93 with special papers* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 7; Jesus Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), pp. 198-202

The grand Historic American Exhibition came at a huge expense to the Spanish government. In an attempt to make this celebration one of the grandest occasions in modern Spanish history, the Restoration government spared no expense or resource in regards to the preparation for these commemorative exhibitions. For example, in comparison to the 1888 Universal Exhibition just a few years earlier in Barcelona which had a preliminary budget of 1.5 million *pesetas*, the initial government budget for the fourth centenary celebrations in Madrid alone was over 2.5 million *pesetas*.[554] This budget, supplied mainly by the Ministerio de Fomento and then supplemented by other ministries such as the Ministry of State, Ministry of War, Naval Ministry and the Ministerio de Ultramar, was spread over a five year period to cover the costs of planning and executing the large celebrations such as new cultural projects, commissions, prize money for competitions, refurbishments, printing of informational materials, decorations, displays and new acquisitions of objects among many others.[555] This relatively large budget in combination with the amount of sections of the Spanish government that were involved in the planning and execution of the exhibition clearly demonstrates its high level of importance and priority with the leaders of the Restoration government. From 1892 to 1893 alone, the exhibition budget allotted for over 1.5 million *pesetas* to be spent during just the time immediately preceding the Historic American Exhibition whereas the other exhibitions were originally budgeted anywhere from 200.000 to 450.000 *pesetas.*[556] Although there is no summary documentation which tallies the final total of government spending from the 400th anniversary

[554] Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2016), p 48; Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, document 15, Copia del Real Decreto de 28 de Febrero de 1888
[555] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Document 15, Copia del Real Decreto de 28 de Febrero de 1888
[556] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, document 15, Copia del Real Decreto de 28 de Febrero de 1888

celebrations and exhibitions in Madrid, there is extensive evidence that shows that the final costs of the state-sponsored events relating to the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America in Madrid alone may have almost doubled the original allotted budget of 2.5 million *pesetas*.[557] The extravagant level of state subsidized spending, in comparison to the similar events that had taken place just a few years prior in Barcelona, speaks volumes as to the significant role that these events held within political plans Restoration government.

In addition to the financial costs of the exhibition, like Barcelona, the 1892 exhibitions prompted various reconstruction/refurbishments throughout Madrid. Numerous cultural institutions around Madrid were reconstructed and repurposed ahead of the centenary celebrations. For example, the Museo Naval, originally opened in 1843, was renovated under the auspices of the Ministry of War and the Naval Ministry in order to add additional installations to showcase the maritime equipment and weapons that 'contributed mightily to [Spain's] glorious conquest of America'.[558] Additionally, the National Library of Spain was converted into the Exhibition's main exhibition space and geographical centre (akin to London's Crystal Palace) and was, temporarily, renamed the *Biblioteca Americana* (American Library) throughout the duration of the celebrations in Madrid. [559] Furthermore, the area around the building was renovated to include sidewalks to accommodate for the influx of tourists and the inside of the building was transformed from a library to an extraordinary

[557] To review this documentation, please see receipts related to the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America from the Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3600-3609; These documents include numerous receipts, budget requests to various ministries as well as notifications of exhibition workers not being paid due to low government funds.

[558] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 11, caja 51, 3602, Documento 483 and 489-490, cartas del delegado general al presidente de la Junta Directiva del 4th Centenario del descubrimiento de América, dated 20 September 1892

[559] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Documents 561-580, anuncio para la celebración del Centenario entre las que figura la inauguración de una BIBLIOTECA AMERICANA, agosto 1891

mixture between an old-fashioned cabinet of curiosities and a modern museum. [560] The repurposed National Library was lavishly decorated with patriotic banners, lush red velvet carpets and elaborate frescos all for the admiration of visitors to the Historic American Exhibition.[561] Additionally, the interior of the building was divided into countless sections that were each intricately decorated with different themes depicting the cultures or agricultural environment from the participating countries. Each of the Exhibition's participants were allotted at least one room in the library to display objects relating to the history of their country, Columbus' impact on the development of their national history and contemporary culture and society.[562] This clever stipulation in the guidelines of the Historic American Exhibition ensured that, in one way or another, each country would have to feature some part of Spanish history in their display and/or accompanying text guides, which were for sale around the world. The concept of a World's Fair or other large international exhibition like the Historic American Exhibition, was to present 'miniature models of a perfect universe' and to participate in the exhibition, let alone to have the honor to host such an event, entitles the participating nations to have a claim, albeit only an ideological or social one, to international recognition and modernity. [563] In creating the 1892 widespread international exhibition program throughout Spain, the Restoration government was placing Spain at the forefront of historical thought by continually playing host to the international community while patronizing/celebrating the nation's famed

[560] Ibid.; see photos of the interior of the American Library (National Library) below.
[561] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 11, caja 51, 3602, Document 829, Memoria sobre el Deccorado mural de una de las Salas de España en la Exposicion Historico-Americana
[562] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Documents 561-580, anuncio para la celebración del Centenario entre las que figura la inauguración de una BIBLIOTECA AMERICANA, agosto 1891
[563] Olga Vilella, 'An "Exotic" Abroad: Manuel Serafín Pichardo and the Chicago Columbian Exhibition of 1893', in *Latin American Literary Review*, volume 32, issue 63 (Jan-Jun 2004), p. 81

historical legacy and the government's financial means by being able to pay for such extravagant public events.

The exhibition wove itself throughout the urban fabric of the capital. Throughout Madrid, kiosks lined the streets of Madrid from the Prado to the National Library, Puerta del Sol and up to Plaza Oriente, which is situated just outside the Royal Palace.[564] These kiosks sold everything from informational booklets about current events in Madrid, histories of the Spanish Golden Age, biographies of Columbus, souvenirs, food and wine. The government spent thousands of *pesetas* in order to decorate the streets of Madrid as well as the windows, doors and hallways of all relevant buildings and museums.[565] Along with prominent members of the Spanish government and royal family, notable political and cultural dignitaries from around Europe attended the celebrations in Madrid, including monarchs and emissaries of Pope Leo XIII.[566]

[564] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 11, caja 51, 3602, Documento 513, Letter from Carta de Juan Navarro Reverter to the Ministerio de Fomento
[565] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 11, caja 51, 3602, Document 497, Budget report for the *Exposición Histórico-Americana*, dated October 1892
[566] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 10, caja 51, 3600, document 987, list of notable event attendees

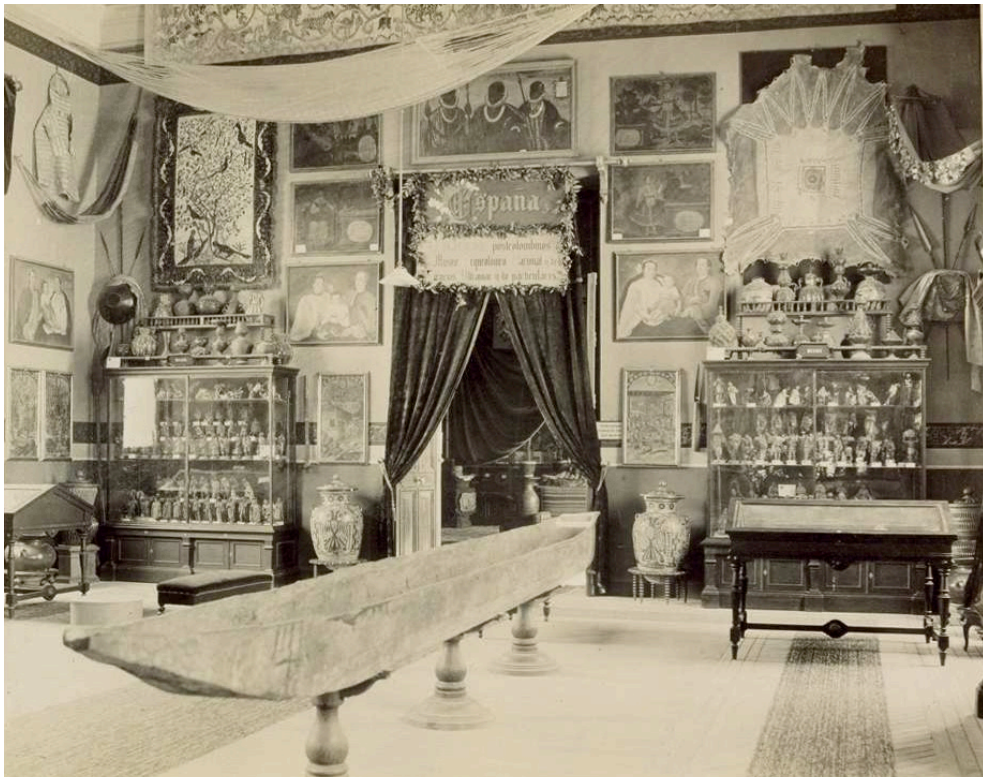

Figure 3.1: Official image of Spain's display at the Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid, Madrid (1892)
Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 17/LF/143, image 3

Figure 3.2: Official image of the United States' display at the Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid, Madrid (1892)
Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 17/LF/143, image 15

The Spanish section at the Historic American Exhibition's American Library was by far allocated the largest of all the participating countries by the

exhibition organisers.[567] To fill the large space, objects had to be transferred form areas all around Spain in addition to the objects from museum's collections in Madrid as well as some temporary loans from private collections. The exhibition's organisers sequestered objects from various museums around Spain, partially from large historical centres like Mérida, Córdoba, Sevilla, Valladolid, San Isidoro, Toledo, Alicante, Cataluña, Valencia, Segovia, Zaragoza as well as requested loans from private Spanish collectors.[568] However, the majority of objects on display in the American Library came from state run museums and historical collections in Madrid. Within this space, Spain showcased historical artefacts from explorers that accompanied Columbus on his journey and famous Spanish conquistadors, such as Hernán Cortés.[569] Additionally in the Spain's exhibition space were a large amount of objects from ancient civilizations in the Americas, such as Mayan, Aztec and Incan artefacts.

Broadly, the Historic American Exhibition was intended to teach its visitors 'to understand the state of artistic and industrial civilization in Europe and in America during this important epoch, and to realize the influence which the one may have exercised upon the other.'[570] As the hosting nation, Spain was presented by the exhibition organizers, who as explained above were very closely associated with the Restoration government or themselves politicians, as the county of greatest influence during this pivotal era of history. In the opening remarks of the Historic American Exhibition on 12 October 1892, the

[567] Other countries with a larger amount of allotted exhibition spaces were the United States and Mexico. The United States government allocated ten thousand dollars for their display in the Exhibition; United States Commission to the Madrid Exposition, *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (1895), p. 7

[568] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 10, caja 51, 3600, Document 35, Documento de recibos relativos a la exposición

[569] Bernabeu Albert, *1892: el IV centenario del descubrimiento de America en España* (1987), pp. 59-72

[570] United States Commission to the Madrid Exposition, *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid* (1895), p. 8

Minister of Justice and Public Instruction remarked that Columbus' voyage had been the catalyst to '[renew] the foundations of ancient civilizations' and that, with Spain's help, the nations of the New World would become 'the divine fabrication of the unity of the world.'[571] Along with claiming possession responsibility for the emergence of large-scale European colonialism in the New World, empire was a prominent theme throughout all of the commemorative events in Madrid during this era. This focus on the historical supremacy of the Spanish Empire and benefits of Spanish colonialism can be seen clearly throughout Spain's own display in the American Library and how the event curators presented Spain's former American colonies and contemporary colonial possessions.

Although the former Spanish colonies were given individual rooms and display spaces to present objects of national importance to crowds of international visitors, the Spanish display was almost exclusively filled with objects belonging to these countries. As stated by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, the Spanish colonies and the role of empire played a critical part in the formation of the identity of the Spanish Old Regime as well as the continually transforming liberal state of the mid to late nineteenth century.[572] For example, one of the main attractions to the Spanish exhibition space was the Troano Codex. This piece, also interestingly referred to as the Madrid Codex, is the longest of only three surviving pre-Columbian Mayan manuscripts in existence. [573] The codex contains information on the Mayan religion and culture and was thought to have been taken back to Spain by conquistadors in the sixteenth

[571] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, Maximo del Campo, *Anales de La Universidad: Número estraordinario publicando para conmemorar el cuarto centenario de descubrimiento de América, 12 de Octubre 1892* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1892), pp. vii-viii
[572] Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History* (2006), p. 20
[573] Gabrielle Vail and Anthony Aveni, *The Madrid Codex: New Approaches to Understanding an Ancient Maya Manuscript* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009), p. 3

century.[574] This object, clearly an important piece of Mexican cultural patrimony, acted as a centrepiece for display in one of Spain's exhibition rooms. This example, along with many others, shows the unique relationship between Spain and the former colonial empire. In displaying exceedingly rare and culturally significant artefacts from these civilizations within the Spanish sections of the exhibition, and going so far as to showcase them as centrepieces for Spanish history and culture, the Exhibition organisers effectively minimised the importance of the display and the cultural heritage of the former colonies. In placing these objects intermingled within the Spanish display, the Spanish exhibition organisers, and by extension the Spanish government, were not so subtly asserting a significant claim in the formation of the national identity and cultural dominance of each of these nations. Additionally, pieces from the contemporary Spanish colonies, such Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, were fused together with those located in the Spanish exhibition space. In not receiving a separate display space, the *provincias ultramarinas* were viewed by the Spanish government as an integral part of Spanish national identity. 'Cuba and Puerto Rico remain part of our empire. Above all, they are apart of our intellectual culture and their importance and location between the Americas must be the base of our homeland abroad.'[575]

As stated by Schmidt-Nowara, 'Spaniards sought to construct a national identity that folded the colonies into the metropolitan historical narrative.'[576] By continually emphasizing the connection between Spain and Columbus through the various state-sponsored events commemorating the 400th anniversary of the

[574] Ibid., p. 35-36
[575] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Documents 561-580, anuncio para la celebración del Centenario entre las que figura la inauguración de una BIBLIOTECA AMERICANA, agosto 1891
[576] Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*, p. 55

discovery of America, the Restoration government was able to culturally reconstruct and reinforce the shared connection between the Spanish Empire's former colonies, current colonial holdings and the *madre patria* through a shared point in their history and formation of their cultures. Cánovas boasted that in comparison to the great international exhibition in Paris in 1889, the Historic American Exhibition showed that Spanish and Latin-American countries have exponentially 'grown in prosperity'.[577] Cánovas suggests that this enhanced prosperity and the apparent cultural exceptionality of each Hispanic nation was due to the historical legacy that connected both Spain and its former colonies. Cánovas stated that 'no Hispanic-American state ceases to possess, such as the *madre patria* posses, either in museum or in private collections, pre-Columbian and contemporary discoveries, that together enhance their common memories.'[578] The Restoration government also made sure to include prominent figures that were popular in the remaining Spanish colonies in the exhibition. Abolitionist activist, Rafael María de Labra, was asked by the organising committee of the centenary to act as a delegate representing Puerto Rico.[579] Labra enthusiastically accepted this role as a cultural mediator as he viewed this position as 'a serious and delicate endeavour.'[580] By featuring these significant connections with the current and former, Spanish colonies, the Restoration government effectively used the public cultural exhibition of the fourth centenary as a way to soften imperial

[577] Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio. *Conmemoración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Documentos oficiales, Primer folleto. Comprende el real decreto de 9 de enero de 1891 y la constitución de la Junta Directiva del Centenario* (Madrid: Impresores de la Real Casa, 1891)
[578] Ibid.
[579] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Document 522, Carta del vicepresidente de la comisión organizadora del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América a Rafael María de Labra, 31 de Diciembre 1888
[580] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 14, caja 51, 3608, Documents 524-526, Carta de Rafael María de Labra al presidente de la comisión organizadora del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, 11 enero 1889; to read more about Labra's importance in nineteenth-century Spain, please see Chapter II.

and political tensions which still running high after the end of the Ten Years War.

In order to gain further participation by those who may not have been able to physically attend the exhibitions in Madrid, to supplement the commemorative events the Spanish government sponsored numerous artistic competitions and theatrical productions as well as academic prizes and conferences. For example, there were numerous cash reward competitions that were advertised internationally calling for an updated biography of Columbus and the history of the discovery of America. These works needed to be dedicated 'not only the sublime undertaking of the Discoverer, but also the main events executed by those who completed such a significant and transcendental event [such as the] heroic and…total conquest of America.'[581] For example, in 1889 various newspapers from around the world advertised an international literary competition with two prizes; first prize would win £1.200 and second prize, £600. [582] This competition called for a historical study written in Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, French or Italian that was dedicated to the 'great event' of the discovery of America. [583] The announcement read,

> Although there are numerous works respecting American travels and discoveries, there is not one that sufficiently demonstrates the marvelous efforts made by the nations of the Iberian Peninsula from the beginning of the 15th century for the acquirement and knowledge of hitherto unvisited portions of the planet in which we live. [584]

Celebrations to commemorate the fourth centenary were not only limited to festivities in Madrid. Outside of the capital, the government funded various competitions, academic conferences and monuments to pay homage to

[581] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 13, caja 51, 3607, Documents 544-547, Carta de Justo Zaragoza al Presidente de la Junta del Centenario, 16 April 1892
[582] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 13, caja 51, 3606, Document 147, 'An International Literary Competition', The Sun, 29 August 1889
[583] Ibid.
[584] Ibid.

Columbus and the world-shifting consequences of his discoveries. For example, in 1890, the Restoration government spent 250.000 *pesetas* to construct a monumental statue of Columbus in Granada.[585] This monument was funded under the Ministerio de Fomento and was designed and constructed under by architects belonging to the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando based in Madrid.[586] The monument was made in the 'memory of the greatness of the year 1492 as the most glorious moment of the Spanish nationality and the beginning of a new era of history.'[587] As the famous conquest of Granada took place that same year under the Catholic monarchs who bankrolled Columbus' journey, the monument in Granada was dedicated to 'two of the greatest events recorded in the glorious history of [Spain].'[588]

There has been debate among historians for decades as to the wider impact of Spain's international exhibitions, in particular the 1892 Historic American Exhibition in Madrid. Muñoz Torreblanca argues that Spain's efforts to participate in organizing and hosting a grand international exhibition had an overall lesser impact on a European-level than comparable exhibitions of the time organized by Britain and France, due to their 'national or sector-specific' nature.[589] Whereas Bernabeu Albert states that the commemoration of 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by way of a grand international celebration had far reaching impacts among the people of Spain well into the twentieth century. According to Bernabeu Albert, in producing and then hosting the numerous festivities surrounding legacy of Christopher Columbus

[585] *El Anunciado Vitoriano: Periódico político, de literatura, noticias y anuncios*, n. 2.714, 24 de Agosto 1890, pp. 1-2
[586] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 12, caja 51, 3605, Documento 547, Carta de Simeon Avalos a el Presidente de la Junta Directiva del Cuarto Centenario del descubrimiento de América, 24 de marzo 1891
[587] Ibid., pp. 1-2
[588] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 12, caja 51, 3605, Documentos 535-546, Simeon Avalos, Programa de consenso entre escultores y Arquitectos españoles para levantar en Granada un Monumento a Isabel la Católica con ocasión de este centenario, 24 de marzo 1891
[589] Muñoz Torreblanca, 'Barcelona's Universal Exhibition of 1888' (2016), p. 46

and the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, Spain 're-discovered' its own past, 'awakened a patriotic movement' and 'regenerated a [nation]'. [590] Contemporaries would have wholeheartedly agreed with this analysis. While writing for the periodical *Revistia Centifica Militar* in 1892, Leopoldo Barrios and J. Trucharte y Villanueva wrote of the 'eagerness' of Spaniards to 'commemorate [this] most momentous event.'[591] They continued on by saying that because of Spain and Columbus' discovery of America, the Western world had been 'freed of its shackles of ignorance' and had 'glimpsed new horizons.'[592]

Like all international exhibitions, the celebrations in Spain surrounding the fourth centenary of the discovery of America were the result of a combination of economic, political and cultural factors as outlined above. The stability of the Restoration regime under Cánovas and Sagasta allowed the government to subsidize a number of almost propagandistic international events through promotion of state-sponsored culture throughout the early 1890s. These events exclusively revolved around the commemoration of Columbus' discovery of the New World and Spain's vital role in this monumental discovery. In doing so, the historical memory of the discovery of America and the figure of Christopher Columbus provided the Restoration government with an outlet to assert Spain's immense historical and cultural importance as well as modern relevance on a global platform. The celebrations of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America served as a way for the Spanish government of the Restoration to not only host a large-scale international exhibition but also to reinforce Spain's contributions to the

[590] Bernabeu Albert, *1892: el IV centenario del descubrimiento de America en España* (1987), pp. 19-21
[591] J. Trucharte y Villanueva, 'El C.C. del Descubrimiento de América', *Revistia Centifica Militar*, v. iii, n. 19, 1 October 1892, p. 609
[592] Trucharte y Villanueva, 'El C.C. del Descubrimiento de América', 1892, p. 609

development modern Western world. The commemorative celebrations of the fourth centenary in Madrid throughout the 1890s provided an opportunity for the Spanish government to promote the image of Spain in the modern age as an economically developed, political stable and culturally creative and important nation.[593] Additionally, these celebrations which were subsidized and organized mainly by the Spanish government, particularly the 1892 Historic American Exhibition in Madrid, was an important state-sponsored cultural program that was created not only for reasons of cultural development, but as a political tool employed by the Restoration regime to act as a tie between various nations in Latin America, Europe and, most importantly, the United States. 'Never before has a celebration moved the world, because never has there occurred an event so transcendental and exceptional in the history of mankind in need of such a commemoration… the Columbian festivities... are a planetary event.'[594]

Spain, the United States and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair

As detailed above, Christopher Columbus was a figure of great international importance in the late nineteenth century. In the United States, immigrants, particularly from Italy, Spain and Latin America, were very vocal about introducing commemorations dedicated to Christopher Columbus and celebrations of the fourth centenary of the discovery of the Americas. In 1890, New York City lost a bid to host the World's Columbian Exposition that would take place in 1893. Due to this, a five-day celebration was arranged in New York to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of

[593] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 11, caja 51, 360, Documento 522, Carta del secretario de la presidencia del consejo de ministros al Presidente del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 31 October 1892
[594] José Alcalá-Galiano, 'La semana colombiana en Nueva York', *el Centenario*, 1892, p. 303

America. These celebrations, though partially funded by the United States Congress and generous donations from American industrialists like J.P. Morgan and Cornelius Vanderbilt, were led by the large immigrant community of New York. [595] These immigrant communities formed various societies and associations devoted solely to the preparation, fundraising and memorialization of this event. The most prominent of these societies in regard to the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America was the Circulo Colon Cervantes. This New York City based organization was formed of Spanish immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula, from Caribbean Spanish colonies, such as Cuba and Puerto Rico, as well as émigrés from all over Latin America. The Circulo Colon Cervantes played a leading role in organizing one of the United States' largest public celebrations for the fourth centenary of Columbus' journey and discovery of the New World. For example, with influence from the Circulo Colon Cervantes, the state legislature of New York introduced a bill making the twelfth day of October a legal holiday (Columbus Day) and gave New York City a budget of $50,000 for the purpose of a city-wide celebration marking the discovery of America.[596] In order to match the lavish celebrations of the fourth centenary being held in Madrid and around the rest of Spain, various proposals were made by the members of the Circulo Colon Cervantes suggesting that the newly allocated $50,000 budget be used for parades, monuments, statues, various cultural productions and more. One proposal suggested that New York City play host to a city-wide international parade in which men, women and children of all races, ethnicities and nationalities would have a part in as the discovery of America by Christopher

[595] David Mark Carletta, 'The Triumph of American Spectacle: New York City's 1892 Columbian Celebration', *International Society for Landscape, Peace & Material Culture*, vol. 40, n. 1 (2008), p. 19

[596] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, Circulo Colon Cervantes memo, 'Circulo Colon Cervantes club organized the celebrations in New York City celebrating the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America', 10 May 1892

Columbus and his Spanish partners was a momentous occasion that needed to be celebrated by all people as it was an event that 'changed the course of the entire world.'[597] This lavish proposal also stated that it was the suggestion of the committee's intention to hire numerous choirs and produce hundreds of ornate parade floats to 'flood the streets of New York' for the first annual Columbus Day parade which was to take place on 12 October 1892.[598] Additionally, this proposal suggested that in order to supplement the $50,000 event budget, that tickets to the parade should be sold 'in order to recreate historical costumes as well as full suits of arms and armor for all of the parade participants [to wear].'[599]

In addition to the ornate plans for the Columbus Day parade, the Circulo Colon Cervantes also became increasingly involved with the Spanish government. For example, Arturo Baldesano y Topete, the Spanish Consul General, was also the President of the Circulo Colon Cervantes.[600] Although this involvement was predominately in a cultural capacity, this is significant because it suggests that the state-sponsored cultural programs that were being implemented by the Restoration government in Spain were now slowly being extended to influence the Spanish and Hispanic immigrant communities in the United States. The Board of Directors of the Circulo Colon Cervantes contacted Spanish political, military and cultural officials to ask for assistance and

[597] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, Proposals by the Circulo Colon Cervantes club for the Celebration in the City of New York of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America on the 12th Day of October, 1892, p. 7
[598] Ibid., p. 7
[599] Ibid., p. 7
[600] Arturo Baldasano y Topete has no relation to Admiral Juan Bautista Topete that was discussed in Chapter II in relation to the Glorious Revolution of 1868.

donations to create various projects in order to 'properly commemorate' the fourth centenary of the discovery of America.[601]

Not content with the projected celebrations in New York City, the Circulo Colon Cervantes worked with the Spanish government to produce numerous collaborative commemorative projects, the largest of which was a statue and fountain dedicated to Christopher Columbus and his fellow (Spanish) discoverers, Martín Alonso Pinzón and Francisco Martín Pinzón.[602] Arturo Baldesano y Topete wrote that this monument would represent 'the glory of Spain…in the eyes of this Great Republic (the United States)' so that '[Spain's] *patria* will always hold, despite political permutations over Spanish America.'[603] The large bronze fountain was designed by Fernando Miranda and was to be placed centrally in New York near Central Park.[604] Miranda, an architect and one of the organizers of the Circulo Colon Cervantes, offered his services to the society and the city free of charge.[605] To cover the costs of producing this sizeable monument, a public campaign was set up by the society for donations directed towards the Spanish-speaking residents of the United States.[606] Interestingly, to supplement these donations and to provide the materials for the fountain's construction, the Circulo Colon Cervantes reached out to the Spanish government. Arturo Baldasano y Topete wrote many letters to Spain's Ministries of State, War and Navy petitioning the

[601] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, Circulo Colon Cervantes memo, 'Circulo Colon Cervantes club organized the celebrations in New York City celebrating the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America', 10 May 1892
[602] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, unnamed newspaper clipping, 'In Honor of Columbus: Spanish Residents to Present City with a Fountain Representing the Discoverer and His Lieutenants', 1892
[603] Archivo Histórico Nacional, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Relaciones Culturales, 10, 3.03 54/1283, Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, informe de Arturo Baldesano y Topete, Cónsul General de España - Nueva York
[604] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, unnamed newspaper clipping, 'In Honor of Columbus: Spanish Residents to Present City with a Fountain Representing the Discoverer and His Lieutenants', 1892
[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.

government for old or retired military cannons and other materials which were no longer in service to be donated to the project as they would be melted down to 'create the centerpiece of a monument dedicated to the great discoverer, his faithful lieutenants and the legacy of Spanish history in the United States.'[607] Baldasano y Topete also pushed for other members of the society's Board of Directors to reach out to the governments of their home countries with the same request in order to 'facilitate the completion of this work by all possible means.'[608]

Figure 3.3: Sketch of the proposed design for the 'Colon y Los Pinzones' Fountain drawn by Fernando Miranda, dated 28 January 1892
Source: Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, 'Fontana che commemora Colombo e la scoperta dell'America', *Supplemento al progresso italo-americano*, New York, 17 April 1892, p. 91

However, not all members of the Circulo Colon Cervantes were comfortable taking part in the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America and commemorations of Columbus that were even partially under the auspices of the Spanish government. Specifically, the members of the society from Cuba and Puerto Rico very vocally denounced the Circulo Colon

[607] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, Copies of letters sent to the Ministerio del Estado, Guerra y Marina de Arturo Baldasano y Topete, New York, 19 de April 1892
[608] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, Dispatch from meeting of the Circulo Colon Cervantes Board of Directors Committee, 15 April 1892, New York

Cervantes' collaboration with Restoration regime. This outrage was so strong that it caused a major rift within the group, and ultimately, the separation of Cuban and Puerto Rican members from the society. In a very forthright opinion column published in an American newspaper for Spanish speakers living in New York, an anonymous Cuban author details his anger at the notion of any collaboration between the Circulo Colon Cervantes and the government of Spain.[609] Firstly, the author begins the article by stating that most of the Hispanic immigrants in New York City are either émigrés or exiles from Cuba and Puerto Rico. In stating this, the author contests why this majority is underrepresented in the Circulo Colon Cervantes and why their opinions are not given the same weight as other members who originated from Spain or Mexico.[610] Next, the anonymous author claims that in his view, and in the view of his fellow Cubans, any connection with Spain or the Spanish government was a deep 'betrayal' of the 'weakened…and unfortunate Cuban brothers who continue to fight for the holy cause of their freedom and redemption in vain.'[611] The critic further elaborates writing the 'emancipated daughters' of the 'tyrant' Spain (the former Spanish colonies that gained their independence in the beginning part of the nineteenth century) have '[chosen] to forget their previous fight for freedom' when they gained their independence and as such now passively 'ignore the current struggles of the Cuban people'.[612] In the view of the anonymous Cuban author, the partnership between the Circulo Colon Cervantes and the Spanish government through the donation of funds and materials for the lavish fourth centenary celebrations was a treacherous betrayal of their unique *American* bond which, in his view, should be stronger than the

[609] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, newspaper clipping, 'Colon Cervantes y Cuba', 1892
[610] Ibid.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Ibid.

bond with that of their former colonizer. This sentiment was shared by various Cuban exiles in New York, most notability by José Matrí, a prolific writer, poet and Cuban patriot exemplified. In his famous essay titled *Nuestra America* published in 1891, just a year before the centenary, Martí viewed Latin America and the remaining Spanish colonies in the Caribbean in a united collection of Americans rather than individual republics with a shared historical and cultural that should be weary of outside influences from Spain and the United States.[613] Martí and his writings had a profound impact on their readers and American sentiments towards Spain even after his death in 1895.[614] The anonymous Cuban author of this article mirrors Marti's desire for Hispanic American unity. By associating with the Spanish government, the Cuban members of the Circulo Colon Cervantes felt that their organization, originally founded to foster a new sense of community between Hispanic and Spanish speaking émigrés in New York, abandoned all sympathies towards the colonial situation happening in the Caribbean and instead became an unofficial branch of the Spanish government in New York City. The author points out that as the centenary approaches, all other Americans rejoice in their freedom while the Cubans and Puerto Ricans are still 'enslaved' by Spain. [615] Furthermore he states:

> We hate tyrants, but not Spain…But today, in the tenacious struggle that we sustain, wandering, far from the homeland, not compromising with the colony, we cannot be present where the official spirit of Spain, that tyrannizes us in Cuba, presides. And in the Circulo Colon Cervantes the spirit of official Spain flutters, and the Society is nothing more than the reflection of that nation, founded with the purpose of causing the

[613] José Martí, 'Nuestra America', *La Revista iIlustrada*, 10 January 1891
[614] For more on this, please see: Ryan Anthony Spangler and Georg Michael Schwarzmann, *Syncing the Americas: José Martí and the shaping of national identity* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2018), Anne Fountain, *José Martí, the United States, and Race* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2014), Jeffrey Belnap and Raul Fernandez, *Jose Marti's "Our America": from national to hemispheric cultural studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998)
[615] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 54, 1283, newspaper clipping, 'Colon Cervantes y Cuba', 1892

> peoples of America to deny their own sympathies and abandon Cuba's fight for freedom. [616]

There was a distinctly negative discourse surrounding Spanish cultural influence in New York's celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America as it was viewed as a direct extension of the Spanish government and politics. The partnership between the Circulo Colon Cervantes was considered to be an act of imperial repression by the society's Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrants in light of the ongoing struggle for independence in the colonies. Ultimately, this feeling of resentment and disloyalty resulted in the Cuban and Puerto Rican members of the society removing themselves from all of the official celebrations and commemorations sponsored by the Circulo Colon Cervantes, 'let us not participate in any festivity where the spirit of official Spain beats, that vexes us and humiliates us.' [617]

Like the members of the Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrant communities, other émigrés to the United States had a vested interest in the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America celebration in New York City. Particularly, the city's Jewish community had mixed feelings over the event- they condemned Columbus' actions but also understood the significance of his discoveries to the Jewish community. Prominent leaders and members of the Jewish community, such as Rabbi Pereia Mendes, damagingly criticized Columbus and the consequences of his voyages to the New World. 'What horrible crimes…whole races extirpated, nations wronged, and civilizations that could have taught us much wrecked…progress has been blotted with human blood.'[618] Rabbi Mendes was referring to the immense loss of indigenous life and culture in the Americas when Columbus and his explorers arrived to the

[616] Ibid.
[617] Ibid.
[618] *The New York Times,* 9 October 1892

New World.[619] After lamenting Columbus' crimes, the rabbi continued his speech by stating that Columbus' religious and cultural intolerance in the New World acted as an extension of the Spanish Inquisition started by Queen Isabel I and King Fernando in the late fifteenth century. Although the persecution of the Jews had ended in the Spanish Inquisition, Rabbi Mendes argued that its spirit had lived on in the contemporary era by Tsar Alexander III of Russia and his state-sponsored pogroms against the Jewish people.[620] Comparing the Spanish Inquisition and the infamous Black Legend to the contemporary Russian regime's treatment of the Jewish people, Rabbi Mendes stated 'it has been 400 years since the Spanish expulsion of the Jews. Russia is following in her footsteps' but thanks to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, 'America again is the land that Providence chose.'[621] The rabbi states that in spite of Columbus atrocities, he had discovered the New World; a New World that tolerated religious freedoms where the Jewish people could escape such cruel treatment from the Spanish crown in the past, the Russian government in the present and any enemy in the future.[622] Rabbi Mendes, along with other leaders in New York City's Jewish community such as Rabbi Bernard Silverman and Rabbi Jacob Joseph, as well as famous international Jewish scholars like German historian and rabbi, Dr. Meyer Kayserling, depicted Columbus almost as a sort of hidden Founding Father of America, similar to the likes of George Washington or Thomas Jefferson, stating that all Americans, especially the Jewish community, should be thankful for such a man, no matter his unscrupulous reputation, because he discovered 'a true refuge for the

[619] For more information on this topic, please see Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevísima destrucción de las indias* (1552)
[620] *The New York Times,* 9 October 1892
[621] *The New York Times,* 9 October 1892
[622] *The New York Times,* 9 October 1892

oppressed.'[623] As outlined by influential American Jewish historian Jonathan Sarna, this sentiment was echoed throughout all aspects of New York City's Jewish community.[624] Sarna highlights that the Jewish community actively discussed the role of the Jewish navigators that assisted Columbus on his first voyage to the New World to the wider public through celebrations, commemorative religious services on the Sabbath, the publication of articles in the American press as well as books commissioned and written for international audiences.[625] In doing so, Sarna pinpoints that the American Jewish community endeavoured to assimilate more into American culture—by aligning themselves with the story Columbus and discovery of America, the Jewish community was actively fighting notions of 'otherness' and anti-Semitism to present as part of America's founding story. [626]

The immigrant communities in New York City by and large were the driving force behind the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America Celebrations in 1892. As previously stated, there was some money dispensed by Congress and other money donated by American business tycoons, but the majority of fundraising and initial attention paid to the event was done from America's immigrant communities. As the celebrations for the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America began to garner more attention internationally, the American press started to become more and more interested in the event and in the symbol of Columbus for Americans. As in Spain, many media outlets, cultural institutions and areas of government in the United States also tried to

[623] *The New York Times,* 13 October 1892; Dr. Meyer Kayserling also published a study titled *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894), where he details the relationship between Columbus, the Spanish crown, the Jewish community and the New World based off of extensive archival research in Spain. Because of this work and his many other publications relating to the history of the Jewish people in Spain and the Iberian Peninsula, Dr. Kayserling was admitted as a member of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid.
[624] Jonathan D. Sarna, 'Columbus & the Jews,' *Commentary*, vol. 94, no. 5 (1992), p 38
[625] Ibid., p 38
[626] Ibid., pp38-41

claim Columbus as a patriotic American symbol. Popular newspapers such as the *New York Times* were very vocal about publicising opinions and covering the events surrounding the quadricentennial celebrations. As cultural historian David Carletta points out, the large-scale celebrations in New York City were an opportunity for the American people and immigrant communities to demonstrate their loyalty to their nation and putt on a spectacular event.[627] Americans lauded over the explorer claiming that he and his discovery of America was a 'God's plan' and a 'fresh beginning for mankind.'[628] In New York City, excitement spread quickly through the press as the American people wanted to showcase their national pride in claiming that Columbus had discovered America (as in the geographical United States), whereas in reality, Columbus had landed in the Caribbean. This distinction did not bother the American press as *The New York Times* trumpeted 'we the United States of North America may justly boast that it is *our country* that the seed [Columbus] most nobly fructified.'[629] Furthermore, contemporaries such as Reverend Dr. Ensign McChesney claimed that Columbus' foundation of America allowed for the flourishing of the United States, posing to others the question 'why is it that out Northern civilization is better than the semi-barbarism of the Southern continent?' [630] To McChesney and his peers, it was combination of the Columbian foundations of the discovery of America and traditional American values. As stated by *The New York Times,* the symbol of Christopher Columbus was found 'deep in the heart of loyal Americans'- the more that each citizen closely celebrated achievements of the famed explorer and commemorated America's burgeoning prominence, 'the more their love for [their country]'.[631]

[627] Carletta, 'The Triumph of American Spectacle' (2008), p. 21
[628] Ibid., p 21
[629] Ibid., p 20
[630] *The New York Times,* 10 October 1892
[631] *The New York Times,* 10 October 1892

The World's Columbian Exposition

In May 1893 the World's Columbian Exposition opened in Chicago, Illinois. The World's Columbian Exposition, or the Chicago World's Fair, would come to be seen as one of the most important cultural events of the nineteenth century, proving to be an internationally recognized symbol of the technological advancements and innovative spirit that would usher in the twentieth century. Generally, although the 1892 Historian American Exhibition in Madrid and other Spanish commemorations of the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the New World throughout Spain proved to be an important symbolic event for Spain itself, the international prestige of the Chicago World's Fair far eclipsed the Spanish government's commemoration in both size and status. For example, as preparations for the Chicago World's Fair began in the United States, curators and exhibition organizers of the Historic American Exhibition in Madrid complained that numerous countries 'began to show their impatience' as they slowly started to dismantle their displays and remove significant pieces from their exhibition spaces in order to start shipping these items to Chicago to be displayed at the World's Fair.[632] Although the Exhibition organizers in Madrid assured the Spanish government that even with these objects missing from their displays, the Historic American Exhibition in Madrid would far 'outshine anything from the whole of America', their frustrations with the situation were palpable.[633]

In the six months that the Chicago World's Fair was open to the public, the fair hosted nearly thirty million visitors, had representations from forty six

[632] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 9, Leg. n 11, caja 51, 3602, Documento 534, Carta de Juan Navarro Reverter al Presidente de la Junta Directiva del Centenario, 17 December 1892
[633] Ibid.

countries and was spread across a newly constructed nearly seven hundred acre fairground known as the 'White City'.[634] Similar to the various large-scale public events happening in Spain during this time, the theme of the 1893 World's Fair was to commemorate Christopher Columbus and the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. In addition to the fair's official title, the World's Columbian Exposition, World's Fair had numerous monuments in places of central importance and a separate museum dedicated to the discoverer of the Americas. This event, similar to the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, also showcased great technological and cultural advancements to the international public and became a symbol of the emergence of American ingenuity and the rise of the American century.[635]

As historian Kate Ferris details, Spaniards had a distinct view of America and American life in the late nineteenth century. [636] Ferris examines the contrasting views of Spain and the United States in popular culture; where as Spain was seen as 'traditional', 'romanticized' and 'backwards', the United States emulated the 'blueprint for the modern way of life' and showcased new technologies, forms of government and cutting edge modernity.[637] In evaluating their relationship with the United States, Spanish politicians, government officials, philosophers, academics and cultural leaders alike were able to reconstruct their own unique view of Spanish modernity and discover Spain's place in the modern fin-de-siècle world. [638] Because of this reason, in addition to contemporary politics and economic obligations, the relationship between

[634] Chaim M. Rosenberg, *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), p. vi
[635] John E. Findling, *Chicago's Great World's Fairs* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994)
[636] Kate Ferris, *Imagining 'America' in Late Nineteenth Century Spain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
[637] Ibid., pp. 13-15
[638] Ferris, *Imagining 'America'* (2016), pp. 287-295

the United States and Spain is significant in evaluating the culture of late nineteenth-century Spain.

Most importantly for the purposes of this thesis is the relationship that existed between the governments of the United States and Spain in regards to the Chicago World's Fair. Before the fair, the United States extended a special invitation to Spain to be the World Fair's guest of honor as this was the 'ultimate recognition of a shared history' between the two nations.[639] Just like the Historic American Exhibition of 1892 in Madrid and the other events commemorating the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, the 1893 World's Fair provided an opportunity for Spain to once again put itself on display as a modern nation with a great influential historical legacy alongside the ultra-contemporary United States. The best example of this close relationship between the United States and Spain is the commission of three to-scale replicas of the *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Santa Maria*, the three ships that Columbus and the Pinzon brothers travelled on from Spain when they discovered the New World in 1492. This project is of particular importance as it required the cooperation of cultural leaders, politicians and military officials on both sides of the Atlantic to coordinate this event in an attempt to showcase an impressive historical and cultural achievement for international audiences at the Chicago World's Fair.

[639] Ibid., p. 14

Figure 3.4: Image of the replica caravels, the Niña, Pinta and Santa Maria, arriving for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, Franklin S. Catlin, 7 July 1893
Source: Chicago History Museum, ICHi-061765

The original building plans for the three vessels were thoroughly researched by historians at the Royal Historical Society in conjunction with military officials in the Spanish naval records in order to produce the most historically accurate representations of each ship.[640] Both the United States Congress and Ministerio de Fomento released funds to contribute to the project; It was decided that the historical replicas of the *Niña* and *Pinta* would be constructed in the United States and that the *Santa Maria*, Columbus' flagship, would be constructed in Spain near Cadiz. Upon the completion of the *Santa Maria*, the historic vessel along with other ships of the Spanish historic naval fleet left La Rabida, Spain and proceeded to follow the exact route mapped out by Columbus on his first journey to the New World four hindered years before.[641] The fleet, led by Capitan Victor Concas, made its first ceremonial stop in Havana where his fleet was joined by the American made reconstructions of

[640] *Exposición Universal de Chicago de 1893: Comisión General Española* (Madrid: Imprenta de Ricardo Rojas, 1893)
[641] Ibid.

the *Niña* and the *Pinta*.[642] In Havana, all three ships were placed under the command of Capitan Concas and set sail to New York Harbour for an International Naval Review as a part of the 1893 World's Fair, all the while flying the historic flags of Castile and Leon. After leaving New York, approximately 147 days after leaving La Rabida, the *Niña*, *Pinta* and *Santa Maria* docked together in Chicago.[643] The three small historical vessels were part of the centerpiece of the 1893 World's Fair and attracted millions of visitors during their time in Chicago.[644] This joint state-sponsored cultural venture was very beneficial to Spain. The news of the construction and each step of the journey was met with great fanfare and favorable press coverage throughout the United States. This auspicious partnership only further cemented the Restoration government's cultural agenda of internationally cementing the great historical legacy of Spain and the richness of Spanish history through the lens of the fourth centenary celebrations around the globe. Additionally, this collaborative project for the 1893 World's Fair strengthened the political bonds between the United States and Spain. In a letter written to the Spanish government from the delegation of the United States, it was written that the reconstructed historical fleet would leave such an 'extraordinary impression' that would 'undoubtedly produce awe among all the assembled nations' who will no doubt only marvel at the 'renowned glory of Spain' while simultaneously '[cementing] the bonds of friendship and sympathy which have always so happily united [our two nations].'[645] To further this relationship, the Spanish government informed the American ambassador in Madrid that Spain wanted to gift their reproduction of the *Santa Maria* to the government and people of the United States as a

[642] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 56, Letter from Legation of the United States of America to the Duke of Tetuan, dated 4 November 1892
[643] *The Inter Ocean*, 'Spanish Fleet Comes to Chicago', 7 July 1893, pp. 6-7
[644] Rosenberg, *America at the Fair* (2008), p. 77
[645] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 56, Letter from Legation of the United States of America to the Duke of Tetuan, dated 4 November 1892

'friendly action' to foster the 'ties of friendship' between the two countries.[646] The American ambassador quickly reported back to the Spanish Ministry of State that the President of the United States was delighted at the news of the gift of 'the most memorable vessel in history' and that the replica of the *Santa Maria* 'will be preserved not only as a souvenir of an illustrious event in history- but as an evidence of the cordial good will existing between our two governments and people.'[647]

However, this amicable relationship would not last long as, in less than five years, the once friendly nations most recently connected together by international cultural relationships during the 1893 World's Fair, would come to blows in the Spanish American War. In the years following the Chicago World's Fair leading up to the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of yellow journalism in the United States as well as the impact of influential Cuban patriots living in America would have a profoundly negative effect on Spanish-American relations. These factors transformed the public opinion of the Spanish government and Spain's historical legacy that was developed during the 1892 and 1893 centenary celebrations from an image of admiration and respect to that of an immoral and unjust enemy.

Furthermore, at the Chicago World's Fair, the Spanish government attempted to present its nation as the perfect balance between a capital of world history and a nation of modernity and influence. In the various buildings of the Spanish Pavilions, there were recreations of medieval Spanish buildings, ancient texts, relics from Columbus' maiden voyage, period clothing, modern technologies from Spanish scientific institutions and agricultural products

[646] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 56, Letter from Ambassador of the United States in Madrid to the Ministerio de Estado, 1 February 1893
[647] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, Leg. n 24, caja 56, Letter from Ambassador of the United States in Madrid to the Ministerio de Estado, 6 February 1893

produced in the Spanish colonies such as cigars, tobacco and coffee.[648] In Chicago, it was 'very strongly recommended' by the Spanish government, that the exhibitions team 'make the greatest effort' that the presentation of their colonial holdings, especially that of Cuba, were 'to be presented with all possible splendor'.[649] However, much to the dismay of the Spanish exhibition makers, the American press, in publications such as the Chicago Globe, continually undermined these efforts. Whether it was intentional or not remains unclear, but American periodicals and reviews of the Chicago World's Fair would always refer to the Spanish colonial exhibitions as 'Cuban' or 'Puerto Rican', as opposed to 'Spanish'.[650] The grand efforts by the Spanish government to portray their colonies as a part of their empire and important part national psyche was blatantly undermined by this subtle name change, almost presenting the colonies as their own autonomous countries. Official efforts from the Spanish government were continually challenged by the marginalization and slow growing, but extremely prominent, anti-Spanish sentiment present in both the American press and large Cuban nationalist presence in major cities in the United States. Some American officials even urged the Spanish government not to display objects from the colonials within its own pavilion as they though it was 'unwise to have a reminder of Spain's imperial presence in the Caribbean' given the heated discussion of Cuba in the yellow press. Cuban born writer, Manuel Serafín Pichardo, and his *crónicas* also worked as an active opponent to the Spanish government's state-sponsored cultural programs being played out at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. As the debates over Cuba grew louder and louder in the American press, Pichardo

[648] M. Elizabeth Boone, 'Marginalizing Spain at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893', in *Nineteenth-Century Studies*, volume 25, (2011), p. 204
[649] Olga Vilella, 'An "Exotic" Abroad: Manuel Serafín Pichardo and the Chicago Columbian Exhibition of 1893', in *Latin American Literary Review*, volume 32, issue 63 (2004), p 84
[650] Boone, 'Marginalizing Spain at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893', (2011), p. 204

attended the fair in Chicago in order to obstruct from the Spanish government's state-sponsored cultural initiatives and to very publically object to Spain's rule in Cuba. Similar to that of his contemporary, José Matrí, Pichardo wrote that the 'young Cuba' is an 'enclosed nation' of 'oppressed hearts'.[651] In his writing he further professes his dream for an independent Cuban nation full of national integrity, free of struggle and divorced from the Spanish crown.[652]

[651] Manuel Serafín Pichardo, 'Crónica 14', *La ciudad blanca: crónicas de la Exposición Colombiana de Chicago* (Havana, 1894)
[652] Pichardo, *La ciudad blanca* (1894)

Chapter IV:

1898-1914

The Spanish American War, 'el Desastre' and State-Sponsored Culture in a Post-Imperial Spain

Fin-de-siècle Spain and the prologue to the 'Splendid Little War'

The year 1898 marks a prominent divide in the narrative of Spanish history. Not only was this year nearing the end of a decade and leading to the turn of a new century, in Spain, 1898 presented the nation with a unique series of major cultural and political challenges. In the 1890s, many Spaniards viewed the United States as a country of great promise, modernity and progressive ideals.[653] Through the development of ground breaking technological advances from the United States, such as the electric light, the telegraph, phonograph and celluloid film, as well as the ingenuity of businessmen such as Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Morgan and Carnegie, America gained a widespread reputation as 'the world's pioneer' and 'epitome of modernity' throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[654] Due to this, public discourse throughout late nineteenth century Spain focused heavily on the United States.[655] Central to this discussion was Spain's need to emulate the advancements of the United States 'in order to catch up with this most modern of nations.'[656]

Along with the Spanish fascination with the ultra-modern United States, there was a conscious focus between the government administrations of both

[653] Kate Ferris, *Imagining 'America' in Late Nineteenth Century Spain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
[654] Ferris, *Imagining 'America'* (2016), pp. 2, 6; Kate Ferris, 'Technology, Novelty, and Modernity: Spanish Perceptions of the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 11:1, (2010), p. 38.
[655] Ferris, 'Technology, Novelty, and Modernity', (2010), p. 38.
[656] Ferris, 'Technology, Novelty, and Modernity', (2010), p. 38.

nations to form and uphold a productive political and cultural relationship. A prime example of this if the cordial relationship that was very publicly developed between the two nations during the 1892 Historic American Exhibition in Madrid and 1893 Chicago World's Fair, as detailed in Chapter III. During the years of preparation leading up to these events and throughout the actual events themselves, both Spain and the United States presented the other as distinguished guests and repeatedly attempted to display a profound shared connection through common historical events, such as Columbus' discovery of America. [657] Another example of this connection can be seen in the Spanish/American relations during the summer of 1897. On 8 August 1897, Spanish Prime Minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo was assassinated. His death was viewed by many as not just a major blow to the Spanish government, but as an attack against 'the national interests and unity of the country' by 'the enemies of the nation.'[658] In America, Cánovas' death was a profound shock; leading Spanish government and cultural officials stationed around the United States wrote to the Spanish ambassador, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, to express their disbelief and profound sadness at the untimely passing of 'the Colossus of our time' and 'a symbol that embodied the spirit of the Spanish nation'. [659] As soon as news of Cánovas' death reached American officials in Washington DC, President William McKinley issued a statement dedicated to the people of Spanish and Spaniards living in the United States

[657] For more information of the 1892 Historic American Exhibition in Madrid, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the cultural/political relations between Spain and the United States in relation to these events, please see Chapter III of this thesis
[658] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 904, caja 54, 8054, Letter to Señor Cande de Galarza from Julio Reugifosa, 9 August 1897
[659] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 904, caja 54, 8054, Letter from Fernando Miranda, President of the American Sculpture society to Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, 18 August 1897

expressing his 'profound sadness' at 'the loss of so great a Minister.'[660] President McKinley also ordered that a large requiem mass be held in New York City to honor the memory of the late Cánovas in a city where so many Spanish and Spanish-American's lived.[661] Many high-ranking government officials attended the funeral from Spain and the United States as well as cultural leaders, members of the military and ordinary citizens. However growing tensions in Cuba, mounting public pressure and the explosion of the American battleship, the USS *Maine*, in Havana Harbor in February 1898 all relentlessly eroded the political and cultural ties between the United States and Spain which eventually led to a declaration of war in April 1898.

Compared to Spain and the rest of Europe, the United States was a young country in an age of large prospering empires and colonization. Building on the wave of growing imperialism and imperial expansion by European nations throughout this era, the United States began to take the initiative to build its own version of American imperialism and expansionist rhetoric throughout the nineteenth century. American author John L. O'Sullivan famously coined the term 'manifest destiny' in 1845 writing that it is 'our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions'.[662] In addition to the will of god or providence, O'Sullivan further justifies his notion by stating that this is common practice in Europe by England and France so why should the United States not take part in this global phenomenon.[663] To O'Sullivan, it was the duty of the United States to overtake the all the land within its geographic

[660] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 904, caja 54, 8054, Newspaper clipping by Dr. Wilfred Nelson, dated 19 August 1897
[661] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 904, caja 54, 8054, Letter from Spanish Embassy in New York City, 16 August 1897
[662] John O'Sullivan, 'Annexation,' *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, vol. 17 (New York, 1845)
[663] O'Sullivan, 'Annexation,' (1845)

boundaries, from the Atlantic to Pacific Ocean and beyond because all the people who the United States would liberate from their European tyrants were 'destined to gather beneath the flutter of the stripes and stars'.[664] Not only did O'Sullivan notion of manifest destiny apply to what is now the continental United States, but to some it applied to the whole of the North American continent. In the 1860s, American Secretary of State, William H. Seward, prophesized that it was inevitable that the United States would soon include the Alaskan territory, Canada and Mexico. In 1860, Seward made a speech congratulating the Canadian government and its citizens for creating an 'ingenious, enterprising and ambitious' nation as they were 'building excellent states [to be admitted] into the American Union.'[665] He went on to further say in 1868 that 'in thirty years, [Mexico City] would be the capital of the United States.'[666] This imperialist attitude continued to filter down through all levels of American politics and continued to remain prominent in public consciousness throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, becoming particularly prevalent during the era of the Spanish American War.

In 1893, Carl Schurz, a prominent American statesman, author and former US Minister to Spain, published an article titled 'Manifest Destiny' in which he specifically presents the philosophies of O'Sullivan and Secretary Seward in relation to Spain, Cuba and the United States. Schurz states that although the American Civil War severely stunted American imperialist action, a portion of the nation still 'cherished the dream of a Pan-American republic'

[664] For more on the concept and development of manifest destiny in the United States throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, please see Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (New York: AMS Press, 1979); Anders Stephnson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); Frederick Merk, Lois Bannister Merk and John Mack Faragher, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretatio*n (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995)

[665] Fredric Bancroft, 'Seward's Ideals of Territorial Expansion', in *North American Review*, n. 167, July, 1898, p. 83

[666] Carl Schurz, "Manifest Destiny", in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 87, n. 521 (October, 1893), pp. 737-746

where the United States would play a prominent leadership and protectorate role as 'the prospect of [starting a war with the United States or its allies] will be to any European nation…extremely discouraging.'[667] He goes on further to say that a Pan-American Republic, with the United States at the helm of course, would provide 'a most vigorous offensive' that would 'certainly [lead to] a long and exhausting war with the United States.'[668] Agreeing with Secretary Seward that Canada and Mexico 'naturally [belong] together' as a part of the United States territory, he cautions that the annexation of certain other territories (referring to Cuba) would be more problematic but extremely beneficial.[669] Cuba, he states, possesses abundant resources 'worth having' and that the island's strategic position in the Caribbean and proximity to the coast of southern Florida could be a threat to United States citizens if the country in control of the island (meaning Spain) would 'under certain circumstances become hostile to us.'[670] Additionally, Schurz states that Cuba has a population that is 'disconnected' and '[wishes] to cut lose from Spain'. He concludes that if the United States does not take action to acquire the island, 'some other power may take it' and that power 'could be hostile'; whoever 'commands' Cuba, he continues, is in control of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico which would 'open many tempting fields for American enterprise.'[671] Furthermore, the American government had attempted to buy Cuba from Spain numerous times throughout the nineteenth century. According to historian Louis A. Perez, without possessing Cuba, contemporary Americans felt that 'the Union was unfinished', 'incomplete' and 'venerable'.[672] First in 1848, then in 1854 and

[667] Schurz, "Manifest Destiny", (October, 1893)
[668] Schurz, "Manifest Destiny", (October, 1893)
[669] Schurz, "Manifest Destiny", (October, 1893)
[670] Schurz, "Manifest Destiny", (October, 1893)
[671] Schurz, "Manifest Destiny", (October, 1893)
[672] Louis A. Perez Jr., 'An Ocean of Mischief: Between Meanings and Memories of 1898', *Orbis*, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall 1998, p. 501

again in 1857 in which approximately one hundred to one hundred and thirty million dollars was offered, and then promptly rejected, on each occasion by Spain.[673] Trying a different political/economic tactic, the United States offered loans to Cuba that would subsidize Spanish debts to the United States worth four hundred million dollars, which was then again rejected.[674] President McKinley then made a final effort for the purchase of Cuba in 1897 offering the Spanish government three hundred million dollars.[675] It became very clear to Spain that possessing, or at the very least controlling Cuba, was a 'fixed ambition of US foreign policy' throughout the nineteenth century.[676] America's imperialist push towards the latter half of the nineteenth century chaffed against the boundaries of the centuries old Spanish Empire. American interest in Spain's colonies in the Caribbean and in the South Pacific grew steadily throughout this era due to the political and military advantages of their locations as well as the commercial and economic benefits from lucrative agricultural exports and control of trade routes that they would provide. Despite continuous offers from the American government to purchase Cuba and the mounting strain on resources from the ongoing war in Cuba, selling Cuba was not an option for the Spanish government and was never seriously considered. Cuba and the rest of the colonial Spanish American empire, referred to as *las colonias ultramarinas*, were viewed as a direct extension of Spain's national identity and the collective Spanish psyche. After the loss of the majority of this section of the Spanish empire due to waves of war and independence movements in the Americas at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cuba was one of the last, and most profitable, pieces of Spain's

[673] Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: Or, The Pursuit of Freedom* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971), pp. 211-223
[674] Thomas, *Cuba: Or, The Pursuit of Freedom* (1971), p. 222
[675] Thomas, *Cuba: Or, The Pursuit of Freedom* (1971), p. 367
[676] Perez, 'Between Meanings and Memories of 1898', (1998), p. 501

empire. Although Spain had other colonial interests, Cuba unique. The island was historically perceived as a 'sacred inheritance' of the Spanish people and its loss, either through voluntarily selling it to the United States or forcibly by war, would cripple Spain's national conscious.[677] Furthermore, as a matter of national pride, many contemporary Spaniards noted the importance of Cuba to Spanish culture and its contribution to Spain's international prestige. 'Spain without Cuba would be as little valued among the nations of Europe as Portugal and would enter a period of rapid and inevitable decadence,' noted the Spanish Conservative newspaper *La Epoca* in 1897.[678] Cánovas del Castillo said that 'Cuba is Spain's Alsace-Lorraine' and that 'the honor of Spain is at stake' in regards to Spain's ability to maintain political and economic control of the island.[679] Contemporary Spaniards felt so strongly about the Cuban issue that even the slightest concessions regarding the ongoing war in Cuba provoked outrage in Madrid. With war ranging in Cuba, the American government gave Spain a strict ultimatum stating that the Spanish government was to 'at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba' and to remove all traces of its military and naval forces away from the island; if not, the United States would intervene militarily in Cuba resulting in war.[680] Given the above information concerning the candidness of the American government's desire to posses Cuba, Sagasta declared an armistice in Cuba to begin reforms and peace talks to end the war. This armistice flared public outrage in the capital; riots grew so out of control that trams were derailed and

[677] Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.7
[678] Pablo de Alzola y Minondo, *El problema cubano* (Bilbao, 1898), p. 82
[679]Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire* (1997), p. 7
[680] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 921, caja 54, 8060, telegram sent by the US Department of State issued the Spanish government regarding pacification of Cuba, 20 April 1898

broken and the Civil Guard was called in in order to disband angry mobs.[681] Even Emilio Castelar, a harsh critic of the Restoration regime's lack of colonial reform, wrote that 'nothing in the world disgusts me like war' however, 'Spain made America as God made the world…America will be Spanish forever.'[682]

Doing what they could to soothe the American government's growing concerns surrounding the war in Cuba, the Spanish government was fully aware of the burgeoning sensationalist American press and its negative representations of Spain.[683] In relation to Spain, the 'yellow press', pioneered primarily by the *New York Journal* and the *New York World*, published countless articles, exposés and political cartoons that were a continuous belligerent jingoist campaign against Spain and Spanish rule in Cuba manufactured by American journalists under the direction of nineteenth-century media moguls William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer.[684] Although the 'yellow press' was not directly responsible for the United States to the brink of war with Spain, it was to blame for the anti-Spanish sentiment present in America during the 1890s and unfavorable depictions of the Spanish government in American press. The Governor General of Cuba wrote to the Spanish Ambassador in Washington DC that in Cuba there was 'a certain class of American citizens and nearly all newspaper correspondents from the United States are deliberately trying to do all they can to bring about a conflict

[681] *El Imparcial,* 9 April 1898; Meanwhile in Spain, in addition to dealing with fighting a war/revolutionary insurrections on opposite ends of the world in the Caribbean and in the South Pacific, nationally, Spanish citizens were beginning to cause a wave of unrest. In May of 1898, just one month into the Spanish American War, the 'most serious' period of rioting during the Restoration Era was also taking place; Óscar Bascuñán Añover, 'Riots and strikes in Spain between the Spanish American War and the First World War (1898-1920)', in *Strikes and social conflicts: Towards a global history*, Instituto de História Contemporânea-Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012, p. 282

[682] Emilio Castelar, *Crónica internacional* (Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1982)

[683] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 902, caja 54, 8054, Group of telegrams from Dr. Juan Bose to the Ministerio del Estado, dated February and March 1898

[684] David R. Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism: The Press and America's Emergence as a World Power* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007); For more on the yellow press and the main contributors to its success during this era, please see: W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (London: Praeger, 2001)

between [Spain and the United States]'. Furthermore, '[they] transmit to their papers false reports to systematically misconstrue the facts…to inflame passions' with the express intent of creating a public campaign against Spanish control over Cuba to the point where the President and Congress would have no choice but to be forced to declare war.[685] Additionally, after the explosion of the *Maine,* which would occur in February 1898, Spanish officials pleaded with the American government to come forward in defense of Spain as there were many Spanish soldiers in Havana who 'risked their own lives and safety to go to the flaming *Maine* to save US soldiers from drowning.'[686] Furthermore, the Spanish Minister in Washington DC noted that it was 'strange that these notorious facts and these solemn manifestations appear to be forgotten by public opinion [in the United States]…there has been a gross injustice…of public opinion in the United States against [Spain].'[687]

In response to this onslaught of criticism created by the yellow press and the lack of response from the American government, Spanish officials in Havana, Madrid and Washington DC worked to publish counter statements in American newspapers rebuking the sensationalist press of Hearst and Pulitzer. In a statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation on behalf of Ramon Blanco, the Governor General of Cuba, Spanish officials noted that it was vital that they 'take the opportunity to create a true story of Cuba' as it was their 'duty to expose' the Cuban rebel leaders that continually contributed to the

[685] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 921, caja 54, 8060, Telegram from the Governor General of Cuba to the Spanish consul in Washington DC, 28 March 1898
[686] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 922, caja 54, 8060, Memorandum from the Spanish Minister in Washington to United States Secretary of State, 10 April 1898
[687] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 922, caja 54, 8060, Memorandum from the Spanish Minister in Washington to United States Secretary of State, 10 April 1898

'false press' in the United States.[688] In a draft of one of the aforementioned articles, the Spanish government named each leader of the Revolutionary Cuban Junta individually and systematically attempted to dismantle their reputations by undermining their careers, credibility and bringing to light instances of crimes that they had committed, such as murder, in order to compromise their hold on the American public. This particular draft begins by examining the actions of the former '"President" of the so-called [Cuban] Republic', Tomás Estrada Palma.[689] The article claims that during his tenure as leader of the Cuban Junta, Estrada Palma was 'instrumental…in causing the death of two Cuban insurgent leaders…for attempting to accept peace propositions from the Spaniards' during the Ten Years War.[690] Additionally, Estrada Palma was also responsible for the death of Spanish officers who were attempting to work with the Cubans for reform and 'the destruction of Cuban property in Cuba and for the killing of *pacíficos* who did not support the insurrection'.[691] Furthermore, the article claims that Estrada Palma together with Benjamin Guerra, the Junta's treasure who had 'neither property nor interest in the island' and who was 'hardly known in Cuba except through this connection with the Junta', refused aid from the Red Cross to help the Cuban people. The article further explains that members of the Red Cross met with Estrada Palma and Guerra in New York to offer aid and assistance for Cuba. After the men

[688] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897; As discussed in Chapter III, many prominent members of the Cuban resistance were exiled and living in New York city, the most notable being Jose Marti, who continually wrote essays and published articles for American audiences in order to purposefully sway the American public to the Cuban cause for independence.
[689] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897
[690] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897
[691] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897

refused assistance, Estrada Palma then went on to publish 'a tirade' against the Red Cross, a well-respected international organization, claiming that the philanthropic organization was attempting to 'obtain money [in America] to help the Spanish government carry on the war'.[692] This anecdote concludes by stating that the help that the Red Cross could have provided to '[relieve] the suffering in the island was prevented only by the selfishness of these men.'[693]

The article goes on to further expose the 'true nature' of other leaders of the Cuban Junta: Gonzalo Quesada, a 'a petty lawyer without clients' who had become an American citizen that had 'absolutely no interests' in the island and had 'never returned to Cuba'. Diaz Albertini, a mere actor who was now serving as Secretary of the 'so-called Legation' in Washington. The press secretary responsible for 'many of the stories and yarns' known to the American public, Fidel G. Pierra, had not been to Cuba in 'thirty or forty years', was a failed businessman in New York and was publically called a '"blackguard" and a "liar"' in the US Senate. And finally, Eduardo Yerro who 'has been called every vile name in the book' by Cubans and Americans alike.[694] Through the production of this article and others like it in American newspapers, the Spanish government in Madrid and in Cuba attempted to counteract the negative reputation that had been built up by the yellow press and additional slander from the Cuban rebels living in New York. In exposing this 'band of conspirators' that had been 'directing the war from the United States', the Spanish government aimed to quell the American government's

[692] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897
[693] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897
[694] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897

threats for war with Spain over the ongoing situation in Cuba.[695] This particular article endeavored to show the American public that they were being fooled by the sensationalism of the yellow press and by unqualified rebels of ill repute. 'Funds have been collected in the United States, bonds issued, arms and ammunition sent to the insurgents, legislators and public functionaries bribed, marshals and navy officials hood-winked and the American public misled by the infamous lies and slanders furnished to the sensational press.'[696]

Aside from the mounting public pressure and cries urging for war from the sensationalist jingoistic press, the governments of both Spain and the United States were very hesitant to launch into conflict with one another over Cuba. In the late 1890s both Spain and the United States were in the mists of working on a substantial three-way trade deal between Spain, Cuba and the United States. This deal would have been of substantial economic impact for both Spain and the United States so maintaining peaceful relations was viewed as imperative to the Spanish government. In a copy of some of the trade deal negotiations between Spain and the United States regarding Cuba written from the office of the head of Agriculture, Industry and Trade in Havana from January 1898, the secretary writes that it is 'with great urgency' that Spain 'regulate the Cuban problem' in order to have 'special trade treaties…with the most favored of nations', particularly the United States.[697] Furthermore, this notice makes it clear that 'taking into account the state of diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States' was of vital importance in order to take

[695] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897
[696] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054,Statement written by the Royal Spanish Legation in Washington on behalf of Ramon Blanco, Governor General of Cuba, 7 November 1897
[697] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054, copy of trade deal negotiations between Spain and the United States regarding Cuba from the head of Agriculture, Industry and Trade of the Island of Cuba, 25 January1898

advantage of this 'very important opportunity' to make a trade deal with the American government at the dawn of a new century.[698] Because of this impending profitable trade deal, it was made clear by both the Spanish government that the strengthening of political relations and maintaining an amicable connection between Spain, the United States and Cuba was of the utmost importance through the latter half of the 1890s.

However, this all changed in February 1898. President McKinley sent the battleship *Maine* to Havana Harbor in January 1898. Just three weeks after its ominous arrival in Havana, the *Maine* exploded in the middle of the night resulting in the deaths of almost three hundred American soldiers, leaving only eighty-nine people survived the explosion. When news of the destruction of the USS *Maine* reached the United States, there was public outrage and numerous calls for the President and Congress to declare war against Spain for this unnecessary tragedy. US newspaper headlines read 'Crisis is at hand-Spanish treachery', 'Fear that Spain may declare war' and 'Destruction of the war ship Maine was work of the enemy'.[699] Furthermore, the New York Journal even offered a $50,000 reward for 'the detection of the perpetrator of the Maine outrage!'.[700] These papers and the American public blamed everyone from the Spanish government, Gen. Wyler and Cuban insurgents for the explosion. Meanwhile, President McKinley ordered an official review of the incident by a military committee; the final report read that it was an internal combustion that resulted in the explosion that sunk the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor on 15

[698] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 903, caja 54, 8054, copy of trade deal negotiations between Spain and the United States regarding Cuba from the head of Agriculture, Industry and Trade of the Island of Cuba, 25 January1898
[699] *The Call*, 6 March 1898, *The Globe*, 18 February 1898, *New York Journal*, 16 February 1898, *New York Journal*, 17 February 1898, *The World*, 17 February 1898
[700] *New York Journal*, 17 February 1898

February 1898.[701] Still, public outrage was not satisfied and calls for war with Spain intensified in the United States.

Officers of the Spanish government operating in the United States and Cuba communicated feverishly with officials in Madrid. It is clear when examining government documents and dispatches between various Spanish embassies in the United States in the wake of the explosion of the *Maine* that Spanish officials knew that war was almost inevitably on the horizon. Immediately after the *Maine* sunk under suspicious circumstances, the American government closed numerous Spanish offices, consulates, such as the ones in Tampa and New Orleans, and denied Spanish officers the right to officially meet with American government officials. The Spanish Government used its remaining US consulates and embassy to carefully monitor the American press and to gauge government actions after the destruction of the *Maine*. For example, in Boston, the Spanish consul took note of various publications, such as the Boston Evening Transcript and the Boston Daily Globe to gauge popular opinion in the in the Northeast and sent daily updates to the Spanish embassy in Washington DC.[702] Due to the open hostility which was occurring the in the United States and Havana because of the *Maine*, Sagasta launched an official Spanish investigation into the ship's destruction.[703] This commission concluded that 'the explosion [of the *Maine*] was produced by an internal cause.' [704] Although the official US Naval inquiry requested by President McKinley resulted in the same conclusion, this did nothing to sway

[701] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Copy of the original report from the Maritime Authority of the Havana Situation on the catastrophe which befell the U.S. Ironclad "Maine", 4 April 1898
[702] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 912, caja 54, 8056, Letter from the Consulate of Spain in Boston to the Spanish Ambassador in Washington DC, dated 12 April 1898
[703] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Extracto del informe de la comisión española sobre la catastrophe del *Maine*, 7 April 1898
[704] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Extracto del informe de la comisión española sobre la catastrophe del *Maine*, 7 April 1898

the American public's opinion regarding Spain's responsibility in the *Maine*'s destruction and the death of nearly three hundred American soldiers. Further exhausting their resources in Cuba and the United States, the Spanish government was doing whatever they could to find out the cause of the blast that destroyed the *Maine* with the hope of staving off war with the United States and holding together the negotiated trade deal. Through their efforts, the Spanish government, working with their consulates in the United States and Havana, continued to conduct their own investigations and followed any lead, no matter how peculiar. For instance, a New York business owner, Joseph D. Bennett, wrote a letter to the Spanish consulate in New York City just a month after the explosion of the *Maine*. In this letter, Bennett claimed that he was 'positive' he could give evidence relating to the culprits behind the *Maine*'s explosion.[705] Bennett wrote that he had 'an agreement with certain Cuban officers' to buy a very powerful and unique type of explosive that would, he claimed, exactly replicate what happened to the *Maine* in February 1898.[706] A former explosive weapons maker for US Navy, Bennett offered to provide the names of the Cuban officers that he gave the explosives to in addition to dates and notes from their meeting in that hopes that '[his] information may be the means of preventing a war between the U.S. of A. and Spain.'[707] The consulate took this letter very seriously and examined the letter in extreme detail as shown by annotations in the margins of the letter as well as the attention paid to certain details that were highlighted in red ink. After the letter was reviewed, Bennett was brought in to the Spanish consulate where he was subsequently

[705] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Correspondence from Joseph D Bennett to the Spanish Consulate, 17 March 1898
[706] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Correspondence from Joseph D Bennett to the Spanish Consulate, 17 March 1898
[707] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Correspondence from Joseph D Bennett to the Spanish Consulate, 17 March 1898

questioned by Spanish officials and the US District Attorney about his involvement in the explosion of the *Maine*.[708]

Despite the various efforts of the Spanish and American governments to prevent an outbreak of conflict between the two nations, war was declared on 21 April 1898. At the outbreak of the war, both nations' publics were confident in their country's ability to beat their opponent and strong 'assertive nationalism' from both the Spanish and American publics were eager for war.[709] In Spain there were frequent 'boisterous demonstrations' outside of the American embassy and pro-war rallies which were even supported financially by the Spanish Catholic Church.[710] Meanwhile in the United States, journalists mocked Spain by stating that it would be considered a 'cowardly character to plan an attack by this great and powerful government upon a comparatively weak and impoverished nation. If we must fight somebody, for the sake of fighting let us at least attack a Power which can adequately defend itself.'[711] This conflict known as the Spanish American War, or the Spain-American-Cuban War, served as a springboard for the 'American century' and US imperialism of the twentieth century whereas for Spain on the other hand, defeat in this war was seen as a crippling blow to the nation's identity.[712]

Within days of the declaration of war, Spain's Pacific naval fleet had been completely destroyed, the American navy blockaded Havana in order to

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[708] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, Letter written by New York consul Arturo Baldasano to the Minister of Spain stationed in Washington DC, 12 April 1898, Spanish authorities wanted to press charges against Bennett for his secondary involvement in the explosion of the USS *Maine* however they were informed by the US Attorney General that there were no grounds for prosecution as there was no definitive proof that his explosives were the ones used in the incident that sunk the *Maine*.
[709] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire* (1997), p. 31
[710] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire* (1997), p. 25
[711] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 920, caja 54, 8059, *New York Herald*, 'Cowardly to Attack Weak Spain', p. 24, 29 March 1989
[712] Fradera, Josep Maria. 'Empires in Retreat: Spain and Portugal After the Napoleonic Wars,' *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse America's Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012)

stop the flow of supplies and additional Spanish troops and thousands of well-trained American soldiers began to arrive in Cuba. As is theorized by historians Alvaro de Figueroa y Torres and Sebastian Balfour, Spanish military officials and high ranking members of the government, including the Queen Regent, knew that Spain could not win a war with the United States. Considered by Spanish officials as the lesser of two evils, war with the United States was, as stated by Figueroa y Torres, 'the only honorable means whereby Spain could lose what little was left of her immense colonial empire' with dignity.[713] Similarly, Balfour states that the Spanish government was presented with 'an excruciating dilemma'; if they were to cease conflict with Cuba and sell the island to the United States, there would be major civil unrest in Spain that would 'bring about the collapse of the Restoration system and the downfall of the monarchy.'[714] With Spain's inferior military and lack of readily available resources due to economic restraints and previous conflicts in Cuba that had been going on almost continually since 1868 as well as the lack of international support surrounding their cause, fighting and losing a war with the United States was unofficially deemed the only viable option to maintain stability and pride of the Spanish nation.[715]

Aside from the many military and political implications, the Spanish American War brought to light numerous questions surrounding culture to the forefront of public discussion. For example, in the midst of the fighting during July 1898, a short newspaper snippet was published in the neutral (meaning not 'yellow' or overtly jingoist) newspaper, *The New York Times*, concerning the former cultural friendship and amicability between Spain and the United

[713] Alvaro de Figueroa y Torres, *Las responsibilidades políticas del antiguo regimen de 1875 a 1923* (Madrid, 1925), p. 33
[714] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire* (1997), p. 25
[715] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire* (1997), pp. 25-27

States in the years immediately preceding the Spanish American War. As discussed in detail in Chapter III, the beginning during the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Spain was the guest of honor at the famous international exhibition.[716] Before the 1893 Columbian Exhibition, Spain and the United States produced exact replicas of Columbus' three ships that he used on his maiden voyage when he discovered the New World in 1492. These ships then traced Columbus' original journey across the Atlantic to Cuba, which took a total of 147 days, then they went on to open ceremonies in New York City and then became a main attraction to the World's Fair in Chicago.[717] The man in command of the historic fleet was Spanish naval Capitan, Capt. Concas. When the Spanish American War began, the crew of Spain's historic fleet were moved to active duty, Capt. Concas included. After reports were published of Capt. Concas' death as the result of a naval battle in Cuba during July 1898, *The New York Times* updated the American public with news that he had actually survived the battle but was wounded and was currently being treated on the hospital ship, the *Solace*.[718] The newspaper snippet states that Capt. Concas 'was very popular at the time [of the Chicago World's Fai]' but he had since 'lost the regard of a good many of his American admirers.'[719] According to *The New York Times*, just before the start of the Spanish American War, Capt. Concas had given a speech to the Geographical Society in Madrid that was a 'bitter diatribe directed against the personal qualities of the American people.'[720] This sense of betrayal of friendship that is expressed in this short wartime press snippet ironically demonstrates the success of the cultural

[716] Please see Chapter III for more detail on this topic
[717] *The Inter Ocean*, 'Spanish Fleet Comes to Chicago', 7 July 1893, pp. 6-7
[718] *The New York Times*, 'Capt. Concas Alive But Wounded: Officer Who Brought the Columbian Caravels Here is on the *Solace*', 13 July 1898
[719] *The New York Times*, 'Capt. Concas Alive But Wounded: Officer Who Brought the Columbian Caravels Here is on the *Solace*', 13 July 1898
[720] *The New York Times*, 'Capt. Concas Alive But Wounded: Officer Who Brought the Columbian Caravels Here is on the *Solace*', 13 July 1898

relationships that were present between Spain and the United States that were due largely in part to the 1892 Historic American Exhibition in Madrid and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. The public interest in Capt. Concas clearly shows the profound cultural exchanges that were made/attached to individual contacts, not just the nation as a whole, and provoked further interest that persisted years after the state-sponsored cultural events had finished.

The Aftermath of the Spanish American War and the 'Crisis' of 'el Desastre'

After only ten weeks of fighting during the summer of 1898, the Spanish American War officially ended with Spain's defeat on 13 August 1898. Having lost the war, Spain had to relinquish control of the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico and Cuba to the United States.[721] Lasting just over one hundred days, the Spanish American War became a critical turning point in Spanish history. The war was a devastating blow to Spanish national conscience and identity that coincided with the height of the age of empire; a time where the state of a country's power was measured by its colonial holdings that had a direct link to the nation's ability to thrive in the modern world.[722] As other nations in the international community began to emerge as powerhouses of global imperialism, there was the notion that in comparison Spain was stagnant or in decline.[723] Britain's Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, remarked that 'decade after

[721] Pérez, Louis A. *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 83; The Philippines were 'purchased' from Spain as compensation from the United States and Cuba became a US protectorate. Cuba's new status after the Spanish American War would prove to be extremely controversial and served as the foundation for the major problems that existed between Cuba and the United States throughout the twentieth century.
[722] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (1997), p. 49.
[723] Please see previous chapters for more discussion on this topic. The view that Spain was in decline was generally not perceived within Spain itself but was more of a stereotype placed on Spain by foreign travel writers and politicians.

decade, [Spain] is weaker, poor and less provided with leading men or institution sin which they can trust.' [724]

Who was to blame for Spain's humiliating loss against the Americans? Everyone from military generals and politicians to the Queen Regent, the Church and the press were blamed for the loss of the war and more importantly, the loss of Spanish Empire. The press, politicians and intellectuals additionally tended to blame the crushing defeat on Spain's failure to modernize technologically, economically and politically at pace with the rest of the world. As described by historians Julián Casanova and Carlos Gil Andrés, 1898 marked a moment when the Spain was forced to transition from a period of 'unfounded and vocal triumphalism' that 'gave way to disillusion [and] disappointment.'[725] After suffering such a quick and devastating loss in the war, the Spanish American War served as a catalyst for widespread national introspection within Spain. Because of this, the period of time immediately following the Spanish American War is known as *el Desastre*, the Disaster, with a capital 'D'. The effects of the cultural phenomenon of *el Desastre* would carry on in Spain well into the twentieth century. Almost all contemporary sources following the war painted a picture of post-war Spain as a 'dying nation' that suffered a catastrophic blow from which it could not recover. [726] To contemporary Spaniards, the swift loss of the Spanish American War to the United States marked that 'the history of four centuries of greatness was coming to an end that Spain was passing into the ranks of a fourth-class nation.'[727] In reality, there was no catastrophic 'Disaster' that followed the Spanish American War in Spain. As noted by modern historians such as Jose Alvarez Junco,

[724] Julián Casanova and Carlos Gil Andrés, *Twentieth Century Spain: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 11
[725] Casanova and Andrés, *Twentieth Century Spain: A History* (2014), p. 13
[726] José Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 359
[727] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (1997), p. 44

Sebastian Balfour and Charles Esdaile, *el Desastre* was more of a cultural crisis and a crisis of national identity than an all-consuming 'disaster'. For example, after the war, the neither the Spanish government or economy collapsed. The Restoration regime not only remained in power during the postwar era, but it continued to thrive for the next two and a half decades.[728] After the Spanish American War, the peseta initially fell in value however there was no economic collapse as was expected. The former Spanish colonies remained a close trade partner with Spain due to the strong preferences of Spanish goods in those areas, trade negotiations and reparations from the war, Spanish industrialists profited greatly in the postwar era and Spain's export market and economy actually improved.[729]

However, in the aftermath of the war what became very apparent was the '*disastrous* situation of the country'. [730] Everyday citizens were 'lacking in schools, national fiestas, rites, symbols and monuments' in addition to 'suffering' from outdated political systems and insufficient public services.[731] The results of the war even caused the closure of state subsidized cultural institutions. For example, the Museo Ultramarino (the Museum of the Overseas Empire), which was opened in 1874 under the government of Spain's First Republic, was created in order to display 'the magnificent nature, ingenuity and activity' from Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.[732] Since its inception in 1874, the museum was always marketed as a 'patriotic' establishment that served as a focal point in Madrid which represented the bonds between Spain

[728] Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), p. 197-200
[729] Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age* (2002), p. 195-196.
[730] José Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 359
[731] Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 359
[732] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 271, 28 September 1874, p. 1

and her empire.[733] Almost immediately after the Spanish American War, there was considerable debate among Spanish politicians and government officials surrounding the fate of the Museo Ultramarino. Just after the war, in an attempt to save the 'colonial centre in Madrid', there was an effort made to preserve the museum as a display of the 'historical memory of the nations overseas which were discovered by Spain and at one point have belonged to [the Spanish] nation.'[734] In a letter to the Ministerio de Fomento, it was argued that the Museo Ultramarino should remain open as a symbol of Spanish imperialism in Madrid. He argued that even as '[Spanish] sovereignty disappeared from the American and Oceanic colonies, this colonial institute needs to remain in Spain…to represent the remarkable Spanish influence in those places where the language of Cervantes continues to be spoken.' [735] Conversely, the Ministerio de Fomento, Luis Pidal y Mon, advised the Minister of Public Instruction (Ministerio de Instrucción Publica) that he was unsure what purpose the Museo Ultramarino would hold in Spain's contemporary society. Pidal y Mon wrote that 'Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines have been lost…it is evident that [the museum] is a relic of a previous era' which would only serve as an additional strain on government finances. Pidal y Mon ultimately recommended that the Museo Ultramarino be closed and that the collection should be dispersed to other academic institutions throughout Madrid.[736] The Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts on the other hand believed that because the museum 'reminded [the Spanish people] of our lost colonies', it

[733] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 5, fondo 3, caja 31, 6960, draft of a booklet titled 'Expediente creación del Museo Ultramarino por el Ministerio del Ultramar', dated 27 September 1874
[734] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05 , caja 31, 06725, Reglamento del Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar por el Ministerio de Ultramar, January 1899
[735] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, letter from V.B. to the Ministerio de Fomento, dated 27 April 1899
[736] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, letter from Luis Pidal y Mon to the Ministerio de Instrucción Publica, dated 6 May 1899

became an attraction to Spaniards and foreigners alike following the war in 1898 which caused the museum to 'experience more visitors than ever before.'[737] Ultimately, just two years after the end of the Spanish American War the Museo Ultramarino was closed in September 1900. The contents of the museum were distributed between many cultural, academic and government instructions. Some paintings went to decorate various state buildings, some statues were placed in Madrid's Botanical Gardens and the contents of the museum's library and archive were divided between historical societies, the National Archeological Museum and the National Library of Spain. Additionally, certain items from the collection were retained by the Crystal Palace in the Parque del Buen Retiro, also referred to as the Parque de Madrid, for the 'public admiration' of the 'civilizing effect' that Spanish imperialism had upon its previous colonies and for the public 'to admire Spain's contributions to the western world'.[738] The closing of the Museo Ultramarino and the considerable debate that surrounded the issue after the loss of Spain's colonial holdings as a result of the Spanish American War is representative of Spain's desire to retain its imperial identity. After nearly four hundred years of imperial rule throughout the globe, imperialism and colonization were fundamental pieces of Spanish national identity.

In reality, Spain had not lost the entirety of its empire in the Spanish American War. Defeat in the Spanish American War may have stripped Spain of its largest and most profitable colonies, the Philippines and Cuba, but Spain still maintained its colonial reach much closer to the Iberian Peninsula in Morocco. As previously brought to light in Chapter I, Morocco played a very important

[737] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, memo from the office of the Ministerio de Instrucción Publica y Ballas Artes, 13 June 1900
[738] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, Letter to the Ministerio de Instruccion Publica y Bellas Artes from the Ministerio de Hacienda, dated 16 September 1900

role in continually shaping Spain's modern colonial aspirations and elements of state-sponsored culture throughout the entirety of the nineteenth century. In the years following the war, the embarrassing defeat of the Spanish military and the loss of their remaining colonies provided to be a catalyst for the *africanistas* movement in which military leaders sought to regain vestiges of an imperial Spain by declaring Spanish dominance in northern Morocco. Because the Spanish military and navy was no longer well equipped enough to defend a far-flung empire, the government and military officials concentrated on the last remnants of its colonial holdings over some small, but very strategic, territories in Morocco. By shifting focus to Morocco and away from the embarrassment caused by the Spanish American War, colonial programs in Morocco provided a 'new emotional mode of nationalism' to Spanish politics in the early twentieth century.[739] In 1912, Morocco was officially made a protectorate of Spain and right-wing military leaders, such as Miguel Primo de Rivera, rose to power in order to reclaim Spanish pride and to restore the nation to its former imperial glory.[740]

As a consequence of the 'Disaster' of 1898, this era 'saw nationalist sentiment take hold and an impressive [cultural] boom emerge in most fields.'[741] Almost all Spanish cultural institutions, places of public memory, art and intellectual movements were shaped in some way by the domestic ideals and impact of imperialism and the subsequent 'loss' of empire. For over four hundred years Spain shaped its identity, politically and culturally, around its colonies. What was Spain without its empire? As historian Sebastian Balfour

[739] Enric Ucelay da Cal, 'The Restoration: Regeneration and the clash of nationalisms, 1875-1914, in *Spanish History Since 1808*, ed. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 126

[740] James A. Chandler, 'Spain and Her Moroccan Protectorate 1898-1927,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1975), p. 301-322

[741] Rafael Núñez Florencio, 'Culture", in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, edited by Adrian Shubert and José Álvarez Junco (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 237

argues, 1898 looms just as large as 1492, another landmark year for Spanish history, both in its profound effects on the nation and in national memory.[742] However, after the dust settled in Spain from the 'Disaster' of 1898 and the immediate shock of losing Spain's traditional colonial empire to the Americans had worn off, this era of Spanish history became known as *La Edad de Plata* or the Silver Age. The Silver Age, coming second only to the Golden or Gilded Age of Spanish history, *El Siglo del Oro*, which took place throughout the sixteenth century after the initial expansion of the Spanish Empire due to Columbus' discovery of the New World, was a time of great cultural production and innovation. The Silver Age, lasting from 1898 to 1939, showed an increase in national literature, art, theatre, philosophy and more. Popularly, a group of intellectuals, known as the Generation of '98, began to examine Spain and Spanish history in the new light of the twentieth century. These authors constructed a popular movement known as the Generation of '98. The movement was mainly characterized by the 'radical' way in which its authors characterized the flaws of the nation, its government and its history.[743] Joaquín Costa, Miguel Unamuno, Ángel Ganivet and Rafael Altamira are just a few of hundreds of authors, artists, politicians and philosophers that made up the movement of the Generation of '98. For example, throughout the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Unamuno and Ganivet similarly produced their own theories concerning the best option for Spain to revive, regenerate and thrive in the modern world of the twentieth century. Unamuno generated the idea of 'intrahistory' which was a concept that would interlace Spanish history with elements of the 'Quixotic spirit' and was the 'opposite of

[742] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (1997), p. v
[743] Núñez Florencio, 'Culture", in *The History of Modern Spain* (2018), 236)

European rationalism'.[744] Ganivet proposed an isolationist outlook in order to 'heal' a 'wounded' Spain; He planned to solve Spain's problems by campaigning for Spain to 'concentrate its energies on itself and experience its particular and singular historic trajectory in all its intensity' as opposed to opening up the nation to the 'modern and materialist Europe' of the twentieth century.[745] Along with philosophy, the study of history, particularly Spanish history, flourished with the writers of the Generation of '98. For instance, contemporary historian Rafael Altamira, wrote a series of histories of Spain titled *Historia de Espana y de la civilización espanola* from 1900 to 1911. This multi-volume work was intended to represent 'the Spanish people' as the protagonists of the history of the nation rather than the 'great men' from history. In doing so, Altamira reinvented the way in which Spanish history was written and received; he implemented collaborative methodologies, studied sociology and approached his work as more of an accurate scientific history of Spain as opposed to the 'fables, calumnies and false patriotisms' present in previous works.[746] Altamira and his work became, as stated by historian Antonio Morales Moya, a representation of a 'true historian of the Generation of '98.'[747] Another great historian of this era, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, attempted to use history as a way to reconstruct a modern Spain with the all prominence of the illustrious reputation of the nation's historical past allowing for a renewed modern sense of Spanish nationalism. In the period immediately following the Spanish American War and cultural crisis following the '*el Desastre*' of 1898,

[744] Javier Moreno-Luzon and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, 'Introduction: The Nation and its Metaphors', in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), p. 14

[745] Moreno-Luzon and Seixas, 'Introduction: The Nation and its Metaphors', in *Metaphors of Spain:* (2017), p. 14

[746] José Álvarez Junco, 'History and National Myth', in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), pp. 14-15

[747] Antonio Morales Moya, 'Historia de la Historiografía española', in Enciclopedia de Historia de España, vol. VII, edited by Miguel Artola (Madrid, Alianza, 1993), pp. 583-684

Pidal theorized that the use of 'regenerative historical myths' could act as a vehicle to inspire a renewed sense of Spanish nationalism.[748] These historical myths, which could be presented as histories, paintings, sculptures or theatrical productions, were able to act as a countermeasure against the 'current weakness of the collective spirit'.[749] Along those same lines, Pidal suggested that 'all the great historical records', meaning literature and the arts, could 'fulfil [the] function of reactivating [Spanish] patriotism' in the wake of *el Desastre*.[750]

Pidal's theory on encouraging the use of regenerative historical myths fit perfectly into the general trend of social and historical introspection which all became prominent elements of official states-sponsored culture in a post-imperialist Spain. In the spring of 1908 the Spanish government, under the sponsorship of the Crown and the government of Madrid, funded and produced an event that commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the legendary events of 2 May 1808. Known as *dos de mayo*, memorializes a rebellion and subsequent massacre of Spaniards in Madrid by French troops during Spain's War of Independence. The commemoration of the events of 2 May 1808 was significant in the fact that this moment marked the moment in which Spain had symbolically 'emerged as a modern nation'.[751] One hundred years later, the Restoration government under the Queen Regent, Maria Cristina, hosted the Exposición Histórica Conmemorativa de 2 de Mayo de 1808, the Historic Exhibition Commemorating 2 May 1808. Unlike the many other large historical exhibitions that had recently taken place in Madrid throughout the 1890s, this event was not marketed to an international audience; it was created

[748] Moreno-Luzon and Seixas, 'Introduction: The Nation and its Metaphors', in *Metaphors of Spain:* (2017), p. 17
[749] Ibid., p. 17
[750] Ibid., p. 17
[751] Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (2011), p. 339.

as a 'tribute to the history of Spain and the Spanish people'.[752] The events of 2 May 1808 had also been publically commemorated under the reign of Isabel II in 1848. In 1848, the Isabelline regime unveiled the Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo, or Monument to the Fallen, which served as the nation's tomb of the Unknown Soldier.[753] Following the 'Disaster' of 1898, the centenary celebrations in 1908 became an event for Spaniards to remember the heroes and national myths in a time when Spain was also suffering a crisis of identity. These national and regional commemorations were an attempt by the Spanish government, now headed by Liberal leader José Canalejas, to revitalize the urban economy of Spain in the aftermath of the Disaster of 1898.[754] This was done with the support of local and national institutions, businessmen and politicians eliciting a 'high patriotic spirit' from all corners of the Iberian Peninsula.[755] The epicentre of the 1908 celebrations took place in Zaragoza because of a series of major sieges that occurred there during the Peninsular War. [756] Although the Spanish government had intended to commemorate these important events of national memory by commissioning a monument and restoring all the public buildings that were destroyed during the sieges of Zaragoza in order to honour the memory, tensions between national and regional organisers prevented this from happening.[757] Furthering this tension, there was a competitive atmosphere between local and national support for who was the one to lead the commemoration for these important events. Ultimately, the national government won out and took over control of the

[752] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, Letter from the Ministerio de Instrucción publica y Bellas Artes to (illegible signature), 10 April 1908
[753] Please see Chapter I for more detail on this topic
[754] Javier Moreno-Luzón, 'Fighting for the National Memory: The Commemoration of the Spanish "War of Independence" in 1908-1912. *History and Memory, vol.* 19, no. 1 (2007), p. 84
[755] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, Letter from Juan Catalins García (director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional) to the Ministerio de Instrucción Publica y Bellas Artes, 8 abril 1908
[756] Ibid., p. 75
[757] Ibid., p. 78

planning of both national and local celebrations for the 1908 and 1910-1912 commemorations. The need for the government to be in control of national historical memory is clear throughout the nineteenth century, as seen in previous chapters, as well as well as how the events of the previous century were remembered by the Spanish people going into the twentieth century. After the loss of the Spanish American War and the growth of the regeneration movement following 1898, the Spanish government used the commemorations and various celebrations of events national legend, such as the War of Independence the Cortes de Cadiz and the signing of the Constitution of 1812, to aid in the restoration of national pride and importance of *la patria*. In 1908, the national centenary celebrations would take place at the National Archaeological Museum as it was the only institution deemed 'impressive' enough to 'support such grand installations' to commemorate *dos de mayo*.[758] The exhibition was a historical retrospective that contained many historic and artistic objects. Additionally, the curators of the exhibition as well as the mayor of Madrid insisted that the museum give free entry to the exhibition and that the building stay open late in order to accommodate members of the working class. [759] The veneration of these historical Spanish heroes and the commemoration of *dos de mayo* provided the state an opportunity to implement the regeneration of a collective Spanish nationalism in the wake of the cultural crisis of 1898. The remains of the members of the Cortes de Cadiz were exhumed and then ceremoniously interred in the Pantheon of Illustrious

[758] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, Letter from Juan Catalins García (director of the Museo Arqueológico) to the Ministerio de Instrucción publica y Bellas Artes, 8 April 1908

[759] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 05, leg. 8174, caja 31, 06960, Letter from Juan Catalins García (director of the Museo Arqueológico) to the Ministerio de Instrucción publica y Bellas Artes, 20 May 1908

Men in Madrid.[760] Furthermore, this commemoration mirrored that of the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen sixty years earlier. The Isabelline regime memorialised *dos de mayo* in the 1840s during a time of political unrest and war that took place during a critical transitional period in the nation's history. The 1908 celebrations and commemorations surrounding the same event echoed a similar cultural climate of unrest and uncertainty in Spain, albeit under different circumstances. At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Historic Exhibition Commemorating 2 May 1808 paid tribute to the virtually mythical figures and historic events that remained a prominent in Spain's national memory.

During the imperial era of Spanish history, images and representations of the empire featured prominently in official state-sponsored and popular culture's imagery, literature and symbolism. In the post-imperial era of 'the Disaster', how was Spain's empire represented, if at all, in this new period of Spanish history? Internationally, especially from the point of view of the United States, the idea of Spain and Spanish difference began to take on new forms. After 1898, Spaniards shed the infamy of the Black Legend in the American press and were subsequently 'rediscovered' Spanish 'whiteness' while Americans troops began to 'despise the Cuban insurgents.'[761] Once hailed as 'freedom fighters' the Cuban rebels fell victim to racial and cultural stereotypes and were described as 'negro hordes' and 'anarchist incendiaries' who now frustrated the progress of America's 'civilizing mission' and imperial agenda at the birth of the American century.[762]

[760] Archivo Histórico Nacional, SG L413/26 and L640; J Gómez Barají et al., *Anales parlamentarios: Cortes de 1910. Segunda legislatura* (Madrid, 1915)
[761] Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba* (2006), pp. 11-12.
[762] Ibid., p. 11.

In Madrid, public elements of state-sponsored culture such as monuments and memorials did not shy away from representations of empire. In a central plaza of the Parque del Buen Retiro in Madrid sits a monument to one of the most famous generals and politicians of the nineteenth century, Arsenio Martínez Campos. Having passed away in 1900, this monument was inaugurated in 1907 by King Alfonso XIII as a tribute to the 'model patriot and soldier.'[763] Sitting atop a pedestal of overt imperial imagery is an equestrian statue of Martínez Campos in full battle dress. The rectangular pedestal is decorated with bronze cannons, guns and flags along with reliefs that are carved into the stone. These reliefs feature battle scenes and are dedicated to Martínez Campos' time served in the campaign in Morocco (1859-1860) as well as Cuba (1869-1870, 1872, 1876-1895). In placing the dedication to the General's limited time in Morocco on the same level as his extensive experience in Morocco, the monument aggrandizes Morocco's importance in public consciousness. Seeing as Spain's colonial gaze had shifted from Cuba and the Philippines to Morocco after the Spanish American War, the symbolism of this statue may have served as a subtle persuasion by the state to emphasize the importance of Morocco to Spain's rekindled imperial interests in the twentieth century.

[763] Quote taken from the inscription on the monument

Figure 4.1: Image of Arsenio Martínez Campos, Parque del Buen Retiro, Madrid, photograph by author

Directly behind the statue of Martínez Campos in the Parque del Buen Retiro is an immense monument to King Alfonso XII. King of Spain for only eleven years, Alfonso XII died at the young age of twenty-seven from an illness. Succeed by his unborn son, the queen, Maria Cristina of Austria, would serve as regent until Alfonso XIII would come of age in 1902. Wanting to commemorate her husband while also stimulating the arts in Spain, in 1901 Maria Cristina held a Renaissance-style patronage contest open to Spanish artists and architects who would submit design for a monument dedicated for the late king and the winner's design would then be erected in a prominent location while the Spanish government funded construction.[764] Serving as patron for this project, the Queen Regent wanted the monument to represent Alfonso XII as a king, peacemaker and symbol of the *patria*. The winning artist/architect José Grases Riera began construction in 1902; his design, which

[764] Competitions like this were held routinely in the Florentine Republic throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resulting in masterpieces such as Michangelo's *David* and Brunelleschi's dome atop the Cathedral of St. Mary of the Flower

would ultimately be completed in 1922, was the first example in Spain of monumental sculpture dedicated to the nation. The grand monument paying tribute to Alfonso XII was imbedded into the public landscape of Madrid. Placed in the centre of the Parque del Buen Retiro, the memorial became a public landmark in Madrid. As noted by historian Rafael Gil Salinas, public monuments like this one, the public 'were able to admire their heroes, contemplate their most recent past, [and] were reminded of historical events with which they identified.'[765] Each main pillar of the crescent portion of the monument is adorned with the figures of different allegories of the nation such as History, Science, Peace, Liberty and Industry. Additionally, the surrounding colonnade is embellished with four distinct carvings representing the arts. The main pedestal at the centre of the monument is decorated with bronze statues and reliefs in stone depicting a mix of classical figures and important moments from the life of Alfonso XII. In creating such an imposing design in one of the most popular areas of Madrid, the tribute to Alfonso XII was a 'monumental sculpture was consolidated as a way of affirming civic values through the recovery of significant figures…from both the recent present and its more distant history.'[766] As Hispanist Elizabeth B. Davis details, this type of imagery can provide a basis of legitimization for the subject it depicts. She states that this style of imagery is unique in that it '[created] a genealogy that exalted and legitimized the political status quo.'[767] The regal imposing statue affirms the new young king In mirroring this approach, the monument of the late king Alfonso XII represented/presented… Interestingly, this approach taken by the

[765] Rafael Gil Salinas, 'Public Doctrine: the Sculptures of Valencian Streets in the Modern Age,' in *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation*, eds. Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina (Edizioni Plus, 2007), p. 119
[766] Salinas, 'Public Doctrine: the Sculptures of Valencian Streets in the Modern Age,' (2007), p. 119
[767] Elizabeth B. Davis, *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 209-210

government of the late Restoration era closely mimics the techniques that were used to legitimize the rule of Isabel II in the 1830s during the Carlist War and after her ascent to the throne at a young age.[768] Spanning almost ninety meters wide, the dramatically spectacular monument dedicated to Alfonso XII represents an 'ideological referent' for the Restoration government of the twentieth century; the monument not only publically conveyed the power of the regime, its prosperity and the skill of its artists but the imposing memorial also cemented the late king's place in Spain's public memory for decades, if not centuries, to come. [769]

Figure 4.2: Image of Monument to Alfonso XII (front), Parque del Buen Retiro, Madrid, photograph by author

[768] Please see Chapter I for more on this subject
[769] Salinas, 'Public Doctrine: the Sculptures of Valencian Streets in the Modern Age,' (2007), p. 123

Figure 4.3: Image of Monument to Alfonso XII (back detail), Parque del Buen Retiro, Madrid, photograph by author

In addition to the state subsidized projects focusing on national festivals and public sculpture, the arts were a major focus of the state-sponsored cultural program in post-imperial Spain. After the Spanish American War was over, Spanish government officials scrambled to retrieve their artistic, scientific and culturally significant artifacts from Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines as quickly as possible before the new regimes could be installed. For example, after the Treaty of Paris, which was ratified in 10 December 1898, Spanish officials were still trying to export these items from the Philippines. However, in the Philippines, American border officials who were already in place contested Spanish possession of these items and either refused to let them leave Manila or taxed them heavily. This seizure of Spanish artistic and cultural property infuriated Spanish officials so much so that under the direction of the Queen Regent, the former consulate general of Spain in the Philippines wrote a strongly worded dispatch to the Spanish minister in Washington to relay to the

State Department Spain's outrage at this 'illegal act' being carried out by the Americans.[770] After substantial back and forth between the US Secretary of War, State Department and various Spanish consuls, the duties were refunded and these items were released to be able to return freely to Spain. Upon their arrival, they were placed into collections of state-run museums around the country, such as the Museo del Prado, the National Archeological Museum and the National Library. [771]

At the turn of the century, during the beginning era of Spain's Silver Age, the Museo del Prado occupied a significant piece of the nation's cultural identity. The Prado, as discussed in Chapter II, became Spain's national art museum during the Liberal Sexennium and had since then continued to be a prominent cultural fixture in Spain.[772] So much importance was placed on the value of the museum and its objects that when liberal politicians suggested selling paintings from the museum in order to fund the war effort in Cuba, the press responded harshly calling the idea 'foolish' and 'ill-conceived'.[773] The Prado had become such an integral piece of the national imagination was seen to be 'as foolish as trying to assess the blueness of the skies.'[774] After the Spanish American War and cultural crisis of *el Desastre*, the Spanish state allocated large amounts of its budget to promote Spain's cultural heritage.[775] As the Prado was the official home of Spain's state-sponsored culture, the museum received a great deal of attention throughout the Silver Age.

[770] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 942, caja 54, 8067, Letter to Washington about La imposición de derechos de entrada á las obras literarias y artísticas españolas en Filipinas, 29 September 1900
[771] Archivo General de la Administración, Grupo de fondos 10, leg. 942, caja 54, 8067, Letter to Washington about La imposición de derechos de entrada á las obras literarias y artísticas españolas en Filipinas, 29 September 1900
[772] Please see Chapter II pages XX-XX for more information on the history and development of the Museo del Prado into Spain's national art museum
[773] A similar suggestion of selling national treasures to fund the war effort was occurring during the First Carlist War and was similarly shut down
[774] Eugenia Afinoguénova, *The Prado: Spanish Culture and Leisure, 1819-1939* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 137
[775] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), pp. 137-139

In 1899, the director of the Prado, Luis Álvarez Catalá, made sweeping changes to the structure of the museum. In addition to an architectural expansion of the building itself, all of the displays were updated with clear labels and the galleries were overhauled in order to present a more 'cohesive' and 'scientific' display of the nation's artistic treasures.[776] The Prado shifted from an institution that was less about the art itself, but one that understood that viewing art at the museum 'was about shared pleasures and civil values'.[777] For instance, during the re-categorization and expansion of the museum, the wing of old masterpieces was shut down and the hall reopened exclusively showcasing works by Velazquez. Shortly after this in 1902, the museum began its first presentation of temporary exhibitions which focused on Spanish master, El Greco.[778] Along with the veneration of legendary historical artists at the Prado, the museum implemented a variety of educational initiatives. The Prado began to offer tours, academic courses and had longer hours in order to become more active and engaged with contemporary society.[779] Furthermore, the Restoration produced various laws aimed at protecting Spanish history and artistic treasures. One example was the Ley Relativo al Tesoro Artistico y Archeological Nacional, the Law Relating to the National Artistic and Archeological Treasure, which was put into place by Royal Decree in 1926. This law was constituted in order to 'protect the prestige of [Spain's] academies, museums and official cultural centres' in order to combat the 'deficiencies' in modern regulation surrounding the nations artistic and cultural heritage.[780] By publically memorializing the legendary figures of Spain's cultural and historical legacy as well as implementing a renewed relevance in Spain's great cultural

[776] Javier Portús, *Museo del Prado, 1819-2019: Un lugar de memoria* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2018), pp. 108-131
[777] Afinoguénova, *The Prado* (2017), p. 138
[778] Portús, *Museo del Prado* (2018), pp. 109-111
[779] Portús, *Museo del Prado* (2018), p.
[780] *La Gaceta de Madrid*, n. 227, 15 August 1926

institutions, the government was able to use its state-sponsored cultural programs after the Spanish American War to facilitate a new version of Spanish culture which focused primarily on Spanish national histories, Spanish artists and Spanish the expansion/protection of Spanish museums, galleries, libraries and academic societies.

After surviving the political crisis of 1917 and the First World War, the Restoration regime built by Cánovas in the 1870s was noticeably disintegrating throughout the beginning of the twentieth century. Historians Julián Casanova and Carlos Gil Andrés describe the government of the Restoration during this period as 'weak and unstable', as an institution which was ineffective at maintaining its influence and furthermore its ability to remain relevant to the nation in an age of burgeoning modernity.[781] Culturally however, the latter half of the Restoration regime brought with it numerous advancements in legal protections and state-sponsored cultural decrees that greatly benefitted the arts and education as well as facilitated the growth of many museums and galleries throughout the country.

For Spain, the concluding years of the nineteenth century would prove to be just as turbulent as the beginning. The f*in-de-siècle* era was rife with growing tensions and frustrations both internationally and internally for the country. 1898 marked the 'final end' of Spain's empire that began four hundred years prior with the discovery by Columbus of the New World.[782] As one of the largest and most profitable empires of the time, the Golden Age of Spanish history came under duress and, in the eyes of the international community of the nineteenth century, Spain had become a feeble nation; a nation torn apart from civil war, constant political unrest and the inability to modernize on par

[781] Casanova and Andrés, *Twentieth Century Spain: A History* (2014), p. 59
[782] Ferris, *Imagining 'America'* (2016), p. 21

with the rest of Europe.[783] Leading up to the Spanish America War, Spain was unable to adapt to the new world order of rapid industrialization, modernization and urbanization that heavily contributed to its lessened stature on the global stage. As a result of Spanish failure during the war, the need for a rapid acceleration of modernization was seen and carried out in certain parts of Spain.[784] After the loss of the war in 1898 there was a clear crisis of identity in Spain. Intellectuals, philosophers, government officials and other had to re-examine their core definitions of 'Spanishness', empire and the nation. Just a few years prior to the conflict, in 1892 Spain celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America and the impact that the grand Spanish Empire had upon the development and history of the entire Western World. Only six years later, that empire was no more. This shocking loss delivered a substantial blow to the collective Spanish national conscious and as a result, the state as well as Spain's citizens were forced to reframe the nation without its empire. After the war, Spain became an anachronism; lost and trying to find its new place within the rapidly modernizing new world order of large industry, urbanization and colonial conquest, all things Spain was without. As a result, the intellectual current of post-war Spain became introspective as intellectuals began to grapple with the new concept of the Spanish nation. There was a confusion of national identity and unsteadiness throughout Spain; however, the 'crisis' of 1898 was solely present within the realms of unofficial culture and literature and had little to no effect on state-sponsored cultural programs or initiative in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Restoration government remained in power for another twenty-five years and aside from a minor downturn, the *peseta* and the Spanish economy

[783] Please see Nigel Townson, *Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015)
[784] Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (1997), p. 63

experienced no real fluctuation due to the loss of the Spanish American War.[785] Conversely to the main historical narrative of the 'Disaster' and the Generation of '98, this period in Spanish history actually saw a flourishing of state-sponsored cultural programs and government funded public cultural displays. Therefore, the 'crisis' of the 'Disaster' was more of an internal or philosophical crisis rather than an actual decline in the day-to-day life of the nation. State-sponsored cultural programs and government-run cultural institutions actually thrived during this 'Silver Age' of Spanish history. Resurgence in Spanish artistic and cultural institutions in the aftermath of 1898 brought about a clear public state-sponsored cultural program focused on national identity, education and preservation. Additionally, by publically memorializing the legendary events and prominent figures of Spanish history as well as implementing a renewed relevance in Spain's great cultural institutions, the government was able to use its state-sponsored cultural initiatives after the Spanish American War to facilitate a renewed version of Spanish official culture which focused primarily on Spanish national histories, Spanish artists and Spanish the expansion/protection of Spanish museums, galleries, libraries and academic societies.

[785] Balfour, p. 27-30

Conclusions

During the First World War, Spain remained officially neutral. Although the precise extent of that 'neutrality' has been a topic of considerable debate among modern historians, such as Javier Moreno-Luzón and Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, Spanish distance from the European conflict allowed for the prospering of further state-sponsored cultural initiatives.[786] Along with the reallocation of funds to restore historically significant churches in Madrid, the Restoration regime allotted a great deal of money to the National Archaeological Society in order to begin restoration efforts in the ancient Roman city of Itálica in Andalucía.[787] Although the exact amount of money allocated by the Restoration regime for this project is unclear, it is made apparent that the preservation of historical sites, such as Itálica, forms a part of 'the foundational history' for the Spanish nation and is of paramount importance to explore and 'preserve for future generations'.[788]

However, the First World War marked the beginning of a major cultural shift in the style of state-sponsored culture in comparison to what had been seen in throughout the nineteenth-century in Spain and across Europe. 'Propaganda', in the modern sense of the word, was first developed during the First World

[786] Javier Moreno-Luzón, 'Risky Neutrality: Spain and the Great War', From the Balkans to the World: Going to War, 1914-1918: A Local and Global Perspective conference, UNESCO (Paris), 13-15 November 2014 and Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, *España 1914–18, Entre la Guerra y la revolución* (Barcelona, 2002)

[787] Archivo General de la Administración, grupo de fondos 10, leg. 941, caja 54, carta de la Ministerio de Fomento a la Director de la Sociedad Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, 9 junio 1914

[788] Archivo General de la Administración, grupo de fondos 10, leg. 941, caja 54, carta de la Ministerio de Fomento a la Director de la Sociedad Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, 9 junio 1914

War.[789] Compared to state-sponsored initiatives of earlier time-periods, twentieth-century propaganda served wide-ranging functions and was typically tied to the media outlets of modernity (including newspapers, film, and radio broadcasts). Forged in the crucible of 'total', world war, 'propaganda' of the 1914–1918 period was inherently concerned with popular/public opinion and using crafted messages to manipulate it in the wartime context. The extent to which propaganda could infiltrate political and cultural discourse was immense. As David Welch argues, it should be viewed as the deliberate attempt to influence the 'opinions of an audience through the transmission of ideas and values for a specific persuasive purpose'.[790]

As the consequences of the war were increasingly felt during the interwar period, academics turned to explore the role that propaganda played in shaping its outcomes. Social scientists looked to the psychological dimensions of propaganda, urging that science could solve a variety of human problems.[791] For Harold Lasswell, the American sociologist influential in early understandings of modern propaganda, the dissemination of potentially harmful propaganda messages posed a challenge to the foundations of democracy.[792] Propaganda was in this sense a form of social control—an argument strengthened by the 1930s in Lasswell's more overt linking of propaganda with 'totalitarianism'.[793] Nazi and fascist propaganda of the 1930s and 1940s posed further moral and ethical questions in the context of

[789] Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, 'Introduction: Propaganda in Historical Perspective', in Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch (eds.), *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, 2003), p. xvi.
[790] David Welch, 'Propaganda', in Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch (eds.), *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, 2003), p. 322.
[791] Jo Fox and David Coast, 'Rumour and Politics', *History Compass*, vol. 13, no. 5 (2015), p. 224
[792] Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique and the World War* (New York, 1927)
[793] Harold Lasswell, 'The Person: Subject and Object of Propaganda', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 179 (1935)

dictatorship. Yet even in repressive political economies, as Lasswell noted, propaganda could not be used as a 'magic bullet' to easily control popular attitudes and behaviours. Although 'propaganda' was crudely viewed as a sinister consequence of modern (and extreme) political regimes by many during the Second World War period, more recent scholarship argues the most effective propaganda sharpens and focuses 'existing trends and beliefs'.[794] Truths and half-truths serve as the most useful tools for coercion.

The First World War marked a shift in state-sponsored culture. After the war, cultural initiatives of the state fell into a category of 'the arts' or 'cultural patrimony' and the government's political messages were more distinctly propagandistic in nature- the two were no longer one and the same. This study, therefore, deliberately stops before the onset of the First World War when state-sponsored culture transforms into 'propaganda' during the state of total war throughout Europe.

This thesis has examined the politics of cultural programs encouraged by the various governments of nineteenth century Spain and why. The use public works and artistic commissions to promote political policies and propagate a specific public image was part of a rich tradition throughout nineteenth century. During the reign of Isabel II, her name and likeness were present in public works, artwork, songs, plays and monuments. In order to prove its legitimacy and establish a cohesive national identity in the wake of an arduous civil war, the Isabelline regime positioned itself as the primary patron of arts and culture within Spain. In continually creating new public works, commissioning art, modernizing the cityscape of Madrid, creating a national exhibition to showcase Spanish artists as well as prioritizing cultural heritage protection laws, the Isabelline regime carried out momentous projects to ensure

[794] Cull, Culbert, and Welch, 'Introduction', p. xviii.

the image of the queen and the efficacy of its political agendas. After the Revolution of 1868, one of the first agendas of the Provisional Government of the Revolution was to nationalize royal institutions to make them accessible to the Spanish public. Throughout this process, the Provisional Government of the Revolution changed elite roles within these new government institutions from purely symbolic positions, as outlined by Ainhoa Gilarranz Ibáñez, and were turned into positions of merit and political appointment. This nationalization effort increased accessibility to cultural districts and opened up Spanish national patrimony to everyday citizens. During the period of the Restoration, the focus was on creating large scale cultural events for international audiences, such as World's Fairs and International Expositions, in order to project the historical relevance of Spain as well as capitalize on every opportunity to show the international community modernized Spanish cities, artists and culture. Each epoch discussed in this thesis presents an 'emphasis on the idols of the past as well as a focus on new heroes' that become solidified in public imagination by state-sponsored cultural programs.[795] These initiatives were continually built upon throughout the century. Culturally, each era evolves from the last; growing from the previous changes as opposed to tearing down the old and starting afresh. The political actors simply changed the mode of presentation, but the goal was always consistent: to promote political agendas and uplift Spanish *patria*. Each regime of the nineteenth century appropriated traditional cultural forms, symbols and institutions to promote their individual political agendas. Each shift in power, from the reign of Isabel II, to the Provisional Government of the Revolution of 1868, the Liberal Sexennium and the Restoration, changed the 'form of expression that…political and artistic definitions [took] within official arts and governmental institutions' by

[795] Vázquez, 'Defining Hispanidad', (1997), p. 107

contextualizing or appropriating national culture within the lens of the contemporary political environment.[796]

Throughout the chaotic labyrinth of nineteenth-century Spanish politics, state-sponsored culture remained a constant in the minds and agendas of the politicians of each regime. Despite vast differences on the political spectrum, this study has found that there was a continuity and steady progression in the development of state-sponsored cultural programs. State-sponsored culture acted as a type of political cement to 'anchor' the nation during this turbulent time. This thesis concludes that that, whether consciously or unconsciously, there was an enduring continuity of cultural programs and initiatives across the chronology of nineteenth century Spain. The transcendent nature of official culture throughout the nineteenth century is made apparent in this study. For example, the laws concerning the protection of Spain's national patrimony as a result of Mendizábal's *desamortización* endured for nearly a century. The Royal Decrees passed in February and September 1836 by members of the Isabelline regime that were concerned with the mass exodus of Golden Age Spanish art works to foreign countries, the dilapidation of historic buildings and the decline in Spanish arts as a direct result of the Carlist War created the first national heritage laws their kind in modern Spanish history.[797] Their legacies, although rarely discussed, have inspired future protections on Spanish cultural patrimony such as the National Artistic Heritage Law, produced in the 1931 Constitution, and the Spanish Historic Heritage Law of 1985 which have safeguarded Spanish history and culture well into the twenty-first century. Statues of Isabel II, or monuments built by her government were not torn down in the wake of major political and social revolution in 1868 but rather, they were left as memorials to

[796] Vázquez, 'Defining Hispanidad', (1997), p. 107
[797] Royal Decrees 19 February 1836 and 4 September 1836, please see 'The *desamortización* and the exodus of the arts' subheading in Chapter I for more details

Spain's distinguished national history. After the royal collections and properties were nationalised into public museums of art (the Museo Nacional del Prado) and public parks (the Parque del Buen Retiro), they remained public entities despite the return of the Bourbon monarchy to power in 1875. During the Cánovas' *turno pacifico*, major state-sponsored cultural programs ran seamlessly between opposing political parties with vastly differing agendas for the nation. In examining this period, this study reveals the pivotal role that state-sponsored culture played in the context of political affairs, providing an effective tool for political elites to construct a perceived sense of stability and cohesive national identity. Although each regime/government had their own priorities when it came to their focus for state-sponsored cultural programs, they continued to build upon the momentum of their predecessors, regardless of political association, which created an unquestionably robust cultural legacy of nineteenth century Spain.

Current events have started to inspire a (re)investigation into a number of the monuments that have been discussed throughout this thesis. The rapid growth of the Black Lives Matter movement from the United States to international audiences in the spring/summer of 2020, prompted widespread global protests against racial and cultural injustices and oppression. Making headlines once more, numerous nineteenth-century statues of controversial figures like Christopher Columbus represent a conflict with the values of modern society. These nineteenth century monuments and cultural sites have become the target of vandalism, location for protest and even for state-sponsored removal. However, this has been a long on-going initiative in Spain for many years. As historian Ulrike Capdepón details, since the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, Spanish politicians and civilians alike have been working to remove his markers of state-sponsored culture in Madrid as well as

in the rest of Spain, such as street, metro and plaza names, statues and the memorial of the Valley of the Fallen.[798] The historical elements of state-sponsored culture such as these and the controversial statues of Columbus represent the dominance of the 'psychogeography' of that these symbols have in cities and the removal of these can help to detract from their impact in the national consciousness.[799]

The appearance of the Black Lives Matter movement in Spanish national consciousness has revitalised this type of debate around the country. In Madrid, while there have indeed been numerous peaceful protests in support of the Black Lives Matter movement throughout 2020, a similar zealous push for the removal of controversial statues in relation to imperialism, colonialism, slavery and racial injustice has not been present. A small protest took place on 16 July 2020 in the centre of Madrid's Plaza Colón. The protesters, made up of only fifteen people, were from fringe anarchist groups and carried signs that read 'Columbus: a symbol of death and blood!' and 'Fire to the colonial order'. [800] This thirty-minute protest in the Spanish capital is in stark contrast to the various protests and movements in Barcelona to remove statues of Columbus and Spanish industrialist/slaver Antonio López y López. In Barcelona, a statue of Antonio López y López has been the topic of considerable debate in recent years. Originally erected in 1884, this statue dedicated to the Cuban slave trader was dismantled in 1936 but then restored under the Franco regime in 1944.[801] It is this reconstructed statue that has prompted citizens and public officials to call the statues removal in 2016 and again 2018 before its eventual deconstruction

[798] Capdepón,'Challenging the Symbolic Representation of the Franco Dictatorship' (2020)
[799] Zoë Lescaze, 'America's Monuments, Reimagined for a More Just Future', *The New York Times*, 24 August 2020
[800] Lucía Ramos Asía, 'Varios colectivos antirracistas cuelgan un cartel en la estatua de Colón para pedir su retirada', *El País,* 17 July 2020
[801] Akiko Tsuchiya, 'Monuments and public memory: Antonio López y López, slavery, and the Cuban-Catalan connection,' *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, vol. 41, no. 5 (2019), pp. 481-482

later that year. The Deputy Mayor, Gerardo Pisarello, stated that removing the statue was an 'act of reparation and of recognition. Colonialism and slavery are the worst products of the human species…its an act of reparation for all those who feel offended by these crimes against humanity.'[802] Additionally, the monument to Columbus that was constructed for the 1888 Universal Exhibition was a site of considerable protest. As stated by Akiko Tsuchiya, these statues carry with them the 'weight of the history of empire and colonialism in the Spanish state.'[803]

In Mexico City, a prominent statue of the famed explorer on Paseo de la Reforma was taken down for 'maintenance work' just days after protests took place there ahead of the 12th of October holiday. [804] In July, a large petition was sent to the Mexican government demanding that the statue be removed, as it is viewed as a 'tribute to colonialism'.[805] In the United States, statues of historical Spanish figures such as Columbus, Ponce de León and Junípero Serra, an eighteenth century Spanish friar who has been heavily critiqued for his brutal treatment of Native Americans in Southern California, have also been sites of protest and vandalism everywhere from New York to Miami to California.[806]

[802] Ibid., 486
[803] Ibid., p. 483
[804] Carmen Morán Breña, 'El Gobierno de Ciudad de México retira la estatua de Colón a dos días de la conmemoración de su arribo a América, *El País*, 10 October 2020
[805] Ibid.
[806] Lucía Abellán, 'España transmite a Estados Unidos su inquietud por el derribo de estatuas de personajes hispanos,' *El País*, 25 June 2020

Figure 5.1: Lynne Sladky, *Columbus Statue Arrests,* June 11, 2020. Associated Press, Miami, Florida. AP Images. Accessed November 12, 2020.

Spain's Foreign Minister, Arancha González Laya, had dispatched numerous letters to dignitaries in the United States asking for the protection of these monuments. She highlighted the 'importance [Spain gives] to this shared history with the United States' in the hopes of receiving aid from American authorities.[807] Additionally, González Laya noted that if the American people wanted to protest historical figures of questionable or 'diverse' character, they need not look no further than George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. [808]

The Royal Academy of History in Madrid, an institution dedicated to preserving the history of Spain and Spanish culture, has spoken out publicly about these 'deplorable' acts of vandalism of Spanish figures.[809] President of the Royal Academy of History, Carmen Iglesias, stated that only the 'ignorant or an anarchist' would believe that the demolition or removal of these historical

[807] Ibid.
[808] Ibid.
[809] Manuel Morales, 'La Academia de la Historia "deplora" los ataques a estatuas de personajes españoles en EE.UU.', *El País*, 25 June 2020

statues is warranted.[810] Iglesias goes on to assert that these attacks not only mar the 'memory of characters' but also deface 'the history of Spain.'[811] To try and counter these attacks on Spanish history and identity, as seen by Iglesias, the Royal Academy of History's website was transformed into a collage of pictures of vandalized statues of Hispanic figures from around the globe. The website provided biographies of prominent characters such as Columbus, Serra, Cervantes as well as various monarchs and politicians in order to 'achieve a contextualized vision of their trajectories and performances different from the image that from some media and groups is transferring their figures…encouraged by ignorance.'[812]

These protests and rallies demonstrate that modern society has a hunger to re-examine the presented cultural and historical figures in our societies. Although these statues are a piece of history, they no longer reflect the values and image of the twenty-first century. The protests and ultimate removals of these pieces present us with an opportunity to create new cultural and symbolic representations. New readings of these symbols have become problematic as they conflict with modern sensibilities showing that these statues and culture sites were inherently political objects during and after their construction. The toppling of these statues and even the redrawing of these monuments by vandalism symbolises how the politically contentious nature of history can be remobilised for different political or cultural purposes. History is democratic and as such it can be rewritten, even if it is set in stone- or bronze.

As with any project, there are avenues of research questioning that take priority over others. Madrid has taken a central place within the thesis, conceptually and methodologically. This, as I argue, is for good reason. As

[810] Ibid.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Ibid.

imperial capital, Madrid featured the highest concentration of state-sponsored cultural products in the nineteenth century. Further research into this topic could explore official cultural variations between distinct regions in Spain throughout the course of the nineteenth century, such as in Madrid and Barcelona. It would be interesting to see if there was a distinct continuity, as found in my study, in regions with very strong regional identities that blossomed during the nineteenth century. Another avenue of inquiry for further study would be to investigate the extent of the role of the church in Spain's cultural landscape of the nineteenth century. Spain and Catholicism are intrinsically linked politically and socially, but the question of how that relationship impacted the official cultural programs of the state during this era warrants further attention. Correspondences between church and government officials would be helpful in uncovering this connection, as well as any existing financial records. Finally, another possible approach to this topic would be to use an art historical or museological methodology for a similar study. In investigating specific national or state-sponsored institutions in Madrid and around Spain, tracking trends in exhibitions and collecting as well as purchases of artworks/objects and museum education throughout the nineteenth century. A study of this nature would be a fascinating interdisciplinary project with use of governmental archives and institutional collections.

2020 was an unpredictable and chaotic year due to the emergence of the Covid-19 virus. The virus has had an unprecedented impact around the globe. In addition to the many months of isolation and near global shutdown, local archives and libraries were closed. As the world began to open again, international travel was still banned to many countries, including to Spain. These circumstances made finishing certain aspects of this thesis problematic. Were I able to, I would have gone to Madrid again on a final research trip in

order to collect material to finalise some loose ends and reinforce main points in various chapters. Given the global crisis, I compiled the considerable resources that I had collected during my previous archival trips to Spain and reevaluated them in a new light. In doing so, this may have slightly altered the details or finer points but it did not change or have any effect on the main findings of this project.

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