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# Political Objects in the Age of Revolutions

Material Culture, National Identities, Political Practices



VIELLA

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## Green Ribbons and Red Berets: Political Objects and Clothing in Spain (1808-1843)\*

A handkerchief, a fan, a green or purple ribbon,  
in the preferred colours of the liberals, were  
enough to warrant the hatred of the masses.

Modesto Lafuente, *Historia General de España* (1865)<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

The growing interest among historians in political objects stems from the material turn witnessed in the social sciences since the 1990s. The linguistic and cultural turns – which resulted in a boom of studies looking at discourse and representations – has run its course, and material culture has since returned to the centre of historiographical debate.<sup>2</sup> “Small” everyday objects, and their changing relationships with key social actors, are increasingly at the centre of attention. Far from being mere accessories or simply providing material evidence of historical transformations, everyday objects played a central role in defining a new relationship with politics in the Age of Revolution. People’s interaction with these artefacts contributed to the definition of new subjectivities and the construction of collective and national identities. Through their personal relationship with these items, consumers participated in a shared cultural horizon and used ordinary practices in the public and private spheres to establish a link with the political community.

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1. Modesto Lafuente, *Historia General de España*, vol. XXVIII, Madrid, Imprenta del Banco Industrial y Mercantil, 1865, p. 294.

2. *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, ed. by Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, New York, Routledge, 2010; Katrina Navickas, “A Return to Materialism? Putting Social History Back into Place”, in *New Directions in Cultural and Social History*, ed. by Sasha Handley, Rohan McWilliam and Lucy Noakes, London, Bloomsbury, 2018, pp. 87-108; Leora Auslander, “Beyond Words”, *The American Historical Review*, 110/4 (2005), pp. 1015-1045.

The study of political objects began with pioneering works on the French Revolution and has since spread across Europe.<sup>3</sup> Spain has remained on the relative margins of this trend, however. Political historians remain more focussed on symbology, iconography and visual culture than on the material aspects of the media through which messages were conveyed,<sup>4</sup> while experts on material culture usually pay little attention to the political dimension of objects.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter constitutes an initial approach to what is an emerging field of research in Spain.<sup>6</sup> We focus on the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1808-1843) – a turbulent period characterised by the conflict between revolution and counter-revolution, during which new ways of doing politics were being trialled. Objects from foreign lands were increasingly adapted and turned into symbols of emerging political cultures.

In terms of sources, while objects destined for use by the elite have survived to the present day in museums, there is little trace of those objects geared towards the masses. Tracing these requires the collation of disperse references found in police reports, memoirs, *costumbrista* literature, engravings and press advertising. Moreover, we must adopt a transnational perspective when studying Spanish objects. The channels through which they were produced and distributed, and the ways in which fashions evolved, stemmed from European trends. French and British workshops anticipated the demand and adapted their formats to events in Spain in order to capture new markets. Likewise, key players under foreign influence learned to use new objects and adapted their uses and meanings to the dynamics of the local conflict.

Political objects have historically been unevenly distributed across Spain, owing to the rhythm of the changes experienced in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: periods of revolution characterised by the press freedom contrasted with absolutist reactions that restricted the distribution of objects and relegated them to more conventional formats (such as portraits of the king) or to the private sphere. Hence, most political objects that have survived to the present day focus on three well-

3. Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*, Berg, Oxford, 2002; Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France*, University Park (PA), Pennsylvania State University, 2013; “Storia e cultura materiale: recenti traiettorie di ricerca”, ed. by Alessio Petrizzo and Carlotta Sorba, *Contemporanea*, 3 (2016), pp. 439-482; “Culture visuali e forme di politicizzazione nel lungo ’800 europeo”, ed. by Gian Luca Fruci and Alessio Petrizzo, *Passato e presente*, 100 (2017), pp. 25-54.

4. *Historia de las Culturas Políticas en España y América Latina*, 6 vols, Madrid-Zaragoza, Marcial Pons-Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2014-2016.

5. Jesús Cruz, *El surgimiento de la cultura burguesa. Personas, hogares y ciudades en la España del siglo XIX*, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2014; *Consumo, condiciones de vida y comercialización. Cataluña y Castilla, siglos XVII-XIX*, ed. by Bartolomé Yun Casalilla and Jaime Torras, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 1999; *Comprar, vender y consumir. Nuevas aportaciones a la historia del consumo en la España Moderna*, ed. by Daniel Muñoz Navarro, Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 2011.

6. *Ciudadanos. El nacimiento de la política en España (1808-1869)*, ed. by Emilio La Parra, Madrid, Fundación Pablo Iglesias, 2010, pp. 144-351.

defined moments in Spanish history: the Peninsular War (known in Spain as the War of Independence) (1808-1814); the *Trienio Liberal* (“Liberal Triennium”) (1820-1823); and the *Trienio Progresista* (“Progressive Triennium”) (1840-1843). That said, outside of these periods when many such items emerged, and beyond museum display cases, there are objects that were shorter-lived and therefore more difficult to trace – coloured ribbons, garments and religious prints, for example – but nonetheless crucial to the more widespread politicisation.

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Spain was engaged in a civil war (whether outwardly declared or latent) in which conflicting sides attempted to gain dominance in the public sphere.<sup>7</sup> Patriots and *afrancesados*, liberals and royalists, and *carlistas* and *isabelinos*,<sup>8</sup> all deployed a new repertoire of symbols, colours, rituals and slogans, which were expressed materially in the form of objects that identified the warring sides. Certain items took on sacred connotations and became the targets of iconoclasm, bringing the appropriation of sovereignty and the “war of symbols” into the material realm.<sup>9</sup> The battle of symbols thus assumed a tangible aspect that enabled the conflict to be channelled into violence against material things. Iconoclasm was directed not only at objects with an explicitly political connotation but at those whose meaning depended on a context which is less clear (and often difficult to reconstruct). Quarrels in streets and taverns took on a political dimension when one of the parties attributed meaning to an everyday object, such as an item of clothing or an accessory in a certain colour. Consequently, objects were at the centre of the politicisation of daily life.

## 2. *The War of Independence (1808-1814)*

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, everyday objects such as fans, boxes, snuffboxes, tableware and pendants typically bore *costumbrista* or mythological scenes, urban landscapes and portraits of the Royal Family. However, the French Revolution awoke Spaniards’ interest in objects that reflected events in their neighbouring country. The cordon sanitaire established by Floridablanca in 1789 to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas in Spain would affect not only printed material but the boxes, fans and all manner of artefacts that contained political messages. Because the Inquisition controlled borders and kept a close eye on merchants and fashion boutiques importing garments from France, we now have access to fans, snuffboxes, waistcoats bearing political markings, handkerchiefs hailing the guillotine or canes shaped like the

7. Jordi Canal, “Guerra civil y contrarrevolución en la Europa del sur en el siglo XIX: reflexiones a partir del caso español”, *Ayer*, 55 (2004), pp. 37-60.

8. *Afrancesados* (“Frenchified”), i.e. those who supported Joseph Bonaparte (Napoleon’s brother) during the War of Independence (1808-1814). From 1833 to 1840, a civil war pitted the *carlistas* (Carlists, i.e. those loyal to Carlos María Isidro, Ferdinand VII’s brother) against the *isabelinos* or *crístinos* (those loyal to Isabella II of Spain and the Queen Mother, the Regent Maria Christina).

9. Emmanuel Fureix, *L’œil blessé: Politiques de l’iconoclisme après la Révolution française*, Paris, Champ Vallon, 2019.

Liberty Tree.<sup>10</sup> In Bilbao in the 1790s, the Inquisition confiscated 15 fans bearing scenes from the Storming of the Bastille and other revolutionary depictions.<sup>11</sup> A snuffbox with the inscription “Vive la Asemblée Nationale” was found in Vélez, and a watch fob engraved with “Vive la liberté” was found in Zaragoza.<sup>12</sup> Though anecdotal, these episodes demonstrate that the Spanish authorities were aware of the propagandist power of objects and feared that a penchant for French fashions could become a vehicle for spreading revolutionary ideas.

Censure could not stop French ideas from crossing the border. However, it was not the contagion effect that hastened the changes but the crisis at the very heart of the Spanish monarchy. The Revolt of Aranjuez on 17 March 1808 resulted in the fall of Godoy and the abdication of Charles IV of Spain in favour of his son, Ferdinand VII. Given the instability of the monarchy, Napoleon believed he could dethrone its corrupt head to take control of the body politic and place his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. However, the Emperor had underestimated the ability of traditional bodies (the nobility, clergy and municipal councils) to channel widespread opposition against foreign invasion. Spanish resistance and British military support plunged the country into a spiral of war, popular armed uprisings, institutional collapse and clashing ideas, creating new space for politics.<sup>13</sup> Together with the press, propaganda, prints and proclamations, objects began to circulate, exalting patriotism and commemorating episodes of resistance against the French. Material culture played a crucial role in defining national heroes, spreading national sentiment and establishing a collective memory of military deeds.

In 1813, several fan models reached Spain from Great Britain depicting the events of the Peninsular War. British manufacturers exploited the opportunity to design models with political motifs based on prints circulating in Spain. Behrmann & Collmann in London was behind most political fans preserved from the period.<sup>14</sup> The fan-leaves were made from printed paper and sometimes mounted on wooden ribs. They could be mass produced and sold cheaply. Among the most widely reproduced images was the defence of the Monte León artillery barracks during the Dos de Mayo Uprising of 1808 in Madrid, based on a print by Tomás López Enguídanos (see Fig. 1).<sup>15</sup> Another model by Behrmann & Collmann shows the moment when Godoy, the favourite of Charles IV of Spain, was arrested following

10. Juan Francisco Fuentes, “Moda y lenguaje en la crisis social del antiguo régimen”, in *L’image de la France en Espagne pendant la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by Jean-René Aymes, Alicante, Instituto de cultura “Juan Gil-Albert”, 1996, pp. 85-95.

11. Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Inquisición, 4429, exp. 6; Joaquín Ezquerro del Bayo, *Exposición del abanico en España. Catálogo general ilustrado*, Madrid, Imprenta Blass y Compañía, 1920, pp. 37-38.

12. Fuentes, “Moda y lenguaje”, p. 92; Philip Deacon, “Juan Meléndez Valdés en la Real Sociedad Económica Aragonesa, 1789-1791 (Con unos datos sobre Goya)”, *Dieciocho*, 15 (1995), pp. 95-148.

13. *Guerra de ideas: política y cultura en la España de la Guerra de la Independencia*, ed. by Pedro Rújula and Jordi Canal, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2011.

14. Behrmann and Collmann, British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG144089>.

15. Museo de Historia de Madrid [MHM], inv. 7624, inv. 2228 and inv. 2229.

the Revolt of Aranjuez.<sup>16</sup> After his fall from grace, portraits of Godoy were burned and his image removed from books and printing plates, triggering a period of political iconoclasm that would intensify in the decades to come.<sup>17</sup>

Other themes on British fans included: the repression of rebels in Madrid by French soldiers on the Paseo del Prado; an allegory of the Spanish triumph in the Battle of Bailén; a portrait of the Duke of Wellington following victory in the Battle of Salamanca; and several depictions of the freeing of Ferdinand VII.<sup>18</sup> There was also a plethora of portraits of guerrillas on horseback including Julián Sánchez *El Charro*, Juan Martín Díez *El Empecinado* and Juan Palarea.<sup>19</sup> In addition to fans, snuffboxes were imported. One surviving example bears a portrait of the Duke of Wellington along with mention of his victories on the Peninsula.<sup>20</sup> These objects originated in London, mostly around 1813. They depict various aspects of patriotic and British propaganda during the war: the importance of the Madrid uprising; the exaltation of Ferdinand VII; the role of the British generals; and the guerrilla as the embodiment of popular resistance.

In addition to these examples from Great Britain, there are local items of more working-class origin. The most notable are ceramics from Talavera (Toledo), intended for everyday use. This style of ceramics could respond to changes in demand caused by the politicisation of society. Jugs, plates, bowls and pitchers adopted a new political repertoire that reflected patriotic and constitutional themes as well as absolutist perspectives.<sup>21</sup> Motifs from the period include allegorical scenes from the Constitution of 1812, crude depictions of generals and guerrillas from the patriotic side, satirical scenes ridiculing the French enemy and portraits of Ferdinand VII. One fine example is a jug with an equestrian image of the guerrilla Juan Palarea *El medico* ("The Doctor", Fig. 2). Spain was also the source of fans designed for the working classes, which owe their cruder aesthetic to having been produced in secret by anonymous printers.<sup>22</sup>

Most objects made in Spain were produced amid pressing circumstances and a climate of resistance. They were short-lived and designed for immediate use, and are therefore more difficult to track down in museums. We will look first at prints which, being cheaper, were the most accessible political object for the

16. MHM, inv. 7623 and 4621; Museo Nacional del Romanticismo [MNR], inv. CE2475.

17. Jesusa Vega, "Estampas de la crisis bélica contra Napoleón: escenarios, víctimas, héroes y gestas", in *El dominio de la realidad y la crisis del discurso. El nacimiento de la conciencia europea*, ed. by Concepción Camarero Bullón and Juan Carlos Gómez Alonso, Madrid, Polifemo, 2017, p. 131.

18. MHM, inv. 2230, 2003/17/642, 2003/17/643 and 4671; *Abanicos. La colección del Museo Municipal de Madrid*, ed. by Isabel Tuda and Maria Josefa Pastor, Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2002.

19. Museo de la Armería de Álava, inv. 0759; fans of *El Empecinado* and Palarea (Behrmann & Collmann) in the British Museum, inv. 1891,0713.396 and 1891,0713.366.

20. MHM, inv. 2.279.

21. Miguel Cabañas Bravo, "La imagen de Fernando VII y la Guerra de la Independencia en la cerámica de Talavera", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 267 (1994), pp. 243-256.

22. MHM, inv. 4925; Jesusa Vega, "Fernando VII: resistencia y deseo", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 14/4 (2013), p. 358.

masses.<sup>23</sup> Prints formed a key part of the material culture and domestic equipment of the working classes. They were used as protective amulets, carried in handbags or hung on the walls of their homes.<sup>24</sup> The trade in prints took a turn from 1808 when engravers modified their plates to meet the growing demand for patriotic objects.<sup>25</sup> Among the most popular prints were portraits of Ferdinand VII, of Spanish and British generals and of guerrilla leaders, in addition to patriotic allegories and scenes of resistance in cities such as Madrid, Barcelona and Zaragoza. The engraver Juan Carrafa sold a successful line of calling cards illustrated with the most important episodes from the war (Fig. 3). There was also a proliferation of satirical prints and caricatures of Napoleon and Joseph I, the tone of which was adapted to suit popular taste. Joseph Bonaparte was portrayed as a drunken gambler with the nickname “Pepe Botella” (Pepe Bottle) or “Rey de copas” (King of Cups), depicted with his arms around a barrel or wearing clothes made from playing cards and wine glasses.<sup>26</sup>

While prints were made for people to look at and hang on their walls, they were also attached to clothing. In Barcelona, cockades were printed with the portrait of Ferdinand VII, patriotic slogans and “death to Napoleon”. They were produced on paper, silk or Moroccan leather and worn on a lapel or hat as a symbol of support for the resistance.<sup>27</sup> Both Spain and America have a wide variety of cockades bearing portraits of the monarch, his initials (“FVII” or “F7<sup>o</sup>”) or his motto (“Viva Fernando VII” [“Long Live Ferdinand VII”]). These could be worn alongside the red fabric cockade – the traditional emblem of the royal army adopted as a national insignia by the patriots. The *Diario de Madrid* advertised red satin cockades with a picture of the king and the inscription “Viva Fernando VII”. These were sold for 4, 3 and 2 *reales* – an accessible sum for all members of society.<sup>28</sup> The red cockade became a symbol of patriotic resistance during uprisings against Napoleon. In Zaragoza, on 24 May 1808, the peasants – identified by a red cockade in their hat – rebelled against the Captain General, triggering hostilities against the French.<sup>29</sup> The same occurred in Sevilla, Valencia,

23. Juan Carrete Parrondo, “Estampas del Dos de Mayo de 1808 en Madrid. Entre la historia y la propaganda”, in *Madrid. 1808: ciudad y protagonistas*, Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2008, pp. 159-170; Laura Corrales, “La iconografía de la guerra del Francès (1808-1814)”, in *La Guerra del Francès: 200 anys després*, ed. by Ramon Arnabat, Tarragona, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2013, pp. 103-144.

24. Carmen Ortiz García, “Papeles para el pueblo. hojas sueltas y otros impresos de consumo masivo en la España de finales del siglo XIX”, in *Palabras para el pueblo: Aproximación general a la literatura de cordel*, ed. by Luis Díaz G. Viana, Madrid, CSIC, pp. 145-190.

25. Vega, “Estampas de la crisis bélica contra Napoleón”, pp. 129-312.

26. Emilio de Diego, “Medios de difusión: la calle”, in *Guerra de ideas*, pp. 313-330.

27. Raymundo Ferrer, *Barcelona cautiva, o sea diario exacto de lo ocurrido en la misma ciudad mientras la oprimieron los franceses*, vol. III, Barcelona, Imprenta Antonio Brusi, 1816, pp. 314-315 and Appendix 2, pp. 51-52.

28. Vega, “Fernando VII”, p. 375.

29. Pedro Rújula, “Zaragoza (1808-1809): El mito de la resistencia popular”, in *Los sitios en la Guerra de la Independencia: la lucha en las ciudades*, ed. by Gonzalo Butrón Prida and Pedro Rújula, Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, 2011, p. 19.

Alicante and other cities that rose up against Napoleon that May.<sup>30</sup> There are also examples of satin ribbons bearing patriotic slogans, handkerchiefs with the image of the king, medallions, and portraits which were hung around the neck. Monarchical mottos were embroidered into garments, *mantillas* (shawls), hats and other accessories. As Jesusa Vega has shown, such objects were “quick to produce, could be carried discretely and, if need be, easy to hide and destroy”.<sup>31</sup> Hence, they were perfectly suited to the climate of resistance and secrecy. Their short-lived nature (they had an immediate political use) has made it hard for us to track them down.

The portrait and motto of the monarch were the most effective way to arouse emotions and keep the resistance alive. The absent king became omnipresent through images; he was everywhere and nowhere at once. His orphaned people used objects to express their love and personal loyalty to the idealised king, himself now an object of longing.

In addition to the king, religion was also key to driving the resistance. Patriots carried religious prints and scapulars invoking divine protection during battle.<sup>32</sup> Defenders of the city of Zaragoza attached prints to their hats bearing images of the *Virgen del Pilar* (Our Lady of the Pillar), which were handed out by women.<sup>33</sup> At a time when civilians were fighters and religion was the great ideological weapon of the resistance, carrying a scapular or print of the Virgin could be taken as a sign of one’s political leanings.

Images from the period enable us to reconstruct how patriotic objects were used in day-to-day life. One print depicts a Valencian vegetable farmer burning French soldiers at the stake (Fig. 4).<sup>34</sup> His hat bears a ribbon securing three prints and bearing the motto “Viva FVII”, while a scapular hangs around his neck. This example shows how prints and ribbons became the political objects par excellence given their low cost and the ease with which they could be produced, distributed and hidden to evade suppression.

Lastly, engraving was used to personalise everyday objects and confer political meaning upon them. Merchants sold portraits of Ferdinand VII stamped on fabric for decorating snuffboxes, fans, medallions, belts, combs and other artefacts.<sup>35</sup> Silversmiths advertised decorated low-relief busts of the king carved in silver, intended for adorning snuffboxes, medallions, belts, cockades and combs.<sup>36</sup> Anyone was thus able to personalise an object to show their loyalty to the king, without having to acquire a costly imported item.

30. Rafael Pérez, *Madrid en 1808. El relato de un actor*, Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica, 2008, pp. 97, 102 and 104.

31. Vega, “Fernando VII”, p. 357.

32. Pérez, *Madrid en 1808*, p. 134.

33. Francisco Javier Ramón, *La Virgen del Pilar dice... Usos políticos y nacionales de un culto mariano en la España contemporánea*, Zaragoza, Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014, p. 97.

34. *Viva España. Muera Napoleon*, printed anonymously (1808-1813), British Museum, 1878,0112.29; Vega, “Fernando VII”, p. 368.

35. *Diario de Madrid*, 30/10/1812 and 13/10/1808.

36. *Diario de Madrid*, 4/11/1808.



In summary, during the War of Independence, objects were “active players in generating emotions” which helped create a common desire that motivated the masses to join the resistance and thus establish an interpersonal relationship with the king.<sup>37</sup> Patriotic artefacts embodied the wearer’s commitment to the return of Ferdinand VII and were an outward display of the emotional ties (orphanhood, love and desire) that fuelled the fight against the invader. Objects were not simply lifeless evidence of events: they were weapons of war.

### 3. Trienio Liberal (1820-1823), part one: fans, snuffboxes and tableware

On 1 January 1820, Colonel Rafael del Riego proclaimed the Constitution of 1812 in Cabezas de San Juan in the presence of the troops that would be sent off to fight American insurgents. The wave of civilian and military movements triggered by the proclamation forced Ferdinand VII to swear allegiance to the Constitution in March 1820. This led to a period of political transformations that would resonate across Mediterranean Europe.<sup>38</sup> The *Trienio Liberal* was a first attempt to implement the Constitution effectively. It followed the brief yet turbulent experience during the War of Independence (1812-1814) when most of the country was occupied by French troops. The intense politicisation of society driven by the *Cortes* (Parliament), local council elections, the emergence of the press, public opinion, patriotic societies and the formation of the National Militia had an immediate impact on the proliferation of political objects.<sup>39</sup> The *Trienio Liberal* was a golden age for political objects in Spain resulting in an abundance and diversity of artefacts that would not be seen again until the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We will start by describing imported objects aimed principally at an elite audience (e.g., luxury fans, snuffboxes and ceramics) before looking at objects aimed at the working classes.

#### *Fans*

As was the case during the War of Independence, most fans commemorating Riego’s proclamation came from abroad, in this case France. Most pieces were manufactured in factories in Paris and the department of Oise (Andeville-Méru).<sup>40</sup> They were exported to Spain and America, arriving a few months after the successful outcome of the revolution. They were purchased in cities such as Barcelona or Madrid by the middle and upper classes, who wanted to

37. Vega, “Fernando VII”, p. 372.

38. Manuel Chust, Pedro Rújula, *El Trienio Liberal: Revolución e independencia (1820-1823)*, Madrid, Catarata, 2020.

39. *El Trienio Liberal (1820-1823). Una mirada política*, ed. by Pedro Rújula and Ivana Frasset, Granada, Comares, 2020.

40. Musées des Arts Décoratifs, “Deux éventails de la période révolutionnaire”, <https://madparis.fr/francais/musees/musee-des-arts-decoratifs/collections/acquisitions/2019/deux-eventails-fin-xviii-siecle> (accessed 1/6/2020).

demonstrate their allegiance to the new regime.<sup>41</sup> The fans bear adaptations of the characteristic iconography of the French Revolution, such as the liberty cap, the Tablets of the Law and the dance around the Liberty Tree.<sup>42</sup> They mainly depicted the *pronunciamiento*<sup>43</sup> (military revolt) led by liberal military officers in 1820, the swearing of the Constitution by the king, and allegories that exalted the nation, monarchy and religion.<sup>44</sup> These themes were a reflection of the enshrinement of the Constitution and of the worship of symbols and national heroes. Abstract ideas were depicted through allegories that disseminated the principles of the new civic and political culture among the population.

The heroes of the *pronunciamiento* of 1820 included the officers Riego and Quiroga, who were either represented individually or together with Baños and Arco Agüero in a tetralogy of “immortal” heroes.<sup>45</sup> One of the most interesting depictions is the *Exaltation of Riego*. He is represented in the foreground as a liberator, leaning on a royal coat of arms and carrying a sword piercing a serpent (Fig. 5). In the background is a group of civilians dancing around a white and green (the colour of liberalism) flag, alongside a scene depicting the liberation of political prisoners from the absolutist period. In the *Homage to Colonel Quiroga*, a group comprising militiamen from the National Militia, civilians, women and a child dance a celebratory dance around a bust of the hero amid bucolic scenery.<sup>46</sup>

In contrast to the allegorical female figures embodying the Constitution and freedom are depictions of serpents and monstrous creatures representing reactionary forces and despotism.<sup>47</sup> Emancipation is represented by the breaking of chains, the ripping up of proscription lists, the freeing of prisoners or the destruction of the Inquisition Tribunal.<sup>48</sup> Several French fans condemn the Inquisition as an embodiment of fanaticism, oppression and anti-enlightenment.<sup>49</sup> The revolution of 1820 was followed by an assault on the Inquisition headquarters in several cities. However, the myth of the “Spanish Bastille” was soon dispelled

41. Manuel Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria colección Rocamora*, Barcelona, Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1970.

42. Jean Starobinski, 1789. *Los emblemas de la razón*, Madrid, Taurus, 1988; Georgina Letourmy-Bordier, “De Coriolan à la rosière de Salency. Les nouveaux héros et l’incarnation de la vertu représentés sur les éventails au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *European Fans in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Images, Accessories, and Instruments of Gesture*, ed. by Miriam Volmert and Danijela Bucher, Berlin-Boston, Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020, pp. 76-94.

43. A *pronunciamiento* was an insurrection or coup d’état led by military officers, in this case proclaiming the Constitution.

44. Carlos Reyero, *Alegoría, nación y libertad. El Olimpo constitucional de 1812*, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2010, p. 86. See figures 60, 61, 62 and 65.

45. Antonio Quiroga was the highest-ranking soldier to participate in the *pronunciamiento* of 1820, though Rafael del Riego was soon considered the driver of the revolutionary feat.

46. MHM, inv. 2.610.

47. Spelling errors allude to the pieces having originated in France: MHM, inv. 2.609 and 2.612; *Abanicos. La colección del Museo Municipal de Madrid*, pp. 154-155.

48. MHM, inv. 2.608, 2.611, 2.613 and 2.609.

49. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see fans nos 88761, 88766, 88771, 88773 and 88766.

after inquisitorial prisons were found practically empty and with no evidence of the presumed atrocities.<sup>50</sup> Despite these attacks on the clergy and the Inquisition, many of the fans produced in Spain underscored the constitutional link between the monarchy and religion<sup>51</sup> and used Catholic symbolism.<sup>52</sup>

The vast majority of fans bearing constitutional motifs were produced during the first few months of the *Trienio* – not very successfully, it would seem, given the lack of continuity in subsequent years. In any case, the more than 20 different models that have been tracked down (ten times more than in subsequent periods) prove that the *Trienio Liberal* was a golden age for this political object.

The fan was a women's accessory that was also used as a domestic ornament. Fans were especially popular among the middle-to-upper classes, though some models manufactured with cheaper materials (wood and paper) were more affordable.<sup>53</sup> The proliferation of fans was connected to the widespread political engagement of women during the *Trienio*, both on the street and in social gatherings, patriotic societies, public opinion and even in the voluntary National Militia.<sup>54</sup> With these political fans, women erupted into the social sphere and publicly embodied the new liberal values. We are also aware of other objects – *mantillas* (shawls) with constitutional mottos, or green ribbons – that placed women from different levels of society at the centre of the new public sphere, though fewer examples of such objects have survived to the present day.<sup>55</sup>

With the coming of the second absolutist restoration (1823-1833), constitutional fans were hunted down. The domestic setting became a refuge for outlawed objects. In many cases, these posed a real threat to their owner's lives, and they were carefully stowed.<sup>56</sup> In 1824, the *Comisiones Militares Ejecutivas* (Executive Military Commissions) were established. These special tribunals passed summary judgements on political crimes, with the accused often being condemned to death or

50. Francisco Carantoña, "El difícil camino hacia la monarquía constitucional: 1820, del pronunciamiento a la revolución", in *Conspiraciones y pronunciamientos. El rescate de la libertad (1814-1820)*, ed. by Marieta Cantos and Alberto Ramos, Cádiz, Editorial de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2019, pp. 113-148; Luis Alonso Tejada, *Ocaso de la Inquisición en los últimos años de Fernando VII*, Madrid, ZYX, 1969, pp. 23-27; Emilio La Parra, María Ángeles Casado, *La Inquisición en España. Agonía y abolición*, Madrid, Catarata, 2013, pp. 153-171.

51. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see fans nos 88762, 88775, 88774, 88777 and 88768.

52. Reyero, *Alegoría, nación y libertad*, p. 68. See figures 43, 69, 113 and pp. 96 and 173.

53. Richard Stites, *The Four Horsemen: Riding to Liberty in Post-Napoleonic Europe*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 86; *Abanicos de la colección del Museo de Historia de Madrid*, Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2002, p. 158.

54. Jordi Roca Vernet, "Emilia Duguermeur de Lacy, un liderazgo femenino en el liberalismo español", in *Las heroínas de la Guerra de la Independencia*, ed. by Irene Castells, Gloria Espigado and María Cruz Romeo, Madrid, Cátedra, 2009, pp. 371-397.

55. Juan Francisco Fuentes, Pilar Garí, *Amazonas de la libertad. Mujeres liberales contra Fernando VII*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2014, p. 194.

56. Enrico Francia, "Oggetti sediziosi. Censura e cultura materiale nell'Italia della Restaurazione", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 130 (2018), pp. 31-41.

military service.<sup>57</sup> Their victims included María Gutiérrez from Seville, who stood trial in 1824 after she was found to possess a constitutional fan.<sup>58</sup>

Given the risks that these objects posed, they were cleansed of their political references. The inscriptions on the fans of Riego and Quiroga mentioned previously have been rendered illegible (crossed out or painted over).<sup>59</sup> This suggests that words were considered more dangerous than images (the latter could be interpreted more ambiguously). It was likely the owners who removed the text from the fans so that they could still use them or hide them without running such great risk. Though the object was not destroyed, the threat it posed was eliminated by removing the most explicit political references.

### *Boxes, snuffboxes and ceramics*

Whereas the female political object par excellence was the fan, in the case of men this role was played by the snuffbox. These small round boxes were designed to hold snuff (powdered tobacco that is sniffed up the nostril), though they also stored lozenges and powders. They were introduced in Spain in response to French fashions. The custom of inhaling snuff was adopted in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a more civilised habit among distinguished society compared to the popular cigarette.<sup>60</sup> Most snuffboxes bearing political motifs were imported from France and replicated models distributed during the Revolution, the Napoleonic era and the Restoration.<sup>61</sup> They were illustrated with references to the proclamation of the Constitution of 1812, the constitutional oath taken by the monarch and the end of the Inquisition.<sup>62</sup> One of the most popular designs depicted the image of the king's oath as well as a list of important liberals including members of the *Cortes* (Parliament), military heroes, writers and scientists, interspersed with articles from the Constitution.

Another small box bears an image of the four heroes of the proclamation of 1820 (Riego, Quiroga, Baños and Arco Agüero) based on Motte's popular print titled *Les immortels*, which depicts them as a canonical foursome (Fig. 6).<sup>63</sup> Among the other surviving snuffboxes are examples honouring the delegation of French doctors that travelled to Barcelona to help combat the yellow fever epidemic that spread through the city in the summer of 1821.<sup>64</sup>

57. Álvaro París, "*Se susurra en los barrios bajos*". *Policía, opinión y política popular en Madrid (1825-1827)*, PhD dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2016, ch. 5; Pedro Pegenaute, *Represión política en el reinado de Fernando VII. Las comisiones militares (1824-1825)*, Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 1974.

58. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 29/1/1825.

59. See Fig. 5. The inscription on the base of the stele has been crossed out.

60. Joaquín Álvarez de Barrientos, "La civilización como modelo de vida en el Madrid del siglo XVIII", *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 62/2 (2001), p. 160.

61. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see box n. 103403. Museu Frederic Marès [MFM] Barcelona, collection of boxes depicting the Spanish royal family.

62. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see boxes nos 103429, 103415 and 103410, all of them made in France.

63. Charles Étienne Pierre Motte, "Les immortels", 1820 (lithograph): MNR, inv. CE5723.

64. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see box n. 103417.

As was the case with fans, snuffboxes did not manage to carve out a place in the Spanish market. Likewise, their iconography had strong ties to revolutionary and Napoleonic examples originating in France. The fact that snuffboxes were gradually replaced with cigarette boxes is testament to the emergence of intermediate social groups that preferred cigarettes to elitist snuff. In short, fans and snuffboxes were primarily aimed at an elite accustomed to consuming luxury products originating in other parts of Europe. These pieces have reached us through private collections which were incorporated into museums in Barcelona and Madrid in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite their interest, in social terms they are not representative and reveal little information about how political objects circulated among the masses.

A variant of snuffboxes were the small circular boxes or “powder compacts” (*polveras*) containing foldable paper rounds printed with articles from the Constitution (Fig. 7).<sup>65</sup> The latter was also printed in miniature pocket versions decorated with luxury golden covers engraved with the swearing of the Constitution. The quality of the pieces highlights that these were luxury objects, not intended to be read daily, but rather tied to the sacred image attributed to the Constitution itself.

A citizen named Simón Ardit y Quer designed a set of constitutional playing cards which was manufactured in 1822 with funding from the Junta de Comercio (Trade Board) of Barcelona.<sup>66</sup> The cards had huge commemorative value, and many members of the *Cortes* received a set. Most strikingly, the deck makes symbolic references to the new regime, including portraits of the heroes of the War of Independence and of the *pronunciamiento* of 1820, as well as references to the Constitution. However, the monarch is not represented in any of the four suits. In place of kings are crowned lions (a symbol of Spain) holding up the Constitution, overthrowing despotism or stepping on an individual wearing aristocratic attire (Fig. 8).<sup>67</sup>

Next, we come to a somewhat more exclusive French porcelain coffee set decorated with motifs linked to the Constitution, and which likely belonged to someone from the liberal elite.<sup>68</sup> The scenes allude to the dissemination of constitutional culture among the working classes via the reading of printed material in groups. The depictions show soldiers reading aloud to an innkeeper, gentlemen arguing with a woman street vendor and a man giving newspapers to a lady. One cup shows a man in the traditional working-class dress (long cape and wide-brimmed hat)<sup>69</sup> reading some papers as two elegantly-attired fellows

65. MNR, inv. CE1192.

66. Arxiu Històric Ciutat de Barcelona [AHCB], n. 26035, “Colls Espanyols”; Museo Fournier de Naipes de Álava, inv. 44514.

67. Laura Corrales, “La imageria constitucional en el procés de la revolució liberal (1808-1840)”, *Rubrica Contemporanea*, 1 (2012), pp. 61-62.

68. The complete set comprises two coffee pots, a milk jug, a sugar bowl, a platter and 12 cups with saucers.

69. The long cape (*capa larga*) and the wide-brimmed hat (*sombrero de ala ancha* or *chambergó*) were part of the popular male dress. The prohibition against wearing these garments

watch (Fig. 9). The set, designed for someone from the elite, reflected the political nationalisation of liberal ideas and the desire to mobilise the working classes and women through their interactions with soldiers and the middle classes.

Contrasting this luxury porcelain set are the ceramics of Talavera. This trade tried to overcome the crisis and devastation caused by the war by adapting to the changing political circumstances. Patriotic messages from the War of Independence made way for constitutional messages throughout the *Trienio Liberal* and to anti-liberal messages during the absolutist restorations. In some cases, political inscriptions alternated with the name of the piece's owner. This may be a sign of the owner's personal support of the cause. One jug bears the motto "Constitución o muerte" ("Constitution or Death") together with the name of its owner, Bastiana Zamora.<sup>70</sup> On another, a portrait of Ferdinand VII sits above the inscription "viva mi dueño" ("Long live my master") in what is a devotional expression of unconditional love for the monarch (Fig. 2). The working-class nature of the pieces is inherent not only in their aesthetic but in the use of humorous and scatological themes that were somewhat distinct from the solemn images used on fans.

#### 4. Trienio Liberal (1820-1823), part two: prints, ribbons and cockades

##### *Prints and engravings*

French iconography had a decisive influence over how the Spanish revolutionary process was depicted in France and Europe and even on how Spanish liberals depicted themselves. French political propaganda turned Spain into the new heart of the revolution from the early months of the *Trienio Liberal* onwards. A testament to this is the series of lithographs by Godefroy Engelmann based on drawings by Hippolyte Lecomte, which used three ideas to represent the political changes. First was the leading role of the figure of the military commander, as though there were a new Napoleon. Lithographs were dedicated to the two main leaders of the proclamation of 1820: Antonio Quiroga and Rafael del Riego.<sup>71</sup> Second were the images of the occupation of the palace of the Inquisition in Barcelona,<sup>72</sup> which imitated the Storming of the Bastille.<sup>73</sup> Third was the proclamation of the Constitution in Madrid's Plaza Mayor, which

in Madrid in 1766 was seen as an assault on popular customs and led to the Esquilache Riots. See José Miguel López García, *El motín contra Esquilache*, Madrid, Alianza, 2006.

70. Cabañas Bravo, "La imagen de Fernando VII", p. 249, n. 20.

71. Jordi Roca Vernet, "Las imágenes en la cultura política liberal durante el trienio constitucional (1820-1823): El caso de Barcelona", *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo*, 10 (2002), pp. 185-220.

72. "Atac a la seu del tribunal de la Inquisició a Barcelona", 1820, AHCB, n. 07825.

73. *La Prise de la Bastille* (1793), Charles Thévenin, Musée Carnavalet, <http://parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/prise-de-la-bastille-le-14-juillet-1789-10> (accessed 1/6/2020).

put soldiers almost exclusively at the centre of events.<sup>74</sup> The author depicted the beginning of the revolution using stereotypes of the Spanish liberals and their goals. For example, the image of the Inquisition in Barcelona bears no likeness to the location and features of the actual building.

Political prints were widely circulated among the popular classes, as was the case during the War of Independence. The most significant was the image of Riego, elevated above the other heroes and the object of popular worship. His portrait was carried along the streets in defiance of the moderate authorities,<sup>75</sup> causing clashes between the army and the crowds.<sup>76</sup> Riego was depicted on all manner of everyday objects, from fan and snuffboxes to medallions and common items such as straight razors and hair combs.<sup>77</sup> However, prints were the most widely held political objects among the popular classes. Prints of the liberal heroes Riego, Lacy, Torrijos and Mina hung on the walls of working-class homes dwellings. The writer Ayguals de Izco used these words to describe the room of a liberal day labourer (*jornalero*) from Madrid enlisted in the Urban Militia in 1834:

a small vase with flowers on the table, two small painted plaster birds sat sideways symmetrically, six prints or portraits, namely Riego, Mina, Lacy, el Empecinado, Torrijos and Manzanares, along with a broken mirror, a crucifix and a virgin, were the adornments in the labourer's room.<sup>78</sup>

Plaster figurines, crucifixes and images of virgins and saints sat alongside new, political prints in working-class homes. Portraits of liberal heroes were placed in prominent places in the home, where they were worshipped and lit by candles, much like religious images would have been. Revolutionary worship was persecuted by absolutists as sacrilegious. In 1824, a shoemaker from Madrid named Francisco de la Torre was sentenced by the Military Commission for having a portrait of Riego hanging in his home.<sup>79</sup> His wife was also sentenced on account of “irreligious behaviour”, since the portrait was allegedly hidden in a frame behind a print of the Virgin. According to the person who informed on the family, the accused would light candles before the image of the hero. The sentence against the shoemaker reflects the desire of the absolutists to exorcise political objects of their power. Francisco was forced to carry the portrait around

74. Jesusa Vega, “Estampas del Trienio Liberal”, *Villa de Madrid: revista del Excmo. Ayuntamiento*, 94 (1987), pp. 28-52.

75. Liberals were soon divided into radicals (*exaltados*) and moderates (*moderados*). The former sought to broaden political participation. The latter wanted to strengthen order and obedience to the authorities.

76. Sebastián de Miñano, *Relación Histórica de la batalla de las platerías*, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), BN R/C 775-69.

77. Víctor Sánchez Martín, *Rafael de Riego: símbolo de la Revolución liberal*, PhD dissertation, Universidad de Alicante, 2016, p. 712; Stites, *The Four Horsemen*, pp. 85-88.

78. Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco, *María o la hija de un jornalero*, Madrid, Imprenta Ayguals de Izco, 1845, p. 28.

79. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 20/11/1824; Francisco Morales Sánchez, *Páginas de sangre. Historia del Saladero*, vol. II, Madrid, Manuel Rodríguez, 1870, pp. 582-585.

his neck to the Plazuela de la Cebada (the site of public executions). There, the object was burned at the stake by an executioner in the presence of onlookers. Francisco was sentenced to ten years in prison, his wife to two years in the *galera* (a female prison) and his older son to two years. The couple died during their imprisonment, and the son was hung in 1831 for crying “Viva la libertad y mueran los realistas” (“Long live freedom and down with the royalists”).<sup>80</sup>

### *Aleluyas*

The Liberal Revolution saw the politicisation of popular forms of entertainment which originated in religious propaganda – catechisms, credos and songs – all to disseminate revolutionary symbology and discourse among the largely illiterate working people. Printed broadsheets known as *aleluyas* were among those objects that made the greatest contribution to the politicisation of the masses. *Aleluyas* were sheets of paper (usually low quality), typically 30-40 cm in size and printed on one side (Fig. 10). They used images (usually 48 vignettes or scenes distributed in 8 rows of 6) and a small subordinate text (mostly written in rhyming verse) to depict an important historical, social or political event, a biography, or the story from a *romance*<sup>81</sup> or a well-known work of literature. They also commented on diverse figures (saints, soldiers, literary characters, animals) or described leisure, *costumbrista* or educational games and activities, all using a broad, varied and essentially visual thematic repertoire. They had religious origins: during Corpus Christi processions and Easter Sunday, small printed squares called *aleluyas* bearing religious imagery were thrown into the air. The squares were sold as a leaflet and cut up before being tossed during ceremonies.<sup>82</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, their content became more secular, sometimes even playful, with the incorporation of all manner of games, arts and trades along with natural history, animals, fables and the trope of the “world turned upside down”.

From the 1820s, *aleluyas* turned political, reaching their zenith mid-century due to low production costs. In 1838, the traveller Charles Dembowski described a scene during *Semana Santa* or Holy Week (preceding Easter) in Madrid, when children scrambled to collect the *aleluyas* thrown from windows during a procession.<sup>83</sup> Along with prints of saints, “since politics has spread everywhere over the last three years”, *aleluyas* depicted episodes from the Carlist Wars and from victories by liberal generals such as Espartero.<sup>84</sup> Religious media was used

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 586-588.

81. A *romance* was a short poem to be memorised and recited or sung in public. It was part of a tradition of popular literature in Spanish-speaking countries.

82. *Aleluyas. Juegos y literatura infantil en los pliegos de aleluyas españoles y europeos del siglo XIX*, ed. by Pedro C. Cerrillo and Jesús María Martínez González, Cuenca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2012, p. 15. See also the *Colección de aleluyas de la Fundación Joaquín Díaz* (<https://funjdiaz.net/aleluyas1.php>).

83. The custom remains alive during *Semana Santa* in Elche.

84. Charles Dembowski, *Dos años en España y Portugal durante la Guerra Civil, 1838-1840*, vol. I, Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1931, p. 84. Adrian Shubert, *Espartero, el Pacificador*,



to depict political themes in the context of sacred rituals – such as *Semana Santa* – and to confer an air of divinity upon the liberal heroes.

The process originated during the *Trienio Liberal*. After all, this was a period characterised by innovation and experimentation around forms of propaganda aimed at the popular classes. Up to that point, the only explicitly political *aleluyas* were those in honour of royal ceremonies – in particular, the journey made by the monarchs to Barcelona in 1804 – or of military achievements during the War of Independence. The new paradigm of the *aleluya* dedicated to the Constitution was printed by Joan Noguera and published by the printer Ignacio Estivill in 1822 (Fig. 10).<sup>85</sup> This *aleluya* narrated the history of the Constitution, from its enactment in the *Cortes de Cádiz* through to its proclamation in 1820. Various editions were printed, some with titles (e.g., *Viva la Pepa*)<sup>86</sup> and some without, some in black and white and others in colour. The iconography on *aleluyas* was clearly distinct from that used on fans and snuffboxes, which highlights the existence of a form of popular iconography based on a specific tradition with close ties to religious practices and references. Other striking images are scenes depicting the absolutist repression and the failed liberal insurrections that took place between 1814 and 1820. General Luis Lacy would be given extraordinary protagonism, even becoming a martyr. Some eight vignettes – more than for any of the other protagonists of the proclamation of Cádiz – were created in his honour. Reverence for Lacy took hold among the working people of Barcelona, who turned him into a local martyr of freedom.<sup>87</sup>

### *Ribbons and cockades: political colours*

Red was adopted as the national colour during the War of Independence. However, the splitting of the patriotic side along both liberal and royalist lines sparked the use of new colours. The army that was at the centre of the *pronunciamiento* of 1820 (known as the *Ejército de la Isla* or Island Army) began adding a green trim to the red cockade. In the *Cortes*, Quiroga proposed that green be added to red in all army units – a request that was denied.<sup>88</sup> Green became the colour of radical (*exaltado*) liberalism that (in contrast to the moderates) supported a deepening of the revolutionary process. Green ribbons were worn on hats or sewn onto cockades and often bore the motto

Madrid, Galaxia Gutenberg, 2018, photo 16; Joan Amades, Joan Colominas, Pep Vila, *Les auques*, Barcelona, editorial Orbis, 1931; Begoña Torres, *La col·lecció d'Auques del CESC*, vol. I, Sant Cebrià de Vallalta, Centre d'Estudis de Sant Cebrià, 2017.

85. Roca Vernet, “Las imágenes en la cultura política liberal”, pp. 185-220.

86. The Cádiz Constitution was known as *La Pepa* because it was enacted on San Joseph's Day (*Pepe*, in Spanish), on March 19, 1812.

87. Jordi Roca Vernet, “La Revolución Liberal en España en clave transnacional a través de la Amazona Emilia du Guermeur, viuda de la Luis Lacy”, *Lacy, Revista de Estudios Sanroqueños*, 5 (2017), pp. 67-86.

88. *Diario de las actas y discusiones de las Cortes, Legislatura de 1820 y 1821*, vol. V, Madrid, Imprenta de las Cortes, 1820, pp. 177-179, from the session of 10/09/1820.

“Constitución o muerte”.<sup>89</sup> As internal liberal divisions became wider, the most radical sectors began using purple ribbons in reference to the secret society of the *Comunería* (Confederación de los Caballeros Comuneros) (Fig. 11).<sup>90</sup> The *Comuneros* took their name from the revolt of the Communities of Castile against Charles I of Spain in 1520 and constituted the most radical shade of liberalism. They were opposed to the Freemasons, who were still identified by green. Much like the Italian *Carbonería*, Spanish liberal secret societies battled for political hegemony in the *Cortes* as well as in the press, the streets and the National Militia. Different coloured ribbons thus symbolised internal liberal divisions, such that the constitutionalists “were at war over a miserable ribbon at a time when everyone should only be warring with the enemies of the [liberal] system”.<sup>91</sup>

Coloured ribbons were versatile and cheap and therefore became the political badge of choice. Green was sometimes complemented with yellow and red. Among the inscriptions are “Constitución por Riego” (“Constitution by Riego”), “Libertad o Muerte” (“Liberty or Death”), “Religión, Cortes, Libertad, Constitución o Muerte” (“Religion, Parliament, Liberty, Constitution or Death”) and “Constitución o venganza y nunca alianza” (“Constitution or vengeance and never alliance”).<sup>92</sup> During the Absolutist Restoration (1823-1833), royalists adopted the white ribbon, whereas green or purple garments were considered tell-tale signs of liberalism.

The *Trienio Liberal* was a golden age for political objects in Spain. There were three parallel processes behind this. Firstly, the importation of political objects which were significantly influenced by French iconography and aimed at the elite. Secondly, experimentation with popular formats, such as crude pottery, portraits and *aleluyas*. These pieces are more difficult to track down but nonetheless had a decisive impact on everyday politicisation and the popular appropriation of liberal iconography. Some of these objects were linked to syncretic practices stemming from the religious uses to which prints had traditionally been put. Lastly, the use of certain colours and mottos embroidered on garments or accessories (ribbons, shawls or hats) led to the politicisation of clothing and the use of appearances to manifest a clear taking of sides in the public arena.

89. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, publicadas por su hijo*, Madrid, Vision Net, 2009 [1886], p. 359.

90. Marta Ruiz Jiménez, *El liberalismo exaltado. La confederación de comuneros españoles durante el Trienio Liberal*, Madrid, Fundamentos, 2007.

91. *El Diablo*, n. 24. Cited in Vicente León Navarro, “El Trienio Liberal (1820-1823) a través de la prensa valenciana”, *El Argonauta español*, 17 (2020), at <http://journals.openedition.org/argonauta/4035>.

92. Pedro Rújula, *Constitución o muerte. El trienio liberal en Aragón y los levantamientos realistas. 1820-1823*, Zaragoza, Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses, 2000, p. 59; Sánchez Martín, *Rafael de Riego*, p. 752; Ramon Arnabat Mata, *Revolució i Contrarevolució a Catalunya durant el Trienni Liberal (1820-1823)*, PhD dissertation, Barcelona, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 1999, p. 950, n. 191; Antonio Moliner Prada, “En torno al Trienio Constitucional (1820-1823)”, *Rubrica Contemporánea*, 1 (2012), p. 36; AHN, leg. 12.271, exp. 5, 24/8/1823.

### 5. Counter-revolutionary and royalist political objects during the absolutist restorations (1814-1820 and 1823-1833)

The circulation of political objects diminished drastically during the absolutist restorations. The iconography on fans, snuffboxes and ceramic containers was limited to representations of Ferdinand VII, the Royal Family and commemorations of the monarchy.<sup>93</sup> French manufacturers adapted to the situation from 1823 and produced fans and snuffboxes with images of Ferdinand VII and the Duke of Angoulême. However, most of these pieces were designed for the French market, which demanded products commemorating victories by the French expedition sent to Spain by order of the Holy Alliance.<sup>94</sup> All manner of decorative objects were made depicting Spanish defeats in Madrid, Cádiz and Logroño. They include a fan showing the arrival of the Duke of Angoulême in Barcelona.<sup>95</sup>

Once again, the ceramics of Talavera are the exception. Most pieces from the period bore portraits of the king, though one jug shows royalist soldiers administering an enema to a liberal as punishment for his “impassioned love of the accursed Constitution [*su amor exaltado a la rea Constitución*]”.<sup>96</sup> The iconography on prints was also more aligned with popular tastes by means of an aggressive anti-liberal discourse. One such piece portrayed the Constitution as the “monster of Cádiz”, a diabolical figure that trod on symbols of the monarchy and the church, reflecting the eschatological nature of anti-liberal discourse.<sup>97</sup> The advertisement published in the press indicated that it should be purchased by “all faithful Christians”, while “all liberals or *negros*”<sup>98</sup> should have one at home so as to remind them of their miserable situation “when getting out of bed, while eating and when going to sleep”.<sup>99</sup> Other widespread prints represented the murder of the priest Vinuesa (an absolutist martyr killed in prison by a liberal mob in 1821), scenes from the secret societies of the *comuneros* and *carbonarios*, and Riego’s imprisonment.<sup>100</sup>

After absolutism was restored in 1814 and 1823, a visual battle was undertaken to remove the memory of liberalism from the public realm.<sup>101</sup> The central roles of the king and religion in absolutist iconography were not the result of mere inertia or a lack of originality. The royalists attempted to appropriate the legitimacy of the monarchy and turned universal political references (God, King and Homeland

93. MHM, inv. 3.253; *Abanicos Rocamora*, n. 19, p. 21.

94. Manuel Larroche, *L'expédition d'Espagne. 1823: de la guerre selon la Charte*, Rennes, PUR, 2013.

95. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see fan n. 88748.

96. Cabañas Bravo, “La imagen de Fernando VII”, p. 249.

97. *El monstruo gaditano*, c. 1820, Real Biblioteca de Palacio, ARCH2/CART/2 (71).

98. *Negro* (black) was a derogatory term to refer to the liberals, as opposed to the royalist white (the colour of the Bourbon dynasty).

99. *El Procurador General del Rey*, n. 20, 17/6/1823, p. 100.

100. *El Procurador General del Rey*, supplement to n. 23, p. 118; *Diario de Madrid*, 25/11/1823, p. 6; *Diario de Madrid*, 19/10/1824, p. 3.

101. Carlos Reyero, “Absolutismo frente a liberalismo doceañista. El contraataque visual”, *Hispania*, 256 (2017), pp. 407-436.

[*patria*]) into projectile weapons against the liberals.<sup>102</sup> The new “reactionary canon” tried to set itself apart from the visual vocabulary of liberalism by reinterpreting tradition in a partisan manner, in which the monarchy exclusively pertained to the counter-revolution.<sup>103</sup> The lack of new symbols stems from the fact that absolutism was not conceived as a new regime but as the restoration of a natural order that had been altered by the revolutionary catastrophe.

For normality to be restored, liberal objects had to be erased from the face of the Earth, as though they had never existed at all. Destroying them was a form of catharsis that re-sacralised the public space. Material evidence of liberalism had to be purged of its power using an iconoclasm driven by two forces: royalist crowds and the restored State. In the anti-liberal riots of 1814 and 1823, the constitutional plaques were dragged through the streets, allegorical statues were toppled and reminders of the overthrown regime were destroyed.<sup>104</sup> Copies of the Constitution, portraits of Riego and other liberal objects were publicly burned, and ceremonies were held to bury the Constitution in a parody of the traditional “Burial of the Sardine” after Carnival.<sup>105</sup> To hide constitutional objects was a sign of resistance, and repression created a new generation of liberal martyrs. The most famous example is Mariana Pineda, who was executed after a constitutional flag she was embroidering was found in her home.<sup>106</sup>

Portraits of Ferdinand VII became the political objects par excellence – as happened during the War of Independence – and were reproduced in all manner of everyday formats. In this case, however, they were used not as a unifying image against invading forces but as a weapon hurled against a domestic enemy: the liberals. Royalists tried to capitalise on the political legitimacy of the portraits, using traditional monarchical symbols against liberals who were excluded from the political community. Hence, restored absolutism “does not formulate a new visual language but redirects it using the prestige of memory”.<sup>107</sup>

Religion, together with the figure of the king, was the glue of royalism. Anti-liberal guerrilla fighters carried crucifixes, scapulars and prints of the Virgin. One liberal caricature shows the guerrilla monk Antonio Marañón *el Trapense* (“the Trappist”) carrying a rosary, a cross and a scapular around his neck. According to the monk, these protective amulets would make him impervious to enemy fire.<sup>108</sup>

102. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

103. Pedro Rújula, “Realismo y contrarrevolución en la Guerra de la Independencia”, *Ayer*, 86 (2012), pp. 64-65.

104. Constitutional plaques were installed in every main town square to rename the latter the “Square of the Constitution”. Royalists tore these plaques down, smashed them into pieces and dragged them through the streets to symbolically humiliate the liberal regime. Álvaro París, “La entrada de Fernando VII en Madrid”, in *El viaje del rey. Fernando VII desde Valençay a Madrid*, ed. by Pedro Rújula, Zaragoza, Fundación Ibercaja, 2019, pp. 137-155.

105. On 24/4/1823; see Faustino Casamayor, *Años políticos e históricos de las cosas más particulares ocurridas en la imperial, augusta y siempre heroica ciudad de Zaragoza, 1822-1823* (ed. by Pedro Rújula), Zaragoza, Comuniter-Institución Fernando el Católico, forthcoming.

106. Juan Francisco Fuentes, Pilar Garí, *Amazonas de la libertad*, pp. 271-280.

107. Reyero, “Absolutismo frente a liberalismo”, p. 431

108. Emmanuel Larroche, *L'expédition*, p. 239. Gérard Dufour, “Roucouler la guerre; vociférer la paix’: les événements d’Espagne de 1820 à 1823 dans les poèmes publiés par la

White cockades and ribbons were adopted as royalist symbols towards the end of the *Trienio Liberal*. White was traditionally the colour of the Bourbon Dynasty and was also used by the liberals on most military flags and standards.<sup>109</sup> In France, however, opposition to the Republican and Napoleonic tricolour flag had turned white into the colour of the royalists. In 1814, news reached Spain of white cockades and flags being raised in towns in the south of France saluting Napoleon's abdication.<sup>110</sup> French influence led Spain to begin associating white with royalism. However, this would not manifest itself clearly until the *Trienio Liberal*, when the royalists began using white cockades and ribbons to defy the regime.<sup>111</sup> On 13 June 1822, "various men" appeared in Plaza de Almagro, "self-proclaimed defenders of the faith, trimming white cockades and urging others to wear them".<sup>112</sup> In May 1823, when General Bessières' royalist troops entered Madrid, working women took to the streets wearing white ribbons, singing royalist songs and chasing after liberals.<sup>113</sup>

The liberals began to be referred to pejoratively as *negros* (blacks), in opposition to the white of the royalists.<sup>114</sup> The name evoked the impure and heretical nature of supporters of the Constitution; they were to be expelled from the community like Jews.<sup>115</sup> Opposition between blacks and whites dominated the political language of the absolutist decade (1823-1833). The "blacks and whites nicknames" stoked street violence between the sides, while supporters of reconciliation called for the "disappearance of the dictates by blacks and whites which are so poisonous to the spirit".<sup>116</sup>

presse française de l'époque", *El Argonauta español*, 13 (2016), at <http://journals.openedition.org/argonauta/2311>.

109. Pedro Rújula, "Blanco: un color en el extremo de la política", in *Los colores de la política*, ed. by Jordi Canal, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza (forthcoming); Luis Sorando Muzás, "Las banderas de las Guerras Carlistas", in *Las guerras carlistas*, ed. by Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza, Madrid, Ayuntamiento, Madrid, 2010, p. 210.

110. The *Gaceta de Madrid* makes as many as 12 references to the French white cockades over just two months – 9 April to 26 May 1814. Pierre Triomphe, *1815: La Terreur blanche*, Toulouse, Privat, 2017; Emmanuel Fureix, "Police des signes, ordre et désordre urbains en temps de crise (1814-1816)", *Histoire urbaine*, 43 (2015), pp. 157-176.

111. Rújula, "Blanco".

112. Juan Díaz Pintado, "Reacción absolutista y desórdenes en La Mancha (1814-1822)", *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 16 (1994), p. 59.

113. *Nuevo diario de Madrid*, 21/05/1823; Estanislao de Kostka Bayo, *Historia de la vida y reinado de Fernando VII*, vol. III, Madrid, Repullés, 1842, p. 88.

114. Jordi Canal, "Matar negros, hacer blancos: Los colores y los nombres del enemigo en las guerras civiles de la España contemporánea", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Historia Contemporánea*, 20 (2008), pp. 19-36.

115. Álvaro París, "Porque le olía a negro: vestimenta, costumbres y politización popular en Madrid (1750-1840)", in *Procesos de civilización: culturas de élites, culturas populares. Una historia de contrastes y tensiones (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. by José María Imízcoz, Máximo García and Javier Esteban, Bilbao, Universidad del País Vasco, 2019, pp. 99-132.

116. AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.292, police reports 14/7/1825 and 27/7/1825, celador [secret agent] 3 and AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.312, police report 27/06/1825, celador 5.

Throughout the persecution of liberals during the absolutist restorations of 1814 and 1823, clothing and accessories also took on political meaning. In Madrid, royalist crowds attacked those wearing certain types of hats, ties and accessories, such as beret caps or shoe straps (known as *galgas*) worn by women.<sup>117</sup> Such garments were considered signs of liberalism. These foreign fashions, adopted by the middle and upper classes, transgressed traditional attire and popular customs. From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the working people of Madrid began identifying the new types of clothing as a French-influenced innovation. Those who adopted them were called *petimetres*, *currutacos* or *lechuguinos* (all roughly translating as “dandies”).<sup>118</sup> The widespread image of the liberal individual was built upon these stereotypes. Elegant men sporting frock coats (*levitas*), or women wearing fashionable hats, were labelled as *negros* (blacks). Liberals were identified not only by their ideas or political expression but by their dress and manners. Royalist crowds pulled off people’s hats and ties because “they were, as was said, signs of freemasonry”.<sup>119</sup> Dionisio Chaulié tells of a “screaming crowd” of royalists running through the working-class neighbourhood of Barquillo (Madrid). Elegant gentlemen ripped the tassels from their shoes while women removed their shoe straps, so as to not be exposed to “that savage horde hunting down the constitutionalists”.<sup>120</sup> The wearers of such items did not necessarily think of them as being explicitly political, unlike green and purple ribbons. However, one sector of the working people identified foreign fashions with liberal ideas, associating them with new cultural customs and habits promoted by merchants, liberal professionals and the middle and upper classes.<sup>121</sup>

During the absolutist restorations, a green or purple ribbon, a hat or a cap were sufficient grounds for a street fight that could have mortal consequences. The codes that governed the politicisation of everyday clothing are complex, though police sources are helpful in reconstructing them. One person from Madrid was almost beaten in a café for wearing “an otter skin cap”,<sup>122</sup> while royalists stated that the *negros* (blacks) “have begun wearing little low-crown hats, in the Portuguese style, and we must therefore declare war and strike them down”.<sup>123</sup> A black ribbon on a watch triggered a quarrel in a billiard hall. Another subject walking through a working-class district sporting a hat and a handkerchief was beaten because he “smelled liberal [*olía a negro*]”.<sup>124</sup> Pedestrians were chased “for adorning their clothing with anything green or purple, or for wearing caps or *cachuchas*, a sort

117. París, “Porque le olía a negro”, pp. 100-105.

118. Rebecca Haidt, *Women, Work and Clothing in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, Oxford, SVEC, 2011.

119. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2008, p. 160.

120. Chaulié, *Cosas de Madrid*, p. 167.

121. París, “*Se susurra en los barrios bajos*”.

122. AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.335, police report 30/12/1825, celador 3

123. AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.335, police report 24/12/1825, celador 6.

124. AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.317, police report April 1827, and AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.342, police report 27/6/1825.

of beret that many liberals used at that time”.<sup>125</sup> According to Kostka Bayo, a group of civilians walking around Santander wearing caps were beaten by royalist volunteers who “destroyed” the caps and left their wearers gravely wounded.<sup>126</sup>

Aggression was also aimed in the opposite political direction. In 1835, a bakery boy from Madrid was injured with a sabre by a member of the Urban Militia who told him that “the *chambergo* [wide-brimmed hat] he wore was used by many others in the neighbourhood with the same ideas”.<sup>127</sup> Carlist ideas were the problem on this occasion, though the boy insisted that “he wore the hat for work”.

## 6. *The regency of Maria Christina and the Trienio Progresista (1833-1843)*

During the regency of Maria Christina (1833-1840), the foundations were put in place for a constitutional system that sought to distance itself from its revolutionary origins. The regent tried to appeal to moderate liberals while retaining the loyalty of the absolutist elites and public servants. She enacted a charter – the Royal Statute of 1834 – and sought to establish a “middle ground”. These reforms caused unrest among the ultra-royalist sectors, which rallied around the Infante Don Carlos (Ferdinand VII’s brother) to support his claim to the throne. This led to a seven-year civil war (1833-1840) fought between the *carlistas* (loyal to the pretender Charles V) and the *isabelinos* or *crístinos* (loyal to Isabella II). During this period, the monarchy’s priority was to reinforce its legitimacy against Carlism. Therefore, political objects were less abundant and more conventional than in the preceding and subsequent liberal periods. The monarchy was placed at the centre of political iconography and was depicted as the guarantor of Spanish reconciliation in the face of the instability created by the civil war.

Propaganda during the *Trienio Liberal* was notably novel and focused on the Constitution. During the regency of Maria Christina, however, the monarchy regained its pre-eminence in political representations of the liberal regime. The most common political objects commemorated royal events (weddings and baptisms) and the queen’s travels to the provinces.<sup>128</sup> The few fans that we have been able to track down extol the figure of the regent as the author of Spanish reconciliation and union, as well as the Royal Family, the enactment of the amnesty decree of 1834, the Constitution of 1837 and the Convention of Vergara, which put an end to the Carlist War in 1839.<sup>129</sup> Other items include two commemorative

125. Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las sociedades secretas antiguas y modernas de España, especialmente de la Franc-Masonería*, vol. I, Lugo, Soto Freire, 1870, p. 424; Chaulié, *Cosas de Madrid*, p. 212.

126. Kostka Bayo, *Historia de la vida y reinado*, vol. III, p. 246.

127. AHN, Consejos, leg. 12.349, 24/3/1835.

128. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see handkerchiefs nos 89246, 89247, 88807 and 88808.

129. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see fans nos 88806, 88778, 88770 and 88806. The fan depicting the Convention of Vergara is in Manuel Rocamora, *Abanicos históricos*, 1956, p. 32. MFM Fan Collection, one of them dedicated to the Constitution of 1837.

handkerchiefs – one dedicated to the amnesty decree of 1834, and the other to the opening of the new *Cortes* under the Royal Statute.<sup>130</sup>

Fans and handkerchiefs alike were made in Spanish factories, though production levels and circulation were considerably lower compared to the 1820s. All of this is evidence of the decline of this type of production, which was transitioning towards new forms of representation and new objects, as the subsequent period shows. The thematic variety and complex symbology of fans from the *Trienio Liberal* also disappeared. What this shows is that the iconography that was closely tied to the French revolutionary process did not take root in Spain, and in later stages of the Liberal process would not be reused. The reduction in the number of fans may also suggest that the political engagement of middle- and upper-class women – significant during the *Trienio* – was limited in later stages of the Liberal Revolution.

Prints for the masses, on the other hand, boasted more novel and varied content. Along with *aleluyas* are a multitude of *romances*, calendars, flyers, prints and cordel literature with political motives. One of the most interesting formats were *ventalls*, the popular and affordable version of fans designed for the elites. *Ventalls* were loose quarto sheets bearing an illustration along with a short text written in verse that could be memorised and sung. They were folded around a cane to create a rigid fan (see Fig. 12). They cost a mere quarter<sup>131</sup> and, in addition to being practical, provided information on the current political situation and enabled the exchange of information by reciting it aloud. The acid wit of the texts and images, which catered to working-class tastes, also provided entertainment.<sup>132</sup> Early examples had conventional images of the monarchy, including Maria Christina approving decrees or of Queen Isabella II. As the political conflict worsened, propaganda emerged against the Carlists (*facciosos* or rebels), the moderates (*pasteleros* or turncoats) and the reactionary clergy, as well as tributes to the Constitution of 1837 and to Espartero. *Ventalls* were a simplified version of *romances* containing much less text and putting the image at centre stage. They were suited to an almost illiterate audience and could be adapted to the latest political events.

The end of the Carlist War generated a new phase of the Liberal Revolution with the exile of Maria Christina and the ascent of General Baldomero Espartero – who capitalised on the liberal victory – to the regency. The politicisation of society throughout the *Trienio Progresista* (1840-1843) went hand in hand with a new proliferation of political objects. The Isabelline monarchy was relegated to the background in favour of the popular General Espartero. Two handkerchiefs were created in his honour (this form of political propaganda had been reserved until then for the Royal Family).<sup>133</sup> Handkerchiefs bearing images of Espartero were

130. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see handkerchiefs nos 89235 and 89305.

131. A *real* was equal to 8 and a half quarters. The average wage of a labourer could be up to 5 or 6 *reales* per day.

132. Corrales, “La imageria constitucional”, pp. 47-77, and Laura Corrales, *L'estampa i la primera guerra carlina a Catalunya (1833-1840)*, PhD dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 2014.

133. Some exceptions include the handkerchief dedicated to the Constitution of 1812 produced in France: Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see handkerchief n. 89233.



produced in the “Bouquet à Deville”<sup>134</sup> factory in Rouen. There are no traces of any being produced in Spain. He was also honoured with fans that depicted him signing the Convention of Vergara with Carlist general Maroto, or proclaiming the Constitution of 1837 amid public acclaim. As happened with the image of Riego, that of Espartero was circulated on all manner of personal objects (tobacco cases [*petacas*], cigarette cases, paperweights and portraits) primarily aimed at men.<sup>135</sup> The regent was always depicted in military dress, though sometimes wearing different uniforms and in different positions (on horseback, looking straight ahead, to one side, etc.). These objects highlight how widespread Espartero-worship was among liberals. Until then, tobacco and cigarette cases were not typically used for political propaganda. The politicisation of this personal object is also testament to the exploration of new and innovative propaganda formats connected to tobacco and alcohol consumption. This particular political object was designed for a largely male audience. In turn, the object itself came to reinforce a model of masculinity based on military heroism, tobacco and alcohol consumption, and exaltation of the regent’s plebeian origins.

Espartero was also depicted on more popular and affordable items including printed portraits, *aluyas*, pottery, tile inscriptions and more.<sup>136</sup> One pottery dish from Manises (Valencia) shows the general swearing the Constitution of 1837, along with the inscription “Constitución o muerte” that directly referenced the final year of the *Tienio Liberal*, when this motto became widespread (Fig. 13).<sup>137</sup>

Prints with his portrait were widely circulated among the working people, who eventually erected small altars in their homes where they worshipped, lit candles and honoured his saint (San Baldomero, celebrated on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February).<sup>138</sup> Writing to him was a widespread custom and his letters of reply were exhibited as heirlooms in people’s homes. One follower of Espartero wrote to him in 1869 to tell him that they had celebrated his saint since 1836 and that they kept his letter behind glass with the print of his portrait, which they illuminated with candles on special occasions.<sup>139</sup> Much like events during the *Tienio Liberal*, the politicisation of the working classes led to the emergence of new objects that moved away from languages exclusively focused on the monarchy and royal commemorations. Depictions of constitutional heroes (such as Lacy, Riego and Espartero) in affordable formats for mass consumption reflected not only the prestige these leaders held among the working people but the emergence of a new form of popular liberalism. Worship of their portraits in the domestic setting

134. Rocamora, *Museo de indumentaria*, see handkerchiefs nos 89248 and 89249, the latter with a portrait of Espartero.

135. Collection of objects in the Museu d’Història in Barcelona [MUHBA]: cigarette cases nos 830, 828, 826, 848 and 827; snuffbox n. 832; glass paperweight with portrait of Espartero n. 848; and miniature portrait with registration number nos 831, 829 and 845.

136. Adrian Shubert, *Espartero, el Pacificador*, see figures 8 and 9.

137. Museo Nacional de Cerámica y Artes Suntuarias González Martín, inv. CE1/01939.

138. Adrian Shubert, “Being – and Staying – Famous in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Spain: Baldomero Espartero and the Birth of Political Celebrity”, *Historia y Política*, 34 (2015), pp. 211-237.

139. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221. Daniel Aquillué, *Armas y votos. Politización y conflictividad política en España, 1833-1843*, Zaragoza, Institución “Fernando el Católico”, 2020, pp. 214-215.

demonstrates the connection that everyday life and popular religious repertoires had with the civic and political culture of the liberal masses.

### 7. *Carlist objects (1833-1840)*

Research into political objects has generally looked at the construction of revolutionary identities, with a focus on objects linked to ideas from the French Revolution, Bonapartism and nationalism. What is clear is that counter-revolutionaries, royalists and legitimists contributed just as much as their enemies to the circulation of political objects. Not only did they imitate revolutionary models but used specific formats, including anagrams and symbols representing legitimate dynasties, or made political use of scapulars of the Sacred Heart and other religious artefacts.<sup>140</sup> Counter-revolutionary irredentism gave rise to a panoply of objects which were used all throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to carry memory of the “lost cause”.<sup>141</sup> Successive defeats drove the legitimists to cling to the idea of continuity, and they established material links between the various stages of the resistance and the different candidates for the throne.

Carlist objects were primarily inspired by French counter-revolutionary objects that circulated during the *Vendée*, the *Chouannerie* and the Restoration. Among the most representative objects are white cockades, scapulars of the Sacred Heart with the motto “Dieu et Roi”, crosses bearing royalist slogans and all manner of pendants and broches with the Bourbon Fleur de Lis. Carlist objects also inherited Spanish royalist iconography. Like the royalists from 1820 to 1833, the Carlists were considered the true defenders of the monarchy and religion, hence their political objects were designed to reinforce these pillars of traditional legitimacy. The main goal of Carlist propaganda was to fight with the liberals over the traditional principles embodied by the “God, King and Homeland” trinity rather than to create new symbols.<sup>142</sup> The declaration of these familiar and well-known principles was enough to ensure that Carlist objectives reached a broad audience. In fact, their vagueness and universality were the keys to their effectiveness. Carlist flags were similar to those flown by the liberal army and bore additional inscriptions such as “Carlos V” (“Charles V”) or “Dios, Patria, Rey, legitimidad” (“God, King, Homeland, legitimacy”) along with religious images, particularly of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>143</sup>

140. Katrina Navickas, “The ‘Spirit of Loyalty’: Material Culture, Space and the Construction of an English Loyalist Memory”, in *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World, 1775-1914*, ed. by Allan Blackstock and Frank O’Gorman, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2014, pp. 43-60.

141. Eduardo González Calleja and Carmine Pinto (eds.), special issue, “Cause perdue. Memorie, rappresentazioni e miti dei vinti”, *Meridiana*, 88 (2017); Jordi Canal, *Banderas blancas, boinas rojas. Una historia política del carlismo*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2006.

142. Jordi Canal, *El carlismo. Dos siglos de contrarrevolución en España*, Madrid, Alianza, 2000, pp. 19-22.

143. Ramón Guirao Larrañaga, Luis Sorando Muzas, “Banderas carlistas de la primera guerra (1833-1840)”, *Aportes*, 25 (2004), pp. 29-40; Luis Sorando Muzás, “Las banderas de las Guerras Carlistas”, in *Las guerras carlistas*, pp. 206-217.

During the Carlist War, images of the pretender Charles V circulated on prints and portraits alongside those of his most popular generals, including Zumalacárregui and Cabrera. There are also examples of boxes and other objects engraved with the motto “Dios, Patria y Rey” and the initials CV (Charles V). One fine example is a silver lighter with the initials CV and the motto “Un Dios, Una Ley, Un Rey” (“One God, One Law, One King”)(Fig. 13).<sup>144</sup>

Scapulars and religious prints proliferated much like in the preceding periods. The most original variants of these were called “detentes”. These scapulars of the Sacred Heart were manufactured on fabric and sewn onto clothing as a talisman to protect fighters from enemy fire. They typically bore the inscriptions “detente bala, el sagrado corazón de Jesús está conmigo” (“stop, bullet, the Sacred Heart of Jesus is with me”), hence their name.<sup>145</sup> Carlist women were responsible for making the scapulars in the rear guard.<sup>146</sup>

The Carlist object *par excellence* was undoubtedly the beret. It was adopted by the Carlist battalions and became a symbol steeped in mythology that persists today. Berets began being used in the Basque Country and Navarre during the First Carlist War (1833-1840) as an alternative to the flamboyant and cumbersome shako (a cylindrical military hat). Berets were comfortable, cheap and versatile and were adopted as the regulation headgear both by the Carlists and by some liberal regiments in the north. The Carlists wore different coloured berets (red, blue or white) and their use soon spread to the army of the Maestrazgo region (Aragon and Valencia).<sup>147</sup> The beret gradually came to be identified as a Carlist symbol – an image that entered the popular imagination through prints and illustrations in the press. A garment that was likely adopted for practical reasons (lack of uniforms and comfort) thus came to be a symbol that Carlist sympathisers sported in civilian life. In 1838, Espartero (then Supreme Commander of the Northern Army) made a proclamation prohibiting the wearing of berets, which he considered the “particular emblem of those who make war against the legitimate rights of our august Queen Isabella”.<sup>148</sup> In his memoirs, the Italian Pietro Bubani says that he was arrested in Pamplona by a police officer convinced he was a Carlist because he wore the typical beret of the Basque lands.<sup>149</sup> Red slowly became the dominant colour, though the red beret as the movement’s emblem of choice did not become widespread until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

144. Javier Urcelay Alonso, “El Museo Carlista de Madrid”, *Aportes*, 34 (2019), p. 251.

145. Pedro Rújula, “Carlismo”, in *Los símbolos de la política*, ed. by Francisco Fuentes Aragonés (forthcoming).

146. Gloria Martínez Dorado, *Estado y acción colectiva: España y la primera guerra carlista*, PhD dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017, p. 116.

147. Carlos Canales Torres, “Los uniformes de las Guerras Carlistas”, in *Las guerras carlistas*, pp. 185-205.

148. Logroño, 27 November 1838.

149. Mikel Alberdi Sagardia, *Txapela. La boina en el siglo XIX*, Museo Zumalakarregi, 2019, <https://www.zumalakarregimuseoa.eus/es/actividades/investigacion-y-documentacion/txa-pena-la-boina-en-el-siglo-xix>; Francisco Fuentes Aragonés, Isabel Martín Sánchez, “Boina/ sombrero: una dicotomía social y simbólica en la España del siglo XIX”, *Historia y Política*, 43 (2020), pp. 225-254.

Lastly, coins minted during the war in regions controlled by the Carlists would become amulets throughout subsequent decades.<sup>150</sup> The ability to mint money was one essential attribute of sovereignty. It enabled Carlism to position itself as the embodiment of a legitimate State with effective control over the territory. Stamps and medallions handed down from generation to generation to keep tradition and collective memory alive also played an important symbolic role.<sup>151</sup> In short, the Carlists did not stop at copying models used by the liberals but used objects in a novel way to drive their propaganda campaigns.<sup>152</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

Political objects in Spain can be divided into three main categories. Firstly, we found artefacts created in France and Britain following foreign models, aimed at the middle and upper classes. Secondly, there were objects produced locally, with a simpler design and lower cost and bearing iconography more aligned with the taste of the working classes. Finally, there were those garments and accessories which lacked an explicit political message but were “politicised” in specific social contexts.

During the War of Independence and the *Trienio Liberal*, French workshops produced fans, snuffboxes and tableware for both the Spanish and French markets, inspired by models from the French Revolution but adapted to national peculiarities. Some of these objects fed into a transnational revolutionary material culture in which portraits of Napoleon, Riego and Kitsos Tzavellas (hero of the Greek War of Independence) circulated widely throughout southern Europe. Political propaganda became transnational, and it had the potential to turn every day-to-day object into a political object.<sup>153</sup>

Some objects such as fans, handkerchiefs, gloves and shawls were specifically aimed at women. Others, like tableware and jugs, had a domestic decorative function. Thus, political objects became a channel for the politicisation of women, allowing the latter to build a direct relationship with the symbolic aspects of politics. The images of international revolutionary heroines – such as the Eleonora Pimentel Fonseca and Luisa Sanfelice from Italy, Manto Mavrogenous from Greece or the Anne-Josèphe Théroigne de Méricourt from France – circulated in Spain during the *Trienio Liberal*. These female exemplars, along with national examples including Maria Pineda, contributed to stimulating the political engagement of Spanish women. Liberal women from Barcelona drew

150. Fausto Antonio Moya Cendán, “Breve tratado de la moneda carlista”, *Aportes*, 25 (1994), pp. 9-27.

151. Eduardo Escalada-Goicoechea, “Los sellos carlistas”, *Aportes*, 25 (1994), pp. 41-51.

152. Canal, *Banderas blancas*, pp. 131-135; Julio Nombela, *Detrás de las trincheras. Páginas íntimas de la guerra y la paz desde 1868 hasta 1876*, Madrid, Imprenta de Manuel Hernández, 1876, pp. 230-231.

153. Angélique Amandry, “Le philhellénisme en France à travers les étiquettes Commerciales”, *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 9 (1983), pp. 12-21.

inspiration from Girondin Théroigne de Méricourt of France when designing the attire for local militiawomen.

The years of the *Trienio Liberal* were the golden age for political fans and handkerchiefs. However, these items declined during the regency of Maria Christina (1833-1840), creating space for objects dedicated to the Royal Family and the commemoration of royal events. The 1840s marked a new era for political objects. The number and diversity of the artefacts aimed at the elites decreased, while those aimed at the working classes flourished. Prints in different formats – portraits, *aleluyas* and *ventalls* – played a crucial role. These affordable and versatile objects could be used either in a domestic context or attached to clothing. The political use of prints was linked to religious practices. Moreover, their motifs reflected the existence of different forms of popular iconography to those found on objects aimed at the middle and upper classes.

The proliferation of political objects devoted to the regent Baldomero Espartero (1840-1843) led to a cult of his personality, taking the fame previously reached by Riego to a new level. Espartero became the most popular person in Spain after the Queen herself. His humble origins and his military victories against the Carlists earned him an unprecedented level of popularity which was translated into the proliferation of all manner of objects for all social groups. During this period, political objects became a very profitable business. The Espartero cult became a model for subsequent progressive liberal leaders such as Juan Prim.

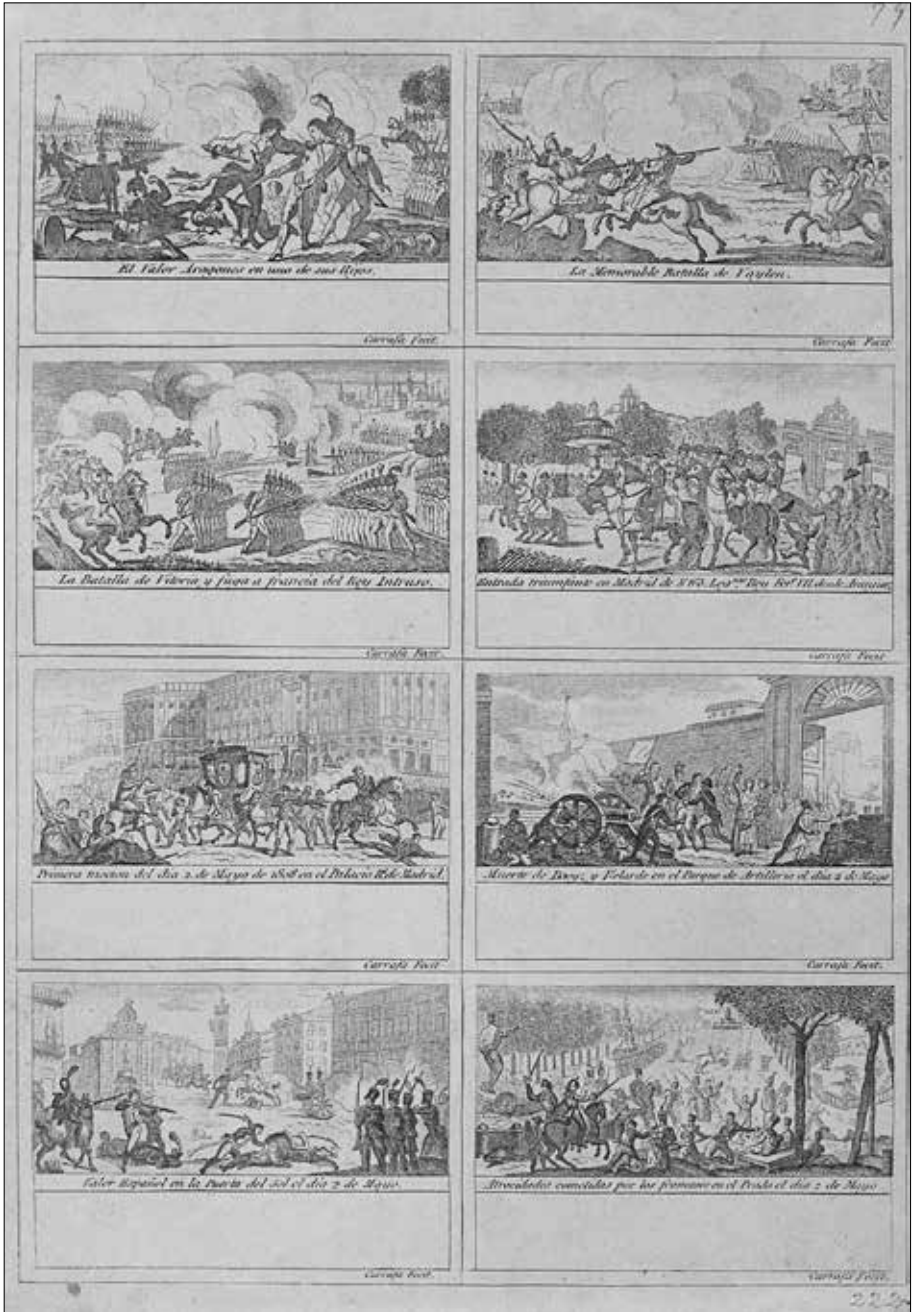
Finally, along with iconography, colours (green, purple, black or white) were associated with opposing political projects. Wearing a ribbon or a hat was sufficient grounds for a quarrel in the streets and in public houses. Political objects and their wearers were chased and harassed, so that everyday life became stepped in political conflict.

In conclusion, from the War of Independence onwards, political objects became a crucial platform for the expression of political commitment to revolution and counter-revolution. The study of these artefacts allows us to explore new paths for politicisation which complemented the press, public speeches and official symbols. Everyday objects reveal the ordinary ways in which political discourses and collective identities were appropriated. Through these objects, normal people identified themselves with new political projects, and endorsed and translated these to align with their own experiences. The traditional focus on formal and institutional politics, on written statements and on parliamentary life tend to conceal the everyday aspects of politics “from below”. Political objects opened the door to a broader conception of politics, in which ordinary people adopted new discourses and practices not by passively absorbing them, but by interpreting them on their own terms.



1. Fan with scene from the Dos de Mayo Uprising in Madrid, Behrmann & Collmann (London), 1813. Museo de armería de Álava, inv. 0771.

2 a-b. Ceramic jugs from Talavera de la Reina. On the left, portrait of the guerrilla and general Juan Palarea, *El Médico*, c. 1815. Museo Nacional del Romanticismo, inv. CE0359, photographer: Pablo Linés Viñuales. On the right, portrait of Ferdinand VII. Museo Ruiz de Luna de Talavera de la Reina, CE3493, Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte.



3. Patriotic calling cards. Juan Carrafa, sheet of calling cards illustrated with episodes from the War of Independence. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid, inv. 2223.



4. Depiction of a vegetable farmer with prints, patriotic ribbon and scapular. *Viva España. Muera Napoleon*, printed anonymously (1808-1813). British Museum, 1878,0112.29, 331346001, ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

5. Fan depicting the *Exaltation of Riego*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid, inv. 5154.





6 a-b. Snuffboxes, c. 1820. On the left, portraits of the four heroes of the proclamation of 1820: Quiroga, Riego, Baños and Arco Agüero. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid, inv. 2616. On the right, scene depicting the King's constitutional oath. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid, inv. 2605-A.

7. "Compacts powders" containing examples of the Constitution of 1812, c. 1820. Creator: F. Henrionnet. Museo Nacional del Romanticismo, inv. CE1192, photographer: Pablo Linés. Viñuales.



8. Deck of constitutional playing cards. Museo Fournier de Naipes de Álava, inv. 44514.

9 a-b. Constitutional coffee set and coffee cups. On the left, a man in working-class dress reads as two gentlemen watch. On the right, a man hands out newspapers or leaflets to a lady. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid, inv. 2583 and inv. 2571.



10. Constitutional aleluya. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid, inv. 4949.  
 11 a-b. (above, opposite page) Green, red and purple ribbons. Ayuntamiento de Valencia, Biblioteca Serrano Morales, box 7286/82. Green ribbon (with the motto “Constitución o muerte”) and red ribbon (“Constitución y orden”). The inscriptions on the purple ribbon read “Vivan los hijos de Padilla” and “Viva Riego sin mandil”.



12 a-b. *Ventalls*. On the left, *ventall* of *El faccioso rendido*; Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, Ms. 1086/18 (f. 259). On the right, examples of assembled *ventalls*, Colección Domènech-Ballester, photo courtesy of Albert Domènech, <http://librorum.picolabis.cat>.



13. Dish with portrait of Espartero. Museo Nacional de Cerámica "González Martí", inv. CEI/01939, photographer: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

14. Silver Carlist lighter. Museo Carlista de Madrid. Photo courtesy of Javier Urcelay.