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Jesús Cruz, The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain

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What is This?

cohesion of a nation state – this was certainly the case with nineteenth-century Belgium where the cult of the constitution and the traditional liberties formed the basis of a strong *Verfassungspatriotismus* ('constitutional patriotism').

Jesús Cruz, The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain, Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, LA, 2011; 312 pp.; 9780807139196, \$42.50 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Jo Labanyi, New York University, USA

This book sets out to rescue the nineteenth-century Spanish middle classes from the bad press they have generally had from historians, as well as to demonstrate that, despite nineteenth-century Spain's patchy industrialization, middle-class culture was well established in its urban centres. The author's thesis is that Spain's nineteenth-century middle classes laid the foundations of the values taken for granted in Spanish society today.

Jesús Cruz has shown himself to be an acute historian of shifts in cultural sensibility in his previous books: *Gentlemen, Bourgeois and Revolutionaries* (1996) and *Los notables de Madrid* (2000). In this new book, he sets out to show how new norms of conduct, changes in material culture, and the development of consumerism created new middle-class identities (5–6). He prefers the term 'middle class' to the more ideologically-loaded 'bourgeois' since the former was used first in Spain, and since the former term's bagginess allows him to reject '[t]he Marxist principle according to which class identity matches ideological adscription' (11) – indeed, his book shows how middle-class lifestyles cut across the political spectrum.

Cruz makes good use of Bourdieu's term 'habitus' to analyse culture as a set of practices. Implicit to his book's thesis is the notion that identity is constructed via repeated performance. Chapter 2 studies conduct manuals, tracing how they adapted Old Regime norms to suit a new ethos of individual merit. This meant sidelining religion in favour of 'etiquette' – a set of norms governing the secular spaces of the home, the café, the race track, etc. (Cruz notes that from 1875, under the Restoration, religious values started to creep back in). These spaces were, of course, gendered: Cruz acknowledges the substantial scholarship on female conduct manuals by literary critics. Cruz's book is important for its attention to conduct norms for men – a topic explored subsequently in Leigh Mercer's *Urbanism and Urbanity: The Spanish Bourgeois Novel and Contemporary Customs* (1845–1925), published in 2012.

Chapter 3 studies the material culture of the middle-class home by analysing Spanish domestic manuals and magazines which proliferated from the 1850s, and 814 Madrid probate inventories from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. The latter, listing household possessions on a room-by-room basis, are a gift to the cultural historian, revealing what Cruz calls an unprecedented change in Spanish lifestyles over the 100 years documented. Cruz's reading of how these changes in material culture contribute to the 'making of middle-class identities' (78) is hugely suggestive. The household inventories studied show an increasing

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distinction between public and private space within the home (with increasing care paid to the furnishing of the private quarters), but sometimes an ambivalent mix of the modern and the traditional.

Chapter 4 explores patterns of consumption of textile products between 1750 and 1860, again through probate inventories plus bridal trousseaus. The statistics show a marked increase in the number of items of tableware, bedding and clothing (including undergarments) owned, but with clothing (especially male) becoming more standardized. The chapter also studies the contents and subscription lists of the fashion magazines that proliferated after 1833, as well as the development of retailing, with the first shopping arcades built in Madrid and Barcelona in the 1840s, and the department store becoming popular in the 1870s. Although Cruz does not mention Galdós's novel *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1886–1887), which traces the evolution of the textile industry and shopping in this period, Galdós scholars will find much of interest in Cruz's study of real-life entrepreneurs of the time.

Chapter 5, on urban planning and growth, covers an area previously well studied, though it is useful to have the information about Madrid, Barcelona and other Spanish cities in one place and in English. Particularly fascinating is Chapter 6 which explores the development of the new middle-class 'leisure society'. Cruz traces the history of public gardens in Madrid and Barcelona – with their variegated entertainments from boating to roller-skating – from the late 1820s to the 1880s, after which they succumbed to real-estate speculation. Also fascinating is the history he traces of casinos and athenaeums (the chief spaces of male sociability), plus the development of spas, beach resorts and sporting culture. Cruz seems not to know Jorge Uría's 1996 book *Una historia social del ocio: Asturias 1898–1914* (admittedly on a slightly later period). Nonetheless, this last chapter on middle-class leisure is truly pioneering.

The book is well written, with just the odd infelicity in English ('marquise' for what should be 'Marquess'; 'Mayor Street' for what should be 'Main Street' or 'High Street'). It is a major contribution to the study of 'structures of feeling'.

Michael David-Fox, Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941, Oxford University Press: New York, 2012; 448 pp., 15 halftones; 9780199794577, £35.99 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Ludmila Stern, University of New South Wales, Australia

In Showcasing the Great Experiment Michael David-Fox explores Western intellectuals' visits to the USSR in the interwar period and the processes that shaped the relations between the visitors and the USSR. However, a detailed examination of the Soviet archives and extensive literature in English, Russian, German and French has led David-Fox not only to write another version of the history of Soviet reception of foreigners, but also to bring together different perspectives on the nexus between Western intellectuals of different political persuasions and the consolidation of the post-revolutionary Soviet system.