

CARLISM MUSEUM

KARLISMOA DE CARLISM
MUSEO DE CARLISM EN MUSEOA



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SCOPE 1

THE CARLISM AS A HISTORICAL MOVEMENT

Carlism: history and memory

The Carlism is a historical movement that originated and developed in the past, with a continuous presence in the collective memory. The necessary time perspective and the historical reflection allow us to contemplate nowadays its evolution until 1977.

The revolution

The term 'revolution' refers to the profound changes that both Europe and North America experienced during the second half of the 18th century. It was a time in history when the privileges of the nobility and clergy were suppressed, the principles of freedom and equality were introduced and a separation of powers and an implementation of a constitutional law were achieved.

Against the revolution

Part of the society at the time did not perceive these changes in a positive way. The privileged sectors of the former Regime, the nobility and clergy, as well as peasants and craftsmen showed an open opposition for different reasons, and resisted the new social order.

A wave of counter-revolutionary movements

Europe experienced a large number of counter-revolutionary movements at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, and these acquired a different nature depending on the time and place. In France, the Vendée and the Chouannerie, the Miguelite Wars in Portugal, the Viva María and Sanfedistas in Italy, and the Royalist movement and the Carlism in Spain.

Ideas to defend a past world

The French Revolution led to the emergence of a series of counter-revolutionary theorists who based their ideas in a former strand of thoughts.

These included the English Edmund Burke (1729-1797) and the French Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) as well as the Abbot Barruel (1741-1820).

In Spain, the influence of these theorists was clearly perceived after the outbreak of the Independence War (1808) thanks to the propaganda activity exercised by renowned religious such as Lorenzo Hervás (1735-1809), Francisco Alvarado (1756-1814) and Rafael Vélaz (1777-1850).

The Carlism, a long history

The Carlism is a movement integrated in the European counter-revolutionary phenomenon. Both share some main features, such as the defense of the monarchy and religion and the opposition to the revolutionary rationalism. However, the Carlism has a characteristic feature: its duration in time. Its ability to adapt allowed its survival while the rest of counter-revolutionary movements faded during the second half of the 19th century.

Navarra and the Carlism

Geographically, the Carlism became a popular movement in the north of Spain, in particular in the Basque Country, Navarra and Catalonia, and it was also welcomed in other prominent areas in Valencia and Aragón, and at certain moments in history, in Andalucía as well. This territoriality remained almost unaltered, changing only the volume of supporters of this movement. Navarra represented one of areas most intimately linked to the history of Carlism, given its location, the identification with the idea of the fueros defence and the strategic possibilities derived from its geographical proximity to France.



SCOPE 2

THE CRISIS OF THE FORMER REGIME AND THE ORIGIN OF THE CARLISM

Spain before 1808

The ruling of Charles IV (1748-1819) was marked by the French Revolution.

In 1793 the Spanish Monarchy started a war against the revolutionary France. The defeat forced the Spanish throne to ally with the French, situation that later on, under Napoleon, led to a conflict with England and the defeat of Trafalgar (1805). In 1807 the Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed, officially recognising the presence of French troops in Spain.

Against France, defending God, the King and the fatherland

In 1808 there was a rebellion against the imperial troops in defence of the de-throned King Ferdinand VII (1784-1833), who had just succeeded his father, and in defence of an endangered religion. This

rebellion represented in fact an answer against the foreign occupation, and gave an unequivocal national nature to the Independence War (1808-1814).

The Europe created by the Congress of Vienna

After Napoleon had been defeated, the great European powers met during the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) to restore the political balance in the continent. Within this context, the monarchies of Austria, Prussia and Russia constituted the Holy Alliance, a union with a clear religious character and with the main goal of establishing the political bases on the defence of the absolutist monarchies. Although Spain did not constitute a European power at that moment, Ferdinand VII clearly represented this type of monarchy.

In arms to defend the King

The end of the Independence War also meant the triumph of the absolutism in the person of Ferdinand VII. However, the revolutionary turn in 1820, and the restoration of the Constitution of Cádiz, triggered a royalist armed insurgency, which, despite not succeeding in restoring the prior absolute King prerogatives of Ferdinand VII, opened the way to the French troops of the Holy Alliance, the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis, and meant the restoration of absolutism.

Royalist insurgencies against Ferdinand VII

There were several ultra-absolutist insurgencies during the last decade of Ferdinand's VII ruling. The most important one was the movement of the Cataloni-



Laya (foxough)

Iron | XVIII–XIX.

It belonged to Francisco Espoz y Mina (1781–1836).

'In regard to the two referred objects, please know that are dearly regarded and appreciated since it is one of the two foot ploughs used by my husband to work his lands before he fought in his utmost effort to free the country from the shameful threat of foreign invaders, changing his quiet and virtuous occupation as a farmer for the honourable military career'. Letter from Espoz y Mina's widow to the Director of the Royal Artillery Museum of La Coruña, 1852.



Commemorative medal of the one hundredth anniversary of the x of Cádiz, 1812.

On the obverse of the medal, there is an equestrian representation of the General Alburquerque. On the reverse of the medal there is a female allegory of the Constitution that reads POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY 1812, with the legend EXIRENUM PROPUGNACULUM HISPANIAE AUTONOMICE. Ribbon with the Spanish flag colours and a central green rosette.

Silver.



Pragmatic Sanction with force of law decreed by the King Carlos IV at the request of the General Courts in 1789 and ordered to be published by his Regent Majesty.

Madrid, 1830.

an malcontents (1827). For the first time there was a split among the members who had until then supported the King, and it is considered the origin of a radical differentiated line of thought who prefigured the Carlism.

A legal conflict: the issue of succession

The Carlism originated as a result of the legal dispute between Ferdinand's VII brother and daughter; the Infante Carlos María Isidro and Princess Isabella, over their legitimate right to the Spanish throne. In 1789 the Pragmatic Sanction was used by Ferdinand VII to ensure the succession of his infant daughter Isabella, by allowing female succession to the throne. In this way, Don Carlos and the ultra-royalists were excluded from power. March 1830: Ferdinand VII publishes the Pragmatic Sanction, which was approved by the parliament in 1789 and could not be enacted by Charles IV. The Pragmatic Sanction put an end to the Salic Law, whereby allowing female succession to the Spanish throne. As a result, the infant Carlos María Isidro would be excluded from the throne succession line if his brother Ferdinand VII had children.

October 1830: Princess Isabella is born.

September 1832: Ferdinand VII, ill and feeling under pressure by the government, which was forecasting a civil war, repeals the Pragmatic Sanction.

October 1832: Ferdinand VII, feeling unexpectedly recovered, cancels the decree repealing the Pragmatic Sanction.

June 1833: the Infant Isabel swears as Princess of Asturias.

September 29th 1833: Ferdinand VII dies. Isabella II, who was a minor; is proclaimed Queen, and her mother; Maria Christina becomes regent Queen. The infante Carlos María Isidro did not accept his niece as legitimate Queen and this was the origin of the First Carlist War.



SCOPE 3

FIRST CARLIST WAR

Navarra after the First Carlist War

After the Convention of Vergara, the parliament approved the Regulation on the Confirmation of the Fueros (Navarra and Basque provinces) on October 25th 1839. In this way, a process was initiated in an attempt to reconcile the fueros with the new liberal regime. The result was the approval of the Compromise Act in Navarra on August 16th 1841, known as 'Ley Paccionada', which modified the Fueros status, whereby Navarra was transformed from a kingdom into a foral province in Spain. This law was in force until 1982.

Information in the interactive



Royal banner or Generalísima flag of the Army of Carlos V

On the obverse, painted medallion of Our Lady of Sorrows with the legend.

GENERALÍSIMA OF THE ARMY OF CV

On the reverse, Royal Coat of Arms of Spain and Golden Fleece.

Ottoman and silk velvet field and silver and golden silver metallic threads.

Sequins and glass beading in the shield embroidery. Fringe with golden metallic thread.

Collection of the Carlist Party-EKA.

Madrid, 1830.

It was embroidered by Doña María Francisca de Braganza de Borbón, wife of Carlos V, at the beginning of the war campaign in 1833. It was used by the Honor Guard escort. During the Second Carlist War, Carlos VII handed it to the Royal Corps of Mounted Guards.



The Infante Carlos María Isidro

Vicente López Portaña (Valencia, 1772- Madrid, 1850).

Oil on canvas.

Ca. 1823.

Collection of the National Museo del Prado. Madrid.



General Zumalacárregui

Gustavo de Maeztu y Whitney (Vitoria, 1887- Estella, 1947).

Paper coloured lithography.

Graphic arts Fournier. 1936.

Collection of the Council of Estella. Museo Gustavo de Maeztu. Estella. Navarra.

SCOPE 4

INTERWAR PERIOD 1845-1872

Information in the interactive

garaia
5-1872
guerras
5-1872



Mari
Guer
Karlist
Karlist
Liberal
Karlist
Alzast

Asamblea Legislativa provincial
Adopta como su sistema de gobierno el sistema representativo por sufragio universal masculino.
El Presidente de la Asamblea Legislativa será electo por la totalidad de los electores.
El Poder Judicial será electo por la totalidad de los electores.
El Poder Judicial será electo por la totalidad de los electores.

Ley Orgánica de la Administración Local
Establece el sistema de gobierno de los ayuntamientos.
El Ayuntamiento será electo por sufragio universal masculino.
El Ayuntamiento será electo por sufragio universal masculino.

<p>1869</p> <p>Revolución de 1869: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>	<p>1868</p> <p>Revolución de 1868: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>	<p>1865</p> <p>Revolución de 1865: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>	<p>1864</p> <p>Revolución de 1864: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>	<p>1861</p> <p>Revolución de 1861: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>	<p>1860</p> <p>Revolución de 1860: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>	<p>1849</p> <p>Revolución de 1849: se proclama la República. Se establece la República y se convoca elecciones para el primer Congreso Constituyente.</p>
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The image of the pretender

Transforming a complete stranger born abroad into a valid political candidate, who would become as well the icon of the defense of tradition, was the extreme difficult task that the Carlists undertook in the person of Charles VII. The building of the image of the pretender was of a vital importance to propose his candidacy. The relevance that he acquired in the different areas of the social and political life was closely linked to the need of transforming him into the symbol of the Carlism. The projection of his image, his anagram and his name literally filled all kind of scenarios and media.

Information in the interactive



Papal Zouave uniform

The uniform consists of kepi, vest with black piping, golden buttons and embroidered red latin cross. Short jacket with black piping, golden cording and golden buttons on the sleeves and black buttons on the cuffs.

Pleated baggy trouser. Sash (replica), belt (replica) and gaiters (replica).

Hooded coat lined in red, decorated with cording on the slit of the pockets, on the lower seam and on the front.

Double-breasted button rows with four golden buttons each.

Wool and cotton cloth.

Collection of the Carlist Party-EKA.

The zouaves were a class of light infantry soldiers linked to Algeria recruited by the French army in the Invasion of Algiers in 1830. As of 1840 their units were fully composed by French soldiers who kept the Moorish style uniform. The papal zouaves were volunteer soldiers defending the Papal States in 1860.

This uniform belonged to don Alfonso Carlos, who served in this unit obtaining the rank of Lieutenant. He created a unit of zouaves soldiers during the Second Carlist War, who were part of their royal guard.



Dolman 'Attila' style

Blue jacket with black braided rosettes in the back. Braid trimming in the front and double breasted buttoning with seven

buttons with the monogram of Carlos VII. Golden braids in cuffs and collar. Captain General rank insignia.

Wool and cotton lining.

Ca. 1875.

Collection of the Carlist Party-EKA.

It is considered to be part of the uniform that Carlos VII wore during the Battle of Lácara (February 3rd 1875).



Hand fan

Under the legend THE LEGITIMATE KINGS, portraits in ovals of Ma de las Nieves, Carlos de Borbón, Jaime de Borbón, Margarita de Borbón and Alfonso de Borbón. On the obverse, the legend GOD FATHERLAND AND KING.

Wooden sticks and guards and leaves of printed and painted paper.

Collection of the Carlist Party-EKA.



SCOPE 6

THE ART DURING WAR



Battle of the First Carlist War

Francisco de Paula Van Halen y Maffei (Vic, 1810–Madrid, 1887).

Oil on canvas.
1841.



Battle of Lúcar

Enrique Estevan y Vicente (Salamanca, 1849–Madrid, 1927).

Oil on canvas.
1886.



The priest Santa Cruz

Elías Salaberria (Lezo, 1883–Madrid, 1952).

Oil on canvas.
Ca. 1928.



SCOPE 7

THE CARLISM BETWEEN CENTURIES

The Carlism in times of peace

The Restoration (1874) meant the return of the Bourbon monarchic dynasty to Spain, in the figure of Alphonse XII, son of Isabella II. This situation and the end of the Second War (1876) brought a change to the Carlism as a movement. On the one hand, a war period that had started in 1833 ended, forcing the party (the Communion) to adapt to a new time where the war was not the first way to express ideas. The most important Carlist representative during this time was Cándido Nocedal, (1821-1885), supported by the newspaper *El Siglo Futuro*. On the other hand, the Carlism had lost the

unifying role of all the anti-revolutionary sectors that had played during the Sexenio Revolucionario [six year revolutionary period] (1868-1874), since the new monarchy guaranteed the order and the primacy of the Catholic Church. This resulted in different internal tensions between Carlists and fundamentalists that derived in the fundamentalist split (1888).

Time for a political transformation

The fundamentalist split represented a severe blow to Carlism, and the movement struggled to recover by going under a total reorganisation and adopting new strategies. The modernisation of

the party was based on the redefinition of their ideology, the press (*El Correo Español* starts being published in Madrid), the different publications, the proliferation of assemblies, their active propaganda and on an increase of social presence. The traditionalist circles acquired a considerable relevance and became the centre of the party life. The Marquis of Cerralbo (1845-1922) was the Carlist leading figure at the time.

Times of violence and internal tensions

After the crisis in 1898, there were attempts of insurgency inside the Carlist



Sword of Honour of Jaime III

Gilt metallic guard, inlaid with diamonds, citrine quartz, rubies and fire enamels.

Damascus steel blade | Black leather scabbard, with golden throat and chape.

Eusebi Arnau (sculptor) — Masriera Hermanos (jewellers).

Royal Arms Factory of Toledo, 1910.

Private collection.

This sword of Honour was given to Jaime de Borbón on January 15th 1911 by a Carlist commission led by the Duke of Solferino, who travelled to the castle of Frohsdorf, residence of the pretender.

It is a piece of great value given its quality and precious materials, executed by the workshop of the brothers Masriera, one of the most important representatives of the Catalan modernism. The

sculptor Eusebi Arnau collaborated regularly with this workshop. It is as well a particularly relevant piece for the Carlism given its meaning and its close link to the pretender Jaime III.

The grip consists of a dragon with two figures represented: Spain symbolised by a female figure dressed with a tunic and mural crown, and a Carlist soldier holding a sabre at rest with his right hand and a flag with the royal coat of arms with his left hand. In the centre the dragon wears a shield enameled with three fleurs de lys and on the base of the scabbard the Carlist legend God, Fatherland, King in diamonds.



Portrait of Carlos VII

Enrique Estevan y Vicente (Salamanca, 1849– Madrid, 1927).

Oil on canvas.

Dedication on the upper left corner that reads:

‘To my dearest and always faithful. Tudela:

E. del Castillo de Piñeyro’
1880.

Collection of the Carlist Party–EKA.



El Correo Español. Traditionalist journal.

January 6th 1894. No. 1598.

movement, without any relevant result. The 20th century started with a new impulse to the party organisation, and the development of activities targeting young people. These activities, like hiking and target practice, which had mainly a physical exercise nature, acquired a certain paramilitary overtone and in 1912 were the origin of the requeté, a group which was aligned with the mass politics and the climate of violence that were common during the interwar period between the two World Wars. After Charles' VII death in 1909, in Varese (Italy), his son Jaime III had to face the internal opposition exercised by Juan Vázquez de Mella. The different points of view regarding the conservative nationalisms, which were in the process of being created at that moment, the union of right forces and the First World War (1914-1918) led to the schism mellista in 1919, and the creation of the Catholic Traditionalist Party.



The Traditionalist Communion vs the reformism of the Second Republic

The new republican regime accepted the challenge of overcoming the common problems of Spain in modern history: an elitist political system, militarism, privileges of the Catholic Church, centralism and large landownership. The Traditionalist Communion openly opposed to all the reforms fostered by the Republican Government in 1931-1933: a democratic constitution, a land reform, the separation between Catholic Church and State, and as of June 1932, a rejection of the autonomy in the Basque provinces and Navarra and Catalonia.

The political and military reorganisation of the Traditionalist Communion

The Traditionalist Communion constituted an authentic modern party organisation: circles, regional and local assemblies, female organisations ‘margaritas’ and youth organisations ‘pelayos’, press and an armed organisation, the requeté. The Traditionalist Communion was present in many professional associations, socioeconomic organisations, sports and leisure organisations. As of 1934, the effi-

ciency, activity and membership of these organisations was spectacular. The military tradition of the Carlism was strengthened moving quickly from their rejection to the reforms fostered by the republicans to the conspiracy and their participation and the brutal repression of republicans, working class, rural left political movements and nationalists during the war.

Traditionalist ideology

The Traditionalist Communion was closely linked to the defence of the values of the Catholic Church, the traditional family and a religious education at school. It supported the capitalist order, large landownership, the public order and the army, as well as the diverse characters of the regions within the undisputed Spanish sovereignty. This group of ideas was assumed by the whole traditionalist movement as an inalienable heritage intimately linked to their identity, which had to be protected by all possible means.

The Traditionalist Communion and the agricultural issue

When the Second Republic arrived, the ideology that the Carlism had defended for decades based on the catholic social

teaching was abandoned in favour, under any political circumstance, of large landowners. This subordination to the interests of big property led them to oppose the republican legislation on land, as shown by the activity of the National Catholic Land Confederation, which grouped thousands of rural banks and catholic unions in the rural world. The representation of landless labourers was practically inexistent for the traditionalist politics.



General Statute of the Basque State approved in the great Assembly of Basque Villages held in Estella (Lizarrar) on June 14th 1931.

Bilbao, E. Verdes Achirica Press, 1931.



The politics of violence as of July 1936

The traditionalist Communion backed up the coup in July 1936, as it represented the much awaited opportunity of putting an end to the government and the republican regime. In the areas controlled by the military insurgents, Galicia, Navarra, Rioja, Castile and some areas in Andalusia and Aragon; there was a fierce political repression against the republican voters, the public representatives and union

and political forces loyal to the Republic. The Carlist authorities, together with the insurgent army, the Guardia Civil and the Falange Española, played a decisive role in the bloody repression, with an active involvement from the Carlist General Assembly of Navarra.

The participation in the national insurgent army

Thousands of Carlists who were part of the requeté organisations before the

coup, or who were participating as volunteers, in July 1936 became part of combat units, the Tercios, and integrated in the insurgent army commanded by the Generals Mola and Queipo de Llano. The Carlist militias played a major role in the insurgent plans and were decisive in the victory during the campaign of the war in the North against republican forces. Around 60,000 Carlists fought during the war as soldiers, commanded by General Franco since summer 1936.

The political subordination of the Carlism during the war

The traditionalist Communion soon lost its independent nature once they were part of the counter-revolutionary coalition. The fact that their militias were assimilated into the regular army units and the ban on the creation of a Carlist Military Academy constituted previous steps towards an integration of the Traditionalist Party into the sole legal political party, and it merged with the Falange Española y de las JONS in April 1937. Although the Carlism persisted as an ideology, it was impossible to avoid the collapse of their political and organizational structure.



Guidon flag of the requeté of Pamplona

On the obverse, coat of arms of Pamplona flanked by Carlist soldiers: bugle soldier, standard bearer and infantry soldiers. Above the coat of arms the legend 'GOD, FATHERLAND, KING' on the base 'REQUETÉ OF PAMPLONA'.

On the reverse, the image of St. Michael of Aralar and the coat of arms of the five merindades [administrative term] of Navarra, from the left to the right, Olite, Tudela, Pamplona, Estella and Sangüesa, oil painted and legend on the upper part Reading 'NOR JAUNGOIKOA BEZALA [Who else but God]'.

This piece is linked to the organisation of the requeté and the margaritas in Navarra during the years prior to the Spanish Civil War.

Field in white satin silk. Oil painted motives.

Golden metallic thread fringe.

On the obverse, signature of María Isabel Baleztena.

First quarter of the 20th century.

Reverse.

Margarita with the banner flag of the requeté of Pamplona.



Uniform of a requeté official

Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) | Collection of the Foundation Jaureguizar. Museum of Tabar. Navarra.

The uniform consists of the following pieces:

Red beret with an eight-pointed star and badge with the national colours and the coat of arms of the Carlist Traditionalist Communion. Wool and enameled aluminium.

Shirt with the legend CTC, rank sign, détente bala charm and the emblem of the 61st division of the Army Corps of Navarra. Cotton and wool cloth.

Baggy trousers. Cotton. Straps to hold the weapon case. Leather.

White socks (replica).

Boots. Leather.

It belonged to Renato Sáez Bermejo, commander of the Tercio of Oriamendi, a Carlist unit from Vizcaya in the Army Corps of Navarra.



With this symbol you will rule

Gustavo de Maeztu (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1887–Estella-Lizarrza, 1947).

Oil on canvas.

1937.

Collection of the Museum of Navarra. Pamplona.



SCOPE 10

SEARCHING FOR THE PIECES OF THE TRILEMMA (1939–1957)

Convinced but disgruntled

In April 1939, the Carlism was for the first time on the winning side. Some of their members joined enthusiastically Franco's regime, actively cooperating in the creation and implementation of new institutions, and participating in the repression of those who had lost the war. For many Carlists, some of the most important goals of the Carlist traditionalism had been achieved. However, other part of the movement rejected the Unification, as it was considered negative against the restoration of which was considered a traditional Spain and started to show open opposition to the assimilation into the Franco regime, feeling somehow a defeat in that victory, although they had not suffered the repression that was inflicted on the losers. The conflicts with FET y JONS increased (Beñoña, August 16th 1942; plaza del Casti-

llo in Pamplona in 1945; the confinement and exile of Mauricio de Sivatte, 1939 and 1940; José Luis Zamanillo, 1943, and the Carlist chief delegate, Manuel Fal Conde –Ferrerías, 1941–). The regent, Javier de Borbón Parma, was captured by the nazis and sent to Dachau.

Throne pretenders

The figure of the King had disappeared after the death of Alphonse Charles I on September 29th 1936. The Prince Javier de Borbón Parma was then regent while a suitable candidate was selected, but this made the institution lose their unifying power, and although he was not excluded from the succession line, he was not decisively selected as pretender until 1952. During those years, as a rejection to the regent, and under the protection of the Francoist Succession law issued in 1947, there were different pretend-

ers, which created division and several splinter factions: octavistas (followers of Charles VIII)–Carloctavistas–, Infanta's Blanca son and Charles' VII grandson, which split up in 1943 and with a background in the cruzadistas since 1932, but who had received the support of Franco's regime until 1948. His brother Antonio was also a pretender from 1953 until 1961 as Charles IX); juanistas (who were supporting Juan de Borbón, Alphonse's XIII son), also supported by Rodezno and other leaders in Laussane in 1946 and definitely later in 1957 in Estoril 'Estorilos'); there was also another Carlist sector which considered the monarchic aspect as something incidental (followers of Mauricio de Sivatte –sivattistas– since 1948. In 1958 they created the Regencia Nacional y Carlista de Estella (RENACE), which was persecuted for their open opposition to Franco's regime)

The Carlist masses

The internal tension and the absence of a real leading figure led to discouragement and disorganization among the Carlists. It officially did not exist as a movement, their communication means were either hijacked or incorporated into the media of the regime, their organisations faded, many circles were closed and all public structures disappeared except the Consejo Nacional de la Comunidad Tradicionalista, which was created in 1947.

There were as well some clandestine groups, as the AET at University, and some documents criticizing the regime as the *Manifestación de ideales* (1939) were published.

The ordinary Carlists, with no political structures and either opposed to the new regime, or convinced about their triumph, assumed the preservation of the memory of their movement against the authorities, which tried to attract them into their regime and also tried to take ownership of their memory. Montserrat, Quintillo, Villarreal, Haro or Montejurra, gathered these memories and held religious ceremonies. Some other Carlists, more committed to the cause, tried to encourage revisions and made some critical comments, but since the late fifties.



Boletín de Orientación Tradicionalista [Bulletin of Traditionalist Approach]

Second period, No. 5,
March 1950.

Orientación Press, Madrid.



¡Volveré! Portavoz de la Comunión Carlista [I will return! Agent of the Carlist Communion]

Year VII, No. 118, January
25th 1954.

Madrid.

Collection of Jesús Martín Alías.



Discourse and opinion sent by the National Board of the Traditionalist Communion on behalf of the Spanish Carlists to H.R.H. the Regent Prince Don Francisco Javier de Borbón-Parma y Braganza on May 30th 1952 during his stay in Barcelona for the XXXV Eucharistic National Congress.



SCOPE 11

WITH OR AGAINST FRANCO (1955–1968)

Collaborationism and presentation of Carlos Hugo

In the fifties the Carlism agreed to approach the Regime to achieve the succession to the Spanish throne within the Francoism. In 1955 Manuel Fal Conde was replaced by Javier de Borbón Parma himself and a General Secretariat led by José María Valiente, José Luis Zamanillo and Juan Sáenz-Díez. In 1957, the Junta de Gobierno de la Comunidad Tradicionalista was created. In 1960, Valiente was appointed chief delegate and Zamanillo general secretary and in January 1965 Javier de Borbón Parma assumed definitely his role as pretender. This approach to the regime led to certain reluctance and also to a greater official tolerance: creation of the *Círculo Cultural Vázquez de Mella* in Madrid (1959) and, from there extended to all Spain; *Hermandad Nacional de Antiguos Combatientes de Tercios de Requetés* (1962); *Hermandad del Maestrazgo*, of Ramón Forcadell (1962), or the *National Carlist Congress* in 1966 which established the bases to exercise the opposition. Some trade unions were created, such as the (*Movimiento Obrero Tradicionalista*, MOC, Murcia 1963) and there were legal publications issued by the publishing house *SUCCVM* in Zaragoza, and an extended periodical press (*Siempre*, 1958; *Azada y Asta*, 1960; *Montejurra*, 1960).

It was in this context when the introduction of Carlos Hugo de Borbón Parma as Prince of Asturias took place in Montejurra (1957). An active Secretariat consisting of Ramón Massó, Ángel Romera, José M^a de Zavala, Pedro Echeverría, José Antonio Parrilla and Celestino García Marcos, launched a presentation and promotion campaign that included his residence in Madrid, his wedding to Princes Irene of the Netherlands (1964) and other several activities. All members of the royal Carlist family participated in this process.

Ideological clarification and resistance

A clear tendency at this stage was the arrival of young people who had not had any relation with the Spanish Civil War, and whose innovative proposals and activities from the AET were supervised by the Secretariat with the support from Carlos Hugo de Borbón Parma. Pedro José Zabalá and the group in Zaragoza encouraged the ideological reflection since the mid-seventies, and started a process of 'ideological clarification', approaching a great part of the Carlism to socialist and self-governance ideas. This group also based their reasoning in the ideas fostered by the Second Vatican Council and in the popular calls appealing for an ideological revision.

The ideology based on the chances-collaboration was progressively replaced by a policy marked by the evolutionism and the opposition, led by José María de Zavala. In 1968 Valiente was dismissed and the Carlism started its restructuration as a political party.

This process generated suspicion and distrust in the Secretariat, which was dissolved between 1966 and 1967, and also crashed with more traditional factions, which gradually divided and created their own organizations, sometimes with the support of the official regime. One of the most critical factions was led by Francisco Elías de Tejada, separated since 1962, or by José Luis Zamanillo, since 1963. Other members promoted different groups, such as the Juntas Depuradoras and the Juntas de Defensa del Carlismo, el Círculo Aparisi y Guijarro, or the Centro de Estudios Históricos y Políticos General Zumalacárregui. This line was also supported by the Hermandad del Maestrazgo de Ramón Forcadell, and the figure of Sixto Enrique, Javier de Borbón Parma's son became his reference.

Looking for the Carlist masses

This renovation activity coincided in time with an expansion phase of the Carlism, masses of people gathering and a greater presence in the media. The 'javierismo' encouraged the political affiliation, and the channels for consultation and participation. The magazines or the support received by newspapers such as El Pensamiento Navarro since 1966, made all these efforts visible, overcoming the obstacles from splinter factions and an increasing rivalry to take ownership of their symbols and memory. In an atmosphere of politicization, the 'javierismo' took distance from the traditional models, and called on an active participation. This led to new divisions, but also to a political learning process that was the seed of new trade unions and political leadership.



Presentation of Carlos Hugo in Montejurra

Ignacio Ipiña.

Oil on Canvas.

1957.

Carlism Museum.



Margaritas. The crusade of the Carlist women

No. 17.

Barcelona.



Montejurra

Year III, No. 36, February.

1968.



SCOPE 12

THE CARLISM. BETWEEN THE TRADITIONALISM AND THE OPPOSITION TO FRANCOISM (1968–1977)

From javierismo to carloshuguismo

In December 1968 the royal Carlist family was expelled from Spain. The 'javierismo' abandoned all support to the Regime and promoted an ideological evolution, internally, by organizing different Carlist congresses in Arbonne (1970, 1971 and 1972), which were the origin to the Carlist Party and assumed socialist and self-governance principles. Externally, they participated in opposition platforms against the Francoism, (Junta Democrática, Plataforma de Convergencia Democrática, Coordinación Democrática Española and Plataforma de Organismos Democráticos).

The regime blocked some of the publications issued by the Carlism, and even fined some of them (for instance, the carlist publication *Esfuerzo Común* published in Zaragoza, was ironically referred to as 'Secuestro común' [common hijacked]). Another publication, *El Pensamiento Navarro*, abandoned the 'javierismo' in 1970 to align with traditionalist sectors until it disappeared in 1981.

The Franco regime supported some traditionalist options, like the *Hermanidad del Maestrazgo* of Ramón Forcadell. The opposition activity of the Carlism led to several arrests and processes as a result of the participation in demonstration

or graffiti writing, and also due to violent attacks by the *Grupos de Acción Carlista* (GAC) who at the time held contact with ETA. The Carlism also participated in the trade union world, with the MOT and then the FOS (*Federación Obrera Socialista*) both closely related to CC.OO.

The Carlist Party encouraged a total rupture with the regime and a democratization by socialist and self-governance ideas. They carried out an intense propaganda activity and published many doctrinal publications. The party focused on the greatest possible activism in a structure of political fronts and assumed the defense of a broad system of regional

autonomies, in line with their 'foralista' heritage. Nevertheless, the weight of their historical tradition was a burden for the new ideology to be accepted.

In the general elections in June 1977, the Carlist Party was one of the few parties which was not legalized, and they participated through different platforms that blurred their profile features (Montejurra. Fueros. Autonomía. Socialismo. Autogestión, in Navarra and Guipúzcoa; Agrupación Electoral Carlista in Palencia or Valladolid and Electors Carlins del Pais Valencià in Castellón). The outcome was extremely poor results.

The Carlist traditionalism during the Spanish Transition

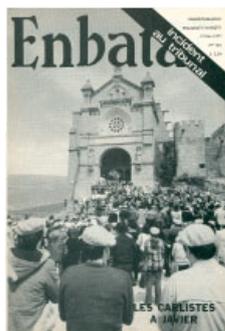
The splinter factions supporting traditionalism that could participate in the general elections did not obtain good results either.

The Hermandad del Maestrazgo was renamed Unión Social Monárquica in 1975, Frente Institucional in 1976 and Partido Social Regionalista in 1977. Zamanillo promoted the Unión Nacional Española, which was legalized in 1976 and later merged with Alianza Popular, and the Comunción Tradicionalista was legalized in February 1977. In most cases Sixto Enrique led these movements, specially after the abdication of his father, Carlos Hugo de Borbón Parma (1975).

Decline and conflict

There was an open conflict between factions which supported a traditionalist ideology and those supporting a renewal of ideas. This rivalry was apparent in the media, manifestos and political pamphlets and progressively derived in physical violence. There was also a constant exit both from the Carlist Party and tradi-

tionalist followers to other political parties with Parliamentary representation. The traditionalist sector, supported by Sixto Enrique and some international ultra-right movements launched the 'operación reconquista', confirmed in the symbolic location of Montejurra. Although the tension was clear, the Government did not intervene, and on May 5th 1976 the activity of the aforementioned ultra-right movement caused two deaths (Ricardo García Pellejero and Aniano Jiménez Santos) and several wounded among those who had attended the event organized by the Carlist Party. Some of the guilty were arrested but they were amnestied in 1977. Those who died in Montejurra were only recognized as terrorism victims in 2003.



Enbata

No. 455, May 12th 1977.

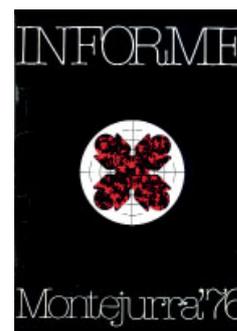
Imp. Photograv. du Sud-Ouest, Baiona.



Maestrazgo. God, Fatherland, Fueros, King

Year I, No. 1, July 1972.

Castellón de la Plana, Mialfo.



Informe Montejurra '76

Bayonne, Gayaumet.

1977.



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