

Fleming in Spain: The Hero, the Icon and the Politics of Public Acclaim

The public fame of penicillin and its representation during Alexander Fleming's visit will be analysed through the rich material I have found in his papers and reports published in the Spanish press. This will enable me to explore the resonances between public homage paid to the new drug and the Catholic basis of the dictatorship, including the extent to which the representation of public acclaim was part of the social practices promoted by the political regime. It will also facilitate analysis of the constructed public image of the drama of science and medicine, and its representation in the particular character of Fleming and the new drug. The (dis)connections between Fleming and the Spanish political authorities are issues that inspire reflection on the agency of penicillin in post-war international relationships. As well as the public acclaim of science and medicine—of scientific activity as a manufacturer of commodities for a better life—the ideology of progress in science and medicine was constructed through the misery of the post-war years, providing an almost religious adulation.

On May 26, 1948, Alexander Fleming arrived in Spain as the guest of Barcelona and Madrid's local governments. During his 19-day visit, Spanish newspapers consistently reinforced his status as a scientific hero. One source for this chapter is the notes taken by Fleming himself, who, despite receiving all the credit during his visit was only partly responsible for penicillin's success.¹ The others originate from newspapers and documentaries produced by No-Do, part of the dictatorship's policy of

mass media control and censorship, intended to create a popular culture supportive of the new regime.² The interplay of Alexander Fleming's diary and news reports show the limitations of official sources as reliable narratives of his stay.

I am therefore faced with reconstructing Fleming's visit to Spain, and its impact, through a historiographical lens, to provide a social and cultural reading of the narrative produced by Fleming and the press. At times the sources conflict, challenging each other's version, but for the majority they complement each other in a fascinating way. This synthesis suggests that penicillin had already taken on a life of its own and this had a direct effect on Fleming: no matter what he said or did, he was already a fervently admired hero, publicly associated with the magic healing penicillin provided. At the same time, the autonomy of penicillin as a public object, independent of the political regime of the country in which it circulated, counteracted state powers while appropriating the cultures of fervour associated with the dictatorship. That is, the enthusiasm for the dictatorship displayed in press narratives and by a part of the population was transferred to the foreign figures of Fleming and penicillin. The British bacteriologist and his drug shared the symbolic space of celebrations in a calendar of festivities carefully selected by the regime, intended to create cultural references to contribute to the new ideological basis of Spain.³ By supporting the Catholic Church, Franco provided his military authority with a religious foundation. Falange Española, the fascist party that took part in the rebellion and supported Franco, was losing political influence following the Allied victory, but used its summoning power to gather crowds in support of the regime.⁴

Fleming's visit took place at a time when Franco's government was attempting to retrieve diplomatic relations with geographically and politically neighbouring countries; at this stage, France and the UK. By the end of the Second World War, during which Franco had explicitly supported the Axis and particularly Hitler while officially remaining neutral, the Franco regime had made a dramatic U-turn to 'show support for the principles adopted at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire (USA) and the United Nations declaration of February 1944'.⁵ In 1945 the Cortes—an assembly with members appointed by Franco—approved local elections and a charter of civil rights, *Fuero de los Españoles*. The pretence of prospective democratisation did little to convince international opinion, and the General Assembly of the United Nations in February 1946 confirmed the exclusion of Spain. Isolated from the new

legal order, Spain was able to maintain connections through bilateral commercial agreements. The UK, under an explicitly anti-Francoist Labour government, began negotiations to renew trade between the two countries, to provide British households with the fresh fruit and other diet-enriching materials they demanded. Spain, as a traditional exporter of such products, was exporting preserved fish, fruits and olive oil to France and the UK by 1945.⁶

These negotiations were kept secret, with the final agreement presented to the British parliament as ‘essentially a technical readjustment’ necessary to secure trade with Spain, and free of political implications. British economic interests during the long and arduous post-war recovery contributed to stabilising the dictatorship and positioning it within the new international order. According to historian of economics Fernando Guirao, the British government’s position ‘reveals the modest impact Spanish opponents to Franco had on Western policy-making’. The UK also helped the regime make similar connections with the rest of Western Europe.⁷

Fleming’s visit coincided with both these negotiations between Spain and the UK, which would be completed in December of that year, and the start of diplomatic moves towards a military agreement with the USA.⁸ By the late 1940s the UK, France, Germany and the USA were the main suppliers of imports to Spain, as they had been prior to the Civil War, while half of Spanish exports at the time were sent to European markets.⁹ So perhaps the ceremonious tone evident in Fleming’s diaries and the press was directed at this agreement as much as penicillin, the drug being dynamically identified with Fleming and the UK: both had provided healing action.

Despite the trade agreement there was no British ambassador in Madrid, but the Consul in Barcelona, Henry Hobson. Two different norms governed the spaces of diplomacy and trade, separated by a balance between needs and desires, and such norms and the barriers between these spaces were reconstructed during the post-war, both by the Allies and the dictatorship. Fleming’s visit was a social representation of such a balance. Although the medical function of penicillin demands particular consideration, the drug also fulfilled a significant social and political role, embedded in the construction of contemporary cultures, as well as the public imagination of infections and their cures by new commodities, provided by the scientific progress and technical successes of the Allied victory.

Fleming was accompanied in Barcelona by Solly Flood, the director of the city's British Institute, Derek Traverse, and the clinician Dennis Morton, and while in Madrid by Walter Starkie, who had founded the British Institute to entertain and influence the highly educated Madrilenian bourgeois while promoting English culture and language.¹⁰ For the month he visited Spain, Fleming acted as representative of both penicillin and the UK, and indeed promoter of his mother tongue. As his words were constantly translated by those clinicians who could speak English, the language of the post-war order shared in penicillin's fame.

Fleming was at that time professor of bacteriology at the University of London and working at St. Mary's Hospital Medical School, where he had trained in medicine and bacteriology with Almroth Wright. He had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1945, a time when this award did not confer the status and recognition it would later in efforts to stabilise scientific leadership of the Cold War atomic age.¹¹ By that time, as Robert Bud has stated, penicillin was fully embedded in the cultures of national propaganda. In 1942, while penicillin was still an experimental drug and clinically untested, the British newspaper *The Times*—closely followed by *The Evening Standard*—gave credit for the discovery of a new anti-infective drug to both London's St. Mary's Hospital and Alexander Fleming. UK and US magazines soon followed suit, and by 1944 Fleming was on the cover of the US weekly *Times*. War propaganda was an agent in the forging of penicillin's public association with Fleming and the UK, through newspaper proprietors, and a number of influential clinicians and industrialists, all interested in 'public perception' for various reasons: prestige and economic interests being among the most influential. In the USA, penicillin was launched on the public market following years of restricted availability while use on the front was prioritised. In 1945 a book was published, which after introducing the new drug by describing contributions made by early researchers such as Fleming and the Oxford team, focused on the industrial achievements of penicillin's manufacture. *Yellow Magic* by US popular writer J. D. Radcliff portrays an agenda that intertwined medical—scientific, at the laboratory bench—achievement and industrial efficiency.¹² Penicillin would become one of the bases upon which the irresistible empire of consumption was built.¹³

Fleming's wife Sarah, usually known as Sareen, accompanied him to Spain. Born in Kilian in the North-West of Ireland, Sarah Marion

McElroy had qualified as a nurse and with her twin sister Elizabeth created a highly regarded, private nursing home in London. She carried on working after they married in 1915, but when Fleming returned from the front in the First World War—which he spent at the casino in Boulogne, France, along with Almroth Wright—the two sisters sold the nursing home and devoted themselves to their families; Elizabeth had married Alexander Fleming's brother John. Sarah and Alexander had a son, Robert, born in 1924.¹⁴

When Alexander Fleming came to Spain, he did not seem to be aware of the persecution that prevailed over civil and military life, underpinning the public's fervent loyalty.¹⁵ Fear was a social, collective emotion, the force of which was comparable to that of hunger, poverty and illness.¹⁶ The hope of overcoming such a landscape of misery was condensing in the new drug and its human representative. In the Spanish social geography of the military dictatorship, food was rationed and every published word censored. Penicillin was still scarce and managed by government officials as a privilege. The acclaim surrounding Fleming cannot be observed independently from the public life of a society governed by a dictatorship. Although medical authorities in Barcelona could be perceived as challenging the centralist authority of Franco's government by leading the invitation to Fleming, thereby ensuring he flew into Spain's second city, his presence there followed government-imposed norms—from overstatements of his achievements to the celebration of his persona and the drug itself—and a public reception from a controlled population accustomed to showering authorities and religious figures with adulation. As a miracle drug, penicillin was adored as fervently as if it were a virginal saint, or a dreaded dictator.

LANDING IN BARCELONA: MEDICAL AUTHORITY AND PUBLIC ACCLAIM

The invitation to Fleming originated from the Barcelona Hospital of Infectious Diseases, Hospital del Mar. The director of the hospital, cardiologist Luis Trias de Bes, was an influential clinician, familiar with the most prevalent infections of the post-war period: smallpox in 1940, and between 1941 and 1942, typhus. The Hospital del Mar, located near a seaport, had its origins in the sixteenth century as a quarantine site for those bringing infections from overseas, and in the late nineteenth

century had been used as an isolation hospital during yellow fever and cholera epidemics. After the Spanish Civil War it became fully dedicated to the treatment of infectious diseases.

'Barcelona wants me to land in Spain there – out of Madrid'. These words were on the first page of Fleming's trip notes along with the many names of those who would be by the Flemings' side during their visit.¹⁷ The welcoming party—including Luis Trias de Bes—demanded '[m]uch handshaking and photographing. Sareen presented with a huge bouquet'. The tone of Fleming's notes is already evident: everything he would receive during the three-week visit—presents, applause at public events, continual requests for autographs—would be annotated as 'too much' or 'embarrassing'. At the foot of the aircraft steps were numerous officials, delegates and deputies, including the director of Iberia airlines in Barcelona, and a multitude of clinicians and their wives; the only women in attendance were wives, referred by news reports solely in relation to their husbands. The Spanish newsreel shows the crowd, a large group of men and women parting to let the Flemings pass, Trias de Bes at Alexander Fleming's side passing his hat from one hand to the other, and smiling women alongside Sarah Fleming.

While in Barcelona, Derek Traverse, head of the city's British Council, would join Fleming and Trias de Bes at every ceremony, social encounter, walk and visit. Fleming travelled throughout Spain as the famous character penicillin had made him. The enthusiastic and flattering tone of newspaper reports and Spanish newsreels boosted and participated in his public fame. Pompous texts devoted to penicillin and its discoverer concealed the role that Howard Florey, Ernst Chain, Norman Heatley, Ethel Florey and many others had played in purifying and testing the antimicrobial drug. The Oxford group were noted fleetingly in newspapers, and Fleming briefly commented on the collective nature of the early tests.

The politics surrounding Fleming's public acclaim reflected the misery felt across a Europe slowly recovering from devastation, and a post-Civil War Spain characterised by terror and poverty, in which a handful of privileged people—government officials and those who had managed to keep hold of their wealth—experienced no shortages. Into such misery came the publicly celebrated cure by a miracle drug, represented in the emotion directed at Fleming. Despite occasionally expressing embarrassment for everything he received from the authorities, academics, clinicians and the public, Fleming paraded his fame and that of penicillin and tolerated his fervent reception at a time when the majority of penicillin

demand was not covered; no penicillin was manufactured in Spain, and the amounts received by the Comité were inadequate, an issue not mentioned in any news report. On his first day in Barcelona, answering journalists' questions at the Ritz about the possibility of producing penicillin in Spain, he replied that it was a 'matter of money', and added '[t]oday America is the main manufacturer and exporter. Business is business there.'¹⁸ This issue is never mentioned in his diary. Fleming was putting distance between his own achievements regarding penicillin and industrial manufacturing of the drug, from which he, although receiving full recognition for the drug's discovery, did not receive any direct economic benefit. As a drug, penicillin itself could not be patented, only the production method could, and indeed had been by Andrew Moyer, at the NRRL in Peoria.¹⁹

Trias de Bes directly boosted Fleming's public fame on the day of his arrival in Barcelona, publishing an article in the city's daily *La Vanguardia*, in which he described Fleming as an 'extraordinary benefactor of mankind' who was to be received with all the 'splendour and distinction [*señorío*] such an illustrious guest deserves'.²⁰ 'In no other countries I visited have I been so kindly received as here', Fleming declared after his arrival.²¹ On reaching the Ritz there were 'more talks, more photographs and a broadcast from the bedroom'. After lunch the Flemings went 'for [a] drive in a car at our disposal: [we] just drive around'. When rested, he was presented with a programme for his stay in Barcelona by Trias. With so many reporters, translators and others around, taking photographs and asking questions, Fleming noted the next day he had 'met too many people to remember'. Reports of Fleming's visit were published alongside news of the arrival of meat and flour in Madrid, to be distributed in rations. Fleming travelled in an aura of celebration and wealth, protected from the misery surrounding him.

The next day Fleming visited the gothic cathedral; 'despite the crowds, the driver just kept his hands on the horn and we were driven right to the Cathedral steps'. A photograph on the front page of *La Vanguardia* shows him walking along the popular avenue Las Ramblas, where members of the public—apparently unprompted by anything but recognition of the feted scientist—are swarming around Fleming while a young woman presents him with a bouquet of carnations and roses.²² The Flemings also joined 'everybody in best clothes' for the Corpus Christi procession, a widely and publicly celebrated holy day.²³ Including Fleming in the Catholic spaces and celebrations in Barcelona both reinforced the Catholic base

of Franco's power and increased the gratitude of the masses by situating penicillin and its 'modest discoverer'—as the news reports phrased it—in the crowds, which opened to embrace him: 'when appeared cheering clapping – most embarrassing. (...) After the procession there was a renewal of the clapping and cheering, which followed us all the way back to the hotel.' People sang as they approached him, gave him presents and one woman fell to her knees: penicillin had saved her life. While Fleming wrote 'embarrassing', news reports stated that he was extremely moved. The hero had never been so accessible, a stark contrast with the drug he represented. On returning to their room the Flemings found 'an enormous wreath of flowers, an entirely new experience. Every seat is covered with them.'²⁴ Late in the afternoon, church bells tolled as the procession finished and military salutes were fired from the castle of Montjuic, marking the solemnity of Corpus Christi day while also exhibiting features of the dictatorship: the church and the military governed public life as a political domain. *Generalísimo Franco* had created three separate ministries for the army, navy and air force, all headed by loyal military personnel, as were many other ministries: the Minister of Industry and Trade, Minister of Public Works and Minister of Interior (Home Office) were all military men, while the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Education were staunch Catholics.

The next day brought more crowds, in a busy agenda apparently intended to introduce and reinforce political authority of Franco's governmental organisation and bureaucracy, the Flemings met the British Consulate, the mayor and the provincial governor. Fleming found the mayor—previously 'an orthopaedic surgeon in Zaragoza'—'very genial' and the Diputación's office 'one of the most ancient and beautiful in Barcelona'. They 'saw the University and ended in the student bar: sherry and hors d'oeuvres'. Back at the hotel a sculptor was waiting to create a bronze bust of the celebrated scientist, closely followed by a tailor—Trías's wife's uncle—to take measurements for two suits, 'one, a light weight, for Seville and the second, of a slightly heavier material, for Madrid'. At a party in the British Institute he again met 'too many people to remember' and the 'cheering crowds' were once more in attendance when the Flemings left. Back at the hotel the parents of a woman saved by penicillin 'presented Sareen with a sable stole'. At the end of the day Fleming concluded, 'Everywhere I have been so far, I have found everyone most demonstrative, a little too much for my own comfort.'

The trip remained both celebratory and Catholic the next day with a visit to Montserrat, a Benedictine abbey near Barcelona: although fully embedded in the practices and symbols of Francoism, the abbey would become a sanctuary for supporters of Catalan nationalism and leftists as the power of the dictatorship declined. The one Benedictine monk who spoke English acted as translator, and Fleming shared lunch at the *refectorio* in silence but for one voice reading in Latin. In his welcoming speech the prior announced that the life of one of the elder monks had been saved from septicaemia by penicillin, then Fleming ‘had to say a few words in reply – poor words but they seemed to like them’. Fleming presented the prior with a mounted culture of penicillin. ‘He was overjoyed with it and together with a short description which I wrote for him, it is being put with the treasures of the monastery.’

After spending almost all day at the abbey, visiting the library, gardens and museum, their wives rejoined them—women were not allowed in the inner part of the abbey—to attend *Visperas*, the sung evening prayer. While signing autograph books and planning dinner back in Barcelona, Fleming was notified that there was ‘a minister just come to the dining room and that I should not meet him – a fascist’. Instead the Flemings went to a small restaurant across the street and ‘had a simple good meal. Then the proprietor refused to take payment. I seem to be a hero here in Spain.’ Despite his complacency regarding the homage and celebrations surrounding him, which represented not only the wonders of penicillin but also the dictatorship, meeting this fascist minister was apparently a line he would not cross.

Fleming felt the reverence, respect and acclaim he received were better suited to ‘Winston Churchill or Princess Elizabeth’. Having sat another hour for the sculptor, Alexander and Sarah Fleming went to a museum, then to lunch with ‘a large official party headed by the deputy mayor’ who spoke ‘good American’. Fleming attended a football match between Spain and Ireland. Driven in a ‘procession of cars to the private entrance’ then seated in what he felt corresponded to a Royal Box, Fleming recorded, ‘we seem to have special privileges’. Also at the match was Antonio Girón, very likely the fascist official Fleming had avoided the night before. At that time, Girón was the only member of fascist party Falange Española in Franco’s cabinet, as Minister of Labour. Franco had increased the Catholic presence in his cabinet—reducing the fascist contingent—by the end of the Second World War. The two

factions had been in dispute since the dictatorship began; it would be the state religion that won the enduring victory.²⁵

La Vanguardia reported that Fleming, having received a great ovation, was asked at half-time to say a few words to a full stadium that exuded 'great solemnity'. To end a very long day Fleming was invited to attend a bullfight alongside Barcelona's dignitaries.²⁶ A traditional feature of Spanish public social life, the *corrida* started at 23:15, unusually late, suggesting scheduling may have been specially organised for Fleming. Seated in one of the bullring's best positions, Fleming again received a tremendous ovation lasting for over three minutes, something a columnist reporting on the event had never previously witnessed.²⁷ Fleming was told the bullfighting was 'by no means up to standard', but one of the toreadors dedicated a bull's head to him, and at the 2:00 a.m. finish he left the arena to another great ovation.

After a week of social events, lunches, dinners and all the customary Spanish pastimes, Fleming finally gave his first lecture at noon on Monday, May 31, after attending an exhibition and visiting a shoe shop. The owner, having 'been saved by Pen after motor smash involving chest', wanted to reward Fleming, who chose a pair in brown crocodile skin.

At the Hospital de Nuestra Señora del Mar—dedicated to 'Our Lady' after the civil war, it returned to l'Hospital del Mar in the democratic era—for the treatment of infectious disease, 'the illustrious discoverer of Penicillin' gave a presentation on septic wounds. The scientist was back. In *La Vanguardia*'s front-page photo, the former man-about-town, seated at the optical microscope as if working in the laboratory, now wore the symbolic white coat.²⁸ Fleming officially inaugurated the conference hall in which he would present three lectures, the last on penicillin and its uses. The room was full. The audience, spilling out into the corridors and room next door, included many renowned Barcelonian clinicians, public health officials and faculty members from the University of Barcelona Medical School.²⁹ The talks were simultaneously translated by physician Adolfo Ley, a neurologist who spent two years at Illinois' Northwestern University, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation in the early 1940s.³⁰ Ley sat in a small chamber within the hall, and the translation was relayed through loudspeakers.

In his talk about septic wounds, Fleming paid homage to the Catalan physician and bacteriologist he had met when first studying bacteriology, Jaume Ferrán, who died in 1929, and the traumatologist,

Josep Trueta, now exiled in the UK. Fleming praised Trueta's 'methods of encasing septic wounds of the limbs in plaster', which had 'saved an immense amount of suffering to the patients'. News reports noted the talk was followed by seemingly endless thunderous applause.

Fleming then went to lunch as the guest—he would find out later—of a pharmaceutical manufacturer. His host then took Fleming to his factory, but showed him nothing but films and photographs, what Fleming described as '[p]ure advertisement'. After an hour's nap—having eaten too much—the evening was dedicated to Trías, who had chosen that day to be admitted as a fellow of the Barcelona Academy of Medicine. Fleming found the dinner at Trías's home later 'cheerful'; there were 'no speeches but I had to sign all the menus with appropriate remarks'.

The next day, before his second lecture, Fleming was taken to the old hospital, a fifteenth-century gothic building, and the fourteenth-century gothic Marine Museum, one of the oldest and most beautiful medieval buildings in town. The lecture was on lysozyme, a protein from body fluids and hen egg white able to kill germs and inhibit growth, which Fleming had identified before penicillin.³¹ Although it proved ineffective against infections, it is thought that lysozyme helped attune Fleming to the antimicrobial activity of biological substances.³² Lunch was with medical authorities, and dinner with local government officials. This 'full dressed' event was held at the Palacio de la Diputación—today Palau de la Generalitat—a fifteenth-century building built for the Catalanian government, and one of the few medieval buildings in Europe to still house the institution it was originally constructed for. By now Fleming was overwhelmed by the amount of autographs he had to provide: a diverse array of notebooks, menus and pieces of paper awaited his signature.

Finally, Fleming presented his lecture on the uses of penicillin. This was a talk he had given many times, with an added discussion on treatment with penicillin and the anaesthetic procaine.³³ Initially injected separately to reduce pain—the acids would destroy the stomach if taken orally—these chemically combined as a procaine salt of penicillin was one of the earliest successful combinations of penicillin.³⁴ After the talk, medical staff invited Fleming to an 'enormous' lunch at a popular restaurant close to both the hospital and docks, which included 'fish and suckling pig'. He was 'completely defeated but the rest ate a lot, together with sherry, red and white wine, champagne and brandy'; rationing allowances were apparently not in effect. An afternoon cocktail party at the British Club, where he was introduced to 'over 100' people, all wanting

autographs, was followed by a concert at the Palau de la Música. The Flemings left before the end, but being unable to slip away discretely they were treated to lengthy applause, a large box of chocolates and an 'enormous bouquet of flowers'.³⁵

The next day—free from lectures but still with a full agenda—the Flemings were taken to the beautiful seaport and beach at nearby Sitges, a trip described by Fleming as 'flowers, terraces, ovations, ceramics, autographs, dancing'. In the afternoon another grateful recipient of penicillin awaited, this time an optician, who made him two pairs of glasses, for both of which Fleming chose identical frames to those he was already wearing. At the Academy of Medicine that evening the tuxedoed Fleming gave a four-minute talk on the history of penicillin, and ended by stating his desire to 'strengthen the cultural, friendly relationship between my home country and Spain'. Trías then read a complete translation.³⁶ After a 'flowery' speech by the president, Fleming received a diploma and a gold medal coined for the occasion. A No-Do film of the event—the hall had to be highly illuminated for this—and *La Vanguardia's* cover, show Fleming in the full *Aula magna* of the Academy, holding the diploma and bowing in acknowledgement of the ovation he received.³⁷ Applause accompanied the Flemings as they walked to a car provided by the British consulate. As *La Vanguardia* reported, '[t]he wise man kindly waved at the crowd'.³⁸

Fleming visited the Hospital Santa Cruz y San Pablo's campus the next day, a set of early twentieth-century modernist buildings and the first large hospital in Barcelona, where he noted religious regalia—'Altars in all the wards'—alongside 'modern equipment'. In the maternity wing he witnessed the conditions within the unmarried mothers' hall: an 'enormous place', with '400 beds' where the women were 'visited by no-one but the physicians ... The children, if necessary, are cared for here until they reach 6 years of age.' In the afternoon Fleming was expected to present a talk on 'Success' at the University of Barcelona. Such a sociological issue by a renowned researcher, 'Success' was a direct promotion of not only his own achievements as a scientist, but of research as such, of bacteriology and the clinical laboratory; the prestige of St. Mary's Hospital was included. The University of Barcelona Medical School's large auditorium—Paraninfo—was full of 'enthusiastic' students and a Spanish translation was provided. 'Judging by the ovation', Fleming noted, 'it was apparently successful',³⁹ while *La Vanguardia* reported extended applause for 'the British sage'.⁴⁰

Back at the Hospital del Mar on Saturday, Fleming attended a ‘great’—and apparently boisterous—reception: ‘[a]bounding with policemen to keep order’. This time the new research department of tropical diseases was official inaugurated. After a number of speeches by hospital dignitaries, including Trías, Fleming spoke on what he believed a research building should be. After admiring the new Bacteriological Institute, he added that ‘a building is not everything’ and proceeded to praise the modesty of the research profession: ‘We laboratory workers do not wish marble halls and majesty but we like to look on the institute in which we work with a certain amount of pride.’ Such a ‘magnificent building’ should be justified, he wrote, ‘by the high quality of their work’, and he ended with a final remark: ‘I do not doubt that in this they will succeed and that the city of Barcelona will continue to be as proud of this bacteriological institute as I am, this day, proud at being allowed to assist at its opening.’⁴¹ The officials, clinicians and Fleming then proceeded to the entrance hall, where a curtain was pulled back, and ‘there appeared my head in clay’, alongside a commemorative plaque of his inauguration of the Institute.⁴² Following champagne, they visited the laboratories, which Fleming thought ‘much too small. There were only single gas jets, and very little in the way of equipment.’ It was during this decade that a number of research institutes in Madrid were also opened only to remain empty of research material and personnel: the dictatorship expressed its power through impressive buildings without providing funds to sustain the work for which they had been constructed.⁴³

Social engagements continued, including a visit to the emblematic Pueblo español, a presentation of buildings from the different regions of Spain created for the 1929 Barcelona International Fair. On Sunday, Fleming was back at Las Ramblas for the last few crowded walks, ovations and demands for autographs that maintained the tension and acclaim. He also viewed the early version of a newsreel with images of his stay, closing the circle: watching himself perform as the greatly acclaimed penicillin hero. There remained a final bullfight—‘the whole 20,000 people applauded so have to wave my hand in all directions’—then packing, made harder by the number of presents and other souvenirs the Flemings had accumulated.

On Monday morning, the Flemings boarded a plane, alongside Trías and his family, and waved the Barcelonian crowds a final goodbye. They landed in Madrid, and ‘after an hour of extraordinary fuss’ flew on to Seville where they found an ‘even greater reception, many doctors, more

flowers'. The people of Seville had been notified of the Flemings' visit to the town by their mayor, who called for them to honour the British hero, 'to render this great benefactor of mankind the homage we are all compelled to pay to him'.⁴⁴ This call—in tune with the tendency of authorities to summon people to attend appearances and public speeches by Franco—would be answered in abundance. It was early June in one of Spain's hottest cities, during a drought that had blighted the entire decade and extended post-war shortages of food and water, when the crowds came to see Fleming arrive at Seville's town hall. The city, her citizens, journalists and officials—if we take the information in newspapers to be reliable—exhibited even higher, more pompous overtones than Barcelona. Fleming was practically venerated, afforded an excess of respect normally reserved for God, the Holy Virgin and, whether through actual respect or fear, the Dictator himself. Power, wisdom, miraculous wonders and desperate expectations, all coalesced in the British hero.

News reports described Doctor—the same Spanish word is used for MD and PhD—Fleming's outfit in detail, as well as Sarah's, as they visited Seville's principal buildings—the cathedral and the old Hospital de la Caridad—before meeting the crowds in the town hall square, Plaza Nueva. Local authorities—the bishop, the army, police and clinician members of the Academy of Medicine—were all represented, as the mayor made a speech in Spanish, 'with no translation', then Fleming 'had to make a short one'. The Municipal Band played the British national anthem as Fleming passed by and went up the stairs to the hall where he found a group of people cured by penicillin and thunderous applause: news reports may have exaggerated but Fleming's notes suggest his reception, here and everywhere else, was enthusiastic, including 'more applause in the street'. Dinner at the mayor's was accompanied by a group of young girls performing Andalusian dances, *flamenco* singing and many more autographs to sign. The Flemings managed to get to their hotel by 2:30 a.m.: 'Not bad for a free afternoon.' After paying respect to the great hero in the chronicles of his first day in Seville, the local edition of *ABC* reproached Fleming for always being late: 'We as polite Sevillians and respectful of British punctuality, are always on time for every event. And Doctor Fleming politely corresponds to our idiosyncrasy by always being late.'⁴⁵

The theatre for Fleming's lecture was decorated with Spanish and UK flags, flowers and a long red carpet along the aisle from the stage.

A large portrait of Franco dominated the scene, but went unmentioned by Fleming.⁴⁶ His lecture on the history of penicillin was read in Spanish by surgeon Cristóbal Pera. A visit to downtown Seville followed, with 'Alcázar [a royal palace], patios, narrow streets in daylight': Fleming was apparently charmed.

The Flemings and the Trías de Bes family were driven to Córdoba the next day, through virtually continuous olive groves, to be officially greeted at the main door of the city, a Roman bridge over the river Guadalquivir. Fleming himself had requested the visit to Córdoba be arranged.⁴⁷ They walked to the mosque—through 'an enormous crowd, great cheering and much handshaking'—which impressed Fleming: 'A marvellous building quite different from anything I had ever seen.' He visited the museum of painter Romero de Torres, attended another town hall reception as guest of honour, and had lunch at the Club de la Amistad, described by Fleming as 'the most aristocratic club in Cordoba'. The patio of the restaurant was hung with Union Jacks and Spanish flags, and Fleming was sat between the governor's wife, who only spoke Spanish, and the bishop, who had a modicum of English: 'Sareen was better off since one of her neighbours spoke English.' He was introduced to the first women in Cordoba to receive penicillin, and was given a *Cordobés* hat as a gift, with which he posed for photographers. After visiting a bullfighting exhibition at the Veterinary School—'Evidently bullfighting has [a] great part in Spanish life'⁴⁸—the Flemings and the Trías de Bes family returned to Seville (see Fig. 2.1).

After overnighting in Seville, the group travelled south to Jerez de la Frontera for lunch in one of the wine cellars, with a number of producers and the Mayor of Jerez: the town is the origin of the British term, sherry. After a display of 'very beautiful' Andalusian horses at the Spanish Military Stud, they returned to Seville.⁴⁹ The Flemings flew to Madrid the next day for a long, intense weekend.

At the Madrid aerodrome representatives of the Ministry of Education, local officials, representatives of the University of Madrid's School of Medicine, director of the British Institute in Madrid, Walter Starkie, and Florencio Bustinza and his family, were all waiting.⁵⁰ Fleming received a letter of gratitude from the aerodrome porter for penicillin saving his life after surgery and was driven to the city with the major and Starkie. From a downtown broadcasting studio, Fleming greeted the people of Madrid.⁵¹ His first talk was the one on 'Success' presented at the British Institute, and introduced by Bustinza who, as



Fig. 2.1 Fleming in Córdoba before Manolete statue at the bullfighting exhibition, Veterinary School in Córdoba, shaking hands with the statue's creator Laiz Campos. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Margarita Laiz

discussed in the previous chapter, had written a book on penicillin after a long stay in the USA and a visit to Fleming. It was during Fleming's stay in Madrid that Bustinza displayed his knowledge and social skills. The Institute was full: 'there were perhaps 200 people listening but I did not know that there were 3 or 4 times in different floors'. That evening Fleming went for dinner with the Starkies, Trias and Bustinza at the exclusive country club, Club de Campo, where he met the Duke of Alba, Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, who had been Spanish Ambassador in London, then attended a dance in aid of the Anglo-American hospital; although they did not stay long, Fleming was pleased to hear their appearance had attracted a large attendance and brought in a substantial amount of money.

In Madrid Fleming received all the accolades that existed for the most illustrious dignitaries. The Minister of National Education, José Ibáñez Martín, informed Fleming that Franco had decided to award him the highest honour for those who excelled in education and culture, the *Gran Cruz de Alfonso X el Sabio*; Madrid's local government named a street after him; and the next day, Saturday June 12, in a ceremony at the University of Madrid at which he received the *Gran Cruz*, he was also invested as Doctor *honoris causa*. A photograph in Madrid's daily *ABC* shows Fleming receiving the doctorate from the University Rector, with José Ibáñez Martín between the two looking directly into the camera. The photograph shared the page of the ceremony report with a caricature profile of Fleming in a satin biretta and cape.⁵² His lecture was once again introduced by Bustinza, who also read the Spanish translation.⁵³ On leaving for his hotel after lunch, people ran alongside the car from the *rectorado* all the way down San Bernardo Street. Fleming presented his lecture on penicillin use at a downtown theatre late in the afternoon, to an audience mainly composed of clinicians and pharmacists.

On Sunday, Fleming visited the Prado museum, then went for lunch in Toledo, at the country house of the well-respected clinician, Gregorio Marañón: 'A very nice family and a beautiful house. We posed for many photographs and cine pictures. We lunched outdoors and it was all most pleasant.' The entire Marañón family was there to receive Fleming, the Starkies, the Trias family and Bustinzas; Sarah Fleming was in bed with a fever that weekend, being cared for by a nurse from the Anglo-American hospital. In the afternoon Fleming received honorary membership of the Royal Academy of Medicine. Many academic clinicians and José Ibáñez Martín were again in attendance: Fleming does not document

any meetings with authorities and the many other influential people he encountered, as if barely a word was spoken between them. After a long address by the Academy's President, Fleming, wearing his 'new decoration' for the first time, gave a far briefer speech. He was introduced to the Bishop of Madrid, a representative from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Fernando Enríquez de Salamanca, Director of the Academy and Dean of the University of Madrid Medical School; de Salamanca signed the reports which led to the purging of members of the Faculty judged to be disloyal to Franco during the early 1940s. That Sunday evening in Madrid, Fleming was surrounded by representatives of power: the church, government, medicine and academia. Nowhere more dramatically than Madrid was Fleming so close, face to face with the dictatorship. As a fully centralised government, the capital city of the nation remained the most concentrated representative scenario of the powers of Franco's regime. After the academic session Fleming visited Chicote, which he described as a 'drink Museum', but was actually a restaurant where the owner, Perico Chicote, kept a collection of drinks from many countries, including 222 different brands of Scotch whisky: 'I left him with 221.' Among the guests at this 'very high class cocktail party', were 'film stars, diplomats, duchesses, doctors and *The Times* correspondent and I do not know who else'. Chicote was one of the most recognised places in Madrid to illicitly purchase penicillin: Fleming's presence would have been beneficial for both the cocktail bar and the sales of black market penicillin. Next was a musical soiree at the Parque del Buen Retiro in formal dress, with the mayor and over a hundred guests: Fleming again received a great ovation, shook many hands and signed countless autographs.

On Monday afternoon, after broadcasting a farewell speech,⁵⁴ the Flemings left for the airport 'in two cars, with a lorry for the baggage': Bustinza noted that a new suitcase had to be acquired to carry the numerous presents Fleming had received.⁵⁵ After a 45-minute wait at Bordeaux they arrived at RAF Northholt just before 9:00 p.m., 'having flown over a half wrecked Mulberry Harbour'. These temporary portable harbours developed by the British during the Second World War facilitated the offloading of cargo during the Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944. Fleming's typewritten report ends here, remembering British participation in the war.⁵⁶

A SYMBOL IN THE DICTATORSHIP'S LANDSCAPE

Fleming has left his own story of the lengthy and acclaimed visit he made to the impoverished country that provided Britain and France with oranges. At the time of his visit penicillin supplies in Spain remained inadequate to meet the population's considerable need. The old governing aristocracy had been replaced by a new order, one which took full advantage of its links with Francoist bureaucracy, resources that enabled rationing regulations to be flouted and benefits to be accrued from the inflated price of agricultural products on the black market.⁵⁷ Fleming's availability during his visit—allowing people to see him, touch him, receive his autograph—counteracted the misery of everyday life in Franco's Spain. He was penicillin's representative in a culture of public acclaim: the culture Spanish citizens had become accustomed to. The mythic mobilising discourse of Franco's Spain, an imagined community protecting the country from Republican ideals with historic, traditional values, were narrative tools put at the service of penicillin as a myth and its representative, Fleming.⁵⁸ Penicillin and the dictator's imposed ideology mutually reinforced the status of each as salvation. By applauding public authorities—the raised-arm fascist salute had not been compulsory since 1945—Spanish citizens became part of a public policy and culture of acclaim ordered and showcased by the dictatorship. Fleming's fame and the mythic status of penicillin originated from a cure experienced by only a handful of people. As public celebrations, the events which Fleming attended could be regarded as acknowledgements of a well-deserved fame, of miracles and medical and scientific authority. Fleming never met Franco, and the dictator does not appear in his notes, as if non-existent. Apparently Franco did mention Fleming, however, when authorising the *Gran Cruz de Alfonso X el Sabio*: the dictator recognised Fleming.

In addition to visiting academic settings, new and established hospitals, and local and regional government institutions, Fleming attended bullfights, football matches, concerts and processions. He also visited restaurants, private homes, churches, museums and wine cellars, and walked down Spanish streets. Joining in contemporary features of Spanish public social life with government officials and distinguished clinicians from Barcelona, Seville, Córdoba and Madrid, Fleming ostensibly shared the values of that space and time.⁵⁹ Apart from the occasional

embarrassed smile, Fleming's thoughts on the political and social situation in Spain—if indeed he had any—remained absent from both his speeches and his journal.

Honoured by the Academies of Medicine in Barcelona, Seville and Madrid, he gave his presentations on microorganisms, antimicrobials and success again and again; the audiences were extensive, listening next door to translated versions, reading news reports, watching No-Do reels or running beside the cars in which he and Sarah Fleming were driven. Throughout his tour he was publicly acclaimed as the heroic discoverer of a wonder drug.⁶⁰ The English language was present, participating in a new phenomenon of propagating modern geopolitics through the idiom of the penicillin makers: the language of those who worked in bacteriological laboratories, and in the British and American manufacturing plants.

In Madrid he was proclaimed a 'peace messenger of medical science', thanked for his 'example and simple life as a laboratory worker', and for his work, which 'benefited everyone equally'.⁶¹ The record of these events, detailed in newspapers, recorded by No-Do and published by Fleming's Spanish spokesman, Florencio Bustinza, carries the public tone of the period: a heroic individual celebrated at a time when groups were considered a threat to civil life by a highly authoritarian and controlling dictatorship. Public imagery included both the positive and dark sides of penicillin: Fleming even visited one of the famous public houses in Madrid where penicillin was sold *de estraperlo*, a popular term for the black market, on which many basic foods such as bread, sugar and coffee were also traded and sold. Meals were lavish feasts at which he always overindulged, while Spanish citizens had to adhere to strict rationing regulations. Busts of the legendary, mythical saviour appeared across Spain following his visit, and Fleming's fame would increase over the years, even when penicillin was no longer the barely accessible, magic drug.

Finally, beyond the hero stood the representative of Britain, aiding the recovery of relations between Spain and the UK. Trade and diplomacy were inextricably linked and the British Consulate was a constant component of Fleming's entourage. As Fleming noted, the Consul General was 'very pleased I have come as I will do a great deal to help relations between Spain and our country'. Although his biographers have emphasised Fleming's modest character, he recognised his diplomatic value: 'It seems to me that I am much more important as an ambassador than as

a medical figure' (56118 5). This was certainly not Fleming's first trip abroad. His journey to the USA in 1945 to witness 'how penicillin was being developed there', had also become a propaganda mission, with talks, broadcasts, interviews and press conferences. On arrival Fleming discovered that British representatives believed 'the most important aspect of my visit would be in respect of international amity and that it was very important that I should not discourage publicity'.⁶² Andre Maurois's biography of Fleming describes his stay in Spain as 'une voyage des Mille et une Nuits', exhausting, demanding, and without time to rest.⁶³ He and his wonder drug shared their promise of salvation with the dictatorship through an interchange of symbols, celebrations and styles of myth-making that suggested overlapping values. The heroic dictator thus interchanged ways of celebrating with penicillin itself and with Fleming, in a set of events that if not produced by, were at least permitted by political authorities who rigorously controlled every public—and many times private—expression.⁶⁴

The media played their part in creating the myth that penicillin and Fleming became. Newspapers published in-depth reports of each day of Fleming's visit and announced plans for the next. The detailed account this chapter provides cannot do justice to the overtones, the honours—medals, diplomas, street names, the *Gran Cruz* decoration—or the mobbed welcomes and walks reported by No-Do and the papers. The extremely tight schedule added to the mythical journey, the circulation of a scientific hero in the country of the military hero, at a time when the successes of science and technology were considered a lifeline for the future. All these events would be obscured by approval of the Marshall Plan budget to aid European recovery: Spain was omitted from the countries to benefit. Spain relied on scientific achievements arriving from abroad, but it was an apparently wealthy nation displayed to Fleming.

The bullfight is a particularly apt symbolic space for the story reconstructed in this chapter. The dangers could be perceived as surmountable, possible to overcome with the contribution of penicillin, of the science and medicine of the new drug. Penicillin was saving the lives of those thrust from the bull's horns, whose wounds became infected: many bullfighters died before penicillin was available. In Córdoba Fleming had seen the monument to the bullfighter and 'national hero' Manolete, killed the previous year. The myth would survive, however, even when the manufacture of penicillin in Spain had begun.

NOTES

1. All Fleming's quotations included here are from Alexander Fleming Papers, British Library Additional Manuscripts, BL Add MS 56191, Vol. LXXXVI Journals, 25 May–14 June 1948, handwritten notebooks, and from the typewritten version of the journals in BL Add MS 56118. I am indebted to Mauro Capocci for calling my attention to this archival material.
2. F. Sevillano Calero, *Propaganda y medios de comunicación en el franquismo* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1998), at <http://publicaciones.ua.es/filespubli/pdf/LD84790874637062078.pdf>.
3. Ángela Cenarro, 'Los días de la "Nueva España": entre la "revolución nacional" y el peso de la tradición', *Ayer* 51 (2003): 115–34.
4. Ismael Saz, *España contra España: Los nacionalismos franquistas* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003); Ismael Saz, *Las caras del franquismo* (Granada: Comares, 2013).
5. Jefatura del Estado: Decreto-Ley de 5 de mayo de 1945, published by the *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 8 de mayo 1945: 'Bloqueo de bienes extranjeros'. On this episode see also Jean-Marc Delaunay, 'La liquidation des avoirs allemands en Espagne (1945–1961)', in *España, Francia y la Comunidad Europea*, eds. Jean-Pierre Étienne and José Ramón Urquijo (Madrid: CSIC-Casa de Velázquez, 1989), 219–45.
6. Enrique Moradiellos, *La España de Franco, 1939–1975: política y sociedad* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2000); Fernando Guirao, *Spain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945–57. Challenge and Response* (London and New York: Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1998).
7. Guirao, *Spain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe*, 28–34.
8. On the military agreement between Spain and the USA, see Ángel Viñas, *Los pactos secretos de Franco con Estados Unidos: bases, ayuda económica, recortes de soberanía* (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1981).
9. Guirao, *Spain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe*, 28–34.
10. On Starkie, see Isabel Bugallal, 'Walter Starkie, el Borrow irlandés', at <http://www.laopinioncoruna.es/contraportada/2010/12/14/walter-starkie-borrow-irlandes/447969.html>; Jacqueline Hurtley, *Walter Starkie. An Odyssey* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013).
11. Gwyn Macfarlane, *Alexander Fleming, the Man and the Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Kevin Brown, *Penicillin Man: Alexander Fleming and the Antibiotic Revolution* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013); and André Maurois, *La vie de Sir Alexander Fleming* (New York: EP Dutton, 1959).
12. Bud, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 63–4.

13. Inspired by Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); John Druty Radcliff, *Yellow Magic. The Story of Penicillin* (New York: Random House, 1945), cited in Bud, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 67.
14. Brown, *Penicillin Man*, 66–8.
15. Among the many histories of the Franco dictatorship, see Moradiellos, *La España de Franco*; Ismael Saz, 'El primer franquismo', *Ayer* 36 (1999): 201–21.
16. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939–1975* (Maldon, MA: Wiley, 2009). Also Saz 'El primer franquismo'.
17. One of Fleming's biographers had suggested it was Bustinza's arrangements that made Fleming's tour of Spain a 'triumphal visit': Gwyn Macfarlane, *Alexander Fleming*, 227. However, Bustinza's reconstruction of the trip and reviews in newspapers suggest Trias de Bes was the principal instigator. Bustinza did make academic arrangements for Fleming in Madrid: Florencio Bustinza, *Diez años de amistad con Sir Alexander Fleming* (Madrid: M.A.S., 1961). On Fleming's similarly acclaimed visit to France in 1945, see Jean-Paul Gaudillière, *Inventer la biomedicine: la France, l'Amerique et la production des savoirs du vivant* (Paris: La découverte, 2002), 46–7.
18. *La Vanguardia*, May 27, 1948, 9. My translation.
19. On penicillin patents see Gladys Hobby, *Penicillin: Meeting the Challenge* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 284, no. 18; Ana Romero de Pablos, 'Regulation and the circulation of knowledge: Penicillin Patents in Spain', *Dynamis* 31(2) (2011): 363–83; and Ana Romero de Pablos, 'Patents, antibiotics, and autarky in Spain', *Medicina nei secoli* 26(2) (2013): 423–49.
20. Luis Trias de Bes, 'Alexander Fleming y su penicilina', *La Vanguardia*, May 26, 1948. This was reproduced and commemorated by *La Vanguardia digital*, August 23, 2002, as one of the 'Articles of the century', at <http://www.lavanguardia.es>, accessed 24 October 2002.
21. *La Vanguardia*, May 27, 1948, 9.
22. *La Vanguardia*, May 28, 1948, cover page.
23. Javier Tusell, *Franco y los católicos: la política interior española entre 1945 y 1957* (Madrid: Alianza, 1984).
24. Fleming Papers 56118.
25. Moradiellos, *La España de Franco*.
26. *La Vanguardia*, June 1, 1948, 13.
27. E. P., 'Fiesta de los Toros', *La Vanguardia*, June 1, 1948.

28. *La Vanguardia*, June 2, 1948. Similar pictures were also included in other newspapers around that time, such as the Barcelona weekly, *Destino*, May 22, 1948.
29. *La Vanguardia*, June 1, 1948, 8.
30. See his speech on entering the Academia de Medicina de Barcelona, the response and biographical information about Ley in Adolfo Ley Gracia, *Pasado, presente y future de la cirugía craneocerebral*. Discurso leído por el académico electo en el acto de su recepción (Barcelona: Real Academia de Medicina de Barcelona, 1971).
31. *La Vanguardia*, June 2, 1948, 7.
32. Hobby, *Meeting the Challenge*, 7–8 and references therein.
33. The lectures were collected and published in Barcelona later that year, with a foreword by Trias de Bes: Alexander Fleming, *Conferencias magistrales* (Barcelona–Madrid: Publicaciones del Hospital Municipal de Infecciosos–Diana Artes gráficas, 1948).
34. Bud, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 62 and references therein.
35. *La Vanguardia*, June 4, 1948, 7.
36. *La Vanguardia*, June 4, 1948, 7.
37. No-Do 283A, año V; *La Vanguardia*, June 5, 1948.
38. *La Vanguardia*, June 4, 1948, 7.
39. Second notebook of the visit ‘4–14 June 1948’. Fleming Papers 56192.
40. *La Vanguardia*, June 5, 1948, 7.
41. Speech Opening Research Institute Barcelona 1948, British Library, Fleming Papers 56125.
42. No-Do 283A, año V.
43. Maria Jesús Santesmases, *Entre Cajal y Ochoa: ciencias biomédicas en la España de Franco* (Madrid: CSIC, 2001).
44. *ABC Sevilla*, ‘Mañana llegará Mr Fleming a Sevilla’ [Tomorrow Fleming arrives in Seville], June 6, 1948, 11.
45. Gil Gómez Batuelo, ‘El señor Fleming, humorista’, *ABC Sevilla*, June 9, 1948, 5.
46. *ABC Sevilla*, June 9, 1948, 5.
47. *ABC Sevilla*, June 10, 1948, 6.
48. Some details of the daytrip are also in *ABC Sevilla*, June 10, 1948, 6.
49. *ABC Sevilla*, June 11, 1948, 4; *ABC Madrid*, June 11, 1948, 11.
50. On Starkie, see Bugallá, ‘Walter Starkie’; and Hurtle, *Walter Starkie*.
51. *ABC*, June 12, 1948, 7.
52. *ABC*, June 13, 1948, 15.
53. Bustinza, *Diez años*, 88–100.
54. *ABC*, June 15, 1948, 17.
55. Bustinza, *Diez años*.
56. Fleming Papers 56118.

57. Miguel Artola Blanco, *El fin de la clase ociosa: de Romanones al estraperlo, 1900–1950* (Alianza Editorial, 2015).
58. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2006). I was directed to Anderson by Zira Box Varela, *España, año cero: la construcción simbólica del franquismo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2010).
59. *La Vanguardia*, June 1, 1948, 8.
60. A short chronicle of his trip to Sevilla, Córdoba, Jerez and Madrid is in Bustinza, *Diez años*, 86–7. On Fleming's stay in Madrid see also Mateo Jiménez Quesada, *De Fleming a Marañón. Anécdotas de mi archivo* (Madrid: Minaza, 1972), 141–2.
61. *ABC*, June 12, 1948, 7.
62. Brown, *Penicillin Man*, 173.
63. Maurois, *La vie de Sir Alexander Fleming*, 255.
64. On the symbolic construction of Franco regime, see Box, *España año cero*, 43.

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