

EDITED BY
PILAR LEÓN SANZ

HEALTH INSTITUTIONS
AT THE ORIGIN
OF THE WELFARE SYSTEMS
IN EUROPE

EUNSA

EDICIONES UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA, S.A.
PAMPLONA

Primera edición: Enero 2010

© 2010. Edited by Pilar León Sanz
Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, S.A. (EUNSA)
Plaza de los Sauces, 1 y 2. 31010 Barañáin (Navarra) - España
Teléfono: +34 948 25 68 50 - Fax: +34 948 25 68 54
e-mail: info@eunsa.es

ISBN: 978-84-313-2673-9
Depósito legal: NA 165-2010

Queda prohibida, salvo excepción prevista en la ley, cualquier forma de reproducción, distribución, comunicación pública y transformación, total o parcial, de esta obra sin contar con autorización escrita de los titulares del *Copyright*. La infracción de los derechos mencionados puede ser constitutiva de delito contra la propiedad intelectual (Artículos 270 y ss. del Código Penal).

Colabora:



phoenix tn. net

European Thematic Network on Health and Social Welfare Policy



Imprime:

Imagraf, S.L.L. Mutilva Baja (Navarra)

Printed in Spain - Impreso en España

Contents

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	9
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	13
INTRODUCTION. WELFARE AND HEALTH THROUGH NON-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS AND NGOS (1800-1939)	15
<i>Pedro Gil-Sotres</i>	
1. HEALTH AND SOCIAL REFORM, EUROPEAN ORIGINS OF THE BASIC PILLARS OF SPANISH HYGIENIC THINKING	25
<i>M^a Ángeles Jiménez Riesco</i>	
2. HUMANITARIANISM, WAR MEDICINE AND PROPAGANDA: THE CARLIST ASSOCIATION LA CARIDAD, 1873-1876	77
<i>Jon Arrizabalaga and Pablo Larraz Andía</i>	
3. WAR MEDICINE AND INNOVATION IN LATE 19-CENTURY EUROPE: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY FROM THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN TO THE SECOND CARLIST WAR	109
<i>Teresa Huguet-Termes and Juan Carlos García-Reyes</i>	
4. THE ROLE OF THE SPANISH RED CROSS IN THE ESTABLISH- MENT OF A SYSTEM OF SPECIALIZED HEALTH CARE FOR WAR DISABLED AND INVALIDS: FROM THE COLONIAL DISASTER TO THE AFRICAN WAR	131
<i>María-Isabel Porrás-Gallo</i>	

5. THE MENTALLY ILL AS A VULNERABLE POPULATION: POLISH CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHIATRIC CARE IN CONGRESS POLAND BEFORE 1914	151
<i>Anita Magowska</i>	
6. THE STRATEGIES OF INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER AGENCIES IN PAMPLONA, 1902-1936	167
<i>Pilar León-Sanz</i>	
INDEX	193

Notes on Contributors

Jon Arrizabalaga (Oviedo, 1956), MD, PhD. He is Senior Researcher in the History of Science at the Institución Milà i Fontanals (IMF), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Barcelona, Spain. His research interests have been mostly focused on medicine, health and disease (plague, French disease) in late medieval and early modern Europe. He has co-authored with John Henderson and Roger French *The Great Pox. The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, Yale UP, 1997). He is currently involved in a new research line on war medicine and the International Red Cross movement in nineteenth-century Spain.

Juan Carlos García-Reyes, Fellow JAE-CSIC at the Institution Milà i Fontanals (CSIC, Barcelona). After taking his degrees in History at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid and in Journalism at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra of Barcelona in 2009, he has got a MA in History of Science at the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona. He is now working on a PhD Thesis on the origins and early history of the Spanish Red Cross.

Pedro Gil-Sotres is Professor of History of Science at the University of Navarra. He is currently a member of the Executive Committee of the Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Om-

nia, editing and commenting on the following works of Arnau de Vilanova: *Tractatus de consideracionibus operis medicine sive de flebotomia* (1988); *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum* (1996). Most of his research has focused on the medieval period, studying the therapeutic methods employed by Latin Galenists. He has also supervised a number of research projects on practices and health care professionals during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Teresa Huguet-Termes, finished her PhD at the University of Barcelona and holds a position of fellow researcher at the Institución Milà i Fontanals of the CSIC, Spanish Council for the Scientific Research. She is finishing a monography on Hospital care in Habsburg Madrid (1561-1700), and has published many scholarly international articles devoted to welfare and hospital care in journals such as *Medical History*, *Medicina e Storia* and the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, apart from a number of book chapters and the volume (co-edited with Jon Arrizabalaga and Harold J. Cook), *Health and Medicine in Habsburg Spain: agents, practices, representations* (London, *Medical History*, Supplement n° 29, 2009). Her interest in modern welfare is currently concentrated on war medicine and innovation in the late 19-century Europe.

M^a Ángeles Jiménez Riesco graduated from the University of Navarra with a Doctorate in History. She took part in several research projects on social housing, political elites and local management in Pamplona between 1883-1950, as well as on economic modernization and social change in Navarra from 1939 until 1975. She has published many articles regarding social issues in Spain. She has also written about the economic, social and hygienic problems derived from the lack of cheap hygienic housing.

Pablo Larraz Andía (Pamplona, 1974), MD, PhD. He works as a Family Doctor in Osasunbidea – Servicio Navarro de Salud at Pamplona, Spain. His historical research focuses on war medicine in 19th and 20th century Spain. He has authored, among other

works, *Entre el frente y la retaguardia. La sanidad en la guerra civil: el Hospital «Alfonso Carlos», Pamplona 1936-1939* (Madrid, Actas, 2004); *Aventuras de un gentleman en la tercera carlistada. Imágenes de la sanidad en guerra, 1872-1876* (along with F. J. Caspistegui and J. Ansorena) (Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, 2007); and *Requetés. De las trincheras al olvido* (along with V. Sierrasesúmaga) (Madrid, La Esfera de los Libros, 2010, in press).

Pilar León Sanz is Associate Professor of History of Medicine at the University of Navarra. She continues to investigate subjects related to 18th Century Medicine in Spain, particularly into the music therapy and the relationship between physicians, but now dedicates most of her time to studying the practices of health care professionals during 20th century. Her publications include: *La Tarantola Spagnola. Empirismo e tradizione nel XVIII secolo* (Lècce 2008). *La implantación de los derechos del paciente. Comentarios a la Ley 41/2002*, (Pamplona 2004); «Professional Responsibility and the Welfare System in Spain at the Turn of the 19th Century» (*Hygiea Internationalis*, 2006 5[1]: 75-90).

Anita Magowska Ass. Prof., Head of the Chair of History of Medical Sciences, the University of Medical Sciences in Poznan (Poland), President of the German-Polish Society of the History of Medicine, Vicepresident of the International Academy of the History of Pharmacy. Main fields of interest: history of plant drugs, history of pharmacology, history of health care for vulnerable populations, modernization of medicine before 1939. Most important publications: *Badania leków roślinnych w II Rzeczypospolitej (The research on plant-derived medicines in the Second Republic of Poland)*. Wydawnictwo Kontekst, Poznan 2001; *Zaangażowanie Polaków w misyjną opiekę zdrowotną w Afryce (The Polish contribution to the Catholic mission health care in Africa)*. Wydawnictwo Kontekst 2007; *Charities in the 19th and the 20th centuries: Education and Labour as the programme of fight against poverty*, in: *The*

Price of Life. Welfare Systems, Social Nets and Economic Growth, L. Abreu, P. Bourdelais (eds.), CIDEHUS-UE, Evora 2008 pp. 413-427.

María-Isabel Porrás-Gallo, M.D. and Ph.D. in Medicine, is Senior Lecturer in History of Science in the Medical Sciences Department and Medical Faculty of Albacete at the University of Castile-La Mancha (Spain). Her main research fields are the history of diseases, the history of physical disabilities and social protection. She is the principal researcher of the project *La asistencia antipoliomielítica en España en el siglo XX (los casos de Madrid, Valencia y Castilla-La Mancha): aspectos médicos, sociales y políticos*, funded by the Consejería de Educación-JCCM (Spain) Agency (2009-2012).

Chapter two
Humanitarianism,
war medicine and propaganda:
The Carlist association *La Caridad*, 1873-1876*

*Jon Arrizabalaga***
*Pablo Larraz Andía****

1. INTRODUCTION

After several failed attempts at uprising from the summer of 1869, in May 1872 an open civil war blew up in Northern Spain between the supporters of the legitimist cause led by the Carlist pretender Carlos VII (1848-1909) and the government troops of Amadeo I of Savoy, who was the king of Spain from November 1870 to February 1873. The conflict, better known as the Second Carlist War (1872-1876), in reference to an earlier similar conflict lasting from 1833 to 1840, triggered a long and bloody confrontation that embraced the military field as much as the ideological and propaganda ones. As one more aspect of the war, the care of wounded and sick combatants was conditioned by all these circumstances.

* This study is an outcome of the research project HUM2006-02263/HIST, which is funded by the Dirección General de Investigación of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.

** CSIC-IMF, Barcelona, Spain. jonarri@imf.csic.es

*** Osasunbidea-Servicio Navarro de Salud, Pamplona, Spain. pablolarraz@yahoo.es

There is no comprehensive study of the war medicine services during this period for either of the two camps. Moreover, historians have paid less attention to the Carlist side, among other reasons, because there has been less information available (Parés y Puntas 1977). This is due, as much to the reduced space where the conflict took place, as to the destruction or loss of the Carlist archives after their military defeat and subsequent exile.

This essay is intended to provide a first analysis of the war medical services in the Carlist camp, by dealing with the relief association *La Caridad*, a singular institution that to date has not been dealt with in a detailed way. It will focus on the activities of this relief organisation on the Northern front of the war, in the Basque-Navarrese Country¹.

2. THE CARLIST ASSOCIATION LA CARIDAD

From the earliest skirmishes in mid April 1872 and during the first months of the war, the wounded or sick Carlist combatants were poorly treated because of the insurgents' lack of means and efficient war medical services. The shortage of physicians and surgeons and the lack of blood hospitals and equipment were partly palliated by the admission of combatants to private houses, civil hospitals or spas, where local doctors cared for them. On these premises, they received nothing more than a rapid, basic primary care (Brea 1897, pp. 24-25)². Indeed, the most complete medi-

1. *La Caridad* was also in action on the Catalanian front, although with less intensity and more difficulties than on the Northern front, but it did not develop so far on the Central front, except for the case of the Hospital of Chelva at Valencia. See Parés y Puntas, 1977, vii-xiv.

2. Brea's first-hand testimony about the way the wounded Carlist combatants were cared for at the beginning of the war is expressive enough to be reproduced here: «El vacío que existía antes de crearse *La Caridad* era grandísimo; los pobres

cine cabinet the Carlists had in 1873 had been snatched from an enemy infantry regiment at the battle of Eraul in May that year (Brea, 1897, p. 26).

Although Spain had signed up to the Geneva Convention in 1864 and the Spanish Red Cross was in action during the Second Carlist War³, its full deployment in the rebel territory was rather controversial, because of the absence of a clear definition of the competence of this international humanitarian association in the face of insurrections and civil wars. Indeed, at the discussion raised about this issue at the Red Cross' Central Committee at Geneva on the eve of the outbreak of the war, it was agreed not to establish «official contacts with the insurgents» –to be precise, with the pretender Don Carlos– in order to avoid any diplomatic conflict with the Spanish government. The Geneva Committee also agreed to send a «general offer of services» to the Red Cross' Spanish Committee through its co-founder and general inspector the medical officer Nicasio Landa (1830-1891) (Pitteloud, 1999, p. 266)⁴.

heridos, pena nos da recordarlo, eran insuficientemente curados y socorridos. Aún recordamos haber visto poco menos que hacinados en habitaciones pequeñas, las más de ellas sin cristales ni ventanas, y por ende insalubres, en el hospital que se había improvisado en Abárzuza, en la carretera de Muez, a los heridos procedentes de la acción de Mañeru. El médico que los aistía no tenía residencia fija en el hospital; las camas y demás efectos eran debidos al desprendimiento particular de los vecinos de los pueblos comarcanos, y el irremplazable instituto de las Hermanas de San Vicente de Paul era sustituido por los parientes de los heridos, por sus conocidos y aún por sus propias madres, si no carecían de recursos para trasladarse de un punto a otro. Uno de los espectáculos que más presente se nos quedó en la imaginación fue el ver a dos heridos carlistas, padre e hijo, asistidos varonil, pero nada facultativamente, como es de suponer, por la esposa y madre de ambos desgraciados», Brea, 1897, pp. 24-25. For another personal testimony on this issue, see Hernando, 1877, p. 131.

3. For a general overview of the history of Spanish Red Cross, see Clemente, 1986.

4. «[Séance du 22 avril 1872] M. Moynier attire l'attention du comité sur les démarches qu'il conviendrait de faire auprès du Comité espagnol pour lui offrir



Figure 1. *Margarita de Borbón Parma, the founder of «La Caridad»* (Archive of Ramón Hernández Oter, Tarragona).

In these circumstances, during the summer of 1873 Margarita de Borbón (1845-1893), the wife of the Carlist pretender Carlos VII, first conceived the idea of a charity organisation for the rapid relief of wounded soldiers in the battlefields. At that time, she was spending the season at Tartifume castle, a country house close to Bordeaux, where she had fitted out a ward to care for Carlist officers who were convalescent from wounds at the battle of Udabe (North Navarre, 26 June 1873). She was helped in her tasks by two Legitimist friends of her, namely Elizabeth Szechenye Zichy Ferraris, Marquess of La Romana (1827-1914), and Josefa Vasco (1827-1878), an Andalusian aristocrat, the widow of a wealthy banker from Granada and the mother of the Carlist general Carlos Calderón. Both of them would closely collaborate with her at the Carlist relief association *La Caridad* that she eventually founded (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 291, 295).

On 27 August 1873, Carlos VII, from his headquarters at Los Arcos (Navarre) and at his wife's request, fully authorised her to direct, in his name, the setting up of «ambulances and relief for wounded without any distinction» as well as to designate those who could help her «to implement such a humanitarian thought» (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 298-299)⁵. In September 1873, Margarita de Borbón founded *La Caridad-Asociación Católica para el Socorro de Heridos* [«The Charity-Catholic Association for relief of Wound-

nos bons offices et nos services dans la malheureuse guerre civile qui s'est déclarée en Espagne; et sur l'opportunité de se mettre également en rapport avec Don Carlos.

Le comité, après avoir discuté cette question et reconnu que le rôle du Comité international dans les insurrections et guerres civiles n'est point nettement défini, que des rapports officiels avec les insurgés pourraient avoir de fâcheux résultats, décide qu'une demande offre générale de service sera faite au Comité espagnol, qu'une lettre particulière sur la situation sera écrite à M. Landa et que, pour le moment, il ne sera fait aucune démarche auprès de Don Carlos: M. Moynier est chargé de cette correspondance.»

5. For a full transcription of Charles VII's letter, see Sagrera, 1969, p. 298.

ed»] at Pau, where she spent most of her time during the war, and where she established the headquarters of the relief association. Working from Pau, the Carlist pretender's wife was personally in charge of coordinating *La Caridad's* different committees, of making –mostly through letters– the relevant arrangements to obtain funds and material for the association, and of dealing with the diplomatic issues concerning its international recognition and alleged neutrality⁶. Moreover, it was in Pau where this relief association settled its first permanent ambulance⁷ along with 400 beds for wounded and sick combatants in different premises offered to her by sympathisers with the Carlist cause, mostly French Legitimists (Melgar, 1958, p. 202).

Margarita de Borbón provided *La Caridad* with a Central Committee (*Junta Central*) which she herself presided over, and included four other members with defined functions. They were Agustín Crespi de Valdaura y Caro (1833-1893) –the Count of Orgaz and political leader of the Carlist minority at the Spanish Parliament in 1871– as *La Caridad's* vicepresident; the Jesuit priest Manuel Barrena (1841-1923) as director of its civilian personnel; the French Legitimist nobleman William de Bourgade as director of material and equipment; and the above-mentioned aristocrat Josefa Vasco (1827-1878) as directress of its women's staff and manager of its hospitals (Melgar, 1958, pp. 201-205).

6. In December 1874, Margarita de Borbón travelled to Paris to «counteract the damage that certain persons are trying to cause us and the Association («contrarrestar el mal que tratan de hacernos ciertas personas y que tratan de hacer daño a la Asociación»)). See Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence, letter from Margarita de Borbón to Josefa Vasco (Paris, 29 December 1874).

7. It should be stressed that the term «ambulance» in that historical context meant «not simply a vehicle for transporting the wounded but a temporary field hospital consisting of physicians and surgeons, male nurses, and all their equipment and transport» (Hutchinson, 1996, pp. 109-110).

The arrangements for raising money were centralised at Pau –Margarita's official residence during the war– while Saint Jean de Luz, on the coast and much closer to the Spanish border, was chosen as the centre for buying and storing medicines and surgical equipment as well as other material like clothes and coats for the Carlist battalions.⁸ William de Bourgade, the director of *La Caridad's* material and equipment, took advantage of his French nationality and his contact network among French Catholics and Legitimists, to arrange, receive and channel the funds and material for relief⁹.

The Jesuit Manuel Barrena was in charge of selecting and assigning the personnel to *La Caridad's* hospitals. They were local doctors and barber-surgeons (*practicantes*), nuns of Charity of Saint Vincent of Paul, stretcher-bearers (*ambulancieros*), male nurses –some of them seminarians– and local women volunteers in charge of the auxiliary tasks at the hospitals. Furthermore, male religious communities, such as that of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of God were also involved at some hospitals like Irache thanks to the good terms between the pretender's wife and this congregation's central house in Rome¹⁰.

8. In several letters crossed each other between Margarita de Borbón and Josefa Vasco, the Hotel de France at San Juan de Luz is mentioned as a reception point for the material, and Dr. Carrión, a physician settled there, as the person in charge of ordering the medicines for *La Caridad's* hospitals. See Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence, letters of Margarita de Borbón to Josefa Vasco dated at Pau on 11 January and 13 February 1874.

9. In several letters, Margarita de Borbón informed Josefa Vasco of Bourgade's arrangements in this regard. See Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence.

10. From the correspondence of the pretender's wife with Josefa Vasco, it is clear that Margarita de Borbón wrote several times to the central seat of Hospitaller Order of Saint John of God in Rome. In a letter dated 19 March 1874, she indicated her intention to request them to send more brothers of this congregation for *La Caridad's* hospital at Irache. In another letter dated 21 April 1874, she referred to having requested from Rome a report on the health of a brother who had been

Josefa Vasco, a woman of ability and initiative who travelled extensively across the war zone, undertook not only the organization of hospitals, but also, in conjunction with the Red Cross, diplomatic representations to the government military commanders in order to make *La Caridad's* relief activities easier.

Margarita de Borbón was able to periodically update her information about the state of *La Caridad's* hospitals from the mail reports given to her by the different sectorial directors of the association, or by questioning Carlist officers and international mediators who visited her at Pau. Another significant initiative of her was to set up a channel of communication between the Carlist combatants and their families by regularly listing at *El Cuartel Real*—the official gazette of the Carlist band—those wounded who were admitted to different hospitals¹¹.

The coordination among *La Caridad's* different sectorial directors was not exempt from controversy. William de Bourgade and Josefa Vasco, especially, clashed several times because of either personal differences or discrepancies of judgement. Apparently Margarita de Borbón's interventions were always conciliatory, in order not to hinder the efficient running of the association¹².

wounded during a military action. See Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence.

11. In her letter dated 26 February 1874, Margarita de Borbón made the following suggestion to the Directress of the female staff of *La Caridad*: «Dile de mi parte al que dirige el periódico *El Cuartel Real* que me parece que debería de publicar después de cada acción los nombres y apellidos de los muertos y heridos nuestros, y de los heridos decir si son graves o leves y dónde se encuentran, pues esto interesaría más a las familias que una lista de médicos que no hacen gran cosa». Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence.

12. In several letters, Margarita de Borbón tried to calm Josefa Vasco after misunderstandings and differences with Bourgade, particularly, in a letter dated at Pau 19 March 1874. See Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence.

2.1. *La Caridad's means of funding*

La Caridad was organised into provincial and local relief committees, mostly run by women belonging to traditionalist-Catholic charity associations. These committees notably spread throughout Spain, including those provinces –the majority– under government control. Permanent delegations were settled in England, Ireland, France, Austria, Belgium, United States, Russia and Germany. Their designated representatives were mostly aristocrats close to the Legitimists, like the Duke of Norfolk in London, the Marquis of Béthisy in Paris, the Comte of Romrée in Belgium, and the Viscount d'Oyley in the United States. By the way, D'Oyley was a great nephew of Thomas Evans –the founder of the US Sanitary Commission at Philadelphia during the American Civil War and Doña Margarita's dentist in Paris (Sagrera 1969, p. 311).

The financial and material donations collected by *La Caridad's* provincial and local committees, and international delegations were its main source of income and the most important way to obtain goods and equipment. *La Caridad* managed to get a great deal of material thanks to foreign donations that came from the just finished Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871); material and equipment that often proved to be new and innovative for Spain at that time.

Another more limited funding for *La Caridad* came from the subsidies given by the Carlist Government Committees (*Juntas Gubernativas Carlistas*) of the three Basque provinces (Alava, Biscay and Guipuscoa) and Navarre. They provided the association with premises and material means for setting up hospitals. However, the *Juntas'* finances were depleting during the course of the war as a result of the military efforts and, therefore, their contribution gradually declined.

Finally, *La Caridad* received material help including funds from a temporal relief committee (*Société des Secours aux blessés espagnols*) whose headquarters were settled in Paris by early 1874

under the auspices of the Count of Ripalda –the president of the Spanish Red Cross at the time. The Paris Committee was intended to centralise and fairly distribute between the two contenders the money and goods given by foreign donors for relief of the injured in the Carlist War with no distinction as to their side. This humanitarian help from Paris was provided to *La Caridad* in spite of the disapproval of the central committee of the Spanish Red Cross in Madrid, who claimed that they should exclusively distribute all international humanitarian aid to the contenders. Apparently, not even the arrangements of the influential Nicasio Landa at Gustave Moynier's request were enough to improve the relationships between Madrid and Geneva (*Mémorial*, c.1875; Moynier, 1905, p. 26), and an open disagreement on this matter between the Spanish Red Cross and the Geneva Committee persisted until the end of the war and the death of Ripalda soon after.

La Caridad reached the height of its activities during 1874. Yet, in the last stage of the war –from mid 1875 to February 1876– as the Carlist troops were retreating and *La Caridad's* hospitals were passing to government control, the association's finances, material development and activities gradually fell off. This was largely due to the exhaustion of its supporters' resources and the decrease in foreign donations as a result of the international decline of the Carlist cause. This decline was the result of the end of the First Spanish Republic (February 1873 to December 1874) and the proclamation of Alfonso XII as the new Spanish King at the end of 1874; of a shifting of European political concerns towards other issues; and of the diversion of humanitarian aid towards other disasters such as the 1875 floods in France.

The project of reorganisation of the Northern Carlist army, which was written by the general Carlos Calderón y Vasco (1841–1891) in 1875, appears to have been intended as a way of resolving the increasing difficulties the insurgents were facing. Significantly enough, in this project there was a section dedicated to the mili-

tary health services (*Sanidad Militar*) where Calderón advocated that the Carlist Military Medicine Corps and *La Caridad* would merge under the direction of a prestigious doctor who would be assimilated as a Brigadier. In the new organisation, all the medical personnel would be militarised (Calderón [1875], pp. 6-7). Probably because it was overtaken by the end of the war, this project was never put into action. Yet, it appears to be symptomatic of the growing logistic difficulties for the Carlist band to maintain in a separated way its military health services and *La Caridad* during the last stage of the war as a result of the political, diplomatic, and economic decline of their cause¹³.

2.2. *La Caridad and the Spanish Red Cross*

Despite the fact that most of its doctors, remaining personnel, and inmates at its hospitals were linked to the Carlist army, *La Caridad* was conceived in organic terms as an association independent of the Carlist Military Medicine Corps. And, indeed, it does appear to have acted independently (albeit in a coordinated way) of the insurgents' military medicine services¹⁴.

La Caridad was devoted to carrying out humanitarian functions equivalent to the Red Cross on the Carlist side, so that it was intended to help, without distinction, the wounded of both sides,

13. The letters sent from *La Caridad's* hospital at Lesaca in February 1876 by its director Vincent Kennett-Barrington are very eloquent in this respect. See Kennett-Barrington, 1987, pp. 71-78. For a Spanish annotated translation of these letters, see Capistegui, Larraz and Ansorena, 2007, pp. 158-167.

14. Quite revealing in this respect is the fact that in the regulations of the Carlist military health services («Bases para la organización del Real Cuerpo de Sanidad Militar») published by the official gazette of the insurgent band, *La Caridad*, its premises or equipment are mentioned nowhere, and the uniforms of the former's personnel are entirely different from those in force at *La Caridad*. See *El Cuartel Real*, Tolosa, 2(194), 3 September 1874).

by means of ambulance services, provision of blood and specialised war hospitals. *La Caridad's* members wore a very similar uniform to that of the Red Cross, although their emblem was a red Maltese cross on a white background and with the Sacred Heart in the middle¹⁵.



Figure 2. Emblem of «La Caridad» (Archive of Ramón Hernández Oter, Tarragona).

In the absence of official recognition by the Geneva Committee, the Red Cross general inspector Nicasio Landa provided *La Caridad* with a *de facto* approval in a circular letter he sent to the presidents of the Spanish Red Cross provincial committees. He conferred on this relief association an official status in the Carlist camp similar to that of the Military Health Services in the gov-

15. Unfortunately, the rules of *La Caridad* appear to have been lost. Our source of information in this respect is Giménez Enrich, 1874, pp. 734-735.

ernment camp. Moreover, Landa welcomed the foundation of *La Caridad* because it relieved the Spanish Red Cross of the «serious obligation» of setting up and maintaining blood hospitals in the rebel territory, as it had done during the first twenty months of the civil war in a number of towns. He specified that the Red Cross committees would offer their post-combat assistance equally to *La Caridad* and to *Sanidad Militar* –the governmental Military Health Services–, by transporting the wounded combatants to the respective hospitals of either, where they would be given the necessary moral and material help (Giménez Enrich, 1874, pp. 734-735).

The Spanish Red Cross' legal advisory committee ratified Landa's views by welcoming the Carlist relief association and by commissioning him to request the Red Cross' Basque-Navarrese committees not to deny any help they were asked for by *La Caridad*. Although the legal report considered it inconvenient to open up direct links with *La Caridad*, an open door was also left to the possibility that the Red Cross' Spanish Committee could agree in the future to come to terms with, and invite *La Caridad* to join under the Red Cross' flag (Giménez Enrich, 1874, p. 735; *La Caridad en la Guerra*, 1873, 4/45, 3-4)¹⁶.

These circumstances allowed *La Caridad* to have a wider margin to interact with the Spanish government army, and to gain credibility in order to channel foreign funds and donations. Its relationships with the medical services of the Spanish army and with independent humanitarian organisations, particularly the Spanish

16. «Esto, sin embargo, no deberá impedir, si le parece oportuno a la Asamblea en su sabiduría, tomar este acuerdo, que se ponga en relación con *La Caridad* y por los medios convenientes que dice la prudencia y en situación también oportuna la invite como hermana primogénita que es, a alistarse bajo su bandera; pero el que suscribe no cree llegado el caso, sino cuando más el de saludarla de una manera afectuosa dándole la bienvenida al teatro de la guerra». See *La Caridad en la Guerra*, 1873, 4/45, p. 4.

Red Cross, might be described, in general terms, as correct, even cordial and gentlemanly.

To a great extent both organisations, the Spanish Red Cross and *La Caridad*, managed to soften hostile attitudes towards each other throughout the war, as well as to achieve a mutual recognition with regard to the issue of equal treatment to combatants from both sides. This is made clear from Red Cross's help to wounded Carlists after the military actions of Oroquieta and Udabe, or from the admission into Irache hospital of government soldiers who had been injured during the battles of Montejurra, Abárzuza and Lácar.

Furthermore, both associations actively intervened in several mutual exchanges of wounded soldiers who had been admitted to their hospitals. The government medical officer Nicasio Landa started contacts, as delegate of the Red Cross in Navarra, with representatives of *La Caridad* and commanders of the Carlist army as early as December 1873 (*LACRN*, 14 December 1873, pp. 120-123). The most significant exchange of wounded combatants may have been that which occurred at Irache hospital in July 1874, when 328 wounded soldiers from the Spanish army were transferred to the territory under the governmental control. This episode was followed by further exchanges such as the one that happened at Viana (south Navarre) on 16 June 1875, when 1,308 captive or wounded soldiers of both sides were exchanged (*Cuerpo de Estado Mayor de Ejército*, tomo VI, 1885, pp. 239-250).

The Red Cross sometimes also intervened in channelling foreign consignments of health equipment that were addressed to *La Caridad*—a thorny and controversial issue (*LACRN*, 1 March 1874, pp. 136-137). In this respect, a number of episodes were of sufficient interest to be recorded, namely the consignments from France in December 1873 of an ambulance donated by French Catholic Legitimists (*LACRN*, 7 December 1873, pp. 119-120) and of a coachload of cotton (*LACRN*, 14 December 1873, pp. 120-123); and that of two «modern trucks» sent from Ireland, also

to *La Caridad*, in March 1874 (*LACRN*, 1 and 8 March 1874, pp. 135-139). In all these donations, the Spanish Red Cross acted as mediator in handing over the gifts. This provoked controversy at the heart of the association, and gave rise to a heated debate in its Navarre section. Indeed, on 1 March 1874 the provincial committee agreed «to take strong actions in order to improve the anomalous situation derived from the foreign readiness to help the association *La Caridad Católica* [sic]». This situation, along with the lack of funds and the allegedly major difficulties of guaranteeing Red Cross members' security in their actions in the Carlist territory, led the Navarre Red Cross committee to suspend its ambulance service over all the provincial territory from 25 March that year (*LACRN*, 25 March 1874, pp. 142-145).

3. THE HOSPITALS OF LA CARIDAD

The earliest hospital set up under the flag of *La Caridad* appears to have been settled at Pau at the end of 1873. It was close to the *Villa du Midi*, where Margarita de Borbón had moved her residence in late November that year, and was mostly used to care for convalescent Carlist officers and commanders who had been evacuated from camp hospitals in Spain. During the course of the war, the association created more than thirty permanent centres throughout the Basque-Navarrese Country on the Northern front. They were distributed among those small and middle-sized towns under the Carlist army's control, since all the four provincial capitals (Bilbao, Saint Sebastian, Vitoria and Pamplona) always remained under government rule. In Alava there is evidence of Carlist hospitals at Gomílaz, Murguía and Piédrola, the latter being the most important. Those of Biscay were settled at Durango, Guernica, Valmaseda, Galdácano, Munguía, Orduña, Zornoza, Elorrio, Villaro, Dima and Castillo-Elejabeitia, in addition to the four main ones

that were established at Santurce after the bloody battles of Somorostro (Cuerpo de Estado Mayor de Ejército, 1883-1889, tomo VI, 1885, p. 6). In Guipuscoa, there is evidence, among others, of those at Azpeitia, Azcoitia, Mondragón, Santa Águeda, Escoriaza, Vergara, Tolosa and Berástegui, as well as the main one that was settled at the Jesuit shrine of Loyola. Finally, in Navarre, the major theatre of war operations in Northern Spain after the siege of Bilbao, blood hospitals were settled at Lacunza, Olagüe, Aoiz, Estella, Puente la Reina, Gollano, Belascoáin, Montesquiza, Lesaca and Irache –the «flagship» of Carlist military health services during the conflict (Ferrer, 1941-1979, vol. IX, tomo 26, 1959, p. 35).

One of *La Caridad's* earliest hospitals was the one settled in the old castle of Zabaleta at Lesaca. It had the capacity to lodge more than one hundred wounded (Capistegui, Larraz and Ansorena, 2007, p. 54). Because of its strategic location in North Navarre, very close to the French border, this hospital played an outstanding role throughout the war, looking after Carlist wounded combatants until their recovery or after those in transit and, particularly, during its last stage, when the Carlist army was withdrawing to the French border. This hospital was the last one *La Caridad* kept in action on the Spanish side. Significantly enough, in February 1876, soon before the end of the conflict, its direction was taken over by the English philanthropist Vincent Kennett-Barrington (1844-1903), a member of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem and of the English Red Cross¹⁷.

Another particularly interesting hospital set under *La Caridad's* flag was established at Santurce (Biscay). Directed by Josefa

17. Kennett-Barrington described in several letters and a report for the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem his activities as director of Lesaca hospital in February 1876, by emphasising the restricted means and the extreme circumstances under which he had to work. See Kennett-Barrington, 1987, pp. 71-78 (Capistegui, Larraz and Ansorena, 2007, pp. 158-167).

Vasco, it consisted of four hospitals that were located on the military operation axis on Bilbao during the Carlists' long siege of the city (from 29 December 1873 to 2 May 1874). It took in a great number of wounded Carlists at the battles of Somorrostro (February to April 1874), on the government army's offensive to break the rebels' siege of Bilbao. After being squeezed inside government territory, Josefa Vasco directly negotiated with generals Serrano –the Spanish Prime Minister– and Concha, a difficult sea evacuation of more than two thousand Carlist inmates from Santurce hospitals at the end of the insurgents' siege of Bilbao¹⁸. Between May and June 1874 they were the subject of a complex transfer operation by sea to Saint Jean de Luz, and then by land, including the crossing of the Bidasoa River, to the hospital at Lesaca. The presence of foreign war journalists and humanitarians gave wide international publicity to this evacuation. One of the most expressive images of the operation was on the front page of the English weekly newspaper *The Graphic*, dedicated to the boarding of wounded on the ship *Somorrostro*. There, members of *La Caridad* and the Spanish Red Cross along with English gentlemen of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem and of the English National Society for Aid to Sick and Wounded in War, that is, the English Red Cross Society, were jointly collaborating in this relief task¹⁹.

18. Letter of General Serrano to Josefa Vasco dated 4 April 1874, where he agreed to the artillery ceasefire over Santurce, and conceded a two-day truce to evacuate the wounded by sea; and letter of Margarita de Borbón to Maria Josefa Vasco, dated at Pau 15 April 1874, where the former congratulated the latter for having obtained that commitment from General Serrano. See Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*, Correspondence. Both letters were also published by Sagrera, 1969, pp. 334-335, 339.

19. On the last battle of Somorrostro during the final stage of the siege of Bilbao, and the evacuation of Santurce hospitals, see Sagrera, 1969, 324-336, and the first hand testimonies of Furley, 1876, pp. 168-188, and Kennett-Barrington, 1987, pp. 3-13 (Capistegui, Larraz and Ansorena, 2007, pp. 45-65).

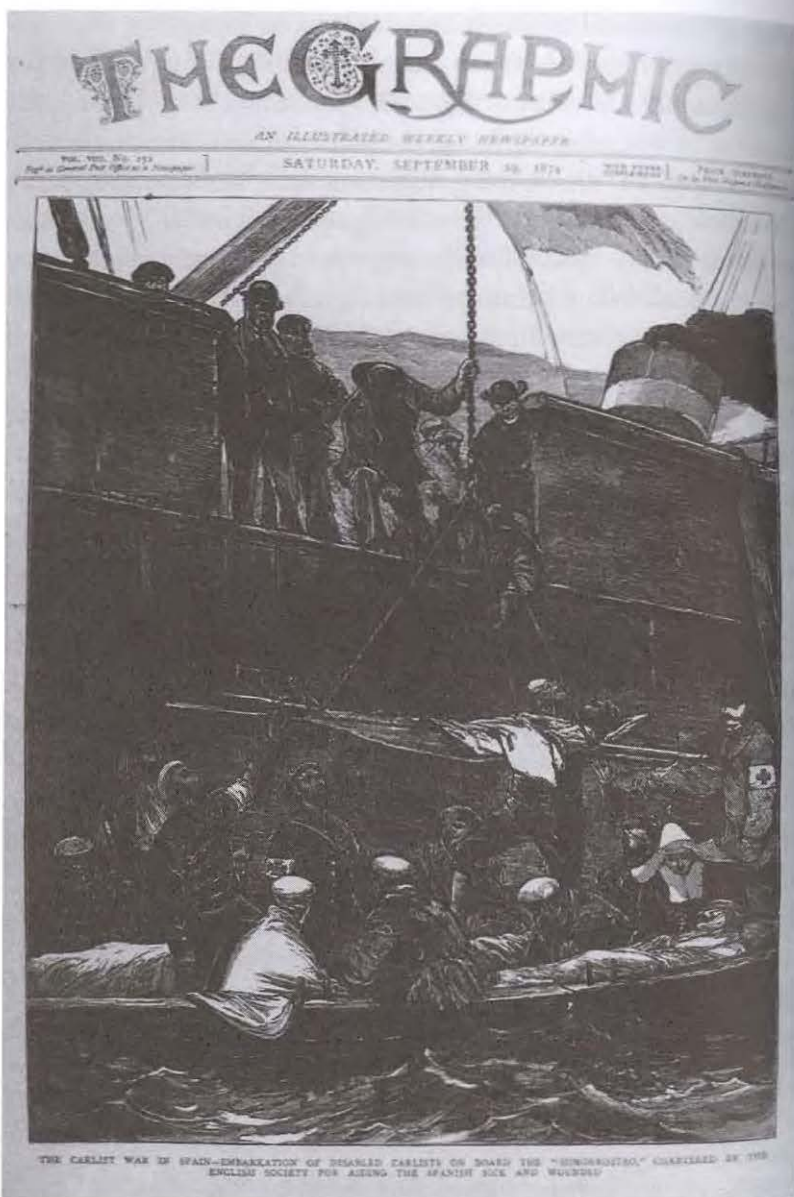


Figure 3. *Boarding of wounded Carlist combatants on the ship Somorrostro* («The Graphic», London, 19 Sept. 1874).

Among these humanitarians there was the outstanding English philanthropist John Furley (1836-1919), who had founded the English Red Cross Society in 1868. It is worthwhile referring here to some strong remarks he made about the role of neutral flags in war medicine, and the clear reference to *La Caridad*, with which he chose to end the report on his travels across northern Spain during the Second Carlist War. After having tactfully stressed the positive contributions of the Carlist relief association, he declared himself not prepared to «admit the propriety or possibility of maintaining two or more neutral flags to cover hospitals and ambulances in time of war». According to him «the one flag which has enlisted the sympathies of the whole of Europe is the only one that can exist as the emblem of neutrality» –the Red Cross’. Furley admitted that the «private society» *La Caridad* «could direct its funds in any channel it may prefer». Yet, he maintained that «it is too exclusive ever to receive the recognition of Europe, and it misleads the ignorant by leading them to suppose that in Spain there exists no such thing as unity of sympathy and sentiment, even for the victims of war» (Furley, 1876, pp. 286-288).

La Caridad was also in action in Southern France throughout the war. Yet, its relief tasks there were more particularly relevant during the year 1875, when the insurgents were gradually withdrawing to the French border; as well as in the subsequent months to the end of the conflict in early 1876, when eleven thousand Carlist combatants crossed the border on their way to exile. In 1875, the wounded Carlists were looked after in a variety of private houses and castles that had been fitted out as hospitals at a number of towns including Bayonne, Dax, Saint Jean de Luz, Oloron and Pau, where Margarita de Borbón had the operational centre of her tireless relief activities (Sagrera 1969: 436-437). From the end of February 1876, when the war finished, to late September, when *La Caridad*'s coffers ran out and Margarita de Borbón moved to Paris, more than four hundred wounded Carlists were in the charge of

the relief association, mostly admitted to the Civilian Hospital of Bayonne. Actually, this hospital, where the Carlist pretender's wife had to disguise herself in order to visit the inmates after the French authorities banned her from organising these activities, was, along with the several small centres she had established close to her residence at Pau, the last one in action to look after wounded Carlist combatants (Sagrera 1969: 407, 467-468).

La Caridad also organised mobile surgical equipment, including amputation boxes and mobile pharmacies, that were prepared to be used on the battlefields, as well as teams of ambulances run by uniformed personnel to provide first-aid care to the wounded and transfer them (Giménez Enrich, 1877, p. 188). These ambulances included six stretchers that were drawn by mules to the front line, and were led by a doctor who brought one or two first-aid bags with elasticised bandages to stop hemorrhages. When the wounded combatants arrived at a second-line hospital after their first-aid care, the male nurses regularly gave them clean clothes and listed the property that was to be kept safe from robbers until it could be returned to the owners (Sagrera, 1969, p. 359).

The two reference hospitals of *La Caridad* –Lesaca on the French border, and Irache in western Navarre– were used not only as warehouses for relief and pharmaceutical materials, but also as permanent bases for ambulances. The personnel in charge of these ambulances were prepared to move immediately to the places where their services were required in order to help *in situ* the wounded as well as transfer them first to the blood hospital closest to the combat zone and, eventually, to a reference hospital²⁰.

20. In the project of reorganisation of the Northern Carlist army by the general Calderón, the way these teams and equipment functioned is well described: «Igualmente habrá en lo posible y aumentándole según las circunstancias lo permitan un depósito de coches y acémilas con artolas que con todo el personal que no sea indispensable en el Hospital marchará inmediatamente que haya acción al de

4. VISITING *LA CARIDAD*'S HOSPITALS: MARGARITA DE BORBÓN'S TRAVELS THROUGH THE BASQUE-NAVARRERE COUNTRY AT WAR (1874)

On 9 June 1874, two emissaries of Carlos VII visited Margarita de Borbón at her Pau residence of the *Ville du Midi*, and requested to join her husband in Spain. The following day, after having travelled by train from Pau to Saint Jean de Luz, she went by coach to the French border, crossed it through Dancharinea (Navarre), and continued her trip along the Baztan valley to join her husband at Santesteban. There, the pretender and his wife began a propaganda tour across the territories of Navarre, Guipuscoa and Biscay under Carlist control, ending up at Estella on 1st July 1874. The main objective in the Carlist Queen's tour agenda appears to have been to visit the main hospitals of *La Caridad* in order to give fresh impetus to the association, encouragement to its volunteer personnel and, particularly, to help consolidate the Irache Hospital by her presence. She successively visited those at Lesaca, Tolosa, Azpeitia, Loyola, Azcoitia, Oñate, Elorrio, Durango, Guernica and, finally, Irache. Margarita de Borbón, whom Josefa Vasco joined from Tolosa, appears to have been permanently visiting their patients, meeting their staff and showing her concern for the situation and needs of their premises and equipment (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 347-419).

At Lesaca, Margarita de Borbón met the Jesuit priest Manuel Barrena –*La Caridad*'s director of civilian personnel– whom she informed of the French government's temporary suspension of the planned sea transfer to France of those Carlist wounded who still remained at Santurce hospitals and were expected to be eventually admitted to Lesaca. Barrena had been incorporated into the general staff of the Carlist army at officer level, and appears to have

sangre para ayudar a los médicos de aquel y trasladar los heridos al de la Provincia» (Calderón [1875], pp. 6-8).

been an excellent selector of civilian staff for *La Caridad* as well as a serious and kind humanitarian worker, even earning the respect and affection of the government authorities. He had been one of the major founders of *La Caridad*, and in the short timescale of a year had created a voluntary war relief organisation that was independent enough from the Carlist army to have received the Spanish Red 'Cross' de facto recognition as a neutral association. Barrena is claimed to have ensured that the ambulance's flag at the Carlist camp was placed visibly close to the firing line in order to help the wounded as soon as possible so that bleeding could be stopped earlier and many deaths avoided (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 358-359).

Margarita de Borbón's trip to Spain and her hospital visits throughout the territory under the insurgents' control in the Basque-Navarrese country were heavily used for the purposes of Carlist propaganda. On 11 June 1874 the Carlist official gazette that was published at Estella during the war dedicated its whole front page to announcing the Carlist queen's presence in Spain and to publicly thank her for her dedication to *La Caridad* (*El Cuartel Real*, Estella, 2 [73], p.1). Two days later, the newspaper opened its pages with reports about the warmest welcome that the Basque-Navarrese people offered to the pretender's wife who was referred for the first time as «Angel of Charity» (*Ángel de la Caridad*) (*El Cuartel Real*, Estella, 2 [74], p. 1).

The echo of this Carlist propaganda still resounded almost one hundred years later in the narrative of Margarita de Borbón's visit to the blood hospital that the Sisters of Charity run at Guernica under the auspices of *La Caridad*. According to a biography that was published in the late 1960s, after the pretender's wife had paid a surprise visit to the ward for convalescent inmates, she insisted that the Mother Superior and the local Carlist Junta permitted her to visit the ward for contagious inmates. Nobody could prevent her from entering the ward, not even a doctor who tried to block her way, as she announced in authoritarian tones:

«Those not wishing it, should not feel obliged to follow me, I give them freedom to wait for me at the door, but I will not go out from this hospital without seeing all the inmates, since all are equally my sons, all deserve the same attentions by me, for I am a sister of Charity» (Sagrera, 1969, p. 373).

After the Mother Superior eventually opened the door, Margarita de Borbón is said to have approached «with determination to the patients, encouraging them to bear their afflicting sicknesses, and specially recommending that those suffering from typhus were separated from those with smallpox». Once the visit had finished, Margarita apologised to the Mother Superior for her violent tone and kindly requested of her a list of the things she needed for the hospital, even offering her newly available instruments. One week later, the hospital received from Pau, a box of cotton and bandages, a case with full surgical equipment, and a medicine chest (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 372-373).

4.1. *The Carlist queen at Irache hospital*

Yet, the most outstanding case of the exploitation of Margarita de Borbón's image for the purposes of the rebel propaganda came from her visit to, and activities in early July 1874 at the hospital that *La Caridad* ruled in the old monastery of Irache, close to city of Estella, the Carlists' main stronghold. The Carlists took advantage of the presence of international relief associations' commissioners and foreign journalists and war reporters at the Pretender's Estella Court during a stage in the war when their cause was at its height, to promote their cause by highlighting Margarita's commitment to the victims of war. Indeed, this commitment, which was introduced as symbolising the unity and the proximity of the Carlist Monarchs with their people, allowed the rebels to project

on an international scale a «civilised», perfect and virtuous image of the «Carlist people».

El Cuartel Real intensified its propaganda campaign on the occasion of the pretender's wife visit to Irache. It mostly emphasised two aspects, namely the equality of treatment and care that *La Caridad* gave to the government army men hospitalised at Irache, and the dedication and kindness with which she paid attention to each one of the wounded inmates (*El Cuartel Real*, Estella, 2[85], 14 July 1874, p. 1). Furthermore, the Carlist official gazette dedicated two successive issues to refuting the accusation –issued in the liberal journal *La Política* on 8 July 1874– against Margarita de Borbón of having instigated the executions of government soldiers after the battle of Abárzuza. In order to clarify any doubts about this, its editors referred to the moral authority of Nicasio Landa –present at Irache on a transfer of wounded soldiers to the government lines– to refute this accusation against the Carlist queen (*El Cuartel Real*, Estella, 2[85], 14 July 1874, p. 1; 2[86], 16 July 1874, p. 1)²¹.

Let us now briefly refer to the details of Margarita de Borbón's visit to Irache as reported by a number of more or less direct sources. From 25 to 27 June 1874 a major offensive was launched by the government army in the environs of Estella, the objective being to recover this symbolic bastion from the Carlists. The resounding failure of the offensive caused great euphoria among the insurgents, and on the evening of 1st July the pretender and his wife made a triumphant entrance there. Margarita de Borbón appears to have first visited the nearby Irache hospital that very evening. After being received by Josefa Vasco and some of its doctors and male nurses, she immediately went round its wards, where more

21. «El Dr. Landa, a quien tenemos por un cumplido caballero, dirá lo que oyó de los augustos labios de la reina en su larga conferencia, y los heridos, si son honrados, proclamarán por toda España quién es la esposa de D. Carlos VII» (*El Cuartel Real*, Estella, 2 [86], 16 July 1874, p. 1).

than nine hundred wounded and sick inmates were lying. As she noticed that there was so much to be done, she decided, instead of returning to Estella, to spend the night at this hospital, by installing herself in a cell on the ground floor and setting up her office close to the hospital entrance. With the help of Josefa Vasco and of William de Bourgade, who had been in charge of organising this hospital after the Carlist Governmental *Junta* of Navarre ceded the Irache monastery to *La Caridad* (Melgar, 1958, p. 203), she listed the most urgent needs of the hospital. She also gave instructions to fit out new wards that were clean and well oriented, to take in the republican inmates by emphasising her wish that «they were taken care of as well as the Carlist ones, if not better». Indeed, Margarita instructed the Mayor of Estella to make a call for the collecting of clothes to «all» its population, «without distinction», «as here we have people of all the colours and we should look after all of them» (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 395-396).

The next morning she went round the hospital wards again, this time along with Don Carlos. According to the testimony of John Furley, who accompanied her on this visit, she «spent five hours in visiting 730 victims of the war» going «from bed to bed» and five patients «died whilst she was in the wards». Opposing «those who wished her to pass by the corridors in which 203 Republican soldiers were lying» –Furley chose to emphasise– Doña Margarita's «kind heart would allow no distinction to be made» between the Carlist and the government soldiers, so that «she was equally amiable and gracious to all» (Furley, 1876, pp. 272-273).

Margarita de Borbón stayed at Irache from the night of the 1st to the early morning of the 8th July 1874, when she went back to Pau, never to return. During this week, she is said to have been involved in tireless organisational tasks leading the hospital staff –including five brothers of Saint John of God and thirteen sisters of Charity who appear not to have been able to cope with all the work, and to feel exhausted by the end in the face of her diligence.

She was presented as being consistently devoted to the hospital's patients, and constantly concerned to give equal treatment to all inmates regardless of their political colour. Her nursing tasks included serving meals twice and going round the wards every night, paying more attention to those most seriously ill, as well as saying the prayer for the dying and accompanying those in their last moments. Furthermore, her already mentioned concern for the contagious inmates was noted again. She is said to have visited the Irache special ward for this kind of patients and taken care of them without being affected by the fact that they suffered from smallpox, typhus or any other contagious disease, and by trying to ensure that they could spend their usually long convalescence as comfortably as possible (Sagrera, 1969, 399-406).

Finally, Margarita is also said to have had time enough to actively look for a suitable place in the surroundings of Irache to build a barrack for the convalescence of surgical patients. This projected barrack followed the model that in 1867 doctor Carl Esse (1808-1874), the director of the Charité Hospital at Berlin, had experimentally designed for this purpose as an annex to his hospital. The structure of the barrack she ordered to be erected and equipped with a heating system was solid enough to have withstood the course of time fifty years on. After the Franco-Prussian War, Dr. Esse's barracks soon became widespread all over Europe in the field of war medicine. But this does not reduce the significance of the initiative taken by Margarita de Borbón as the president of *La Caridad*, as it reveals that she and/or her advisors not only had updated information about the most recent innovations in war medicine, but were also prepared to introduce them at Irache (Sagrera, 1969, p. 405)²².

22. For the model of Dr. Esse's barrack, see Evans, Thomas W., *History of the American ambulance established in Paris during the siege of the 1870-71* (Lon-

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS: BETWEEN HUMANITARIANISM AND WAR PROPAGANDA

From the time Margarita de Borbón founded *La Caridad*, the figure of the Carlist Queen was idealised, and a fervent devotion for her was fostered among the Carlists. She was praised as a model of woman, and as an icon of Christian charity. Her nickname as «Angel of charity» (*Ángel de la Caridad*) (Sagrera, 1969, pp. 401-406) that was popularised by *El Cuartel Real*, strongly suggests a Christian rephrasing of «the angel of the Crimea» as Florence Nightingale was known, and of that of her nurses as a «band of angels». Moreover, the official Carlist gazette also found it appropriate to defend Margarita's good name by introducing her as an archetypic image of the Roman Catholic mother fully devoted to caring for her beloved loyal sons («La mujer católica», *El Cuartel Real*, Estella, 2[77], 23 June 1874, p. 1)²³.

Widely spread through newspapers, cards, portraits and songs, these idealised representations of Margarita de Borbón and her philanthropic activities became a part of the collective memory of her followers and, in general, of Spanish society; so much so, that her image became legendary and remained for decades as the most kind and benevolent picture of Carlism during its last nineteenth-century war. We therefore should not be surprised at the exceptionally unanimous favourable judgement on *La Caridad* and Margarita

don, 1871) at <http://www.ourstory.info/library/1-roots/Evans/aaTC.html#TC> (retrieved on 15 December 2009).

23. «¿No oís? Es el grito de todo un pueblo que se alza unánime y entusiasta para saludar a la excelsa Señora que, descendiendo por las altas cumbres de los Pirineos, recorre estas comarcas en medio de sus hijos que tiernamente ama, por quienes incesantemente vela. Ella es la dulce y amorosa madre que en las purísimas alas de La Caridad viene a recorrer los hospitales que diligentemente levantó para el enfermo, el herido, y a conocer uno por uno estos hijos leales que luchan sin descanso por cuanto ella ama y desea (...)».

de Borbón among historians of differing ideologies who published works about the Second Carlist War in the following years²⁴.

A reflection of this idealised image was also the so-called «Associations of Margaritas» (*Asociaciones de Margaritas*), local organisations that proliferated in large areas of Spain during the first third of the 20th century, and which aimed to draw together the charity activities of traditionalist-Catholic women under the name and model of doña Margarita de Borbón. These associations devoted themselves to practising «the charity», understood as the relief to needy families, particularly those of veterans from the Second Carlist War (Solé Romeo, 1993). During the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936), they would serve as a platform to coordinate the political action of these women and even as a basis for their further involvement in hospitals and other assistance activities at the beginning of Spanish Civil War in 1936 (Larraz Andía, 2004, pp. 39-45).

Moreover, Margarita de Borbón's relief activities were also instrumental in helping the rebels to dismantle the widespread image of Carlism as reactionary and savage, among large sections of the populations in Spain, Europe and North America. On the one hand, they advertised as a model of perfection and modernity her openness towards medical innovations, and the technological and managerial developments of their war medicine services. On the other, in the face of alleged incidents of cruelty and failure to comply with the laws of war on the part of the Carlist army, they countered by highlighting the correct treatment they gave to government soldiers who were recovering from their wounds at *La Caridad's* hospitals. Some Carlist narratives went so far as to use the words of wounded government inmates, reproaches and

24. For an expressive sample of this unanimous view of Margarita de Borbón, see her obituary by the progresist liberal historian and politician Antonio Pirala at *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 37(5), 8 February 1893, 75, 78-79, 80.



Figure 4. «Margarita» with La Caridad's flag (Archive of Baleztana family, Pamplona). The picture was taken in 1938, but the flag was the one flying during the Second Carlist War in La Caridad's hospital at Lesaca.

criticisms of their commanders for «having abandoned them on the battlefield» (Llorens y Fernández de Córdoba, c. 1885, vol. I, p. 206). Finally, they claimed that governmental soldiers, both wounded and prisoners, were subsequently released by their transfer to government territory lines, and used the authoritative voice of doctor Landa to reaffirm this (Viñes, 2001, pp. 112-113).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brea, A. (1897), *Campaña del Norte de 1873 a 1876*, Barcelona, Imprenta de La Hormiga de Oro.
- Calderón, C. [1875], *Proyecto de reorganización del Ejército Carlista del Norte* [manuscript], Madrid, Archive of the Marquess of *La Caridad*.
- Caspistegui, F. J.; Larraz, P.; Ansorena, J. (2007), *Aventuras de un gentleman en la tercera carlistada. Imágenes de la sanidad de guerra, 1872-1876*, Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra.
- Clemente, J. C. (1986), *Historia de la Cruz Roja Española*, Madrid, Cruz Roja Española.
- Cuerpo de Estado Mayor de Ejército (1883-1889), *Narración militar de la Guerra Carlista de 1869 a 1876*, Madrid, Depósito de la Guerra.
- Ferrer, M. et al. (1941-1979), *Historia del tradicionalismo español*, Sevilla, Editorial Católica Española, 31 tomos en 11 vols.
- Furley, J. (1876), *Among the Carlists*, London, S. Tinsley.
- Giménez Enrich, S. (1874), *Anales de la Cruz Roja. Origen, vicisitudes y desenvolvimiento de la asociación que lleva este nombre; sus hechos principales, sus héroes y sus mártires; su organización y sus reglamentos; reseñas histórico-anecdóticas de los servicios prestados por la misma en nuestras contiendas civiles; papel que desempeña en la actual civilización y en los fastos de las guerras contemporáneas*, Barcelona, Establecimiento Tipográfico-Editorial de Espasa Hermanos.
- (1877), *Memorias de la pacificación. Diario anecdótico de todos los sucesos y accidentes de la guerra civil española desde principios de 1875 hasta la entrada triunfal de las tropas en Madrid, comprendiendo la descripción pintoresca de todo el País Vasco-Navarro y el paso militar de D. Alfonso XII*, Barcelona, Imprenta de Salvador Manero, 1877.

- Hernando, F. (1877), *La Campaña Carlista (1872 a 1876)*, París, Jouby y Roger Editores.
- Hutchinson, J. F. (1996), *Champions of charity: war and the rise of the Red Cross*, Boulder, Westview Press.
- Kennett-Barrington, V. (1987), *Letters form the Carlist War (1874-1876)*. Edited by A. L. Lascelles and J. M. Alberich, Exeter, University of Exeter.
- [LACRM] Asociación Universal de Socorro a Heridos. Comisión de Navarra (1864-), *Libro de Actas*, Pamplona, Archivo Histórico de la Cruz Roja Navarra, manuscript.
- Larraz Andía, P. (2004), *Entre el frente y la retaguardia. La sanidad en la guerra civil. El Hospital «Alfonso Carlos», Pamplona 1936-1939*, Madrid, Actas.
- Llorens y Fernández de Córdoba, J. (c.1885), *Memorias de la Guerra Civil*. Valencia, Imprenta de Juan Guix, 3 vols.
- Melgar, F. de (1958), *Pequeña historia de las Guerras Carlistas*, Pamplona, Editorial Gómez.
- Mémorial des Travaux du Comité International de la Croix Rouge 1875* (c.1875), Geneva, ICRC Historical Archives, manuscript, 24 pp.
- Moynier, G. (1905), «§15: Secours aux Carlistes espagnols», *Rappel Succint de l'activité déployée par le Comité International de la Croix Rouge à Genève pendant les quarante premières années de son existence (1863 à 1904)*, Ginebra, CICR, p. 26.
- Parés y Puntas, M. E. (1977), La Sanidad en el Partido Carlista (primera y tercera guerras carlistas), *Medicina e Historia*, 2ª época, 68, i-xvi.
- Pitteloud, J.-F. (ed.) (1999), *Procès-verbaux des séances du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge (17 février 1863 – 28 août 1914)*, Geneva, Société Henry Dunant-Comité International de la Croix-Rouge.
- Sagrera, A. de (1969), *La duquesa de Madrid (La última reina de los carlistas)*, Palma de Mallorca, Talleres Mossèn Alcover.
- Solé Romeo, G. (1993), «Mujeres carlistas en la república y en la guerra (1931-39). Algunas notas para la historia de las "Margaritas" de Navarra», *Príncipe de Viana*, Anejo 15, 581-91.
- Viñes, J. J. (2001), *El doctor Nicasio Landa. Médico y escritor. Pamplona 1830-1891*. Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra.