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"Beautiful all year round".

The regenerationist image of Spain in the posters of the Patronato Nacional de turismo



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Throughout the twentieth century, tourist posters have played a key role in the transmission of Spain's image abroad. This article focuses on one of the periods in which they had a greater role: the end of the reign of Alfonso XIII, with the founding of the Patronato Nacional de Turismo. This historical time was an attempt to spread the rich diversity of Spain, in an effort to dismantle stereotypes that travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had created.

Spanish poster, tourist poster, tourist advertisement, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, image of Spain

The origins of the modern concept of tourism in Spain are linked to what was known as Regenerationism. As Ana Moreno Garrido¹ has highlighted, its first ideologists and advocates were middle class men, preoccupied by the economic, moral regeneration of Spain, who understood that tourism could play a crucial role in both processes.

As it is well known, the loss of the last of the Spanish colonies in America, in 1898, opened up a deep process of reflection among Spanish intellectuals, thus encouraging Regenerationism. This is a current of thought that, at the end of the nineteenth

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COSTA, J.: *Crisis política de España (Doble llave al sepulcro del Cid)* [Political Crisis of Spain (Lock El Cid’s grave by turning the key twice)] (D), Madrid, Imprenta de Fortanet, 1914, 3rd edition.

04

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MORENO GARRIDO, A.: *Historia del turismo español en el siglo XX* (History of Spanish Tourism in the Twentieth Century), Madrid, Síntesis, 2007, p. 63.

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GIL Y CARRASCO, E.: “Bosquejo de un viaje a una provincia del interior” (Sketch of a Journey to an Inland Province), in *Obras completas* (Complete Works), Madrid, Atlas, 1954, pp. 302-359.

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MESONERO ROMANOS, R.: “Panorama Matritense. Las Costumbres de Madrid” (Madrilian Panorama. The Customs of Madrid), in *Panorama Matritense. (Primera serie de las escenas). 1832-1835* [Madrilian Panorama (First Series of Vignettes). 1832-1835], Madrid, Imprenta de Aribau y Cia., 1881, p. 3.

09

The “black legend” comes from Julián Juderías, a historian, sociologist and collaborator with the Instituto de Reformas Sociales (Social Reform Institute). In 1913 he entered a competition called by the magazine *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, the work titled “La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: España en Europa” (The Black Legend and the Historical Truth: Spain in Europe). The work received an award and was published in the mentioned magazine, distributed across five issues that were published between January and February 1914.

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HERRERO, M., *op. cit.*, p. 276.

century and the beginning of the twentieth century, questioned the Restoration system. It campaigned to give up the myths of the glorious past of Spain, what Montserrat Herrero² would put as “breaking up with the old ideal of Spain”- while it advocated for the need of regenerating and modernising the economic and political systems of Spain, as much as its society. As Joaquín Costa proclaimed, it was necessary to “lock [the medieval knight] *El Cid*’s grave by turning the key twice”³. This would help bury a part of the past of Spain that did not allow to look forward, and that was to some extent responsible for the backwardness of the country and its economic stagnation. Modernisation had to be achieved through the development of education, Europeanisation, local autonomy and a new economic policy.

Regenerationism aimed at giving real solutions to national problems. That is why, lead by Joaquín Costa, along with Ricardo Macías Picavea, Lucas Mallada and Luis Moróte as their main representatives, the “regenerationists” dealt with subjects such as foreign affairs, government criteria, promotion of education and culture, hydraulic policies, agriculture, industry, commerce, and tourism, which was regarded as a modernising activity. It was perceived as a young, dynamic sector. This is how Carlos Arcos highlighted it, in his work *De las grandes ventajas que produciría el desarrollo del turismo en España* (On The Great Advantages That the Development of Tourism Would Produce in Spain), published in 1908⁴. In it, he staged that this was one of the ingredients of a country’s modern life, and an element that was both material and moral.

This way, according to Moreno Garrido, “the regenerationist discourse gave tourism solid arguments, since the new phenomenon would indubitably bring about progress and vigour, to recover the ‘battered country’. In fact, already in those early days, there was an insistence on the huge potential of Spain as a great tourist destination, talking about up to what point it was the in the country’s interest to specialise in it, thus discarding other wealth production sectors”⁵.

For the regenerationists, tourism would mean the creation and improvement of infrastructures, it would generate work places, it would encourage the arrival of foreigners, it would interest investors, favouring collaboration with international organisations, and it would allow the integration of Spain in the international scene. The latter aspects were particularly relevant for the regenerationist discourse, which was in favour of Europeanism, opposing the isolation of Spain. This way, Bartolomé Amengual (1866-1961) already in 1903 had defended in his book *The foreigners’ industry* that, “as the tourist industry does not exist, it is necessary to create it, since the travels of foreigners are

everybody’s interest: they interest the State, since one of its main duties is the increase of public and private wealth; they interest all provincial bodies and municipalities, for the same reasons; they interest every citizen without distinction of class or job, because the welfare of some depends, greatly, upon the welfare of others”⁶.

However, attracting foreigners meant transmitting them a certain image of the country. In this respect, it is necessary to remember that regenerationist thinkers and intellectuals of what was known as Generación del 98 (Generation of ‘98) also reflected on the identity of Spain and its role in modern civilisation. They were also aware of the country’s image that had been progressively constructed abroad throughout history. They opposed it, criticising foreign descriptions denigrating the Spanish character and its essence.

This critical attitude was not new. It had manifested itself along the nineteenth century, in the work of authors like Gil y Carrasco, who had highlighted the fact that foreigners insisted on “seeing in Spaniards nothing but Arabs”, discounting their history and achievements⁷, or like Mesonero Romanos who already in 1832 commented, “the French, English, Germans and the rest of foreigners have tried to draw up a moral description of Spain. However, they have either created an ideal country of pure romanticism or quixotism, or, disregarding the passage of time, they have described it not as it is now, but as it may have been when all Kings [named] Felipe [were rulers]. Thus, in many works published abroad in recent years, under pompose titles such *La España* (The Spain), *Madrid o las costumbres españolas* (Madrid or Spanish Customs), *El Español* (The Spaniard), *Viaje a España* (Journey to Spain), etc., the young of Madrid have been presented serenading with a guitar; women assassinating their lovers out of jealousy; young ladies dancing bolero, workers taking a break *from doing nothing* [...] while our most notable monuments and our most valued works of art sink. This way, the most sacred duties, religiousness, courage, friendship, frankness, constant love have been ridiculed and represented as stubbornness, concerns, foolishness and poverty of the spirit”⁸. All these platitudes corresponded to myths of a different Spain that had began to form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although it had a precedent in the sixteenth century, when a set of negative opinions started to form. It became known as the “Black Legend”⁹.

To deal with this, regenerationists and members of the Generation of ‘98 proposed as Montserrat Herrero, “A Spain which greatness would not be based upon what it does, but upon what it is. It it necessary to Hispanicize ourselves, to return to the substance of what we are”¹⁰. To this end, it was necessary to look

inside, especially towards the region of Castilla and their people in direct touch with the harshness of the land; it was necessary to look towards local Spanish heritage, culture, art and landscapes, searching for the “inner history” of Spain, since the image to be projected abroad would stem from it.

What best place to project it than the promotional elements that would accompany and encourage the new tourist industry, now fostered by the State, as proposed by the regenerationists? Among those promotional elements, the poster was particularly prominent; at the beginning of the twentieth century it already was one of the fundamental advertising media.

Tourism and tourist poster¹¹

As Alan Weill stated, “for the tourist poster to exist, first there must be tourism and posters”, which seems obvious but that “considerably narrows the limits of the tourist poster as a phenomenon [...] to mid-nineteenth century”¹².

Even though it could be argued that tourism is as ancient as humankind itself, in its modern conception, it stems from the Industrial Revolution, and the social, economic transformations that it triggered. Thus, the development of railways improved travelling by reducing the costs, time and risks associated to a journey. At the same time, hotels, shops, restaurants appeared, and the figure of the travel agent appeared, as for instance, Thomas Cook in Great Britain, who in 1841, organised the first railway journey.

Due to this evolution, according to Alan Weill, from the nineteenth century, “tourism became an industry to all effects, with ferocious competition, which forced companies to use advertising”¹³.

Up to the end of the 1880s, the most usual advertising media were magazine ads and leaflets, from then on, posters will become one more advertising tool. They will be conceived as a medium in which images will acquire special importance. According to Weill, “the point was to make people who had never travelled dream by showing them magnificent landscapes and elegant, lively holiday resorts”¹⁴. At the time, posters were one of the main media to achieve these goals, coinciding with the splendour that the aparition of lithography along with poster artists as important as Chéret first, and a little later Toulouse-Lautrec, Mucha or Steinlen, just to name a few of the reference figures of the end of nineteenth century.

However, if the poster had an utilitarian function that has influenced greatly many of its formal features, the tourist poster in particular also had to adapt itself to the spaces destined to tourist advertising, clearly diffentiated from those reserved for commercial advertising. Its space in stations and travel agencies determined its format and its “own, unmistakable features”, according to Weill¹⁵, such

as “the use of a single image of large dimensions” and the fact that “the main concern was to find ‘the point of view’ and to make an adequate montage”¹⁶. These traits have kept virtually unchanged up until today, although the media may have lost some of its importance, thus becoming just one more piece of the many that now comprise advertising campaigns.

The Patronato Nacional de Turismo

As we have mentioned earlier, the modern history of tourism in Spain goes back all the way to the end of the nineteenth century, when after the Disaster of ‘98, tourism is beginning to be perceived as a source of foreign capital, but also, as a way for the country to establish connections abroad, to avoid isolation. This is why, according to Carmelo Pellejero, “the main objective of the tourist policy of the first third of the twentieth century was to attract foreign tourists”¹⁷ and, if it did not enjoy a pre-eminent development, the different administrations up until the Civil War made it their business to control it and foster it.

The first Spanish tourist organisation was the *Comisión Nacional Permanente* (Permanent National Commission), which depended on the *Ministerio de Fomento* (Ministry for Development). *The Comisión* was created by King Alfonso XIII in 1905, and it had been proposed by the Count of Romanones. Its objective was to encourage artistic and recreational trips for the general public and foreign visitors. Its undertakings included the preparation and dissemination abroad of itineraries for visiting monuments and natural locations. To this end, the *Comisión* preferred leaflets and guides, there is no knowledge of any poster being edited then.

Later on, in 1911, the *Comisaría Regia de Turismo y Cultura Artística* (Royal Commission for Tourism and Artistic Culture) was established. It was active up until 1928. Its mission was to “bring about the development of tourism and to spread the knowledge of popular culture”¹⁸.

Some posters were printed in small editions, however the *Comisión* used other ways for tourist promotion, such as, for instance, the Spanish Tourism Exhibition, opened in London in 1914, under the title “Sunny Spain”. This was one of the main clichés that were associated to Spain’s tourist image ever since. A mural by artist Amalio Fernández was used for its promotion, along with informative material on cultural and natural attractions of the country. The magazine *La Esfera*, thus described the process of preparation towards the event, “It was certainly an arduous undertaking, since the risk of producing a vulgar pastiche, a pseudo-picturesque imitation was high. This would have contributed to perpetuate abroad those tambourine and fan traditions, which are so close to the real Spain as an industrial trading

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For a history of the tourist poster Weill, A.: *L’invitation au voyage. L’affiche de tourisme dans le monde*, París, Somogy / Éditions D’ art, 1994.

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WEILL, A.: “El cartell turístic: una mirada internacional” (The Tourist Poster: an International Outlook), in *VV.AA.: Imatge i destí. Cartells turístics de les comarques gironines*, (Image and Destination. Tourist Posters of the Gerona Area), Museu d’Art de Girona, 2003, p. 19.

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WEILL, A., *op.cit.*, p. 20.

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Ibidem.

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Weill, A., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

16

Ibidem.

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PELLEJERO MARTÍNEZ, C.: “La política turística en la España del siglo XX: una visión general” (Tourist Policy in Spain in the Twentieth Century: a General Vision), in *Historia Contemporánea*, no. 25, 2002, p. 234.

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Quoted by MORENO GARRIDO, A., in “Turismo de élite y Administración turística de la época (1911-1936)” (Elite Tourism and Tourist Administration of the Time), *Estudios Turísticos*, no. 163-164 (2005), p. 32.

card to a painting created by a true artist”¹⁹. These words highlight the general concern, especially after 1898, for the image of Spain projected abroad.

It will not be until the creation of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* (National Tourist Board), in 1928, when the poster began to have a leading role in the tourism promotion of Spain. Appointed by the *Ministerio de la Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros* (Ministry of Presidency of the Cabinet of Ministers), it was created under the military dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera, by the Royal Decree 745/1928, April 25th. It absorbed all the roles of the *Comisaría Regia de Turismo*, but also “the preparation of Spain for tourism along with the advertisement of Spain both in the country as abroad, to encourage national and foreign tourism”²⁰. Also, the second article of the Royal Decree indicated that among the objectives of the organism was to spread a knowledge of Spain in all its aspects, “fostering the publication of guides, catalogues, adverts, itineraries, etc., within our territory and abroad, both directly or commissioning this important service partially or totally”²¹. To this end, the *Patronato* promoted and supported tourist advertising, aware that tourism was a source of wealth, but also, to use a wording of the time, a source of “national prestige”.

Although in its beginnings, the *Patronato* barely had a money advance, in 1929 its situation improved and it managed to invest an important amount in advertising²². This resulted in an excellent advertising campaign, also the most intensive that had been carried out up to then in Spain. If until that moment the official tourist administration had never used posters as a promotional element, now the *Patronato* started off a new trend in the promotion of tourism, lasting all the way to our days.

From our current outlook, this period can be regarded as a golden age for tourist posters in Spain, since the *Patronato* would count with some of the more important illustrators and artists of the time. Among them we shall mention Rafael de Penagos (1889-1954), Salvador Bartolozzi (1882-1950), Federico Ribas (1890-1952), Carlos Sáenz de Tejada (1897-1958), José Loygorri (1889-1953), Colde Guezala (Antonio de Guezala, 1889-1956), Antonio Moliné (1907-1936), Enrique Moneny (1903-1973), Ramón Gaya (1910-2005), Daniel Vázquez Díaz (1882-1969), José Robledano (1884-1974), Josep Renau (1907-1982), Pascual Capuz (1882-1952), Antonio Vercher (1900-1934), Eduardo Santonja Rosales (1899-1966), Francesc d’Assís Galí (1880-1965), Hipólito Hidalgo de Caviedes (1902-1994), Mariano Bertuchi (1884-1955), Francisco Hohenleiter (1899-1968), Baldrich (Roberto Martínez-Anidó Baldrich, 1895-1959), Joaquín Vaquero (1900-1998), Juan Miguel

Sánchez (1900-1973), Alfonso Castelao (1886-1950), Ricardo Verdugo Landi (1871-1930), Aristo Téllez (Cristóbal Fernández, 1888-1951) and Rafael Díaz-Jara (1900-1973).

The Patronato’s posters in its monarchic period (1929-1931)

During the first *Patronato* campaign (1929) twenty-five promotional posters on different “themes” were published. All of them followed the same line to present and promote Spanish cities, their art through their monuments, and more particularly the landscapes of the country. They were printed in Spanish, English, French and German. They were originated by a call of the *Patronato*, which wanted to decorate its pavillion in the Ibero-American Exposition of Seville with posters representing each of the Spanish provinces.

First posters

As described by Rocío Herrero Riquelme²³, at the beginning of 1929 the people in charge of the different branches of the *Patronato* contacted some of the most important painters and artists of the time, to commission each artist a poster for 500 pesetas.

Perhaps aware that the pay was not too high, since some of the artists would usually charge a lot more, as it was the case of Federico Ribas, for instance, the conclusion was the following, “[...] Considering that an open ‘competition’ would not have the desired outcome, since the aims is to represent all provinces by the most renown artists in this particular genre, also considering that the original posters would be very useful to the *Patronato*, after the exposition, for an advertising of the entire nation, the sum of 500 pesetas for each one is set, with an option to five awards of 1,000 pesetas, the only way to estimate the best artists [...]”²⁴.

Some of the guidelines given to the artists were that they were free to chose any media and any amount of colours. However, the format had to conform to dimensions of 1.25 x 1.00 meters, portrait format, with no margins. A space of 25 cm at the bottom had to be reserved for the name of the province, along with the name of the *Patronato* at a smaller font size. The themes should revolve around monumental or natural sights of the province. This was in tune with the regenerationist ethos posing knowledge of historic, monumental and natural heritage as ways to understand and love Spain and its culture²⁵.

Matching the number of Spanish provinces, fifty-one posters were displayed in the *Patronato*’s pavillion of the Ibero-American Exposition. The members of the jury were the painter Gustavo Bacarissas (1873-1971), the art critic José Francés (1883-1964), the historian and art critic Ángel Vegue y Goldoni, who decided to award Juan Miguel Sánchez for his

poster “Sevilla” (Seville) (Fig.4), Josep Renau for “Baleares” (Balearic Islands) (Fig. 1), Federico Ribas “Barcelona”, Carlos Sáenz de Tejada for “Córdoba” (Fig. 6) and Ricardo Verdugo Landi for “Málaga”. The ones that received a special mention were Rafael de Penagos for “Álava”, Alfonso Castelao for “Coruña”, Aristo Téllez for “Palencia”, Antonio de Guezala for “Vizcaya” and Baldrich for “Toledo”.

These and other posters that the jury estimated to be of high quality were reproduced in what was the first promotional campaign of the *Patronato*²⁶. Considering the future use of the posters, the jury had into account that they had to meet the standards of international tourist posters, since they were destined to compete with foreign posters. As stated in the minutes of the jury, “The peculiarities of tourist advertising, tackled for the first time in Spain, with great zeal, to be an effective competition of foreign advertising inclined the jury to choose, among the exhibited posters, the most expressive ones, within the several modalities of the universal tourist poster, thus awarding the ones that the jury considered the best of those characteristics, since these Spanish posters will have to compete against foreign ones, with its wide, plural diversity of styles”²⁷. A few lines later, in the definition of the conditions of the tourist poster, the jury specified that it should not be “a pretty image, illustration for a leaflet or another publishing media”²⁸. This highlights the fact that there were already some codes characteristic of the tourist poster, as Weill would put it, those “own, unmistakable features” to which we have already referred.

As it would happen with most of the posters produced by the *Patronato*, this first campaign was targeting an upper class tourist whose precedent could be found in the traveller of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, it shall be mentioned that it will not be until after the Second World War that we could talk about mass tourism. They are, therefore, posters for an elitist tourism, of high social level and a high spending power, that not necessarily would travel in the summer. Thus, their code is refined, close to painting, set far from the formulas of commercial posters.

This very orientation will be followed in posters produced after 1930, when the use of photography was added to illustration. Thanks to the impulse that it received from the artistic vanguards, throughout the first third of the twentieth century, photography was considered already an innovative, efficient way to catch the eye of the public. This would be not overlooked by those in charge of tourist promotion. Perspectives, light and shadow compositions, even the absence of colour were perceived in all its aesthetic possibilities, since they allowed to show reality with renewed beauty²⁹.

Formal features

Returning to the posters developed by painters or illustrators between 1929 and 1931, They belong to diverse aesthetic strands, such as pictoric regionalism in the case of Roberto Domingo and Carlos Sobrino (Fig. 3), noucentism in Francesc Galí or a certain futurism in Antonio Guezala. However, most of them in general, could be ascribed to Art Déco. This lends them a certain modernity, not reaching any vanguardism, that, on the other hand, may not be adequate for a poster which very specific goal, displaying local artistic and natural attractions, was far from the experimentation of the avant-gardes.

The posters for the *Patronato*, though, are set at a distance from traditionalist figurative art like Art Nouveau, which was chronologically close. In them elemental strokes, simple lines, large areas in flat colours and two dimensions predominate. These are all features linked to geometric abstraction as proposed by Russian constructivism, neoplasticism and the Bauhaus school. They are generally matched with modern typographies, mostly *sans serif*, and decorative fonts of a geometric matrix, with some inclusion of calligraphy.

Colour is treated smoothly. This is a feature that distances them from baroque tenebrism and colourism alike, both of these had been associated by the intellectuals of the Illustration and the Romanticism with a certain idea of what was “Spanish”. On the other hand, all of them display a will to show a certain “local colour”, linked to the geographic area that they are presenting. For instance, the luminosity of the Mediterranean, Castilian sobriety, etc. Actually, this corresponds indubitably to an attempt to reflect the “soul” of the place, in line with the concerns of regenerationism on national identity and the reflections of how to achieve the regeneration of the country through the regional and local spheres.

These posters aimed to introduce the rich diversity of Spain, not only from an iconographic point of view, but also through the use of formal treatment of each of the “themes”. They sought to break those uniforming stereotypes that foreigners had created, which were, as stereotypes always are, a sketched image lacking nuance. Regenerationism defended diversity within Spain, with different gradients and readings (administrative, cultural, political) although within one country.

Poster illustrators

Among the poster illustrators there were some *costumbrista* painters (for instance, Hohenleiter, however, it is not by chance that most of the posters were commissioned to artists close to the avant-gardes (Hipólito Hidalgo de Caviedes —Fig. 2—, Vázquez Díaz or Josep Renau, for instance) and some of the most renown illustrators of the time, like Federico Ribas, Salvador Bartolozzi (Fig. 5),

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La Esfera, no. 24, June 13, 1914, quoted by Herrero Riquelme, R: “El cartel como instrumento de promoción en los inicios del turismo español (1900-1936)” (The Poster as a Tool for Promotion in the Beginning of Spanish Tourism), en JIMÉNEZ CABALLERO, J.L.; FUENTES RUIZ, P.; SANZ, C.: *V Jornadas de investigación en turismo, “Turismo y sostenibilidad”* (Fifth Congress on Research on Tourism, “Tourism and sustainability”), Sevilla, Edición Digital@tres, p. 183.

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“Primeras Memorias de los Trabajos realizados por el Patronato de Turismo, desde julio de 1928 a 31 de diciembre de 1929” (First Minutes of the Work Developed by the Tourist Board, since July 1928 to December 31st, 1929) (Madrid, 1930. 247 p. 2), quoted by Jaimez Gago, M.I.: *Políticas públicas y turismo* (Public Policy and Tourism)Sevilla, Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Turismo, Comercio y Deporte, 2004, p. 59.

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Ibidem.

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According to Ana Moreno Garrido, the investment was of 4,000,000 pesetas, an important sum at the time. The same author published an article that may be consulted to know more about the funding of the *Patronato*, “El Patronato Nacional de Turismo (1928-1936). Cuestiones en torno a su financiación y actividad económica” [The National Tourist Board (1928-1936). On Its Funding and Economic Activity], IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Española de Historia Económica, in <http://www.um.es/ixcongresoaehe/pdfB13/El%20patronato.pdf>. [Fecha de consulta: 07/02/2012].

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HERRERO RIQUELME, R., *op. cit.*, p. 184.

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General Administration Archive, AGA (03)49.02-12.071 22/44.

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All these ideas had initiated and developed through nineteenth century hiking, as promoted by organisations like the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Institute of Education) that organised its first hiking trip around Madrid in 1878, the *Sociedad para Estudios del Guadarrama* (Society for Guadarrama Studies) (1886), the *Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (Spanish Hiking Society) (1893), among many other organism with regenerationist ideas.

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For their lesser interest, or their adaptation to the “conditions” of the tourist poster, the corresponding ones for the following locations were discarded: Álava, Alicante, Almería, Badajoz, Cáceres, Cuenca, Guadalupe, Guipúzcoa, Huesca, Las Palmas, Logroño, Navarra, Pontevedra, Santander, Segovia, Soria, Zamora, Zaragoza.

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In HERRERO RIQUELME, R., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

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Ibidem.

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Along with the posters, the *Patronato* created a photographic archive of those locations of tourist and cultural interest. The task was carried out by the *Sección de Propaganda y Publicaciones* (Propaganda and Publications Section) which worked with photographers such as the German photographer established in Spain, Otto Wunderlich (1886-1975), Josep Maria Lladó (1903-1956), Francisco Andrada (1894-1977) and Loty (Justin Marie Charles Alberty Jeanneret, 1885-?), among others.

Carlos Sáenz de Tejada, Baldrich, Eduardo Santonja Rosales or Rafael de Penagos. Many of them had lived in Paris or had international projection, since they collaborated with fashion magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar* or *Vogue*, as in the case of Sáenz de Tejada. After 1930, they would be joined by photographers Otto Wunderlich and Josep Maria Lladó.

They were modern artists and illustrators who had received artistic influences from abroad and were used to work in the new media: illustrated magazines, posters and advertising in general. The posters that they developed for the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* were aesthetically more conservative than most of their usual work for the mentioned media. However, their very selection to carry out these tourist campaigns implied that their institutional client wanted to transmit the quality of Spanish art production and its connection with the modern aesthetics of the time. Of course, at the same time, an application of the most radical avant-garde was avoided, which had not been completely accepted neither by the general public nor by the highest purchasing power sectors, who at the time actually were the embodiment of tourism.

Themes

Between 1929 and 1931, the year of the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic, the posters present the attractions of cities, provinces, regions and noted municipalities for its monumental or landscape values: Bilbao, Granada, Morocco, which was then a Spanish colony, Balearic Islands, Barcelona, Burgos, Cádiz, Málaga, Córdoba, Asturias, Huelva, Toledo, León, Madrid, Roncesvalles, Salamanca, San Sebastián, Santander, Sevilla (Seville), Valle de Arán (Aran Valley), Tarragona, Tenerife, Valladolid. Following this same line, several posters would be created for the recently founded "Paradores de Turismo"³⁰ (luxury hotels in historic buildings) of Gredos and Oropesa.

The images were also paired with a slogan summing up the "essence" of the place: "Madrid. The Centre of Spain and Court of Its Kings", "Granada. Alhambra y Sierra Nevada" (Granada. Alhambra and Sierra Nevada), "Barcelona. La capital del Mediterráneo" (Barcelona. Capital of the Mediterranean), "Burgos. Maravilla gótica. Tierra del Cid" (Burgos. Gothic Marvel. The Land of the Cid), "Balears. La isla de las maravillas" (Balearic Islands. The Island of Marvels), "Cádiz. Puerta de Europa" (Cádiz, Gate of Europe), "Córdoba. Cour des caliphes" (Córdoba. Court of the Caliphs), "Asturias. Scenery, Art, Mountaineering & Fishing", "León. Poema de luz y piedra. Tumba de reyes" (León. A Poem of Light and Stone. Tomb of Kings), "San Sebastián. Playa incomparable. Ciudad cosmopolita" (San Sebastián. Unrivalled Beach. Cosmopolitan City), etc... In some cases, they were also accompanied by the tagline "Visit Spain".

Although the general impression is that avoiding stereotypes is one of the guidelines, some of the posters make concessions to the picturesque and the romantic outlook, especially in the case of Andalucía. For instance, in the poster for Córdoba (Fig. 6) Sáenz de Tejada represents the arches of the Great Mosque and the Patio de los Naranjos (Orange Tree Courtyard), but we can also appreciate a man dressed in traditional Córdoba attire, with the cathedral tower at the background. Even the Spaniards romantic vision would be present, looking for the picturesque in their colonies like Morocco. In posters like the one by Mariano Bertuchi an everyday street scene in Tetuan is shown, with the slogan "Visitez le Maroc. Avec sa vie et types pittoresques" (Visit Morocco. With its picturesque lifestyle and characters).

From 1929 up until at least 1935, the posters advertise the country in general. Sometimes it is represented through places that remind us of the glorious imperial past, on other occasions the posters focus on monumental, artistic Spain or its Mediterranean quality. Among the first group we have one dedicated to Ávila and its medieval city walls, the poster is by Rafael de Penagos. Among the second group, the Mediterranean landscapes of Valencia and the Costa Brava are an example.

In some cases they are re-editions with a new slogan, to highlight qualities such as the beauty of the land, the fair weather ("L'Espagne est belle toute l'année") (Spain is beautiful all year round), reads the poster by Renau representing a Valencian landscape, which will be reprinted with a different slogan: "Spain. Glorious Spring" (Fig. 7), its Mediterranean orientation ("Fleurs et fruits de la Méditerranée") (Flowers and fruits of the Mediterranean, poster by Antonio Vercher, based upon an allegorical landscape rather than a real one) or the modernity of life in the country, as opposed to a stereotype of backwardness and bad travel conditions, carried over from previous centuries. Thus, the poster "Cordoba. Cour des caliphes" (Cordoba. Court of the Caliphs) by Sáenz de Tejada in 1929 would be re-used later on with the sentence "Emociones de arte e historia. Grata y fácil vida moderna" (Emotions of art and history. Pleasant, easy modern living)³¹ and, even later, partly referring to the perception abroad of Spain or particularly Andalucía as more Eastern than Western, it would be accompanied by the text, "Le Confort de l'Europe, la luxuriance de l'Afrique vous attendent en Espagne" (The comfort of Europe, the exuberance of Africa greet you in Spain).

The latter idea appears again in the photographic poster by Lladó of a view of the Gardens of the Generalife in the Alhambra of Granada, with the sentence, "The Romance of the east with the comforts of the west". On some occasions, the posters stress the diversity of Spain: "L'Espagne a mille visages...

en toutes saisons, vous en trouverez qui vous souriront" (The Spain of a thousand faces... In all seasons you will find a smile) (poster by painter Vázquez Díaz with an image of the Alcázar of Segovia). In others, what is present is the mentioned romantic outlook, "Spain: typical and picturesque, exuberant and delightful", as reads the slogan of a poster by Lladó with another image of the Alcázar of Segovia, this time a photograph. It seems obvious then that the members of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* were very aware of the image that foreigners had of Spain, and how to use it with the tourist, moving between platitudes and realities.

A common feature to all the posters produced by the organisation is that landscape is essential. It is even in the poster designed by Antonio Guezala that places the viewer in front of a modern scene in a balcony with a view of Abra beach in Bilbao (fig. 8). Although in this poster the main theme is the characters' leisurely time, the beauty of the background landscape is essential to understand the feeling of delight that the poster conveys.

Also, cities are "shown" through their landscape. Robledano, for instance, introduces us to Madrid -already a big city by then- through a view of the Toledo bridge over Manzanares river, in a scene where two of Madrid's most iconic monuments, the Royal Palace and the church of San Francisco el Grande can be appreciated amidst the greenery.

The landscape approach in these posters had to do indubitably with the concerns of the regenerationist intellectuals, whose ideas had partly resulted in the founding of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo*, informing its position towards tourism³².

It was in landscapes that these intellectuals believed to have found the essence of Spain, as the repeated presence of nature in the regenerationist imaginary reflects. Thus, the Spanish landscapes, also in connection with "what afflicts Spain", where an inspiration for scientific, literary and technical ventures of some of the most renowned regenerationists, like Joaquín Costa, José Macpherson, Ignacio Bolívar, Lucas Mallada, Casiano del Prado or Hernández-Pacheco among the most famous ones. They all believed that a love of nature would be a civic, educational motivator that would bring about true regeneration.

Landscape and nature were recurring themes in artists like Ignacio Zuloaga and the writers of the Generation of '98 like Azorín, Machado and Unamuno who had created literary visions of the Spanish landscape that were representative of the modern outlook on nature as proposed by the regenerationism of Giner de los Ríos and the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Institute of Education). Logically, then, landscape and nature, two of the foundations of a regenerationist patriotism reunited with the ter-

ritory, were going to be present in the posters of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo*, the organisation in charge of disseminating, especially abroad, a new image of Spain, more authentic and less stereotyped.

The Republican *Patronato's* posters (1931-1939)

The production of posters by the *Patronato* finished at the end of the Spanish Civil War, but up to the beginning of the war, the Republic followed the line set in 1929, using the posters that existed in offices and stores, although placing its emblem over the image of the crown in the original. It also reissued other posters and added some new ones. However, it is difficult to state which was its contribution, since, on the one hand, its production was also smaller than in the previous period, but also because Franco's regime ordered the destruction of all Republican material.

During the war, the *Patronato* continued its activity, but due to the circumstances of war, it was forced to change the theme of its posters. Of that period we have only known four posters (all from 1937), that are more war propaganda than tourism. They denounce the attack of fascist air forces to Spanish artistic heritage ("El Arte de España es un objetivo de la aviación fascista" [The Art of Spain is an objective of fascist air forces], by Ramón Gaya), they advertise the active role of the Republic in its defense ("El Arte en España 'botín del fascismo internacional' lo defiende la República" [The Art of Spain, international fascism booty, is defended by the Republic], by Rivero Aguirre) or illustrate slogans like "Para salvar el arte de España hay que aplastar el fascismo" (To save Spanish art, fascism must be crushed) and "Las Ruinas del arte de España son una acusación más contra el fascismo" (The ruins of Spanish art are one more accusation against fascism), the latter two are photographic and by anonymous authors. As Ana Moreno pointed out, "The elegant, delicate style that tourist advertising had in the years of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* was now reduced to moving political documents on the drama and cultural expropriation in war times"³³.

With Franco's victory and the end of the war (April 1st, 1939), ended a cycle in the history of Spanish tourism, but also a way to understand and transmit the image of Spain abroad. During the first years of the dictatorship the country closed its borders and controlled firmly all accesses, in fear of an infiltration of opponents to the regime. In the decade of 1950 the borders were opened again, this type to a new type of tourism, very different from the tourism in the previous stage: mass tourism. Spain thus entered a new era in which "sunbathing replaced wavebathing, and the masses took a liking to the Mediterranean, its warm waters and its sunny beaches"³⁴.

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"Regeneration" and "Europeanisation" were in line with the interests of a power elite that began to regard tourism as a regenerative force from the economic, social angle. See Pack, S.D.: "Tourism, Modernisation, and Difference: A Twentieth-Century Spanish Paradigm", in <http://www.ucm.es/info/historia/ortega/3-07.pdf>, p.1. [Date of search: 28/11/2013]. The inclusion of Spain in the European tourist trails was perceived as a way to integrate it in the continent, and to modernise it, in a pragmatic attempt to overcome the national decadence, be it real or perceived, according to Pack.

³³ MORENO GARRIDO, A., *Historia del turismo español en el siglo XX* (History of Spanish Tourism in the Twentieth Century), *op. cit.*, p. 140.

³⁴ MORENO GARRIDO, A., *Historia del turismo español en el siglo XX* (History of Spanish Tourism in the Twentieth Century), *op. cit.*, p. 136.

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The first of the Paradores de Turismo was created in the Mountains of Gredos in 1926. It was followed by others opening during the decade of the 1930s, like the one in Oropesa (Toledo), Úbeda (Jaén), Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca) and Mérida (Badajoz).

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The same slogan appears again in a poster by Francesc Galí published around 1930, in which a romanian scene, through which arc Sitges beach can be seen. There is also another poster with the same image but different text that highlights the wide variety of tourist offer in Spain. "Soleil, mer, neiges éternelles, merveilles artistiques... tous les attrait du tourisme en un seul pays: l'Espagne" (Sun, sea, snowy peaks, artistic marvels... all are tourist attractions in one same country: Spain).