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**'Málaga Moderna': suburban development in late nineteenth and early twentieth century
Andalucía.**

Michael Barke, Graham Mowl and Graham Shields

Corresponding author:

Dr. Michael Barke,

Department of Geography,

Northumbria University,

Newcastle upon Tyne,

NE1 8ST

michael.barke@northumbria.ac.uk

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Abstract

Suburban development was not a common feature of the built form of Spanish cities in the nineteenth century but Málaga experienced significant suburban growth at its eastern periphery in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The physical development of the suburbs will be examined, stressing the role of key individuals and the influences upon them. The physical character of the suburbs and their subsequent changes were strongly influenced by national and local events which impacted upon the nature of the built environment. However, the social composition of the area did not necessarily reflect the growth of a “new” urban elite as many families retained additional residential premises in the core. The promotion of Málaga as a tourism resort also had a significant impact on the social composition of the area producing a type of suburb rather different from the permanent single-family dwelling middle-class environment typical of northern Europe.

KEYWORDS

Málaga; suburban development; built environment; key actors; social composition

Introduction

In recent decades the study of suburbs has broadened considerably.¹ Early interests were focused on the conversion of rural, usually agricultural, land into residential use.² This was followed by investigations into the built environment of suburbs³ and subsequently, into the values and life-styles of suburban.⁴ With the deepening interest in cultural studies, the focus shifted to the symbolic elements of suburban life and interpreting suburban images and portrayals.⁵ Overall, the sequential progression in the study of the suburb has been through “..its production, its consumption and its representation”.⁶ This sequence describes the progression of study primarily in the Anglo-Saxon setting, but much remains to be explored in other cultural contexts, especially where suburbs were a later and less widespread phenomenon. The paper will review previous studies of suburban development in Spain and, against this background identify the factors influencing the emergence of middle-class suburbs in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Málaga. Their physical character in terms of layout and built environment will then be examined and their social characteristics discussed, particularly against the background of those displayed by contemporaneous northern European suburban development.

The paper will argue that the origins of suburban development, its physical form as manifest in townscape and architectural styles and aspects of its social character, produced a ‘new’ and distinct component in Málaga’s urban structure, labelled *Málaga Moderna* by contemporary writers.⁷ Contemporary mapping recognised this physical distinctiveness (Figure 1). Albeit subtly, the area also changed aspects of its physical and social character in response to external factors. In the case of the Caleta/Limonar suburb of Málaga at least, suburban character was much more dynamic than is usually recognised.

This dynamism resulted from the interaction of national, regional and local level forces. At the national level, these had their roots in the profound changes in the national political consciousness being experienced at the end of the nineteenth century and the questioning of Spain’s role and identity as the country faced the emerging twentieth century. This produced two opposing movements – one seeking to re-create a new sense of nationhood, the other seeking to strengthen regional forces and identity, using perceived weakness at the centre to give impetus to regional movements,⁸ thus serving as a catalyst for the re-discovery and promotion of regional difference, based largely on a re-interpretation of heritage. At the local level, the superimposition of a major environmental disaster (the phylloxera outbreak of 1878) that had a profoundly negative impact on one of the area’s economic staple activities, and the more general long-term economic decline of the area, led to a search for alternative bases for the economy and a desire to engage with a ‘new’ modernity.⁹

The study will focus on an area of coastal suburban development in the east of Málaga city (Figure 1) which consists of three adjacent localities: Caleta, Limonar and Miramar built on former medium sized agricultural estates used for agricultural purposes.¹⁰ Caleta lies

parallel to the sea front aligned on the former main road from Málaga to Almeria, now named Paseo de Sancha and, further east, Avenida Pintor Joaquín Sorolla. The remaining two areas run inland almost at right angles to this zone and are focused on the Paseo Limonar (on the west), paralleled to the east by the Paseo Miramar. These two areas are divided by the Arroyo de Caleta which, as the name suggests, is a dried-up streambed for most of the year.

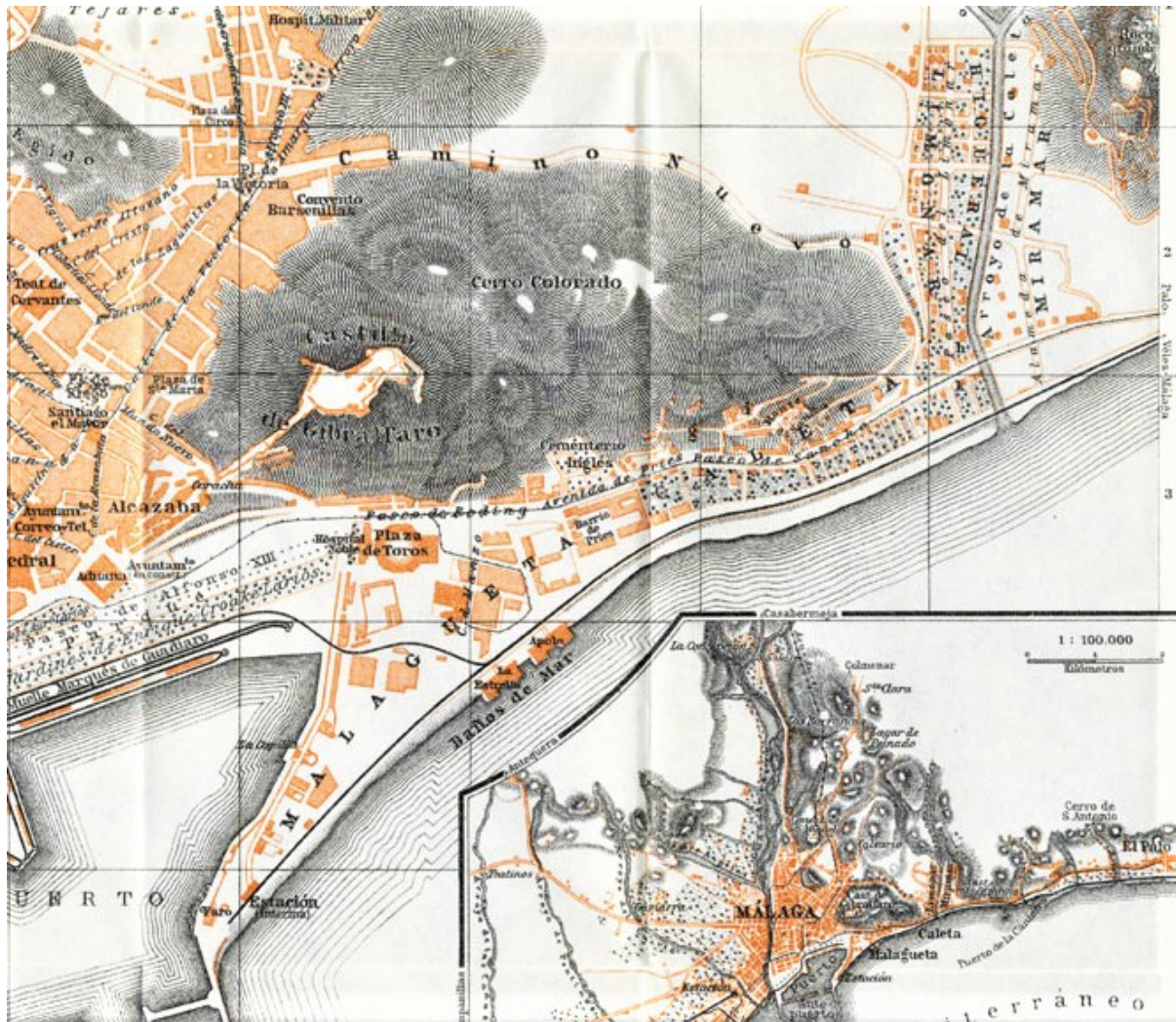


Figure 1. Eastern Málaga, 1913, showing location of Caleta, Limonar and Miramar. (Note the cartographic distinctiveness of the eastern suburbs). Source: Baedeker, K. (1913) Portugal and Spain, Leipzig.

Contemporary texts and media reports evidence that the development of the study area was an attempt to create a ‘modern’ image in the built environment by emulating north west European suburban development.¹¹ However, as will be discussed below, as the area evolved, a number of Iberian and Andalucían features manifested themselves and created a distinctive character in both physical and social terms in what ostensibly appeared to be a modern European upper middle class suburban residential area.

Spanish studies of suburban development

An important contextual question is – how widespread were middle- class suburbs in Spanish cities in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Studies of Spanish suburban development were initially focused on technical, planning aspects¹² and social, economic and development studies were relatively limited until quite recently. However, in the past two decades there has been significant growth.¹³ These studies demonstrate considerable variation in the amount and character of Spanish suburban development at this time. However, they have been concerned with a limited number of cities – notably Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao. More general examinations of provincial Spanish urban development suggest that middle class suburban development was, in fact, extremely limited at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For the classic cities of Castile y León for example, Delgado Huertas¹⁴ demonstrated that into the 1930s the most affluent social groups dominated the central parts of most cities in the region, although densities were quite high. Indeed, some processes encouraged the retention of higher status households at the centre. The process of *desmortalización* released a considerable amount of land in central areas where property speculation, led to the construction of apartments for relatively wealthy people. In the same region, the problems of peripheral growth and suburban development were a phenomenon of the 1950s.¹⁵ Similarly, Monclús has demonstrated the continuity of central residence of the middle class in Zaragoza in the 1950s.¹⁶ A crucial factor is that such cities lacked the demographic pressure of the capital and the limited number of industrialising centres in Spain. Significantly, Málaga was amongst the latter although, as we shall see, somewhat incongruously, industrial decline played some part in encouraging suburbanisation in Málaga.

The contrast in the volume and speed of development in the early ensanches of Bilbao and San Sebastian is of considerable interest, indicating the significance of local factors.¹⁷ The latter developed much more quickly for several reasons. The summer season was much more highly developed and lasted for longer than in Bilbao. An investment pattern emerged of the purchase of substantial villa property with the intention of living in one of its floors and letting out other floors to tenants. In effect, this was a continuation of apartment living, as in the city centre. The Caleta/Limonar area of Málaga displayed exactly the same tendency. Although properties were mainly detached, they were not necessarily single-family dwellings. Different legal conditions and the origin of the ensanche land also played some part in the contrast between Bilbao and San Sebastian. In the latter, land was purchased from the municipality at a relatively low price. Conditions in Bilbao were different, and investment was more cautious, the established bourgeoisie tending to prefer to remain in established residential areas. Significantly, Bilbao possessed recognised high quality central residential areas in the Santiago district and part of San Nicolas. There was no real equivalent of these in San Sebastian.¹⁸

In those cities where suburban development did take place it took different forms. The absence of strong planning controls meant that different outcomes were possible. Vorns has shown how Madrid's acute housing problem of the second half of the nineteenth century led to the allocation of land in selected areas where building regulations could be

enforced.¹⁹ But this caused immediate price inflation and, in turn, encouraged informal suburban development, inevitably chaotic in character, outside the regulated areas. In Bilbao the Plan de Ensanche of 1862 (finally approved in 1876) reserved the city centre for powerful groups and suburbs initially developed haphazardly.²⁰ Such processes did not operate in the eastern side of Málaga where suburban development took place from the 1870s on land purchased from private estates. Only those with influence and resources were in a position to purchase land for development and 'informal', spontaneous development was prevented. The eastern suburbs of Málaga were 'planned' in the sense that land was laid out and serviced for development, but different styles of individual properties were tolerated.

Peripheral development in areas adjacent to the central areas of Madrid and Bilbao initially took the form of lower-class housing. In Bilbao, however, a further significant form of suburbanisation – one with echoes in Málaga - gradually emerged based on the attractions of seaside leisure activities, although at some distance from the central city.²¹ Land in Lamiaco and Las Arenas was made available due to *desmortización* and the city's first urbanization plan in the 1860s aimed to create a '*ciudad veraneo*'. An initially slow process of land sub-division and the sale of parcels gained momentum in the 1880s and 1890s. Beascochea has suggested a sequence of development with the purchase of property to be used as leisure accommodation as a primary stage, the subsequent development of a seasonal nuclei, then the clear existence of latent demand leading to the provision of local transport in the form of trams or railways.²² The latter allowed considerable consolidation of suburban settlements and permanent residence. A further factor in Bilbao was the 'demonstration effect' of a significant number of British residents, anxious to replicate the suburbanisation processes of metropolitan Britain. Further afield within the Bilbao region, a second phase of *desmortización* led to the development of the settlement of Neguri, illustrating the interaction of local and wider influences. The development was undertaken by the railway director, Jose Isaac Amann, whose son was an architect and published an article on Port Sunlight in 1915.²³ It seems no coincidence that Neguri had developed on Garden City lines in 1903.

Such suburban development as did take place in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries therefore reflected a number of factors. Nationally, classic middle class suburbanisation was relatively limited and late. Even in Madrid where vacation and second homes were established in the later nineteenth century in the sierras to the north of the city, the growth of middle-class suburbs was limited. It was into the 1950s before such large scale development got underway, as shown by Carballo's study of Somosaguas, Pozuelo de Alarcón (Madrid), one of the richest areas of urban Spain developed between 1950 and 1980 with the Banque Urquijo as the main investor.²⁴

Origins of Malaga's Suburbs (a) Push factors

As elsewhere, it is tempting to interpret suburban development in late nineteenth century Málaga, as a flight from the city centre. Málaga was already an overcrowded and unhygienic city²⁵ and experienced an acceleration in urban growth due to in-migration of

poverty-stricken families, mostly refugees from phylloxera-devastated rural areas.²⁶ Pueblos such as Casabermeja and Colmenar lost 16.5% and 14.3% respectively of their population.²⁷ The main destination was Málaga and between 1873 and 1888 the city's population grew by nearly 25 per cent, from 97,780 to 118,026. This influx exacerbated an already highly problematic urban environment and contributed to growing fears of social unrest and demands for urban reform.²⁸ It has been claimed that Málaga was one of the most overcrowded cities in late nineteenth century Europe.²⁹ This persisted into the 1920s when the mean population density in Málaga was 302 per hectare compared to 250 in Madrid and 110 in Barcelona. The crude death rate remained at 30 per 1,000 and, in the worst working-class districts, exceeded 38 per 1,000.³⁰

Foreign visitors commented on the unhygienic state of the city: James Henry Bennet described it as '...a town where the defective hygiene of the cities of the middle ages reigns supreme; where filth-engendered pestilence stalks abroad day and night..'.³¹ The primitive state of sanitation and the inadequacy of the water supply supports Bennet's comments³² and an outbreak of cholera in 1885 added further concern.³³ In addition, the growth of organised labour signalled a changing socio-political environment – there were no fewer than 37 strikes within the city between 1870 and 1873.³⁴ These were important 'push' factors, encouraging some of the wealthy Málaga bourgeoisie to distance themselves spatially (albeit temporarily in some cases) from the dirt, disease and disorder of the industrial city. Carlos Krauel Marr the head of a family of German wine merchants living in a city centre apartment at Plaza Mitjana lost his in-laws, his wife and two sons to typhus within a two year span. To escape the city, Carlos moved to a three-story villa on the southwest corner of Paseo de Limonar in the 1890s.³⁵

Málaga's economy continued to struggle and social unrest reached a peak in 1898 with the debacle of the Spanish-American War and the loss of Cuba. A temporary loss of control of the city centre by the bourgeoisie was significant. High levels of unemployment and hunger were already prevalent amongst the working classes and had led to a wave of strikes but the exemption of bourgeois families from military service and the neglect of returning, wounded soldiers fuelled class-based social protest. This came to a head on April 15th 1898 with a march through the city centre organised by students. The march diverted into the working class areas of Trinidad and Perchel and numbers swelled to over 1,000.³⁶ Minor acts of violence took place and, in response, the authorities dispatched 50 armed civil guards and cavalry to disperse the crowd with a reserve force of 200 subsequently patrolling the streets. The city centre, normally the privileged territory of the middle classes thus became a highly contested space where their security could no longer be assured.

Such factors undoubtedly played some part in explaining the latent demand (although not by the entirety of bourgeois Málaga society) for suburban development and its general timing. However, they do not explain its physical and social character.

Origins of Malaga's suburbs (b) Wider influences

Perceptions of 'modernity':

Although 'new' planning ideas were circulating in Spain in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries³⁷ and were reflected to some extent in the development of Málaga's eastern suburbs, they were applied somewhat differently in that location. The history of suburban development in Spain at this time has usually been interpreted in relation to the creation of *ensanches*, planned extensions to existing towns often stimulated by the demolition, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, of city walls.³⁸ Málaga did have several projected *ensanches* but, despite clearly being a suburban extension, the Caleta/Limonar/Miramar area does not fit into this category.³⁹ Although it has been presented as a planned development,⁴⁰ the area was in fact a product of speculative enterprise and any formal planned intervention took place after development was well under way. The basic street pattern, for example, was laid down by private speculators, albeit individuals who were familiar with contemporary planning principles and ideas.⁴¹

The strenuous efforts made to promote Málaga as a tourist, and more specifically, a health resort in the later nineteenth century⁴² included the publication of a range of guide books⁴³ All of these celebrated the contemporary suburban developments of Caleta and Limonar in glowing terms and acclaimed their modernity.

Contemporary descriptions provide insight into the perceived nature of the area whilst it was undergoing development:

'... los dueños de los hoteles diríase que no ambicionan otra cosa sino edificar su casa de manera que supere en originalidad y gusto á la del vecino. Allí hay alcázares semejantes á los de los sultanes de Oriente, castillos como los que tuvieron los señores feudales de la Edad Media...'

(..the owners of the villas...have no other ambition than to build their houses in a manner that exceeds that of their neighbours in originality and taste. Here are palaces similar to those of the Sultans of the East, castles like those of the feudal lords of the Middle Ages..)⁴⁴

Despite these references to the past, the term *Málaga Moderna*, although used in several contexts in the city, first occurred in relation to these eastern suburbs. It appears in a newspaper article by the journalist Ximeno Ximenez published in the Málaga newspaper *La Union Ilustrada* in 1918, about an eminent Spanish doctor Dr. Anselmo Ruíz Gutierrez who, significantly, although practising mainly in Argentina, was a Málaga resident (or, more specifically, Caleta resident) for part of the year.⁴⁵ The article describes his career but devotes an equal amount of space to describing the suburb of Caleta and Gutierrez's house, the Villa Colón, all under the headline of *Málaga Moderna*. The area undoubtedly had a

'new' and distinctive character and appeal in the early twentieth century, was recognised as 'different' and 'special' but above all, as modern.

Transport:

The first significant public transport proposal was for horse drawn tramline routes from Málaga's central railway station to the village of Churriana in the west and El Palo in the east. These proposals of May 1879 came to nothing and it was not until the early 1880s that work began on constructing the line to Caleta but the first passengers were carried only in April 1891.⁴⁶ Based largely on the price of tickets, it has been argued that the intended initial market was a high status one and not until the electrification of the system after 1905 did it serve a wider social spectrum.⁴⁷ In the same year as tramway electrification, the coastal light railway from Málaga to Velez Málaga, passing through Caleta, was approved and came into service in January 1908.⁴⁸ Although the precise chronology of new residential development in the Caleta and Limonar areas is difficult to establish, the available evidence suggests that significant building had begun in the 1880s and was limited to the Caleta area and the main Málaga- Almeria road. This was almost a decade before the first public transport provision and suggests that, initially at least, the relationship between suburban residential development and local suburban transport was a loose one. Furthermore, despite the title of *Ferrocarril Suburbano de Málaga* there were, in fact, no stations between Málaga centre and El Palo, more than a mile to the east of Caleta so its role in stimulating suburban development in the Caleta area was distinctly limited.⁴⁹

Origins of Malaga's suburbs (c) Key actors

'*La operación más decisiva*' in the development of the eastern suburbs was the responsibility of José Maria de Sancha.⁵⁰ Sancha was the city's head of water supply and drainage and it is clear that he possessed a much more outward-looking perspective than many of his contemporaries in the public administration of Málaga city. In his professional role he had been instrumental in carrying out the project to bring much needed fresh water into the city from the hills behind Torremolinos via the San Telmo viaduct, a project that took six years to complete.⁵¹ There is no evidence that he visited northern European cities in his professional capacity but he was certainly influenced by transnational urban planning ideas, especially those relating to environmental health. He carried out detailed studies of the water supply and sewerage systems of London, Paris and Berlin.⁵² He was also a keen student of the planning ideas of Ildefonso Cerdá and his *Teoría de la Urbanización*. Sancha has been credited with the authorship of a major *Plan de Ensanche* of 1892 (Seguí and Ortiz, 1994, p.303), including major road proposals, total renewal of port infrastructure and the diverting the Guadalmedina river to the west.⁵³ However, this accreditation has been disputed, principally because Sancha left Málaga at the end of 1887 to take up a position in Vigo. Nevertheless, it is highly plausible that the 1892 map produced by Emilio de la Cerda was substantially based on material provided earlier by Sancha.⁵⁴ The two had worked together on a number of urban projects.

Sancha was much more than an environmental engineer. His interests in a broader planning perspective are indicated by his advocacy in print of the tourism potential of the city and the importance of planning for this.⁵⁵ The development of the city as a tourist resort, based upon its favoured climate, was a recurrent theme in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ Sancha was actually developing tourism promotional ideas that had been circulating for a long time albeit in the context of developing the city as a health resort.⁵⁷ Sancha recognised the futility of this whilst the city's hygienic infrastructure remained totally inadequate and consequently directed attention to the eastern suburban area.

It seems that Sancha gradually became disillusioned with the limited interest shown in his wider conception of planning and urban reform and, after a number of disagreements with *Ayuntamiento* officials, he established himself as a developer, promoting the suburban ideal, based on detached residences with gardens instead of city apartments and linked to a seaside resort function.⁵⁸ On February 27th 1879 he formed the development society *José María Sancha y Compañía* with four colleagues. The Hacienda del Platero was purchased for just over 165,000 pesetas and divided into parcels for sale on which high quality dwellings would be built, creating '*un nuevo concepto de zona residencial*'.⁵⁹ Probably conscious of an obvious conflict of interest between his city administrative role and that of real estate promoter, he attempted to resign from his municipal post on 8th August, 1879. This was not accepted and, despite poor health, Sancha remained highly active and combined his private and public roles. By the end of 1880 he had produced a plan (Figure 2) for the subdivision of the Hacienda del Platero (substantially, now the main part of Caleta) and building commenced.⁶⁰

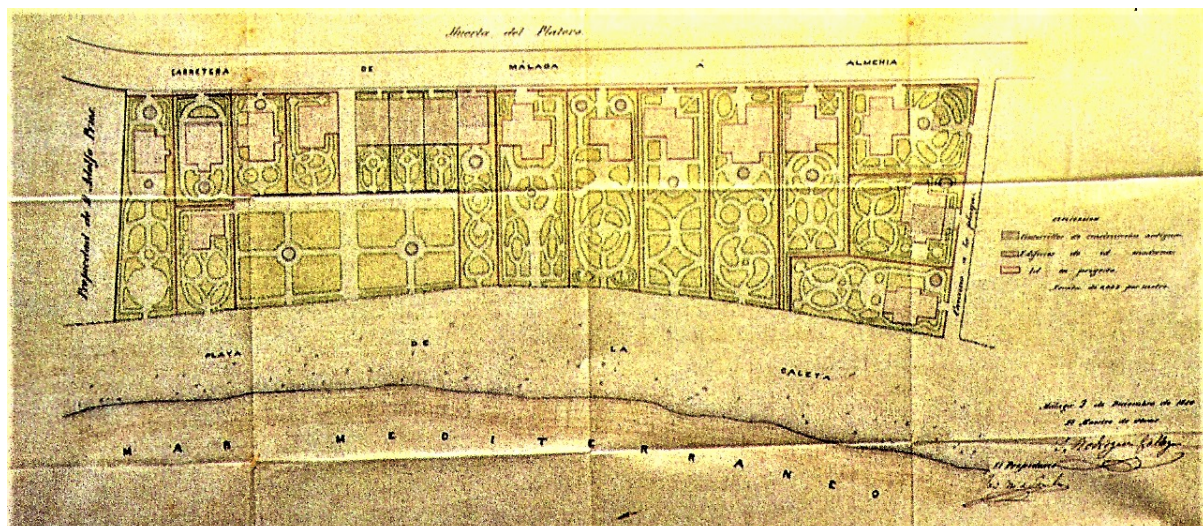
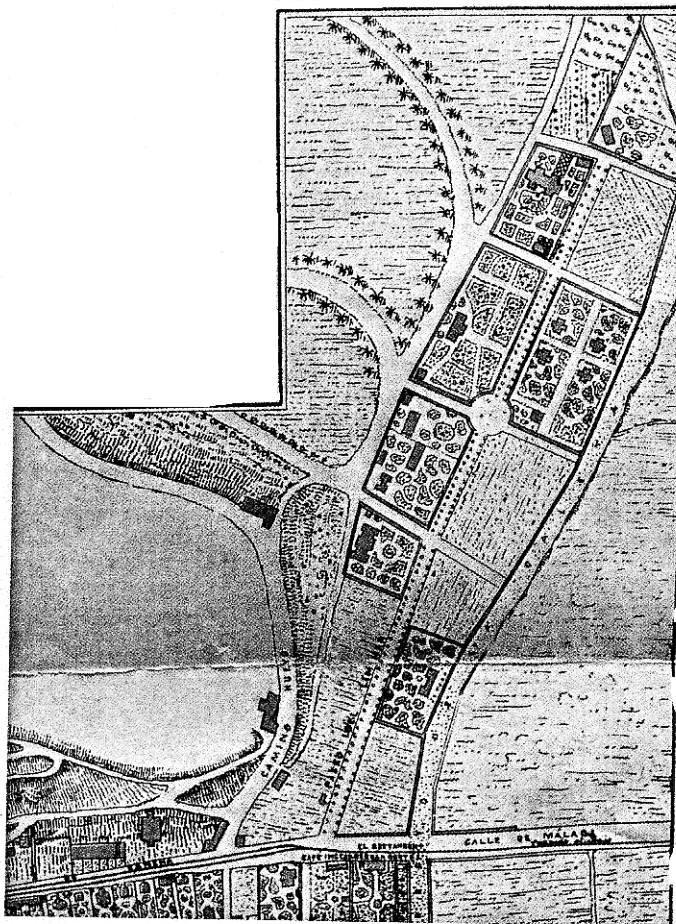


Figure 2. José María de Sancha's subdivision of part of Caleta, 1880. Source: Olmeda Checa, 1998.

Almost immediately, Sancha turned his attention further inland, purchasing the Huerta del Limonar and the Huerta de San Agustín in August 1884 for 80,000 pesetas and forming the *Sancha, Junguito y Compañia* in February, 1885. By 1887 de Sancha had drawn up a plan for the subdivision of this area and, shortly afterwards, at least two large plots were sold to

rising figures in Málaga society, the lawyer Don Francisco Bergamin and the businessman and city councillor, José Alvarez Net (Figure 3). However, the enterprise appears to have run into difficulties as de La Cerda's plan shows only limited building along the Paseo Limonar, albeit of very large villas, and in 1894 the company *Sancha, Junguito y Compania* went into liquidation. A possible contributory factor was the decision of the Málaga *ayuntamiento* in 1888 to impose taxes on housing in the Caleta and Limonar areas. The Limonar area was purchased from the development company for only 3,000 pesetas by a group of Málaga business interests (most already living in the area), led by Bergamin and Alvarez Net.⁶¹



Paseo del Limonar y Avda. de las Palmeras en el plano de La Cerda

Figure 3. Detail of Emilio de la Cerda's Plan of Limonar and Caleta, 1892. Source: Emilio de la Cerda (1892) *Plano de Málaga reformado sobre el de Pérez de Rozas*, Archivo Municipal de Málaga.

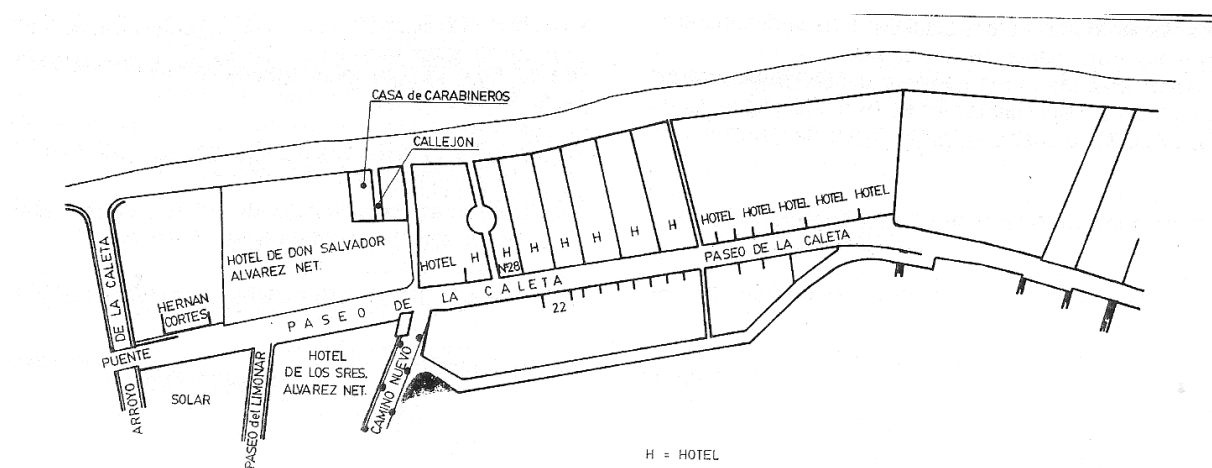
The zone to the east that now focuses on the Paseo de Miramar was the last area to be developed with construction under way in 1907.⁶² Formerly known as the Huerta de Higueral, this substantial estate of 160,000 square metres was purchased by Juan G. Bolin in 1903.⁶³ The Bolins were a powerful and influential family in Málaga. The estate was bought with long-term development objectives in mind. Bolin planted a large number of trees,

channelized the Arroyo de Caleta and constructed an *alameda* (tree-lined avenue) running from north to south (the present Paseo de Miramar). Although there is no surviving plan of building plots, the estate was linked into the Paseo de Limonar to the west by three transversal streets. Development appears to have been at a slow pace but, by 1930, there were 25 villas along the Paseo de Miramar “*habitan lucída representación de nuestra aristocracia, de nuestro comercio y de nuestro industria.*”.⁶⁴

The layout and built environment of Malaga’s suburbs

In the historiography of the development of the Caleta and Limonar suburbs, schematic plans drawn up by the municipal architect Tomás Brioso in 1900 (Figures 4a and 4b) figure prominently and have been assumed to represent the comprehensive, universal template for the area along garden suburb lines.⁶⁵ However, it will already be apparent that development was underway before these plans. The inset in Emilio de la Cerda’s city plan of 1892 (Figure 3) shows that a morphologically distinctive pattern of development was already in place. The plot outline in the Paseo del Limonar had already been established (although not yet built upon) by Sancha in 1887, and by 1892 (de la Cerda’s plan) several houses, surrounded by large garden areas had occupied some of these. It was the growing demand for development that led to the town hall introducing taxes on construction licenses, and as part of this initiative the municipal architect, Tomás Brioso produced his 1900 outline plans for the layout of the Caleta and Limonar suburbs (Figures 4a and 4b) indicating the plots developed and about to be developed and the names of some of the owners.⁶⁶ One of the largest landowners who had purchased plots for development, the businessman Alvarez Net, had several disputes with the *Ayuntamiento* in 1898 and 1899,⁶⁷ concerned with unlicensed development and plot boundaries and it seems that the plans drawn up by Brioso were an attempt to regularise the situation. However, it is clear that the layout was already substantially established, almost certainly by José Maria de Sancha, on garden suburb lines.

(a)



(b)

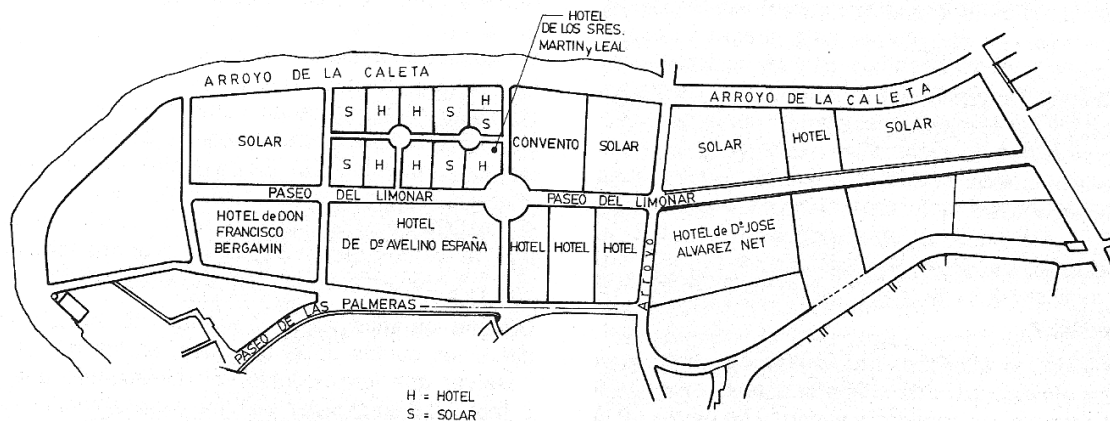


Figure 4. (a) Tomás Brioso's schematic plan of Caleta, 1900. Source: Archivo Municipal de Málaga. (b) Tomás Brioso's schematic plan of Limonar, 1900. Source: Archivo Municipal de Málaga.

In the coastal section of the study area (Caleta), development was relatively advanced by 1900. Although Figure 4a shows only the central part of the Paseo de la Caleta, the frequency with which the word *hotel* (meaning a villa) or letter 'h' appears, indicates that building had taken place. It is also clear from surviving individual building plans that much of the linear coastal strip to east and west was also quite developed by 1900. However, the pattern of plots is varied with the central and eastern sections of Paseo de Sancha showing narrow fronted but elongated plots, whilst elsewhere in Caleta a large number of substantial rectangular plots were created, with the building of large villas surrounded by large gardens – the villas usually occupied around 25 per cent of the plot area.⁶⁸

A number of culturally specific factors had influence on the relationship between plots and their buildings. Several of the proposals for building demonstrated the continuing importance of the extended family.⁶⁹ This was manifest in proposals from the same family group to build villas neighbouring each other or sometimes two or even more villas within the same plot. In 1897 José Nagel Disdier applied to build two villas on land he had purchased.⁷⁰ On completion he lived in Villa Las Rocas and his brother Enrique and family in Villa Mar. In 1889 the Gross Priés family built three neighbouring chalets in Paseo de Sancha. Three female members of the family – Paca, Clara and Maruja subsequently lived in these three houses until well into the twentieth century.⁷¹ The practice continued as evidenced by the three substantial villas built within the grounds of Villa Fernanda in the Paseo de Miramar, in the 1920s.

A further aspect of the built environment of Caleta/Limonar is the presence of small cottages or *casitas* within the curtilages of large villa plots (Figure 5). These were a product of class divisions in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Andalucía. Such divisions were profound,⁷² and were characterised by high levels of mutual distrust, epitomised by the residents of the area raising a subscription to build and maintain a *guardia civil* barracks

at their own expense in 1921.⁷³ Resident in these barracks in 1924 was Sergeant José Rebollo Burgos, accompanied by nine *guardias*.⁷⁴ The local elite clearly felt far from safe in their own neighbourhood in the early twentieth century. In this situation the accommodation of servants posed a significant problem. Whilst some servants continued to live in their own quarters within the house itself,⁷⁵ the social distance between servants and masters in early twentieth century Andalucía was expressed partially through placing the former in cottages within the grounds. The expansive nature of the development of the villa suburbs in the first and second decades of the century permitted this strategy to occur whereas in more intensively and earlier developed residential areas such a solution was not possible. Sufficient space was simply lacking. For many upper middle-class residents in villa suburbs such as Caleta/Limonar the ideal arrangement was to find a husband and wife team who could function as gardener/odd job man and cook/housekeeper respectively. With redevelopment, many of these *casitas* have been demolished but some remain as conversions into garages, tool sheds or even modernised small dwellings.



Figure 5. Casitas within villa grounds. Source: Field survey, 2014.

As elsewhere in Spain towards the end of the nineteenth century more decorative and ornate styles of building became fashionable ⁷⁶ but there was considerable variety between the villas built at this time. Indeed, commentators have consistently drawn attention to the eclectic character of the Caleta/Limonar area.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the area did present a degree of coherence and unity, partly derived from the size and shape of the majority of plots but also stemming from the fact that a large proportion of the villas were built by a limited number of architects. Unfortunately, it has only been possible to gather data on the architectural provenance of 95 villas out of a total of 160 built within the area between the 1880s and around 1930⁷⁸ but three architects – Fernando Guerrero Strachan (27), Antonio Ruiz Fernandez (18), and Manuel Rivera Vera (9) – produced 57 per cent. This concentration of activity from local architects was an essential component in the overall coherence of the area. Intriguingly, a similar concentration occurred in Neguri (Bilbao) between 1903 and 1936 where six architects built 60 per cent of new houses.⁷⁹

Many villas were built to three storeys, often with asymmetric ground plans (Figure 6) and large bay windows at several levels (a characteristic feature of late nineteenth century Málaga architecture). Balustraded terraces were common. Neo-gothic elements were mixed with Art Nouveau touches, often in the same building. Nevertheless, trends can be discerned which are illustrative of some of the key influences on architectural style and expression within the built environment.

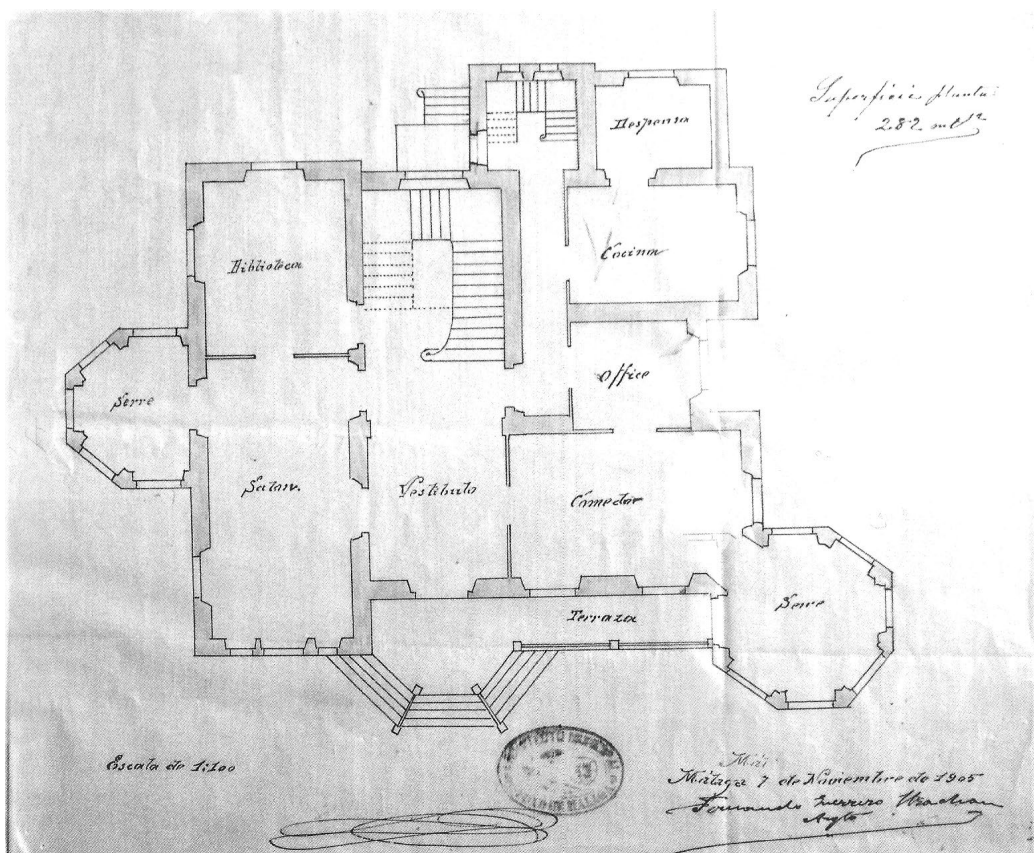


Figure 6. Villa ground plan, Paseo de Miramar, 1905. Source: López, 2010.

Although the neo-Mudejar style was present in some of the early buildings, most notably in Villa Cele Maria (Figure 7), built by Sancha in 1884 and Villa Maruja (now the *Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores*), the predominant style up to the 1920s was neo-gothic, imitating to some degree the styles of late Victorian villa development in NW Europe – especially the UK. Reference has already been made to the crisis of self-confidence of late nineteenth/ early twentieth century Spain where the final loss of empire engendered a desire to make statements about being a modern European nation.⁸⁰ Initially, sharing architectural fashions was one such way. However, the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the emergence of a powerful ‘regionalist’ movement in architecture in Spain but this was due to a complex array of forces.⁸¹ In the first and second decades of the twentieth century, reflecting a stronger desire for national unity amongst liberal politicians and oligarchies and an upward turn in Spain’s fortunes during its neutrality of the First World War,⁸² ‘copies’ of regional style architecture appeared, especially ‘mountain style’ chalets based on traditional Basque or Cantabrian architecture.⁸³ Unlike the dull uniformity of the classic English middle-class suburb, the eastern suburbs of Málaga started to reflect this eclectic trend.



Figure 7. Villa Cele Maria, built circa 1880 (Residence of José María de Sancha). Source: Photograph, M. Barke, 2014.

A further component of the built environment was the rise in popularity of the *neo-mudejar* style which impacted on the visual appearance of existing buildings.⁸⁴ Significant alterations, changing the visual appearance of a building became increasingly common. A

large proportion of these were concerned with introducing *neo-mudejar* elements such as arabesque tiling, highly decorative brickwork and horseshoe arches. The growing popularity of *neo-mudejar* style of architectural decoration is usually attributed to its presence and success at the 1929 Hispano-American Expo in Seville.⁸⁵ However, examples of this style were present a generation earlier in Málaga in the 1880s, and much of the adaptation in the Caleta/Limonar suburb pre-dated the 1929 Expo, taking place earlier in the 1920s. There was a revival of this architectural type in Málaga prior to the event to which its new-found popularity is usually attributed. This may be understood in terms of a particular period of early twentieth century Spanish history and its specific manifestation in Málaga. Spain had lost its American and Pacific territories by 1898. Partly to compensate for this, attempts were made to expand the nation's influence in North Africa. After some early success, Spain suffered yet another disastrous defeat at the Battle of Annual in July 1921 followed by a prolonged period of guerrilla warfare. Interpreting the emergence of a *neo-mudejar* style of architecture in post-structuralist terms, these events could be argued to produce a desire for reminders of a time when such challenges were perceived not to exist or, at least, could be dealt with comfortably – a time when the Spanish elite controlled not only Spain but a substantial part of the world. Post-structuralist interpretations of heritage argue that the physical manifestation of 'heritage' styles implies a wish to return to a perceived 'golden age'.⁸⁶ The fact that the war in Africa was not going well only added to the desire for immediately apparent visual symbols of earlier mastery. This was an important background issue in Málaga as the port was the chief embarkation point for troops fighting in North Africa and place of return for the wounded and even some of the dead.⁸⁷

The social character of Málaga's suburbs

Data from the municipal census or *padrón* permits some observations on the social character of Caleta and Limonar in aggregate. The population of the area doubled from 1889 to almost 1,000 by 1924 but this is simply the number of people enumerated at their residences by the *padrón*. The true population was clearly fluid, varying from year to year and by time of year. Furthermore, the Paseo Miramar was not built until the 1920s and is therefore excluded from Table 1 which therefore does not necessarily represent a population that was permanently resident, simply those who allowed their details to be recorded in the *padrón*. Nevertheless, the aggregate data they provide on occupational structure is of interest.

Table 1 Occupations of Household Heads & Total Occupations, 1889 and 1924 (*)

	1889			1924		
	(\$) Household Heads (%)	All Other Occupations	%	(\$) Household Heads (%)	All Other Occupations	%
Professional/Admin	21 (23.9)	1	13.2	25 (16.4)	9	9.1
Commerce/Business	23 (26.1)	2	15.0	47 (30.9)	16	16.8
Industry - employee	10 (11.4)	1	6.6	18 (11.8)	13	8.3
Agriculture/Day Lab	29 (32.9)	9	22.7	30 (19.7)	12	11.2
Servant	3 (3.4)	66	41.3	22 (14.5)	172	51.7
Own means	2 (2.3)	-	1.2	10 (6.6)	1	2.9

(*) Tables exclude Cuarteles Guardia Civil, Carabineros and Hotel Hernan Cortes.

(\$) Households providing data to the relevant *padrón*. Some households refused to do so.

Unsurprisingly, white collar bourgeois occupations dominate at both dates, a population that was clearly serviced by a large number of domestic servants, over half the working population in 1924. However, a surprising feature of Table 1 is the relatively high number of *jornaleros* or day labourers. There are several reasons: suburban development was superimposed onto a pre-existing area with small cottages especially along the Málaga-Almería road. But in Caleta especially some small houses were actually built on narrow plots as part of the development. In addition, the *padrón* indicates the presence of *jornaleros* who were partners, or older children, of female servants living in *casitas* in the grounds of villas. Although many wealthy individuals had properties in these suburbs, the occupational structure as indicated in Table 1 therefore does not quite conform to some of the rather overblown contemporary descriptions of the suburbs and suggests a somewhat less exclusive reality.

Morales Muñoz identified the high-status areas of mid nineteenth century Málaga as the Alameda, Puerta del Mar and Cortina del Muelle, characterised by *la clase más opulenta del comercio marítimo*.⁸⁸ These streets lie in the very heart of the central city and Málaga at this time shared the common southern European characteristic of a high social status urban core. Indeed, the popular term '*oligarquia de la Alameda*' was still used to describe the ruling bourgeoisie in Málaga in the late nineteenth century.⁸⁹ The development of the eastern suburbs therefore implies a significant shift in the spatial social structure of the city. To some extent, suburban development introduced a dichotomy within the social elites - a 'new,' outward looking bourgeoisie contrasting with those resident in the old town.

The latter certainly persisted and in 1930 the Alameda (then called Alameda de Alfonso XIII) remained the place of residence of '*una población de primera categoría*', including a roll-call of famous names such as the Marques de Larios, the Marques de Genal, Crooke Campos, Doña Julia Crooke Heredia, Don Ricardo Huelin, Don Nicodemus Escobar, Señora Marquesa de la Paniega and Doña Pia Heredia Grund.⁹⁰ But many of the residents of Caleta and Limonar also retained property in the centre. Table 1 does not therefore present an entirely comprehensive description of the social character of the area. Nevertheless, the presence of

many wealthy families in splendid new dwellings does suggest a dichotomy between the 'old' city centre elite and a possibly 'new' emerging group. However, the dichotomy did not manifest itself so much in terms of contrasts in occupational status or wealth as much as those retaining a traditional city centre residence compared to those with a 'modern' flexible outlook and dual affiliations.

Although the Caleta/Limonar area is usually presented as an upper middle class suburb permanently inhabited by its residents⁹¹ the suburbs clearly had a much more complex and diverse character than this. The area had historically been associated with sites of weekend and summer leisure activities, as the presence of several *ventorillos* (small, roadside inns) prior to the beginning of villa construction demonstrates.⁹² A plan of 1884 drawn up by José Maria de Sancha, for the channelling of the Arroyo de Caleta shows six such establishments in the immediate vicinity. From a very early stage of its suburban residential development this additional leisure role continued in the area, with the growth of a specialist winter health resort function. Málaga's ability to participate in the nineteenth century growth of Mediterranean tourism had been significantly compromised by the unhygienic state of the central city.⁹³ This new location promised a safer environment for a bourgeois market, including foreign visitors. In December 1888 a local newspaper article headed '*El invierno en la Caleta*' noted the arrival of a number of visiting families, many of them titled.⁹⁴ A guide book of 1892 observed that "A whole new suburb, called the Caleta, has risen within the last few years... . A great number of pretty villas with good gardens have been built **and are let out at moderate rents**... . The Caleta is the Belgravia of Málaga.." ⁹⁵ More formal specialist accommodation was provided at the Gran Hotel y Restaurant Hernan Cortes, later the famous Caleta Palace Hotel ⁹⁶ and the Hacienda de Giro with its English landlady, Mrs. Cooper who ran the establishment from the 1890s to 1928.⁹⁷ The Baedeker guide of 1901 advised visitors to "...take up their abode in the villa quarters of Caleta and Limonar." ⁹⁸ and by 1908 at least three more hotels or recommended lodging houses had been added.⁹⁹ But this phenomenon did not just relate to vacations. As identified by Alonso Olea and Beascocchea Gangoiti in the Basque country¹⁰⁰ the renting of villas for more prolonged stays was a common feature of these Málaga suburbs.¹⁰¹ It is also clear that a significant proportion of the dwellings built, in fact functioned as second homes for the local bourgeoisie. Miriam Harris, a critical American visitor to the city in 1898 noted that "The great people have villas in the suburbs where they go in the summer, and where they drive their friends in the winter".¹⁰² Data from the municipal *padrones* confirms the fluid character of the area in its first decades.

In the first available *padrón* (municipal census) record for the study area¹⁰³ the Paseo de Limonar was under active development and the *padrón* provides an intriguing glimpse of the transitory nature of the environment. For example, some of the households enumerated in the Valle de Limonar are recorded as living in *casetas de madera* or wooden houses, suggesting temporary accommodation. Heads of household are recorded as *jornaleros* (day labourers) a term most usually associated with agriculture but the possibility that they were

construction workers employed by the day on work in the immediate locality cannot be discounted.

Confirming Miriam Harris's observations, some properties were holiday or second homes. In the Paseo de Sancha, household record number 205 notes that "*Don Rafael Lorente y Garcia y su familia estan empadronentes en Calle de Panaderos, 1-20 donde viven*" (Calle Panaderos is a street in the centre of Málaga). Two properties at the junction of Camino Nuevo and Paseo de Sancha tell a similar story. At No. 7 "*Don Enrique Broten dice haberse empadronando en Calle del Desengano, No. 22*" and "*Don Enrique Gonzalez Beb dice haberse empadronando en Calle de Alamos, No. 10.*". And at no. 2 Camino Nuevo "*Don Antonio Ruiz Luque dice haberse empadronando en Calle de Compania, no. 45*".¹⁰⁴ Here we have families that either own or rent a property in the city centre and one in this newly built suburb to the east. More direct evidence of the leisure function of these eastern suburbs is provided at no. 8, Avenida de Pries where the student Santiago Frani Garcia (aged 21) resident of Cadiz, is recorded as being "*en vacaciones*".¹⁰⁵

The tenure structure of the area was mixed, with a significant proportion of the villa occupants renting rather than owning the properties. Fishman noted for London that the 'weekend villa' formed an important intermediate stage between the total abandonment of city townhouses and a move to a new form of residence in the suburban villa.¹⁰⁶ In Spain there may well have been other motives for a continuing dual ownership of property by the bourgeoisie. Data from Málaga's *padrón* for 1902 for the Paseo Limonar indicates that 48 per cent of houses had 'absentee' owners and in 1923 the corresponding figure was 34 per cent.¹⁰⁷ The *padrón* is primarily an electoral register and, for a significant number of villa owners, there were advantages in being enumerated elsewhere. Some owners originated from outside the city itself and would therefore wish to exercise their right to vote in their place of origin but many were clearly residents in the city of Málaga with homes in prestigious central locations such as the Alameda, Calle Larios and Carretería. For such representatives of Málaga's social and economic elite, it was important to retain political control of the centre of the city and thus there would be a strong incentive to be recorded as resident there for voting purposes.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to add to our understanding of the processes of formation and change in the physical form and social composition of a southern European city suburb, a milieu where the historical suburban phenomenon is less frequently recognised than in north-western Europe or the USA. The physical character and trajectory of development of the eastern suburbs of Málaga demonstrate quite different features from these regions. In terms of their origin and catalyst for development, the interaction of historical national forces and local/regional events were fundamental. The major challenge to Spain as a

'modern' European country was manifest in the final loss of colonial territory but created a demand for modern forms of urban development, in part symbolised by the middle-class suburb. In terms of creating the suburbs, specific local factors were important with significant 'push' factors emanating from the worsening environmental state of the central city at a time of social and political unrest. In terms of physical form, although vestiges of imitation of earlier built north west European suburbs may be discerned, the areas studied here demonstrated some important divergent features, reflecting cultural characteristics, relating to familial structures, symbolic political control and social class divides plus very high levels of geographical mobility. For example, detached houses set in gardens predominated but this did not necessarily mean these were single family dwellings. The suburbs were not necessarily places of permanent residence, playing the role of vacation and second homes for both natives of Málaga, visitors from elsewhere in Spain, and foreigners. Proximity to members of the extended family, siblings and cousins was an important feature of the structure of the suburb. The role of crises and key turning points was also fundamental in shaping the nature and subsequent evolution of the suburbs studied here, in particular the introduction of new architectural elements which were very different from those found elsewhere in Europe. The loss of colonies, the disappointing progress of the war in Africa, the beginnings of tourism were all contributors to the development of new built forms, forms that either signalled a break with the past or symbolised progress into the future.

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