

'A PHOTOGRAPHIC SCRAMBLE THROUGH SPAIN': AN IMAGE OF SPAIN IN CHARLES CLIFFORD'S BOOK

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Abstract: The British photographer, Charles Clifford (1819-1863) is best known as one of the pioneers of commercial photography in Spain. However, until now, little has been said about the role of his book, *A Photographic Scramble through Spain* as a complement to his photographs. This study will show how Clifford not only used the book as a commercial instrument but also as a means to convey the image of Spain that he wished to show to his potential buyers and readers in the United Kingdom. **Keywords:** photography; travel literature; traditions and customs; heritage; preservation.

1. Introduction

In the mid nineteenth century, the British photographer Charles Clifford (1819-1863) travelled to different parts of Spain. The account of these travels, based on personal notes, along with his experiences and observations, go together to make a book called *A Photographic Scramble through Spain*, published in London in 1861. The account of Clifford's travels in the book is followed by an annex with a photographic catalogue of 171 photographs which represent the different stages of Clifford's work and the places he visited along with notes. The photographs themselves are not included in the book.

This study, the first to be carried out on Clifford's book, will analyze the role the *Scramble* played in promoting not only Clifford's photography but also his vision of Spain, through its dual function of entertaining and informing a public interested in travel literature and providing them with a catalogue of a representative part of the photographer's work.

As a catalogue, Clifford's book provides additional information about the photographs in the form of notes. It also shows the image of Spain that the author wished to convey to audiences in other countries. An analysis of two of the places photographed by Clifford and included in the catalogue will show how the photographer used the book, not only to provide additional information about the photographs, but also to bring them to life. This new representation of Clifford's

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work also benefited Spain, as it offered readers and potential buyers an original and attractive image of the country.

The study will look more closely at the vision of Spain that Clifford wanted to show abroad, particularly in the United Kingdom, his reasons for this and how, as an artist and writer, he contributed towards the promotion of a refreshing and modern view of Spain, without losing sight of the traditional essence of the country and the need to preserve this essence.

It will also look at the origin and acquisition details of the copies of the book in Spain and England, its present location and that of the photographs in the catalogue.

1.1. A Short Biography

Charles Clifford, the British photographer, lived and worked in Spain from 1850 until his death in 1863. He first appeared in Madrid in the autumn of 1850 as an aeronaut taking part in balloon shows. Shortly afterwards, a series of advertisements in the local press announced his first photographic studio: *El Daguerrotipo Inglés / The English Daguerreotype* (Kurtz, 1996: 55-56).

His activity as a portrait photographer continued until the summer of 1852, when, for economic reasons, he sold his studio in the Pasaje de Murga, Madrid.¹ After a trip to the United Kingdom to purchase photographic material and learn the new photographic techniques, Clifford returned to Madrid at the beginning of 1853. From then onwards he started travelling to different parts of Spain.

In 1854, Clifford exhibited 12 Spanish views for the first time at the Photographic Society exhibition in London (Bullough Ainscough, 2012: 173-184). The views were of Madrid, Salamanca, Segovia and La Granja, the last three places virtually unknown to the British public.

From then onwards, Clifford's photographic activity increased substantially. He travelled around Spain, photographing places and monuments, collaborating on occasion with the Spanish Royal Family and government in an attempt to show a country, which still managed to preserve its traditional customs in spite of its recent modernization and development.

In his photography Clifford reconciled the "old" with the "new", a role carried out conscientiously until his death. In his photographs we find the

[01] Thanks to documentation found in the "Archivo Histórico de Protocolos" in Madrid, I have discovered that the studio was let to the miniature artist of the royal family, Cecilio Corro. In the contract signed by both, Corro agrees to pay off Clifford's debt with a local optical shop in exchange for instruction in photographic practice. The good relationship between them probably paved the way to Clifford's first contacts with the Spanish royal family. For more details see: (T.26.498, f.122, 3ª foliación)1852, June 16, (T.26.498,f.155, 3ª foliación) 1852, July 9 and (T.26.498,f.159, 3ªfoliación) 1852, July 10. Thanks to Marta Trobat.

monuments of Spain, of “historic interest,” alongside photographs of important civil works projects such as the construction and expansion of the railway or the building of the “Canal de Isabel II” (the system which brought water to Madrid). These photographs are witnesses to the progress and modernization of the country.

Although the majority of Clifford’s photographs are of monuments, to a lesser extent they include portraits of members of the Madrid society, the aristocracy and the Spanish royal family. We also find photographs of local people, representative of Spain’s culture and whose compositions remind us of the local *costumbrista*² painters as well as artistic reproductions of the works of great Spanish painters such as Murillo, Velázquez, Zurbarán etc. and photographs of examples of Iberian flora.

In 1852, Clifford made his first contact with the Spanish royal family in the form of a small album to mark the presentation in society of the Princess of Asturias (heir to the throne) (Fontanella, 1999: 63). This contact with the Spanish royal family continued until his death. With a view to making the photographs which would later be included in commemorative albums, Clifford accompanied the king and queen as official photographer during two of their *propaganda* tours, the first to Balears, Cataluña and Aragón in 1860 and the second, to Andalusia and Murcia in 1862.

In 1861 he photographed Queen Isabella II of Spain, before travelling to Windsor to photograph Queen Victoria, a photograph the Spanish queen wished to have, and therefore commissioned Clifford with the task.

He died in Madrid on 1 January 1863 of an aneurism,³ and was buried in the British Cemetery in Madrid, where we can still find part of the head stone of his tomb just inside the entrance.

Copies of Clifford’s photographs can be found in the royal collections in Spain and in England, as well as in public and private collections in both countries, in other European countries and in the United States. It is difficult to calculate the exact number of original prints as they are still dispersed in different archives and private collections and many have still to come to light. According to the last official inventory of 1999, there were around seven hundred original identified prints (Fontanella, 1999: 232 – 320). Today, using data from exhibitions, publications and acquisitions made by public collections

[02] *Costumbrismo* was an artistic movement which had its origins in Spain in the late eighteenth century and lasted through the majority of the nineteenth century. It showed scenes and customs of everyday life, legendary Spanish figures such as gypsies, beggars, *majas* and *majas* and people in local costume.

[03] *La Época*, (03/01/1863), p. 2.

during the past decade, there are estimated to be over a thousand original copies.⁴

2. Methodology and Sources

Clifford's photography has been the object of various investigations the majority of which were carried out at the end of the nineties. Of special note is that of Lee Fontanella, which led to a monographic exhibition of the photographer in Madrid in 1996 and the publication in 1999 of the most comprehensive version of Clifford's biography to date. Another noteworthy investigation is that of Gerardo Kurtz, which provided new and interesting biographical data about the first years of Clifford in Madrid. Both investigations are essential starting points for any further study of Clifford's work.⁵

Using the existing bibliography as a guide, it was possible to find copies of the book in Spain and the United Kingdom. The archives where the copies are to be found were visited in situ and an analysis of the documentation carried out in order to find the acquisition details. The information found was then analyzed with the object of finding similarities and differences between the copies and discover details with respect to their origin.

With the object of determining the extent to which the book was used as a photographic catalogue, the first priority was to find out if the photographs mentioned in the annex of the book were together in the same collection. For this purpose, the original copies of Clifford's photographs in the Prints and Drawings study room of the Victoria and Albert museum in London which holds the largest number of prints by this photographer and where copies of the book are also located were studied in situ. A selection of these photographs was made and they were matched as far as possible to the ones in the annex.

Finally, using a descriptive methodology, an analysis of the contents and style of the book itself was made in order to discover when and why it was first

[04] For publications and exhibitions which have taken place in Spain see, for example, "Clifford en España" (Colección Martín Carrasco) which took place in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Oviedo in 2004 and more recently, "Una imagen de España", which took place in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid in 2011. Both exhibitions brought to light inedited photographs by Clifford which are in private collections in Spain. At the same time, nearly all the public collections where Clifford's work is to be found, have increased their inventory in recent years for example, the Biblioteca Nacional, the Museo del Prado and the photographic archive of the Universidad de Navarra in Spain, as well as the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

[05] For further research on the life and work of Clifford see those of Javier Piñar Samos and Carlos Sánchez Gómez to which I refer in the present work and which are also listed in the bibliography. Work carried out by these researchers has revealed new and interesting information.

created, the underlying message that Clifford wished to convey, the image of Spain that he wished to project and how and to what extent the book was used as a complement to Clifford's photography.

As primary sources copies of the book from the National Art Library, situated in the Victoria & Albert museum and in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid were used, as well as the original copies of the photographs in the Victoria & Albert museum. The secondary sources used are press reports from the time and a multidisciplinary bibliography which covers the following fields: the history of Spain in the nineteenth century, nineteenth-century travel literature, in particular related to Spain, photographic history in Spain and in the United Kingdom, the history of art and publications about the author and his work.

3. Results

3.1 The book: title and composition

A note in the local newspaper *La Época* in March 1862 tells us of the recent publication of Clifford's book

“Mr C Clifford, uno de los fotógrafos más célebres en Europa, acaba de publicar un libro titulado *A Photographic Scramble through Spain*, viaje artístico cuyo resultado ha sido dar a conocer en Europa y popularizar nuestra España monumental / Mr C. Clifford, one of the most famous photographers in Europe, has just published a book called *A Photographic Scramble through Spain*, an artistic tour whose objective is to promote the monuments of Spain in Europe [...]”⁶.

The first thing we notice about the book is its name: *Scramble*. The definition in the Oxford Dictionary is, amongst others, “a climb or walk over rough ground.”

This definition is perhaps the one which brings us closest to the idea that Clifford had with regards to the difficulties a traveller encountered in mid nineteenth century Spain. Although the railway by then had reached many parts of the country and was in full expansion at the end of the 1850's, many of the places Clifford refers to in the book were difficult to reach and the only transport options available to the traveller were the *diligencia* (stagecoach) and mule caravans. These travels by road or cross country were not exempt from risk and danger, turning the traveller into adventurer on many occasions.

[06] *La Época*, (21/03/1862), p. 1.

The word “scramble” also suggests a certain degree of disorder and improvisation, a variety of different experiences. In a way, the book is a mixture of experiences, sensations and reactions, of personal anecdotes, of descriptions, of historical facts and information of interest for travellers, of recommendations and warnings, all included in a tour which covers a wide geographical area in only a few pages.

In short, the word “scramble” conveys the idea of a difficult, adventurous and somewhat disordered tour, which Clifford faces with humour and good will.

In the choice of the title, the idea of a “scramble” instead of the more familiar and relaxed “tour”, not exempt from irony, is almost an apology for the disorder which follows in the book. This humour, already insinuated in the title, is present throughout the story. On several occasions it is used by Clifford as a means of overcoming difficult or uncomfortable situations or to deny existing topics relating to insecurity, the deficiencies of the transport system and the roads, the inconveniences of the accommodation, the heat, the time tables and the food.

The overall result is a pleasant and on occasions, amusing read and a generally positive and optimistic image of a largely unknown country, feared by travellers because of its more notorious topics and legends such as roadside attacks by bandits and the constant harassment by beggars.

In the mid nineteenth century, numerous travel guides were published. This literary and artistic genre was characteristic of romanticism. At the same time, the attractiveness of Spain as a relatively unknown and new destination for travellers was rapidly increasing outside its borders (García Melero, 1998: 209). Clifford took advantage of the popularity of travel literature to introduce the idea of a pleasant and attractive country in the minds of the British readers, with a view to attracting them towards his photography. If the reader liked Spain they would perhaps like to have a photograph of Spain.

The *Scramble* is a short book in comparison to others of the same genre.⁷ However, it contains a lot of information, deals with many of the topics in existence at the time and covers a wide geographical area.

The feeling we have when reading the account is that Clifford leads the reader from one place to another as quickly as he can in an attempt to show as much as he can of Spain in a minimum number of pages, stopping occasionally to describe in great detail customs he finds interesting or which have appealed to him for some reason, but which he has been unable to show photographically.

[07] In this sense it is similar to travel literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which was often illustrated with prints, for example, *Picturesque Tour through Spain*, by Henry Swinburne Esq, published in London in 1810, 22 pages.

This combination of book and photographic catalogue is what makes the *Scramble* unique. The catalogue is also unusual in itself as it includes notes, on occasions quite detailed.

Table 1: Places mentioned in the account and the notes

(Chronological and geographical order)

ACCOUNT	NOTES
Burgos	Madrid - la Granja
Madrid	Segovia
Toledo: excursion to Talavera, Maqueda, Oropesa, Rosario, Jarandilla, Aldeanueva, Cuacos y Mérida	Valladolid
Yuste: excursion to Plasencia, Trujillo, Cáceres, Mérida, Badajoz	Medina del Campo
Sevilla	Zamora
Granada	León
Málaga	Oviedo
Gibraltar: visit to Tánger	Yuste Jarandilla, Plasencia, Lagartera, Mérida
Cádiz: visit to Jerez and Santa María	Salamanca: Ávila, Arévalo
Valencia: visit to Xativa	Granada
Barcelona: visit to Montserrat	Alcántara
Zaragoza	Toledo
Guadalajara	Burgos
North of Madrid: El Escorial, La Granja, Segovia, Valladolid, Medina del Campo	Córdoba
Salamanca	Málaga
	Gibraltar - Algeciras
	Sevilla
	Zaragoza
	Lérida
	Tarragona
	Elche
	Barcelona - Martorell
	Montserrat - Manresa
	El Escorial

3.1.1. Location and origin of the copies of the book

As far as its present location is concerned, to date only four copies of the book are known to exist, one in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and three in the Victoria & Albert museum in London.

The copy in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid was part of the large collection of some 20,000 books, manuscripts and loose dated documents which belonged to Pascual de Gayangos and which was acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional in 1900 for 400,000 pesetas (2,400 euros).⁸

Two of the copies of the *Scramble* in the Victoria & Albert museum in London also come from the Gayangos collection. The third copy entered in the museum on 15 June 1866 as a donation by Clifford's widow.⁹

Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897), a prestigious Spanish Arabist, was a cultural link between the United Kingdom and Spain in the nineteenth century. Considered to be one of the country's most representative intellectual figures, Gayangos participated in many cultural fields; history, literature, art, preservation of historic monuments, tourism and diplomacy (Álvarez Ramos, 2007: 19). Gayangos was also an obligatory reference for British travellers to Spain, to whom he gave advice and help during their stay in the country.

In London, in 1828, he married Fanny Revell, daughter of the liberal politician John Revell (Álvarez Millán, 2008: 4). He set up residence on several occasions in London, where he enjoyed a considerable social position and was treated with deep respect in academic circles. Between 1850 and 1857, he formed part of the Comisión de Cortes y Fueros (A commission set up to search for and recompile historical documents from the monasteries whose property had been confiscated) and wrote reports on antiques and monuments for the Comisión de Monumentos Históricos (Historic Monuments Commission) of the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History). He went on at least eight field trips to different parts of Spain during this period.

It is more than likely that Gayangos knew Clifford personally, not only because of the former's interest in all cultural matters and the fact that they both travelled round Spain at the same time, but also because Gayangos was appointed Royal Archivist in 1856 (Álvarez Ramos, 2007: 21), just when Clifford was carrying out his first important commissions for the Spanish royal family.

Moreover, thanks to information in the registry, we know that Gayangos's wife, Fanny Revell, was buried in the British cemetery in Madrid on 5th

[08] Thanks to Enrique Pérez at the Biblioteca Nacional.

[09] Victoria & Albert Museum archive, Blythe House London. Archive reference MA/34/6 Diary Volume VI, 1866 June – 1867 Dec.

February 1855, although she is registered under the name of “Mrs Goyangos”.¹⁰ In the first years of the cemetery, which was inaugurated in 1854, the British community provided generous funds towards its creation and maintenance. Charles Clifford was one of the first subscribers to the cemetery and his widow continued with the annual subscriptions after his death (Butler, 2001: 8-9).

The British community was small at the time and both Charles and his wife Jane were active members.¹¹ Besides making regular contributions to the funds of the cemetery and the Episcopal Church, the photographer occasionally accepted commissions to photograph funeral monuments and on one occasion Jane Clifford received a special mention by the Consul in gratitude for helping a sick woman, along with other ladies of the community.¹² The Cliffords and the Gayangos most probably knew each other through the British community in Madrid.

Besides his artistic tours in Spain on behalf of the Comisión de Cortes y Fueros, between 1830 and 1860, Gayangos travelled on numerous occasions from Spain to France and England –50 return journeys– (Álvarez Ramos, 2008: 190) and played a fundamental role in providing information and advice to English visitors to Spain during that period (Álvarez Ramos, 2007: 21). He also maintained active correspondence with the well-known Spanish scholar and writer, Richard Ford (1796-1858) and contributed with practical and up to date information about Spain to Ford’s well known *Handbook for Travellers to Spain and Readers at Home*.¹³

Gayangos passed on his taste for travel and travel literature to his daughter, Emilia and to his son in law, Juan Fecundo de Riaño and they both became collectors of travel books and manuscripts about and from Spain.

[10] Database of the British Cemetery, Madrid. Provided by David J. Butler, M. B. E.

[11] Letter from Consul Brackenbury to a Mrs Blakeway of London, dated 24th April, 1864 Correspondence of W.C. Brackenbury, British Consul. National Archives, Kew, London: Series FO/444/5.

[12] Letter from Consul Brackenbury to a Mr Jennings, dated 2nd May, 1863. Correspondence of W.C. Brackenbury, British Consul. National Archives, Kew, London. Series FO/444/9.

[13] Ford, R. A *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. London: John Murray. 1st edition 1845, 2nd edition 1847, 3rd edition 1855. (editions published during the life time of Ford. Later editions were very different from the original) . Ford’s *Handbook for Travellers to Spain* may be considered the most comprehensive guide to this country of all those published in the nineteenth century. It was published in two volumes with 1,064 pages in its first edition and it provides information and recommendations for travellers, at times in great detail, about aspects such as transport, accommodation, the Spanish character and customs, the gastronomy and culture. There were nine editions altogether, although the most relevant were the first three. The *Handbook* is based on travels around Spain carried out by Ford from 1830-1833 although each new edition was updated with new supplements and annexes. Main source: Robertson (2004).

According to the acquisitions book of the South Kensington Museum (Nowadays Victoria & Albert), two copies of the *Scramble* entered the museum on 8th February 1864, along with other Spanish works.¹⁴ These copies are registered on the second page for this date, together with others about travelling in Spain and the history of Spanish monuments. These items are listed as purchased by J.C. Robinson,¹⁵ the buyer of the museum at the time, from a “Señora Gayangos (sic.)”.

As mentioned previously, Gayangos’s wife, Fanny Revell, died in 1855. As her name appears on several pages of the acquisitions book on 8th February 1864, along with other sellers, it is unlikely that this was a mistake and possibly “Señora Gayangos”(sic.) refers to Emilia de Gayangos, daughter and collector like her father.

J. C. Robinson carried out his first investigation trip to Spain between September 1863 and January 1864 (Fontanella, 1999: 217), and he probably acquired copies of the book during this trip, together with photographs and other Spanish objects of artistic and literary interest.

3.1.2 Location and origin of the photographs in the annex of the book

In February 1864, a large number of books, catalogues, compendiums, travel guides, prints, drawings and photographs with a Spanish theme entered the museum. On February 8th, several lots of photographs and plates were registered in the acquisitions book including 7 mounted photographs by Jean Laurent, 4 stereo views, a box with 55 small format photographs and two lots named “Photographs Various”, the first with 46 photographs and the second, 126 photographs.¹⁶ Although they are not specifically registered as Clifford photographs, it is possible that some of them may be. Adding together the number of photographs in both lots we reach a total of 172 photographs, one more than the number in the catalogue of the *Scramble*.¹⁷

[14] Victoria & Albert Museum archive, Blythe House London. Archive Reference: MA/34/5, Diary Volume V, (1864 Dec – 1866 June).

[15] J.C. Robinson was the first collection supervisor of the South Kensington Museum (Today known as the Victoria & Albert) from 1852 to 1869. He visited Spain and Italy on numerous occasions during this period in his search for works of art for the museum. Source: *The Times*, obituaries.

[16] Victoria & Albert Museum archive, Blythe House London. Archive Reference MA/34/4 Diary Volume IV, October 1862 – Nov. 1864.

[17] Victoria & Albert Museum archive, Blythe House London. Archive Reference MA/34/4 Diary Volume IV, October 1862 – Nov. 1864. The lot of 46 photographs is noted in the acquisition book under the name “Photographs Various”. The lot of 126 photographs appears next in the list of acquisitions under the name “Photographs viz.” and includes a series of numbers from 2 to 188. Both lots come from “Stores”, J. C. Robinson. The annotations include the following instruction: “Send to Mr Robinson’s room, Feb. 11”.

On the 12th of the same month, 249 Spanish photographs entered the museum, along with other objects from Spain.¹⁸

On the 26th July 1864, 268 photographs of “art objects in Spain” entered the museum and two days later, on the 28th July, 10 photographs of “Crystals in the Madrid Museum”. Both lots came from “Mrs Jane Clifford, Madrid” via Mr J. C. Robinson.¹⁹ The current inventory of the museum includes 309 photographs by Charles Clifford.

One of the copies of the *Scramble* in the National Art Library, located in the Victoria & Albert museum, Copy A, includes museum numbers, written by hand beside the photographs in the catalogue in the annex of the *Scramble*. These hand written numbers were used either to register the photographs in the museum or to check the inventory. The museum numbers are still in use today and they have allowed us to identify 116 of the photographs in the catalogue in the museum’s collection.²⁰ Another 13 photographs have been identified using their original title in the catalogue and comparing it to the title in both the museum’s inventory and on the photographs themselves. Altogether it has been possible to identify 129 of the 171 photographs in the annex of the *Scramble*.

However, the largest number of photographs from the *Scramble* catalogue can be found in The Royal Collection, Windsor. These photographs are in two albums; *Photographic Souvenir of Spain* Vols. I and II.²¹ There is no copy of the book in this collection.

Queen Victoria purchased Spanish views by Clifford for the first time between November 1853 and March, 1854 (Dimond & Taylor, 1987: 2). She also commissioned 600 plates in July 1861.²²

In an article published recently, Javier Piñar Samos (2012: 35), referring to Clifford’s visit to Granada in May 1859, mentions that he coincided in the city with Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales and that this coincidence probably gave Clifford the idea and opportunity to conceive and create his most ambitious commercial album so far, for his British clients including the royal family.

[18] Victoria & Albert Museum archive, Blythe House London. Archive Reference: MA/34/4 Diary Volume iv, October 1862 – Nov. 1864.

[19] Victoria & Albert Museum archive, Blythe House London. Archive Reference: MA/34/6 Diary Volume vi, 1866 June – 1867 Dec.

[20] Reference Copy A, National Art Library Crypt Store. Press mark: 18E Box 1, Barcode 38041800567687.

[21] RCIN no. 2700021, (Vol. i), 2700109 (Vol. ii).

[22] *El Museo Universal*, 28/07/1861, p.2.

In the autumn of 1861, Queen Isabella II commissioned Clifford to make a portrait photograph of Queen Victoria and for this reason the photographer travelled to Windsor,²³ possibly taking with him the manuscript of the book and some of the 600 photographs in the two albums mentioned previously, which are precisely the ones in the *Scramble's* catalogue.

On the cover of the *Scramble*, just below the title we find a list of patrons, beginning with The Queen of England, followed by the Queen and King of Spain, Their Imperial Majesties the Emperor and Empress of France, the Emperor of Russia, His Royal Highness, the Duke of Montpensier, etc. etc.

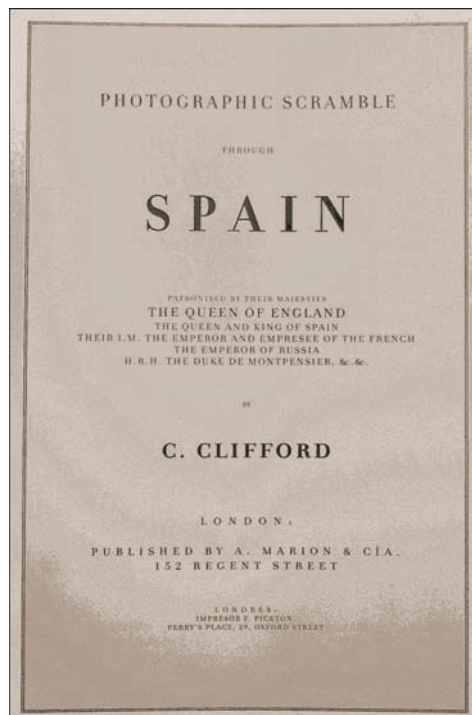


Fig. 1: Cover of the *Scramble*.

The term “patronised by ...” probably refers to the fact that all the “royals” named on the cover had, on some occasion, acquired Clifford’s photographs. His work can be found in the royal collections in England and in Spain and no doubt

[23] *The Photographic News*, Vol. VII, nº. 241, (17/04/1863), p.183.

other members of the European royal families had access to his Spanish views during the international photographic exhibitions which Clifford participated in.²⁴

Clifford's interest in showing historical themes was, to a large extent, conditioned by demands of the commercial photography market in the United Kingdom. In 1858, the photographer exhibited in the Architectural Photographic Association in London²⁵ 46 views of historic monuments in Spain including those of Burgos Segovia, Toledo, Salamanca, Seville, Granada, Alcántara, Oviedo, Zamora, Madrid, Valladolid and another of the Moorish Pavilion in the Agricultural Exhibition in Madrid in 1857.²⁶

Forty one of these photographs are marked with a museum number in the notes in Copy A of the *Scramble*, in the Victoria & Albert museum. The same museum number coincides with that in the inventory in use at present. Of the other five photographs, two of the Plaza de Oriente²⁷ are also in the museum collection with a later museum number in the inventory, one of them possibly with the title "Royal Palace, una vista del palacio real a través de la plaza,"/ Royal Palace, a view of the palace from the other side of the square, the other with the title "Plaza de Oriente".²⁸ The photograph "Silver Cross by Juan de Arphes" appears in the catalogue of the *Scramble*, although it doesn't have a hand written inventory number. This photograph can be found in the Royal Collection.²⁹

The photographs titled "San Gil Doorway, 1500", "Silver Plate, Toledo, Cathedral" and "the Moorish Pavilion of the Agricultural Exhibition in Madrid of 1857,"³⁰ have yet to be located and identified. None of these are in the catalogue of the *Scramble*.

The other photographs exhibited in London in 1858 are representative of Roman, Islamic and Medieval architecture in Spain. The majority were taken during Clifford's first years in Spain. As mentioned previously, thanks to the Romantic Movement, the interest in ancient and medieval monuments had re-

[24] London 1854 and 1858, Paris 1856, Brussels 1856.

[25] For more information about photographic exhibitions in the UK, see "Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839 – 1865", <http://peib.dmu.ac.uk>.

[26] In *Diario Oficial de Avisos* (01/06/1862), Charles Clifford appears on the list of exhibitors in the "Exposición Nacional de Agricultura" (The National Agricultural Exhibition) in 1857, who are called upon to collect the memorandum of the exhibition from the "Ministerio de Fomento" (Ministry of Civil Works).

[27] The Architectural Photographic Association. Exhibition catalogue: no's. 326 and 327.

[28] Victoria & Album Museum: Department of Prints and Drawings: Inventory no.'s 47.767-769 and 47.777.

[29] RCIN no. 2700039.

[30] The Architectural Photographic Association. Exhibition Catalogue: no's. 331, 336 and 339.

ved and although Spain was undergoing a process of development and modernization, it was still very attractive to European travellers due, to a large extent, to its relatively unknown historic monuments. Although the monuments of Andalusia were being photographed frequently at the end of the 1850's and were well-known to the European public, the monuments of Alcántara, Oviedo, Zamora and Valladolid were less so, as these places were off the beaten track and therefore still difficult to access.

Clifford took advantage of this ignorance in order to exhibit and later commercialize unknown and exclusive images of Spain in the United Kingdom.

The fact that some of the photographs in Copy A of the *Scramble* in the Victoria & Albert museum are marked with a number also suggests the catalogue was used to make an inventory of the photographs in the collection. When the book was marked, forty one of the forty six photographs from the Architectural Photographic Association exhibition were in the museum, although it is not possible to determine whether they entered the museum at the same time as the book, in 1864, or if they were already there. It is possible, however, that the lot of 46 photographs which entered the museum on 8th February, 1864 contains the ones from the exhibition.

3.1.3 Dates in the book

It is most likely that the book was published in London between October 1861 and March 1862, when we find its first mention in the Spanish press. It was probably conceived as a photographic catalogue, as Piñar Samos has suggested, in the second half of the 1850's. The photographs in its annex cover nearly all the period of Clifford's residence in Spain from 1853 to 1860, although they are not specifically dated in the book. Using the dates when we know that Clifford photographed specific places, we can say that the majority of the travels and excursions mentioned in the book, took place between 1858 and 1860.

A possible exception is the mule caravan excursion, at the beginning of the book. Although it has no geographical or temporal reference in the text, from Clifford's description, we can deduce that it took place during the summer: "[...] shelter is gladly sought from the excessive heat [...]" (Clifford, 1861: 8).

In the book Clifford (1861: 18 and 26) recommends and suggests two itineraries for mule caravan excursions in Spain; the first, from Toledo to Yuste and the second, to the north of Madrid, visiting the Escorial, La Granja and Segovia.

In the spring of 1858, Clifford went on an excursion in the province of Toledo accompanied by the Duke of Frías, with the commission to photograph the latter's residences in the area. They visited Talavera, Maqueda, Oropesa, Rosario, Jarandilla, Aldeanueva, Cuacos and Yuste. Clifford describes this mule

caravan excursion as “[...] a charming ride through large oak forests and scrambling mountain paths [...]” (Clifford 1861: 18).

The photographs of the Escorial, La Granja and Segovia, however, were taken in the summer of 1853, so it is probable that the excursion mentioned in the book in great detail took place during this time and is also based on notes taken at this time. This particular excursion, along with the difficulties found by the photographer, is the first to be mentioned in the book.

In the photographic notes, when referring to La Granja de San Ildefonso, Clifford (Clifford, 1861: 33) describes the gardens of the palace as follows:

“The gardens are very thickly wooded, so much so, that you may wander all day in shady groves without the eye being dazzled with a single ray of the scorching sun [...]”.

Clifford’s account of the difficulties experienced by a photographer travelling with a mule caravan in summer, together with the above reference to the protection from the scorching sun in the gardens of La Granja, indicate that the first excursion mentioned in the book took place during the summer of 1853.

Likewise, Marie-Loup Sougez (2006: 241), before the publication date of the *Scramble* was established, observes that the book would seem to correspond to the beginning of Clifford’s time in Spain because of a certain ingenuity shown in his comments. This observation is not far from the truth in the sense that Clifford does tend to show a rose-tinted Spain and, although it is not the object of this study, there is an abundance of positive and “happy” adjectives in the book.

It can be assumed, therefore, that the *Scramble*, at least in note form, was conceived in the early 1850’s.

3.2 The Spain of the ‘Scramble’

3.2.1 Transport

Richard Ford (1855: 7), Hispanic scholar and writer, in the preface to the third edition of his *Handbook...*, describes Spain in the following way:

“[...] a neutral ground between the top hat and the turban, and many still contend that Africa begins at the Pyrenees.”

Half way through the nineteenth century, more and more travellers visited Spain looking for the “yet to be discovered.” As the traditional tourist routes of other European countries were exhausted in the final years of romanticism, the travellers looked towards:

“[...] una España poética, entre la miseria y la riqueza monumental, heredada de un pasado desconocido y fabuloso, y, además, pintoresca por sus tipos populares [...] la diversidad de sus paisajes, unas veces agrestes, otras frondosas y hasta desérticos. ...un país desconocido, situado en el límite sur de Europa / a poetic Spain, midway between monumental misery and wealth, inherited from a fabulous unknown past and, besides, picturesque because of its folkloric characters [...] the diversity of its landscape, at times rough, others lush and even barren [...] an unknown country at the southern limit of Europe” (García Melero, 1998: 210).

On the other hand, Spain looked like this, halfway through the nineteenth century:

“La Península Ibérica es maciza, abrupta y montañosa, con una alta meseta central separada de la periferia por fallas o cadenas montañosas. El país es generalmente árido; los ríos son, o cortos y pendientes, o irregulares de caudal y poco profundos de cauce. Todo esto dificulta el transporte interior, terrestre o fluvial / The Iberian Peninsula is solid, abrupt and mountainous, with a high central plateau, separated from its periphery by faults and chains of mountains. The country is generally arid, the rivers are either short or sloping, or have an irregular caudal with shallow beds” (Tuñón de Lara *et al.*, 1993: 107).

This geographical description explains in part the delay in the construction of roads and the introduction of an efficient railway network in the first half of the nineteenth century and makes it easier to understand the difficulties which travellers like Clifford experienced in Spain.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the idea of modernizing the Spanish network of roads was actually contemplated. A royal decree of June 1761 proposed building “straight and solid roads” in Spain in order to facilitate commerce between provinces. From 1780 to 1808, an average 150 roads were built per year as opposed to 40, fifty years earlier (Bahamonde y Martínez, 1998: 405-407).

The War of Independence (1808-1814) put paid to this construction, leaving many roads and bridges destroyed. From 1814 to 1833, efforts were concentrated to a large extent on increasing the rhythm of reconstruction and on repairing the roads. From 1834 to 1856, this impulse allowed the radial network to be finished and the number of transversal roads to increase. Between 1856 and 1868, this figure reached 900 kilometres a year of roads, especially in the transversal and provincial routes (Bahamonde y Martínez, 1998: 405-407).

Transport by road consisted of the *diligencia* (stagecoach), its smaller version *la galera*, the mule caravans and their more economic versions; hacks and cattle (oxen).

To travel by stagecoach was a torture for travellers who lacked space and basic comfort. In the words of Richard Ford (1855: 23):

“The Spanish diligences go pretty fast, but the stoppages, delays, and “behind times” are terrible. Travelling in the “*diligencia*,” odious in itself, is subject to the usual continental drags [...]”.

Another inconvenience for road travellers in the nineteenth century was the risk of highway assault although at the time when Clifford was travelling around the country the majority of routes had armed protection from possible attacks by bandits.

The *costumbrista* figure of the bandit was very attractive to travellers precisely because of the potential danger he posed to them. By the late 1850's, this figure had been replaced by and large by small time robbers who normally preyed upon the travellers at their wayside accommodation in *posadas* (inns). The muleteers, in charge of the mule caravans, kept the robbers at bay by asking the travellers for protection money before starting off on the journey.

In 1860, with the arrival of the steamship, sea and river transport gained substantially in time and comfort. In spite of this, the problems of caudal, shallow river beds and tides continued to make the journey tedious and travellers opted for the railway whenever possible:

“The railway, in four hours, brings you to Seville, thus avoiding the tedious route of steaming up the river” (Clifford, 1861: 25).

This new transport, which was already well developed in other European countries since the 1830's, played a fundamental role in the modernization of Spain. However, it had its critics, who saw this new means as a “destroyer” of traditions and landscapes and “promoter” of a new type of mass tourism, with its negative effects on the historic sites, already suffering from neglect and apathy in a country in a constant state of political turmoil.

3.2.2 Interest in preservation

In 1855, the Madoz Law extended the 1837 Mendizabal Law which led to the confiscation of church properties to include “los bienes propios, de instrucción pública y beneficencia / public property including educational and welfare insti-

tutions” (Paredes *et al.*, 2004: 228). As a result of this confiscation, the role of church patronage was passed to the government, which channelled it through the Academias. Art became official and institutional and responded to two trends; historicism and eclecticism (Paredes *et al.*, 2004: 375).

Meanwhile, the late arrival and implantation of romanticism in Spain gave rise to a real cultural explosion, an interest in everything medieval and in the preservation of ancient monuments. La Escuela de Arquitectura, (The School of Architecture), founded in 1845, was charged with the restoration of the monuments (Paredes *et al.*, 2004: 375).

In his first trip outside Madrid in the spring of 1853, Clifford collaborated with the Escuela de Arquitectura during a so-called “artistic” expedition to Salamanca and Ávila and this collaboration helped set the tone of Clifford’s preservation message, evident throughout the book.

3.3 Clifford’s vision of Spain in the ‘Scramble’

In the first lines of the *Scramble*, Clifford (1861: 3) states the objective of his extended tour of Spain; “[...] to select for illustration subjects historically interesting and such as may serve as mementos [...] which [...] are daily becoming more rare.”

If we understand by “subjects historically interesting,” ancient and medieval monuments and places which played a relevant role in Spain’s history, we find that over half of Clifford’s photographs are dedicated to these themes.³¹

In the introduction to the book, Clifford (1861: 4) mentions the lack of preservation of the historic monuments and says that it is due “a sad apathy and want of interest for their preservation.” As mentioned previously, Clifford’s “interest” in the preservation of monuments in Spain had its origins in the collaboration between the photographer and the Escuela de Arquitectura and in the fact that he was witness to the terrible effects of the confiscation of some of the historic monuments in Salamanca. The artistic expeditions and heliographic missions which took place in Europe in the 1850’s had an influence on the new medium of photography and Clifford was no doubt aware of this fact.

Showing largely unknown monuments outside the popular cities of Andalusia, also indicates a certain urgency to show them to the public before large numbers of tourists arrived by the new railways which facilitated access to other less known places. Clifford, unlike other British travellers, lived in Spain and this gave him the contacts and means to reach places that others could only dream of reaching.

[31] Percentage based on Fontanella inventory, (1999).

Progress and modernization, which were soon to put an end to the novelty and mystery of the historic monuments in Spain, were symbolized by the railway. In the introduction to the *Scramble*, Clifford (1861: 4-5) compares Spain, a different, traditional and unknown country, to other European destinations which were more accessible thanks to the railway:

“Spain [...] a country so nationally characteristic, and so widely different, in all respects, from the places rendered familiar by the facilities of railway travel, must afford the highest gratification and change from the well-worn road and routine of the every day’s known route of continental travel.”

In the conclusion of the book, he goes further and criticizes the railway, actually calling it the great “destroyer” of traditions:

“[...] these few pages are written with the hope of awakening a desire to visit this hitherto little-frequented country [...] before that great leveller of distinctions, and socialist rooter up of all customs different to the established rule of modernized nations –the railroad– has entirely changed the customs, costume, and manners of a nation as yet preserving thoroughly national characteristics [...]” (Clifford, 1861: 29).

During the story, Clifford adopts several roles; that of curious observer, romantic adventurer who overcomes the potential dangers, tourist guide in a country he knows well, glad to provide recommendations and warnings to other travellers, commentator and occasional critic, although always with the greatest respect for a country he greatly admires.

Clifford invites the reader to travel through Spain with him in order to discover the country with “the highest gratification” (Clifford, 1861: 4).

3.4 The ‘Scramble’ as a complement to Clifford’s photography

As a complement to the photographs, the story and the catalogue notes provide us with additional information in the form of detailed descriptions of places and customs, recommendations and warnings for potential travellers. We can also find Clifford’s personal opinion about several aspects related to preservation, customs and traditions, the Spanish character, politics, religion, etc.

In the case of the photographic notes, directly related to the photographs themselves, the descriptions of architectural detail invite the reader/viewer to pay special attention to them. This additional information about the places and

monuments not only serves to draw the reader's attention to the photographs, but to increase the viewer's interest, not only in the photograph but also in the place photographed and in Spain.

The descriptions of customs in the story and in the notes add life to the static photographs. The historic monuments are brought into the present and mingle with the human activity and progress of the society.

As mentioned previously, the dangers of progress and modernization for Spain's heritage become obvious in the introduction and, above all, in the conclusion of the story, where Clifford attacks the Spaniards' lack of interest in preservation, and goes on to warn about the destruction, not only of the historic monuments but also of deep rooted customs such as the *maja*, the *majo* and the elegant *mantilla*.

Clifford's objective, therefore, is to make his photographs more attractive for commercial reasons, but also to show how attractive Spain is in order to strengthen his preservation message.

For a closer analysis of this dual function of the book, two places have been chosen which are mentioned both in the story and in the photographic catalogue; Madrid and Granada. Both cities are also amongst the most attractive destinations for travellers of the time.

Madrid, as capital, represents the modern Spain, with an active social life centred in three main areas; the Plaza de Oriente, the Paseo del Prado and the calle de Alcalá. Granada, on the other hand, represents the old, historic Spain. The Alhambra, Spain's most well-known and best-appreciated monument, copied in all forms of artistic expression at the time including photography, has a proportional representation, being the monument with most photographs in the catalogue.

3.4.1. Madrid

As the capital of Spain and Clifford's place of residence, the observation and later presentation of the social activity in Madrid is not of a mere observer but that of someone with inside knowledge. For this reason, Clifford dedicates more lines in the story and in the photographic notes to the detailed description of human activity in Madrid than in any of the other places mentioned in the book (Clifford, 1861: 11-18 y 30-32).

Clifford (1861: 11) begins his introduction to Madrid with a comment about the "un-Spanish" appearance of the capital when first seen:

"On arriving in Madrid one is at once struck with the un-Spanish appearance of the capital; shops, streets, carriages, dress, all save the tongue, French."

This idea of the capital of Spain being influenced by French fashion situates it at the same level as other European capitals and gives us a modern image of Spain. However, Clifford (1861: 11) continues:

“The rich becoming Mantilla is but seldom seen, and the magnificent hair of the women hid by bonnets of French construction, and crinolines of the most ample volume hiding as much as possible the natural grace and characteristic gait of their disguised wearers [...] the capital, if visited after the South, will seem very much below par, true nationality being so little apparent [...]”.

In this first observation of the capital, Clifford seems to lament the fact that the French fashion hides the true signs of national identity. The *mantilla* is hardly ever worn, the French hats prevent you from appreciating the magnificent hair of the Spanish women and the wide volume of the dresses prevent them from walking with their usual, natural elegance. This observation is a clear example of “progress” (French fashion) at the cost of “tradition” (the *mantilla*, the way the women walk), the conflict between “old” and “new,” present throughout the *Scramble*.

In the catalogue, twelve of the fourteen photographs of Madrid show areas of the capital where there is a bustle of human activity: The royal palace and its surroundings, the Paseo del Prado and the Puerta de Alcalá.

Table 2: The photographs of Madrid in the catalogue

NO.	TITLE
1	View of Madrid and the Royal Palace (See Fig. 2)
2	Royal Palace (See Fig. 3)
3	Another view of the Palace
4	Plaza Oriente (See Fig. 4)
5	Bronze Statue of Philip IV
6	The Royal Convent of “Las Salesas”
7	Fountain of the “Tritones”
8	Fountain of Neptune on the Prado
9	The same of “The Cybelles” (See Fig. 5)
10	Calle Alcalá (See Fig. 6)
11	Puerta de Alcalá
12	The Bull-Fighters of Madrid
13	The Royal National Museum
14	View of the “Congress” (See Fig. 7)



Figure 2: View of Madrid and the Royal Palace (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).



Figure 3: Royal Palace, Madrid (Victoria & Albert Museum).

The photographic tour of Madrid begins with the royal palace, considered to be one of the three most important monuments in Spain at the time, along with the Alhambra and the Alcázar of Seville (Alonso Martínez, 2002: 108).

Clifford (1861:30) begins with his opinion on seeing the royal palace (figueres 2 and 3) for the first time:

“As seen glittering in the rays of the setting sun from the road to Segovia, it offers a most imposing spectacle”.

In spite of this first impression, however, Clifford (1861:30) goes on to say that it is “[...] heavy in architecture and monstrous in effect [...]”.

He continues with a description of its interior: “The principal staircase and lofty ceiling are truly royal... the floors of many coloured marbles [...] good paintings hanging on the walls” (Clifford, 1861:30).

And finishes with this note; “With the usual affability, permission is readily obtained for visiting the palace” (Clifford, 1861: 30).

This comment serves to distinguish Clifford from the ordinary tourist as a person with inside knowledge who would like to share this information with visitors to the capital.

Additionally, in the story, Clifford (1861:14) recommends a visit to the palace:

“Several specimens of Velasquez (sic.) and a goodly collection of other masters, both ancient and modern, are also to be seen at the Royal Palace, their Majesties being liberal patrons and lovers of the fine arts; on this account, as well as on the account of the immensity of the building itself, and the grandeur of its marble halls, staircases etc., the Royal Palace must be visited [...]”.

The next photograph is of the Plaza de Oriente (figure 4). Clifford (1861:30) describes it as “[...] a new square [...] adorned in the centre with the bronze statue of Philip IV.”

He continues with a description of social activity; the custom of meeting in the square: “It is the evening rendezvous of soldiers, children and nursemaids” (Clifford, 1861:30).

These urban scenes of social activity, described by Clifford in the *Scramble*, fit in with his idea of preserving local customs and traditions in danger of disappearing due to progress. In this way, by describing them, he brings them to the attention of the reader. Clifford’s early photographs of the royal palace and the Plaza de Oriente do not include human figures unlike his later photographs. Describing these small urban scenes, Clifford adds life to the photographs.



Figure 4: Plaza de Oriente, Madrid (Victoria & Albert Museum).

Going back to the photograph of the Plaza de Oriente, Clifford (1861:30) draws our attention to the new opera theatre, seen in the background of the photograph:

“The building in the centre is the Royal Theatre. The façade is unfortunately unfinished, but the interior is “royal” in every acceptation of the word [...]”.

He continues with a description of its interior and once again draws our attention to the social customs:

“*Full* dress is not required, and the house is generally well attended; the *entre actes* are, to a passing stranger, very long but by then, the residents are fully occupied in visits to their friends’ boxes. The Theatre in Spain is, in fact, the drawing-room where the cliques of all society meet”(Clifford, 1861:31).

The next photograph is of the statue of Philip IV. This time, Clifford provides us with details about the history of the statue, its original location in the Buen Retiro, the name of the creator of the original wooden model –Montañés– and how it was sculptured in bronze in Florence. He says that an English expert

may find the horse out of proportion but, once they have seen a Spanish horse, they will be able to understand and appreciate it.

The photographic tour continues with a recommendation (Clifford, 1861: 31) to visit the Convento de las Salesas in order to see the tombs of Ferdinand VI and Bárbara de Braganza. Once again he provides information about a social custom of the capital when he describes the convent as: “An enormous Nunnery and now serving as a Convent for the education of the daughters of the Grandees.”

The photographs of Madrid continue with three important fountains; the first, la fuente de los Tritones on the western side of the palace which is described as follows:

“[...] graceful in form and notable as being often copied by Velazquez” (Clifford, 1861:32).

The other two fountains are “Neptune” and “Cybelles” (figure 5) both in the Paseo del Prado. There are no additional notes about these photographs in the catalogue. However, in the story, Clifford (1861: 12-13) describes in full detail the bustling activity of this place:

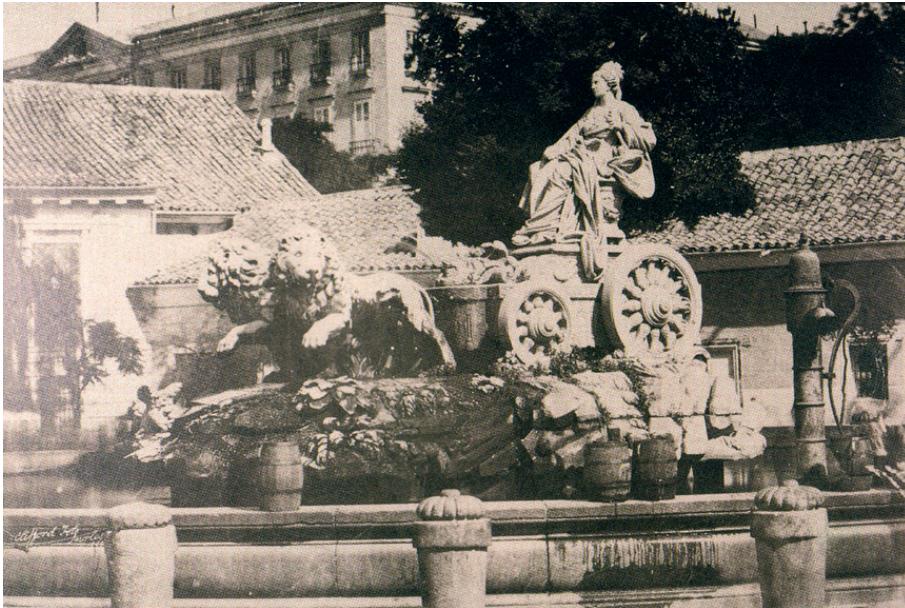


Figure 5: Cibeles fountain, Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

“The ‘Prado’ is the Elysian field of the Madridlenos (sic.), the very name of which seems to awaken them as much as the lively rattle of their castanets[...]. Follow any of the lively, chattering, laughing groups and you will soon find yourself in the midst of the gay crowd on the ‘Salon del Prado’ (Clifford, 1861: 12) .

He goes on to describe the Spanish women; their elegant gait, “like a swan on an unruffled lake,” the way they use their fans, “[...] as none but a Spanish woman can fan” (Clifford, 1861: 13). The women have a transparent veil as their only head covering, allowing a glimpse of the magnificent black hair, adorned with a flower.

Clifford (1861: 13) mentions that in summer, as the evenings get longer, the “tertulias which are set up on each side of the “Paseo,” last until 10 or 11 at night and it is overall:

“[...] a scene as beautiful as it is different from anything of the kind elsewhere.”

When speaking about the Paseo del Prado, Clifford not only describes the scene but also seduces the reader with his description of the Spanish women. He finishes by adding the following comment, which plays on the imagination of the reader:

“The stranger will wander back to his hotel, his senses completely bewildered, and will possibly fancy all to have been an illusion and a dream [...]” (Clifford, 1861: 13).

Continuing with the photographic tour of Madrid in the catalogue, we find a photograph of the Calle de Alcalá (figure 6):

“[...] one of the most attractive streets and entrances to a capital to be found in Europe” (Clifford, 1861: 32).

Clifford (1861: 32) describes the street on a day when there is a bullfight in the bull ring at the other side of the Puerta de Alcalá:

“[...] when filled on a bull-fight day with galloping “Calesas,” coaches, omnibuses, mounted picadors, and pedestrians of all classes and in all colours, hastening to that attractive goal, the Street offers a gay and unique view.”



Figure 6: Calle de Alcalá, Madrid (Victoria & Albert Museum).

Once again, the bustling activity provides animation to the static photograph.

The next photograph is of the Puerta de Alcalá:

“A handsome Gateway erected by Charles III. Behind this entrance lies the ne plus ultra delight of the true Spaniard – the Bull Ring” (Clifford, 1861: 32).

Next is a photograph of the bullfighters of Madrid “preparing to enter the ring after hearing mass” (Clifford, 1861: 32).

Clifford’s first contact with bulls and bull fights took place during the first months of his stay in Madrid. The first mention of Clifford in the local press is in fact related to bull fights.

Between October 1850 and January 1851 a series of advertisements in the press announced balloon shows from the Madrid bull ring (Kurtz, 1996: 49-55). One of them, which appeared in the newspaper *La Patria*, on the 17th January, 1851, announces that the aeronauts Clifford and Goulston intended to make an ascent from the bull ring in a gigantic balloon, mounted on a live horse, in a show enlivened with all kinds of bulls; *toros embolados*, (bulls with

wooden balls protecting their horns) *toros de puntas*, (bulls without protection on their horns) *novillos embolados* (young bulls with protection on their horns) and a spectacular firework display, quite a show. However, because of the bad weather, the balloon ascent failed to take place and the intention stayed in the advertisement.

In the *Scramble*, Clifford adopts the role of a spectator and commentator who dedicates his longest and most detailed description to the bull fight (Clifford, 1861: 15-18). He manages to turn the readers into spectators as well. Like other British travellers he observes and criticizes the cruelty of the bull fight, referring to it as “cruel”, “barbarous” and a “butchery of the poor horses”.³² However, he doubts that it is crueler than the “The French Royal Stag Hunt.”

With the knowledge and style of a person who attends bull fights regularly, Clifford (1861: 15) skillfully describes with precise detail the entrance of the “glittering cavalcade of fine manly looking actors [...] sufficient to quicken the most sluggish pulse.” He then goes on to describe the “picturesque dresses of all the colours of the rainbow, glittering with silver and gold and the many coloured silk cloaks” and shows his knowledge of bullfighting terminology, using words such as; *espadas*, *chulos*, *banderilleros*, the *toril* gate, the *picadores*, as he describes in detail the different stages of the bullfight and its rituals and traditions. He even expresses his admiration for the *matador*:

“The proceedings of a good swordsman are very graceful, and astonish you by the coolness and nerve of the actor, placed in such proximity with so determined and excited a brute” (Clifford, 1861: 17).

He does, however, suffer for the horse:

“The worst part of the spectacle is the butchery of the poor horses who, when badly gored by the bull, offer a most repugnant sight to anyone who has a spark of feeling for that noble servant [...]” (Clifford, 1861: 17).

To conclude, he says that there are not enough words fit to describe the bullfight in detail and that the best thing is to see one:

[32] In the *Handbook...* Richard Ford describes the bullfight in precise detail and shows a complete and profound knowledge of all the related terminology. He also offers his personal opinion taking into account the arguments in favour and against bullfighting: “The Spaniards are very tender on the subject of the cruelty or barbarity of this spectacle...Much may be said on both sides of the question. Mankind has never been over-considerate in regarding the feelings or sufferings of animals, when influenced by the spirit of sporting” (Ford 1855: 98).

“All description must fall short; it must be seen, and the blood heated by the scorching sun and the flashing eyes and confused roar of thousands of excited voices, to be understood” (Clifford, 1861: 17).

Clifford’s photographic tour of Madrid ends with two more important monuments of Madrid, the Royal Museum, (nowadays the Prado) and the Congress.

He refers to the first of them as; “The “casquet” of priceless jewels, sufficient to tempt a Diogenes from his tub, or an anchorite from his cell” (Clifford, 1861: 32).

In the story Clifford adds that the Royal Museum is a gift for the visitor who can see and study Velázquez in detail and “[...] where the severe truth of the picture is not sacrificed to poetic notions of effect” (Clifford, 1861: 14).

This “severe truth” reminds us of the realist image of the photograph and allows us to understand the empathy felt by the photographer when faced with the paintings of the great Spanish master.

The photographic tour of Madrid ends with a view of the Congress– the Medina Coeli palace (figure 7) and the new church of San Gerónimo with no additional information in the notes.



Figure. 7: The Congress, Madrid (Victoria & Albert Museum).

To sum up the photographic tour of Madrid, we can say that by using detailed descriptions in the story and in the notes Clifford provides us with an up to date image of a modern capital, the shop window of Spain's traditions and customs, with monuments worth visiting, especially the Royal Museum with its cultural treasures and the Royal Palace with its imposing architecture. At the same time, these descriptions bring life to the static, sepia photographs, introducing them into the scene and playing with the imagination of the reader.

Clifford's photographic tour of Spain begins in the catalogue with Madrid, the capital. The first photographic image we have of Spain is of a modern capital city, comparable to other European capitals where the inhabitants follow the latest French fashions, the magnificent monuments are worthy of a visit and a bustling cultural and social life takes place in its streets. This new and modern vision of Spain serves to reassure the potential visitor, casting from his mind the existing topics about insecurity, decadence and the inferiority of Spanish monuments in comparison to their European counterparts. Clifford's way of promoting Spain through its capital therefore makes it seem a pleasant and attractive country for potential visitors.

3.4.2. Granada

Granada and the Alhambra were the most-photographed tourist spots in Spain in the mid nineteenth century (Alonso Martínez, 2002: 106-107). For this reason it is not surprising that there are more photographs of Granada than anywhere else in the catalogue of the Scramble: twenty-three (table 3).

Unlike Madrid, in the case of Granada and the Alhambra, Clifford adds very little information to the photographs in the catalogue, allowing them to speak for themselves. At a first glance, we find again the "severe truth" in the photographs of the Alhambra. They show us the stark reality, the decadent state of the monument.

On the other hand, from a commercial point of view, the presence of the Alhambra both in the story and the catalogue was essential, as the monument continued to capture the romantic imagination of travellers to Spain.

Regarding the city of Granada, of which we only find 3 of the 23 photographs in the catalogue, Clifford (1861: 22) observes that it doesn't have a lot to offer to travellers. This echoes part of what Richard Ford has to say about the city, which he describes in the following way:

"The society of Granada is dull. To those who arrive from Seville, the inhabitants do not look either so well dressed, so gay, or intelligent. There are fewer majos and the women are inferior walkers and talkers [...] The houses

Table 3: The photographs of Granada in the catalogue

NO.	TITLE
63	View of Granada from the Albaicín
64	View taken from "Los Mártires", giving the outline of the Alhambra
65	The Same, with the "Alemeda," or road to the Alhambra
66	The Same. With the "Carmenes," and the "Red Towers" of the Alhambra
67	Puerta de Justicia
68	Torre del Vino
69	Torre del Vino – Interior Façade
70	Battle of Pravia
71	Court of the Alberca
72	Detail of the Door of the "Cuarto de la Sultana"
73	Entrance to the Court of Lions
74	Court of Lions and Fountain (See Fig. 9)
75	"Templete" in the Court of Lions
76	Detail of the Same
77	"Corridor" or Galery (sic.) leading to the Hall of Justice
78	Detail of the "Sala Lindaraja"
79	Detail of the Door of the Hall of Justice
80	Torre de los Picos
81	"Siete Suelos"
82	View from "The Darro," with the "Comares" Tower
83	"The Darro" and Moorish Mill (See Fig. 8)
84	"Arco de Carbon" (See Fig. 10)
85	The "Chancery"

are less oriental [...] built by impoverished, defeated refugees, not like Seville, by the Moor [...]" (Ford, 1855: 297).

In 1861, when the book was published, the Alhambra was in a state of decadence, a relic of its great Hispanic and Islamic past. However, as Clifford points out in the story (1861: 21) the real charm of the Alhambra lies precisely in its decadence:

"Now is all desolation and poverty; although, perhaps, indeed, a real charm is added by such a state [...]"

However, Clifford adds:



Figure. 8: Albaicín from the Alhambra (Biblioteca Nacional).

“... it appears but a fit tribute of mourning to the shades of its past greatness and splendour” (Clifford, 1861: 21).

At the beginning of the book, Clifford says the following:

“The Moors, the last of her foreign visitors, have left the most tangible relics, melancholy witnesses of the taste, culture, and industry of a people, who, although usurpers, cannot but awaken the interest and regret of the spectator, as he recalls their sudden expulsion, coupled with the broken treaties of their conquerors, who have, however, bitterly repaid their want of faith, by the entire decay and downfall of those places, which, in the times of their African holders, were teeming with life, agriculture and commerce [...]” (Clifford, 1861: 4).

Clifford thus presents the Alhambra as a tribute to its ancient residents, drawing the reader’s attention to its current decadent state, without losing the perspective of its romantic essence:

“Much has been said, written, and painted –the Alhambra being the unexhausted subject– yet the visitor will find imagination and description fall far short of the reality” (Clifford, 1861: 21).

He brings the past back to life in the reader’s imagination:

“[...] imagination busily conjures up scenes of the past, peopling the deserted halls with their grave oriental occupants, and swarming the deserted Albaicin with the industrious throngs of picturesque turbaned cultivators of land and silk [...]” (Clifford, 1861: 21).

In the book, Clifford adds colour and life to the photographs in the catalogue. In the case of the Alhambra, the life is from the historic past. When we see the photographs of the empty halls of the palace, we can imagine their past greatness, full of life and bustling activity in stark contrast to the emptiness and abandon of the present. This stark contrast strengthens the preservation message in the book.

In the same way, the French traveller, Théophile Gautier, travels back to the past to describe the Patio de los Arrayanes:

“Entering this wide open space, full of light, after the dark corridors, the feeling is like the one we get from the diorama. I would say that by the art of magic we have been transported back to four or five centuries ago and are now in the East” (Gautier, 1944: 178).³³

Returning to the present, in the same way as Clifford provides some inside knowledge for visitors to the royal palace in Madrid, he uses the same technique in the Alhambra, which was beginning to suffer the consequences of the arrival of large numbers of tourists:

“Visitors are here fooled to their hearts’ content by the local guides, who, among other wonders, point out to gaping listeners spots on the white marble (simply a little oxide of the iron clamps) as the unextinguishable stains of blood of the beheaded Abencerrages” (Clifford, 1861: 21).

[33] For this reference I have used the Spanish translation of Gautier’s work as cited and translated it into English.



Figure 9: La Alhambra (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

This warning to potential visitors is almost a veiled criticism of the imminent arrival of mass tourism to the Alhambra and of the dangers which await the naïve, susceptible, open-mouthed tourists of the future.

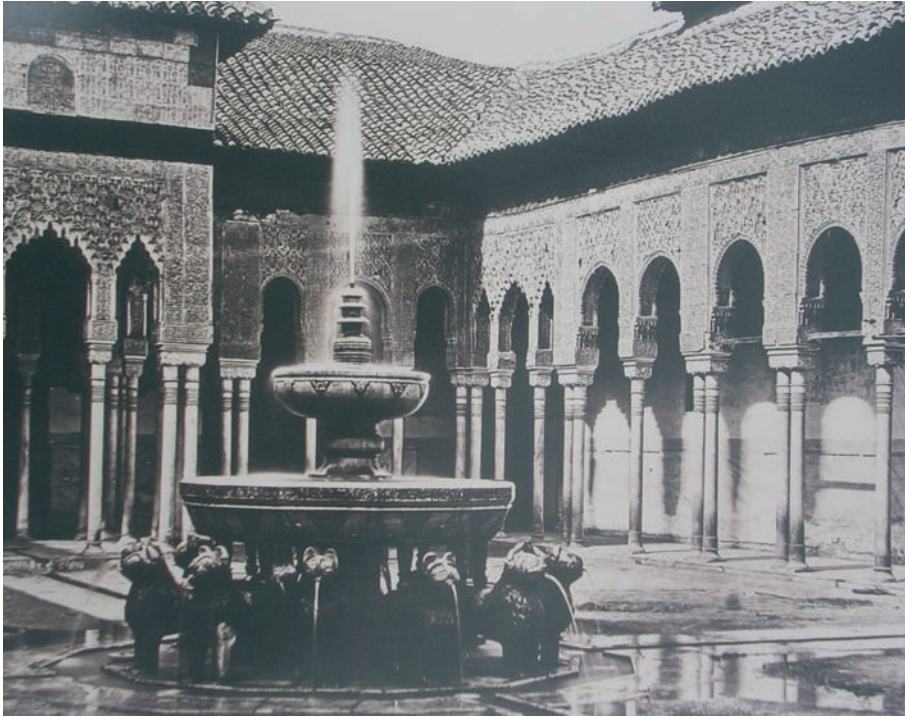


Figure 10: Patio de los Leones (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

This is not the only criticism, however, of the “open-mouthed” tourists, susceptible to being fooled by the local guides. Clifford also distances himself from other British tourists and laughs at their way of dressing like *andaluces*:

“The town itself offers few attractions, unless it be an occasional glimpse of one of our countrymen, who, strutting about the public promenade, fancies himself to all intents and purposes, metamorphosed into a genuine Andalusian, having decked himself out with a bright scarlet “faja” or scarf around his waist, and placed upon his head of fair Saxon hair the “Calannese,” or Andalusian hat; and thus with a London-cut black frock coat and trousers to match”(Clifford, 1861: 22).

In laughing at his fellow countrymen, Clifford positions himself as a privileged traveller or resident and not an occasional tourist. These countrymen would appear to have followed Richard Ford’s advice to travellers when he tells them to dress as natives in order to avoid looking like foreigners and therefore subjected to the harassment of hordes of beggars:



Fig. 10: Arco de Carbón, Granada (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).



Fig. 11: Patio de los Leones, loggia (Victoria & Albert Museum).

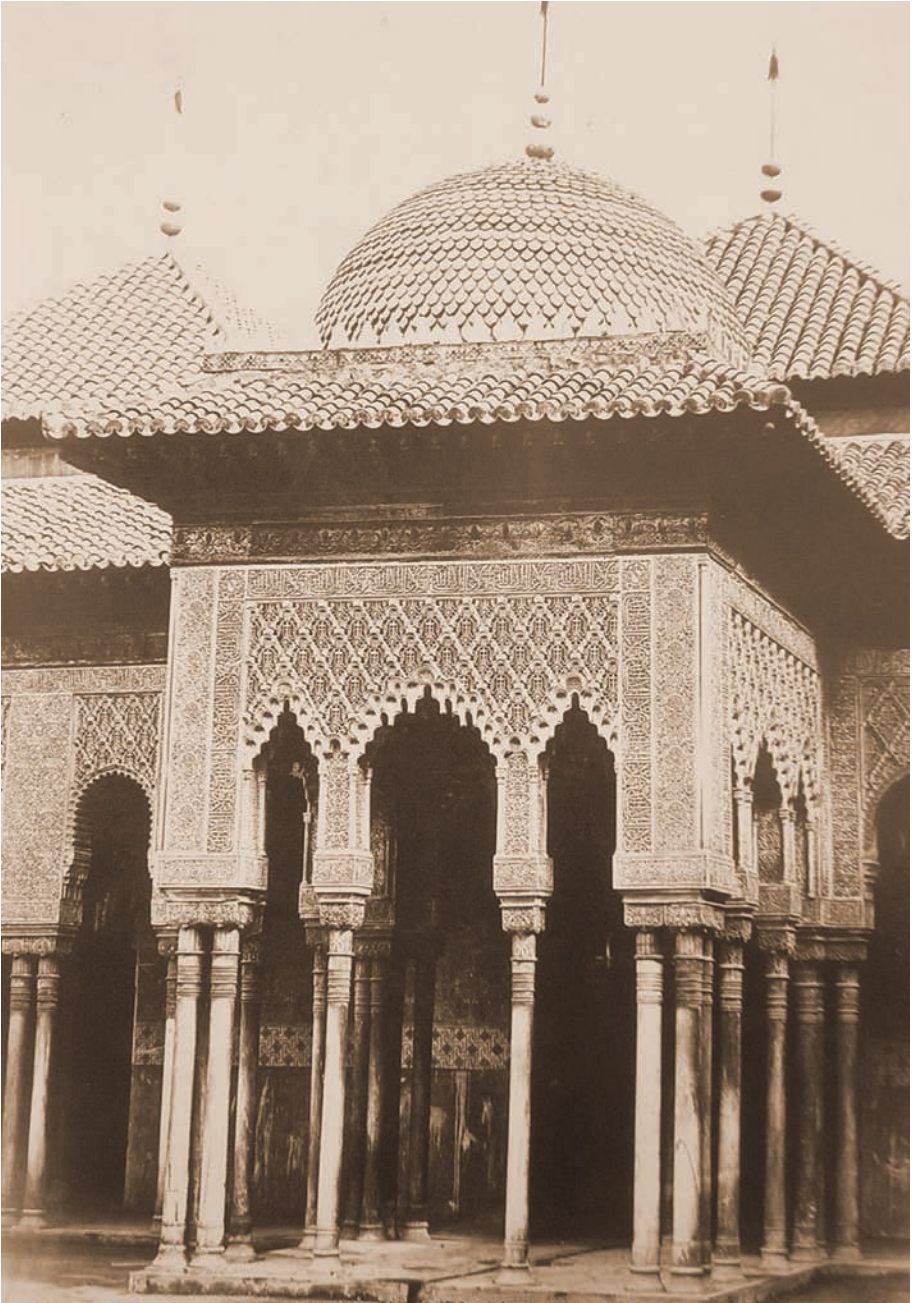


Figure 12: Patio de los Leones, entrance (Biblioteca Nacional).

“[...] the grand object is to pass incog. in the crowd, or if noticed, to be taken for a native” (Ford, 1855: 119-120).

As mentioned before, in the case of Granada, Clifford provides very little additional information in the catalogue notes. The majority of these give indications as to whether the photograph shows the interior or exterior of one of the patios or explain the perspective from which the general views of the Alhambra were taken.

However, in the case of the photograph of the Arco de Carbón (figure 10), Clifford (1861: 42) points out the following:

“One of the few externally ornamented Moorish façades yet remaining and unfortunately doomed to be pulled down, its site having been determined upon for the construction of a theatre”.

Once again, Clifford brings the reader back to the present and warns of the dangers of modernization for the ancient monuments of Granada. This particular preservation message fits perfectly with the one stipulated in the introduction and conclusion of the *Scramble* and echoes another message, this time in the notes referring to Salamanca:

“[...] the ruins fall into the hands of private speculators... We have ourselves seen choice gateways and marble tombs broken up and sold by the cartload to serve for road repairs” (Clifford, 1861: 39).

In the book, Clifford describes as “unrecognisable” the recent restoration of the Alcazar in Seville, another Islamic monument of great interest and attraction to tourists. He compares the restored Alcazar to a “painted phantom” and suggests that visitors see it after the Alhambra as its bright colours could distort its romantic image:

“The Alcázar [...] becomes a painted phantom in the mind’s eye, marring the beauty of the time-worn remains of the true Arab Palace, and like a glaring colour in a picture, ever calls to the eye, however unwilling, to the offending intruder” (Clifford, 1861: 20).

Clifford decorates the static photographs of the Alhambra with his description of its Islamic past, bringing them to life with the purpose of emphasizing his preservation message, contrasting its present state of decadence to its colour-

ful and lively past. Unlike the case of Madrid he uses scenes from the past in his description and chooses to recreate a scene of oriental essence.

In the charming decadence of the Alhambra and in the creation of scenes from its past, Clifford's preservation message becomes more powerful. However, the Alhambra is not the only place in Granada where Clifford warns us of the dangers of modernization and the increase in the numbers of tourists.

For this reason, he adds the note about the threat posed to the Arco de Carbón, the dishonest tourist guides in the patios of the Alhambra and the naïveté and ridiculous appearance of the British tourists dressed as *andaluces*.

4. Conclusions

At a first glance, the *Scramble*, seems like another travel guide, similar in appearance and content to so many others of its genre at the time. However, a closer analysis reveals that, although it was first conceived as an instrument for commercial purposes whose object was to sell the photographs in the catalogue, it was also the conveyor of a preservation message, a warning against the apathy towards the preservation of Spain's historic monuments at a time when the country was in the process of modernization.

As a commercial instrument, the book provides additional information for potential travellers in the form of recommendations, warnings, descriptions, personal opinion and the occasional criticism. In its pages Clifford offers the reader an image of Spain as a place which is worth visiting, removed from the usual topics and myths and includes in its annex a list of photographs which show the greatness of the past and present of Spain. The additional descriptions in the text and the photographic notes make the photographs more attractive and on occasions bring them to life.

The book is also an echo of the concern about preservation which was in vogue in photographic circles in Europe in the 1850's. The photographs in the annex, which represent different periods of Spain's history, along with Clifford's notes and comments in the text, show the greatness of Spain's past and present. However, throughout the book, there is a strong underlying message which stresses the need to take care of the preservation of Spain's monuments in the light of the rapid process of modernization being carried out at the time.

In this way, Clifford manages to reconcile "old" Spain with "modern" Spain without losing sight of the dangers of progress for its heritage. The result is a subjective vision of a country with an added value in the eyes of the photographer, hence the insistence on the need to keep it that way through a correct preservation of its historic monuments.

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