

The Hispanic-Anglosphere from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

An Introduction

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Introduction: What Is the Hispanic-Anglosphere? Concepts, Methods and Public Engagement

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Graciela Iglesias-Rogers

The Hispanic and Anglo worlds are often portrayed as the Cain and Abel of Western culture, quarrelling siblings of a common Christian past who in the aftermath of the Reformation became antagonistic and alien to each other.¹ This book tests and challenges such view through the adoption of a new critical conceptual framework – the ‘Hispanic-Anglosphere’ – that aims to provide a window not just into links, but mainly into often surprising outcomes of the activities of individuals, transnational networks and global communities that, it is argued, made of the British Isles, a crucial hub for the global Hispanic world and a bridge between Spanish Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, a time that, perhaps not unlike today, was marked by uncertainty with the dislocation of global polities, health crises, nation-state building and the rise of radicalisms.

This volume stems from the work of *The Hispanic-Anglosphere: transnational networks, global communities (late 18th to early 20th centuries)*, a thriving international research network that since 2017 has been bringing together over twenty historians from the British Isles, continental Europe, the Americas and Russia to work in association with scholars from other disciplines and non-academic partners in order to reveal the extent of the contribution made by those who from any point of the British Isles (England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man) were closely engaged with the global Hispanic world, regardless of their birth, religion or political allegiance as well as the input of those who came from the Hispanic world to the British Isles as visitors, exiles and/or migrants. The network’s objective is to break free from national perspectives and from intellectual – often disciplinary-induced – straight-jackets that tend to force us to limit and to choose between either Spanish-British or Latin American-British perspectives, often reducing the British experience to the confines of London.²

Let’s start by ascertaining the theoretical contours of what at first could be considered as the constituting parts of the conceptual framework – the Hispanic and the Anglo spheres. On the former, relatively little has been produced from a theoretical perspective, excluding perhaps for an article by Darrin M. McMahon, Associate Professor of European History at Florida State University, published by the journal *Orbis* in 2004 with the

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title *The Other Transatlantic Tie: The Hispanosphere*.³ This was a piece produced in reaction to the book by James C. Bennett, *The Anglosphere Challenge: Why the English-Speaking Nations Will Lead the Way in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). In a rather superficial way, Bennett argued that the English-speaking world shares, in addition to a common language, a legal heritage and a set of ideas and assumptions that had allegedly made it easier, for example, for Canadian companies to operate in Ireland than in China or Ukraine. He limited the Anglosphere to the ‘educated’ English-speaking nations (that is, excluding underdeveloped Africa and Asia) and argued that on that basis the Anglosphere could integrate more rapidly and assume more of the dimensions of a common economic and social space in the decades ahead. He did admit that the Anglosphere could not stand alone and it was in that context that he acknowledged the existence of a potentially similarly powerful Hispanosphere – as well as a growing Sinosphere, a Lusosphere and a Francosphere.⁴ Bennett’s views have encouraged an exclusively white, wealthy, socially conservative interpretation of the Anglosphere that have since been clogging social media outlets. McMahon decided to prove that the Hispanosphere had more things in common than the Anglosphere – listing not just language and law, but also religion, economics and politics and offering plenty of evidence to back his analysis. He made a valuable contribution to an important debate. Alas, perhaps because it rolls better in the mouth, he opted for the term *Hispanosphere* rather than *Hispanic-sphere* – even when he acknowledged that the term ‘*hispano*’ tends to be associated with the ‘*hispanidad*’ put forward by leading members of the Spanish generation of 1898 which derived from a flawed vision of overseas empires further distorted when placed under the prism of four decades of Francisco Franco’s totalitarianism,⁵ and after substantiating arguments in favour of the Hispanic denomination over that of ‘Latino’ in a US context. But the Achilles heel in McMahon’s analysis is not located within a matter of wording, but in taking a transatlantic perspective that reduced the Hispanic world to mainly present-day Spain and Latin America, referring only briefly to the Hispanic communities in the United States. Left behind were Spanish Asia (Philippines, Guam, Mindanao, Palawan and other islands in the Pacific), Spanish Africa (Guinea, Spanish Sahara, the Canary Islands, Ceuta, Melilla and further enclaves) and the Hispanic communities living elsewhere in the world, often as part of diasporas. The term ‘Hispanic’ embraces all these communities in a historical context and therefore seems better to refer to a *Hispanic-sphere*. More persuasive was McMahon’s observation that the relationship of Brazil and of what can be termed the ‘Lusosphere’ more generally with the Hispanic world is a complicated issue that deserves to be treated as a case apart – a view shared by the authors in this volume.⁶

Although added to the *Oxford English Dictionary* third online edition in 2020,⁷ the word Anglosphere has attracted more academic attention

than its Hispanic counterpart. Srdjan Vucetic at the University of Ottawa looked into its genealogy as a racialized identity in international relations.⁸ Under the same premise, Ben Welling (Monash University), Andrew Mycockand (University of Huddersfield), Helen Baxendale (University of Oxford), Jozef Batora (Comenius University in Bratislava) and Monika Mokre (Austrian Academy of Sciences) among others have traced how this term was appropriated by the Eurosceptic right of British politics to be presented as an alternative to European integration emanating from various strains of English nationalism.⁹ The concept has been in circulation in scholarly circles with other meanings as well. James Belich at Oxford and Stephen Turner at Auckland University, for example, have been using it directly or by implication to refer to all the English-speaking nations regardless of levels of education, making a genuine effort not to fall in the trap of white supremacist discourses.¹⁰ It is worth pointing out that in all these works, the pivotal place that the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Channel Island and the Isle of Man – that is to say the British Isles – held within the multi-cultural Anglosphere in the long nineteenth century has been widely accepted to the point that it has been said that, if not deemed as synonym of the term, the British Isles should be considered as being at the ‘core’ of the Anglo world.¹¹

Useful as it is to be aware of debates and controversies that have been generated around theoretical frameworks relating to the Hispanic and Anglo spheres, it is necessary to mark some distance because the Hispanic-Anglosphere is not a concept that has been developed by simply coupling the two terms as they would be building blocks in a Lego set. Addressing this matter properly requires a brief discussion of the transnational and global approaches that have underpinned the work of the Hispanic-Anglosphere research network. The definition of ‘transnational’ that has gained more currency among historians is the one coined by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier back in 2009 when they stated that this variety of history focuses on the movement of people, the links and flows of ideas as well as other issues that operate ‘over, across, through, beyond, above, under, or in between polities and societies’.¹² In our project, a key question that we have been exploring is how individuals and networks either worked with or counteracted growing restrictions imposed by national and/or composite state on the movement of people, ideas, goods and capital, particularly in times of disruption such as wars, revolutions and pandemics. Readers will find plenty of relevant insights in all of these respects throughout this book. Iriye and Saunier’s definition was designed to establish a distinction with international history – that is to say, the history of relations between nation-states, often through the via of diplomacy – that dominated the field and that to a large extent still does, particularly outside academia.¹³ Despite an abundance of research, few people know that direct contact between women and men of the British Isles and those of the Spanish-speaking world increased exponentially from the late eighteenth century.

The volume of trade between Britain and Spanish America, for example, rose rapidly by about 300–400 per cent between 1763 and 1808, long before the process of South American independence took final speed in the 1820s.¹⁴ A good number of the companies involved in this trade had branches in different locations of the British Isles, the Americas, the Philippines, the Canary Islands and were run by English, Scottish and Irish families based in Spain.¹⁵ Contact further increased in the 1780s with the arrival of Spanish-American revolutionaries, notably Francisco de Miranda to British shores.¹⁶ The Napoleonic wars took tens of thousands of Britons to fight on Iberian territory and encouraged a few to join regular and irregular forces in both Spain and later in Spanish America, thus starting a trend of British personal involvement in Hispanic conflicts long before the International Brigades made its name in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39).¹⁷ Many of these expats either died or decided to settle in those regions, often keeping up contact with relatives and friends. A few returned home, bringing with them wives and children as well as foreign goods, manners and customs they helped to popularize. Similarly, hundreds of Spanish political and economic refugees flocked to the British Isles after the restoration of Bourbon absolutism in 1814¹⁸ crossing paths with Spanish-American leaders in search for assistance in the delicate business of new-nation state building.¹⁹ Scholars have traced some of these experiences, but most works have framed their analysis from national perspectives or in terms of either Spanish-British empires or Latin American-British relations, leaving little room for the study of persons, issues and undertakings that operated in wider areas through national and regional boundaries and beyond the control of specific state authorities. There are issues here at play relating to weaknesses in the area of knowledge dissemination of which more will be said later, but suffice at this stage to call for a *mea culpa* among scholars because we have to admit that we are partly unwittingly at fault by publishing our research in widely dispersed journals, databases and books that are not always easily accessible to specialists, let alone to the wider public.

The concept under which this volume has been framed aims to add, expand and complement the work carried out by scholars who have been writing under the Atlantic history banner, yet from distinct angles, such as Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra to whom we owed much of our knowledge about the interconnection of the Spanish, British and Portuguese empires, particularly in relation to the colonial history of the United States; Jeremy Adelman, Matthew Brown, Scott Eastman, Anthony McFarlane, Rory Miller, Gabriel B. Paquette, Jaime E. Rodríguez Ordoñez, Eduardo Posada-Carbó, Natalia Sobrevilla-Perea, among many others responsible for encouraging an interest on the links between Europe and Latin America from the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries; and David Lloyd, Ivor L. Miller, Peter D. O’Neal, Michele Reid-Vazquez, David T. Gleeson and Niall Whelehan, to name just a few of a growing number of experts on the Black and Green (Irish) Atlantic.²⁰

The Hispanic-Anglosphere from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century also seeks to build on the contributions made by authors who have developed an expertise on British and/or English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish migration²¹ and to heighten the research of colleagues who have opened our eyes to the importance of the Pacific world for the Hispanic world, including Rainer F. Buschmann, Gregory T. Cushman, Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, James Sobredo, Edward R. Slack Jr. and James B. Tueller.²²

In the last two decades, historians have been doing an excellent job in identifying transnational networks and communities, less so in studying the outcome of individuals' contacts and experiences. To tackle this challenge, the emerging scholarship of 'entangled history' has proved rather useful. Again, clearly distinct from traditional international history, this area of scholarship has a growing number of practitioners, particularly among historians of the Americas and of the media. It was first established in Germany and in France (where it is known as *histoire croisée*) mainly through a seminal article by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann that in 2006 highlighted commonalities and differences with other relational approaches²³ and that within a year served to trigger a debate in two forums of *The American Historical Review* and other publications about 'centre-peripheries' dichotomies and the limitations imposed by the Atlantic rubric. The latter led to a call to acknowledge the existence of 'hybrid Atlantics' shaped as much by the cross-cultural encounters and mixed identities of extra-national groups like smugglers, Jews and slaves than by the power of European states.²⁴ Together with sister perspectives such as global and transnational history, entangled history tends to question the absolute centrality of national borders and to focus on processes of non-state-based exchanges. Rather than insisting on the comparability of chosen subjects, this approach is sensible to the interplay of three factors: the dynamics of mutual influencing (one side influencing the other and vice versa), reciprocal and/or asymmetric perceptions (for example Protestants and Catholics often tended to considering the 'other' as a threat, yet one side may have had a different view of what constitutes a threat in the first place), and crucially, the intertwined processes of constituting one another.²⁵ Unlike other relational approaches that continue to focus exclusively on the impact that Europeans had on Americans, Asians and Africans, or on the representations of the latter by the former or vice versa, entangled histories look into the modalities and outcomes of intercultural connectedness.²⁶ The entanglement approach owes much to theoretical discussions that form part of the 'Spatial Turn' in history as it interprets space not as something given, but as the result of relational processes. To be able to grasp the contours of this space, we need to leave behind in our minds flat – geographical maps to think a little along the way of the social media that operates in an intangible, yet very real space that does not recognize traditional physical and sovereign borderlands.

Entangled history centres on the interconnectedness of societies, or to put it simply, on what results from their contact and interaction.²⁷ For our purpose, the Hispanic-Anglosphere is a space that becomes only alive through the activities of individuals, networks and communities, regardless of their place of birth or physical location at the time.

The collection of case-studies in Section I of this book and the short biographies and samples of material culture selected to offer a taster of entangled lives in Section II constitute a selection of the best peer-reviewed work produced by members of the Hispanic-Anglosphere network applying the entanglement criteria. Contributors bore in mind warnings about the ‘danger of the archives’, that is to say, the erasing, misplacing and misfiling of documentation that has tended to obscure and fix narratives of isolation.²⁸ They also combined little explored primary research with a wide range of secondary sources to produce original material in a style capable of appealing to scholars, students and, particularly in the case of Section II, to the general reader alike.

As in this introduction, chapters in Section I have been prepared following norms of detailed reference citation familiar to scholars. Arranged in a loose chronological sequence, they offer substantial new insights on a diverse range of subjects, but each one deals with a different topic that constitutes a complete discussion in itself. In Chapter 1, readers will be able to trace the way and the extent to which the word ‘colonies’ – never employed in the legal codes of the Spanish Monarchy to refer to its overseas dominions – came to be applied to the Hispanic context through increased entanglement with the Anglo world. The absence from the Spanish juridical lexicon had political implications highlighted by the decree of 22 January 1809 which famously stated that the American dominions were neither ‘colonies nor *feitorias*, but an essential and integral part of the Spanish Monarchy’.²⁹ The lodging of the term appears to have taken place in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries with a shift in meaning within the Anglophone world and by formulations of the Hispanic world produced in Ireland, where its own ‘colonial’ status and designation was a subject of controversy. The chapter also shows how the term was strongly resisted by Spanish Americans who wanted to preserve the integrity of the Spanish Monarchy model of global governance. Insights into the globalizing power of the English language and a glimpse into a one-size-fits-all understanding of how global polities operated that was prevalent at the time in the Anglo world are as well in offer. The role of the British Isles as the key meeting point for the global Hispanic world during this period comes sharply into focus here, as indeed does too in Chapter 2, where Andrey A. Iserov provides a detailed narrative of the organization of Francisco de Miranda’s *Leander* expedition (1805–7) which constituted the first deliberate attempt to trigger a revolution in

Spanish America. The *Precursor* lived on and off in London for twenty years. This study traces the outcome of his relations with British civil and naval officials both there and in British Caribbean possessions adjacent to the Spanish Main (Trinidad, Barbados and Grenada), throwing light into the key role played by British volunteers and their often conflicting interaction with North American counterparts.

In Chapter 3, Ander Permanyer-Ugartemendia places the Hispanic element at the heart of the East Asian and Pacific opium trade through a study of the establishment of the firm *Yrisarri & Co.* and shows it, not as an exception to a narrative dominated by British actors, but as the tip of an iceberg emerging from the Hispanic-Anglosphere. In most works devoted to the Canton trade, Spaniards and Spanish Americans tend to be ignored or portrayed as being in the background yet the case of *Yrisarri & Co.* reveals an exchange of knowledge and practices through alliances that was essential for its evolution, particularly during the uncertain circumstances of the 1820s. Also looking into the Pacific basin, Andrés Baeza Ruz suggests in Chapter 4 that hybridity in the provision of education rather than the *Estado Docente* (Teaching State) should perhaps be considered as the permanent feature of Chile's educational system, a conclusion to which he arrived after studying the adoption in 1821 of the Monitorial method of education developed in the British Isles in an effort to expand primary schooling throughout the new republic. Alternatively known as mutual or Lancasterian, the latter on account of its main promoter Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838), this system blended religion with basic literacy instruction and had a dynamic that seemed particularly suited to countries with scarce resources because it involved the recruitment of a very small number of teachers and operated on the basis of philanthropic action, particularly at local level. At a time when private education in the Hispanic world was interpreted more as a not-for-profit enterprise than as a free market-orientated activity and with a long heritage of religious involvement in the field, the Lancasterian approach was ripe to be tested both in the Americas and in Europe. In Chapter 8, José Manuel Menudo tells us how it was embraced and adapted in Spain during the Liberal Triennium (1820–23), along with other methods, in an effort to mitigate poverty and encourage social inclusion and mobility that would only take credible shape later in the century. He argues that the entire liberal education project in Spain was based on an eclectic system designed by Pablo Montesino (1781–1849) during a decade of exile in Britain that turned this rural doctor into one of the most important pedagogues of the nineteenth century. This study also offers tantalizing insights into the experience of other exiles. We learn that Montesinos sought to integrate himself into British society through his friendship with the physician Mateo Seoane Sobral (1791–1870) who incorporated Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian approach to ideas for the promotion of public healthcare that, back in Spain, were applied to the field of education when he established the School of Deaf-Mutes in Madrid. Montesino also worked with an

enthusiastic collaborator, the naturalist and economist Ramón de la Sagra (1798–1871) who promoted the creation of a nursery school for the children of the employees of the *Fábrica Nacional de Tabacos de Madrid*, the national factory of tobacco and cigarettes of Madrid, that opened in 1841 following on the tracks of the experience of the Welsh textile manufacturer, philanthropist and social reformer Robert Owen (1771–1858) on the provision of nursery education in his own factories as a means to improve working conditions and encourage harmonious social relations.

Philanthropy figures highly among the themes covered in Chapter 5 which traces the long and eventful route towards the development of Tynesfield, a spectacular country residency near Bristol, England, through an exploration of the private and public life of its founder, William Gibbs (1790–1875), based mainly on neglected archival material. Particularly highlighted are the roles played by women, emotional attachments, prejudices and epidemics in shaping the destiny of the man, his country retreat and the business practices of the company that he directed. The chapter looks into the background of his formative years in Spain, the roots of his religious and aesthetic philanthropy in Britain and the measures he undertook with his brother George Henry Gibbs (1785–1842) to transform the family company *Antony Gibbs & Sons* into a global commercial powerhouse with permanent agents throughout Europe and the Americas. By demonstrating that these developments took place long before the signing of the series of contracts by which the government of Peru granted to the family firm exclusive rights to import guano (bird manure) to the United Kingdom, this study shows that the repeated assertion according to which the Gibbs had made their fortune ‘by selling turds of foreign birds’³⁰ is inaccurate and an example of the kind of reductionism that has contributed to keep us blind to a more nuanced and diverse past. Far from relying on the fate of a single commodity, the Gibbs had their hands on a wide range of activities and participated in the globalization of many natural resources. The expansion of their business in the Americas, for example, was largely determined by the desire to acquire quina (Cinchona) bark, the ‘wonder drug’ used for the treatment of fevers, originating from a large shrub that could only be found in the Andean region of South America – that is, until seeds were smuggled out by Charles Ledger (1818–1905) to be successfully grown and commercialized by the Dutch in Asia, as Helen Cowie points out in Chapter 6 where she draws wider conclusions about the interplay of scientific knowledge, bio-piracy and imperialism during the nineteenth century. Focusing on one particularly coveted species, the alpaca, she considers why British subjects came to see acclimatization as desirable and how they exploited their involvement in the Hispanic-Anglosphere in order to achieve that goal, thus setting in motion biological and technological innovations that altered landscapes, rural practices and the environment forever and at a global scale.

The way and the extent to which the views of British-settled communities shaped and animated public opinion is assessed in Chapter 7 by Juan I. Neves Sarriegui with a study of the English-speaking press in the River Plate. He throws light on the pioneering work of Thomas George Love (c.1792/3–1845) who published *The British Packet and Argentine News*, a weekly English-language paper from 1826 until his death in 1845. Assumptions about the existence of a homogeneous, blindly patriotic, London-led British community are soon discarded as we learn that many individuals and networks developed independent views as a function of their increased entanglement with host societies. During the Anglo-French blockade of the River Plate in the 1840s, for example, *The British Packet and Argentine News* gave voice to many among the British merchant community in Buenos Aires who openly criticized British official policy. The circulation of bilingual papers on both banks of the River Plate served to spread critical views and to generate discussions both within and outside British expat communities. Dissent of a much higher calibre, coupled with the hardening of migration laws across Western Europe and the Americas, explains the emergence in the 1890s of a what could hardly be considered as a settled group: a distinct Spanish libertarian community in Britain. Its presence increased in the wake of the so-called Montjuïc affair, the violent crackdown on anarchists that followed the explosion of a bomb during a religious procession in Barcelona in June 1896 and the attempt against the life of Prime Minister Antonio Maura in 1904. An English professor of languages, Bernard Harvey, was arrested in Paris for the attack a year later on King Alfonso XII (perpetrated as he returned from the opera) and found himself behind bars with a few Spanish anarchists who on release decided to join him and their Spanish comrades in Britain, including the Cuba-born Fernando Tarrida del Mármol (1861–1915).³¹ Arturo Zoffmann Rodríguez argues in Chapter 9 that, although quantitatively small, the anarchist community in London managed to galvanize spectacular solidarity campaigns against repression in their home country, bringing together a heterogeneous alliance of continental anarchist émigrés, British trade unionists and a broad array of progressives and freethinkers. Their peaceful activities in the public sphere achieved the highest point in 1909 when the arrest of the prominent pedagogue Francisco Ferrer Guardia (in Catalan, Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia, 1859–1909) was followed almost immediately by a death sentence. The plight of this radical thinker, who had visited London earlier that year and in 1898, attracted the interest of a few celebrities among British and Irish intellectuals including George Bernard Shaw, Arthur Conan Doyle and H.G. Wells and was widely condemned by the British press and in debates in the House of Commons. Indeed, massive public rallies demanding his acquittal took place not just in London, but also in Exeter, Sheffield and Leeds.³² A leading speaker in the Trafalgar Square rally was Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852–1936), the first Socialist member of Parliament in the United Kingdom (where he had

gained a seat as a Liberal for North-West Lanarkshire) and future founder and first president of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP).³³ Known as ‘*Don Roberto*’ on account of his life as a *gaucho* in Uruguay and Argentina after travelling to South America at age seventeen, Cunninghame Graham not only died in Buenos Aires while visiting friends in 1836³⁴ but was also among the assiduous correspondents of the Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno that Cristina Erquiaga Martínez investigates in Chapter 10. By focusing on the subject matter of the letters received by Unamuno from 1897 until his death, also in 1936, we can gain an understanding of the inner thoughts, opinions, frustrations and hopes of his correspondents as well as of the topics of shared interest such as doubts about the existence of God amid the suffering caused by the First World War, the materialism of the post-war era, the rise of nationalism and campaigns for female suffrage. Not all British correspondents wrote admiringly. Alice Cruddai, an English resident in Buenos Aires, eloquently criticized his stance against female vote. But a good number of letter writers, including many who had never met Unamuno in the flesh, approached the thinker in search of a guiding light, a few affirming that they had found in his writings a deeper meaning for their own personal lives.

Section II of this book, entitled ‘Entangled Lives: A Taster’, offers a range of short articles that both add information and bring to the fore more plainly many of the connections analysed earlier in the volume. Readers will find 25 biographies and seven instances of interpreted material culture (prints, manuscripts, objects, images, locations). The individuals covered in the biographies were selected under the sole criteria that they should be non-canonical figures and that their experiences could provide evidence relating to a wide spectrum of topics and thematic areas such as trade, the military, journalism, education, science; emancipation movements; anti-slavery; activism; biodiversity; the arts; translation, among many others. In-text references have been provided for all quotes, and sources have been listed along with suggested secondary readings at the end of each entry, not just to ease reading in general, but mainly for pedagogical purposes. In light of the restrictions created by the Covid-19 emergency, particular effort was placed in identifying material that can be reached through open access in the Internet. It is hoped that this volume will be consulted by undergraduates working in the Humanities, including those interested in world, global, international, transnational, European and Latin American history as indeed also for those seeking to be specialized on the history of the British Isles (where the study of the Hispanic-Anglosphere should find a place), Social, Economic and Cultural History and that linguists, cultural anthropologists, experts in law and in cultural heritage will find it also of interest.

Public Engagement: A Key Approach

Academics have the social responsibility to produce work that is meaningful to the wider community, but this is far from an easy task. The

traditional approach to public engagement has been to reduce it to an exercise of translating published scholarly research into some sort of common parlance – a task often left in the hands of third parties. In the Hispanic-Anglosphere project, we decided to allow the public to get involved in the research process itself. Invited to join the network from the start, the contribution made by non-academics has been of paramount importance for shaping our research. The partnership we established with the National Trust – Tyntesfield, near Bristol, England, within and beyond the framework of the funding received from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC),³⁵ marked the difference. With 5.6 million members, The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, commonly known as the National Trust, is Europe’s largest conservation charity. Tyntesfield is one of the 500 historic properties, gardens and nature reserves including 670,000 acres of open countryside and 530 miles of coastline that the organization has been looking after since established in 1895.³⁶ Many locations under its remit are associated with the Hispanic-Anglosphere, but Tyntesfield is probably the one where its presence can be appreciated more easily because it is embedded in the very fabric of the building and through its content. The development of the Hispanic-Anglosphere concept was at the centre of two international academic workshops that were intertwined with research visits and two public events at Tyntesfield (4–6 November 2017 and 22–24 June 2018). These meetings brought together scholars from the United Kingdom, Spain, Argentina, Chile, United States, Italy, Canada and Russia with volunteers of the National Trust and the general public (Figure 0.1).

Conversations around ways of thinking about the British Isles vis-à-vis the global Hispanic world continued through our online platform



Figure 0.1 A snapshot of the research visit that preceded the public event on 23 June 2018 (photo by the author taken by courtesy of NT-Tyntesfield).

(<http://hispanic-anglosphere.com>), where we initiated the systematic identification of individuals, networks and communities with a view to thematically mapping and studying little known instances of entanglement. Under the section 'Individuals', we have at the moment listed 96 key men and women who operated and/or contributed to the Hispanic-Anglosphere, providing new evidence-based and peer-reviewed biographical information for 33 in abridged form. The objective of encouraging engagement with the interpretation of archival, audio-visual and material evidence by bringing them to a wider audience not just for dissemination but also for potential input and review has been more explicitly addressed under the rubric 'Public History' that gives access to two sections: 'Resources' and the online exhibition 'Exploring the Hispanic-Anglosphere'. The latter contains at present thirteen interactive panels, a few that served as drawing boards for the texts that the readers will find in Section II of this book. Under 'Resources', we made available archival, bibliographical and other material including a database compiled by Professor Matthew Brown (University of Bristol) of 3,000 English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh and other European adventurers who fought as volunteers in Gran Colombia (c.1810–30), information about Latin American exiles in London and a guide to relevant records available in the island of Jersey Archive including documents about the assistance received by Spanish political refugees living in the island between 1828 and 1831, a few of them mentioned in Chapter 8.

Through participation in one of our workshops, we learnt from Trude Foster, an archivist in Jersey, about the curious case of Dora Cleopatra María Lorenza de Orellana (1847–1927) who was born in the Channel Islands. She was the daughter of Ignacio de Orellana, a Colonel in the Spanish army that became a political refugee in the aftermath of the Liberal Triennium (1820–23). We found Dora recorded as a four-year-old girl, residing at Fernando Po Cottage, Dorset Street, St Helier in the 1851 census.³⁷ On 22 February 1869, she married Reverend Ralph William Lyonel Tollemache, an eccentric widower who decided to extend his family surname to become Tollemache-Tollemache. Ralph was already father to at least five children from his first marriage. He and Dora added nine more, all with extraordinarily long first names borrowed and adapted from medieval royal dynasties as well as having the double surname. While it has been difficult to verify claims made in social media that theirs' are the longest names in the world, suffice to say that their fourth child (1876–1961) was baptized as Lyulph Ydwallo Odin Nestor Egbert Lyonel Toedmag Hugh Erchenwyne (The) Saxon Esa Cromwell Orma Nevill Dysart (Second) Plantagenet Tollemache-Tollemache. After publishing the story in our website, we were contacted by a relative, Susan F. Tollemache, who provided an image of the whole family taken on 7 October 1889 outside the vicarage at South Witham in Lincolnshire where the father and then the sixth child, Leo Quintus de Orellana Tollemache-Tollemache acted

as vicars for many years. Leo was to become one of the first casualties of the First World War.³⁸ At age 34, he fought as a volunteer with the rank of captain in the First Battalion of Lincolnshire and was declared 'missed in action' on 1 November 1914. His body was never found, but his name is among those listed in the Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial.³⁹ His younger brother Leone Sextus fought with the Leicestershire Regiment, but he was attending as Brigadier Major to the Third Australian Brigade, First Australia Division when he was also killed on 20 February 1917. He was buried at Dernancourt Communal Cemetery in the Somme, France where his name can also be found listed in a memorial.⁴⁰

It was by searching for more information in the Internet that we discovered buried within a family webpage the intriguing instance of an Afro-Hispanic person living in the British Isles, thus opening our eyes to a potentially important area of research. The page showed a Daguerreotype-style photo print in sepia of 'Carlos (Charles)', man servant to the merchant, diplomat and botanist George Frederick Dickson (1787–1859) who, allegedly, bought him as a slave in Buenos Aires.⁴¹ Brought to Britain aged 21, Dickson made him to be baptized on 12 April 1824 at the Anglican St George's Church in Everton, Lancashire, a year after baptizing in the same place his own three surviving children born in Buenos Aires (Frederick Cartwright, Thomas Ashton, Jane Elizabeth, all on 23 January 1823). Church records corroborated the information, in the case of Carlos with a troubling matter-of-fact wording: 'Baptism 12 April 1824, Charles/Abode: Everton/Notes: An African Negro bought at Buenos Ayres & bought (sic) to England about 21 years old'.⁴² Frustratingly, efforts to contact the authors of the family webpage, dormant since 2016, proved unsuccessful. We hoped that they could have given us access to the original photo and perhaps point us in the direction of information capable of throwing light on the experience of living in Britain as a Hispanic-Afro slave. It has been argued that slavery was all but abolished in the British Isles since the Somerset case in 1772, but the situation seems to have remained uncertain, particularly for foreigners, until the practice was fully outlawed in 1833.⁴³ Carlos was also coming from a place where hopes had been raised by a proclamation made during the May 1810 revolution that not only put an end to the slave trade but also declared free all new-born children of slaves, although the practice was not officially abolished until 1853.⁴⁴ Further archival research produced little of value, but according to Maxine Hanon, a 'Charles Dickson' was recorded as arriving to the port in Buenos Aires on 12 November 1846. She thought he could have been one of George Frederick Dickson's sons, but none of his children bore that name and it was not unusual for slaves to adopt the surname of their master, so we should not discard the possibility that Carlos (Charles) could have returned home.⁴⁵

Direct contact with the public served as a lightning-rod for wider conversations that not only resulted in many of the findings listed in this

book but also encouraged a root-and-branch reinterpretation of the Tynesfield estate and its vast collection – the largest of the National Trust. From being merely known as the neo-gothic country home of a wealthy Victorian English family, the estate is starting to position itself at the heart of a vibrant Hispanic-Anglosphere dating back to the late eighteenth century and reaching well into the twentieth century. The shift towards acknowledging the impact of the founder's interaction with a global Hispanic legacy came as a result of the activities of our research network. The experience drove the National Trust to change the wording of much of the literature relating to the estate, including the entry in the annual handbook distributed to their massive membership which in its 2020 edition, and for the first time since the trust acquired the estate in 2002, made explicit reference to its Hispanic-Anglo heritage through stating that:

(...) The richly decorated house contains 60,000 of the family's possessions, some collected by William Gibbs as he traded in the Hispanic world. Born in Madrid, William's story is one of long struggles with sacred debts, of young love, loss, a close-knit family and the making of a vast fortune (...).⁴⁶

The activities that nurtured this fundamental change included a one-day pilot event-exhibition dedicated to the 'Hispanic-Anglosphere in Tynesfield' (23 June 2018) consisting of a series of 'Hispanic tours' of the house through the use of a 'Hispanic Itinerary' map distributed in print form during the day and also downloadable from our network online platform, the tasting of food and drinks from both the global Hispanic world and the British Isles and a one-hour talk to launch the permanent online exhibition 'Exploring the Hispanic-Anglosphere'.⁴⁷ The latter served as rehearsal for the exhibition 'From Madrid to Tynesfield: A story of love, loss and legacy' that emerged from the cooperation of Susan Hayward, fellow network member and curator of the NT Tynesfield (see her testimony at the end of this chapter) and her team of committed assistants with myself and others in the network, particularly Dr José Brownrigg-Gleeson Martínez and Dr Andrés Baeza-Ruz. The launch of the exhibition (22 May 2019) marked the 229 anniversary of the birthday of the founder William Gibbs, and although the Covid-19 crisis has cast a shadow over the heritage sector in general, it was planned to last for at least two years with a view to be periodically updated with new findings from our own research. Sponsored visits by members of the network resulted in a number of new findings studied in this book as well as in the correct identification and interpretation of over twenty objects and dozens of items in the Tynesfield's library collection, a few that have been made accessible to the visiting public (Figures 0.2 and 0.3).



Figure 0.2 A poster announcing the launch of the online exhibition ‘Exploring the Hispanic-Anglosphere’ (photo by the author taken by courtesy of NT-Tyntesfield).

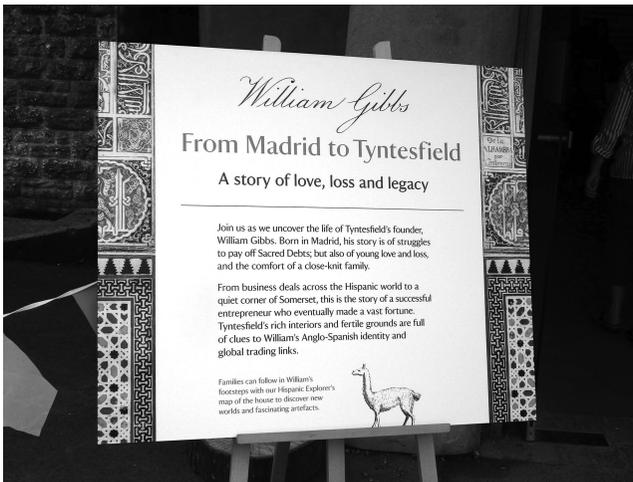


Figure 0.3 The announcement that greeted visitors to the opening of the exhibition ‘From Madrid to Tyntesfield: A story of love, loss and legacy’ on 22 May 2019 (photo by the author taken by courtesy of NT-Tyntesfield).

Some of the material from the case-studies presented in this book and from the network's public work have started to be incorporated into learning content and activities designed for undergraduate level in England.⁴⁸ Students themselves have contributed to the research through participation in the University of Winchester's apprenticeship programme (WRAP).⁴⁹ We also organized a public conversation aimed at both communicating our findings and generating debate with the public at large by tapping into the topical subject of 'transition' in the context of Brexit, the twilight of the modern Elizabethan era with the possibility of a male regency, the end of the fossil economy and the rapid growth of the so-called industries of the future (virtual reality, driverless cars, etc.). An event entitled 'Transition: tips and ideas from the Hispanic-Anglosphere (late 18th–early 20th centuries)' was held on 11 May 2019 at the Wessex Centre, a contemporary venue nestled in the beautiful inner close of the Winchester Cathedral. Three of the authors in this book (Dr Andrés Baeza Ruz, Dr Helen Cowie and myself) were joined by Prof. Eduardo Posada-Carbó (University of Oxford) and Prof. Natalia Sobrevilla Perea (University of Kent) in animating a discussion that was broadcasted live through a podcast from our online platform, thus reaching both a local and worldwide audience.⁵⁰ The Hispanic-Anglosphere concept placed itself also at the heart of public activities organized by external organizations. It featured highly, for example, in an event entitled 'Forgotten Histories' organized by Canning House, the leading organization that since 1943 promotes a greater understanding between Britain, the Hispanic and the Luso-Brazilian world.⁵¹ The meeting, held in London on 4 February 2020, had three key speakers Dr Charles Jones, Dr Carrie Gibson and myself and served to generate much interest among representatives of various diplomatic services, businesses with interest in Iberoamerica and the public at large, a few of whom are still to this day contacting us to offer information about relatives and other individuals who played a key role in forging the dynamic contours of the Hispanic-Anglosphere.

Re-interpreting Tyntesfield with the Hispanic-Anglosphere – A testimony

Susan P. Hayward

As the National Trust's Curator for Bristol, Tyntesfield is the largest of the sites that I care for. It was acquired by the Trust in 2002 for its significance as a rare example of a near-complete High Victorian country estate. It is still a relatively 'young' property in the Trust's portfolio of properties, with an active programme of research, documentation and conservation of its historic fabric and contents (the largest collection in the Trust). Tyntesfield stands on an elevated ridge commanding magnificent views over the Vale of Nailsea to the south and the Bristol Channel to the west, seven miles from the city of Bristol. Purchased in 1844 by the merchant William Gibbs (1790–1875), the Tyntesfield estate was the country residence of the Gibbs family for 150 years and a much-needed retreat for a busy London-based merchant, cocooned in a corner of the North Somerset countryside. William and his wife Blanche adapted their relatively modest country house to the needs of their growing family, installing modern comforts and improving the grounds. It was almost 20 years later, in the early 1860s, that they commissioned the architect John Norton (1823–1904) to completely transform their home in the High Victorian Gothic style. The resulting architecture was Norton's finest work in the Gothic Revival style with sumptuous interiors, designed by J.G. Crace, decorator to Queen Victoria. When I took up post late in 2015, I was bowled over by the drama of Norton's Gothic masterpiece and the picturesque beauty of the 563-acre estate, a quintessential English country seat – or so I initially thought.

In the summer of 2016, I was contacted by Dr Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, Senior Lecturer in Modern European and Global Hispanic History at the University of Winchester. Graciela was planning a visit for her students and suggested that we meet up to discuss Tyntesfield in the context of her work. I leapt at the chance to gain new insights into the global world in which Tyntesfield's founder had operated, after all this is where the money had come from!

Little did I know that the resulting visit, and subsequent conversations, would shift my understanding and ultimately result in the re-representation of the property. William Gibbs was born on 22 May 1790 at 6 Calle Cantaranas, Madrid (or so we thought),⁵² coincidentally a neighbourhood with

strong literary associations. The great Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) had lived at number 2. William was the son of Antony Gibbs, a woollen merchant from Exeter, who had based himself in Spain importing cloth from British manufacturers and exporting wine, citrus fruits and other luxuries to the United Kingdom. This much I knew. I was also familiar with the group of fine seventeenth-century Spanish paintings that adorned walls and some pieces of Spanish furniture arranged around the house.

I took Graciela on a tour of the house, asking her to point out items of interest as we went round. I showed her William's Spanish motto carved into the cornice of the oak-panelled library and the spectacular *St Lawrence holding his Gridiron* by Juan Luis Zambrano (1598–1639) that towered over the hall. Upstairs I led her through the Flaxley Bedroom, a room piled high with the accumulated belongings of four generations of the Gibbs. It was here that Graciela virtually exploded with excitement 'Wow, you have a Cubero!' She was pointing at a Spanish figure on horseback, sitting on top of Richard, Lord Wraxall's radiogram. What I had presumed it to be a mere tourist trinket, turned out to be the work of José Cubero Gabardón of Malaga (1818–77), a rare survivor in superb condition, thanks to the protection afforded by its Victorian glass dome. This sculpture, with its intricate polychrome paintwork, is made from very friable terracotta and is incredibly fragile. Graciela explained that the figure was probably a muleteer. Sitting side-saddle at a jaunty angle and garbed in typical Andalusian costume, he was armed with a pistol to defend the wine flasks tucked under his colourful saddle bag. Subsequent delving revealed further examples tucked away around the house.

With Graciela taking the lead, a successful bid was made to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and Tyntesfield was soon part of an international research network alongside leading academics investigating the Hispanic-Anglosphere. In 2017, and again in 2018, Tyntesfield was delighted to host conference study days and public events, tapping into the knowledge of our partners to understand Tyntesfield in the context of the Anglo-Hispanic world.

Inspired by the opportunity to work with the academics, I embarked on a search of the collections, seeking out evidence of the Gibbs family's connections to the Hispanic world. On the shelves of the Library, we found William's Spanish copy of *Don Quixote*, a catalogue of Peruvian antiquities and the remarkable voluminous 1748 official report of a famous Franco-Spanish scientific expedition to South America. William spoke Spanish like a native and would often break into Spanish to explain a precise point or express emotion. It was touching therefore to also find Blanche's Spanish dictionary and her books on Spanish history, all evidence of her efforts to understand William's world.

With more academics on board, further revelations were to follow. In the panelling of the Boudoir or 'Mrs Gibbs' Room', the naturalistic fruit-wood carvings of flowers and fruits reflect the abundance of the grounds,

hardly surprising given that the Gibbs had made a fortune through its trade in Peruvian fertilizer and Chilean nitrates. However, the identity of a bell-shaped flower at the centre of this panelling was a mystery, at least until one of our academic partners noticed it, announcing that it was the national flower of Chile (*lapageria rosea*).⁵³ I shared the news with our Head Gardener, who smiled, saying ‘So that explains the one in the Kitchen Garden!’ – later showing me the living specimen, flourishing in the shelter of the garden walls.

William or ‘*Guillermo*’ Gibbs, as he was known, had spent his formative years living and working in Spain and Portugal, eventually forging an extensive trading network that spanned the global Hispanic and Lusitanian world. Whilst he eventually settled in England and created a rural haven for his family at Tyntesfield, this deep emotional connection with Spain never left him and was a major influence on the home and fertile pleasure grounds that he created for his family in rural Somerset. This story is pivotal to an understanding of Tyntesfield, so with my colleagues, I embarked on a project to shine a light on some of these objects in a series of vignettes throughout the house. The new displays opened on 22 May 2019, the 229th anniversary of William’s birthday!

Highlights include a pair of shimmering silver-gilt peacock-shaped incense burners, from Ayacucho, Peru, and a Book of Hours from the early 1500s, with an illuminated prayer to St James, Patron Saint of Spain. Once owned by François, marquis de Beauharnais, the French Ambassador to Spain in 1806, its early nineteenth-century Spanish silver repoussé binding, depicting scenes from the life of Christ. Personal favourites are a series of exquisite miniature portraits of William’s family, most on show for the first time. The Gibbs’s choice of artists is revealing. Some are by Sir William Ross (1794–1860), miniaturist to Queen Victoria; but others are the work of Antonio Tomasich y Haro (1815–91), a Spanish exile who became miniaturist to Isabel II and later Alfonso XII of Spain.

The house oozes William Anglo-Spanish identity once more, reflecting a more accurate and nuanced narrative that explains the unique atmosphere of Tyntesfield. None of this would have happened without that first revealing conversation with Graciela, a conversation that has sparked a continuing programme of enquiry.

Notes

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- 2 The project has been operating with the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom (AHRC) and the University of Winchester (UK) in partnership with the National Trust – Tyntesfield: Project AH/R002681/1 *The Hispanic-Anglosphere: Transnational Networks and Global Communities (18th–20th Centuries)*. For more details, please visit the network's online platform: <http://hispanic-anglosphere.com>.
- 3 Darrin M. McMahon, 'The Other Transatlantic Tie: The Hispanosphere,' *Orbis* 48, no. 4 (2004): 657–72.
- 4 James C. Bennett, *The Anglosphere Challenge: Why the English-Speaking Nations Will Lead the Way in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), *passim*.
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- 10 James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), esp. 6, 16; Stephen Turner, 'Anglosphericism,' *Journal of New Zealand Literature (JNZL)* 31, no. 2 (2013): 15–34.
- 11 Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 70; Wayne S. Cox and Kim Richard Nossal, 'The Crimson World' – The Anglo Core, the Post Imperial Non-core, and the Hegemony of American IR," in *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, eds. Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 287–307, esp. 287.
- 12 Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 18.
- 13 For a discussion on this point, see Nancy L. Green, 'The Trials of Transnationalism: It's Not as Easy as It Looks,' *The Journal of Modern History* 89 (2017): 851–74.
- 14 Adrian J. Pearce, *British Trade with Spanish America, 1763–1808* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), esp. 208–46. See also Matthew McCarthy, *Privateering, Piracy and British Policy in Spanish America, 1810–1830* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013); Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).
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 - 17 Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014); Matthew Brown, *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies: Simón Bolívar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).
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- 22 Rainer F. Buschmann, Edward R. Slack Jr., and James B. Tueller, *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World, 1521–1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014); Gregory T Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Arturo Giráldez, James Sobredo, and Dennis Owen Flynn, *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
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- 26 Ralph Bauer and Marcy Norton, 'Introduction: Entangled Trajectories: Indigenous and European Histories,' *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 1–17 (2017): 3.
- 27 Werner and Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison,' 32. See also Ana Crespo Solana, ed., 'Special Issue: Empires: Concepts and New Research on the Hispanic World, 16th–18th centuries – Imperios: Conceptos y Nuevas Investigaciones en el Mundo Hispánico, Siglos XVI al XVIII,' *Culture & History Digital Journal* 3, no. 1 (January–June 2014): 1–102, <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2014.009>.
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- 42 Register Baptisms, Lancashire, St. George's Church, 1814–1866, 35 – entry 273. A transcription of this record and of those relating to Dickson's children is also available at http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Liverpool/Everton/stgeorge/baptisms_1814-1824.html, accessed 20 May 2020.
- 43 William R. Cotter, 'The Somerset Case and the Abolition of Slavery in England,' *History* 79, no. 255 (1994), 31–56.
- 44 Leslie Bethell, *Argentina since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 25–6. The most thorough study of the Afro population in Buenos Aires remains that of George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).
- 45 Maxine Hanon, *Diccionario de Británicos en Buenos Aires*, 270.
- 46 *National Trust 2020 Handbook* (Swindon: Walstead UK Ltd for the National Trust, 2020), 109.
- 47 The map and further information about the event and the online exhibition can still be found under the rubrics 'News and Events' and 'Public History' at <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com>.
- 48 In the BA (Hons) degrees in History (Single and Combined Honours), History and the Modern World, and Politics and Global Studies at the University of Winchester, including field trips to Tynesfield incorporated within the first-year course HS1065 'Europe and the Americas: change and interchange (1763–1914)' and the second-year module 'HS2601 The Global Hispanic world (18th–20th centuries)'; a whole thematic area within the syllabus of the third-year in-depth courses HS3417 and HS3418 'The Age of Napoleon in global perspective', and the comparative module 'HS3729 Borderlands and Commodities in History' tackled through readings, class discussions and essays. The project also informed much of an educational trip to Madrid, Segovia and Salamanca (Year 2 – course HS2502 Field Trip, 21–26 April 2018).
- 49 The Winchester Research Apprenticeship Programme (WRAP) is a scheme for undergraduate students that provide opportunities to work on 'live' research projects alongside academics. Our research network benefited greatly from the grants awarded to Adam Nour Nour El-Din Hafez and Victoria Masters (2017–18) and Charles Ball (2018–19).
- 50 Full video images and the podcast recorded by an undergraduate under the WRAP scheme remain available in the online platform of the project at <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com/public-history/resources/transition-videos-of-the-public-event/>.
- 51 Information on this event is available at The Canning House website: <https://www.canninghouse.org/events/forgotten-histories-event>, last accessed 20 June 2020.
- 52 Research subsequently carried out by the Hispanic-Anglosphere network found this information and other assumptions, mainly based on interpretations of family accounts, not to be fully accurate, thus underlining the importance of the contribution made by the project. See Chapter 5 in this book and Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, 'The Birthplace of William Gibbs in Madrid,' *Exploring the Hispanic-Anglosphere, an Online Exhibition*, <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com/public-history/online-exhibitions/key-locations-the-birthplace-of-william-gibbs-in-madrid/>, accessed 25 May 2020.
- 53 See Andrés Baeza-Ruz and Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, 'Chile's National Flower at Tynesfield,' in Section II of this book.