

## Between repulsion and attraction: Carlism seen through foreign eyes

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*Bi mendean zehar kanpoko begiratuek karlismoari buruz agertu dituzten ezaugarri batzuk erakutsi nahi dira testu honetan. Aldi hori kontuan harturik, fenomeno aldakorra izan bada ere, bidaiari eta behatzaileek arrazoi desberdinak izan zituzten abiaburu eta ezaugarri komunak dituzten ulermen jarraibideak emateko joera izan zuten; horien arabera, bi alditan multzoka daitezke: 1936 urtearen aurrekoa eta ondokoa.*

*Giltza-Hitzak: Karlismoa. Arrotzak. Euskal Herria. Nafarroa. Nekazaritza giroa. Nazionalismoa. Historia.*

*En este texto se pretenden mostrar algunos de los rasgos que miradas ajenas han proporcionado sobre el carlismo a lo largo de dos siglos. Aunque sea un fenómeno cambiante en ese período, viajeros y observadores partieron de motivos distintos y tendieron a dar pautas de comprensión con rasgos comunes que permite agruparlos en dos períodos: antes y después de 1936.*

*Palabras Clave: Carlismo. Extranjeros. País Vasco. Navarra. Ruralismo. Nacionalismo. Historia.*

*Dans ce texte, on tente de montrer quelques-uns des traits que des regards étrangers ont porté sur le carlisme tout au long de deux siècles. Bien que cela soit un phénomène changeant à cette période, des voyageurs et des observateurs partirent de motifs différents et tendirent à fournir des règles de compréhension avec des traits communs qui permette de les regrouper en deux périodes: avant et après 1936.*

*Mots Clés: Carlisme. Étrangers. Pays Basque. Navarre. Ruralisme. Nationalisme. Histoire.*

The problem of “the other” has been a theme of historiographical interest for various decades, and curiosity about the others’ views, implicit in this, conveys a form of empathy in which it is others – culturally distant – who provide instruments for the acquisition of self-knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly, the anthropological turn which the historical discipline has taken in the last few decades – and which has sparked a greater interest in the structural aspects of the past, in group behaviour and in everything related to more or less everyday customs – has played a decisive role in this type of approach. In this context, therefore, a consideration of others’ views implies a search for one’s own identity, a confirmation – be it positive or negative – of what is held to define a group’s collective personality.

Naturally, the result of this is not “reality”, but the interpretation – or view – of reality held by those who approached it. For this reason, the aim is not to show the facts “as they are”, but to offer a means of approaching them – in short, a representation of this reality or a construction in which the subjectivity of the observer adapts what is observed to his own parameters.

In the pages that follow, I aim to show some of the characteristic features of outsiders’ views of the Carlist phenomenon, as evidenced throughout the lengthy period of time which this phenomenon covers. I do not aim to provide an exhaustive coverage of the subject matter, or establish a closed typology; rather, to offer a means to go more deeply into a topic on which there remains much work to be done, but which has been shown to be a source of considerable interest regarding knowledge of the past.

## 1. A COMPLEX FRAMEWORK

It is clear that the Carlist phenomenon does not form a homogeneous reality throughout its duration – that is to say, from the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until, virtually, today. Even its delimitation as a historical phenomenon is far from simple. In fact, in order to come to grips with the Carlist phenomenon we must take into account its place in the world of traditionalism – in other words, the broad counterrevolutionary context which arose at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a kind of backlash to the wide-ranging changes which constituted a challenge for the *status quo* of the time. On the other hand, as Jordi Canal points out, the survival of the phenomenon became one of its distinguishing features, and in this survival it is necessary to underline the process of transformation that Carlism has gone through in order to adapt to changing historical circumstances. Finally, we must take into account its differences with regard to a liberal-style

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1. There are many studies of “the other”, carried out from within the fields of the humanities and the social sciences. A good review of this is offered in Olábarri 1996: 165-70. One of the most controversial studies in this respect, and one which has had the most far-reaching effects – *Orientalism*, by Edward Said – pointed out, as long ago as in 1978, to what extent the “picture” formed of the other is conditioned by the observer; and how (for example), in this sense, the East is part of the European culture, and how Europe invents the East and has control over it (Said 1991).

political party, especially the comprehensive component of Carlism, which was formed more as a movement in defence of an order than as a strictly political force and, for this reason, it was constituted as a means of integration – as a world-view which goes beyond the realm of politics. Furthermore, when talking about Carlism we must be very aware of its two centuries of history and its evolution – which I mentioned before – all of which complicates any attempt to classify it according to standards of understanding and analysis unique to phenomena like this.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that although Carlism was associated with the Basque Country, there were significant Carlist groups in other Spanish places like Catalonia, Old Castile and Aragon, and also, during the 1930s, in Andalusia. Finally, and with regard to the topic at hand, we need to consider the different motivations of the travellers – those investigators of the reality of Carlism as a curious phenomenon, as a standard of behaviour or as a manifestation of errors.

From what has been said until now, it is clear that neither the travellers' motivations, nor the reality which confronted them, remain unchanged throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup> In any case, any attempt to establish a typology would present us with two different points of view concerning Carlism (although this could be applied to almost any phenomenon) in view of which we can adopt a posture which aims to be objective; or accept that any interpretation of reality will be coloured by our own prejudices. This is not the only typology possible and does not purport to be. Nor does it aim to reflect a dual structure of reality, along the lines of what Miguel Ángel Cabrera describes as a characteristic element of traditional social history:

all societies are constituted by objective agents (...), which hold the causal primacy, and by subjective or cultural agents, which are causally derived from these (Cabrera, 2001a: 256).

The aim would be rather, (as Cabrera himself suggests), the following:

all historical research has to take into account both reality and the perception of reality, given that interpretations of the world not only form part of the world, but actively participate in its construction (Cabrera, 2001b: 38).

So, taking into account both “reality” and perceptions of this, we can try to tackle the complexity of the Carlist phenomenon from this new position, continually reworked on the basis of this interaction between reality and its conceptualisation: “it is inherited categories which confer meaning on social reality and which, in this way, convert it into objective reality”. It is, for this reason, part of a causal chain of concepts which never breaks, even though it is modified with each interaction. In short,

in all historical situations there exists a coherent set of categories which, by mediating between reality and individuals, convert the latter into subjects and actual

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2. The most recent – and, indeed, an interesting – reflection on this issue can be found in Canal 2000: especially in the introduction.

3. For a clearer picture of these travellers, Del Burgo 1978: *passim* and particularly pp. 1026-1036, is indispensable. With reference to Navarre, see Caspistegui 1996.

events into objects and which, in consequence, constitute the field in which social relations are forged (Cabrera, 2001a: 262, 265).

Here lies the importance of discourse which, while not materially defining social reality, does construct it as a significant entity. One of these constructions is the one created by travellers, and on the basis of two different types of representation they construct their concepts and transmit them for continual reworking:

1. The constructions of writers, inquirers, searchers for ideological sources or critics of obscurantism: in short, the subjective view. Those who, in the wake of impertinent 19<sup>th</sup> century inquirers, in Ian Robertson's words (Robertson 1975), approached Carlism as yet another one of the many exotic rarities which the Iberian peninsula offered travellers in that century. Under the influence of a marked romanticism, his eyes searched for evidence of foreignness, forever seeking differences. This point of view was reflected in literary testimonies and newspapers, but also in images, which reinforced the reality effect which Roland Barthes talks of with reference to photography but which, applied to the observation *in situ* of that which had been searched for, would reinforce the stereotype – with the traveller's authority giving weight to the argument. So, the countryside reflected in illustrations in travel books showed picturesque local colour, Arabian roots, monumental architecture and landscapes – but, for all that, they were still based on a construction, as Peter Burke points out, aimed at confirming stereotypes, even though the use of graphic images seemed to reinforce the texts and give them credence, turning what were essentially literary constructions into apparently objective accounts.

In a world in which science is the prevailing criterion for the comprehension of reality, this is also the posture adopted by those who observe an ideology or who regard Carlism as an ideological phenomenon, viewed from close up or from afar – in other words, attitudes of identification or repulsion, based on prejudices constructed prior to the observation, but which the observation converts into facts. This is the attitude of he who approaches Carlism to confirm his ideas, make his position secure, to drink from the source of a way of thinking or of attitudes, or to reject, on the basis of evidence, the eccentricity of the proposal. In general, it is the former – those who are looking for models – who go in search of proof, and when they observe what they are looking for, *in situ*, they leave testimony of this. Although in these cases literary pretensions may be an important factor in the development of the texts, the most important factor is, in general, the ideological background – the underlying idea, which is promoted or denigrated. At the end of the day, and despite claims of objectivity, this remains a subjective view dictated by previous choice.

2. The constructions of observers whose aim is scientific objectivity. Far more recently, this view has found an ally in the principle of scientific methodol-

ogy, in the idea that it is possible to offer a rational account for the complexity of human beings. Closely linked to the development and professionalisation of the social sciences and humanities, it has tried to distance itself from what are, strictly speaking, literary works. The observations of a researcher are neutral and the aim is to collect data relevant to those aspects which can provide an explanation or an answer to the questions which have been posed. The results, marked by a more or less profound conviction that there exists an objective truth which it is possible to discover, should attain the status of scientific proof, based on documentary evidence. In spite of these aims, it is clear that subjectivity presides over this approach, and that the focus changes depending on the discipline in question – be it history, anthropology, sociology or other human sciences. In any case, it may safely be said that Carlism has most commonly been approached from the discipline of history, even in the case of research which is not, strictly speaking, historical. There is a clear reason for this pre-eminence because, apparently, Carlism is generally considered to be a phenomenon belonging to the past or, at least, a historical object with a greater significance in the past than in the present day.

There is a rider to be introduced at this point, referring to views broadcast by journalists. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards we can find references in the press in which Carlism seems to have been observed from the perspective of a naturalist, suggesting the incredulity of one who examines strange phenomena through a microscope. However, in order to include it in this typology, it was necessary to wait another century – in other words, until the press approached the slopes of Montejurra with similar incredulity, with their attention focused on the last vestiges of a Spain immersed in a dictatorship which offered striking contrasts, such as that of Carlism rebelling against the Francoist régime. The objective perspective of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century journalist would be fundamentally different from that of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century writer who conveyed his impressions in the form of literary texts, and who was able to write freely – without the pressures resulting from a demand for objectivity, which constrained twentieth-century journalists – even though in both cases the ultimate aim was to reflect the phenomenon with the naturalness and directness of real life, with the transparency of one who witnesses the events and, by virtue of his mere presence, is able to pass the facts on.

In short, it is a matter of rationalizing our understanding of our own activity; a matter of superimposing our criteria of reason on the intentions of the authors of these texts. At the end of the day, it is a matter of touching, with the magic wand of our own subjectivity, the subjectivity of the observers of, and from, the past.

I will later give some examples of this typology, aware – as I am – that many of them have features in common with the categories that I have sketched out, but they are examples which should, hopefully, prove to be representative and, above all, illustrative of certain views of Carlism.

## 2. IMPERTINENT INQUIRERS AND INTERESTED OBSERVERS

From the very beginning of the Carlist phenomenon there were foreigners who showed interest in it<sup>4</sup>. The French Revolution of 1789, which was close in time to the beginnings of the Carlist movement, had brought about a fundamental shift in people's conceptions of the world, its organisation and its structure. In opposition to these changes, critical voices emerged, of people who held on to an idealized image of what had been lost – the more remote the period to which the image referred, the more idealized it was. One symptom of this – one which could be traced to a large part of Europe, which was in the process of making adjustments – was ruralism, or the creation of a rural utopia, where those values which were in retreat could be maintained (Caspistegui, 2002). The words of Karl Ferdinand Henningsen illustrate this:

In [Spain] [...] democratic sentiments [are] chiefly confined to the rich (who wish for as perfect an independence as possible for their own cities, where they could establish an aristocracy of wealth) and a small portion of the lower classes in the large towns, who look forward eagerly towards times of anarchy and confusion, not only as a stepping-stone to their ambition, but to satisfy their brutal passions. To these are opposed the peasantry, who are all Carlists, and form the great mass of the population, who alone have retained the original stamp of the Spanish character, and who, when roused, still exhibit flashes of its former independence and energy (Henningsen, 1836: I, 7).

This rural image of the Carlist phenomenon became common in 19<sup>th</sup>-century travel literature, so converting the Carlist Wars into yet one more picturesque Spanish phenomenon – from the European point of view. Viscount Alfonse De Barrès du Molard wrote in 1842:

revolutionary doctrines had progressed in the principal cities of Spain, but they had been constantly rejected by people from agricultural areas and, above all, by people from mountainous areas, where the simplicity of customs has maintained the purity of the Catholic faith (Barrès du Molard, 1842: 7, quoted in Wilhelmsen, 1995: 254).

Catholicism, ruralism and traditionalism became fundamental references in order to understand the originality of the phenomenon. Carlism formed part of an international “white” group, which was by now in decline in a large part of Europe: Jacobinism in Scotland, Miguelism in Portugal, Brigantaggio in the south of Italy, legitimism in France, etc. – and in all these cases there were common features, which only conserved a certain force in Spain. It was a manifestation, in the final analysis, of what, according to Karl Ferdinand Henningsen, is

not a mere war of succession, but of the conservative principle, throughout the country, against the destructive one; and of the whole edifice of Spanish nationality against a small, though powerful faction (Henningsen, 1836: II, 301).

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4. A compilation of texts and observations, by foreign authors, about the First Carlist War, in Wilhelmsen 1995: 248-60; see also Bullón de Mendoza 1997.

This argument was also used in the context of the Second Carlist War but much more limited to reactionary groups. In an article published in *La Civiltà Cattolica* it was affirmed that this conflict would be settled in a duel between “la civiltà cristiana e la barbarie liberalesca”, Christian civilization and the barbarism of accursed liberals (Ballerini, 1873: 263, quoted in Wilhelmsen, 1995: 492).

A concrete example of these attitudes can be found in one British magazine: *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*,<sup>5</sup> whose conception of Carlism in the Basque provinces and in Navarre serves as a means to give form to an exotic and distant phenomenon. In this magazine there can be found a variety of different texts – some of them fictional – referring to the Basque provinces, to Navarre and to Carlism, including reviews of books and different views of the Carlist phenomenon. In one of these (“Cabrera”, 1846), the anonymous author of the commentary established the existing differences between Carlists in different parts of Spain: “The Carlist troops in Arragon [sic] and Valencia were of very different composition from those in Navarre and Biscay. In the latter provinces, an intelligent and industrious peasantry rose to defend certain local rights and immunities, the preservation of which, they were taught to believe, was bound up with the success of Don Carlos. In Eastern Spain the mass of the respectable and labouring classes were of liberal opinions, and the ranks of the faction were swelled by the dregs and refuse of the population” (“Cabrera”, 1846: 295). The key was that these peasants from Navarre and Biscay (probably applied in a traditional, comprehensive sense which also included people from Guipuzcoa and Alava in this denomination) “defend certain local rights and immunities.” A few pages later he added:

From the commencement, the war was of a very different nature in Navarre and in Arragon [sic]. Both chiefs and soldiers were of different origin, and fought for different ends. To Navarre repaired those men of worth and respectability who conscientiously upheld the rights of Don Carlos; the battalions were composed of peasants and artisans. In Arragon [sic] and Valencia, a few desperate and dissolute ruffians (“Cabrera”, 1846: 308).<sup>6</sup>

It was the local jurisdictions (*los fueros*) that marked the differences, as confirmed the previously-cited Viscount Barrès du Molard:

the Spanish revolutionaries have said, and those from other countries have repeated, that the Navarrese and the Basques only took up arms to defend the *fueros* (Barrès du Molard, 1842: 5, quoted in Wilhelmsen, 1995: 250),

as against those who painted themselves like common criminals. So, two apparently incompatible views are combined: the view of those who regarded Carlism positively, and the view of those who considered it to be a manifestation of barbarism. The same text reflected this in its reference to Ramón Cabrera, the Carlist leader of Maestrazgo during the First Carlist War:

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5. I have consulted the issues of this magazine at the following internet address: <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ilej>.

6. Similar opinions are given by Adolf Loning, as pointed out in the text by Santiago Leoné, to whom I am indebted for the reference.

Disliking books, the sole use he made of opportunities of study was to imbibe the abominable and sanguinary maxims of the Inquisition ("Cabrera", 1846: 293).

He concluded:

Even in the inevitable confusion of civil war, a distinction may and must be made between the man who takes up arms to defend a principle, and him who makes the unhappy dissensions of his country a stepping-stone to his own ambition, a pretext for the indulgence of the worst vices and most unhallowed passions ("Cabrera", 1846: 308).

These idealized views of Carlist Basque peasants were made manifest on every possible occasion. Thus, another text from the same magazine spoke of the success of the uprising in Catalonia in the year 1849, but of scant support in other areas, which was put down to the bad weather. However,

[w]hen the weather clears, it is confidently anticipated that two or three thousand hardy recruits will make the valleys of Biscay and Navarre ring once more with their Basque war-cries, headed by men whose names will astonish those who still discredit the virtual union of Carlists and Modernists ("Carlists", 1849: 253).<sup>7</sup>

The mythical image of these lands and of the men from the valleys of Biscay and Navarre imposed a view of the historical situation which, as we will see, enjoyed considerable success in later epochs. A stereotype regarding the Basques was taking shape – a stereotype which would survive among the mesh of interwoven images relating to contemporary Europe. Another example is the text which is dedicated to Zumalacárregui, in which diverse armed exploits of his are narrated, for the most part in a laudatory tone. The text relates how Sarsfield was on the point of cutting him off in Artajona, "but he had forgotten to take into consideration the insensibility to fatigue, and capacity of exertion, of the Navarrese mountaineers". Faced with this, it is pointed out, it was necessary to resort to a soldier like Mina, the Navarrese hero of the war against the Napoleonic troops in Peninsular War, who knew the surroundings well and who was specialized in mountain warfare ("Zumalacarregui", 1845: 216).

The character traits of these people are repeated like a *leitmotif*, the most notable of these being their freedom. A character from a serialized novel, "The student of Salamanca", which was published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from November 1845 onwards, exemplifies this. In the novel, this character wins a game of *pelota*, "to which the Navarrese are much addicted, and at which most of them excel" (Hardman, 1845: 522).<sup>8</sup> However, his defeated opponent, a soldier, does not accept the result with good grace and a fight ensues. The Navarrese reacts furiously: "'He has struck *me*, a free Navarrese!'

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7. The union with the progressives was due, to a large extent, to the progressives' clear rejection of liberal politics.

8. Written by Frederick Hardman, it was published in book form as: *The Student of Salamanca* (Edinburgh & London, W. Blackwood & Sons., 1847).

repeated he” (Hardman, 1845: 526).<sup>9</sup> This is a motif which appears again and again in the accounts given by different travellers. For example, the correspondent of the *Morning Post*, Edward Bell Stephens, declared:

There may be seen the gratifying spectacle of a people fighting at once for loyalty and liberty, for the principle of legitimacy and the exercise of practical freedom; for the rights of their sovereign and their own constitutional privileges (Stephens, 1837: I, 15, quoted in Wilhelmsen, 1995: 251)<sup>10</sup>.

The most significant thing is that some commonly-held views, and some of the expressions in vogue around the time that the cited serialized novel was written (the novel is set during the time of the lead-up and start of the First Carlist War), are reflected in it – for example, references to the wild, untamed character of the Carlist troops stationed near Zumalacárregui:

During the whole of the winter, the Carlists lived like wolves in the mountains, surrounded by ice and snow, cheerfully supporting the most incredible hardships and privations. Nay, even under such disadvantageous circumstances, their numbers increased, and their discipline improved; and when the spring came they presented the appearance, not of a band of robbers, as their opponents had hitherto designated them, but of a body of regular troops, hardy and well organized, devoted to their general, and enthusiastic for the cause they defended. Their rapid movements, their bravery and success in several well-contested skirmishes, some of which almost deserved the name of regular actions, the surprise of various Christino posts and convoys, the consistency, in short, which the war was taking, began seriously to alarm the Queen’s government.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, other inquisitive travellers, full of romantic ideas, were leaving testimony of their experiences in the Basque Country. One of them was Victor Hugo, who travelled around the territory in 1843, and who wrote, in one of his letters: “The ancient Basque liberty joined forces with the ancient monarchy of Spain and the Indies against the revolutionary spirit”<sup>12</sup> – given that (reasoned Hugo) the revolution was an attempt at rebuilding everything from scratch, and that implied the destruction of what was there before. Nor can we forget the creator, on the basis of his observations, of the legend of Aitor (Chaho, 1845; on Chaho see Juaristi, 1998: 76-106; Zabalo, 1999). I am referring to Augustin Chaho and his work *Voyage en Navarre pendant l’insurrection des Basques de 1830-1835 (Journey to Navarre during the Basque uprising of 1830-1835 – Chaho, 1865)*, in which he highlights the issue of Basque freedom, the Basques’ desire for independence and (his) certainty that they embody the values of the

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9. Something very similar happens in the novel *Carmen*, by Prosper de Mérimée (1846), to the main character José, a native of the Baztán valley.

10. There were some other correspondents of this newspaper in favour of the Carlists, like William Walton.

11. 58/362 (1845) 675.

12. “L’antique liberté basque fit cause commune contre l’esprit révolutionnaire avec l’antique monarchie des Espagnes et des Indes” (Hugo, 1984: 66-67, quoted in Juaristi, 1998: 76-77).

old European civilization. His conception of Carlism leads him to regard it as the true form of liberalism, which produces certain curious paradoxes, such as an attempt to justify the Russian enmity towards the Carlist movement (something very similar in Slidell-Mackenzie, 1836). What's more, it is striking that he distinguishes, as we have already seen in the case of previous authors, between Basque Carlism and the rest:

The jealousy of the Castilians was this war's first cause [...]. They could not stand seeing the Basque provinces govern and administer themselves in a complete independence, while many civil and military posts in Castile were held by Biscayans and Navarrese".<sup>13</sup>

### 3. CARLISM LOSES ITS AURA OF ROMANTICISM BETWEEN THE 19<sup>th</sup> AND 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES

Years later, at the time of the Second Carlist War, one is also struck by certain references to the religiousness of the native people of this land – a religiousness highlighted, perhaps, by an environment which was far more secular than thirty years earlier. An example of this can be found in *Don José*, which Georges Bizet includes in his opera *Carmen* (1875), based on the version of *Carmen* by Prosper de Mérimée. Traditional images are mixed with clichés about the Spaniards, and of Don José it is said, for example, that he is Basque and an elderly Christian – in short, a man of order. The connection with Carlism is even clearer in the opera *La Navarraise* (1894). The writer, Jules Masset, had ideological links with the Carlist movement and set the opera in the Second Carlist War, in the proximity of Bilbao. The traits attributed to the two Navarrese protagonists were becoming clichés: dancing, the *encierro* (running of the bulls) and *pelota* matches (Gembero Ustároz, 1996: 412-413). In any case, by this time there appeared a good many testimonies opposed to Carlism – perhaps now that the romantic admiration for the exotic country, like that of John Furley, had passed (Furley, 1876; García Pinacho, 1997: 161-162). The testimonies themselves became less numerous in societies in which – at least in the West – political and ideological diversity had increased, and in which people were more reluctant to accept arguments in favour of outdated forms of behaviour and passé counter-revolutionary ideas. Now that the romantic fervour had passed, Spain was no longer the Mecca of exoticism. What's more, industrialisation, particularly in the coastal provinces of the Basque Country, had considerably reduced the differences between what these travellers could see in the Basque Country and what they could see in their own countries. Only from within the peninsula borders would more attention be received, but this was, perhaps, principally due to the industrialisation itself or to the nascent *fin de siècle* nationalism. Finally, we must not ignore the fact that Carlism enters a phase of political decline in which its

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13. "La jalousie des Castillans fut la première cause de cette guerre [...]. Ils ne pouvaient souffrir de voir les provinces basques se gouverner et s'administrer elles mêmes dans une complète indépendance, tandis qu'une infinité d'emplois civils et militaires étaient occupés en Castille par des Biskaiens et des Navarrais" (Chaho, 1865: 179, quoted in Juaristi, 1998: 90).

prominence is reduced – the movement's main concern now is its ideological rearmament and its adaptation to the institutional circumstances of the time.

An example of the evolution of conceptions of Carlism, as seen from the viewpoint of foreign observers (and one which could, indeed, be regarded as illustrative of this evolution) is provided by Lucien Porte (Porte, 1934). His attitude towards Carlism is positive, albeit with certain qualifications. His commentaries on the First Carlist War are generally of a folkloric and picturesque nature, although on occasions he draws attention to his efforts to discover new archive references and, indeed, at times he demonstrates his professionalism as a historian. "We have had no intention of narrating this tragic period of Spanish history; numerous works have already done it at length. However, we thought that certain picturesque aspects, some little known adventures of this dismal drama might be of some historical interest".<sup>14</sup> When analysing what happened a hundred years ago, he associates Carlists with Basques, thus giving the impression that the war was a nationalist struggle. In the same way, when referring to another myth – that of the smuggler – he pointed out:

Finally, the affections of shepherds and contrabandists, free-spirited as they were, were for these other Basques who were fighting for their liberties, their *fueros*, and really for the Basque banner.<sup>15</sup>

And he added:

The hearts of the Basques were at that time turned towards the Carlists and the soul of Euzkualherria throbbed to the stories of the feats of Zumalacarre-guy and his Navarrese and Biscayan battalions. It was the smugglers' golden time, because a euskarian feeling lived in the soul of those who cheated the Treasury.<sup>16</sup>

Overall, the image he offered of Carlist heroism, linked to the struggle for the conservation of their regional liberties, was positive: "these heroic Navarrese who, by their resistance, earned the admiration of all Europe".<sup>17</sup>

In fact, it is necessary to wait until the last Civil War, which begins in 1936, in order to witness a renewal of curiosity about the Carlist movement in this ter-

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14. "Nous n'avons pas eu la prétention de narrer cette période tragique de l'histoire espagnole; de nombreux ouvrages ont largement traité cette question. Toutefois nous avons pensé que certains aspects pittoresques, quelques aventures peu connues de ce sombre drame pouvaient présenter quelque intérêt historique" (Porte, 1934: 7-8).

15. "Enfin, les sympathies des pasteurs et des contrebandiers, d'esprit très indépendant, allaient vers ces autres Basques qui luttèrent pour leurs libertés, leurs *fueros*, en réalité pour le drapeau basque" (Porte, 1934: 22).

16. "[L]e cœur des Basques était tourné, à cette époque, vers les Carlismes et l'âme de l'Euzkualherria vibrait tout entière aux récits des exploits de Zumalacarre-guy et de ses bataillons navarrais et biscayens. Ce fut l'époque héroïque de la contrebande, car un sentiment euskarien résidait dans l'âme de ceux qui fraudaient le fisc" (Porte, 1934: 38-39).

17. "[C]es héroïques Navarrais, qui excitaient, par leur résistance, l'admiration de l'Europe entière" (Porte, 1934: 133).

ritory, although we may legitimately ask ourselves whether this is really an interest in the Carlist movement itself or, rather, in the overall situation in which Carlism is present (See, from the Carlist point of view, *Fal Conde* 1937). One of the most striking aspects was the link to Catholicism and to anti-Communism. In Poland, for example, the religious element was highlighted as a cohesive element, and, in the political demands of the Polish nationalist leaders there were explicit references to similar examples, in particular to Carlism. Thus, Jędrzej Giertych included his youth movement of the National Party in a network which brought together Italian Fascism, German Hitlerism, Portuguese Salazarism and “Carlism and the Falange in Spain”, which he regarded, along with the army, “as the most important forces in Nationalist Spain”.<sup>18</sup> This relation was intensified after Giertych’s visit to Spain in 1937,<sup>19</sup> during which, as a partisan of the Nationals, he gave his opinion of Carlism, which he regarded as being the movement which was the closest to the stance of the Polish National Party. He identified the nationalism within it:

There is no way that he could turn himself into a Bolshevik. He can be either satisfied or dissatisfied with its leaders, his party and its politics but he will not stop being a Carlist.

He also discerned two basic elements in them: Catholicism and monarchism, and two weakness: regionalism and provincialism. In spite of that, what most bound him to Carlism was Catholicism: “when talking with a Carlist, I have a feeling that I speak with a man whose *opinions* can differ from mine in some cases [...], but with whom I share an identical basis for a world view”. And he added:

Both he and I are equally averse to ‘modernity’, to the ideology of 19<sup>th</sup> century, to pseudo-progress, to the spirit of masonry and Jewry, to liberalism and radicalism, to Marxism, to capitalism.

However, he did not spurn the contributions of Falangism, and – for this reason – he concluded: “Our National Party is both Carlism and the Falange at the same time” (Chodakiewicz, 2003: 58-59, 60). A more moderate point of view was that of Roman Fajans, a war correspondent, who considered that “the Requeté is conservative, Catholic, and traditionalist” and is, for this reason, opposed to the Falange. Fajans, indeed, foresaw confrontations between the Falange and the Requetés (Fajans, 1937; quotation taken from Chodakiewicz, 2003: 66).

Another of the most common reflections of those who approach the phenomenon at this time concerns the confrontation between the Carlists and the Basque

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18. Chodakiewicz 2003: 53-4, 57. A very similar opinion is held by Jerzy Borejsza, a member of the Polish Communist Party and the author of a history of Spain widely read and used by the left-wing and the progressive forces in Poland (Borejsza, 1937; compare Chodakiewicz, 2003: 74-5. In all these cases, I have cited the pages of the translation into English by Chodakiewicz).

19. An offshoot of this was the book *Hiszpania bohaterska (Heroic Spain)* (Giertych, 1937), “perhaps the single most important analysis of the Spanish Right written by a contemporary Polish observer”, according to Chodakiewicz 2003: 56.

Nationalists. They both (and both comprised political and social movements) started out from a common approach, which remained close until the first years of the 2nd Republic. However, confronted with the situation of those years, their positions diverged considerably (Mees, 2003). Thus, the count of Saint-Aulaire made it clear that he intended to dismantle the Basque myth, based on the promise of independence made by the Republican leaders. He considered this to be a lie, because the Republicans defended a centralist and totalitarian doctrine. Nor did he accept the term “the Basque people” as applied by the Republicans: “If there is a Basque people, it is divided between France and Spain”.<sup>20</sup> He regarded nationalism as a separatist movement, exploited by Soviet agents. In the same sense, it is worth mentioning the opinion of the previously-cited Polish nationalist, J. Giertych, who said that the Basques “[a]re simply Spaniards, who use in their everyday local and family life a separate regional dialect”. So, they are not “a national minority”, nor “a separate nation” (Chodakiewicz, 2003: 59). An example of diversity and fecundity of opinions was provided by another Pole – in this case a representative of liberal Catholicism who, with respect to the issue at hand, sympathised with the Basque Nationalists. In his view, they were “noblemen and traditionalist” as were the Basque Carlists. Nevertheless, he stressed the latter’s “supreme heroism”, even though he thought that their

so stubbornly clinging to life, [was] a remnant of European traditionalism from a hundred years ago, from the epoch of the Count de Chambord (Pruszyński, 1937; quotation taken from Chodakiewicz, 2003: 82-83).

A certain Mexican journalist, who had given a lot of thought to this issue, tried to find an explanation for what he considered to be a paradoxical union between the Basque Catholics and “the reds, who burn churches, murder priests and who are enemies of God” (Junco, 1940: 169). This, he said, disorientated people like Maritain and was seized upon by the pro-communists. For this reason, he tried to clarify the issue:

The Basques – who possess robust racial characteristics – occupy four provinces in the north of Spain: Biscay, Guipúzcoa, Alava and Navarre. They also occupy, in France: Laburdi, Benaparoa [sic] and Zuberoa.

This characterization had not impeded their links with the rest of the peninsula. “The union between the Basques and Spain is ancient”, and he identified it in the reconquest, the taking of Granada, America, and so on. For this reason, he considered that “a Basque separatism – like a Catalan separatism – is a suicidal error” (Junco, 1940: 169-170), and added:

they will betray, with small-town belittlement, the magnitude of their past and their destiny [...]. Identified with Spain – within certain franchises which respect their own regional peculiarity –, their own importance is defended and intensified, based on harmony with the fatherland (Junco, 1940: 171).

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20. “S’il y a un peuple basque, il est partagé entre la France et l’Espagne” (Saint-Aulard, 1938: 193).

He indicated that the choice was not between separatism and subjugation, but between separatism and regional liberties.

Another aspect which he tried to “clarify” was the identification of the Basques with separatism.

Practically the whole of Navarre, land of the admirable *requetés*, was with Franco from the beginning, and with heroic fervour, as were the vast majority of the people from Alava (Junco, 1940: 174).

For this reason, he regarded this generalization as false, just as he regarded as false the idea that all Basques were Catholics, and he mentioned La Pasionaria.

Aguirre, who *is* Catholic, became utterly and terribly blinded – obsessed by his one overriding idea: that of separatism. He allied himself with frenetic pursuers, tolerated irreligious abominations in the Basque region; in short, he subordinated fundamental, high and sacred ideals to political interest (Junco, 1940: 175).

For this reason, he hoped that separatism would be set aside and

that the Basque *requetés* – glorified by this crusade – and that Ramiro de Maeztu (a Basque, and considered to be the creator of the concept of the “Hispanic world”) would be at the head of his brothers, as the glory, flagship and paradigm of the indivisible grandeur of Spain (Junco, 1940: 180).

These same issues also concerned Arthur Koestler, who (from a different point of view, of course) tried to show that not all Catholics were united behind the National band, and he did so by confronting the Basque and the Navarrese cases:

The great majority of the Catholics of Navarra have been, without doubt, behind Franco from the beginning; the great majority of the Basque Catholics have from the beginning been behind the Government.

And he added:

The whole question hinges not on religious, but on political, doctrines. The contrast in the behaviour of the Basque and the Navarran Catholics is inexplicable as a theological problem, but perfectly explicable as a political problem.

Finally, he wrote:

The Basques have striven for centuries to attain linguistic, cultural and economic autonomy. History has taught them that the liberal democratic movement in Spain favours the cause of racial minorities and that movements aiming at absolute monarchy and dictatorship, on the other hand, are bitterly opposed to all demands for autonomy (Koestler, 1937: 111).

However, some elements which had already been present at the time of the First Carlist War still survived, such as regional differences. One of the apologists

of the Francoists, Harold Cardozo, offered a racial explanation for these differences:

Spain is a deeply religious land, and yet from time to time throughout the ages when there has been revolution, these suppressed emotions of savage cruelty, of Asiatic barbarity, have come to the front. They are always most noticeable in those parts where the mixture of Asiatic and African blood is the strongest. That is why Navarre and the Basque countries, Old Castile and Aragon, Leon and the Asturias, have been freer than other Spanish provinces of the terrible blood guilt which during the past year has afflicted Spain (Cardozo, 1937: 3).

This correspondent of the *Daily Mail* narrated his entry into Navarre, after going through moments of some anguish at the hands of the “Reds”, a term which he used constantly. He described the mountain pass of Otsondo (this is how he spells it) and described “Elisondo” as “the capital of the tiny Baztan republic which only disappeared in the seventeenth century”. He wrote about Carmen, about the presence of Wellington, and about his journey to Pamplona, passing through Velate, and about the presence of a “red-faced, white-haired old *parochio* [sic], or vicar”, who interrogated him, and later apologized for having done so, though pointing out the need for such measures in order to avert assaults. He finally arrived at the hotel *la Perla*, which turned out to be the “busy headquarters of the Press in Navarre”.

The square itself was a sea of scarlet and blue. On the one hand were the red berets of the Carlists, and on the other the blue forage cap of the members of the Falange or Spanish Nationalist Party. All the young men were armed with rifle or pistol, but their weapons were clean and new and there was an air of voluntarily accepted discipline about them all which had been lacking in the Red militia I had seen the day before (Cardozo, 1937: 28-29).

He also offered first-hand testimony of the entire campaign of the North, beginning with the fighting in Irún and San Sebastián, in which the most prominent part was played by “[t]he Navarre and Alava Basques”, and especially by the “Carlists of Navarre, from the first days of the war, [who] had seized and held the hill approaches to both Irun and San Sebastian” (Cardozo, 1937: 75).<sup>21</sup> He described the taking of Bilbao, as well, and the historic revenge that meant for the *requetés*, despite the large number of casualties:

[t]hat was the price the Requetes paid for the honour of avenging their dead in the three previous sieges of Bilbao and for being the first troops to parade their flags through the conquered city (Cardozo, 1937: 276).

Occasionally, it is possible to find rather surprising commentaries, the origins of which are difficult to establish. An example of this is the following declaration

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21. William Foss and Cecil Gerahty also refer to this matter and to their presence on the ground (Foss & Gerahty, 1940: 287). From the Republican point of view, Arthur London mentioned the scarcity of means available to the defenders of Irún, as against the arsenals of Navarre and Castille – something which was repeated in the assault of Biscay. Despite the difficulties, as this writer pointed out: “les fils des Asturies et de la Biscaye font reculer les troupes d’élite regroupées par le général Mola: Maures, Légion étrangère, armée italo-allemande, unités fanatisées des Requetes et autres” (London, 1966: 169, 230 and 231).

by a French general: “the Requetes also had a tendency to consider themselves as free corps; they had no great affection for the Spanish regular army, which certain Navarrese called privately *the occupation army*”.<sup>22</sup> It is particularly striking that references of this kind – so uncommon at the time – should appear in a text of a fundamentally military nature.

One of the most ardent supporters of the Nationals among Anglo-Saxon literary figures was Roy Campbell, as he himself made clear in his autobiography, *Light on a dark horse* (Campbell 1951).<sup>23</sup>

The ideological leaning of some of the authors of the testimonies previously cited is clear. Undoubtedly, they are the ones who had the greatest chance of gaining access to the National zone, in which the Carlist militia was present. However, from the republican camp, too, opinions were voiced with respect to Carlism – sometimes based on first-hand testimonies, and at other times the product of previous knowledge applied to the war.

Ernst Hemingway was one of those who voiced his opinions and, in his *For whom the bell tolls* describes in this way a *requeté* who has just been shot dead:

From examining his military papers he knew the boy was from Tafalla in Navarra, twenty-one years old, unmarried, and the son of a blacksmith. His regiment was the Nth cavalry, which surprised Robert Jordan [the American protagonist], for he had believed that regiment to be in the North. He was a Carlist, and he had been wounded at the fighting for Irun at the start of the war.

I’ve probably seen him run through the streets ahead of the bulls at the Feria in Pamplona, Robert Jordan thought. You never kill anyone that you want to kill in a war, he said to himself. Well, hardly ever, he amended and went on reading the letters (Hemingway, 1964: 286).

Indirectly, and based on the testimony of Jesús Monzón, Koestler described the situation in Navarre in some detail, highlighting – in particular – the bloody repression. Monzón’s testimony was particularly important for Koestler, as it offered “a clear picture of the terroristic methods employed in the very stronghold of the insurgents”. He goes on to cite Monzón’s exact words:

At the news that the Governor of the town had left, an enraged crowd collected in the market-place, thirsting for victims. The first to be killed were some Carlists who, owing to their red belts and ties, were taken for Marxists. The alignment of social forces in Navarre, Spain’s Vendée, was still favourable to the ‘Frente Popular’, the membership of which was only two or three thousand.

He continues quoting Monzón: “Anyone known to be a Left-Winger was killed”, and he cites “Stella, Mayor of Pamplona, a Catholic and Basque Nationalist. The

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22. “[L]es Requetes avaient eux aussi une tendance à se considérer comme des corps francs; ils n’avaient pas grande sympathie pour l’armée régulière espagnole, que certains Navarrais appelaient chez eux *l’armée d’occupation*” (Duval, 1938: 69, underlined in the original).

23. On the relationships between Campbell and Carlism, see Lizarza 1991:03.

massacres continued the whole afternoon; nearly every teacher in the place was killed” (Koestler, 1937: 91).<sup>24</sup>

In short, we are talking about a propagandist use of information, the putting into practice of a system of influence which resorted to clichés and common-places in order to give them a new orientation, a meaning in accordance with the goals of the two sides in the conflict.

The situation would not be so clear in the period that followed the Civil War. The presence of foreigners decreased and, with regard to Carlism, outside interest would only be sparked by the religious pilgrimages – Carlist processions – to Montejurra in the 1960s.<sup>25</sup> Although the national and foreign media showed great interest in reporting these events, their perspective on the Carlist phenomenon was by now clearly different from the views of Carlism that we have so far mentioned.

#### 4. SCIENTIFIC DETACHMENT BEFORE AN OBJECT OF HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

As we have seen, the Carlist movement of the 1960s was regarded as an object of curiosity – and as such it was reflected in the international press. However, unlike what had happened in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this curiosity was not the result of exoticism or of a romantic approach to a would-be utopia, but a result of media interest – the search for current affairs news stories. Carlism no longer evoked impassioned reactions “for and against” – of love or hate – but had become a phenomenon subject to analysis and observation. This was the general attitude of those journalists who approached the slopes of Montejurra, especially from the early part of the 1960s (Caspistegui, 1997).

So, in 1964, and after the expectation aroused by the wedding of the prince and princess, certain sources refer to the huge figure of 300 correspondents present at Montejurra (*Le Figaro*, *New York Times*, *Le Monde*, *The Times*, *France-Presse*, *Paris Match*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *The Observer*, the BBC, the Dutch Catholic Broadcasting Corporation, *Daily Telegraph*, etc.).<sup>26</sup> According to the

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24. He writes that the mayor of Pamplona was called Stella, when in fact the man assassinated was the mayor of Estella, Fortunato Aguirre.

25. A striking incident, recorded by Chodakiewicz 2003: 93-4, is the proclamation of the “Insurgents of Catholic Poland”, who, in 1948, during a protest against collectivisation, proclaimed: “Let us, brother insurgents, go into the battle, not sparing our lives and blood for God, faith, and the fatherland, with a song on our lips, a rosary and a rifle in our hand”, which is reminiscent, as Chodakiewicz points out, of the Carlist trilemma.

26. In the *Diario de Navarra* (5-5-1964, p. 16), María Antonia Estévez pointed to the contradictory impressions of these correspondents, as well as to the mental baggage of clichés and stereotypical ideas with which they attended the processions. They had met up the day before in Pamplona, in order to attend the presentation of the event in the residence of Eugenio Arraiza, one of the Navarrese Carlist leaders (Note from the delegate of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. 2-5-1964, 19’30 hrs. Archivo General de la Administración – henceforth: AGA –. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417). Other notes from the same source (3-5-1964, 11’20 y 14’00. AGA. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417) pointed to the arrival of further correspondents.

*Paris Match* more than 150,000 people had gathered for the Carlist procession. This was not the only year in which correspondents attended, although in other years they would not be present in such large numbers. In 1969 there were representatives of French, German and English television networks, and correspondents from several newspapers.<sup>27</sup> A team from a Dutch television network offered coverage of the processions on a regular basis and was present in 1971<sup>28</sup> and in 1973 – in this last case, they broadcast a special report about the procession, featuring an interview with Carlos-Hugo and Irene.<sup>29</sup> In the years that followed there are numerous references to the attendance, the nature of the processions and a great interest in the (by now) frequent altercations that took place in the proximity. In fact, representatives of the agencies AP, AFP, UPI and Reuter were present to report the occurrences of 1976, as was a team from the British TV network the BBC and, also, representation of *Il Corriere della Sera*. That is the clearest indication that the focus of interest was not Carlism, but the situation of an ageing dictatorship. After the occurrences of 1976, and coinciding with the changed political situation in Spain, this foreign media presence practically disappeared from the scene.

In the early part of the 1960s the interest of the press was attracted by the informative novelty of the recent and controversial wedding between Princess Irene of Holland and Carlos Hugo de Borbón. As the decade advanced, however, its interest became focused on the increasing signs of opposition to Franco's régime – within an international context in which Franco was, apparently, becoming more and more isolated – and on the Basque region. The presence of foreign correspondents at the Carlist processions at Montejurra was somehow linked to the Basque issue, in which Carlist events formed an increasingly significant part.

Another expression of foreign interest in the Carlist movement was academic.<sup>30</sup> Beneath the uniform facade of Carlism lay a diversity of manifestations which scarcely seemed to fit the stereotypes in vogue. Mark Kurlansky reflects this when he affirms that

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27. Report dated: 4-5-1969 (AGA. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417).

28. 3-5-1971. AGA. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417, Carp. MO 30150.

29. Note from the Information Minister at the embassy in The Hague (9-5-1973. AGA. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417). The report was included in the current affairs programme *Hier en Nu* on the Dutch channel W.C.R.V. (8-5 at 22'50). Princess Irene affirmed, in the interview: "In Holland, one cannot even remotely imagine the police state which is Spain". See, also, note dated: 11-5-1973 (AGA. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417, Carp. MO 30150). Another report, issued by the State Security Service, pointed to the great interest that the Dutch media had shown in the said Montejurra, underlining, in particular, the impact of the television programme – due as much to the expressiveness of the images (the princess surrounded by Carlists chanting "Revolution! Revolution!") as to the speech given by the daughter of Queen Juliana (24-5-1973. AGA. Cultura, C<sup>a</sup> 417, Carp. MO 30150).

30. As Jordi Canal points out, academic interest in Carlism is awakened, to a large extent, from the 1970s onwards: "The uninterrupted growth taking place since the 1970s is particularly interesting [...] brought about by the coinciding of a rewriting of the history of Carlism from a Neo-Carlist or Neotraditionalist point of view with the onset of a scientific analysis of the Carlist phenomenon." (Canal, 2000: 403, 425-426; also see González Calleja, 2000).

Though today Carlism seems extremist, in the volatile nineteenth century, Carlists were often seen as romantic figures. They were the underdogs, the brave and hardworking people of the countryside, fighting the powerful (Kurlansky, 2000: 145).

It is not surprising that one of the references retrieved during this period is that of Marxism, to which constant allusion is made, in order to demonstrate the correctness of the reformist path adopted by self-governing Carlism.

Around the end of the 1960s or beginning of the 1970s, in the Anglo-Saxon world, there developed an increasing interest in the history of Spain, especially regarding the origins, the development and the consequences of the Civil War. The pioneering work of Gerald Brenan – who from the time of the conflict itself addressed the historical issues involved, devoting considerable attention to the Carlist movement – could be regarded as a forerunner in this respect. In the preface to the first edition of his *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1943), Brenan affirmed that Spain had produced two genuine political products, anarchism and Carlism: “the one seeks to realize a dream of the remote future, the other to recapture an idealized past”. In fact, he dedicated a chapter to Carlism, linking it to a peculiar feature: “At the bottom of Carlism [...] there is a great deal of anarchism, and anarchism is only possible [...] when there is agreement as to certain essentials”. This agreement was the unity of thought and of belief (Brenan, 1964: XVII and 205).

Following on from him, other authors, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world, have approached Carlism with growing interest and free from sentimentalism, although on occasions in a tone suggesting a certain degree of sympathy. In 1967, Edgar Holt, a specialist in military history, focused his attention on the Carlist Wars, described from the perspective of traditional political history. However, what stands out, more than the description of military incidents, is the epilogue (“The enduring faith”), in which he points out that after 1876 “[t]he wars were over, but Carlism lived on. The Carlists had given way under the pressure of overwhelming numbers brought against them. They had not surrendered their beliefs”. In his description of Carlism after the 19<sup>th</sup> century he rejects the idea of regarding the civil war of 1936 as a Carlist war, and points to the apparent paradox that “many Basques were no longer prepared to fight for their old cause of God, Country and King”.<sup>31</sup> The Basques, in contrast to what had happened in the 19th century, were no longer bound to the ideas of traditional Carlism. Despite all this, in 1967 (the year in which this work was published) and, perhaps, in a romantic vein, Holt wrote that “the old memories still live” and that “The Carlists have not lost their faith in God, Country, King and *fueros*”. A historiographical analysis which, as we approach the present day, becomes

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31. As John Coverdale points out (Coverdale 1984: 7, for the citation, and 8), “[w]e must resist the temptation to explain it exclusively in terms of differential factors specific to the Basque country”, although he then adds that “a satisfactory explanation must account for Carlism’s special strength in the north”. It is a question of analysing with the eyes of academic reason, rather than with the heart or with the bias of prejudice.

mixed with stereotypes of colourful local traditions, as befitting a country in vogue and still regarded as being something out of the ordinary<sup>32</sup>.

In this context, the work of Martin Blinkhorn – applied particularly to the study of Carlism during the II Republic, but revealing a general interest in the phenomenon – is worthy of note for the complexity that he introduces in his study of the Carlist movement during a period of crucial importance. In the preface to his study of Carlism in the II Republic he observed:

The 1930s marked the centenary of a movement which had throughout that time exercised a powerful influence upon Spanish history, either directly or as a point of reference for other parties, interests and ideologies. In a broader, European setting, Carlism represents the outstanding example of a popular movement of the ultra-conservative, as distinct from the fascist right. Fascism has been intensively studied in recent years, ultra-conservatism or traditionalism less so; study of a traditionalist movement of so classic type as Carlism may therefore enhance appreciably our understanding of the extreme right in all its forms. The Carlist movement thus merits scholarly attention not only on account of its role in the affairs of Spain, but also by virtue of its place in the wider spectrum of European right-wing politics and ideas (Blinkhorn, 1975: VII).

From here, the trail of the most significant manifestations of Carlism led him to the Basque Country and to Navarre. He was an advocate of more detailed studies of the subject, and warned against the loss of references which could prove useful for such research (Blinkhorn, 1988).

Within this growing interest in Carlism, as shown from a clearly academic perspective, it is worth mentioning the work of John F. Coverdale, *The Basque Phase of Spain's First Carlist War*. In this work the perspective transcended – as it does in the work of M. Blinkhorn – what can be regarded as merely political, and even transcended the period which was, strictly speaking, wartime: “It is fashionable to explain phenomena like Carlism in terms of economic and social conflict”. What is more, in his study of Carlism, he tried to establish its place in an overall international context, eliminating those traits of an exceptional nature and of entomological rarity which still appeared in the studies realized by preceding authors: “[Carlism] was part of the larger European transition from the *ancien régime* to the secular, capitalist, liberal society of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe”. In fact, in the best tradition of “new histories”, he reflected on certain questions, the potential repercussions of which, at the time he wrote, were clear: “Why was Carlism so much more successful in the Basque country and Navarra than in other parts of Spain?” (Coverdale, 1984: 3, 5, 307). The account of the Carlist past was not marked by considerations of folk traditions, nor by nostalgia or sym-

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32. Holt 1967: pp. 270-86; citations from pp. 270, 283 and 286, respectively. John Coverdale (1984: 5) is critical of the excessive importance conceded (as recognized by the author) to the British presence. As Javier Ugarte points out in a thought-provoking article (Ugarte 2000: 163), this hermeneutic reading of history shows a “cultural homogeneity which, in fact, does not exist”, even if only because it lacks important elements of analysis necessary for a full understanding of a phenomenon which goes beyond what can be considered as purely political.

pathy, but by a desire to respond to reasoned questions about a past which seemed strange when compared to the present.

In the same way, and more recently, Jeremy MacClancy has applied himself to studying the Carlist phenomenon from an anthropological standpoint, even though his perspective remains unmistakably historical – perhaps more clearly so than is usual in research of this nature. In fact, in the “Preface” to his book he pointed out: “It is a sustained attempt to examine [...] the complex reality of an evolving, multifaceted process”. And he added: “this book is neither a standard political history nor a conventional ethnography”. He advocated an integrative perspective which would include political history and traditional ethnography, with the aim of carrying out a bottom-up study (MacClancy, 2000: XIII).

In any case, the common trait of this kind of approach to Carlism is its academic component – in other words, an attempt to come close to scientific objectivity. A good example of this is offered by J. MacClancy himself: “I have tried hard not to cast moral judgement, but to translate from one set of cultures (the Carlist) to another set (those of Western academe)” (MacClancy, 2000: XVI). The attribution of a professional status to those who carry out the observations would, in a manner of speaking, convert them into social scientists – not necessarily implicated in what they observe, though unable to avoid its being conditioned by their own point of view.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this brief review of some foreign points of view regarding Carlism has not been to carry out a cataloguing of those interested in the phenomenon. It is clear that studies of the subject, to date, have left many gaps which could yet prove to be a source of great interest. In any case, on the basis of selected examples, it is possible to draw some general conclusions – a starting point for future study:

1. Perhaps, as an operative addition to the typology sketched out at the beginning, the foreign presence, and interest shown in the Carlist phenomenon, could be classified into four periods:
  - a) Around the time of the First Carlist War, and the years immediately afterwards (approximately between 1830 and 1860), this interest could be described as a *romantic* interest. Not only from counterrevolutionary positions, but even from a standpoint of moderate liberalism – doctrinairism – Carlism was regarded sympathetically, as a manifestation of a struggle to attain one’s own ideals. It would seem that, in a manner of speaking, the motivation behind the presence of foreigners in the camp of Charles V was similar to the idealism that led Lord Byron to Missolonghi.
  - b) From the 1860s onwards interest in Carlism was in decline – to a large extent because it meant, increasingly, a recourse to the past, and because of its resistance to change and its reactionary character. It was a process

which paralleled the decline of the movement as a political force, with the exception of the Third Carlist War (which received less attention than the First). European societies had undergone profound transformations, and had distanced themselves clearly from a philosophy deemed to be excessively linked to the *ancien régime*. This situation continued until the 1920s.

c) Around the time of the Civil War (from approximately 1930 until 1940), Carlism once again became a focus of foreign attention, within a conflict which formed a backdrop throughout these years – the conflict between fascism and antifascism. The hardening of attitudes during these years meant a search for outlets and paths, and Carlism was an example of this: rooted in the past, though with renewed vigour and playing a prominent role in the Civil War – a prominence which would serve to demonstrate the validity of its proposals.

d) Since the 1960s Carlism has appeared as an object of scientific interest or as a topical news story. The personal involvement that was characteristic of past periods has all but disappeared – although it is always possible to come across exceptions. Carlism – which is steadily disappearing from the social and political spheres – is on the point of being relegated to history, as a discipline.

2. It is not easy to provide comprehensive coverage of a phenomenon which, despite its goals of continuity and survival, changes considerably over time and when, for this reason, the images that identify it, and the perceptions that people have of it, change too. Any long-term study of Carlism must take into account the long span of time that the phenomenon covers – one of the most characteristic traits of Carlism being precisely, as Jordi Canal points out, its survival over time. One possible response to this is suggested by Carolyn P. Boyd:

Future studies of Carlism will benefit from this broadening of the historical lens, both by facilitating its comparison with other movements on the European right, and by introducing historiographical approaches that add the perspectives of the new cultural history to the political and social history that has until now characterized the study of Spanish traditionalism (Boyd, 2003: 124).

3. The construction of our picture of “reality” (as regards the phenomenon of Carlism) has its origins in some stereotypes about the Spaniards and, in particular, about the Basque people, increasingly adapted to the historical and significant context. This construction took its main elements from a long tradition of foreign views.

In short, and as happens in the case of any historical phenomenon, it is possible to obtain from the views of “others” a new perspective – a means of obtaining a better understanding and improved knowledge of Carlism. An attitude of assumed innocence or, on occasions, of neutrality and curiosity about the unknown may turn out to be invaluable instruments to help us approach a phenomenon of historical reality, which, for all its complexity, is no less attractive.

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