

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 25.
2. For the polemics between 1996 and 2004 see Tusell, *Aznarato*. For an overview of the national question in post-1970s Spain see Balfour and Quiroga, *Reinvention of Spain*.
3. Connor, 'Terminological Chaos', pp. 89–117.
4. See the comments in Halliday, 'Formation of Yemini Nationalism', pp. 26–42.
5. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6.
6. For a general study which incorporates an analysis of the Hispanic Habsburg Empire see Marx, *Faith in the Nation*.
7. Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 76–8.
8. The key work for Catalonia is Torres Sans, *Naciones sin nacionalismo*.
9. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 14–21.
10. As analysed in some depth in Breuille, *Nationalism and the State*, pp. 54–71.
11. Stressed in, for example, Breuille, *Nationalism and the State*, p. 3; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 9–10.
12. The classic study is Kohn, *Idea of Nationalism*.
13. Because of its empirical weight, I would stress the importance of Baycroft and Hewitson (eds), *What is a Nation?*
14. Breuille, *Nationalism and the State*, p. 3. Few academics would, however, accept Breuille's argument that the term nationalism should be restricted to such opposition groups.
15. Applegate, 'A Europe of Regions', pp. 1157–82.
16. Smith, *National Identity*, p. 146.
17. For a stimulating analysis see Umbach, 'Nation and Region', pp. 63–80.
18. Walker Connor, 'Nation-Building or Nation Destroying?', p. 43.
19. Breuille, *Nationalism and the State*; Hroch, *Social Preconditions*.
20. Núñez Seixas, 'Region', pp. 483–518.
21. Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 20–1 and 66–7. Such a teleological perspective can, I would argue, be seen in, for example, Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX'; Termes, *Historia del Catalanisme*; Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism*; Llobera, *God of Modernity*, and *Foundations of National Identity*. Such views are not limited to Catalan historians. A teleological undercurrent can be detected in Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*. I cannot claim any originality in my critique of such teleological discourses. Similar comments have been made by such historians as Joan-Lluís Marfany, Àngel Duarte and Genís Barsonell. For a hard-hitting attack on primordialism see Eller and Coughlan, 'Poverty of Primordialism', pp. 183–201.
22. Rovira i Virgili, *Resum*.
23. Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', p. 296.
24. For example, he argues that the decision taken in 1842 to pull down the military fortress, La Ciudadela, represented 'one of the first examples of the rebirth of the Catalan spirit (*espirit*)', and affirms that the government's proposed 1851 civil

code was 'a stake in the heart of one of the major elements of the Catalan spirit (*ànima*)'. 'Catalans en el segle XIX', p. 253 and p. 263.

25. See, for example, Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 147; Fontana, 'Altra Renaixença', p. 17; Duran i Tort, *Renaixença*, p. 10.
26. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, pp. 217–18. For a sophisticated discussion in a Spanish context see Serrano, *Nacimiento de Carmen*, pp. 10–18.

## 1 King, Patria and Nation: Catalonia from the *Ancien Régime* to Liberalism

1. The word *pàtria* is used in the same way in the Castilian and Catalan languages, but the orthography is slightly different; *patria* in Castilian and *pàtria* in Catalan. Matters are further complicated because until Pompeu Fabra's standardization of Catalan grammar and spelling in the early twentieth century Catalans also wrote *patria*.
2. See Bisson, *Medieval Crown*. It should be noted that at times parts of the Crown were ruled independently by junior members of the House of Barcelona.
3. They were married in 1469 but did not rule jointly until 1479, when Fernando became king of the Crown of Aragon.
4. Elliott, 'Composite Monarchies', pp. 37–46.
5. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 24–6.
6. The Empire never had an official title. I have used the term 'Hispanic Habsburg Empire' because at the end of his reign Charles V divided his possessions into a Germanic half and a Hispanic half. Felipe II became monarch of the latter. But it should be noted that the Hispanic Habsburgs retained possessions outside Iberia in Italy and the Low Countries.
7. González Sánchez-Molero, 'Principis Hispanarium', pp. 65–85.
8. This is the view advanced in Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 255–6; Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714*, pp. 154–5; and Koenigsberger, 'Spain', pp. 161–8. It is, however, rejected in Thompson, 'Castile, Spain and the Monarchy', pp. 139–41.
9. Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 38–9.
10. Kamen, 'Política lingüística', p. 33.
11. See, for example, Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, p. 406.
12. Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, pp. 8–15.
13. Greenfeld, *Nationalism*; Anthony W. Marx, *Faith in the Nation*. A whole debate has grown up about whether this attachment should be termed old-regime 'patriotism', or whether it can legitimately be called 'nationalism'. Marx argues that the core element of nationalism is collective identification with the state (or with a religious opposition that aims to take state power). Hence, nationalism arose in sixteenth-century Europe. 'Modernist' scholars, like Ernest Gellner and E. J. Hobsbawm, and with respect to Spain José Álvarez Junco, on the other hand, affirm that nationalism only emerged in the late eighteenth century with the doctrines of national and political sovereignty. Clearly, a case study is not the place to undertake a long disquisition on the merits of rival definitions of nationalism. I have used the term patriotism for the early-modern era, but am also of the belief that the attachments to king, state, kingdom and religion, which were forged from the sixteenth century onwards, were an essential building block for modern nationalism. 'Modernists', I think, have posited too sharp a break between the early-modern and modern worlds. For the question of definitions see also, Introduction, pp. 3–4.

14. Elliott, 'Self Perception and Decline', p. 246; Thompson, 'Castile, Spain, and the Monarchy', pp. 135–9; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 41–4, and 79–81.
15. Connor, 'Ethnonationalism', pp. 74–6; Smith, *National Identity*, p. 22.
16. Elliott, 'Composite Monarchies', p. 59; Koenigsberger, 'Spain', p. 164; García Cárcel, 'Concepte d'Espanya', p. 42; Gónzález Sánchez-Molero, 'Principes Hispanarium', pp. 65–85; Thompson, 'Castile, Spain, and the Monarchy', p. 138; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 45–60.
17. Antón Pelayo, 'Historiografía catalana', p. 295; Gónzález Sánchez-Molero, 'Principes Hispanarium', pp. 83–5.
18. Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans*, p. 15.
19. Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans*, pp. 13–17 and pp. 42–8; Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, p. 279 and pp. 372–84.
20. Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans*, pp. 13–17 and pp. 42–8; Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, p. 279 and pp. 372–84.
21. Coll i Alentorn, 'Llegenda de Otger Cataló', pp. 1–47; Freedman, 'Legendary Origins of Catalonia', pp. 3–28; Coll i Alentorn, *Guifré el Pelós*; Alcoberro, 'Mites fundacionals', pp. 16–21; Villanueva, *Política y discurso histórico*; Simón i Tarrés, *Orígens ideològics*.
22. The key work is Marfany, *Llengua Maltractada*. See also, Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, pp. 190–5; Lluch, 'Producció de llibres', pp. 22–7; Kamen, 'Política lingüística', pp. 30–4. Jeroni Pujades' *Coronica Universal*, for example, reflected the growing influence of Castilian. The first volume was written in Catalan, but the next two (which would not be published until the early nineteenth century) were written in Castilian.
23. Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714*, pp. 211–12.
24. Vilar, 'Estado, nación y patria', p. 267; Torres Sans, 'Pactisme', pp. 45–62.
25. There is a detailed analysis in Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans*.
26. Albareda Salvadó, *Guerra de Sucesión*, pp. 41–5.
27. Albareda Salvadó, *Guerra de Sucesión*, pp. 492–8.
28. Artola, *Orígenes*, p. 31.
29. For more details see, for example, Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, pp. 11–12.
30. Felipe V affirmed in his 29 June 1707 decree abolishing the institutions of Aragon and Valencia that this was based on 'just right of conquest'. Cited in Lluch, *Catalunya vençuda*, p. 137. In England, in contrast, as Marx notes, the Puritan victory in the English civil war of 1640–5, followed by the execution of King Charles I, ensured that absolutism on the French model would not be possible. Marx, *Faith in the Nation*, p. 107. Of course, England was a major independent power surrounded by sea, while Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon were much smaller territories wedged between France and the Kingdom of Castile.
31. For an overview see Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 93–5.
32. Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, pp. 227–30.
33. Sánchez Ageste, "'Cortejo de naciones'", pp. 205–18; Maravall, 'Sentimiento de nación' and 'De la Ilustración al Romanticismo', pp. 29–41 and pp. 42–60; Fernández Sebastián, 'España, monarquía y nación', pp. 53–8.
34. Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, pp. 37–85; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 79–81, and pp. 227–32.
35. Vilar, 'Estado, nación y patria', pp. 267–71; Fernández Sebastián, 'España, monarquía y nación', p. 56; Varela, 'Nación, patria y patriotismo', p. 2.
36. Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 94–6; Prats, 'Estat de la llengua i de la cultura', pp. 308–17; Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 52.

37. For the concept of diglossia see Fishman, *Sociology of Language*. The key source remains Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, especially, p. 286, pp. 326–32, and pp. 403–12. From a somewhat different perspective see Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 94–6; Prats, 'Estat de la llengua i de la cultura', pp. 308–17. On the legal profession see Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 52.
38. Albareda Salvadó, *Guerra de Sucesión*, pp. 435–7; Roura i Aulinas, *Subjecció i revolta*, pp. 42–71.
39. Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714*, p. 268.
40. Albareda Salvadó, *Guerra de Sucesión*, pp. 478–92; Lluch, *Catalunya vençuda*, pp. 55–92; Albareda Salvadó, 'Onze de Setembre', p. 64.
41. Lluch, *Catalunya vençuda*, pp. 145–52. The text is reproduced in González Casanova (ed.), *Texts jurídics*, pp. 1–19.
42. Grau, *La Renovación de l'historicisme*.
43. Lluch, *Catalunya vençuda*, pp. 88–9.
44. Roura i Aulinas, *Subjecció i revolta*, pp. 123–213.
45. Solà, 'Tres notes', pp. 109–15, Roca Vernet, *Tradicció constitucional*, pp. 95–125.
46. Roura i Aulinas, *Subjecció i revolta*, p. 146.
47. Vilar, *Catalunya*, vol 1, pp. 85–7. Stephen Jacobson also argues that within the Barcelona legal profession growing job opportunities helped dissipate hostility towards the regime. *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 35–6.
48. For Catalonia's strong seventeenth-century manufacturing tradition see, Garcia i Espuche, *Barcelona 1700*. On the rise of the colonial trade see Vilar, *Catalunya*. There is a very full overview of the origins of Catalan industrialization, which lays more stress on the growth of the Spanish market, in Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 57–91 and 386–98. On the rise of cotton textiles see also, Thomson, *Distinctive Industrialization*, and Alejandro Sánchez, 'Crisis económica', pp. 485–522.
49. *Censo español ejecutado de orden del Rey*; Pérez Moroda, 'Modernización demográfica', p. 37.
50. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 38–9; Giralt, *Antoni de Capmany*, p. 6; Fernández Sebastián, 'España, monarquía y nación', p. 57. To give the example of three men who figure in this book, Fèlix Torres Amat and Antoni Puigblanch studied at the Reales Estudios de San Isidro in Madrid, followed by the University of Alcalá de Henares, and Prósper de Bofarull finished his law degree at the University of Huesca and then unsuccessfully tried to build a legal career in Madrid. Jardí, *Antoni Puigblanch*, p. 55; Milá y Fontanals, *Próspero de Bofarull*, pp. 9–11.
51. Solà, 'Tres notes', p. 111, Roca Vernet, *Tradicció constitucional*, p. 143–4.
52. Oliver, *Catalunya*, p. 22; Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, pp. 77–8.
53. Cited in Giralt, *Antoni de Capmany*, p. 20, and pp. 61–2.
54. Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, pp. 71–4.
55. For example in Church circles. See Puig, *Rudimentos de la gramática castellana*, p. xxiii; Prats, 'Estat de la llengua', p. 310 and p. 317.
56. Marfany, *Llengua Maltractada*, pp. 251–3; Prats, 'Estat de la llengua', pp. 312–13. The aim of the Catalan dictionary was also to 'conserve' its 'memory and purity'. The fact that Castilian was the language of high culture, as noted previously, was not seen as meaning that Catalan would or should disappear. For Church-state relations during the reign of Carlos III see Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society*, p. 5.

57. Esteve, Belvitges and Juglà Font, *Diccionario catalán*. The prologue explicitly affirmed that they had written it so that Catalans could learn Castilian and use it effectively.
58. Varela, 'Nación, patria y patriotismo', p. 38; Mantelli, 'Nationalism, Xenophobia and Catalanism', pp. 209–60. The work in question is Masdeu, *Historia crítica*.
59. For example, during the war against the Napoleonic invasion, in 1809 the cultured landowner, Josep de Batlle i Jover, stated that he favoured a unitary Spanish constitution 'as before the invasion of the Moors'. Cited in Puig i Oliver, *Constitució de Batlle i Jover*, p. 79. This is a question I shall further pursue in Chapter 2.
60. Historians who have followed Ernest Lluch in arguing that the *Austriacista* defence of a pluralist Spain was maintained throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century (so-called *Austriacisme persistent*) have undertaken a valuable service in demonstrating that Catalonia was not easily reconciled to the Bourbon monarchy, and that (as shall be seen in the next section) a strong sense of Catalan identity was maintained, along with specifically Catalan projects for political reform. But, I would argue, they have underestimated the importance of this assumption of a Spanish national identity.
61. Fontana, *Fi de l'antic regim*, p. 120; Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, p. 108; Torres Amat, *Memorias*, p. xviii.
62. Vilar, *Catalunya*, vol 2, pp. 187–214; Maluquer de Motes, 'Ascenso de la burguesía industrial', p. 186.
63. Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans*, pp. 34–44; Shubert, *Social History*, pp. 35–6.
64. Lluch, *Catalunya vençuda*, pp. 219–20; Grau, 'Intellectuals', pp. 331–2.
65. Mantelli, 'Nationalism, Xenophobia and Catalanism', p. 249; Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, pp. 59–70. One of their number, Josep Ullastra, wrote a Catalan grammar sometime between 1743 and 1762, but it was never published.
66. Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, pp. 42–6. The work in question is, Capmany de Montplau y de Surís, *Memorias históricas*.
67. Torres Amat, *Memorias*.
68. Torres Amat, *Memorias*, p. vi; Capmany, *Centinela contra franceses*, pp. 123–5.
69. Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 101–10; Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 17.
70. Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, pp. 39–56; Grau and López, 'Antoni de Capmany', pp. 13–40.
71. Antón Pelayo, 'Historiografía catalana', p. 308; Mantelli, 'Nationalism, Xenophobia and Catalanism', pp. 246–7.
72. Roura i Aulinas, *Subjecció i revolta*, pp. 79–241; Roca Vernet, *Tradició constitucional*, pp. 27–8.
73. Artola, *Burguesía revolucionaria*, p. 15.
74. Puig i Oliver, 'Guerra del francès', pp. 127–8; Puig i Oliver, *Tomàs Puig*. The quotation is from *Tomàs Puig*, p. 69.
75. Puig i Oliver, *Tomàs Puig*, p. 82; Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, pp. 360–2.
76. Riera i Fontbona, *Afrancesats*, pp. 244–9 and pp. 295–9.
77. Until then cultured Catalans had had to rely on a Catalan–Latin dictionary and thesaurus, Pere Torre, *Dictionarium seu thesaurus catalano-latinus, verborum ac phrasium*. The first edition I have found is from 1657. There were several reprints, the last, it seems, in 1757.
78. Ballot, *Gramática y apología de la lengua catalana*. The quotations are from the preface on pp. xxii–xiv, and the epilogue on pp. 259–69.
79. Ballot, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*.

80. See the pertinent comments in Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, pp. 351–9. Such ideas were still being repeated in the 1850s. Pablo Estorch i Sigués, the author of a new Catalan grammar published in 1857, stressed the need to learn Catalan properly because it would remain in common usage ‘perhaps for many centuries’. Estorch y Sigués, *Gramática*, pp. 7–9.
81. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 317.
82. Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, pp. 297–315.
83. See Vilar, ‘Pàtria i nació’, pp. 133–71. It is, however, unlikely that this idea was taken on board in every hearth and home. Studies of rural areas of central and southern Europe indicate that it was not until the age of mass schooling in the late nineteenth century that the concept of belonging to a nation penetrated rural communities (and no doubt the same could be said of belonging to large regions). See, for example, Connor, ‘What Is a Nation?’ pp. 210–26.
84. Introduction, p. 3. On the spread of liberal nationalism in the wake of the French Revolution see Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe*, pp. 21–2.
85. For the centrality of the concept of the *pueblo* in Spanish political discourse from 1808 see Juliá, *Dos Españas*, pp. 21–30.
86. Puig i Oliver, *Batlle i Jover*, p. 58; Miguel Artola, *Orígenes*, p. 337.
87. Rahola y Trémols, *Diputados por Cataluña*, p. 62. There are more examples in Anguera, *Precedents*, p. 71 and pp. 83–4.
88. Anguera, *Precedents*, pp. 59–60 and p. 86.
89. See, for example, Moliner Prada, *Catalunya resistent*, pp. 19–27, pp. 54–5, and pp. 229–58.
90. Etienvre, ‘Introducción, notas y crítica’, to Capmany, *Centinela*, pp. 26–7 and pp. 44–5.
91. Capmany, *Centinela*. The quotations are from pp. 89–90, pp. 116–17 and p. 136. With respect to language, it is worth noting that Capmany’s grandparents would without doubt have spoken Catalan. He clearly suppressed this fact in order to develop his Spanish nationalist discourse.
92. Maravall, ‘De la Ilustración al Romanticismo’, p. 35; Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, p. 474.
93. Arbós Marín notes the similarities between Capmany’s critique of the French Revolution with that of Edmund Burke in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. ‘Crisi i refundació’, p. 14.
94. Artola, *Burguesía revolucionaria*, pp. 34–5.
95. Varela, ‘Nación, patria y patriotismo’, p. 40; Portillo Valdés, ‘Nación, política y territorio económico’, p. 268; Segarra Estarrelles, ‘“Hidra del federalismo”’, pp. 27–8.
96. Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, p. 108. Though Espiga was from Castile and had only a tenuous relationship with Catalonia. See, Roura i Aulinas, ‘Protocatalanisme polític’, p. 32.
97. Portillo Valdés, ‘Nación, política y territorio económico’, pp. 267–75; Varela, ‘Nación, patria y patriotismo’, pp. 37–40. Varela notes that in the late eighteenth century Enlightenment figures proposed the division of Spain along more ‘rational’, geometric lines, and that this was taken up by the liberals. There was one suggestion that the new administrative units should simply be given numbers.
98. There are overviews in Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, pp. 117–31; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 84–5 and pp. 223–4; and Juliá, *Dos Españas*, pp. 21–30. Spanish historians have tended to argue that Spanish liberal historicism reflected the attempt to distinguish the Spanish revolutionary process from that of France. However, this ignores the fact that the deployment of historicism was

a generalized phenomenon in early nineteenth-century Europe, which drew on earlier foundation myths. Numerous examples are to be found in Baycroft and Hewitson (eds), *What is a Nation?*

99. Smith, *National Identity*, p. 91.
100. The point is also briefly made in Pérez-Garzón, 'Creación', p. 64.
101. Gil Novales, 'Martínez y Marina', pp. 1–7; Portillo Valdés, 'Nación, política y territorio económico', pp. 259–60; Juliá, *Dos Españas*, pp. 31–2. It should be noted that none of these authors pick up on the marginalization of the old Crown of Aragon.
102. Pérez-Garzón, 'Creación', p. 88; Capmany, *Centinela*, note 132, pp. 133–4.
103. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 85; Fernández Sebastián, 'España, monarquía, nación', p. 67.
104. Segarra Estarellés, "'Hidra del federalisme'", pp. 32–41.
105. Puig i Oliver, *Batlle i Jover*, pp. 68–70; Toledano González, 'Projecte català', pp. 82–4.
106. It is reproduced in Rahola y Trémols, *Diputados por Cataluña*, pp. 51–4.
107. Toledano, 'Projecte català', pp. 86–90.
108. Rahola y Trémols, *Diputados por Cataluña*, pp. 46–7.
109. Roca Vernet, *Tradició constitucional*, p. 139; Puig i Oliver, *Batlle i Jover*, p. 179; Rahola y Trémols, *Diputados por Cataluña*, p. 53; Enric Jardí, *Corts de Cadis*, pp. 47–8.
110. Artola, *Orígenes*, vol. 2, pp. 434–8, p. 440, and pp. 472–4; Toledano, 'Projecte català', pp. 94–6.
111. Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', p. 26.
112. Artola, *Orígenes*, vol. 2, pp. 434–5.
113. Artola, *Orígenes*, vol. 2, pp. 415–17; Capmani, *Práctica y estilo de hacer cortes*; Mantelli, 'Nationalism, Xenophobia and Catalanism', pp. 255–6.
114. Cited in Jardí, *Corts de Cadis*, p. 51.
115. Jardí, *Antoni Puigblanch*, p. x. As a result, Puigblanch maintained, the Catalan language had to be abandoned.
116. Population in the territorios of the old Crown of Aragon has been calculated from *Censo español ejecutado de orden del Rey*.
117. For a definition along these lines see Anguera, *Precedents*, p. 10. Unfortunately, later in the work the term often seems to take on political connotations.
118. Fradera, *Cultura nacional*.
119. Roura i Aulinas, 'Protocatalanisme polític', p. 37; Puig i Oliver, *Tomàs Puig*, p. 125; Puig i Oliver, *Batlle i Jover*, p. 218.

## 2 Catalonia in the Spanish Nation-Building Project, 1815–68

1. For the failure of the attempt to re-establish absolutism, still of key importance is Fontana, *Quiebra*. For a broader overview by the same author see *Crisis del Antiguo Régimen*.
2. For the liberal revolution see Burdiel, 'Myths of Failure', pp. 891–902.
3. Canal, *Carlismo*, pp. 65–119.
4. Cruz, 'Moderate Ascendancy', pp. 33–47.
5. Varela, 'Nación, patria y patriotismo', p. 39; Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, pp. 204–16.
6. Artola, *Burguesía revolucionaria*, pp. 211–13; Portillo Valdés, 'Nación, política y territorio económico', pp. 276–7; Fuster Sobrepera, *Barcelona i l'estat centralista*, pp. 48–59.

7. The key works are, Ballbé, *Orden público*; and López Garrido, *Guardia civil*.
8. Magraw, *France*, p. 68.
9. Jardí, *Puigblanch*, p. 57; Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, pp. 82–90 and p. 182; Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 38–9.
10. Herranz Loncán, *Infraestructuras*.
11. Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', p. 130; Jutglar, *Pi y Margall*, p. 57 and pp. 110–11; Bou i Ros, *Correspondència*, p. 76; Jardí, *Puigblanch*, p. 57.
12. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 87.
13. Much to the annoyance of many Catalanists later in the century, who argued that as Castilian was only one of Spain's languages, it should not be called Spanish. See, for example, the comments of Pico i Campanar in *Bases*, p. 71. As noted in Chapter 1, already in the late eighteenth century there were examples of Castilian being referred to as Spanish.
14. When in Madrid to take his exams for the literature chair Manuel Milà i Fontanals commented that it was to his advantage that 'I expressed myself, I was told, without an accent'. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 87.
15. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 27–32.
16. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 555–6.
17. Vilaclara, 'Renaixença i particularisme', p. 135; Almirall, *Contestación al discurso*, p. 38.
18. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 84. For the civil law question see Chapter 4, pp. 104–6.
19. Duran de la Rúa, *Unión Liberal*, p. 28; Fontana, 'Fi de l'antic règim', pp. 237–41; Cruz, *Gentlemen, Bourgeois and Revolutionaries*, pp. 94–5; Cruz, 'Moderate Ascendancy', p. 35; Shubert, *Social History*, p. 109.
20. Villacorta Baños, *Burguesía y cultura*, p. 42.
21. Marín, Planas and Pérez-Garzón, *Historiografía y nacionalismo*, pp. 3–13; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 199–200.
22. On Spanish Romanticism see Lloréns, *Liberales y Romanticos* and *Romanticismo español*.
23. Jover Zamora, 'Caracteres del nacionalismo español', p. 8; Díaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and Nationalism', pp. 39–56; Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 71–81; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 227–79.
24. The dominance of this Castilian narrative is recognized in, for example, Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 84; Pérez-Garzón, 'Creación', p. 66 and p. 80; and Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 194.
25. Ametlla, *Memòries*, p. 80; Cambó, *Memòries*, vol. 1, p. 25.
26. Serrano, *El nacimiento de Carmen*, p. 171 and p. 191; Pérez-Garzón, 'Mitos fundacionales', p. 25; and by the same author, 'Creación', pp. 88–9.
27. Pérez-Garzón, 'Creación', p. 91; Serrano, *Nacimiento de Carmen*, pp. 131–59; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 262–4. Much more work, it should be noted, is needed on the cultural construction of Spain in the nineteenth century.
28. See the comments in Billig, *Banal nationalism*, pp. 27–8; Smith, *National Identity*, p. 146.
29. Such ideas were sketched out in Linz, 'Early State-Building', pp. 32–116, and in Shubert, *Social History*, pp. 168–90. They have been more fully developed in Riquer i Permanyer, especially, 'Débil nacionalización', pp. 97–114; Boyd, *Historia Patria*, and Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 499–608. Also broadly supportive of this perspective is Núñez Seixas, 'Construcción del Estado-nación', pp. 7–32.



30. Shubert, *Social History*, pp. 168–90; Tortella, *Development of Modern Spain*, p. 359.
31. Fusi Aizpurua, 'Centralismo y localismo', p. 89.
32. See especially, Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 3–40.
33. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 67–94.
34. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 8; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 547.
35. Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, pp. 44–6 and pp. 146–7.
36. Almirall, *España tal como es*, pp. 123–4.
37. Ametlla, *Memòries*, p. 95.
38. Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', pp. 19–20; Joaquim Casas-Carbó, 'Catalunya trilingüe', reproduced in Cacho Viu, *Modernistes*, pp. 155–7. Joaquim Casas-Carbó put the number of migrant Castilian speakers in Barcelona in 1896 at 30,000.
39. Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, pp. 44–7.
40. Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society*, pp. 186–208.
41. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 71–88; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 417–30; Cirujano Marín, Planes and Pérez Garzón, *Historiografía y nacionalismo español*, p. 83; Jover Zamora, 'Caracteres', pp. 12–13.
42. Serrano, *Nacimiento de Carmen*, pp. 77–130. For the world view of the republican Left see Sanabria, *Republicanism and Anticlerical Nationalism*.
43. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 83–107; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms*, pp. 41–4.
44. See, for example, Lyttleton, 'An Old Church and a New State', pp. 225–45; Elwitt, *Making of the Third Republic*..
45. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 6–8.
46. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 87–8; Serrano, *Nacimiento de Carmen*, pp. 77–130; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 553–63; Fusi, 'Centralismo y localismo', p. 89.
47. General histories of Portugal generally bring out the similarities with Spain. See, for example, Gallagher, *Portugal*, pp. 1–20.
48. See in particular, Archilés and Martí, 'Un país tan extraño', pp. 245–78; Archilés, 'Quien necesita la nación débil?', pp. 302–33.
49. There is no overarching study, but some of these points are raised in the works by Archilés and Martí cited in the previous footnote.
50. For the European context see, Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, pp. 21–2.
51. Pérez Moroda, 'Modernización demográfica', p. 57; *Censo de Población de España, 1857*. In reality, these official statistics failed to keep pace with Barcelona's growth. Laureano Figuerola calculated that Barcelona already had 180,000 inhabitants in 1848. *Estadística de Barcelona*, p. 288.
52. Fradera, *Cultura nacional*, pp. 67–85; Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 245–94.
53. Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', pp. 111–13.
54. Solà, 'Societat barcelonina', pp. 39–68; Caminal i Badia, 'Institut Agrícola', pp. 121–2; McDonogh, *Good Families*, pp. 116–19; Fradera, 'Burguesia emergent', pp. 320–35; Marfany, 'Víctor Balaguer', pp. 63–8; García Rovira, 'Radicalismo liberal', pp. 71–2.
55. For the University of Cervera see Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, p. 102. I have found information on the number of students in Barcelona University in 'L. E.', 'Los diputados catalanes y la universidad', *DB*, 17 February 1852. For data on members of the liberal professions see Solà, 'Societat barcelonina', pp. 49–50. Stephen Jacobson notes that a degree could also be an avenue of advancement for more modest families: *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 38–40.

56. This was not limited to Catalonia. See Duran de la Rúa, *Unión Liberal*, p. 55.
57. Marfany, 'Víctor Balaguer', pp. 63–8; Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p. 53; Fradera, *Cultura nacional*, p. 92.
58. For Balaguer see Palomas i Moncholí, *Víctor Balaguer*.
59. See Chapter 4, pp. 117–23.
60. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, pp. 30–41.
61. Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, p. 145 and p. 213; Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, pp. 21–2; Roura, *Martí d'Eixalà*, pp. 151–3.
62. On Sol i Padrís see Illas y Vidal, *Sol y Padrís*; Mañé y Flaquer, 'Necrología de José Sol y Padrís', pp. 287–93. On Illas i Vidal see Estasen and Cortada, *Illas y Vidal*. There is, surprisingly, no wide-ranging biography on Aribau, but see Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 332–56.
63. Font, 'Valentí Almirall', p. 129. See also Fontana, *Fi de l'antic regim*, pp. 417–19.
64. For Bofarull's life see, Milà i Fontanals, *Próspero de Bofarull*. For the Bofarull dynasty Grau i Fernández, 'Dinastia Bofarull', pp. 121–38.
65. On these cultural institutions see Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, p. 48; Jorba, 'La Renaixença', p. 32; Roura, *Martí d'Eixalà*, pp. 52–7 and pp. 151–3; Fradera, *Cultura nacional*, p. 102. There is additional information on the *Sociedad Económica* in Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, n. 41, p. 27, and p. 107. It should be emphasized that representatives of both business and the landowning elite formed part of these associations. For the latter see Caminal i Badia, 'Institut Agrícola', p. 122.
66. Martí d'Eixalà's life is dealt with in Roura, *Martí d'Eixalà*. Duran i Bas himself described the development of the 'Catalan legal school' in 'La escuela jurídica catalana', pp. 347–74. For the political preferences of the legal professions see Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*. Prestigious lawyers were the only members of the liberal professions who could expect admittance to the most elite bourgeois recreational society, the Círculo del Liceo. See Lagoutte, 'Cercle del Liceu', pp. 54–7. On the issue of political representation it should, however, be noted that in Barcelona from the mid-1840s, after town halls were given tax-raising powers business and propertied interests preferred to exercise power directly. See Fuster Sobrepera, 'Regidors', pp. 187–202.
67. For *DB* see Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p. 63; Figueres, 'Prensa burgesa', pp. 296–7. There are two important biographies of Mañé i Flaquer, Graell, *Juan Mañé y Flaquer*, and Maragall, *Biografía*. Already in June 1849 Mañé i Flaquer affirmed that *El Brusi* was 'the most widely read paper in Barcelona'. Bou i Ros, *Correspondència*, p. 96.
68. Barsonell, 'Consens i revolució', pp. 140–1 and pp. 153–63; Almirall 'Espanyolitat', pp. 58–61.
69. 'Glorias Nacionales', reproduced in Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, pp. 190–1; Martí de Eixalà, *Discurso inaugural*, p. 11.
70. Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, p. 213; Barsonell, 'Consens i revolució', p. 158.
71. For the radical liberals, along with the Barsonell article cited above, see especially García Rovira, 'Radicalismo liberal'. The quotation is from Roca Vernet, *Tradició constitucional*, p. 234.
72. Anon., *Successos de Barcelona*.
73. Juliá, *Dos Españas*, pp. 46–7; Alonso, '1808 y la nación española', pp. 75–103.
74. Vilallonga, 'La nación católica', pp. 49–64.
75. Canal, *Carlismo*, pp. 120–209; Fradera, *Jaume Balmes*, pp. 34–57.

76. On the ideology of the conservative Romantics there are more details in Chapter 4.
77. Pérez Garzón, 'Creación', p. 230. Ten volumes of *Recuerdos y Bellezas* were produced between 1839 and 1865, while the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* published 71 volumes between 1846 and 1871. The latter aimed to publish a volume on Catalan and Provençal poetry, but it never materialized.
78. Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, pp. 110–11.
79. Díez, 'Evolución de la pintura española', pp. 154–9.
80. *DB*, 20, 29 January 1852; *Las glorias nacionales*, 6 vols.
81. Bofarull y Mascaró, *Condes de Barcelona*.
82. See Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, pp. 74–82.
83. The quotation is from Piferrer in, Parcerisa, Piferrer and Pi i Margall, *Recuerdos y bellezas*, vol. 2, p. 61. Similar views were frequently expressed by Antoni de Bofarull and Víctor Balaguer. The latter referred to the 'general historians' who write 'as if Castile were Spain'. *Historia de Cataluña*, vol.1, p. 11. As noted in Chapter 1, the same complaint had already been made in the seventeenth century.
84. Bofarull y Mascaró, *Condes de Barcelona* vol. 1, pp. i–xii; *Cortada, Lecciones*, pp. 5–15, pp. 37–42, and pp. 87–102.
85. Parcerisa, Piferrer, and Pi i Margall, *Recuerdos y bellezas*, vol. 2, p. 69.
86. See, for example, Parcerisa, Piferrer and Pi i Margall, *Recuerdos y bellezas*, vol. 2, p. 61.
87. Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, vol. 1, p. 180 and p. 407.
88. *Cortada, Lecciones*, p. 25.
89. Bofarull y Mascaró, *Condes de Barcelona*, vol. 2, p. 332; *Cortada, Lecciones*, pp. 191–218.
90. See, for example, Milá y Fontanals, 'Discurs del senyor president', pp. 183–5.
91. *Cortada, Lecciones*, pp. 268–81, pp. 309–16, pp. 340–52, pp. 369–75.
92. Illas y Vidal, *Memoria sobre los prejuicios*, p. 45.
93. Rubió y Ors, *Lecciones elementales*.
94. Michonneau, 'Gerona, buluarte de España', pp. 191–218; Marfany, 'Mitologia de la Renaixença', pp. 26–9.
95. There is a detailed though hagiographic biography, Folch i Torres, *Martí Alsina*. Major canvasses include, *Los defensores de Gerona (The Defenders of Gerona)* (1863), *Somatén: un episodio en la Guerra de la Independencia (Somatén: An Episode in the War of Independence)* (1866), and *La Compañía de Santa Barbará (The Company of Saint Barbará)* (1891).
96. Anguera, 'Damunt el polvorí', p. 66.
97. Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p. 90.
98. *Desgravios y homenajes*; Anon. (Prosper de Bofarull y Mascaró), introduction to, Guillermo Forteza y Valentín, *Juicio crítico*, p. xv; Rubió i Ors, *Breve reseña*, p. 26. The introduction to the work by Forteza y Valentín was written by the president of the Barcelona Real Academia de Buenas Letras. As Prósper de Bofarull held this post until his death in 1859 then it follows that this introduction was by him.
99. Cornet y Mas, *Guía de Barcelona*, pp. 200–2. It would be destroyed following the 1868 revolution.
100. Blanco, 'Introducción', pp. xx–xxi; Duran de la Rúa, *Unión Liberal*, pp. 193–5.
101. Quoted from Ferrer Vidal, *Consideraciones sobre la crisis*, pp. 13–16.
102. Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, p. 23.

103. Lluçh, "Gira triunfal", pp. 74 and p. 87; Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, p. 49 and p. 190.
104. For Balmes, see the series of articles in the journal *La Sociedad*, published between 15 March and 1 May 1844, reproduced in Balmes, *Escrits sobre Catalunya*, pp. 43–144.
105. Felipe Redondo, *Trabajadores*, pp. 145–9.
106. Pierre Vilar emphasizes that Catalan business saw protectionism as a Spanish cause. *Catalunya*, vol. 1, pp. 63–82. However, he does not analyse the nature of this discourse in any depth.
107. Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, p. 194; Fontana, *Fi de l'antic regim*, p. 429; Jorba, 'Llengua i literatura', p. 10; Molas, Fàbregas and Massot, 'Nova literatura popular', p. 48; Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 331–85; Marfany, 'Minority languages', pp. 162–3.
108. Elorza, 'Primera democràcia federal', p. 193 and pp. 220–1.
109. Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*.
110. Molas, Fàbregas and Massot, 'Nova literatura popular', p. 48.
111. Weber, *Pèasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 86–7.
112. Rubió i Ors, 'Lo gayté del Llobregat', p. 92. In reality, I think, *Lo Verdader Català* was referring to the urban middle and upper classes.
113. Casacuberta, 'Lo verdader català', p. 79.
114. Quoted in Roca Vernet, *Tradicció constitucional*, p. 230.
115. This was the case of Ramon Muns, Pau Piferrer and Manuel Milà i Fontanals. See Josep Maria de Casacuberta, 'Lo Verdader Català', p. 1–3; Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 169.
116. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 173.
117. Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, pp. 307–444.
118. This was the stated aim of the works by T. M. T. P. and M. M., *Diccionario castellano-catalán* and *Diccionario catalán-castellano*. Other Catalans, Alemany (1844 and 1846) and Pers i Ramona (1847), wrote Castilian grammars with the same objective. Pers i Ramona affirmed that he had produced his grammar so that Catalans 'could possess after some study, the general language of the Spanish nation'. *Gramàtica Catalana-Castellana*, p. 6. They had a ready market. Alemany's 1846 *Gramàtica castellana dispuesta para uso de la juventud* went through 24 reprints before a second edition was published in 1858.
119. For Figuerola and the Escuela Normal see Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, pp. 343–6; Costas, 'Viraje del pensamiento', pp. 53–4. The works in question are Yllas y Vidal and Figuerola, *Elementos de gramàtica castellana*, and Odón Fonoll, *Método práctico*.
120. Torelló y Borrás, *Método práctico racional*. It was published in 1870 and further editions appeared in 1875, 1882 and 1891.
121. Brosa y Arnó, *Guía del instructor catalán*; Genís Salvador, *El auxiliar del maestro catalán*.
122. Marfany, 'Religion', pp. 154–74. For example, while between the 1840s and 1860s the Catholic publicist Antoni Maria Claret published large numbers of popular works in Catalan (but also produced Castilian translations), the publications of the more elitist *Liberia Religiosa* he set up with the future bishop of Barcelona, Josep Caixal i Estradé, were in Castilian. Bonet, Manent and Martí, 'Contribució', p. 36.
123. Martí, *Església a Barcelona*, vol. 1, p. 41 and p. 65.
124. For which see Lannon, *Privilege*, pp. 59–88.

125. Martí, *Església a Barcelona*, pp. 351–2.
126. Torres y Bages, *Ésglésia*, pp. 29–33. The Catalanist weekly, *La Renaixensa*, also complained, during these years, that the language of the seminary was Castilian and that priests' sermons and orations were also in Castilian. See Duran i Tort, '*La Renaixensa*', pp. 99–100. These comments, it should be noted, refer to urban Catalonia. In rural areas priests continued to preach in Catalan. On which see, for example, Ametlla, *Memòries*, p. 96.
127. Jover Zamora 'Caracteres', pp. 14–19; Alcalá, *Campaña de Marruecos*, pp. 21–2.
128. For the campaign and celebration see Balaguer, *Reseña de los festejos* and *Jornadas de gloria*; Roure, *Recuerdos*, pp. 143–7; Anguera, 'Damunt el polvorí', pp. 66–7; Garcia Balañà, 'Primer Balaguer', pp. 36–41; Garcia Balañà, 'Patria, plebe y política', pp. 13–77; and Pich i Mitjana, 'Renaixença popular', pp. 1097–109. I have also consulted *DB*.
129. For example, in a supplement to *El Cañón Rayado* Víctor Balaguer published a poem which sung the praises of the Spanish army and Spanish flag, and an accompanying sketch showed an officer, surrounded by troops, raising the flag in triumph. In Balaguer's work, *Jornadas de gloria*, there is also a sketch of General Prim on horseback carrying the flag, while Joan Cortada, writing for *El Telégrafo*, expressed his satisfaction that 'the flag flies over the city of Tetuán'. Anguera, 'Damunt el polvorí', p. 57; Balaguer, *Jornadas de gloria*, p. 289; Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p. 191.
130. Two hundred of these schoolchildren sung a 'triumphal hymn' – which was widely distributed –, the chorus of which read: 'The bugle called you to battle/And you loyally went/Let there always be Spaniards/To revenge national honour.' Balaguer, *Reseña de los festejos*, p. 43.
131. For which see Garcia Balañà, 'Patria, plebe y política', pp. 27–41.
132. Roca y Roca, 'José Anselmo Clavé', pp. 25–47.
133. For Altimira see Roure, *Recuerdos*, pp. 147–8.
134. These are the works already mentioned, *Jornades de Gloria*, and *Reseña de los festejos*.
135. *Jocs Florals de Barcelona de 1860*, pp. 113–43.
136. Coroleu, *Barcelona y sus alrededores*, p. 119. Fortuny's canvas is now on show in the Catalan National Museum of Art (MNAC). Catalan volunteers were also raised in the aftermath of the 1868 Cuban rebellion. Ramon Padró's canvas, *The Cuban Volunteers Embarking*, was also hung in the Saint Jordi Room from the 1870s. It is now to be found in the Barcelona Maritime Museum (MMB).
137. See for example Estanislao Reynals i Rabassa, 'Cataluña y La Guerra', *DB*, 4 May 1860.
138. It included the lines: 'Glory to Spain, the heroic matron/who humiliated the foreigner's arrogance/invincible at Sagunto, Numancia, Covadonga, Girona and Brucl!' Reproduced in Molas, Fàbregas and Massot, 'La nova literatura popular', p. 48.
139. Rivière Gómez, *Orientalismo*, pp. 91–106.
140. Balaguer, *Jornadas de gloria*, p. 6.
141. Balaguer, *Reseña de los festejos*, p. 60.
142. Garcia Balañà, 'Patria, plebe y política', p. 56.
143. Jover Zamora, 'Caracteres', pp. 17–19.
144. Balaguer, *Jornadas de Gloria*, p. 6. The 1212 battle of Navas de Tolosa was seen as a key victory in the 'Reconquest' of Spain from the Moors.

145. Joan Cortada, *El Telégrafo*, 27 November 1859, 10 February 1860, reproduced in Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p.191 and p. 195. Balaguer used similar imagery.
146. *Jocs Florals de Barcelona en 1860*, p. 27.
147. Juliá, *Dos Españas*, pp. 34–5.
148. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 47–9.

### 3 Liberalism, Romanticism and the Consolidation of a Cultural Catalan Identity, 1815–74

1. Indeed, the assimilation of the new meaning of province seems to have been slow in Spain in general. In the first edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, which came out in 1780, Catalonia was referred to as a province, and throughout the nineteenth century Catalans were referred to as the inhabitants of either the province or principality of Catalonia. A contrast may be drawn with Portugal, where a much more culturally homogenous liberal and Romantic movement developed, focussed above all on the great fifteenth-century Portuguese maritime discoveries. See, for example, Freeland, 'The People and the Poet', pp. 53–68. The big difference was that elites throughout Portugal saw the country as ethnically and culturally unified and there was little sense amongst elites of a pluralist past.
2. Anon., *Successos de Barcelona, 1822–1835*, p. 181. For Catalan liberal historicism see especially, Fradera, 'Política liberal', pp. 684–5; Roca Vernet, *Tradició constitucional*, pp. 159–77.
3. This is a central theme of Fradera, *Cultura nacional*.
4. Umbach, 'A Tale of Second Cities', pp. 659–71. One can compare this situation with that of southern France, where the Romantic *Félibrige* literary movement never became popular. See Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 80–1. Presumably, an important factor will have been that the south of France was, in comparison with the north, poor and backward, without any major industrial centres, and that local political and cultural elites bought into the Parisian-led nationalist and Romantic discourse.
5. Jorba, 'Romanticisme', pp. 94–6; Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 332–56.
6. Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 350–3 and pp. 402–17.
7. There is a dense biography of the former, Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*.
8. Jorba, 'La Renaixença', pp. 111–15; Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 439–55. For *DB* see Chapter 2, pp. 54–5.
9. Jorba, 'Jocs Florals', pp. 124–6; Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, pp. 113–14. Subsequently the Diputación Provincial would also give financial support for the publication of Romantic historical and literary works. See Camps i Arboix, *Duran i Bas*, p. 36.
10. For more details see Miracle, *Jocs Florals*.
11. Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, pp. 117–19; Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 410–11.
12. Cortada, *Lorenzo*.
13. Parcerisa and Piferrer, *Recuerdos y bellezas*, vols 1–3. The quotation is from vol. 1, p. 1. Piferrer wrote the texts of the first volume on Catalonia and the third volume on Mallorca, and Parcerisa produced the illustrations. Piferrer then wrote half the text of the second volume on Catalonia before his death (with Pi i Margall completing it). Cortada produced a less sophisticated *Viaje a la isla de Mallorca*.

14. Fradera, *Cultura nacional*, pp. 157–74.
15. It was now published in six volumes. The Catalan Romantics' internalization of Castilian as the language of high culture is shown by the fact that the volume originally published in Catalan by Pujades in 1609 was now translated into Castilian.
16. Bofarull y Brocá, *Hazañas y recuerdos*; Balaguer, *Bellezas*.
17. A feel for the period can be gleaned from Rubió y Ors, *Roca y Cornet*, pp. 32–5. For an overview see Fradera, 'Passat com a present', pp. 64–7.
18. The *Biblioteca de Escritores Catalanes* published the complete poetic works of Francesc Vicent Garcia, the 'Rector de Vallfogona' and of Pere Serafí in 1840. Casacuberta, '*Lo Verdader Catalá*', p. 10. It should be noted that similar initiatives were undertaken in other Spanish provinces.
19. Bofarull y Brocá, *Historia crítica*; Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*.
20. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernismo*, pp. 271–2.
21. Bofarull y Brocá, 'Jocs Florals de Barcelona de 1859', pp. 193–4; Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, pp. 39–40; Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, vol. 1, p.13.
22. Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, vol. 1, p. 471; Parcerisa y Piferrer, *Recuerdos*, vol. 1, p. 14, vol. 2, p. 103; Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, pp. 33–4; Anon. (Bofarull y Mascaró), Introduction to *Fortaleza y Valentín, Juicio crítico*, p. vi. Historians now locate the passage of the *usatges* to the 1160s, during the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV.
23. All the accounts between the 1840s and 1860s, from Piferrer through to Balaguer's history of Catalonia, were similar. If anything Balaguer's later account was more idealistic. At least Piferrer recognized that elites came to dominate Catalan municipal government, a problem which, he claimed, was resolved by reforms under Alfons V in 1455. Balaguer makes no such comment, perhaps because this date was after the Casp Compromise, from when, as we shall see, he argued Catalan decadence began to set in. Balaguer gives a long account of Catalan medieval constitutional arrangements in his *Historia*, vol. 2, pp. 715–45.
24. Cortada gives a long list of Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon's achievements in *Cataluña y los catalanes*, pp. 33–4. The quotation is from Balaguer, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 483.
25. A similar generational model is presented in Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', pp. 195–205. Unlike the interpretation advanced in this work, Vicens Vives stresses continuity between the first and second Romantic generations. However, I think he tends to underestimate the extent to which the first liberal and Romantic generations (at their height between the 1820s and 1840s) bought into the Spanish nation-building project.
26. Balaguer, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 9–179, and note 1, p. 462. The quotation is from note 1, p. 462. For Piferrer's comments see Chapter 2, p. 58.
27. Bofarull y Brocá, *Lengua catalana*, pp. 24–7, and *Crónica Catalana*, pp. vii–xxiv. The quotations are from the former work. It should, however, be noted that there was some ambiguity regarding who exactly these Castilians were. The emphasis was clearly on Madrid and the inhabitants of the old kingdoms of Castile and León, though Andalusians also tended to be included.
28. Mañé y Flaquer, 'Un precursor del regionalismo español', *Revista de La España Regional*, 1,10, 18 August 1891. These articles were originally published in the southern French publication, *Le Messager du Midi*, in 1855.

29. Grau i Fernández, 'Dinastia Bofarull', pp. 130–1 and pp. 136; Balaguer, *Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 399–428.
30. Bofarull y Brocá, 'Memoria del secretari', pp. 202–3.
31. Balaguer, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 723.
32. Mañé y Flaquer, 'Un precursor del regionalismo español', 1 August 1891, p. 99, and 'Cataluña', pp. 421–2; Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, p. 25.
33. Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, pp. 131–2.
34. For more details see, Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, pp. 151–3; Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 290–1. Antoni de Bofarull referred to the 'rebirth' (*renacimiento*) of the Catalan language in a speech in 1857. See, *Lengua catalana*, p. 25. In 1858 Rubió i Ors celebrated the 'revival' (*revifament*) of the Catalans 'patriotic spirit'. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 151. Unfortunately, it is common for Catalan historians and literary specialists to use the term *Renaixença* for the whole period from circa 1833 to 1868. This serves to obscure the importance of the ideology break which takes place in the 1850s.
35. Hroch, *Social Preconditions*, p. xi.
36. Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 20–1 and pp. 66–7.
37. For the importance of such foundation myths see Smith, *National Identity*, p. 22; Connor, 'Ethnonationalism', pp. 74–6.
38. Bofarull y Brocá, *Crónica catalana*, pp. xi–xii.
39. Balaguer, *Historia*, vol. 2, pp. 69–74.
40. Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 126–8.
41. Repeated, for example, in Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, vol. 1, pp. 316–19.
42. Moliner Prada, *Catalunya contra Napoleó*, pp. 20–8.
43. There is a brief history, Manot i Muntaner, *Creadors*. For Prim see, *DB*, 4 May 1860.
44. For a broad overview see Nogué, 'Nationalismo, territorio y paisaje', pp. 147–69.
45. The quote is from Bofarull y Brocá, *Lengua catalana*, p. 24.
46. Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, p. 109; Balaguer, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 484; Bofarull y Brocá, *Crónica catalana*, pp. viii–ix.
47. For a colourful portrayal of Fivaller see Balaguer, *Bellezas*, pp. 14–15.
48. Riera and Fontbona, 'L'art', pp. 149–52.
49. Cornet y Mas, *Guía de Barcelona*, pp. 200–2; Fabre, Huertas and Bohiga, *Monuments de Barcelona*, pp. 35–7; Michonneau, *Barcelona: memòria i identitat*, pp. 59–61; Coroleu, *Barcelona y sus alrededores*, p. 114; *Reseña de la sesión pública*.
50. Michonneau, *Memòria*, pp. 46–7. Robert Hughes mistakenly claims that *Renaixença* literary figures were early Catalan nationalists and that the streets of the Eixample only celebrated the heroic deeds of the Catalans. *Barcelona*.
51. For which see Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 563.
52. For Catalonia see Giralt, 'Influència francesa', pp. 16–36; Coroleu, *Barcelona y sus alrededores*, pp. 49–51.
53. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 17.
54. Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, pp. 74–82. Presumably the work was approved by central government.
55. Anon. (Bofarull y Mascaró), introduction to *Fortaleza, Juicio crítico*, pp. xii–xiii.
56. *DB*, 30 June 1851.
57. Bofarull y Brocá, *Lengua catalana*, p. 26; *Reseña de la sesión pública*, p. 59.
58. Duran y Bas, *Permanyer*, p. 53.
59. From the article by Joaquim Sitger in *Lo Gay Saber*, 15 June 1868.
60. Martí de Eixalá, *Discurso inaugural*, and 'Manual de la historia', pp. 155–99.



61. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, p. 155.
62. Bofarull y Brocá, *Lengua catalana*, p. 26.
63. For examples of the application of the term *pàtria* to Catalonia and nation to Spain see, for example, Bofarull y Brocá, 'Reestablecimiento de los Juegos Florales', pp. 115–18; Juan Mañé y Flaquer, 'Crónica del rey de Aragón D. Pedro IV el ceremonioso, o del Punyalet', *Diario de Barcelona*, 17 August 1851.
64. All these elements are present in the first periodical written in the Catalan language, *Lo Verdader Català*. See Casacuberta, '*Lo Verdader Català*'. A speech by Lluís Gonzalo in the 1861 Jocs Florals is interesting in that it clearly differentiates between the component parts of Catalan patriotism and Spanish nationalism. See Hina, *Castilla y Cataluña*, p. 128.
65. Bofarull y Brocá, *Crónica catalana*, pp. xxiii–xxiv; Anon. (Bofarull y Mascará), Introduction to *Fortaleza, Juicio crítico*, p. vi; Terensi Thós y Codina, 'Restauració dels Jocs Florals de Barcelona', *Revista de Catalunya*, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1862), pp. 254–62; Guardiola, *Libro de la democracia*, p. 62. However, at other times in Guardiola's work the nation seems to be Spain. Moreover, he was favourably disposed to Felipe V because he 'pulled us [and here the 'us' seems to be all Spaniards] out of the humiliating prostration in which the Habsburg dynasty had led us' (p. 22).
66. Josep Fontana argues that Antoni de Bofarull's comment, noted above, indicated that the Romantics questioned whether Spain was the nation (*Fi de l'antic règim*, p. 426). I think this is to go too far. The problem was that Bofarull's writing frequently lacked clarity. In his introduction to Montaner's *Crónica catalana* he developed the standard argument that Spain was heterogeneous and should cherish its separate parts. He went on to affirm that it was a union of nationalities rather than a nation, but subsequently argued that through the efforts of its diverse territories 'the Spanish nation will glow with the beauty of its heterogeneity, returning it to its true national self' (pp. xxiii–xxiv). That is to say, Bofarull had managed to claim that Spain was and was not a nation in the same paragraph. In the same work he also took an intermediate position, referring to 'the rebirth of our national spirit, which should be seen [...] from a purely literary perspective' (p. xiii). However, the poems he wrote during the 'War of Africa' brought out his Spanish nationalism. In one such offering 'To the Heroes of the Spanish Army, Defenders of National Honour', he stated: 'Seeing national honour injured/there was little delay/ [...] /the sword which glinted victorious in Granada and Lepanto, was once again brandished: and its light filled the barbarians with fear'. Balaguer, *Reseña de los festejos*, p. 31.
67. Moreover, in order to avoid confusion one must take into account that the Catalan intelligentsia referred to medieval Catalonia as a 'nation' much more readily than modern Catalonia. Hence, Pere Anguera is right when he states that Lluís Cutchet called Catalonia a 'great nation'. But Cutchet was referring to the Middle Ages, and subsequently stated that the Napoleonic War had showed that 'Catalonia was always the bulwark of Spain'. Cutchet, 'Introducción', *Revista de Catalunya*, 1862, pp. 11–12.
68. Cortada, *Lecciones*, pp. 431–2; Juan Mañé y Flaquer, 'El absolutismo en España', IV, *DB*, 13 April 1856. On Spain's diversity see also, Bofarull y Brocá in, 'Jocs Florals de Barcelona de 1859', pp. 186–213.
69. *DB*, 21 April 1861.
70. Mañé y Flaquer, '*Cataluña*', p. 453.
71. Conrad Roure, *Recuerdos*, vol. 1, pp. 191–212; García Balaña, 'Ordre industrial', p. 115. By the late nineteenth century bullfighting was being referred to as the

- espetáculo* or *fiesta nacional*. There is a disparaging reference to this usage in the article by 'Z. Z.' in *LR*, 20 September 1889.
72. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 11; Smith, *National Identity*, p. 146.
  73. Fontana, 'L'altra Renaixença', p. 25.
  74. For example, Balaguer's poem *Els voluntaris Catalans* (*The Catalan Volunteers*), which won a prize at the Jocs Florals, includes the lines: 'Oh Moor no one ever spoke to you of Otger/No one ever sang to you the noble actions of King Jaume/We are their grandsons.' And: 'Be proud *patria* ... Catalonia still has *Almogàvers*.' *Jocs Florals de Barcelona en 1860*, pp. 123–4. For Prim's speech to the volunteers see Balaguer, *Jornadas de Gloria*, vol. 1, pp. 348–9.
  75. Estanislaó Reynals y Rabassa, 'Cataluña y la guerra', *DB*, 4 May 1860.
  76. Cited in Pich i Mitjana, 'Renaixença popular', p. 1099.
  77. Fontana, 'L'altra Renaixença', p. 27; Anguera, *Precedents*, pp. 288–9; Pich i Mitjana, 'Renaixença popular', p. 1099. As noted in Chapter 1, Catalan historians frequently use the term *catalanitat* to refer to early and mid-nineteenth century Catalan identity. Unfortunately, the actual content of this term is not generally explained. From our perspective, its usage is acceptable if it refers to the existence of a cultural-regional identity, but not if it implies some kind of 'proto-national' identity.
  78. See, for example, Parcerisa and Piferrer, *Recuerdos*, vol. 2, p. 7.
  79. Casacuberta, *Lo Verdader Catalá*, p. 103.
  80. For Mañé i Flaquer see *DB*, 4 May 1857, 21 April 1861. For Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, pp. 17–18.
  81. Pers y Ramona, *Lengua i literatura catalana*, pp. 60–6.
  82. Rubió y Ors, 'Lo Gayté del Llobregat', pp. 75–84.
  83. Cited in Raguier, 'Catalanisme de Balmes', p. 214.
  84. Casacuberta, *Lo Verdader Catalá*. The quotation is from p. 53.
  85. Labèrnia, *Diccionari de la llengua catalana*; Societat de Catalans, *Diccionari catalá-castellá-llatí-francés-italiá*.
  86. *Diccionari catalá-castellá, llatí, francés-italiá*, p. 3; Labèrnia, *Diccionari de la llengua catalana. Pròlech*, p. 51.
  87. Bofarull y Brocá, *Estudios*; Bofarull and Blanch, *Gramática de la llengua catalana*.
  88. Cortada, for example, changed his opinion in this respect. See Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 402–3.
  89. Bofarull y Brocá *Lengua catalana*, pp. 26–7.
  90. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 67–71; Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 79–84.
  91. Marfany, "'Minority Languages'", pp. 137–8, and 'Revisió radical', pp. 205–34. Nevertheless, Marfany exaggerates somewhat in that he tends to equate the ideas of all the Romantics on the place of the Catalan language in society with those expressed by Milá i Fontanals, who, as Albert Ghanime notes (*Joan Cortada*, p. 114), had a very pessimistic view of the Catalan language's chances of survival.
  92. Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', pp. 268–72; Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 435–7. Most extreme was Mañé i Flaquer who, despite his belief that Catalans expressed themselves best in their language, never wrote a single word in Catalan.
  93. Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', p. 272; Milá y Fontanals, 'Discurs del senyor president', p. 184.
  94. Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p. 212; Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, p. 62. It should also be noted that the Romantics continued to write poems in Castilian. This was the case of both Antoni de Bofarull and Rubió i Ors on the occasion of the May 1860 victory celebrations, following the 'War of Africa'.

95. Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, pp. 204–5.
96. Bofarull y Brocá, *Hazañas y Recuerdos*, p. vi.
97. Bofarull y Brocá, *Lengua catalana*, p. 9. See also by the same author, 'Reestablecimiento de los Juegos Florales', p. 115.
98. Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença', p. 237.
99. Permanyer, 'Discurs del president', p. 29. He was referring to the publishing house, the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, briefly commented on in the previous chapter.
100. Fontana, 'L'altra Renaixença', p. 17.
101. There are three important first-hand accounts of the student theatre milieu and the rise of Frederic Soler: Roure, *Recuerdos*, vol. 1, pp. 127–33; Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, pp. 35–6; and A. Z. [Valentí Almirall], *Escritos Catalanistas*, pp. 26–33. Contemporary testimony is also to be found in Roca y Roca, 'Anselmo Clavé', pp. 25–47. Also important for this movement is Galofré, *Rosend Arús*. There is a recent article focussed on the satirical magazines, Ortega and Lanés, 'Setmanaris en català'. The growth of Catalan theatre was frequently commented on by contemporaries. Felip de Saleta, for example, noted: 'Twenty years ago, or even less, no one could come to terms with a role [played in Catalan] or a Catalan drama. Today it's another story and, God willing, it will grow and grow.' *LG*, 28 May 1870, pp. 113–33.
102. García Balañà, 'Ordre industrial', pp. 103–34.
103. Galofré, *Rosend Arús*, pp. 19–26; García Balañà, 'Ordre industrial', p. 118.
104. A. Z. [Valentí Almirall], *Escritos Catalanistas*, p. 33.
105. Fontana, *Fi de l'antic regime*, p. 446.
106. Briz is a figure who deserves more attention from scholars. There are two necrologies which contain some information. *Travalls llegits*, and *Sessió necrològica*. See also, Rubió i Balaguer, 'Segle de la Renaixença' pp. 271–2.
107. Duran i Tort, *La Renaixença*; Tomàs (ed.), *Jove Catalunya*.
108. G. Martorell (identified by Margalida Tomàs as the pseudonym of Pere Aldavert), 'Ja és hora', *LR*, 15 February 1873.
109. 'Observacions sobre la moderna restauració de la literatura de Catalunya', *LG*, 21 May 1870; Tomàs, *Jove Catalunya*, p. x.
110. G. Martorell, *LG*, 2 July 1870; Picó y Campanar, *Discurs pronunciat*, p. 19.
111. G. Martorell, 'Ja és hora', *LR*, 15 March 1873. However, this was unusual. As we shall see in Chapter 6, from 1875 the men linked to *La Renaixença* – including Alavert – would oppose participating in the electoral process, which they came to see as a den of iniquity and corruption.
112. Joaquim Riera y Bertran, 'Pensaments Catalans', *LR*, 1 September 1871. Important customs for Riera were the *barretina*, the peasant wine flagon (*porró*), and the 'white half cap [...] worn in the Ampurdán style'.
113. J. Roca i Roca, 'Los buffos madrilenys', *LR*, 1 July 1871; Duran i Tort, *La Renaixença*, pp. 41–2.
114. On this supposedly unique Catalan spirit see, for example, Roca y Roca, *Discurs pronunciat*, pp. 10–14. For this linkage between spirit and language see 'La llengua catalana', *LG*, 16 July 1870.
115. For more details see Chapter 4, p. 105.
116. For example 'La llengua catalana', *LG*, 16 July 1870.
117. *LG*, 30 July, 30 September 1870.
118. Duran i Tort, *La Renaixença*, p. 10; Tomàs (ed.), *Jove Catalunya*, p. xliii.
119. Albert de Palomares (pseudonym of Felip de Saleta), 'La centralisació', *LG*, 21, 28 May 1870; Yvo Bosch, 'Espanya y Catalunya' *LR*, 20 September 1873; J. Roca i Roca, 'Los buffos madrilenys', *LR*, 1 July 1871.

120. A. Auléstia y Pijoan, 'Consideracions sobre la historia', *LR*, 1 November 1873.
121. *LR*, 1, 15 March 1873.
122. These articles have been reproduced in Roca i Farreras, *Catalanisme progressiu*.
123. Cutchet, *Siti de Girona*.
124. Regarding novels in Catalan, an article by S. Prats lamented that after Antoni de Bofarull's work *L'Orfanata de Manargues*, only a few authors, like Vidal i Valenciano (*La vida en lo camp*), Riera (*Historia d'un pagès*) and Briz (*El coronel d'Anjou*), had trodden the same path, and even they seemed to have desisted. 'La novela catalana', *LR*, 10 October 1873.
125. *LG*, 30 July 1870.
126. Archilés and Martí, 'Ethnicity, Region and Nation', pp. 779–97.

#### 4 Centralization, Decentralization and the Construction of a Catalan Political Regionalism, 1815–74

1. Chapter 3, pp. 70–1.
2. For Pere Mata's comments see *El Nuevo Vapor*, 18 November 1836.
3. For the 'provincialist' demands elaborated by Catalan deputies at the Cortes of Cadiz see Chapter 1, pp. 33–6.
4. Roca Vernet, *Tradicció constitucional*, pp. 153–242. The quotation is from p. 217. Roca Vernet affirms that these men undertook a 'federalizing reading' of the Cadiz Consitution. However, given that they were not asking for political autonomy I am not convinced that the term is justified.
5. Arbós Marín, *Idea de la nació*, p. 191; García Rovira, 'Proyectos de España', pp. 1020–3.
6. *El Nuevo Vapor*, 2, 18, 27 November 1836. The quotation is from 2 November.
7. For which see also Chapter 2, p. 43.
8. Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, p. 455. Leading Catalan figures in the Progressive Party would be Pascual Mádoz, who defended Catalan protectionist interests in Madrid, and General Joan Prim. Within the Moderate Party Bonaventura Carles Aribau was the key figure, backing the Catalan protectionist cause in the Spanish capital.
9. Shubert, *Social History*, pp. 108–10.
10. Risques, 'Excepcionalitat permanent', pp. 328–9.
11. Lluch, "'Gira triunfal'", p. 86. In quite similar terms, the civil governor of Barcelona Province in 1866 affirmed that 'the turbulent character of the Catalans had necessitated a degree of military force to undertake repression'. This, he admitted, had produced a militarization of politics, the impact of which on civilian rule had been terrible. Cited in Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 295–6. On the other hand, Catalan elites would, if they could, try and turn the captain general and get him to support their cause. This was the case with respect to General Manuel de la Concha between 1848 and 1849.
12. Barsonell, 'Consens i revolució', p. 162; Fradera, 'Política liberal', pp. 686–8.
13. Ragner, 'Catalanisme de Balnes', p. 205; Antonio Elorza, 'Primera democracia federal', p. 205.
14. García Rovira, 'Proyectos de España', pp. 1028–9.
15. Roura, *Martí d'Eixalà*, pp. 103–4.
16. Risques, 'Excepcionalitat permanent', p. 329.
17. Triás Vejerano, *Almirall*, p. 107.
18. Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, p. 89.

19. Chapter 2, pp. 60–1.
20. Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*; Fuster Sobrepere, *Barcelona i l'estat centralista*, pp. 147–71.
21. Duran y Bas, *Permanyer*, p. 49. See also, Riquer i Permanyer, 'Vida política', pp. 20–2, and Palomas and Bravo, 'Víctor Balaguer', p. 52.
22. Chapter 2, pp. 60–1. For this reason I think it inappropriate for Solà i Montserrat to describe the outlook of these business elites as 'Catalanist' or 'proto-[Catalan] nationalist'. See *Institut Industrial*, p. 10, p. 258, p. 284 and pp. 298–9.
23. Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, p. 256.
24. This pamphlet, written in 1847 in response to an attack by the *Revista Militar*, can be found in a collection of 'economic pamphlets', donated to the Biblioteca de Catalunya by Frederic Rahola. Unfortunately the title page is missing.
25. For these criticisms see Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, pp. 266–310; Fuster Sobrepere, *Barcelona i l'estat centralista*, pp. 165–70. The article by Duran i Bas on the taxes paid by Catalonia is in *El Bien Público*, 20 July 1850. Not that his calculations were that accurate. During the years 1868–73 it has been calculated that about an eighth of the revenues of the Spanish state were from Catalonia. Janué i Miret, 'Fracaso', p. 259.
26. Cited in Fuster Sobrepere, *Barcelona i l'estat centralista*, p. 163.
27. Blanco, 'Introducción', p. xx.
28. Salvador Codorech, 'Proyecto de código', p. 14; Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 135–45.
29. Chapter 1, p. 23 and p. 25.
30. Chapter 1, p. 30.
31. Batista i Roca, 'Martí d'Eixalà', pp. 41–60, Roura, *Martí d'Eixalà*.
32. For the introduction of Savigny's thought into Catalonia see Feu, 'Datos y apuntes', p. 486; Duran y Bas, *Reynals y Rabassa*, p. 19. The first reference I have found to Savigny in the Catalan press is from 1841. Jorba, *Milà i Fontanals*, n. 95, p. 54. Manuel Duran i Bas saw him as building on the ideas of the Scottish common sense school.
33. Reiss, *German Romantics*, pp. 38–40.
34. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 223.
35. See the talk by the Barcelona law professor Javier Llorens i Barba, *Oración inaugural*. Vicens Vives affirmed that for Llorens i Barba the spirit was Catalan. 'Catalans en el segle XIX', p. 200. However, Joan-Lluís Marfany correctly pointed out that in this conference Llorens i Barba saw the *Volksgeist* as Spanish. 'Revisió radical', p. 214 and p. 230.
36. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 115; Llorens y Barba, *Oración inaugural*, pp. 138–9.
37. We have already stressed the close links between these groups. With respect to the elite of the legal profession and landed interests, both Duran i Bas and Mañé i Flaquer became members of the IACSI, and the former was close to leading figures in the association. See Caminal i Badia, 'Institut Agrícola', p. 123. Ribera, 'Introducción' to Duran y Bas, *Escritos*, p. xviii. Prestigious legal figures like Duran i Bas would often deal with cases involving the land, while the sons of landowning elites typically studied law at Barcelona University.
38. Isidoro de Angulo, 'La división territorial y la agricultura', *Diario de Barcelona*, 13 February–7 April 1852.

39. Fages de Roma, 'Memoria de las graves males'; Cadafalch y Buguñá, *Inconvenientes de la sucesión forzosa*.
40. *DB*, 13 February, 25 June 1852.
41. 'R' [Estanislao Reynals y Rabassa], 'El código civil en proyecto', *DB*, 17, 28 June, 5, 17, 27 August, 24, 25 September, 22 October, 9, 19, 23 November 1852. Duran i Bas later affirmed that these articles were key to establishing Reynals i Rabassa's reputation. *Reynals y Rabassa*, p. 20.
42. *DB*, 20 July 1852. Several years later Duran i Bas put forward a similar perspective. The Spanish nation was made up of a number of 'societies [...] each with its own life, distinct habits, own sentiments and customs, which form the basis of its individuality'. 'Dictamen calificativo', p. 22.
43. *DB*, 8 October 1852.
44. Duran y Bas, 'Escuela jurídica catalana', p. 365.
45. A flavour can be gained from the Madrid-based *El Parlamentario*: 'The idea of a little Catalan nationality is a miserable [*mezquino*] idea in the times in which we live, of great agglomerations and great nationalities. This [centralization] is the only way that those great peoples who are in the vanguard of the forward march of civilization can respond to the times.' Cited in Estanislao Reynals y Rabassa, 'Cataluña y la guerra', in *DB*, 4 May 1860.
46. Hobsbawm, *Nationalisms and Nationalism*, pp. 41–2; Alter, *Nationalism*, pp. 19–20; Tombs, *France*, p. 311.
47. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, pp. 78–83.
48. *Cuestiones Catalanas*; Juan Mañé y Flaquer, 'Cataluña', pp. 430–1.
49. Solà i Montserrat *Institut Industrial*, pp. 255–62, pp. 270–8; pamphlet by 'J. T.', cited in endnote 24.
50. *Revista de Cataluña*, 6 May 1863; *DB*, 30 January 1855. The article by Antoni de Bofarull is one of the rare occasions in which the term 'Catalanism' was used before 1868, and its usage led Vicens Vives mistakenly to claim that the article – which he attributed to Duran i Bas – represented the beginnings of a regionalist movement in Catalonia. 'Catalans en el segle XIX', p. 272.
51. Mañé y Flaquer, 'Cataluña', p. 452; *Cuestiones catalanas*, p. 24.
52. Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, p. 61.
53. See, for example, the comments by Estanislao Reynals i Rabassa in 'Cataluña y la guerra', *DB*, 4 May 1860; by Cortada in *Cataluña y los catalanes*, pp. 17–20, 26–9; and by Mañé i Flaquer in 'Cataluña', pp. 430–1.
54. Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, pp. 286–90.
55. Jacobon, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 139–40. The work in question is *¿Conviene uniformar la legislación?*
56. The first usage I have found is in a text by 'Q. Duward' (perhaps the Catalanist ecclesiastic Jaume Torres i Bages) in 1873. Cited in, Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernismo español*, p. 110. By the 1890s the term was quite regularly used. From a present-day perspective, *seny* and *rauxa* (unruliness, humour, love of raucous *festas*) are often seen as the two major contrasting elements of the Catalan character. However, as far as I am aware the idea of *rauxa* did not appear in the nineteenth century.
57. Pere Mata, *El Nuevo Vapor*, 2 November 1836; Barsonell, 'Consens i revolució', pp. 16–1; Parcerisa and Piferrer, *Recuerdos y bellezas*, vol. 1, p. 20; Cortada, *Cataluña y los catalanes*, pp. 26 and pp. 42–3. It should, however, be stressed that this phenomenon was not limited to Spain. The Catalan view of Spaniards from the south was, it seems, as nothing when compared to the disdain with which Italians from the north viewed their southern compatriots post-unification. For

- which see Moe, 'This is Africa', pp. 119–53. It may also be worth noting that such views were at least partially wrong. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries Catalonia's ruling elite adopted a rentier lifestyle. See Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, pp. 27–8 and pp. 73–85.
58. For the changing portrayal of Spain in European Enlightenment and Romantic thought see Álvarez Junco, 'España: el peso del estereotipo', pp. 2–10. Jacobson also notes that in his 1721 *Persian Letters* Montesquieu referred disapprovingly to Spain's Semitic (Moorish and Jewish) past. 'Spain: the Iberian Mosaic', p. 216.
  59. Máiz, 'Raza y mito céltico', pp. 149–52; Sowerwine, *France Since 1870*, pp. 41–2; Sutton, *Politics of Charles Maurras*, pp. 40–1.
  60. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 71.
  61. Guardiola, *Libro de la democracia*, p. 62.
  62. Mañé y Flaquer, 'Cataluña', pp. 420–4, and p. 449.
  63. Máiz, 'Raza y mito céltico', pp. 136–80.
  64. For the articles published in *Le Massager du Midi* see 'Un precursor del regionalismo español'. Those published in *El Criterion* can be found in Mañé y Flaquer, 'Catalonia', p. 449–51. One of the latter articles was denounced by the censors and an arrest warrant put out for the author. Maragall, *Mañé y Flaquer*, p. 62.
  65. *Cuestiones Catalanas*.
  66. Cutchet, 'Introducción', *Revista de Cataluña*, vol. 1 (1862), p. 12.
  67. Balaguer, *Libertad constitucional*; Mañé y Flaquer, 'Bibliografía. Ensayos poéticos de dialecto berciano por D. Antonio Fernández y Morales, con una introducción de D. Mariano Cubí y Soler', *DB*, 21 April 1861; Fuster Sobreperere, *Barcelona i l'estat centralista*, note 83, p. 164.
  68. Chapter 1, p. 30.
  69. José Ferrer Subirana, 'De la nacionalidad' in *La Civilización* (1842), pp. 61–72; Mañé y Flaquer, 'Un precursor del regionalismo español', pp. 99–103; Estanislao Reynals y Rabassa, 'Cataluña y la guerra', *DB*, 4 May 1860; Leopoldo Feu, 'Datos y apuntes', pp. 501–2.
  70. Roura, *Martí d'Eixalà*, pp. 127–37; Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, pp. 296–7; Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*, pp. 293–9.
  71. Cayuela Fernández, *Bahia de ultramar*, pp. 5–14; Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 116.
  72. Duran de la Rúa, *Unión Liberal*, pp. 51–86.
  73. Juan Mañé y Flaquer, 'Cataluña y la Unión Liberal', *DB*, 7 November 1858.
  74. Duran y Bas, *Permanyer*, p. 42.
  75. Dulce's argument for lifting the state of siege is revealing of attitudes within central government and the military: 'You know that, outside Catalonia, even the most liberal persons believe that this people (*pueblo*) cannot be governed without a state of siege. General O'Donnell was also of this belief but has agreed to what has been asked of him'. Graell, *Juan Mañé y Flaquer*, p. 29.
  76. Duran de la Rúa, *Unión Liberal*, p. 132.
  77. An important first-hand account is Duran y Bas, *Permanyer*, pp. 44–51. See also, Duran de la Rúa, *Unión Liberal*, pp. 112–13; Fontana, *Fi de l'antic règim*, p. 445.
  78. Graell, *Mañé y Flaquer*, pp. 31–3.
  79. Nelson Duran de la Rúa takes the opposite view, praising Posada Herrera for building the *caciquista* system, which he sees as the only way Spain could construct a state-wide administration (p. 97). The problem with this type of argument is that it justifies anti-parliamentary immobilism.
  80. See, above all, Colley, *Britons*.

81. Cited in Ghanime, *Joan Cortada*, p. 137.
82. Graell, *Historia del Fomento*, pp. 275–8; Graell, *Mañé y Flaquer*, 34–6; Riquer i Permanyer, 'Vida política catalana', pp. 29–33.
83. Camps i Arboix, *Duran i Bas*, p. 145; Riquer i Permanyer, *Epistolari*, pp. 61–2; 157–8; 577–90.
84. Cited in Romaní y Puigdemolas, *Federalismo en España*, p. 58.
85. Romaní y Puigdemolas, *Federalismo en España*.
86. See Chapter 3, pp. 92–5.
87. Martí, *Església a Barcelona*, p. 23 and pp. 354–74.
88. Fontana, *Fi de l'antic regime*, pp. 220–1 and pp. 311–14; Anguera, *Precedents*, pp. 100–3 and pp. 113–14.
89. Martí, 'Jaume Balmes', pp. 57–74.
90. See above all the articles in the weekly publication, *La Sociedad*, published between March and April 1843, and reproduced in Balmes, *Escrits sobre Catalunya*, pp. 43–104. The quotations are from p. 55 and p. 99.
91. Garmendía, *Ideología Carlista*.
92. Toledano González, *Carlins i Catalanisme*.
93. The key work is Casacuberta, 'Lo Verdader Català'.
94. Ramisa, *Orígens del Catalanisme conservador*, p. 59–65; Torrens, *Verdaguer*, pp. 31–41; Josep M<sup>a</sup> de Casacuberta, 'Jacint Verdaguer', pp. 229–40; Margarida Casacuberta, 'Els Jocs Florals i Jacint Verdaguer', pp. 312–13.
95. Jaume Collell, 'Cantem massa y parlem poch', *Lo Gay Saber*, 1 April 1868; Tomàs (ed.), *La Jove Catalunya*, p. xiii; Duran i Tort, 'La Renaixensa', pp. 60–9.
96. *El Nuevo Vapor*, 18 November 1856.
97. Barsonell, 'Consens i revolució', pp. 164–7; Garcia Rovira, 'Proyectos de España', pp. 1014–17. Pere Anguera has, on the contrary, argued that what may be called a proto-Catalan nationalist tendency developed during these years, basing his assertion on these calls for 'independence'. However, were this the case then it is not clear why they should wish to reconstruct the Spanish state. In addition, one would expect such proto-nationalist sentiment to come through in other areas of their discourse, as, for example, amongst Greek nationalists struggling for independence from the Ottoman Empire. This was not, however, on show. Quite similar to Anguera's perspective was the outline briefly sketched out by Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', pp. 245–7.
98. Pi y Margall, *La reacción y la revolución*.
99. Peyrou, 'Orígenes del federalismo', pp. 257–78.
100. Hennessy, *Federal Republic*, pp. 74–5.
101. Piqueras Arenas, *Revolución democrática*, pp. 35–118.
102. Gumersindo Trujillo, 'Pi i Margall', pp. 325–6; Elorza, 'Primera democracia federal', pp. 88–9, 140–1 and 149–50; Barsonell, 'Consens i revolució', p. 163.
103. Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, pp. 397–401; Jover Zamora, 'Federalismo en España', p. 136.
104. Duarte i Montserrat, *Història del republicanisme*, p. 105.
105. Jenkins, *Nationalism in France*, pp. 75–86.
106. This is stressed in Jover Zamora, 'Federalismo en España', pp. 116–18.
107. Hennessy, *Federal Republic*, pp. 103–42; Janué i Miret, *Polítics en temps de revolució*, pp. 28–31.
108. Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, pp. 155–8; Janué i Miret, *Polítics en temps de revolució*, pp. 162–3; Termes, 'Federalisme català', p. 31.



109. Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, pp. 166–8. Trías Vejerano sees Almirall as attempting to fashion a ‘bourgeois’ party, which would carry out a liberal-democratic revolution. From our perspective he should be seen as trying to build a ‘catch-all’ interclass party.
110. In 1869, for example, he would still claim that the Spaniards were ‘one of the most ingenious peoples of Europe’. Almirall, *Bases para la Constitución Federal*, p. 436.
111. Roca i Farreras’s major articles during these years were produced in *La Renaxensa* between May and September 1873, and have been reproduced in Roca i Farreras, *Catalanisme progressiu*. The quotation is from page 59.
112. Termes, ‘Federalisme català’, p. 29.
113. Font, ‘Club dels Federalistes’, p. 169.
114. Hennessy, *Federal Republic*, p. 183; Janué i Miret, *Polítics en temps de revolució*, pp. 165–6.
115. Villena Espinosa, ‘Crisis del estado centralista’, pp. 87–94.
116. Costas, ‘Los catalanes y la revolución’, pp. 89–98.
117. Costas, ‘“Conversión” de Laureano Figuerola’, pp. 47–70. For the European context see Kindleberger, ‘Rise of Free Trade’, pp. 20–55.
118. Costas, *Apogeo del liberalismo*, pp. 34–47 and pp. 108–18.
119. *DB*, 22 March 1869; *El Productor del Pueblo*, 22 March 1869; Izard, *Manufactureros, industriales y revolucionarios*, pp. 95–7. Almirall argued that the example of the United States showed that protectionism and democracy were not incompatible. Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, p. 171.
120. Riquer i Permanyer, ‘Conservadurisme polític català’, pp. 132–6; Riquer i Permanyer, *Epistolari polític*, pp. 69–72; Janué i Miret, *Polítics en temps de revolució*, pp. 174–6. Our focus here is on the elite bourgeois world. This is not to deny that many small and middling traders and businessmen, and even a few major industrialists, sympathized with the constitutional monarchists or even with republicanism. For which see Janué i Miret, *Polítics en temps de revolució*, pp. 221–36.
121. Pugés, *Cómo triunfo el proteccionismo*, p. 170; Vicens Vives, ‘Catalans en el segle XIX’; Vilar, *Catalunya*, vol.1, p. 74; Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, p. 209; Janué i Miret, *Polítics en temps de revolució*, p. 169.
122. Jover Zamora, ‘Federalismo en España’, pp. 124–33.
123. Gómez-Ferrer, ‘Aislamiento internacional de la República’, pp. 84–7; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, pp. 84–7.
124. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernismo español*, pp. 111–23.
125. Breuilley, *Nationalism and the State*, p. 123.
126. This argument is present in, for example, Vicens Vives, ‘Catalans en el segle XIX’, Vilar, *Catalunya*, vol. 1; Fontana, *Fi de l’antic regime*; Solà i Montserrat, *Institut Industrial*; and Fuster Sobrepera, *Barcelona i l’estat centralista*.

## 5 The Catalan *Haute Bourgeoisie* and the State, 1875–98

1. See especially, Vilar, *Catalunya*, vol.1, pp. 63–82; Solé-Tura, *Catalanismo*.
2. Still impressive is the overview by Jover Zamora, ‘Época de la Restauración’, pp. 271–406.
3. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 84; Cirujano Marín, Elorriaga Planes and Pérez Garzón, *Historiografía y nacionalismo español*, p. 42; Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, p. 224.
4. Tortella, *Development of Modern Spain*, pp. 80–2 and pp. 267–9.

5. The quotation is from the French statesmen Léon Gambetta. Joll, *Europe since 1870*, p. 81.
6. Torre, 'Los Noventa y Ocho', pp. 49–66.
7. Yllán Calderón, *Cánovas del Castillo*, pp. 17–61. Spain was the only European population with a large population not considered in diplomatic circles a Great Power. Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, p. 23.
8. Jover Zamora, Prologue to Yllán Calderón, *Cánovas del Castillo*, p. xvi.
9. Álvarez Junco, *Mater dolorosa*, pp. 571–2; Sanabria, *Republicanism*, pp. 71–4.
10. Peral, 'Autoridades económicas', pp. 15–106; Richard, 'Études su les gouverneurs civils', pp. 441–74; Espadas Burgos, 'Alfonso XIII y la Restauración', pp. 102–10. In a quite recent edited volume on *caciquismo* and the Restoration regime, one element that stands out is again the lack of Catalan names in the lists of powerful political *caciques* who played the lead role in Spanish politics. See Dardé, 'Características de la vida política', pp. 565–7; and Moreno Luzón, 'Los protagonistas de la política', pp. 576–7.
11. Riquer i Permanyer, 'Burguesos, polítics i caçics', pp. 16–33. Dardé also notes that in the late nineteenth century the number of *cunero* delegates (that is, men with no links to the locality who were parachuted in) was low in Catalonia in comparison with much of Spain. 'Características de la vida política', p. 575.
12. Palomas and Bravo, 'Víctor Balaguer', pp. 31–52; López Blanco, 'Víctor Balaguer', pp. 39–87.
13. Nadal, 'Industria fabril española', pp. 48–9.
14. There is a vivid portrait in Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, pp. 58–64. Population data is taken from, *Censo de Población de 1900*.
15. McDonogh, *Good Families of Barcelona*.
16. Dorel-Ferré, *Colònies Industrials*, pp. 273–4; Serrano, *Final del imperio*, pp. 49–50.
17. Peral, 'Autoridades económicas', pp. 27–31; López Blanco, 'Víctor Balaguer', p. 85.
18. See the comments by Garriga i Massó, a Liberal who sympathized with the Catalanist cause, *Memòries*, p. 66. The demographic calculation is based on the 1877 census and excludes the inhabitants of Spain's colonies in America and the Pacific. *Censo de Población de España, 1877*.
19. In order to understand this process whereby bourgeois elites distanced themselves from the Conservative Party, of key importance is Riquer i Permanyer, 'Conservadurisme polític català', pp. 113–67, and, by the same author, *Epistolari*, pp. 15–153. Also of interest is, Graell, *Juan Mañé y Flaquer*, and *Historia del Fomento*. Graell was an important figure in the protectionist cause from the 1880s and well informed regarding the situation within the Conservative camp.
20. Cited in Riquer i Permanyer, *Epistolari*, p. 89. Though it should be noted that, despite the concession of universal manhood suffrage, electoral manipulation and the *turno* continued to operate. The Liberals connived in the bastardization of their own legislation.
21. See the correspondence between Manuel Duran i Bas and Francisco Silvela in Riquer i Permanyer, *Epistolari*, p. 110–11 and p. 346, and the comments on the lack of an effective police force in Alsina, *Criteri econòmic*, pp. 51–2.
22. Graell, *Historia del Fomento*, p. 325.
23. Until 1889 there was considerable division within Catalonia's business associations. In 1876 there were two such associations, the Instituto Industrial de España and the Fomento de la Producción Nacional. During this year the latter split, with the formation of the Fomento de la Producción Española. In 1879 the Instituto Industrial and the Fomento de la Producción Nacional then fused, forming the

- Instituto del Fomento del Trabajo Nacional, but the Fomento de la Producción Española remained separate. They would unite in 1889 with the formation of the Fomento del Trabajo Nacional.
24. There is some information in Manuel Pugés's old pro-protectionist work, *Proteccionismo*. Much sharper on business strategies is the article by Palomas and Bravo cited above. I have also used the employers' mouthpiece, *Fomento de la Producción Española*, and a number of pamphlets which reproduced the speeches given at the protectionist meetings.
  25. *Fomento de la Producción Española*, 2 July 1881.
  26. For these protests I have also consulted the daily papers *La Renaixensa*, *El Diluvio* and the *Diario de Barcelona*.
  27. Graell, *Historia del Fomento*, p. 351. In the following years a considerable number of industrialists supported a pro-protectionist faction, captained by Romero Robledo, which for a time broke away from the Conservative Party.
  28. Sallarés, *José Ferrer y Vidal*, p. 23.
  29. On this discourse see Pugés, *Proteccionismo*, pp. 201–2, and Bravo and Palomas, 'Corporacions Industrials catalanes', pp. 259–64.
  30. For the mid-nineteenth century see Chapter 2, pp. 60–1.
  31. *Manifestación proteccionista celebrada el día 4 de abril de 1881*, p. 14. The same discourse was maintained by the Conservatives close to business interests, Manuel Duran i Bas and Joan Mañé i Flaquer.
  32. *Manifestación proteccionista celebrada el día 8 de mayo de 1881*, pp. 20–1.
  33. Ferrer y Vidal, *Consideraciones sobre la crisis*, pp. 7–8.
  34. Perhaps this explains why, in a note of support he sent to a protectionist meeting in 1881, Víctor Balaguer declared that 'while Catalonia is my country [*país*], Spain is my *patria*'. *Manifestación proteccionista celebrada el día 4 de abril de 1881*, p. 5. The term '*país*' is used here, I think, in the sense of *patria chica* or homeland.
  35. On which see Smith, 'Liga Regionalista', pp. 145–74.
  36. Hughes, *Nationalism and Society*, pp. 130–63.
  37. Estasen, *Protección y el libre cambio*, and Estasen, *El problema de las nacionalidades*. The quotations are from the former work, pp. 86–7, p. 89, p. 94 and p. 171.
  38. Chapter 4, pp. 107–8.
  39. Sard y de Roselló and Sallarés y Plá, *Velada necrológica*, pp. 18–19. The 'extravagancies' Andreu de Sard was referring to were, of course, those propagated by the Catalanists. For Torelló's work see the comments in Chapter 2, p. 64.
  40. Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, pp. 85–6; Soler, *Solemne sessió*, p. 15; Casas-Carbó, 'Catalunya trilingüe', p. 164; Prat de la Riba and Muntanyola, *Compendi de la doctrina catalana*, p. 5; McDonogh, *Good Families*, pp. 116–19; Anguera, 'Joan Mañé i Flaquer', pp. 229–32.
  41. Ferrer y Vidal, *Discurso del Sr. José Ferrer y Vidal*, p. 15.
  42. Cited in Palomas and Bravo, 'Víctor Balaguer', p. 42.
  43. *DB*, 25 April–1 May 1882; *LR*, 25 April–1 May 1882.
  44. *LR*, 22 March 1882.
  45. Riquer i Permanyer, *Epistolari*, p. 96.
  46. Juan Mañé y Flaquer, 'Cataluña independiente', *DB*, 14 May–9 July 1882.
  47. *DB*, 26 April 1882.
  48. Gabriel, 'Entre liberales y conservadores', pp. 269–373; Torran and Cañellas, 'Representación política', pp. 97–122.
  49. *DB*, 14 September 1884. It seems it was general practice to cover monuments with the Spanish flag in this way.

50. *Monumento levantado*, p. 3. The telegram from Alfonso XII can be seen on the monument itself. *Fomento de la Producción Española* also exclaimed that López i López was a 'national glory'. *Monumento levantado*, p. 13.
51. *DB*, 1 June 1888; *LR*, 1 June 1888.
52. There are two overviews, Garrut, *L'exposició universal*, and Grau and López, 'Exposició universal', pp. 31–365. There is some additional first-hand information in *Memoria sobre la Exposición Universal*. On the buildings and statues see also Fabre, Huertas and Bohiga, *Monuments de Barcelona*, pp. 50–65. On the rejection of the Arabesque style by Catalanist *modernistes* see Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernismo*, note 1, p. 267.
53. Umbach, 'A Tale of Second Cities', pp. 685–90.
54. Garrut, *Exposició universal*, p. 27.
55. *DB*, 27 May 1887; Fabre, Huertas and Bohiga, *Monuments de Barcelona*, p. 56.
56. *Memoria sobre la exposició*, p. 8.
57. Similar ideas were already in circulation in the late eighteenth century. See Chapter 1, p. 20.
58. *Memoria sobre la exposició*, p. 61; Serrate, 'Festejos y solemnidades', p. 119.
59. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernisme*, p. 137; *LR*, 28 May 1888; Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, p. 79.
60. *DB*, 5 September 1881.
61. See, above all, the architect's own account, Buigas Monrabá, *Monumento a Cristóbal Colón*. Another contemporary account which contains some details is *Historia de Cristóbal Colón*. See also Fabre, Huertas and Bohiga, *Monuments de Barcelona*, pp. 41–7, and Michonneau, *Barcelona: memòria i identitat*, pp. 123–38.
62. *Guía de calles y plazas de esta ciudad*. The quotations are from p. 25. Nevertheless, regarding business's 'Hispanist' discourse, in the speeches during these years an overt, aggressive, imperialist language was not employed, no doubt reflecting Spain's military weakness.
63. Sard y de Roselló and Sallarés y Plá, *Velada necrológica*, p. 25. For more details see also Chapter 6, pp. 164–5.
64. Riquer i Permanyer, 'Establishment català', pp. 13–22.
65. Font, 'L'excursionisme català', pp. 613–26.
66. Llorens i Vila, *La Unió Catalanista*, pp. 31–2. For more details on *La España Regional* see Chapter 7, pp. 126–7.
67. Folguera i Duran, *Una flama*, p. 121. One should recall here that Güell married a daughter of the Marquis of Comillas and that her family was no doubt Castilian speaking.
68. Estasen, *Regionalismo económico*. The quotations are from p. 17, p. 25, and note 25. p. 31.
69. Rahola and Estasen, *D. Francisco J. Orellano*, pp. 45–106.
70. Alsina, *Discurs llegit*, and Alsina, *Criteri econòmic*. Alsina's suggestions were, as he noted, in line with Catalanist demands made in the 1892 Bases de Manresa. For which see Chapter 7, p. 199.
71. Francesc Artal, 'Contingut economic', pp. 81–101.
72. Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, p. 81; Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, p. 255.
73. As Guillermo Graell, who was active in the protectionist camp, noted (*Historia del Fomento*, p. 339). For a European perspective see Stone, *Europe Transformed*, p. 27ff.
74. Serrano Sanz, *Viraje proteccionista*.
75. *Fomento del Trabajo Nacional*, 10 December 1893; *Meeting-protesta*.
76. Sallarés y Plá, *José Ferrer y Vidal*, pp. 31–2 and p. 56.

77. Sudrià, 'Industria algodonera catalana', pp. 369–86.
78. Serrano, *Final del imperio*, pp. 51–2.
79. For the pre-eminence of landed interests in negotiations over the reform of the tariffs see Serrano Sanz, *Viraje*, pp. 125–42.
80. Riquer i Permanyer, 'Establishment català', p. 22.
81. Mañé i Flaquer outlines his views most systematically in the series of articles 'El Catalanismo' (*DB*, 18 August–13 October 1878), in 'La lengua catalana' (*DB*, 8, 15 August 1886), and in the work *El regionalismo*. The quotation is from the latter work, p. 109. He was an effective polemicist. In an exchange with the great Spanish novelist, Pérez Galdós, who affirmed that it was absurd for Narcís Oller to write novels in Catalan, he amusingly and pointedly suggested that Galdós write his novels in French. This would allow him – like Victor Hugo or Emile Zola – to become globally famous rather than being content with simply having a reputation in Spain.
82. Graell, *Mañé y Flaquer*, pp. 39–40.
83. Collell, *Escrips politics*, p. 8. For an analysis of the Catalanist Catholics' ideology during these years see Chapter 7, pp. 184–6.
84. Mañé y Flaquer, *El regionalismo*, p. 143.
85. 'El Catalanismo VII' and 'El Catalanismo IX', published in *DB*, 6, 20 October 1878.
86. Mañé y Flaquer, 'El Catalanismo II', *DB*, 1 September 1878.
87. Vicens Vives, 'Catalans en el segle XIX', p. 141.
88. In January 1880 he had put forward a proposal for the reform of the state administration through the de-politicization of the civil service and a reduction in the number of provinces to 32. No doubt he saw this as a step towards the recognition of the 'historical provinces', though he did not bring the matter up in the subsequent parliamentary debate. See, *Diario de las Sesiones de las Cortes*, pp. 1–2, and pp. 1598–1603; Camps i Arboix, *Duran i Bas*, p. 147; Duran y Bas, *Estudios morales*, pp. 583–90. The text of this proposal is reproduced in Riquer i Permanyer, *Epistolari*, pp. 595–9.
89. In fact his speech to the 1884 Jocs Florals was the only one he ever gave in Catalan. See, Manuel Duran y Bas, *Discurs llegit*.
90. Duran y Bas, *Estudios morales*, p. v; *El Economista Español*, December 1890.
91. *LVM*, 8, 15 January 1887.
92. Marfany, '“Minority Languages”', p. 159.

## 6 The Travails of Liberal Catalanism, 1875–98

1. See, above all, Marfany, *Cultura del Catalanisme*; Termes, 'Nacionalisme català', pp. 63–99.
2. For more details see Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, pp. 221–47.
3. Almirall, 'Cartas a mon estimate amic C', pp. 7–8. These 'letters' were first published in 1885.
4. *Diari Català*, 4 May 1881, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles politics*, pp. 3–5; Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 176–82.
5. However, as noted, Mañé i Flaquer never drew the conclusion that Castile was oppressing Catalonia. Rather his focus was on Madrid-based political elites. See Chapter 3, p. 77, and Chapter 5, p. 149.
6. Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, pp. 145–55. As noted in Chapter 3, movements for Polish and Hungarian autonomy had already made an impact during the Sexennium.

7. Estasen, *Las nacionalidades*, p. 15; Briz, *Quatre paraules*, p. 14.
8. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, p. 134.
9. *El Diluvio*, 30 January 1880, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 149–51; Almirall, *España tal como es*, p. 180; Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 30–1; *Memoria en defensa*, pp. 34–7. The Semites were, for Almirall, the race which ‘occupies the Mediterranean littoral of Africa and Asia’. *Memoria en defensa*, p. 35. He did not try and explain why, given that Basques comprised a separate race, they formed part of the wider ‘Pyrenean group’. Almirall’s perspective changed from 1880 onwards. In 1879 he had seen Spain as a whole as forming part of the ‘Latin nations’. *Diari Català*, 3 December 1879.
10. Almirall, *España tal como es*, p. 180; *El Diluvio*, 30 January 1880, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 149–51; Illa i Munné, *Segon congrés Catalanista*, pp. 28–9; Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, p. 129.
11. This is the central theme of Almirall’s *España tal como es*. Almirall also shared the idea with Mañé i Flaquer that Catalans found it difficult to make their way on the Spanish political stage because of its emphasis on superficial eloquence. *Lo Catalanisme*, p. 56.
12. This divergence between the Castilian and Catalan characters is a central theme of much of Almirall’s writings. His ideas were sketched out in the *Diari Català*, 22 May 1881, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 12–14, and most fully developed in *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 30–67.
13. For this ‘Latinist movement’ see Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, p. 128; Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 140–1.
14. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 98–9; *Sessió inaugural*, pp. 7–8.
15. *Diari Català*, 2 September 1880; Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, pp. 163–5.
16. He made the call at the First Catalanist Congress held in 1880 and was greeted by an ovation. Figueres (ed.), *Primer congrés Catalanista*, p. 143.
17. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, p. 77.
18. Thus the La Renaixença Catalanist, Josep Pella i Forgas, put forward a motion arguing that the Ateneo Barcelonés should accept the usage of Catalan in a debate in 1880. Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, p. 218.
19. See the articles reproduced in A. Z. [Valentí Almirall], *Escritos Catalanistas*, pp. 157–84, and *Diari Català*, 2 September 1880.
20. See, for example, Zimmer, *Nationalism in Europe*, pp. 35–6.
21. Almirall, *España tal como es*, pp. 87–8 and pp. 157–70.
22. *Diari Català*, 4 July 1880, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 56–8.
23. Chapter 2, p. 42.
24. ‘A. Z.’ [Valentí Almirall], *Escritos Catalanistas*, p. 131.
25. Spanish trains were very slow and their number limited. The line between Barcelona and Madrid was opened in 1861 and in the mid-1880s there was one passenger train a day, which took 12 hours, and two further *expresos* a week, which took 11 hours. Almirall, *España tal como es*, p. 50.
26. The process was noted by the major Madrid-based Spanish novelist, Leopoldo Alas ‘Clarín’, in 1892: ‘While most of our provincial capitals send to Madrid almost all of their intellectual and artistic elements [...], the arts flourish in Barcelona, which does not seem like Spain.’ Quoted in Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernismo*, p. 63.
27. See, especially, the articles published in *Diari Català* during 1879 and reproduced in Figueres (ed.), *Valentí Almirall*, pp. 32–49, and *España tal como es*, pp. 69–78 and p. 137.

28. In the articles cited above in the *Diari Català*, and *España tal como es*, p. 133.
29. The liberal Catalanist, Claudi Ametlla, stated that in his youth in the 1890s 'the idea that the government was necessarily an enemy' extended throughout Catalonia. *Memòries polítiques*, p. 54. This was to exaggerate somewhat. Sections of the upper class would still turn out to vote Conservative, and in some urban areas outside Barcelona the Liberals were seen as the progressive force.
30. This phrase 'speak in Christian' is usually identified with the Franco Regime. However, comments by Catalanists show that it was already in use in the late nineteenth century. See, *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 84; Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, p. 604.
31. See Figueres, Valentí Almirall, pp. 32–8, and *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 81–2.
32. Most notably, why did the French adopt a centralizing political system (which, as Almirall recognised, was the model for the Spanish political elite) if like the Catalans they formed part of the non-authoritarian 'Latin race'?
33. See A. Z. [Valentí Almirall], 'Leyes forales', in *Escritos Catalanistas*, pp. 135–9; Rovira i Virgili, Valentí Almirall, p. 49; and the articles in *El Diluvio* and *Diari Català*, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 6–11, pp. 50–5, pp. 84–5 and pp. 94–6.
34. *Diari Català*, 4 June 1881, reproduced in Figueres (ed.), Valentí Almirall, pp. 15–21. Such ideas became generalized in the Centre Català.
35. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, p. 85 and p. 144.
36. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, p. 266.
37. Almirall expounded his federalist ideas at length in the second and third parts of *Lo Catalanisme*.
38. See for example, *La Veu del Centre Català*, 15 October 1887.
39. *El Diluvio*, 26 September and 25 October 1880, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 107–10. In a speech in 1882 he proclaimed that once Catalonia had reclaimed its rights: 'I will cry out – but in Catalan, which will be an official language – long live Spain.' Illa i Munné, *Segon congrés*, p. 30. Similarly, Almirall's close ally, the playwright Frederic Soler, who was an important figure in the Centre Català, looked forward to the day when the new regionalized Spain could celebrate its common heritage and overcome those episodes which divided them. *Solemne sessió*, p. 16.
40. Almirall, *España tal como es*, p. 38.
41. *El Diluvio*, 25 November 1888.
42. Galofré, *Rosend Arús i Arderiu*.
43. *Diari Català*, 8 August 1880, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 92–3.
44. Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, pp. 57–9.
45. There is some interesting inside information in Font, 'Vida i obra de Valentí Almirall', pp. 158–61. The minutes of the congress (except for the final sessions) are reproduced in Figueres, *Primer Congrés Catalanista*. Additional details are to be found in Pich i Mitjana, Almirall, pp. 179–224.
46. Almirall, *Explicaciones*; A. Z. [Valentí Almirall], *Escritos Catalanistas*, pp. 75–6; *Diari Català*, 28 December 1879 and 4 January 1880, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 78–83; Cacho Viu, 'Contexto europeo', p. 34.
47. Once he broke with the republicans, though affirming that he was a federalist he used the term 'particularism' in order that his ideas not be confused with those of the federal republican party.

48. John Breuilly notes that central to constructing a small-nation nationalist movement was forming a party that was seen as representing the nation. *Nationalism and the State*, pp. 1–3.
49. For this congress see Illa i Munné, *Segon congrés*; and Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 45–60.
50. Almirall, 'Carta a mon estimat amic C', pp. 18–20; *Sessió inaugural*, pp. 2–6.
51. Trías Vejerano's interpretation can be located within the tradition of Marxist historians like Pierre Vilar and Jordi Solé-Tura who, as noted in the previous chapter, saw the Catalan bourgeois as either founding or taking over the Catalanist movement. Trías Vejerano maintained that Almirall offered to lead a movement of 'the bourgeoisie' allowing it to act as 'Catalonia's hegemonic class'. However, because the bourgeoisie was too timid and conservative it failed to take up the offer, preferring more conservative options. I would, however, argue that such a perspective is fundamentally flawed. Almirall envisaged a movement led by the urban professional middle classes (which, for this author at least, cannot simply be labelled as part of 'the bourgeoisie'), and while he wanted to bring business on board, there is no evidence that he wished simply to follow business interests. A similar perspective to that of Trías Vejerano is adopted in Solé-Tura, 'Pensamiento político', pp. 341–66; and Molas, 'Valentí Almirall', p. 11.
52. Contrast A.Z [Valentí Almirall], 'La aristocracia de la espanya', in *Escritos Catalanistes*, pp. 79–85, with *El Diluvio*, 30 January 1881, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 149–57, and *Memoria en defensa*, pp. 151–208.
53. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 192–3 and 255–7; Almirall, *Poesia del regionalisme*, pp. 28–9.
54. Marfany, 'Valentí Almirall', pp. 20–4.
55. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 68–73; Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, pp. 222–3.
56. Isidre Molas has drawn attention to the influence of the classical liberalism of John Stuart Mill on Almirall's thought. See 'Liberalism de Valentí Almirall', p. 20. Pich i Mitjana has also pointed out that he was not a social Darwinist in that he looked forward to a future cooperative world order, not ruthless struggle for survival between nations. *Centre Català*, p. 41.
57. *Manifestación proteccionista celebrada el día 4 de abril de 1881; Fomento del Trabajo Nacional*, 2 July 1881; Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, pp. 156–61. For these campaigns see Chapter 5, pp. 135–9.
58. Chapter 4, pp. 104–6.
59. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 205–6.
60. Figueres (ed.), *Primer congrés Catalanista*, pp. 205–13; *Diari Català*, 30 January 1881, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 149–57; *Memoria en defensa*, pp. 151–208. There is something in the argument that emphyteusis contracts limited feudal power, because peasants could not easily be dispossessed of their land.
61. Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, pp. 136–46; Font, 'Valentí Almirall', p. 141; Almirall, 'Lo congrés català de juriconsults', *Diari Català*, 2 January 1881, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles polítics*, pp. 131–4.
62. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 210. This is the first time I have seen the term used.
63. *Memoria en defensa*, pp. 5–12; Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 78–104.
64. *Memoria en defensa*. The quotations are from p. 34 and p. 213.
65. Solé i Sabaté, 'Premsa de Madrid i Barcelona', pp. 87–103. For more details see Trías Vejerano, *Almirall*, pp. 333–41.



66. Strubell, *Roca i Ferreras*, pp. 71–87.
67. Briz, *Quatre paraules*, p. 14.
68. *Centre Català de Sabadell. Manifest*, p. 7; Folguera i Duran, *Una flama*, p. 85.
69. Almirall brought out the pamphlet previously cited. Mañé i Flaquer published a series of articles in the *Diario de Barcelona*, which were subsequently published in a single volume under the title *El Regionalismo*. There are some additional details in, Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 186–208.
70. There is unfortunately no analysis of the Centre's cultural base. A few scattered references are to be found in Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*. On the Reus Catalanist association see Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 53–4. Other significant Catalanist centres were located in the quasi-suburb of Sant Martí de Provençal, in Igualada, Tarragona, Sant Saturni d'Anoia and Masnou.
71. Illa i Munné, *Segon congrés*; Font, *Valentí Almirall*, pp. 168–9. Along with *Lo Somatent* the most important publications were in Sant Martí (*L'Arch de Sant Martí*) and Sabadell (*Lo Catalanista*). They were published on a weekly basis.
72. See Font, 'Cinquantanari de l'excurionisme català', pp. 613–26. The data on affiliation is from Coroleu, *Barcelona y sus alrededores*, p. 182. For the historicization of the Catalan landscape see Chapter 3, pp. 78–9.
73. Illa y Munné, *Segon congrés*, pp. 19–21 and 34–9.
74. And also in a number of pro-protectionist articles he wrote in *El Diluvio* between January and March 1885 (9 January, 11, 19 February, 14 March). On this question see also Chapter 5, pp. 00–00.
75. This figure is based on the study of the 1885 press catalogue of the the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.
76. Such is the impression gleaned from snippets of information in the *Butlletí del Centre Català* and *La Veu del Centre Català*.
77. Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, p. 118; Anguera, *Onze de Setembre*, pp. 26–9.
78. *La Veu del Centre Català*, 15 October 1887.
79. Almirall, *Obras y escritos políticos*, pp. v–viii.
80. For the data on membership see Coroleu, *Barcelona y sus alrededores*, p. 186.
81. Font, *Valentí Almirall*, pp. 188–9, Rovira i Virgili, *Valentí Almirall*, p. 58.
82. Roca y Roca, *Valentín Almirall*, p. 17.
83. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernismo*, p. 244.
84. A. Z. [Valentí Almirall], 'El renacimiento catalán', in *Escritos Catalanistas*, pp. 18–22 and p. 43; Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, p. 64; *L'Avens* 1884, reproduced in Almirall, *Articles literaris*, p. 87.
85. Mañé y Flaquer, *Regionalismo*, pp. 102–5.
86. Almirall, *Lo Catalanisme*, pp. 62–3.
87. Font, *Valentí Almirall*, p. 169; Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 213–27.
88. Jordi Llorens has pointed out that a group of Catalanists, linked to the publication *L'Arch de Sant Martí*, took a harder quasi-Catalan nationalist line than Almirall, and believes this was an important reason for the split. See *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 55–6. However, I think the empirical basis for this thesis is lacking. Those who broke with Almirall stressed their opposition to his liberal stance, and particularly his anti-clerical views. See, *Centre Català de Sabadell, Manifest*; Alsina i Giral, '*Centre Català de Sabadell*', p. 14.
89. For Josep Roca and *La Campana de Gracia* see Pallet i Barba, *Jospe Roca i Roca*, and also the comments in Duarte i Montserrat, 'Catalanisme popular', pp. 36–7. For the magazine's sales see A. Z. [Almirall], *Escritos Catalanistas*, p. 15, and Figueres, *Primer congrés Catalanista*, pp. 29–30.

90. Duarte i Montserrat, *Republicanisme català*, pp. 113–14.
91. For conservative republicanism see above all, Duarte i Montserrat, *Republicanisme català*, and by the same author the articles, ‘Conflictes colonials’, pp. 14–19, and ‘Republicans i Catalanistes’, pp. 23–39. For the demonstrations I have read LP, 13–19 October 1893.
92. Our major source for Vallès i Ribot is Gabriel, *El catalanisme i la cultura federal*. The quotation is from p. 85. Pere Gabriel notes that in early 1889 Vallès i Ribot commented that Catalonia was a ‘nation’ and referred to Spain as the ‘state’. *El catalanisme i la cultura federal*, pp. 48–50. This, as we shall see in the next chapter, occurred in the context in which an incipient Catalan nationalist movement was pushing the same distinction very hard. However, placed within the overall context of his ideas, it seems to me he was using the term to highlight Catalonia’s cultural uniqueness rather than its right to self-determination.
93. Chapter 3, p. 95; Chapter 4, p. 122.
94. There is a brief overview of his ideas in Strubell, *Roca i Ferreras*.
95. Cacho Viu, prologue to the anthology *Modernistes*, p. xi; Pich i Mitjana, *Valentí Almirall*, pp. 121–2.
96. Interesting because he was able to consult veterans of the movement is Font, ‘Els primers temps de L’Avenç’, ‘L’obra i els homes de L’Avenç’, and ‘L’obra dels homes de L’Avenç (acabament)’. For the definition of *modernisme* see, above all, Marfany, *Aspectes del modernisme*, pp. 16–17, and pp. 36–7. For the English reader, there is a wealth of information in Hughes, *Barcelona*, pp. 374–463.
97. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernisme*, p. 127; Pla i Arxé, ‘L’Avenç’, p. 27; Marfany, *Aspectes del modernisme*, p. 41. This was picked up on by the great Spanish novelist, Leopold Alas ‘Clarín’, who lamented that, ‘these youngsters who feel alienated from the “great patria” are usually the same people who look anxiously for new ideas and a modern ascetics; and who thanks to easy access to other countries, especially France, become more interested in that which takes place outside [Spain], which “seems” more attuned to their souls than the Spanish character’. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernisme*, n. 18, p. 165.
98. Castellanos, ‘Ramon D. Pérez’, p. 20; Solà, *Joan Sardà*.
99. *L’Avenç*, 15 May 1893 and 15–31 December 1893, reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 107–117 and pp. 147–50.
100. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernisme*, note. 7, p. 199; *L’Avenç*, 31 January 1893, reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*; Marfany (ed.), *Jaume Brossa*. Such ideas were not out of place with the claim within some anarchist circles that a conscious minority had to lead the workers.
101. Castellanos, ‘Intellectuals i anarquistes’, pp. 7–28; Duarte i Montserrat, *Republicanisme català*, p. 73.
102. *La Revista Blanca*, 1 December 1899, reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 208–13.
103. Gabriel, ‘Anarquisme i Catalanisme’, pp. 197–202; Duarte i Montserrat, *Pere Corominas*, pp. 128–30.
104. See, in particular, the articles in *L’Avenç* in February 1892 (probably by Cortada) and October 1892, and *Catàlonia*, 25 Feb 1898, reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 64–5, pp. 82–3, and pp. 172–8.
105. Jacobson, ‘Spain: the Iberian Mosaic’, pp. 223–4; Llobera, *Foundations*, pp. 79–80.
106. Pla i Arxé, *L’Avenç*, pp. 32–5.
107. The campaign is studied in depth in Miracle, *Pompeu Fabra*, pp. 224–57. See also the articles in *L’Avenç* in June and on 31 December 1891, and in July 1892, reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 46, pp. 52–7, pp. 77–80.

108. Alier, 'L'opera', pp. 36–40; Marfany, *Cultura del Catalanisme*, pp. 357–78, and *Aspectes*, pp. 56–60.
109. Termes, 'Federalisme català', pp. 13–61; Abelló i Güell, 'Movement anarquista', pp. 131–4.
110. For this overlap see Sanabria, *Republicanism*; Duarte i Montserrat, *Republicanisme català*, pp. 69–98.
111. Termes, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo*, pp. 255–6.
112. Gabriel, 'Josep Lluas i Pujals', pp. 269–301.
113. Cummins, *National Movements*.
114. Marfany, 'Els obrers', pp. 129–56.
115. Gabriel, 'Anarquisme i Catalanisme', pp. 21–2.
116. Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, pp. 67–71, pp. 103–8.
117. Castellanos, 'Intellectuals i anarquistes', p. 25; Duarte i Montserrat, *Pere Corominas*, pp. 131–2.
118. Chapter 4, p. 123.
119. For the republican 'workerist' Left, see the in some respects differing perspectives of Duarte i Montserrat, *Republicanisme català*, especially, pp. 103–5 and pp. 121–40; and Gabriel, *El Catalanisme i la cultura federal*, pp. 104–12.
120. Álvarez Junco, *Emperador del Paralelo*, pp. 91–176; Duarte i Montserrat, *Republicanisme català*, pp. 121–40; Smith, 'The People and the Nation', pp. 152–79.
121. Gabriel, *El Catalanisme i la cultura federal*, pp. 225–6.
122. Tombs, *France*, p. 73.
123. *L'Avenç*, July 1892, reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 68–76.

## 7 The Church, the Right and the Forging of a Catalan Nationalist Movement, 1875–98

1. The only major analysis of this group is Duran i Tort, '*La Renaixensa*'. However, from this author's perspective, Carola Tort's analysis is at times questionable. In particular, she insists that the paper defended the idea that Catalonia was a nation, despite the fact that it usually used the term 'nation' to refer to Spain. There is certainly much scope for further research.
2. Duran i Tort, '*La Renaixensa*', n. 35, p. 98; Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 236–7.
3. Thus, in terms of which the second-generation Romantics would approve, the authors of articles published in *La Renaixensa* in 1882 stressed that they were proud Spaniards (as shown during the war against Napoleon), but that they wished to maintain the Catalan language (one of the languages of Spain) and customs against the threat of the *españolista* centralizers. *LR*, 30 April, 2 May 1882. However, there were significant differences within the group in this respect. Guimerà for one took a harder line.
4. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 46.
5. Joaquin Riera i Bertran in *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 232–4. See also, Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 46.
6. For the oral usage of Catalan see Joaquim Casas-Carbó, 'Catalunya trilingue', reproduced in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 155–7.
7. Farnés, *Articles Catalanistas*. We have dealt with Josep Narcís Roca i Farreras in previous chapters.
8. See Chapter 2, p. 56 and pp. 64–5; Chapter 4, pp. 115–17.

9. Such an objective was subsequently outlined by Torres i Bages. See, *L'èsglésia*, pp. 24–9.
10. Stone, *Europe Transformed*, pp. 56–61; Hroch, *Social Preconditions*, pp. 140–3; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, pp. 145–55.
11. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, pp. 445–50.
12. Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution and Prophecy*, pp. 31–2, and pp. 59–88.
13. Canal i Morell and Casacuberta, 'Jacint Verdaguer', pp. 153–68.
14. Ramisa, *Orígens del catalanisme conservador*, pp. 73–4.
15. Figuerola, *El bisbe Morgades*.
16. For Mañé i Flaquer see Chapter 5, pp. 148–9.
17. Especially useful is the collection of his articles, *Escrips politics*, which also includes a succinct prologue by Isidre Molas outlining Collell's ideas.
18. Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, pp. 11–16.
19. Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, pp. 7–11 and pp. 16–20. Collell made the occasional reference to the Catalan race; cf. Collell, *Escrips politics*, p. 141. However, it is difficult to be sure whether he was investing the term with a biological or cultural content.
20. Canal i Morell and Casacuberta, 'Jacint Verdaguer', pp. 166–7. See also, Collell, *Escrips politics*, pp. 127–8; Ramisa, *Orígens del catalanisme conservador*, pp. 123–5. Torres i Bages, it should be noted, was colder in his attitude towards Spain than Collell and Verdaguer.
21. Ramisa, *Orígens del catalanisme conservador*, pp. 147–66; Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 50–5 and p. 60.
22. Collell, *Escrips politics*, pp. 124–5.
23. Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, pp. 37–42; Ramisa, *Orígens del catalanisme conservador*, pp. 119–21 and pp. 147–66. Collell's corporatism had a strongly authoritarian component. Hence he affirmed that 'true liberty' would not suffer from the illegalization of 'dangerous associations' and 'certain rights' which only served 'depraved ends'. *Escrips politics*, p. 95.
24. Collell, *Escrips politics*, p. 128.
25. Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, p. 5 and p. 56; Collell, *Escrips politics*, pp. 142–8 and pp. 159–60.
26. Chapter 4, p. 115.
27. Pich i Mitjana, *Centre Català*, pp. 98–9; Pich i Mitjana, *Almirall*, pp. 215–16; Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 32–4.
28. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, p. 215. There is a rather slight biography, Costa i Fernández, *Josep Pella i Forgas i el Catalanisme*. The books in question are, José Coroleu e Inglada and José Pella y Forgas, *Las Cortes Catalanas* (1876), and by the same authors, *Los fueros de Cataluña* (1878).
29. Martí, *L'èsglésia a Barcelona*, pp. 273–303.
30. See Chapter 3, pp. 79–80.
31. Collell, *Escrips politics*, p. 69 and pp. 103–4; Junyent i Rafart, 'Jaume Collell', p. 276.
32. Junyent i Rafart, 'Jaume Collell', pp. 276–316; Manot i Muntaner, *Creadors del Montserrat*, pp. 9–44; Benet i Baltà, *Església catalana*, pp. 137–53; Collell, *Escrips politics*, pp. 130–1.
33. Benet i Baltà, *Església Catalana*, pp. 156–9.
34. Cited in Collell, *Escrips politics*, pp. 163–5. Though the title 'Catalonia's Covadonga' would be more commonly ascribed to the town of Manresa.
35. Guimerà, 'Missatje a S. M. Donya Maria Cristina d'Habsburg Lorena'.
36. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 57.

37. Folguera i Duran, *Flama*, pp. 99–102.
38. Camps i Arboix, *Duran i Bas*, pp. 119–28; Gabriel, 'Liberales y conservadores', pp. 332–3; Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 323–5.
39. Narcís Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria del Catalanisme*, p. 15. This volume consists of a series of articles Verdaguer i Callís wrote in *La Veu de Montserrat* during the civil code dispute. Folguera i Duran also emphasizes Verdaguer i Callís's oratorical skills. *Flama*, pp. 102–8.
40. For these events I have consulted *La Veu de Montserrat*, *La Renaixensa*, *El Diluvio* and *La Campana de Gracia*. For the demonstration see Anguera, *Onze de Setembre*, p. 34.
41. Thus, for example, the major landowner and leading figure in the IACSI, Joaquim d'Abadal, played a lead role in organizing the meetings in Vic and Manlleu. The Granollers' meeting was jointly organized by the 'Vallès Association of Proprietors'. The meeting in Sant Cugat was organized by the rich property owner, Sr Castañé, and for the meeting in Bruc the speakers stayed in the house of the major landowner, Emili Pascual. *LVM*, 30 March, 13, 27 April 1889; Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria*, pp. 73–80.
42. Folguera, *Flama*, p. 22. This growth was evident during the campaign itself. New Catalanist centres were founded in, at least, Sant Sadurní, Sant Cugat and Capallades. And in Reus (and no doubt other places) lawyers not previously linked to the Catalanist cause were brought on board. See, Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria*, p. 41 and pp. 77–8; Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', pp. 74–7.
43. *La Campana de Gracia*, 30 March 1889.
44. Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria*, pp. 25–32 and pp. 45–8; *LVM*, 4 May 1889; *LR*, 25 March 1889; Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 75.
45. *LVM*, 27 April, 25 May 1889; Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria*, pp. 59–63.
46. The *LVM* leads I am referring to are from 6 April and 4 May 1889.
47. Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria*, pp. 25–32, pp. 45–8, pp. 49–58 and pp. 99–111. Sebastià Farnés also put the blame on the Castilians. See *LVM*, 30 March 1889.
48. Cacho Viu, 'Proyecto de España', p. 16.
49. Verdaguer i Callís, *Primera victòria*, pp. 49–58 and pp. 73–80.
50. *LR*, 1 September 1889, 23 February 1890. Cited in Farnés, *Articles Catalanistes*, p. 64 and p. 77.
51. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 196–7, p. 238, and p. 247.
52. Costa i Deu, 'Vida bohemia', pp. 368–72.
53. Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates*, pp. 195–6.
54. Revealing inside information is to be found in Cambó, *Memòries*, pp. 33–64. See also, above all, Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 63–86.
55. Costa, *Josep Pella i Forgas*, pp. 27–47.
56. Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, pp. xxi–xxii.
57. Joan J. Permanyer, 'Discurs presidencial dels Jocs Florals de 1891', p. 16; Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, p. 202.
58. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 141–4. From a somewhat different perspective see also Cacho Viu, 'Catalanismo y catolicismo', pp. 133–69.
59. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 277; Ramisa, *Orígens del Catalanisme conservador*, pp. 106–7; Torres i Bages, *L'èsglésia*, p. xvii. For an enlightening portrait of a smallish rural town see Ametlla, *Memòries*, pp. 69–74.
60. Casassas, *Entre Escil·la i Carabis*, pp. 286–8. For first-hand accounts of their intellectual debt see also Prat de la Riba, 'El fet de la nacionalitat catalana', in *Obra completa*, vol. 1, pp. 413–27; Cambó, *Memòries*, 51–2. On this basis one can

- tick off virtually all the major nineteenth-century French counter-revolutionary writers. For which see McClelland (ed.), *The French Right*. In addition, Savigny and Balmes loomed large as intellectual influences.
61. Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, pp. 131–40, pp. 146–51, pp. 264–8, and pp. 559–66; *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 70.
  62. Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, p. 137 and pp. 271–80. In addition, see Jordi Solé-Tura, *Catalanisme*. In previous chapters we have criticized Jordi Solé-Tura's analytical framework. Nevertheless, he provides a powerful analysis of Prat de la Riba's thought.
  63. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 131.
  64. For a brief outline of Taine's ideas see Sternhell, 'Modernity and its Enemies', p. 16. For the attitude of the Vic Group towards social elites see Collell, *Escrips polítics*, pp. 124–5, p. 157, and pp. 169–72; Ramisa, *Orígens del catalanisme conservador*, pp. 87–91.
  65. This difference is brought out in the speech by Guimerà at the Manresa Assembly. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 62–70. See also, Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 144–54. It should be said, far more has been written on the men of the CEC than on those of *La Renaixensa*.
  66. For a Europe-wide perspective see Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 101–30.
  67. Jardí, prologue to Prat de la Riba, *L'estat i la nació*, pp. v–vi; Pabón, *Cambó*, vol. 1, 1876–1918, pp. 75–94.
  68. For which see, for example, Sowerwine, *France since 1870*, pp. 53–73; Jenkins, *Nationalism in France*, pp. 87–102.
  69. Sternhell, 'Modernity and its Enemies', p. 29.
  70. Coll i Amargós, *Catalanisme conservador*, pp. 38–90.
  71. See Chapter 2, pp. 47–8.
  72. See, for example, Ferran Alsina in *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 194–200.
  73. Collell, *Escrips polítics*, pp. 194–5. A similar example is to be found in the Reus-based Catalanist publication *Lo Somatent*. See Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 158.
  74. Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, pp. 44–7.
  75. Anguera, *Onze de setembre*, p. 21; Tous, 'Lo Somatent', p. 79 and p. 194.
  76. Aulestia i Pijoan, *Història de Catalunya*, 2 vols; Prat de la Riba and Muntanyola, *Compendi de la doctrina catalana*.
  77. Domènech i Montaner, *Escrips polítics i culturals*, p. 41.
  78. See in particular his 1898 *Compendi d'història de Catalunya*, reproduced in *Obra completa*, vol. 1, 572–610. The usage of the term 'culture' in this sense was a novelty. Prat de la Riba probably assimilated it from his reading of French historians.
  79. Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 129 and pp. 142–9; Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 159 and pp. 218–30.
  80. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 227–32.
  81. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 1.
  82. For Prat de la Riba's perspective see *Obra completa*, vol. 1, p. 416. The phrase 'internal government' is taken from *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 230.
  83. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 35–6 and p. 76.
  84. 'Discurs llegit per lo President Francesc Cambó' in Cambó, *El catalanisme regeneracionista*, p. 13.

85. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 46–9.
86. Prat de la Riba, *Obra Completa*, vol. 1, pp. 440–6 and pp. 448–50.
87. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 43.
88. Carner i Graner, *Manuel Folguera i Duran*, pp. 17–18; Prat de la Riba and Muntanyola, *Compendi*, p. 29.
89. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 232–4.
90. John Breuille recognizes this pragmatic element in the ideology of small-nation nationalists. They attempt to achieve as much autonomy as possible. *Nationalism and the State*, p. 2.
91. Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 127.
92. *LR* 15 March 1899; *La Veu de Catalunya*, 15 March 1899; *La Publicidad*, 15 March 1899. However, it should be noted that these reports are, in some respects, mutually contradictory. The journalists present were struggling to understand what Dr Robert was trying to say. Similar work was also, it should be noted, being undertaken by Pedro González de Valasco in Madrid, who, it will be no surprise to learn, came to the conclusion that based on their craniums and skeletons Spaniards were both a superior and homogeneous race. Álvarez Junco, *Mater dolorosa*, pp. 271–2.
93. 'Lo fet de la nacionalitat catalana', in Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, pp. pp. 413–27. This was a conference given in the Ateneo Barcelonés in February 1897, which was reproduced in *LR* and subsequently incorporated, with very few changes, into *La nacionalitat catalana*.
94. Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, pp. 314–16 and pp. 614–23.
95. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 73.
96. Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*. Better focussed is Llobera, *Foundations*, pp. 79–80. Llobera recognizes that race was considered a factor in the construction of the Catalan spirit.
97. Folguera, *Flama*, pp. 142–3; Canal i Morell and Casacuberta, 'Jacint Verdaguer', pp. 162–3.
98. Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, pp. 152–4; Cambó, *Memòries*, pp. 38–9.
99. New provincial publications were *Setmanari Catalá* (Manresa, 1890–5), *L'Olotí* (Olot, 1890–?), *Les Quatre Barras* (Vilfranca del Penadés, 1891–1900), *Egara* (Terressa, 1892–1911) and *Lo Gironés* (1894–1908). In Sabadell, *Acció Catalana* replaced the weekly *Lo Catalanista* (1887–96).
100. Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat catalana*, p. 139.
101. For the address see, Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, pp. 428–9. There is additional information in Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', pp. 95–9; Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 326–40; Cambó, *Memòries*, p. 48.
102. Duran i Tort, 'La Renaixensa', pp. 129–91.
103. See Chapter 6, pp. 175–6.
104. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernisme*, pp. 225–39; Duarte i Montserrat, *Pere Corominas*.
105. Marfany, *Aspectes del modernisme*, pp. 26–8; Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, p. xxi; Hughes, *Barcelona*, pp. 434–5.
106. Valentí Fiol, *Primer modernisme*, pp. 209–16, p. 325 and pp. 341–2.
107. Hughes, *Barcelona*, pp. 464–541.
108. For an overview see Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 87–132 and pp. 313–26. For office workers, Llorens i Vila, 'Foment Catalanista', pp. 6–10. On Sabadell see Carner, *Manuel Folguera*, pp. 10–11; for Reus, Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', pp. 207–9. Pere Anguera also claims that the men of the Associació Popular Catalanista were republican sympathizers on the Left of the Catalan

- nationalist movement. Anguera, *Onze de Setembre*, pp. 37–62. It is clear that after 1898 shop workers' associations were at the forefront of a republicanized Catalan nationalist current. However, whether this was the case before this date is more questionable. Apart from the fact Marsans was a close friend of Verdaguier, some of the figures who gave speeches during the 11 September events organized by the Associació Popular Catalanista were well-known conservatives.
109. Cambó, *Memòries*, pp. 49–54; Canal i Morell and Casacuberta, 'Jacint Verdaguier', pp. 164–5.
  110. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 178; Cambó, *Memòries*, p. 45.
  111. Folguera, *Flama*, p. 119; Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 183.
  112. Duran i Tort, 'La Renaixensa', pp. 99–100; Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 197; Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 178–9.
  113. Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 211. See also, Anguera, *Onze de Setembre*, pp. 24–5. The practice of exchanging roses on this day became popular from 1914, and the current practice of exchanging roses for books began in 1930.
  114. The most detailed account is to be found in Anguera, *Onze de Setembre*, pp. 37–62.
  115. Utset, *Catalanisme a Terrassa*, pp. 27–8; Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', p. 211.
  116. Massot i Muntaner, Pueyo and Martorell, *Els Segadors*.
  117. Anguera, *Onze de setembre*, pp. 51–2.
  118. Chapter 3, pp. 85–6; Chapter 4, p. 117.
  119. Marín i Corbera, 'Juan Sallarès i Pla', p. 135.
  120. For the rise of the *Sardana* see, above all, Marfany, *Cultura del Catalanisme*, pp. 322–46. It was, however, introduced into Catalanist circles earlier than Marfany thought. The first reference I have found is in Ortega and Lanes, 'Setmanaris en català que ara's parla', pp. 116–18.
  121. For example, the *Contrapàs* (or *Tirabou*) and the *Ball de Post*. See, Frederic Soler, in *Solemne sessió*, p. 15; Gabriel, *El Catalanisme i la cultura federal*, pp. 99–100; Albareda et al., *Història d'Osona*, p. 188.
  122. Collell, *Escrips polítics*, pp. 98–102.
  123. Verdaguier i Callís, 'Lo flamenquisme y l'quixotisme' in *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, p. 53; Z. Z., 'Lo flamenquisme', in *LR*, 20 September 1889. Duran i Tort has identified 'Z. Z.' as Pere Aldavert.
  124. Folguera, *Flama*, p. 17.
  125. Alsina i Giralt, 'Centre Català de Sabadell', pp. 21–2.
  126. See the contrasting perspectives in Eric Hobsbawm, 'Inventing Traditions', pp. 1–14, and Smith, 'The Nation, Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?', pp. 353–68.
  127. Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, p. 92; Gasol, 'Bases de Manresa', pp. 21–8.
  128. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 17 and pp. 334–40; Llorens i Vila, 'Foment Catalanista', p. 10.
  129. Cambó, *Memòries*, pp. 37–42.
  130. Ametllà, *Memòries*, p. 120; Massó i Garriga, *Memòries*, p. 91.
  131. *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*, pp. 215–16; Ametllà, *Memòries*, pp. 94–6; Marfany, *Llengua maltractada*, pp. 418–27, and p. 483.
  132. Cambó, *Memòries*, p. 127; Duran i Tort, 'La Renaixença', pp. 185–6.
  133. Joan Maragall cited in Cacho Viu (ed.), *Modernistes*, pp. 169–71; Tous i Vallvé, 'Lo Somatent', pp. 185–6; Duran i Tort, 'La Renaixença', note 51, p. 166.
  134. Ametllà, *Memòries*, pp. 89–90.



135. Garriga i Massó, *Memòries*, pp. 86–7. ‘*Pan y toros*’ is no doubt a reference to the *zarzuela* of this name written by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, which opened in Madrid in 1864.
136. Cambó, *Memòries*, pp. 53–5; Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 109–204, p. 286 and pp. 340–52; Tous i Vallvé, ‘*Lo Somatent*’, pp. 79–87.
137. Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, pp. 174–8 and pp. 217–18.
138. Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, vol. 1, note 3, p. 573.
139. Tous i Vallvé, ‘*Lo Somatent*’, pp. 108–18; Llorens i Vila, *Unió Catalanista*, p. 339.
140. Tous i Vallvé, *Lo Somatent*’, p. 118; Anguera, *Onze de setembre*, p. 43.
141. *La Publicidad*, 26 January 1896.
142. For this description I have used above all *La Publicidad* and *El Diluvio*. See also, Pabón, *Cambó*, vol. 1, pp. 93–4 and pp. 189–91. For an analysis which focusses more on Madrid see Smith, ‘The People and the Nation’, pp. 162–73. For an overview see Balfour, ‘“The Lion and the Pig”’, pp. 107–18.
143. Garreta, ‘Primer Catalanisme a Terrassa’, p. 38.
144. Pabón, *Cambó*, vol. 1, p. 94.

## Conclusions

1. Hroch, *Social Preconditions*; Cornwall, ‘The Habsburg Monarchy’, pp. 171–91.
2. Mañé i Flaquer, *Regionalismo*, pp. 114–21. On the other hand, Joan-Lluís Marfany believes that the middle classes could have switched to Castilian had they wanted to but preferred to continue speaking in Catalan. He ventures that this may have been because of their knowledge that it was a proper language and had a distinguished past. *Llengua Maltractada*, pp. 487–8. The major problem with this interpretation is twofold. Why then were social elites beginning to speak in Castilian at the end of the nineteenth century? And why did the rest of the population write largely in Castilian?
3. In the case of Valencia we have noted the work by Manuel Martí and Ferran Archilés.
4. For Catalonia this latter argument has been made by Stephen Jacobson, and in a European-wide context similar themes have been developed by Eric Hobsbawm and John Breuilly. However, at least with respect to Catalonia, more research is needed.
5. Anthony D. Smith draws this distinction between the narrower band of intellectuals, who elaborated the ideology, and wrote the history and literature, and the broader intelligentsia, who diffused their ideas. *National Identity*, pp. 91–3.

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*El Diluvio*, 1882, 1885, 1888, 1889, 1898  
*El Economista Español*, 1890  
*Fomento de la Producción Española*, 1881–3  
*Fomento del Trabajo Nacional*, 1893  
*Lo Gay Saber*, 1868  
*La Gramalla*, 1870  
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*La Publicidad*, 1893, 1898, 1899  
*La Renaxensa (La Renaixensa from 1876)*, 1871–3, 1882, 1888–9, 1899  
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As in the text, I have written the names of all the Catalan protagonists in Catalan. However, if these figures wrote at least part of the time in Castilian (or moved in circles in which it was common to write in Castilian) I have given the Castilian version of their name in brackets. Whenever possible I have included the protagonists' first and second surnames.

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