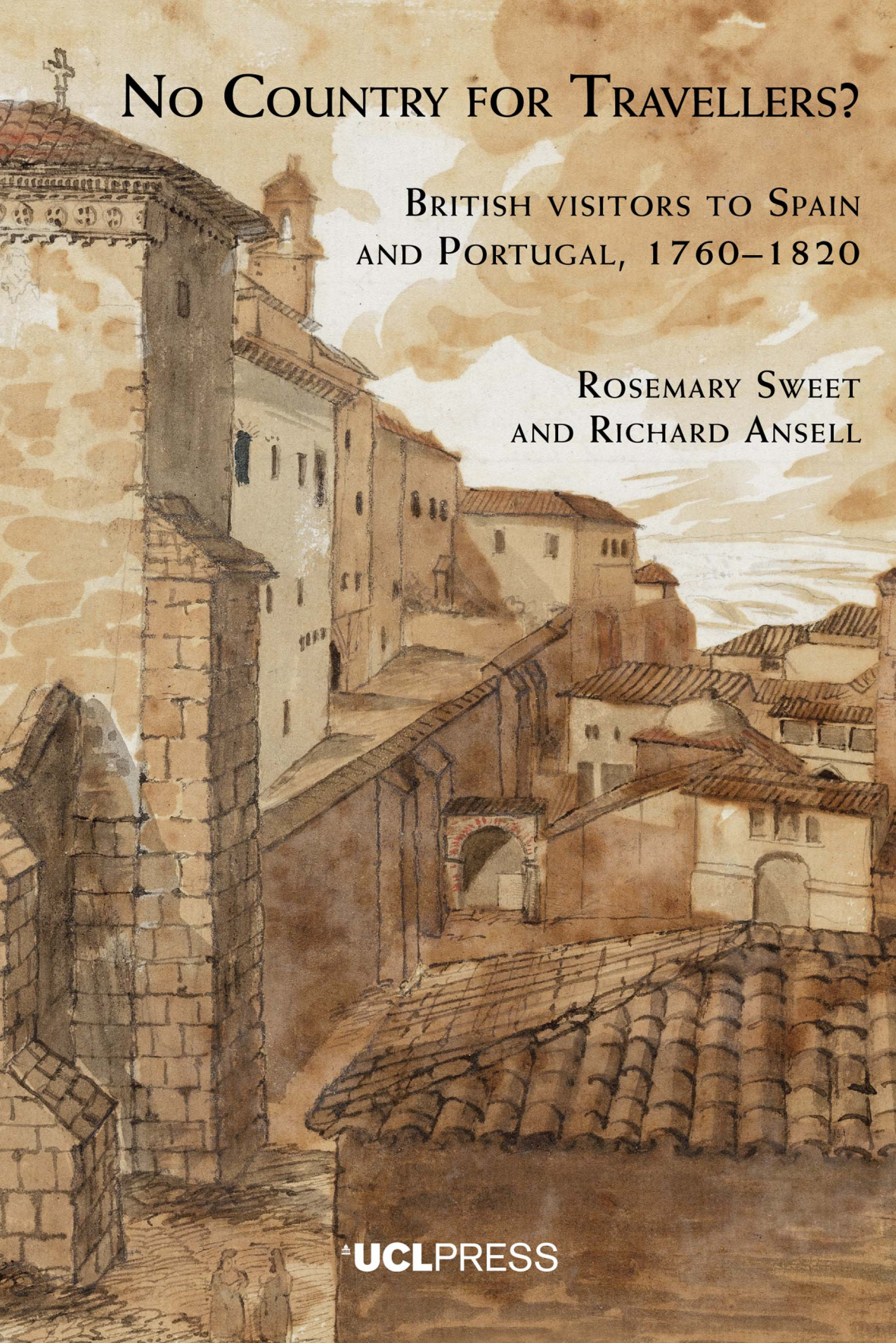


A watercolor illustration of a Spanish town, likely Seville, featuring a large stone tower on the left, a church with a bell tower in the background, and a tiled roof in the foreground. Two small figures are visible in the bottom left corner.

NO COUNTRY FOR TRAVELLERS?

BRITISH VISITORS TO SPAIN
AND PORTUGAL, 1760–1820

ROSEMARY SWEET
AND RICHARD ANSELL

 **UCLPRESS**

No Country for Travellers?

No Country for Travellers?

*British visitors to Spain and Portugal,
1760–1820*

Rosemary Sweet and Richard Ansell

 **UCLPRESS**

First published in 2025 by
UCL Press
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT

Available to download free: www.uclpress.co.uk

Text © Authors, 2025

The authors have asserted their rights under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 to be identified as the authors of this work.

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from The British Library.



Any third-party material in this book is not covered by the book's Creative Commons licence. Details of the copyright ownership and permitted use of third-party material is given in the image (or extract) credit lines. Every effort has been made to identify and contact copyright holders and any omission or error will be corrected if notification is made to the publisher. If you would like to reuse any third-party material not covered by the book's Creative Commons licence, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright owner.

This book is published under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International licence (CC BY-NC 4.0), <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>. This licence allows you to share and adapt the work for non-commercial use providing attribution is made to the author and publisher (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work) and any changes are indicated. Attribution should include the following information:

Sweet, R. and Ansell, R. 2025. *No Country for Travellers? British visitors to Spain and Portugal, 1760–1820*. London: UCL Press.
<https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800088733>

Further details about Creative Commons licences are available at
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

ISBN: 978-1-80008-871-9 (Hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-80008-872-6 (Pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-80008-873-3 (PDF)

ISBN: 978-1-80008-874-0 (epub)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800088733>

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Maps</i>	xv
1 Anglo-Iberian relations and the British view of Spain and Portugal	1
2 Travelling in Spain and Portugal	43
3 Itineraries and destinations	69
4 Religion, women and bullfights	119
5 The British and Spain in the 1770s: Lord Grantham's circle	151
6 Iberia writes back: transnational exchange and international competition, 1779–1808	183
7 Civilian travel and the Peninsular War	215
8 Engaging with Spain's Islamic past	251
9 Conclusion	297
Appendix: British and Irish travellers to Portugal and Spain, c. 1760–1820	309
<i>References</i>	323
<i>Index</i>	343

List of figures

1.1	Carlos III, by Manuel Salvador Carmona after Anton Raphael Mengs (1783).	8
1.2	Portrait of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquess of Pombal by Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet after Louis Michel van Loo (1772).	11
1.3	Elizabeth, Lady Holland with her son, by Louis Gauffier (1794).	16
2.1	Mary Graham, 'Lisbon chaise' (1781).	50
2.2	William Gell, 'The gigs from Granada to Malaga' (1808).	52
2.3	John Hughes, 'A master muleteer of Madrid' (1817).	53
2.4	John Hughes, 'Capt. C – cooking in a venta' (1817).	59
2.5	John Hughes, 'Stone post and robber's head' (1817).	64
3.1	George Douglas, 'The eastern part of the city of Lisbon from the village of Cassillias [Cacilhas] on the south bank of the River Tagus' (1819).	71
3.2	William Gell, 'View of Cintra from Mrs Dacey's' (1810–11).	76
3.3	Henry Smith, <i>View of Oporto from River Douro</i> (1813).	78
3.4	George Douglas, 'Batalha' (1819).	80
3.5	William Gell, 'Peasants ploughing each taking a different furrow' (1808).	85
3.6	George Rennie, prickly pears, date palms and aloes (1817).	89
3.7	Anon. 'Perfil de Madrid, visto desde la R.l Casa del Campo (View of Madrid seen from the Casa de Campo park)' [c. 1777].	91
3.8	Fernando Brambila, 'Vista de una parte del aqueducto de Segovia (View of part of the aqueduct at Segovia)' (1798).	97
3.9	William Gell, 'Toledo with coffee' (1808).	98
3.10	Pedro Tortolero, <i>View of Seville from across the Guadalquivir</i> (1738).	101
3.11	<i>View of Cádiz from the Alameda</i> , from <i>Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Words of Lord Byron</i> (1833–4).	107
3.12	John Hughes, 'Barcelona from the quay' (1817).	111
4.1	Mary Graham, 'A [Portuguese] priest' (1781).	127
4.2	Mary Graham, sketch of 'A [Portuguese] lady at church', wearing a mantilla (1781).	131

4.3	Francisco de Goya, 'El esforzado Rendon picando un toro, de cuya suerte murio en la plaza de Madrid (The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pique, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid)', from <i>La Tauromaquia</i> (1816).	141
5.1	Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham, by William Dickinson after George Romney (1783).	152
5.2	William Robertson, after Joshua Reynolds (1772).	157
5.3	'Distant view of the Palace at Aranjuez' by Amabel Hume Campbell, Countess de Grey after Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham (1790s).	167
5.4	Robert Darley Waddilove by William Ward after George Marshall (1827).	180
6.1	José Nicolás de Azara by Domenico Cunego after Anton Raphael Mengs (1745–1803).	198
6.2	Antonio Ponz, self-portrait (c. 1774), Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.	204
6.3	Joseph Townsend by William Holl (the Elder) after John Opie, from Robert Thornton, 'Botany' (1805).	209
7.1	Agustina de Aragón ('The Maid of Saragossa') by Fernando Brambila, from <i>Ruinas de Zaragoza</i> (1808–14).	219
7.2	Thomas Landmann, 'Torres-Vedras from the North; Estremadura', from <i>Historical, Military and Picturesque Observations on Portugal</i> , 2 vols (1818).	221
7.3	'A view of the storming and taking of Cindad [sic] Rodrigo in Spain, 1812' (1812).	222
7.4	John Hughes, 'Road by which the French retreated from Vittoria [sic]' (1817).	249
8.1	Henry Swinburne, 'Theatre of Sagunto, Spain' (1775–6).	256
8.2	'A view of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque', from William Chambers, <i>Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew</i> (1763).	264
8.3	Henry Swinburne, 'The Alhambra from the Fort of St Helena' (1775–6).	265
8.4	Henry Swinburne, 'Principal entrance of the Alhambra' [The Gate of Justice] (1775–6).	265
8.5	William Gell, 'Court of the Cisterns' (1808).	267
8.6	William Gell, 'Court of the Lions' (1808).	268
8.7	William Gell, 'Tower of Comares from the Mirador' (1808).	269

8.8	‘Moorish Door & Windows in the East Front of the Cathedral of Corduba [sic]’. William Cole’s copy of sketch by Thomas Pitt (1760).	271
8.9	William Gell, ‘Alhambra Lower Plan’ (1808).	278
8.10	William Gell, tracery of windows over the entrance gate of the Court of the Lions compared to tracks left by ducks walking in drying mud (1808).	280
8.11	William Gell, stucco work in the Court of the Lions (1808).	282
8.12	William Gell, ‘The Lion Fountain in the Court of the Lions’ (1808).	283
8.13	William Gell, ‘Mosque of Cordova [sic]’ [1830s].	291
8.14	William Gell, The Court of the Alcázar, Seville [1830s].	294

List of abbreviations

BA	Bedfordshire Archives
BALSD	Barnsley Archives and Local Studies Department
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BSR	British School at Rome
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
JRL	John Rylands Library, University of Manchester
KA	Kent Archives
LA	Lincolnshire Archives
LWL	Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NNRO	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OLA	Orkney Library and Archive
RABASF	Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando
SHC	Surrey History Centre
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
ULLSCG	University of Leeds Library Special Collections and Galleries

Acknowledgements

This book began with an encounter with William Gell's manuscript notebook of his tours to Spain and Portugal in 1808 and 1809 at the British School at Rome. We would like to thank the Directors (Stephen Milner and Abigail Brundin), Valerie Scott, Raphaële Mouren, Beatrice Gelosia and Alessandra Giovenco for their support throughout the project and in the preparation of the digital edition of the Gell notebook, which is now available on the BSR website.¹ William Gell was the starting point for the project, but the Leverhulme Trust enabled the research to happen with the generous award of a Research Project Grant in 2020 (RPG-2020-194). Rosemary Sweet would like to thank the University of Leicester for a period of study leave during which much of the book was written; for funding made available during the Covid pandemic to cover additional digitisation costs; and for a grant to cover cartography expenses.

Many colleagues have provided information, advice and feedback on applications, papers and draft chapters. We would particularly like to thank Nigel Aston, Iain Gordon Brown, Krista Cowman, Erin Dailey, Margot Finn, Alejandro García Sanjuán, Sarah Goldsmith, Andrew Hopper, Joanna Innes, Valerie Scott, Joanna Story, Elizabeth Watt and Alison Yarrington. During the course of the project, we benefited from the contributions of two visiting scholars at the University of Leicester, Thom Tolboom and Pablo Sánchez Pascual; we are indebted to them for their research and insights, which have fed into this book, and their enthusiasm for the project. Osaid Mdawar undertook translation of Arabic material in Gell's notebook and provided valuable insights into Gell's attempts to teach himself Arabic. Giles Darkes created the maps with remarkable speed and efficiency. A visit to Spain to follow in the footsteps of some of the travellers was facilitated and enriched by meetings with Jim Amelang, José María Cardesín, Pablo Sánchez Pascual and María del Mar Villafranca.

We are also indebted to the staff at the following libraries and archives for assistance in research and swift supply of digitised material,

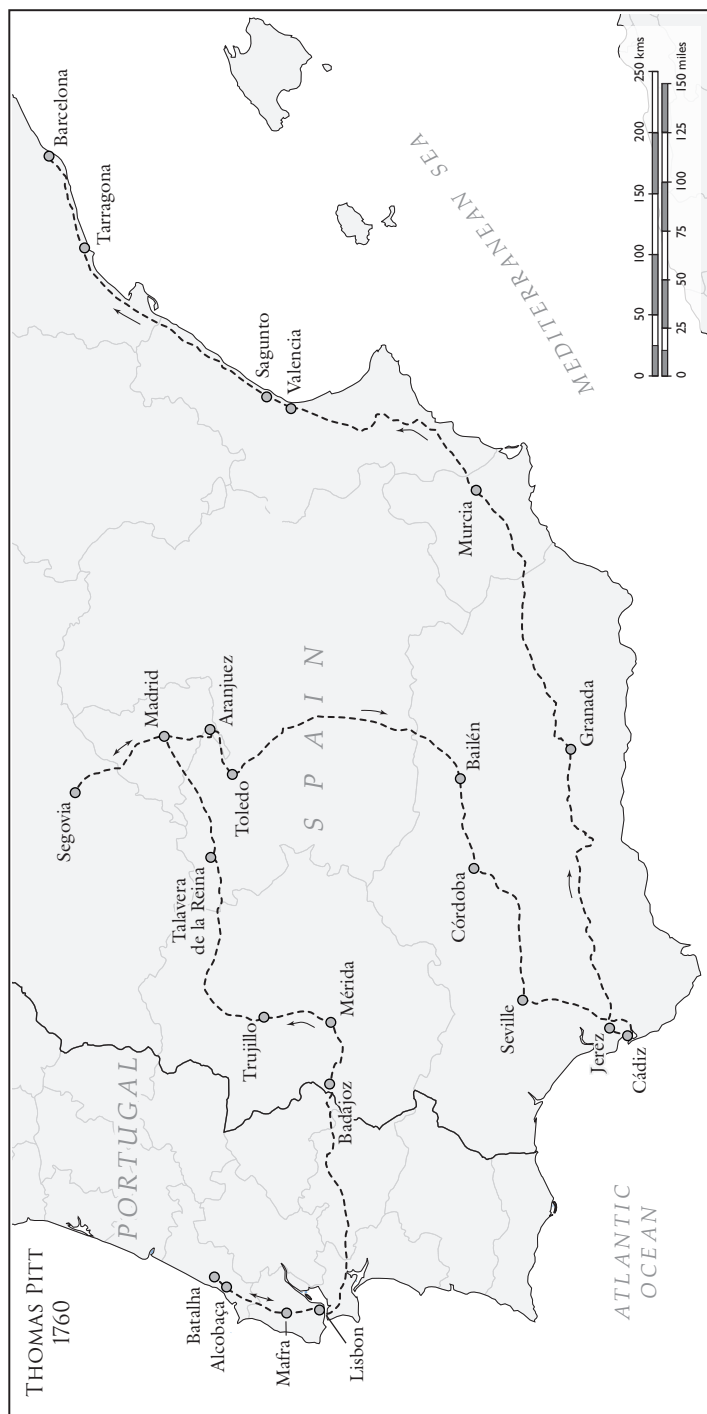
¹ BSR Digital Collections, William Gell (1777–1836), 'Spain and Portugal'. Accessed 17 February 2025. <https://researchprojects.bsr.ac.uk/s/william-gell/page/spain-and-portugal>.

particularly during the pandemic, and for permission to reproduce images: Barnsley Archives and Local Studies Department; Bedfordshire Archives; the Beinecke Library, Yale University; the Library of Birmingham; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; Bristol Archives; Bristol Reference Library; the British Library; the British Museum; the British School at Rome; Cambridge University Library; the Clements Library, University of Michigan; Derbyshire Record Office; Devon Archives; the Huntington Library; the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester; Kent Archives; Kresen Kernow; the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University; Lincolnshire Archives; the National Library of Scotland; Norfolk and Norwich Record Office; Orkney Library and Archive; Surrey History Centre; the University of California, Los Angeles; the University of Leeds Special Collections and Galleries; Warwickshire Record Office; Wigan and Leigh Archives; Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office; the Yale Centre for British Art; and York Minster Library.

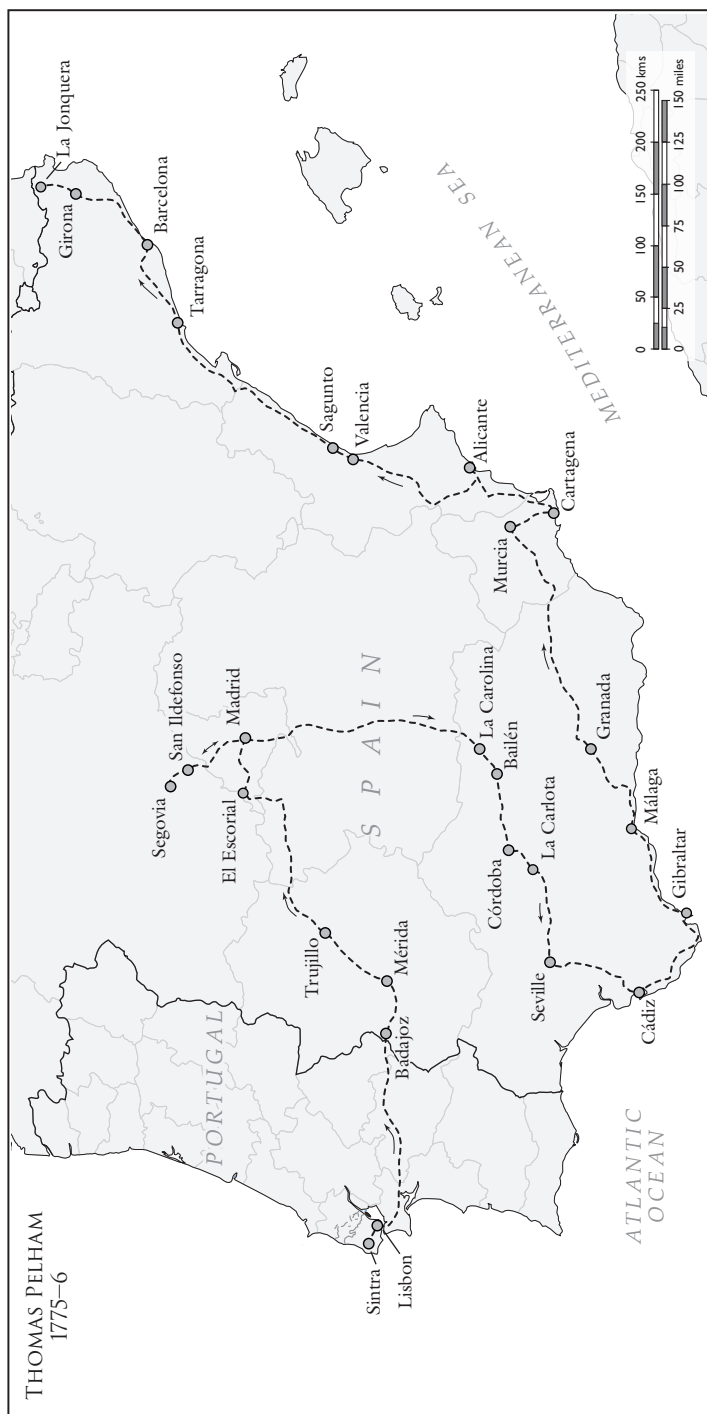
We are delighted to be able to publish this book Open Access with UCL Press and would like to thank our editor, Pat Gordon-Smith, for her enthusiastic support, the anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions and Katharine Norman for her meticulous copy-editing. We are particularly indebted to the Trustees of the Marc Fitch Fund for a grant towards the cost of images and Open Access publication.

Maps

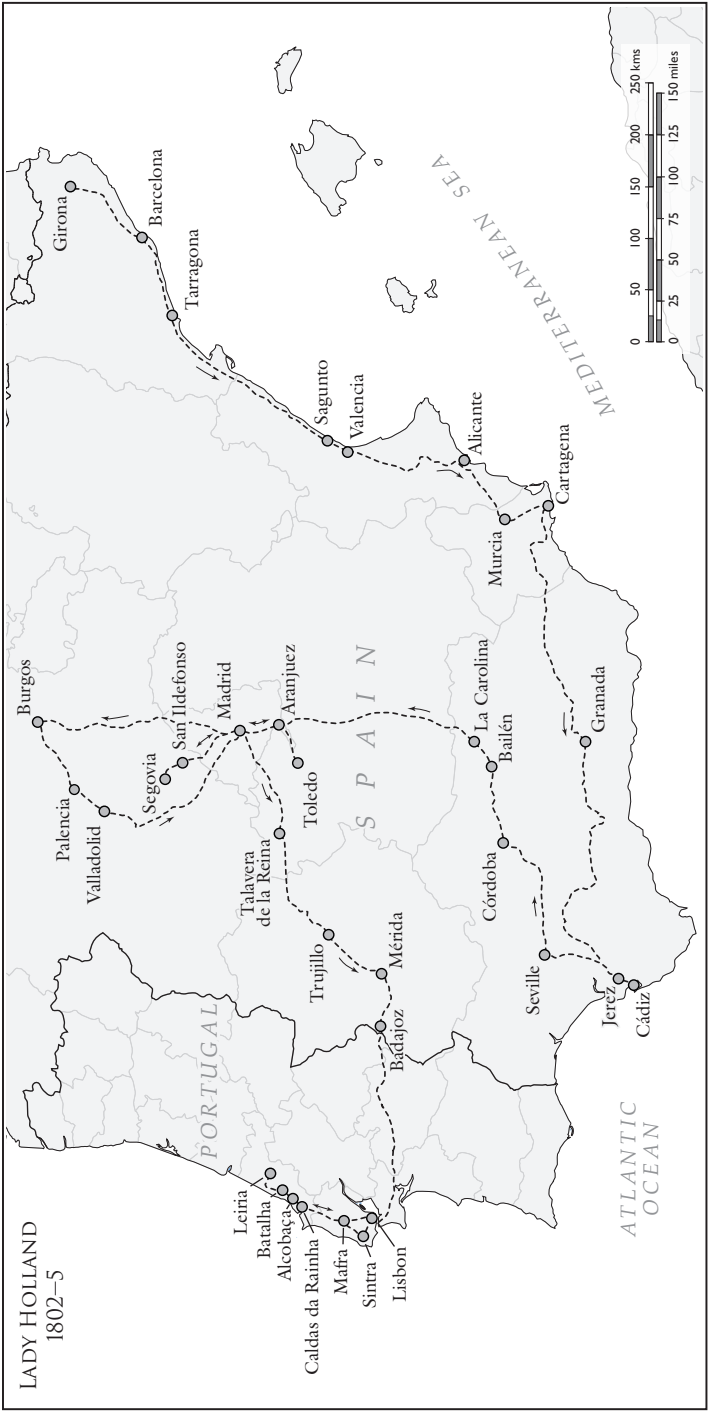
- 1 Itinerary of Thomas Pitt in Portugal and Spain (1760). xvi
- 2 Itinerary of Thomas Pelham in Portugal and Spain (1775–6). xvii
- 3 Itinerary of Elizabeth, Lady Holland in Spain and Portugal
(1802–5). xviii
- 4 Itineraries of William Gell in Spain (1808–9) and Portugal
(1810–11). xix



Map 1 Itinerary of Thomas Pitt in Portugal and Spain (1760).



Map 2 Itinerary of Thomas Pelham in Portugal and Spain (1775-6).



Map 3 Itinerary of Elizabeth, Lady Holland in Spain and Portugal (1802-5).



Map 4 Itineraries of William Gell in Spain (1808–9) and Portugal (1810–11).

Anglo-Iberian relations and the British view of Spain and Portugal

Samuel Johnson only left Britain once, and that was to travel to Paris. Nonetheless, his comments about European travel have exercised an enduring influence over subsequent interpretations. His aphorism that ‘A man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see’ has underpinned many arguments for the centrality of the Italian Grand Tour for eighteenth-century British culture. His attitude to Spain, however, was rather different. There was no sense of inferiority. Rather, as he told his friend Giuseppe Baretti, who had recently visited Spain, it was a shame he had not stayed there longer, ‘for no country is less known to the rest of Europe’.¹ Significantly, Johnson did not even mention Portugal. Perhaps this is less surprising when we remember that Baretti, who sailed to Lisbon in 1760 and then travelled overland to Spain, had been largely unimpressed by the country.² Johnson’s assumption of both the desirability of travel to Italy and the dearth of knowledge about Spain (and Portugal) among eighteenth-century Britons has gone almost entirely unchallenged and has helped to shape much of what has been written about British engagement with both countries in the long eighteenth century and their place in the wider cultural imaginary.

Following Johnson, it is often assumed that eighteenth-century Britons had little interest in or curiosity about Iberia before the Peninsular

¹ Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, I, 226; II, 25.

² Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*.

War (1808–14) and that there is little more to say.³ His comment is significant, however, less for the claim to ignorance about Spain than for the signal it clearly gives that he felt that more *ought* to be known: there were, after all, other countries in Europe, particularly in its northern and eastern regions, of which most Britons would have been scarcely aware.⁴ The point about Spain was that it *was* known – as an occasional ally, but more usually as a hostile power, a commercial rival, a stronghold of Catholicism and a centre of artistic and cultural production. Spain may have been more familiar than historians have often assumed, but there was also a strong perception among contemporaries that the region was cut off from other European influences, isolated geographically by the Pyrenees and culturally by the malign influence of a despotic monarchy and a bigoted faith. Uneasily located at the margins of European civilisation, Spain was seen as but a short step from the ‘barbarism’ of the African continent and was, as Horace Walpole observed, easily reduced to nothing but ‘muleteers and fandangos’.⁵

Portugal, despite the long-standing importance of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, was less clearly defined in the imaginative geography of early modern and eighteenth-century Britons than Spain. To a certain extent, this is unsurprising given that between 1580 and 1640 it was incorporated within the Spanish monarchy. As a small country with no vested interest in the territorial disputes of mainland Europe, its focus was upon its colonial territories in South America and in East Asia. Thus, for Britain, Portugal’s principal significance was as a trading partner and – from the early eighteenth century – a source of Brazilian gold.⁶ Beyond the merchant community, Portugal commanded far less interest as a country or a culture than did Spain. It was less frequented, its history was less familiar, and its literature – bar the poetry of Camões – seldom read. Portugal clearly had a separate identity, with distinct language and traditions, but was all too often subsumed by British visitors within generalisations upon Spain or the region as a whole.

³ Barke and Towner, ‘Exploring the history of leisure and tourism in Spain’, 4–6; Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 4: ‘Spain [was] virtually rediscovered by the post-Waterloo generation’; Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 48–9; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 121; Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 32 argues that around 1800 Spain ‘remained a largely unknown and ignored country compared to other Southern European destinations such as Provence, Italy or Greece’; Black, *British Abroad*, 72–4. On the seventeenth-century lack of interest in Spain as a destination see Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, 231–78.

⁴ On the limited familiarity with Eastern Europe, see Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*.

⁵ Walpole, *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, ed. Lewis, II, 149: Walpole to William Cole, 28 March 1779.

⁶ Fisher, ‘Anglo-Portuguese trade’; Black, ‘Anglo-Portuguese relations’; Crozier Shaw, *Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*, 33–44.

Interest in both Spain and Portugal, it is often argued, began to rise in response to the Peninsular War and – from a less military perspective – from the 1830s, when the romantic and picturesque appeal of the two countries began to be celebrated as an ‘escape’ from the modernity of European civilisation.⁷ Nineteenth-century historians generally argue, for example, that the Alhambra was ‘discovered’ by British and American writers and artists around 1830 as part of a wider reaction against classicism and the hegemony of the Grand Tour.⁸ The focus of this approach is upon British interest in al-Andalus and in the Alhambra, the history of the ‘Moors’ and the manners and customs of gypsies – embodied in, for example, Washington Irving’s *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832), George Borrow’s *The Bible in Spain* (1842) or Richard Ford’s *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845) and in the work of artists such as David Wilkie, David Roberts, Owen Jones and John Frederick Lewis. The image of Iberia that they offered was reconfigured through an Orientalist perspective that emphasised both the ‘Eastern’ influences visible in the legacy of its ‘Moorish’ past and in the apparently backward state of its society.⁹ While it is certainly true that an image of romantic Spain, and to a lesser extent Portugal, was widely disseminated from the 1830s, it was constructed upon the foundations of a longer history of engagement with Iberia and one which – in the eighteenth century at least – did not assume an inevitable decline into picturesque decay or construe the region’s attractions simply in terms of southern sensual allure. The representations of Iberia that circulated before that period were more various and multi-faceted and cannot be comprehended within a single ‘Orientalist’ framework of interpretation.

However, it is a struggle to find more than a fleeting mention of the Iberian Peninsula in any study of eighteenth-century European travel. The exclusion of Spain and Portugal from treatments of the Grand Tour often relies on the assumptions, drawn from the writings of a few published travellers, that travel was challenging and unrewarding and that visitors were put off by the negative imagery of cruelty, superstition and bigotry associated with the Black Legend (discussed more fully in ‘The inherited image of Spain and Portugal’, below). British historians have been too quick to believe John Andrews’s assertion in 1770 that

⁷ Holland, *Warm South*; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*; Paulino, “‘Alien” European”; Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance*.

⁸ Holland, *Warm South*, 103–4; Irwin, *Alhambra*, 133–59; Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 119–31.

⁹ See note 7 and Bolufer Peruga, ‘Orientalizing Southern Europe?’, 451–67; Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 254–330.

Spain was 'no country for travellers'.¹⁰ Challenging and unrewarding travel may once have been, but by the 1780s such comments reflect the lazy 'cutting and pasting' of earlier texts that went on in British publishing rather than the realities of Iberian travel. British travellers to the Iberian Peninsula in the period before and during the Peninsular War were more numerous than the record of published tours or subsequent scholarship would suggest. However, historians' preoccupation with the Italian Grand Tour has meant that Spain and Portugal have been overlooked as a destination for British travellers in the later eighteenth century.¹¹ The chapters that follow aim to redress the balance, to provide a new interpretation of British engagement with the Iberian Peninsula during the period 1760–1820 and to explore the fascination that the region exercised over so many contemporary travellers and their readers.

Anglo-Iberian relations

The long periods of hostility between Britain and Spain in the early modern period were certainly a factor in discouraging travel. Yet by the end of the seventeenth century, the threat to Britain from Spain that had dominated so much of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century had receded, and France now posed the greater danger. The restoration of the Bourbon Felipe V in 1714 at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession ensured that Spanish interests were firmly aligned with those of France; indeed, in terms of foreign policy the British government took the view that Spain was now largely subordinate to its northern neighbour with regard to European politics. This is not to say that a new era of harmony was ushered in, but the focus of conflict began to shift away from the European mainland to colonial locations: the Caribbean in the War of Jenkins' Ear (1737) and Florida (1740s), where Britain's new colony of Georgia seemed to threaten Spanish interests. But in this early part of the century, visitors to Spain and Portugal were few: in both countries travelling conditions were known to be difficult and there is limited evidence of Britons travelling for any purpose other than business or diplomacy.¹² Thus the efforts of Sir Benjamin Keene, the long-term minister plenipotentiary in Madrid in the 1730s and 1740s, were spent largely in defending the interests of the South Sea Company

¹⁰ Andrews, *Review of the Characters of the Principal Nations*, I, 220.

¹¹ Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith (eds), *Beyond the Grand Tour*.

¹² Breval, *Remarks upon Several Parts of Europe*, represents an exception.

and negotiating diplomatic complexities between Spain, France and Austria-Hungary, rather than easing the travel arrangements of British visitors.¹³ The growth of Anglo-Portuguese trade following the Methuen Treaty of 1703 led to the emergence of sizeable British communities in both Porto and Lisbon but did not, of itself, foster interest in Portugal as a country to be visited. In the half-century following the Lisbon earthquake in 1755, however, the number of visitors to both countries – and the volume of publications relating to their travels – substantially increased, despite episodic periods of tension or conflict between Britain and Spain during the Seven Years' War (when Britain took Havana and Manila), over the Falkland Islands (1770), in the American War of Independence (1779–83) and over Nootka Sound in Canada (1789–90). In the tumultuous 1790s the region attracted very few visitors who were not there for commercial or political reasons but during the Peace of Amiens in 1802–3, when the prospect of continental travel briefly opened up again for British travellers, a handful of visitors found their way to Spain and Portugal. The renewed outbreak of war, however, and Spain's entry into the conflict in December 1804, deterred further exploration. Civilian travel, as we shall see in [Chapter 7](#), did not resume again until after the French invasion of Portugal and the outbreak of the Spanish War of Independence in 1808. Civilians returned to Spain and Portugal once more, drawn by not just the attractions of the Iberian Peninsula but the prospect of witnessing the war itself and history in the making. In terms of hindering or encouraging travel, there was a key difference between war *with* Spain and war *in* Spain.

This increase in the number of visitors to Spain and Portugal has to be set in a wider context of travel: the rising number of Britons travelling to Italy after the end of the Seven Years' Wars is regularly noted by historians of the Grand Tour, for example.¹⁴ What is less often remarked upon, however, due to the dominance of Italy in the conceptualisation of European travel, is that the number of British visitors to *all* parts of Europe substantially increased, thanks to greater disposable income from rising agricultural rents, manufacturing growth and colonial and commercial expansion. The period 1760–1820 also merits consideration in its own right as a distinctive era in the longer history of British engagement with Iberia and the wider reputation of the region in Europe, and not simply as the prelude to romanticism or in terms of

¹³ Lodge, 'Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B.'; Woodfine, *Britannia's Glories*, 19–45.

¹⁴ Towner, 'Grand Tour', 304; Black, *British Abroad*, 6–11; Conway, *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe*, 189–91; Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 7–8; Sweet, 'Who traveled, where and when?.'

the afterlife of the Black Legend. First, it was a period of increased European mobility and broadening horizons, evident not just in the numbers of people who travelled but in the widespread consumption of travellers' texts and geographical studies.¹⁵ Not only did more people – of both sexes and from a more diverse range of backgrounds – journey beyond Britain but the global expansion of trade and commerce directed attention towards the colonial empires of both countries – reflected, as we have already seen, in the sites of conflict between the powers.¹⁶ The second reason is the distinctiveness of this era for the histories of both Spain and Portugal, where political upheavals, reforming ministers and the hope of enlightened renewal seemed to promise new possibilities and a movement away from Iberian isolation towards 'civilised' Europe – of which the British among others were keen observers. There was a broadening public interest in the cultural production of both countries and their role in European history.

The flurry of publications on Iberian travel that appeared in the later eighteenth century has not gone entirely unnoticed. Spanish scholars, in particular, have drawn upon them as a source for representations of Spain by external observers and for the information they offer on the appearance of cities or the manners and customs of Spanish society prevailing at the time. Although some have focused upon the negative commentary that many British observers indulged in, others have highlighted the more positive evaluation that a number of travellers offered and have suggested that Spain as a region was becoming increasingly attractive to British visitors.¹⁷ Travellers' accounts and the correspondence between Spanish intellectuals and their counterparts in France and Britain have also been used to recover the place of Spain in the 'imaginary geography' of Europe.¹⁸ Most studies focus on a handful of published writers – Henry Swinburne, Richard Twiss and Joseph Townsend – and there is little sense of how British views towards Spain and Portugal were evolving over this period, or of the broader cultural shifts that were shaping their perceptions and expectations. Nor are the

¹⁵ Stock, *Europe and the British Geographical Imagination*.

¹⁶ Paquette, 'Image of Imperial Spain', 187–214; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 15–28.

¹⁷ On the negative image of Spain in travel accounts see Freixa, *Los ingleses y el arte de viajar*; Guerrero, *Viajeros británicos en la España*; Hontanilla, 'Images of barbaric Spain'; Robertson, *Los Curiosos Impertinentes*. Studies that emphasise the more positive – as well as negative – evaluations of British visitors include Bacigalupo, 'Ambiguous image'; Bacigalupo, 'Modified image'; Bolufer Peruga, 'Between two shores'; Crozier Shaw, 'European travellers and the Enlightenment consensus'; Ribbans, 'Spanish national pride and foreign travelers'.

¹⁸ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 22–39; Bolufer Peruga, 'Orientalizing Southern Europe?'; Paquette, 'Image of Imperial Spain'.

motivations of the travellers in visiting the country examined, or the way in which they used their own experiences to challenge or confirm the prejudices that they brought with them.

British travellers were reliant on often outdated and partial sources and their comments are generally best seen as a reflection of their own prejudices and the limits these imposed on their perceptions. The long-standing stereotypes of Spain and Portugal's economic decline, their over-dependence on the wealth of the New World, the overweening power of the church and the nobility over the land, and the inherent idleness of the population were invariably raised (and these will be discussed more fully below). But both countries were changing in the period 1760–1820, as was Britain's relationship with them, and this is reflected in travellers' commentaries. In Spain, the accession of Carlos III (see [Figure 1.1](#)) seemed to herald the possibility of more enlightened rule; by the 1770s Richard Twiss informed his readers that it was 'not improbable' that in time Spain might become 'a seat of toleration and literature' to rank with any other kingdom.¹⁹ Later in Carlos's reign the promotion of reforming ministers such as the Conde de Campomanes and, later, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, the expulsion of the Jesuits and the liberalisation of parts of the Spanish economy, the new colonies in the Sierra Morena and the improvement of Madrid were all interpreted as signs of progress away from the backward structures of privilege, bigotry and superstition that had held the region back for so long.²⁰ Visitors noted the growing wealth of the crown as the value of bullion imports and trade with South America increased. Even while they criticised the mismanagement of the economy and the limitations of Spanish intellectual life, they also observed the growth of commerce consequent upon the lifting of the monopoly over American trade at Cádiz, particularly in the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, and noted the population growth that ensued. They were impressed by signs of industry – whether the silk manufactures in Valencia or textiles and iron production in Barcelona; they noted the investment in roads and canals, in ship building and the navy.²¹ Visitors also recorded with approval the declining power of the Inquisition and learned of educational reform at the universities and the new technical schools in leading cities established by royal fiat.

¹⁹ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 338.

²⁰ Shaw, 'European travellers'; Noel, 'Charles III of Spain'; Noel, 'In the house of reform'. On the case for a Spanish Enlightenment, see Astigarraga (ed.), *Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*.

²¹ In 1791 Joseph Townsend reported that the new canal from Valladolid to Segovia, when complete, would 'have nothing of the kind to be compared with it, either in point of workmanship, of extent, or of utility' (Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 365).



Figure 1.1 Carlos III, by Manuel Salvador Carmona after Anton Raphael Mengs (1783). Source: CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, available at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/1613256445>.

The workhouse in Cádiz, notably praised by Townsend, was held up as a model of enlightened good practice in managing poverty, even as visitors decried the indiscriminate almsgiving elsewhere that was exercised by the church.²² Until the 1790s, when maritime war disrupted Spain's colonial trade, leading to wider economic crisis, there was a sense that Spain had undergone significant recovery from its nadir of the late seventeenth century and that further reform and progress might still be

²² Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 350–61.

possible.²³ The verdict on Carlos III's reign is less positive today than it has been in the past, as historians emphasise the limits of reform and the failure to address any of the fundamental structural problems of land ownership, monopolies or the absolute power of the crown that checked economic development and stifled broader social reform.²⁴ There is also greater recognition of the progress that was initiated under Fernando VI but only fully realised during the reign of his successor. But for contemporaries there was a genuine sense of the potential for recovery associated with the reign of Carlos III.

The events of the 1790s, internal and external, caused such optimism to founder. The hostility and suspicion generated by Manuel Godoy's rapid rise to power and the nature of his relationship with the queen alienated the monarchy's traditional supporters and helped to discredit its reputation. War against republican France in 1793–5 led to an uneasy peace and in 1796 Godoy, as Carlos IV's first minister, signed the Treaty of San Ildefonso with France, an offensive and defensive alliance against Britain. With Spain now subordinated to France, British aggression was guaranteed: in 1797 they defeated the Spanish at Cape St Vincent and took the island of Trinidad, blockaded Cádiz and staged constant attacks on Spanish shipping, damaging its colonial trade. Within Spain, a new generation of more radical reformers, taking inspiration from events in France, could not be satisfied by the piecemeal pragmatic measures of the previous reign, which saw reform primarily as a means to shore up the institutions of the monarchy, nobility and the church. Divisions within the elite deepened. Meanwhile, the combined impact of subsistence crises and devastating epidemic illness brought widespread hardship, fomented unrest and threatened economic collapse by the early nineteenth century. By 1805, Spain, wrote Robert Semple, was in a state of degradation and decay.²⁵

The crisis was further exacerbated by the outbreak of the War of Spanish Independence (the Peninsular War), following the abdication of Carlos IV and the installation of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain by his brother Napoleon, in 1808. Five years of devastating, divisive and destructive warfare followed, during which the British cast themselves as the heroic deliverers of the Spanish nation – and Europe – from Bonaparte.²⁶ The hopes cherished by the British whiggish elite for

²³ Paquette, 'Image of Imperial Spain', 196–8.

²⁴ Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 47–90; Recio Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly*, 337–413.

²⁵ Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 375–421; Semple, *Observations on a Journey Through Spain*, I, 214.

²⁶ Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 65–143.

a better future for Spain under the new liberal constitution of 1812 proved short-lived as the restoration of Fernando VII led to a return to the unreformed *status quo ante*, in which royal power remained absolute, the influence of the Catholic church was restored and political and economic reforms were abandoned. The tenor of observations changed accordingly, as Spain was increasingly viewed as a failed state that was rapidly losing its empire; it was a country that was stuck in the past, unable to share in the progress of other modern European nations.²⁷

In Portugal, the eighteenth century was a period of population growth, expanding colonial trade and far-reaching legislative activity. The influx of gold from Brazil and the revival of colonial commerce in the first half of the eighteenth century made Lisbon one of the wealthiest cities in Europe; even as the supply of Brazilian gold began to wane, exports of cotton increased, which, coupled with expanding trade with Asia, ensured continued commercial prosperity.²⁸ The earthquake of 1755 was devastating in its immediate impact but also provided José de Carvalho e Melo, better known as the Marquês de Pombal (see [Figure 1.2](#)), with the opportunity to cement his position as first minister and in that role to implement the reforms that he believed were needed to ensure Portugal's prosperity and political autonomy.

British travellers were not conventionally keen followers of the internal politics of Portugal but there was a general awareness among visitors of Pombal's reforms. For all that he undermined some of the advantages enjoyed by the British merchants in Anglo-Portuguese commerce, he was grudgingly admired by many for having expelled the Jesuits and reduced the influence of the Roman Catholic church and for his efforts to implement reform in the military, education and the broader administration of the state.²⁹ Henry Hobart, who visited Lisbon in 1767, was uncertain how Pombal was regarded by his countrymen, but argued that 'he ought to be adored for the many innumerable improvements, regulations, laws, etc etc that he has introduced' and for his efforts to diminish the power of the church.³⁰ In the eyes of the British, Pombal's fall from grace after the death of Dom José in 1777 led to regression: under the rule of the pious and mentally unstable Maria,

²⁷ Bolufer Peruga, 'Orientalizing Southern Europe', 462–3.

²⁸ Fisher, 'Anglo-Portuguese trade', 226, 232.

²⁹ On Pombal see Maxwell, *Pombal*; for a contemporary evaluation see Blankett, *Letters from Portugal*.

³⁰ NNRO COL/13/27, fol. 18v, Hobart, journal.



Figure 1.2 Portrait of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquess of Pombal by Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet after Louis Michel van Loo (1772). *Source:* CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, available at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/1405108001>.

the Roman Catholic church regained much of its influence, a trend that her son, João, did nothing to reverse. The flight of the royal family to Brazil in the wake of the French invasion of 1807 was seen as another symptom of the weakness and irresponsibility of the monarchy. The Peninsular War, as we shall see, brought a greater number of Britons to Portugal than ever before, while the demands of military campaigning introduced them to far more of the country than most British visitors had previously encountered. While the trials of war did little to enhance British opinion of Spain or the Spanish, the greater degree of familiarity with Portugal and the Portuguese which developed among the British during the Peninsular War often engendered a more positive evaluation – due not least to the fact that the Portuguese proved more biddable to British command as allies.³¹ But as in Spain, the political instability in Portugal after 1815 and the return of the monarchy from Brazil – and with it the power of the Catholic church – condemned it to the superior condescension of the British.

³¹ See, for example, Fisher, *Sketch of the City of Lisbon*.

Grudging appreciation of Spain and Portugal was accompanied by recognition of the wealth and commercial potential latent in both countries through trade with their respective empires. Portugal's ports gave Britain valuable access to Atlantic trade and the British were well aware of the importance of maintaining Portuguese autonomy in the face of possible Bourbon aggression.³² The strategic importance of Spain as a colonial power – at a time when Britain's control over its own American empire was under threat – was evident.³³ There were lessons to be learned regarding the strengths and weaknesses of Spanish colonial rule and the opportunities either for Spain's renewal or for British encroachment upon its trade.³⁴ Both Spain and Portugal represented significant markets for the consumption of British manufactured goods with the potential for growth.³⁵ Even under the unfavourable trading terms of the Peace of Utrecht (1713), trade with Spain – particularly in wine – continued.³⁶ More importantly, Spain's colonial market represented a huge and, relatively, untapped opportunity for the sale of British merchandise.³⁷ A number of those who visited Spain were either merchants themselves or took a keen interest in the balance of trade between England and Spain and saw potential for its growth.³⁸

The travellers

A handful of British historians have gone beyond the published sources to recover the experiences of travellers who never ventured into print, but this has been chiefly in order to pursue specific questions, notably the rise of British interest in Spanish art.³⁹ A trawl through local archives

³² Maxwell, *Pombal*, 111–13.

³³ Scott, *British Foreign Policy*, 257–62, 272–4.

³⁴ Paquette, 'Image of Imperial Spain'; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 5–28; Elliott, 'Learning from the enemy', in *Spain, Europe and the Wider World*, 25–51.

³⁵ Fisher, 'Anglo-Portuguese trade'.

³⁶ Exports of wine to Britain from Spain fell during and after the War of Spanish Succession but still constituted 20 per cent of imports (as opposed to 9 per cent from France and 71 per cent from Portugal) in the period 1793–1802: Ludington, *Politics of Wine in Britain*, 172. The dominance of Iberian wine continued into the nineteenth century, accounting for approximately 80 per cent of all wine imports to the UK (French wines constituted only 5 per cent): Simpson, 'Too Little Regulation?', 368.

³⁷ Crouzet, 'La rivalité commerciale franco-anglaise dans l'empire espagnol'.

³⁸ See, for example, Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 251–81; NNRO COL/13/27, Hobart, journal; Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, passim; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, passim.

³⁹ Brigstocke (ed.), *British Travellers in Spain*; Glendinning and Macartney (eds), *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland*; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 120–30.

and the correspondence of British diplomats in Spain has revealed a far larger number of travellers to the region and more varied experiences than those of which we are aware from printed sources. In preparing this book, the published and unpublished journals and correspondence of 80 travellers were examined. Of these, over 50 were never published. The evidence of journals and diplomatic correspondence also allowed identification of many other travellers in Spain who have not otherwise left an archival trace. From these and other sources, we identified over 150 travellers (see [Appendix](#)). This sample does not pretend to be comprehensive, but certain trends are indicative. In terms of chronology there are two periods which saw particularly large numbers of travellers: the 1770s, a period of comparative rapprochement between Spain and Britain, during which the British ambassador, Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, was at pains to build a more positive relationship with Spain, and the first three years of the Peninsular War, when civilian travellers were drawn to Spain in the hope of witnessing a British-led victory over Bonaparte.

A tour of Spain and Portugal did not perform the same role in elite masculine formation as a tour of Italy and as a consequence the social profile of the travellers was rather different: until 1808, elite young men were outnumbered by older travellers from more varied backgrounds. But there was nonetheless a steady stream of young men undertaking more extended tours. Thomas Pitt of Boconnoc and his friend John Bowes, 9th Earl of Strathmore, attached themselves to the Embassy of Lord Kinnoul and visited Portugal and Spain in 1760 (see [Map 1](#)). Thomas Pelham, later 2nd Earl of Chichester, spent a year in Spain in 1775–6 as the guest of Lord Grantham at Madrid before proceeding through France to Italy (see [Map 2](#)). In 1779, Grantham also hosted John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham, visiting Spain from Gibraltar where he was serving with the 39th Foot, with his friends Hugh Conway and Adam Colt.⁴⁰ Grantham's successor, Robert Liston, likewise looked out for various young gentlemen including Lord Robert Fitzgerald, son of the first Duke of Leinster, travelling for 'amusement and improvement' in 1786, and his brother Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who visited Spain a couple of years later.⁴¹ Some of these young men feature simply as names in diplomatic correspondence, but Thomas Pitt, who set out to investigate the possible 'Saracenic' origins of the Gothic arch, left a manuscript of his

⁴⁰ Reiter, *Late Lord*, 13.

⁴¹ NLS MS.5544, fol. 116: Lord Carmarthen to Robert Liston, 14 April 1786, introducing Lord Robert Fitzgerald.

travels that circulated among antiquarian circles of Gothic enthusiasts.⁴² Thomas Pelham, a young man who came from a lovingly devoted family, corresponded regularly with his parents and siblings, but also dutifully kept a travel journal for his parents' perusal. These materials can also be complemented by the correspondence of Lord Grantham and his brother Frederick, who were close friends of the Pelham family.⁴³ Other young gentlemen whose correspondence or journals survive include David Pennant (son of the topographer Thomas Pennant), William Parsons, Roger Pettiward, Edward Stanley and Edward Hussey.⁴⁴ From the 1790s the changed geography and political circumstances of Napoleonic Europe meant that Italy became inaccessible to British travellers, and elite young men who were not on active military service and who might formerly have travelled to Italy turned further afield to Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, but also to Spain. Indeed, as we shall see in [Chapter 7](#), rather than proving an obstacle to travel, the commencement of the Peninsular War in 1808 provided additional inducement to visit Portugal and Spain. Thus, as well as the more famous names of Lord Byron and John Cam Hobhouse or Lord John Russell, we find a clutch of young men recently graduated from Oxford or Cambridge, including Michael Bruce (the future lover of Lady Hester Stanhope), Francis Sacheverell Darwin, Nicholas Fazakerley, Theodore Galton, Henry Goulburn, Granville Leveson-Gower, Henry Gally Knight, Thomas Knox, Lord Lewisham, Henry Pearce, William Ponsonby, Edward Clough Taylor and John Spencer Stanhope.⁴⁵ Of these Knight and Stanhope kept exceptionally detailed journals of their travels, possibly with a view to publication which was never realised.⁴⁶ Instead, they are better known for their published travels in other parts of Europe.⁴⁷

⁴² BL Add MS 5845, fos 111–46: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'; see also Mateo, 'In search of the origin of the Gothic', 4–5.

⁴³ BL Add MS 33125: Pelham, journal; Add MSS 33126–7: Pelham family correspondence; BA L30/15/42/1–29: correspondence of Lord Grantham with Thomas Pelham.

⁴⁴ Brigstocke (ed.), 'William Parsons' journal', and Brigstocke (ed.), 'Roger Pettiward's journal'; Adeane and Grenfell (eds), *Before and After Waterloo*; KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated).

⁴⁵ Bodl. MS Eng. c. 5740: Michael Bruce correspondence with his father, 1803–11; Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*; SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Henry Goulburn, letters to his mother.

⁴⁶ ULLSCG MS 233 (2 vols): Stanhope, journal, 1810–11 and BALSD MS StSp 60643 (1–4): Stanhope, journal, 1810–11. The Barnsley manuscript is a fair copy and elaboration of the Leeds manuscript, written at least 20 years after the event. For Henry Gally Knight's journals and correspondence relating to his tour of Spain see DRO D239/M/F16390, D239/M/F16331–41, D239/M/F16349, D239/M/F16318–20 and Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight' (transcription of D239/M/F16390, D239/M/F16349 and parts of D239/M/F16318).

⁴⁷ Knight, *Architectural Tour in Normandy; Saracenic and Norman Remains; Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*; Stanhope, *Topography Illustrative of the Battle of Platea*; Stanhope, *Olympia*.

Young men might travel for education, to broaden their social experience and to prepare themselves for a life of public service. Older male travellers and female travellers shared many of the same experiences, but with rather different motives. Many of those who went to Spain were experienced travellers who had travelled or would later travel in other parts of Europe, or further afield. For these individuals, who had the leisure and the income to travel, it was a form of recreation, but one which was justified in terms of the pursuit of knowledge and curiosity. The Iberian Peninsula was different; and there was a sense – as Samuel Johnson indicated – that it was important to find out more about the region. Its liminality on the edge of Europe, at what these travellers saw as the boundary of civilisation and Christendom, was a source of curiosity; it was understood that the region's physical and intellectual isolation meant that 'ancient habits of life' had been preserved, representing what Europe had been in the past.⁴⁸ Contemporary advice for enlightened British travellers encouraged them to identify what a country's resources were; to examine the basis of inherited truths; and to establish what evidence there was of improvement and the progress of reason.⁴⁹ All these considerations shaped the kinds of questions that a curious gentlemen would pursue and in which he might assume readers at home would be interested. A number of these men clearly travelled with a view to publishing an account of their travels, including John Talbot Dillon, Joseph Marshall, Robert Southey, Henry Swinburne, Philip Thicknesse, Richard Twiss, Joseph Townsend and Arthur Young. Others never had any intention of venturing into print or, at least, failed to bring a prospective volume to completion; their correspondence and their travel journals, however, survive. Grantham and Liston corresponded with and about the travellers Roger Wilbraham, Nathaniel Wraxall, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Sir Richard Worsley (who also left a journal) and William Burton Conyngham. In the early nineteenth century, with the upsurge of interest in Portugal and Spain during the Peninsular War, there was a corresponding response from contemporaries – and not just the young men seeking adventure – who seized the opportunity to provide first-hand observations; these included the travel writers Robert Semple, Sir John Carr and William Gell (see [Map 4](#)), the physicians Henry Holland and Thomas Traill and the merchant and MP, William Jacob.

One distinctive feature of the profile of British travellers to Iberia in this period is that – unlike travel to France or Italy – it was

⁴⁸ *Annual Register, Or a View of the History, Politicks and Literature of the Year* (London, 1765), 77.

⁴⁹ Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing and British Political Economy*.



Figure 1.3 Elizabeth, Lady Holland with her son, by Louis Gauffier (1794).
Source: Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

overwhelmingly male. The accepted wisdom of the time was that the lack of suitable accommodation in many areas made it unsuitable for feminine sensibilities. A few more indefatigable women, however, made tours through Portugal and Spain. Of these, the most famous is the Whig political hostess, Elizabeth, Lady Holland, who visited Spain with her husband and family in 1802–5 and 1808–9 (see [Figure 1.3](#), and see [Map 3](#) for her itinerary).⁵⁰ Others completed rather shorter tours,

⁵⁰ BL Add MSS 51930–2, 51934–6: Lady Holland, journals, 1802–5 and 1808–9; see also Ilchester (ed.), *Spanish Journal*. For an overview see Calvo Maturana, ‘Views of an “overthrown” kingdom’.

including Elizabeth, Lady Craven (who married the Margrave of Anspach in Lisbon), Mary Graham, Anne Damer and Lady Charlotte Strutt, newly married to Joseph Strutt, and sister to Lords Robert and Edward Fitzgerald, who had both travelled in Spain previously.⁵¹ Some female travellers simply accompanied spouses, parents or brothers; others, such as Lady Craven and Ann Damer, embarked upon their European travels accompanied only by their servants. Despite Mary Graham being an invalid, the challenges of travelling in Portugal and Spain do not appear to have caused her undue discomfort.⁵² Finally, accompanying almost every traveller was at least one servant, and often more. Servants are very rarely even identified by name and even more rarely leave any archival testimony of their presence. There are a few exceptions, of whom one, John Macdonald, travelled to Spain twice with different masters, in 1776–7 and 1778.⁵³

The motives of travelling Britons were the cause of some bemusement to the host society. The local assumption – outside enlightened circles – was that one travelled for trade, diplomatic or military reasons, with the consequence that travellers who were not in uniform were, according to John Spencer Stanhope, widely assumed to be merchants, ‘so little idea has a Spaniard that it is possible to visit his Country for the purpose of instruction or amusement’.⁵⁴ Townsend, a clergyman travelling economically in civilian dress without even a servant to declare his status, was particularly grateful for the letters of introduction that provided him with an entrée to the liberal elite of Spanish society. But even so, his hosts found him difficult to place: the Spanish, he claimed, had decided that he was an English bishop in disguise, ‘come to be instructed by the Prelates here in the Catholic religion, in order to teach our Princess, who is to be married soon to the Infant Don Antonio.’ His protestations that he was merely ‘an English Curate travelling for his amusement’ served only to confirm them in their opinion.⁵⁵ Even Lord and Lady Holland were the source of confusion: they were clearly wealthy and of high social rank but held no ambassadorial role that could explain their travels. Eventually they resorted to the fiction that Lord Holland was a Grandee exiled from Britain.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, I, 374–429; Lewis (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, I, 270–4, 333–44; Strutt, *Strutt Family of Terling*, 31. Lady Craven was a close friend of William Beckford, who resided in Portugal 1787–8 and 1793–5: he may have influenced her decision to travel to Portugal and Spain in 1791–2.

⁵² NLS MS.3628: Graham, journal.

⁵³ Macdonald, *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe, Asia and Africa*.

⁵⁴ Barnsley Archives MS StSp 60643 (3), fol. 227: Stanhope, journal.

⁵⁵ NLS MS.5545, fol. 147: Joseph Townsend to Robert Liston, 5 May 1787.

⁵⁶ Ilchester (ed.), *Spanish Journal*, 261.

Ostensibly, the Hollands were travelling for reasons of health: their eldest son was a sickly child who it was believed would benefit from the warm climate of Spain, although Lord Holland's political and literary interests in the country were probably a more significant factor. That said, the close connection between health and travel meant that it provided a rationale for many people who also took the opportunity to observe and study the countries through which they passed. William Burton Conyngham, who oversaw an excavation of the Roman theatre at Saguntum in 1783 and later sponsored the travels of the artist James Cavanah Murphy, was supposedly in the region for his health, rather than the pursuit of antiquities.⁵⁷ For the topographer William Gell and his companion Richard Keppel Craven, travel to the milder winter climes of Spain and Portugal in 1808 and 1810 offered welcome relief from their chronic health complaints as well as providing an opportunity to observe the progress of the war (see [Map 4](#) for their itineraries). Health tourism to Portugal was well established insofar as Lisbon was renowned as a destination for invalid or dying Britons. Many were too sick to venture any further, a fact to which the burials in the Protestant cemetery bore testimony.⁵⁸ But a number of these valetudinarians, finding themselves to some degree recovered, chose to travel further through Portugal to Spain. Sir John Stuart, for example, the employer of the memoir-writing servant, John Macdonald, went to Lisbon seeking a cure for his health and once there decided to travel overland to Cádiz, Madrid and back home through France.⁵⁹ Similarly, one Thomas Hardy travelled from Lisbon to Málaga with fellow invalids, 'Mr Gordon a Scotchman & a Mr Blackmore an Englishman', where he found that the climate on the coast of southern Spain was the 'finest in Europe. I am surprised', he continued, 'that it is never thought of for the invalids who are sent to shiver in the south of France or in Lisbon'.⁶⁰

From 1704 Britain had its own foothold in the Iberian Peninsula at Gibraltar, which it managed to retain despite the best efforts of the Spanish and two major sieges, in 1727 and 1779–83. Gibraltar's importance as a military and naval base throughout the eighteenth century has often been overlooked, but the Mediterranean garrisons and naval stations at Gibraltar – and Minorca – were essential to British imperial and commercial strategy, particularly as traffic between Britain

⁵⁷ NLS MS.5554, fol. 147v: Robert Liston to F. Mourgue, 6 November 1783.

⁵⁸ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 16.

⁵⁹ Macdonald, *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe*, 299, 313.

⁶⁰ NLS MS.5544, fol. 49: Thomas Hardy to Robert Liston, 26 January 1786.

and India, via Egypt and the Red Sea, increased. Even in periods of peace, the garrison population (comprising officers, soldiers, wives and children) ranged between 1,100 and 5,000, complemented by a civilian population that by 1786 had exceeded 3,000.⁶¹ Garrison duty – when not besieged – was monotonous and confined. A tour of Spain or of the Barbary coast provided a welcome break for British officers. A number of these drew on their experiences of travelling through Spain and North Africa in publications aimed at the burgeoning market for travel literature, including William Dalrymple and Alexander Jardine. Richard Croker, another military officer, experienced a form of forced mobility as a prisoner of war in 1780. As an officer he was well treated and was able to capitalise on his experiences by writing an account of his ‘tour’, *Travels through Several Provinces of Spain and Portugal*, published nearly 20 years later in 1799. When James More Molyneux was posted to the garrison in Gibraltar in 1785, he evidently decided to make the most of it, and persuaded his mother to underwrite the cost of his travels. From Gibraltar he went to Tangier and Morocco, returning to Tarifa for a tour through Cádiz to Seville and then west through Portugal to Lisbon, before returning by sea, and (unusually) via Lagos and Faro, to Gibraltar. Jardine spent extended periods in Gibraltar and Spain from the 1770s on military and consular service, on the basis of which he wrote *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal &c* (2 vols, 1788). Other officers – such as John Pitt, referred to above – appear in diplomatic correspondence when passing through Madrid but have left no other archival traces of their tours. During the Peninsular War, the number of testimonies from military personnel obviously increased dramatically and these have been studied extensively by historians of the war itself, notably Charles Esdaile, Gavin Daly and Catriona Kennedy.⁶² We have used these sources selectively (many of them deal almost exclusively with campaigning and military strategy) and have not included combatant officers or soldiers in our enumeration of travellers to Spain.

Military service provided one reason for travel; trade was another.⁶³ Throughout the eighteenth century there were large communities of British merchants resident in Lisbon and Porto, and smaller communities

⁶¹ Colley, *Captives*, 70; Muller, ‘Garrison revisited’, 360.

⁶² Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 92–113; Charles Esdaile’s many works on the Peninsular War draw on the extensive corpus of military memoirs, but see in particular *Peninsular Eyewitnesses*.

⁶³ There were also diasporic communities of Catholic Irish, Scottish and English, some of whom found service in the Spanish army (for example, Arthur Costigan or Alejandro O’Reilly) or became established as merchants or entered the church or, in the case of women, a convent. Our focus is on those who travelled to Iberia, rather than the long-term residents.

in other Portuguese and Spanish ports; some of these, such as John Croft, have left records of more extensive tours of the Peninsula, combining leisure with business as they visited contacts or trading partners in other towns.⁶⁴ Most merchants based in Spain and Portugal, however, have only left records of their business or simply appear as names in diplomatic correspondence. Better documentation survives from some of the British merchants who visited Portugal or Spain on business and who used the opportunity to explore the country further. Henry Hobart from Norwich visited Lisbon twice in 1766 and 1767, on one occasion travelling on to Cádiz and to Málaga and across to Genoa before returning to Portugal. Robert Hyde Greg was sent to Portugal and Spain in late 1814, at the end of the Peninsular War, with his cousin Isaac Hodgson to become familiar with the family's business interests and to learn Spanish, but the journey was clearly also something in the nature of the young man's *rite de passage*. After spending time in Cádiz, he visited the Barbary coast before returning to Spain to tour Andalusia and then travel overland back to England via France.⁶⁵ George Rennie was in Portugal in 1817 on behalf of his father, with a commission to design a mill for a Franco-Portuguese industrialist called Jácome Ratton. Once his business with Ratton was complete, Rennie travelled south-east from Lisbon, down the Guadiana to the coast, from where he sailed to Cádiz and, like Greg, embarked on a tour across Spain, via Madrid, back to France.⁶⁶

Diplomats and their entourages are the final category of traveller and in some ways the most important. Just as Sir Horace Mann or Sir William Hamilton introduced countless Britons into Florentine or Neapolitan society and facilitated their onward travel, the ambassador (or minister plenipotentiary) in Spain performed a similar role for visitors to Spain.⁶⁷ Many travellers were reliant on the good offices of Lord Grantham (ambassador 1771–9), Robert Liston (chargé d'affaires and subsequently minister plenipotentiary 1783–8) or William Eden (ambassador 1788–9) to give practical advice, provide letters of introduction to Spanish society and offer British hospitality for travellers who were weary of the discomforts of Iberian travel. Grantham and Liston, in particular, left copious correspondence which casts valuable light on how they facilitated the travels of others, including the names of travellers of

⁶⁴ Brigstocke and Delaforce (eds), 'John Croft's tour to Spain'.

⁶⁵ Greg, *Travel Journals*.

⁶⁶ Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203: Rennie, journal.

⁶⁷ On the role of ambassadors in facilitating the travels of Grand Tourists see Mori, *Culture of Diplomacy*, 151–66.

whom no record otherwise survives, and – in the case of Grantham and his circle – valuable evidence for the growing interest in Spanish culture and history (see [Chapter 5](#)). William Eden, later Lord Auckland, was only in Spain for a year in 1788–9, conducting ultimately unsuccessful commercial negotiations, but he kept a journal, which regularly records touring Englishmen passing through.⁶⁸ Ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary also travelled with a retinue of chaplains and secretaries, among whom were Edward Clarke, chaplain to the Earl of Bristol and author of the early and influential *Letters from Spain* (1763), and Robert Waddilove, chaplain and general factotum for Lord Grantham, who guided many travellers around Madrid and the royal palaces, or *sitios*, and undertook archival research for the historian William Robertson on his employer's behalf. Finally, Richard Cumberland led an unsuccessful diplomatic mission to Spain in 1780, in the midst of the American War of Independence, when Spain was besieging Gibraltar. His expenses were never refunded, but he subsequently capitalised on the experience by publishing *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain* (1782), the first detailed account of Spanish art to be published in English.

The profile of travellers to Spain and Portugal was clearly dominated by those travelling for 'curiosity and amusement', who went to Iberia well aware that they would be encountering a very different world from the cosmopolitan society of the Italian Grand Tour. A large part of their curiosity, as we have seen, derived from the sense that Iberia was – comparatively – unknown; but for all that the region was less frequented, it nonetheless occupied a prominent and clearly defined place in the British cultural imagination.

The inherited image of Spain and Portugal

The legacy of the 'Black Legend' coloured every traveller's perceptions in the eighteenth century and has continued to shape the way in which the relationship between Spain and Portugal and the rest of Europe has been understood.⁶⁹ John Andrews's assumption that Spain was 'no country for travellers' can be traced back to the deeply rooted suspicion

⁶⁸ Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), *Journal and Correspondence of William Eden*, II, 28, 30, 59, 89, 117, 120, 140, 152, 172–3.

⁶⁹ Jaffe and Stolley (eds), *Black Legend*; Maltby, *Black Legend*; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*; on the myth's impact on Spanish identity see Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, especially 126–49. Hontanilla, 'Images of barbaric Spain', emphasises the persistence of the negative stereotypes in published depictions of Spain.

towards the country that dominated English culture for much of the early modern period. The specific term 'Black Legend' is an invention of the early twentieth century, but it refers to a nexus of hostile and derogatory stereotypes about the Spanish character that circulated across Europe from the early sixteenth century onwards.⁷⁰ These images emerged in response to Spain's rapid rise to European dominance as Spanish armies threatened Italy, France, the Low Countries and England. Few armies earn plaudits from the countries which they occupy and Spanish soldiers soon became associated with arrogance and brutality. The British believed that the cruelty was condoned and even encouraged by the Roman Catholic church, whose power and influence within Spain was mutually constitutive with that of the Spanish monarchy. In the eyes of Protestant observers, bred up in the traditions of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, the Catholic church maintained its power through the cultivation of ignorance and superstition and the practice of torture, as embodied by the Spanish Inquisition. Belief in the rapacious cruelty of the Spanish was given further corroboration by the translation of Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*) in 1583, in which the brutality of the treatment meted out by the conquistadors upon the indigenous peoples of the Americas was described in horrifying detail. The faults of pride, arrogance and cruelty were expanded to include indolence (encouraged by the rapid accession of wealth from America), deceit, treachery, venery and vindictiveness. While the full invective force of the Black Legend was most frequently applied to Spain, Portugal was generally subsumed within the wider characterisation of a region beset by bigotry, cruelty and ignorance.⁷¹ Portugal may not have posed such a threat to the political and religious integrity of Britain, but the power of the Inquisition and the intolerance of the Roman Catholic church were reputed no less; indeed, the Portuguese were held to be even more backward in their superstition than the Spanish.⁷² In 1761, news of the final *auto-da-fé* (public torture and execution), when Pombal's critic the Jesuit Gabriel Malagrida was strangled and burned for heresy, reverberated around Europe, confirming the worst prejudices of enlightened observers.⁷³

⁷⁰ Maltby, *Black Legend*, 3.

⁷¹ Maltby, *Black Legend* does not even mention Portugal. There is no equivalent to Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain* that examines British perceptions or representations of Portugal.

⁷² SHC LM 1327/28/2, Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 4 August 1785.

⁷³ For evidence of British interest see, for example, Gabriel Malagrida, *The Proceedings and Sentence of the Spiritual Court of Inquisition of Portugal against Gabriel Malagrida, Jesuit, for Heresy, Hypocrisy, False Prophecies, Impostures, and Various other Heinous Crimes* (1762).

It was, apparently, a case of life imitating art, for according to Voltaire's *Candide*, following the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, 'The Portuguese pundits could not think of any better way of preventing total ruin than to treat the people to a splendid *auto-da-fé*'.⁷⁴

Voltaire's views were widely disseminated and translated across Europe and, as we shall see, were frequently referenced by British travellers, and also vigorously opposed by the Spanish *ilustrados* (intelligentsia).⁷⁵ The influence of French writers on British perceptions of Spain went far beyond Voltaire, however, as French texts circulated widely in translation and were read and assimilated alongside English authors. It is often difficult to disentangle the genealogy of specific images or tropes associated with Iberia or to establish a distinctively British perspective given the facility with which texts crossed boundaries, not just between Britain and France but across the Netherlands and Germany too.⁷⁶ There was in fact a common northern European view of Iberia, albeit one that was inflected by the specific histories of each country, drawing originally on the staples of the Black Legend, but reinforced during the eighteenth century by the sharing and translation of key texts. A significant book for all these travellers was Mme d'Aulnoy's *The Lady's Travels into Spain*, first published in French (as *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*) in 1691 and translated into English the same year. Such was d'Aulnoy's popularity that her *Travels* had gone through 12 editions by 1740 and was regularly abridged and serialised in periodicals.⁷⁷ Often subsequently decried as imaginative and inaccurate – many queried whether she had even visited Spain – *The Lady's Travels* was eclipsed in the second half of the century by more recent accounts. However, her representation of Spain and its people had indelibly coloured British perceptions of the country and her influence is detectable even at second-hand throughout the century, particularly in accounts of Spanish character.⁷⁸ D'Aulnoy was writing at the nadir of Spanish fortunes, when the country's former military supremacy was shattered, bankruptcy threatened and even the succession was in question. But amidst the finger-pointing at the flaws in the Spanish character (laziness, arrogance, greed, vengefulness, credulity and jealousy) that could account for such a precipitous decline,

⁷⁴ Voltaire, *Candide*, quoted in Maxwell, *Pombal*, 32.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 6.

⁷⁶ On Dutch representations see Tolboom, 'Reworking (trans)national traditions' and Freeman, 'Black Legend in travel accounts'.

⁷⁷ Palmer, 'Madame d'Aulnoy in England'. Palmer notes that it went through more English editions than French and Dutch ones combined.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Andrews, *Review of the Characters of the Principal Nations*, I, 222 and Andrews, *Characteristic Views*, 66–7.

d'Aulnoy also found much to admire – the Spanish were wise, constant, generous, honourable, brave, devout, and the men idolised women, while the women boasted beautiful hair, eyes and teeth and particularly small feet, whatever other deficiencies there may have been in their appearance.⁷⁹

Voltaire and Montesquieu were less sympathetic to the positive attributes of Spain and Portugal, seeing in those countries the antithesis of the values that they sought to espouse. Neither ever travelled in Spain themselves and they were therefore able to perpetuate the worst parts of the Black Legend, with an Enlightenment gloss, without being encumbered by any complications arising from personal knowledge of the region and its people or appreciation of the changes that had taken place since the seventeenth century. Montesquieu never discussed Spain and Portugal at great length, but in *Lettres persanes* (1721) he parodied contemporary accounts, such as that by d'Aulnoy, and helped to reinforce the stereotype of pride, indolence and ignorance.⁸⁰ In his *Esprit des loix* (1748) Spain was held up as proof of the danger of pride and sloth: it was these qualities that had enabled the downfall of Spain, which the wealth of the Indies exacerbated rather than remedied.⁸¹ Voltaire's treatment of Spanish history focused on the perceived crimes of the Spanish monarchy; it overlooked or downplayed Spain's cultural and intellectual achievements. He was particularly hostile to the intolerance exercised by the Roman Catholic church and endorsed by the Spanish monarchy, and blamed it for the country's economic stagnation. In *Essai sur les mœurs* he attributed Spain's economic decline in the seventeenth century to the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609 under Philip III, claiming that up to 700,000 were driven to flee: a figure that was subsequently repeated by many other visitors.⁸² Voltaire's dictum, frequently repeated, that Spain was 'a country with which we are no better acquainted than with the most savage parts of Africa, and which does not deserve the trouble of being known' should be seen less as a reflection of the state of knowledge surrounding Spain than of his own lack of curiosity in the country, except as the foil to his own enlightened principles.⁸³

⁷⁹ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantiques*, 23–4, 58.

⁸⁰ Iglesias, 'Montesquieu and Spain'.

⁸¹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des loix*. See English translation, *Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Cohler, Miller and Stone, 312–13 (part 3, chapters 9–10), 390–7 (part 3, chapters 21–3).

⁸² Voltaire, *Essay on Universal History*, IV, 106–7; Clarke, *Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, 33.

⁸³ Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 390–1 quoted in de Salvio, 'Voltaire and Spain', 69. See also 'Voltaire and Spain', part 2.

As in Britain, however, a more positive view of Spain started to emerge in the second half of the eighteenth century based upon first-hand experience, rather than recycling the inherited images of the seventeenth century. There was considerable cross-fertilisation with English sources as French travellers read Clarke, Twiss, Swinburne and Jardine, while British travellers availed themselves of descriptions by Jean-François Peyron, Jean-François de Bourgoing and, latterly, Alexandre de Laborde, either in French or in translation.⁸⁴ The first major French text to emerge after the wave of English publications was Jean-François Peyron's *Essais sur l'Espagne* (1780), which he based on travels through Catalonia, the eastern coast, Andalusia, La Mancha, Madrid and the Castilles in 1777–8. Peyron recognised that Spain had changed since the days of d'Aulnoy, noting new manners and dress as well as reforms attempted under Carlos III, from the founding of learned institutions to the beautification of Madrid.⁸⁵ Jean-François de Bourgoing's *Nouveau voyage en Espagne* (1789) was even more enthusiastic about such developments, and by far the most frequently cited French source among British travellers. It drew on his experiences as secretary to the French ambassador, Comte Armand de Montmorin-Saint Hérem, in 1777 and again as chargé d'affaires in 1783–5. The volume went through several editions in which the text was revised in 1797, 1803 and 1807, drawing on his experience of the country in the 1790s, when he returned in 1792–3 and 1795. Significantly for British travellers, it was translated into English as *Travels in Spain* in 1789. Bourgoing emphasised that the Spanish were improving under the rule of an enlightened king, even while he continued to criticise them for the traditional faults of indolence, superstition and cruelty. He particularly emphasised the programme of public works, the provision of charitable support and the signs of manufacturing and agricultural renewal, and applauded the expulsion of the Jesuits as a sign that Spain was finally throwing off the yoke of superstition. Among British and French observers at least, there was something approaching a consensus that under Carlos III Spain was undergoing renewal and improvement.⁸⁶

It is also possible to discern a Spanish hand in that developing consensus. Because of the investment of so much political capital and royal prestige in programmes of reform, this was a period of heightened

⁸⁴ For Spanish responses to British and French travel writing, and the triangular relationship between Britain, France and Spain generally, see [Chapter 6](#).

⁸⁵ Peyron, *Essais sur l'Espagne*, republished as *Nouveau voyage en Espagne* (Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 43–4, 86).

⁸⁶ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 69–133.

sensitivity to foreign representations of Spain. The *ilustrados* bought into an international language of Enlightenment, but saw it being used to denigrate both their country and their own achievements. Accordingly, writers in and around the courts of Carlos III and his son, Carlos IV, mobilised against the falsehoods of Voltaire, Montesquieu and, most notably, the 1782 *Encyclopédie méthodique*'s entry on 'Espagne'. Its author, Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers, another Frenchman with no first-hand experience of Iberia, argued that European culture owed nothing to Spain, prompting a flurry of rebuttals.⁸⁷ The controversy was part of a wider struggle between a condescending, French-centred Enlightenment and Spanish efforts to establish a place for their country in enlightened Europe. In a literary context, these efforts often took the form of corrective 'translations', whether of Masson's essay or of the abbé Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes* (1770).⁸⁸ The latter had updated the Black Legend for the Enlightenment age, blaming the long-standing mistreatment of indigenous Americans on a bigoted and prejudiced Spanish national character and the weakness and arbitrariness of the crown. Unsurprisingly, *ilustrado* writers were more optimistic about ongoing reform – in domestic and imperial contexts – and took aim at what they saw as the outdated stereotypes that lingered in British and French accounts.

The Spanish tried to shape foreign views of their country's past as well as its present. Since mid-century, court-based scholars and artists had been engaged in a programme of cultural nationalism that sought to establish a coherent national heritage and glorify the House of Bourbon.⁸⁹ In parallel with the crown's reforms, they surveyed the country's curiosities and appropriated its Islamic monuments into a Spanish national story. Discussion of these efforts recurs throughout this book, particularly of Antonio Ponz's influential *Viage de España* (1772–94) and the anonymous *Antigüedades árabes de España* (1787, 1804), which presented decades of collaborative work on the Alhambra at Granada and the mosque-cathedral of Córdoba. Because of the importance that they afforded to Spanish cultural patrimony and historical monuments in the making of national identity and royal prestige, both projects challenged the misrepresentations rife in foreign travel writing of the 1760s, 1770s and 1780s. Ponz and the *Antigüedades* explicitly targeted Swinburne and

⁸⁷ Morvilliers, 'Espagne', and Calvo Maturana, 'Nobody expects the Spanish Enlightenment'.

⁸⁸ Donato, 'Introduction: "Espagne" or "España"?', 11, 14; Velasco, 'España'; Paquette, 'Image of Imperial Spain', 204.

⁸⁹ Schulz, "'Porcelain of the Moors'", 410–11.

Peyron, for instance. This concern with the Spanish past overlapped with sensitivity towards the country's position in enlightened Europe; indeed, a common criticism of Spain was that it neglected its antiquities. On the other hand, descriptions of Córdoba and Granada helped to refute writers such as Masson by evincing a unique and significant contribution to European history and culture. The twin desires to establish a national heritage and a place in enlightened Europe led Spanish writers to take on the perceived falsehoods of foreign travellers and to craft a more positive view of the country.

Before the Peninsular War, there are signs that these efforts were paying off. Both Ponz and the *Antigüedades* were increasingly prominent as sources for British and French travel writing over the 1780s, 1790s and 1800s. Bourgoing and Peyron both borrowed extensively from Ponz, for example, and the former illustrated a section on Granada with plates from the first volume of the *Antigüedades*.⁹⁰ On the eve of the Peninsular War, Carlos IV and Godoy turned to another Frenchman, Alexandre de Laborde, to provide an exhaustive – and strikingly positive – account of Spain in *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne* (1808) and *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (1806–20),⁹¹ which drew on both his own experiences and the scholarship of *ilustrados* such as Jovellanos and Ponz. To a degree, then, Spanish self-presentations reached a British audience through French intermediaries. Yet the positivity evident in accounts by Jardine and Townsend derived not only from these precedents and their own first-hand observations but also from personal relationships that they built with *ilustrados* such as Jovellanos and Floridablanca, the very men enacting reform.

Spanish attempts to 'write back' against foreign accounts notwithstanding, Spain and, to a lesser extent, Portugal had long since occupied a place in the imaginary of Britons that went beyond the negativity of the Black Legend. Since antiquity, the Iberian Peninsula had been described and celebrated in Classical sources with which every educated British gentleman was familiar: both Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* (book 3, chapters 2–4) and the Greek geographer Strabo had described a region rich in natural resources with a benign climate, which was the hub of wide-ranging trading connections across the Mediterranean.⁹² The image of the Peninsula as a place of fertility and commercial prosperity

⁹⁰ For borrowings from Ponz, see Chapter 6. For Bourgoing and the *Antigüedades*, see Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 119 n. 2, 120.

⁹¹ On Spanish disillusionment with this decision, see Canto, 'El Viaje arquitectónico-anticuario de Fray José Ortiz y Sanz'.

⁹² Roller, *Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo*, 124–71.

persisted in the eighteenth-century imagination, alongside an alternative trope of barren aridity derived from the hostile critique of the Black Legend, as we shall see in [Chapter 4](#).⁹³ In both countries, moreover, the positive representation drawn from Classical sources was overlaid with images derived from the literature of the sixteenth century and, for Spain in particular, the popularity of chivalric romance that offered a different perspective on the medieval and early modern past.

Knowledge of Portuguese history and literature was limited; the figures from Portuguese history with whom British visitors were most likely to be familiar were Vasco da Gama, the first European to reach India by a maritime route, and Dom Henrique, Duke of Viseu, better known in Britain as Henry the Navigator, the first patron of Portuguese exploration and the son of Dom João I and his wife Philippa, John of Gaunt's daughter. Some British readers would have come across Luís de Camões's historical epic *Os Lusíadas* (1572), a celebratory treatment of the life of Vasco da Gama,⁹⁴ through the seventeenth-century translation by the British ambassador to Spain, Richard Fanshawe. But it failed to achieve a wider currency until William Mickle's translation of 1776, *The Lusiad: or, the Discovery of India*.⁹⁵ Mickle's subtitle clearly shows where he believed the main interest of the poem to lie; the introduction, aimed firmly at the possible patronage of the East India Company, was a celebration of the civilising powers of commerce and the superiority of British rule in India over that of the Portuguese. But despite the shortcomings of Portuguese colonial rule that Mickle identified, he also awarded the Portuguese a crucial role in driving Islam from Europe and initiating the transformation of navigation that enabled the 'discovery' of much of Africa, India, the East and the West Indies. The success of Mickle's translation clearly had a role in fostering a less critical view of the country: James Cavanah Murphy's *Travels in Portugal* (1795), a text that offered a more positive view of the country and its cultural achievements than earlier accounts, was scattered with allusions to the *Lusiad* throughout. Thanks to endorsement by Robert Southey, Mickle's translation achieved new popularity at the start of the nineteenth century, being republished six times between 1798 and 1822. Portugal's literary reputation was not completely rewritten, but travellers did at least have a text through which they could view and experience the country.⁹⁶

⁹³ Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 541.

⁹⁴ Fanshawe, *Lusiad*.

⁹⁵ Mickle (ed.), *Lusiad*, i–clxviii.

⁹⁶ West, 'Work of W. J. Mickle', 392–5.

Thus during the Peninsular War William Stothert, an officer with the 3rd Royal Footguards, particularly associated Camões, ‘the pride and boast of his country’, with Coimbra and the banks of the Mondego; the region held similar associations for his fellow officer Charles Leslie, who noted it as ‘celebrated by Camoens for its salubrity’.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, despite increasing familiarity with the poem and Mickle’s introduction, it failed to stimulate interest in the Algarve, let alone Dom Henrique’s town of Sagres, whence the Portuguese navigators sailed on their voyages of discovery.

For all the negativity of the Black Legend, Spain’s reputation on the European stage ensured that there was an audience for Spanish literature outside Spain, including in Britain, where there were a number of notable collectors of Spanish literature in the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ The influence of both Miguel de Cervantes, author of *Don Quixote* (first translated into English in 1612), and the playwrights Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca upon the development of English theatre and literature has long been acknowledged.⁹⁹ ‘In former times’, observed one reviewer of Clarke’s *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation* (1763), ‘the fabrick of the English plays owed a great deal to the invention of Lopez [sic]’.¹⁰⁰ The popularity of Cervantes – and other chivalric romances such as *Amadís de Gaula* – and the widespread borrowings from Spanish ‘cape and sword’ drama disseminated a different view of Spain: one that revolved around the honourable *caballero*, alluring ladies, jealously protective fathers and brothers, young girls caught up in forced marriages, love intrigues and duels. As Clarke himself had observed, romances had ‘infused themselves into our ideas of that country’.¹⁰¹ Alongside the image of the cruel, bigoted and treacherous Spaniard, therefore, there was an alternative figure: one who was proud, chivalrous and defensive of his honour, invariably dressed in the costume of the sixteenth century.¹⁰² Although the popularity of Spanish drama on the English stage may have waned in the eighteenth century, the appeal

⁹⁷ Stothert, *Narrative of the Principal Events*, 25 and Leslie, *Military Journal*, 105.

⁹⁸ Bas Martín and Taylor (eds), *El libro español en Londres*; Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 120–2; Glendinning, ‘Spanish books in England’, 70–2; Gaselee, *Spanish Books in the Library of Samuel Pepys*; Wilson, ‘Samuel Pepys and Spain’.

⁹⁹ Randall, *Golden Tapestry*; Randall and Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*; Taylor, ‘Learning style from the Spaniards’; Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy*; Braga Riera, ‘Adaptation of seventeenth-century Spanish drama to the English stage’; Paulson, *Don Quixote in England*.

¹⁰⁰ Review of Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation* in *Critical Review*, 15 (April 1763), 297.

¹⁰¹ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, iv.

¹⁰² For an overview of representations of Spain in eighteenth-century British literature see Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 40–64.

of *Don Quixote* waxed ever stronger. Cervantes' novel was the one text that all British travellers appear to have read and they happily saw all of Iberia – even Portugal – through that lens.¹⁰³ Many took the opportunity to re-read it in situ or in the original Spanish.¹⁰⁴ Even the memoirs of the 'other ranks' during the Peninsular War indicate that *Don Quixote* was a familiar figure to them as well as the officer class.¹⁰⁵

If the British toured Italy in search of Horace, in Spain they were on the trail of *Don Quixote*. La Mancha comprised 'those regions of fancy which Cervantes has rendered immortal'¹⁰⁶ and travellers entertained themselves by retracing the exploits of *Don Quixote*, re-enacting their favourite scenes and claiming to encounter the modern descendants of Cervantes' creations. The provost of Trinity College Dublin, Francis Andrews, who was travelling in Spain for his health in 1772, reported to Lord Grantham how he had stayed at the inn in Puerto Lápice, the 'celebrated scene of *Don Quixote's* first adventure, where he was dubbed a Knight'. In La Mancha, he added, 'I met with many Labradores who answered exactly my idea of Sancho, & still more Hidalgos who wanted nothing but a suit of rusty Armour to intitle them to ye denomination of Knights of the Woefull Countenance.' 'T'is odd', he concluded, 'but I read the adventure wth [sic] an additional pleasure on the spot.'¹⁰⁷ In September 1809, Henry Gally Knight embarked upon a journey through La Mancha and Estremadura, ostensibly to trace the impact of the war, but as his party entered the plains of La Mancha

... our thoughts immediately turned to the illustrious *Don Quixote* and we felt no small pleasure in finding ourselves amidst the scenes of his ever memorable exploits. Every spot in this part of La Mancha is made sacred by his name ... The Spaniards take the greatest pride in imaginary hero, and every cottage in La Mancha however ignorant in other respects, knows something of the valorous knight and his trusty squire.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ 'On landing at Lisbon ... [T]he descriptions in *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas*, appear at once to be realized': *Lisbon Guide*, 25.

¹⁰⁴ Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*; Javier Pardo, 'From Hispanophobia to Quixotophilia'; Lewis, 'Mapping *Don Quixote's* route'. On the influence of Cervantes' novel on Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain*, see Pérez Berenguel, 'Las fuentes principales de los *Viajes por España* (1779)'.

¹⁰⁵ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 75.

¹⁰⁶ Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 419.

¹⁰⁷ BA L30/14/7/6: Francis Andrews to Grantham, 2 November 1772; see also BA L30/14/420/6: Roger Wilbraham to Grantham, 2 November 1774.

¹⁰⁸ DRO D239/M/F16318, 75–6: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'; see also Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 29.

Beyond La Mancha, Don Quixote continued to resonate strongly in accounts of people, activities and experiences. Thomas Pelham, in his solitary tour from southern Spain to France (see [Map 2](#)), took comfort in reading *Don Quixote*, identifying with his travails in the midst of the vicissitudes of his own travels.¹⁰⁹ At Bailén, William Gell was met ‘by a kind of Don Quixote who was very (because we called him Don Quixote) civil & shewed us two inscriptions’.¹¹⁰ Richard Twiss was delighted by being able finally to appreciate Don Quixote’s habit of tilting at windmills, an activity which in England or Holland would have been a physical impossibility. The sails of Spanish windmills, as he explained to his readers, nearly touched the ground, which revelation instantly made sense of an otherwise incomprehensible pastime. Seen in this light, the windmills were, according to George Whittington, the only objects of interest in the whole of La Mancha.¹¹¹

Along with *Don Quixote*, many travellers were also readers of *Gil Blas* and frequently referenced Lesage’s novel, in the full knowledge that it was written by a Frenchman. But, as Robert Semple argued, ‘even a known fiction’ added to the interest of a place.¹¹² For romantic travellers, it was the imaginative associations inspiring emotion upon the spot that mattered and these could be conjured up by any work of literature. The majority of the allusions were prompted by the tower at Segovia, where *Gil Blas* was held prisoner, rather than any of the many other places associated with his chequered career.¹¹³ *Gil Blas* never prompted imaginative reveries in the way that *Don Quixote* did; nor did it command the deep affection in which Cervantes’ novel appears universally to have been held. But it certainly provided a frame of reference through which travellers were able to interpret their own experiences: the novel was, for James More Molyneux, ‘the most faithful depiction of Life and Manners’ in Spain.¹¹⁴ The recurring themes of bands of robbers, adulterous and highly sexualised women and indolent aristocracy that reverberate through travellers’ comments were clearly coloured by their reading of novels such as *Gil Blas*, as well as the more diffuse legacy of the cape and sword dramas. The Spanish, as we shall see in [Chapter 6](#), were not unaware of this fixation on these two texts and were critical of the extent to which travellers allowed it to colour their perceptions of contemporary Spain.

¹⁰⁹ BL Add MS 33127, fol. 137v: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 18 December 1776.

¹¹⁰ BSR WG[MS]-6, 069: Gell, notebook.

¹¹¹ Twiss, *Travels*, 32; Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 41.

¹¹² Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 96.

¹¹³ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 196; Locker, *Views in Spain*.

¹¹⁴ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 24 June 1785.

National character

This kind of intellectual baggage with which the British travelled meant that they arrived in Iberia with firm views on the national character of both the Spanish and the Portuguese. Comments seesawed between general pronouncements, which might encompass both Spain and Portugal, and an emphasis upon regional variation, evident in landscape, diet, language and costume. This emphasis upon heterogeneity was the more keenly felt given that the English at least were regarded as displaying remarkable uniformity in manners and customs across their country.¹¹⁵ Despite the deeply marked regional variations, travellers to Spain and Portugal freely indulged in discussion of different theories of national character formation: did it display innate qualities inherited from their forebears, and if so, how far was it possible to distinguish between the different inheritances of Celtic, Roman, Goth or 'Moorish' ancestry?¹¹⁶ The inhabitants of the Basque region were generally assumed to be of Celtic origin, and evidence for this was found in their supposed similarity to the inhabitants of Wales and Ireland.¹¹⁷ Moving into Asturias, Jardine claimed to be able to trace the lineaments of Roman ancestry.¹¹⁸ 'To this day', claimed Francis Carter in 1777, 'they [the Spanish] bear indelible marks of a Roman origin in their language, dress, and domestic utensils.'¹¹⁹ Travellers were also particularly alert to evidence of the 'mixing' of blood from the Peninsula's Jewish and Muslim minorities, with implications for the descent of character traits and physical features.¹²⁰ The appearance of the Portuguese, especially in Lisbon as we shall see in [Chapter 3](#), was said to display the clear influence of 'Moorish' and Jewish ancestry.¹²¹ In Spain, Lady Holland differentiated between the inhabitants of Catalonia and Aragón, noting a transition from a 'jolly fat squat figure, round face, cheerful countenance, fair skin, air of independent sulky good humour' in Catalonia to the 'tall, meagre, sallow, quick sighted, long visage, forbidding countenance' of the Valencians.¹²² She did not explicitly impute this to the legacy

¹¹⁵ Langford, *Englishness Identified*, 15–16.

¹¹⁶ Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*; Moe, *View from Vesuvius*.

¹¹⁷ LWL MS 41 Box 1, fol. 69: Holland, 'Journal in Spain'; Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 167–8.

¹¹⁸ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 47.

¹¹⁹ Carter, *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 222.

¹²⁰ See, for example, Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 97 on the descent of 'Moorish' customs in Valencia or SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 20 June 1785.

¹²¹ See, for example, Murphy, *General View of the State of Portugal*, 132 and [Chapter 3](#) for further examples.

¹²² BL Add MS 51390, fol. 57v: Lady Holland, journal.

of 'the Moors' in Valencia or the Goths in Catalonia, although such thinking almost certainly lay behind her comments. Customs such as the habit of Portuguese women of sitting on the floor, the traditions of female seclusion and the notorious jealousy of Spanish and Portuguese men were likewise attributed to 'Moorish' influence.¹²³ James More Molyneux, who arrived in Spain from Tangier, noted that his muleteer always squatted down to 'make water', as was the custom in Barbary, and interpreted the practice as a continuation of 'Moorish customs'.¹²⁴

Innate or inherited racial characteristics offered only one form of explanation. Was the national character rather to be explained by the warmth of the southern climate, encouraging indolence and irresponsibility? Most travellers went to continental Europe with at least a second-hand knowledge of Montesquieu's *Esprit des loix* and his succinct formulation of contemporary thought around the relationship between climate and racial difference.¹²⁵ A warm climate rendered individuals indolent and passive but also more passionate and sensual, with less control over their emotions. Warmth was therefore seen as the origin of both moral and physical laxity.¹²⁶ Spain, like southern Italy, was particularly associated with this discourse of the 'Warm South', especially in relation to the fiery temper of Spanish men, the sensuality of Spanish women and the indolence of the entire population.¹²⁷ Climatic theory – particularly as manifested in indolence – might account for Spain's decline, but was clearly inadequate in terms of explaining the rise that preceded the fall. Other approaches, drawing on the theory of the Scottish Enlightenment, recognised that national differences could not be attributable to climate alone.¹²⁸ Rather, the structures of government and the nature of civil and religious institutions provided a more convincing explanation for differences in national manners and the degree of civilisation to which different nations had arrived.¹²⁹

¹²³ Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 5; Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 185–6, 215, 220; Carter, *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 424 attributed the custom of wearing veils in public to the 'Moors'. See also Bolufer Peruga, 'Orientalizing Southern Europe', 457; Bolufer Peruga, 'Relatos de frontera. Alexander Jardine en España y Berbería (1788)'.

¹²⁴ SHC LM 1327/26/1, Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 20 June 1785.

¹²⁵ On the continued importance of climate and humoral theory in shaping attitudes towards racial difference see Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*.

¹²⁶ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Cohler, Miller and Stone, part 3, chapter 3, 233–4.

¹²⁷ Andreu Miralles and Bolufer Peruga (eds), *European Modernity and the Passionate South*; Moe, *View from Vesuvius*; Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*; on the romantic construction of the region see Schor, "Warm South".

¹²⁸ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 183–7; see in particular Hume, 'Of national characters'.

¹²⁹ Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* and Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*. For a similar argument regarding the complex interplay of different theories regarding the Spanish national character, see Bolufer Peruga, 'Orientalizing Southern Europe?'.

Indolence had to be assumed because it was central to the explanation for the failure of both Spain and Portugal to capitalise upon their imperial acquisitions in the New World and the backward state of their manufactures and agriculture. The concept had much to commend it as an explanation: it did not require further enquiry as it was seemingly self-evident and travellers claimed to encounter it everywhere. 'Thousands of men', according to Henry Swinburne, 'in all parts of the realm are seen to pass their whole day, wrapped up in a cloak, standing in rows against a wall, or dosing [sic] under a tree.'¹³⁰ Agriculture, manufactures and trade were all the consequence of industry; if these failed to prosper, the easiest explanation was a want of activity and exertion. Granada, Edward Stanley informed his family, was almost entirely without trade because 'it neither troubl[ed] itself with importations or exert[ed] its powers to provide Materials for Exportation'.¹³¹ Indolence was thought to be equally ubiquitous in Portugal: high taxes and an abstemious way of life supposedly removed all incentive to industry.¹³² In Spain it was a well-established truism that the riches of the country – realised through agriculture, manufactures and mineral extraction under the Romans and the 'Moors' – were never more than partially exploited under the Spanish monarchy. Indolence offered an easy explanation for the failure to pursue agricultural improvement: appealing to contemporary theories of climate and national character, Spain's mildness and natural fertility, it was argued, made it possible for the peasants to survive even when employing the most primitive forms of agriculture.¹³³ Indolence explained the lack of initiative; the failure to maintain irrigation systems; and the 'laziness' of harvesting olives by allowing them to fall to the ground, where, complained the British, they started to rot, ruining the taste of the oil.¹³⁴

But rather than seeing such habits as the inevitable consequence of a warm climate, Swinburne and others argued it was the consequence of the despotic government, which saw wealth and power concentrated in the hands of a small landowning elite who spent their time dancing attendance at the court of a despotic monarchy, and of a wholly inequitable system of property holding that offered no incentive or scope for the majority of the population to do anything, unless driven by sheer

¹³⁰ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 369.

¹³¹ See, for example, Adeane and Grenfell (eds), *Before and After Waterloo*, 60, 66.

¹³² NLS MS.3628, fol. 10: Graham, journal.

¹³³ Similar arguments were made, albeit less frequently, regarding Portugal: see, for example, Eliot, *Treatise on the Defence of Portugal*, 161–2.

¹³⁴ Carter, *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 402; Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 343.

necessity.¹³⁵ This was a view shared by other late eighteenth-century observers, including Townsend and Young, who blamed the backwardness of Spain's agrarian economy and the evident rural impoverishment on the consequences of inequitable distribution of property, which concentrated land in the hands of negligent and absentee aristocratic landlords, rather than on innate indolence per se. This in turn was the outcome of internal instability and more recently the jealousy of the court, as the Bourbon monarchy, suspecting its nobility of remaining loyal to the House of Austria, kept them close by in Madrid and the royal *sitios*. For British observers, used to praising the paternalist policies of English landowners in promoting agriculture and investment in transport infrastructure, this was a deplorable abdication of responsibility and symptomatic of the loss of liberty and freedom inherent within a Catholic country ruled by an absolute monarchy.¹³⁶ Joseph Townsend constantly railed against the missed potential. He was dismissive of the view that there was any innate reason deriving from climate or race that was to blame for Spain's agricultural problems: it was, in modern terms, simply a failure of leadership.¹³⁷

In taking this stance, Townsend at least challenged the assumptions of 'indolence' that were so often attributed to the Spanish peasantry. Rather, he emphasised their capacity for hard labour and endurance: 'we must not imagine that the Spaniards are naturally indolent', he warned, finding instead that 'they are remarkable for activity, capable of strenuous exertions and patient of fatigue'.¹³⁸ Thomas Traill, who was deeply familiar with Townsend's travels, agreed. Visiting Granada in 1814, he explicitly rejected the cliché of Spanish lassitude, pointing to the backbreaking work in baking heat that was required to maintain and tend the terraced vineyards: 'It is a very erroneous idea of a Spanish peasant to consider him as lazy'.¹³⁹ The cultivation of vines, as he observed, 'gives one an advantageous idea of the industry of the inhabitants in this part of Spain'.¹⁴⁰ Explanations for their apparent lack of occupation were also offered: idleness was the consequence of bad

¹³⁵ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 369–71, 385–6; cf. Thicknesse, who argued the difference between southern Spaniards and northern Englishmen arose 'more from the want of liberty than the power of climate', *Year's Journey*, I, 126. See also the criticisms of Asiatic government discussed by Marshall and Williams, *Great Map of Mankind*, 128–54.

¹³⁶ Young, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, I, 659–61; Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 230–3.

¹³⁷ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 211–33.

¹³⁸ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 233.

¹³⁹ OLA D1/1066/1, fol. 62v: Traill, 'Journal during a voyage to Spain'.

¹⁴⁰ NLS MS.19389, fol. 122: Traill, journal; see also Sherer, *Recollections*, 78.

government; moreover, between February and October, when no rain fell, there was little to be done in terms of agricultural employment.¹⁴¹ But even where idleness did exist, it was tempered by other qualities of endurance, resilience and courage. As John Spencer Stanhope had observed a couple of years earlier, ‘they [Spanish peasants] excel all other people in patient endurance of every sort of privation, they are patient, sober, uncomplaining and submit without murmuring to the greatest hardships & they have a spirit of perseverance unexampled in the history of any other Country’.¹⁴² Even where indolence was identified, it was not the *otium* of warmth, ease and lassitude that characterised the Italian south,¹⁴³ but the indolence of a society where liberty had never been allowed to flourish and where misguided economic policies discouraged both industry and agriculture.

In both Spain and Portugal, an increasingly despotic monarchy combined with the evil influences of the Roman Catholic church was thought to have created a servile and dependent population, providing an explanatory framework for many of Iberia’s distinctive features.¹⁴⁴ A common government, religion and education shaped and sustained a national character that overlaid regional differences in economy, tradition, language, appearance and manners and customs.¹⁴⁵ However, with the exception of Robert Southey, who professed to dislike Spain and to favour Portugal, in the period before the Peninsular War the Spanish national character was almost invariably preferred to that of the Portuguese, who – in keeping with the other critical tropes around Portugal – were generally depicted as sharing the more objectionable characteristics of their neighbours but with fewer of their redeeming features.¹⁴⁶ ‘In most respects,’ claimed Henry Gally Knight, ‘the cultivation, industry, and exertion of Spain, may be compared to England and the slovenly, indolent, and filthy condition of Portugal to Ireland’.¹⁴⁷ Knight had not, at that point in 1809, visited Portugal (or, indeed, Ireland) and was reliant purely on hearsay. By the early

¹⁴¹ Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 229.

¹⁴² BALSD MS StSp 60643(3), fol. 162: Stanhope, journal.

¹⁴³ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 167–8.

¹⁴⁴ García-Moscardó, ‘On the Spanish national character’, 45 similarly suggests that eighteenth-century arguments to explain Spain’s difference relied on climatic, social or historical factors and not Oriental ancestry (until the early nineteenth century), despite occasional allusions to mixing of blood.

¹⁴⁵ Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 173.

¹⁴⁶ Southey’s uncle was chaplain to the English Factory at Lisbon, which may have coloured his attitude, but his *Letters* were clearly intended to be contrarian.

¹⁴⁷ Knight, *Iberia’s Crisis*, 8.

nineteenth century, a consensus had formed around the *lack* of national character among the Portuguese, which was in effect a commentary on their perceived lack of distinction: 'The want of character among the people', according to one, made Portugal one of the 'most uninteresting and most unpleasant countries in Europe'.¹⁴⁸ Robert Semple expressed a very similar opinion, arguing that 'they have no public spirit, and consequently no national character ... any meagre swarthy man may pass for a Portuguese'.¹⁴⁹ A cloak thrown over the shoulders of a Spaniard, he wrote, gave him 'something of the air of a man of courage', but with Portuguese manners 'gives only the look of an assassin'.¹⁵⁰ Lady Holland found character, but not one of which she could approve: the Portuguese were clumsy in their person and coarse, 'not to say downright ugly', in appearance.¹⁵¹ Lacking the stately gravity of the Spanish, they were as forward and as intrusive as the French, without the redeeming qualities of their gaiety and good humour.

British views of the Portuguese changed their tenor in the years during and after the Peninsular War: the Portuguese had proved themselves more conformable allies than the Spanish and this was reflected in comments that started to privilege the Portuguese over the Spanish, as kinder, more hospitable, more cheerful and even cleaner.¹⁵² For Peter Hawker, an officer in the 14th Light Dragoons, 'the sudden transition from haughtiness to civility', on entering Portugal from Spain, 'is scarcely to be credited'.¹⁵³ This more positive re-evaluation was still in evidence in the years following the end of the war. Crossing the border at Elvas in 1819, George Douglas claimed instantly to identify a difference in the countryside and the appearance and manners of the people: 'The general air of industrious comfort, and the expression of good will towards others, which the people of Portugal exhibit, when contrasted with the slothful indolence and sullen pride of Spain, prove peculiarly prepossessing to strangers.'¹⁵⁴

Beyond the Portuguese, Spanish national character was also periodically compared with those of Italy and France – a comparison that is perhaps unsurprising given that French and Italian national stereotypes were more fully developed in British culture than any image of Portugal.

¹⁴⁸ *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 77.

¹⁴⁹ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 6.

¹⁵⁰ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 35.

¹⁵¹ BL Add MS 51932, fol. 46v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁵² Fisher, *Sketch of the City of Lisbon*, 34.

¹⁵³ Hawker, *Journal of a Regimental Officer*, 122.

¹⁵⁴ NLS MS.10355, 3–4: Douglas, 'Tour'.

According to Edward Clarke, 'The Italian has neither freedom, morals nor religion'; the Spaniard, by implication, did.¹⁵⁵ But this was an observation based as much upon current stereotypes as Clarke's personal experience: geography books regularly echoed such sentiments, contrasting the 'licentious and dissolute' Italians with the 'probity and honour' of the Spanish.¹⁵⁶ Even in the early nineteenth century, under Carlos IV, it was believed that Spain might still recover from her degradation, since 'the spirit of honour is still alive there', but for Italy there was 'no hope ... the mask of decency has been thrown aside.'¹⁵⁷ Much of Spain's eighteenth-century decline was attributed by the British to the negative impact of the Bourbon monarchs and the insidious spread of French political and cultural influence.¹⁵⁸ Although Francophobia and Hispanophobia were both well-established tropes among the British travelling public, Spain – being a less immediate threat culturally, politically and economically – could even be compared favourably to France. Alexander Jardine noted with some justification that the French 'generally dislike and misrepresent the meaning and character' of Spain. They have, he continued, 'no taste for their exquisite wit and humour, nor for their music, their mirth or for their noble and beautiful language, all far superior to their own'.¹⁵⁹

Jardine even claimed to find similarities with English qualities: 'Of the modern national character, I am inclined to place the Spanish and English, so nearly alike, among the first.'¹⁶⁰ Robert Semple agreed that, like the English, they had a sense of humour.¹⁶¹ In the notes to his anonymously published poem, *Iberia's Crisis* (1809), Henry Gally Knight likewise identified similarities between English and Spanish national character in the qualities of seriousness and sincerity, traits that were diametrically opposed to those of the French, although his private comments expressed to friends and family were rather less positive.¹⁶² Many of the British professed to find much to admire in the character of the Spanish elite: in addition to their pride, their jealousy and their indolence, it was also recognised that they possessed honour, integrity, courage and endurance and that the traditions of chivalry,

¹⁵⁵ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, vii.

¹⁵⁶ Mair, *Brief Survey of the Terraqueous Globe*, 68, 91.

¹⁵⁷ Review of Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, in *Annual Review*, 6 (1807), 118–30 (at 127).

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, Knight, *Iberia's Crisis*, 6–7.

¹⁵⁹ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 67.

¹⁶⁰ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 171; Townsend also saw similarities between the English and Spanish character (*Journey Through Spain*, III, 353).

¹⁶¹ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 208.

¹⁶² Knight, *Iberia's Crisis*, 63. But see also Brigstocke (ed.), 'Henry Gally Knight and Lord St Helens', 207.

though attenuated, continued to have some force.¹⁶³ Some travellers set out to challenge this image, however. Robert Southey argued the ‘high ideas of the grandeur and the dignity’ of the Spanish character, derived from novels, did not survive encounter with modern Spaniards.¹⁶⁴ Just over 10 years earlier, in 1784 Thomas Lister had similarly complained that the *Grande*s he met were ‘little deserving of the character given of them in England.’ They were, he continued, ‘by no Means the Independent Generous & Magnanimous People they are represented to be. Most lead a Life devoted to the Court, to Indolence & to Bigotry.’¹⁶⁵ The blame that Lister and others attached to the nobility was of a piece of the wider argument that Spain’s problems were the consequence of constitutional deficiencies and a lack of educational opportunities, which failed to equip the elite as leaders and undermined the principles of public life.¹⁶⁶

British representations of the national characters of Spain and Portugal relied heavily on inherited stereotypes and clichés derived from novels and drama but, hackneyed though most of these representations were, they betray a fundamental tension between the assertion of British superiority and recognition that Spain, in particular, was a country that merited respect both for its achievements in the past and its potential in the present. Spain was also seen through the prism of a literary tradition derived from the medieval and early modern romances which, as subsequent chapters will show, helped to form the basis of the nineteenth-century image of ‘romantic’ Spain as a country trapped in the past.

Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 provides an overview of travel arrangements and the ways in which Iberian journeys were distinctive from the better-trodden routes across France, Germany and Italy. The relatively underdeveloped road system and the *posadas* and *ventas* that provided accommodation meant that Iberian travel was framed as requiring personal and physical

¹⁶³ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 334–5. See also Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 237–8; Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 174–5 and Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey*, I, 88.

¹⁶⁴ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 112–13.

¹⁶⁵ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

¹⁶⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 377; Brigstocke (ed.), ‘Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight’, 207.

stamina, a threat to mental as well as bodily wellbeing. There was much that the British found difficult and alienating, but their accounts seem to have been shaped by the expectation of discomfort: Spain and Portugal were opportunities to demonstrate hardiness and stoicism, away from both common travellers and the beaten track.

Chapter 3 follows the different paths that travellers might take through Spain and Portugal and focuses on how they represented the rural and urban environments through which they passed. For most eighteenth-century visitors to Portugal, Lisbon was the sole attraction; they were intrigued by a commercial and multiracial metropolis, but few explored beyond its immediate hinterland. Travellers had always had more to say about the Spanish than the Portuguese countryside but, as in other countries, they were preoccupied by the urban environment – especially the cities of Madrid, Seville, Cádiz and Barcelona – which the British interpreted chiefly in the light of their historical associations, whether principally Roman, Gothic or Islamic.

Chapter 4 focuses on three themes that were central to British readings of Spanish national character: church power, the position of women and bullfighting. Each was also relevant to Portugal, where descriptions adapted stereotypes that were developed for Spain. We show how these tropes evolved as the contexts of British observers altered, but they also allowed travellers to discuss national character – and to envisage change.

Chapter 5 explores the growth of British interest in Spain and rising travel to the country in the 1770s through the papers of Lord Grantham, British ambassador to Madrid between 1771 and 1779. Grantham and his circle facilitated travel, travel writing and historical scholarship in these years, helping to steer British interest towards Spain's American empire and the country's Islamic history. At the same time, they fostered a two-way flow of goods, supplying the Spanish court with the fruits of British manufacturing while allowing vicarious encounters at home with the products of Spain and its empire.

The 1780s and 1790s would be easy to overlook, falling between Grantham's embassy and the Peninsular War, and witnessing a lull in publications about Spain. Chapter 6 argues that they are in fact crucial to a fuller, multifaceted understanding of cultural relations between Britain, Spain, Portugal and, indeed, France. Manuscript journals and diplomatic archives show that travel continued, but travellers such as Swinburne and Twiss were increasingly out of date. Instead, the British public began to rely on books by French travellers, whose observations cross-fertilised with those who had come to Iberia from Britain. This was

also the period in which the Spanish ‘wrote back’ against this shared, Anglo-French view, contributing to the more positive British and French understandings of Spanish progress that developed in these years.

Armed conflict is usually viewed as a constraint on travel but, as [Chapter 7](#) shows, the Peninsular War saw more British travel to Iberia than any other comparable period between 1760 and 1820. Not only did thousands of soldiers arrive as ‘travellers in uniform’ but war also encouraged travel by civilians, many of whom were young gentlemen on the first leg of a Mediterranean tour. War created an additional layer of British engagement with Iberia, as its battlefields became new sites of memory; but where wartime accounts found scenes of human misery, soon after 1814 travellers reverted to uncomplicated celebrations of their countrymen’s genius and valour, bringing new associations of British nationhood to the landscapes of Spain and Portugal.

[Chapter 8](#) analyses the evolving British response to the heritage of Islamic Spain, setting it in the context of interest in earlier periods of Iberian history. Interest in the ‘Moors’ was driven by appreciation of their formative role not just in Spanish but also European history, as the preservers of Graeco-Roman culture. Over the course of our period, we observe rising British interest in both the supposedly ‘Moorish’ manners and customs of Iberia and in the remains of ‘Moorish’ architecture. While this development can be interpreted as evidence of broader anthropological interest in ‘manners and customs’, a taste for the exotic and a late eighteenth-century reaction against Classical propriety, this re-orientation was also influenced by Spanish efforts to present Islamic heritage as part of the cultural patrimony of the Bourbon kingdom. The second part of the chapter explores the rich seam of commentary on the Alhambra, with a particular focus on the antiquary and traveller William Gell (1777–1836).

In [Chapter 9](#), we conclude by considering the relationship between the images of Spain and Portugal constructed by eighteenth-century British travellers and the better-known images of the nineteenth century. One of the dominant themes in texts such as Richard Ford’s *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845) is the ‘Oriental’ influence upon the country; our conclusion contextualises this shift and explores its implications in terms of Iberia’s changing position in contemporary British conceptions of Europe.

2

Travelling in Spain and Portugal

‘To travel commodiously in Spain’, advised Joseph Townsend, ‘a man should have a good constitution, two good servants, letters of credit for the principal cities, and a proper introduction to the best families.’ Ideally, at least one of the servants should be familiar with the country, ‘that he may secure a stock of wine, bread, and meat, in places where these excel, and such a stock as may be sufficient to carry him through the districts in which these are not to be obtained.’ Travellers were also encouraged to include in their baggage

... sheets, a mattress, a blanket and a quilt, a table-cloth, knives, forks, and spoons, with a copper vessel sufficiently capacious to boil his meat. This should be furnished with a cover and lock. Each of the servants should have a gun slung by the side of his mule.

Townsend also warned travellers of delicate pride that they might be forced to accept the demeaning necessity of riding upon an ass.¹

For eighteenth-century Britons embarking upon a tour of Europe, travelling with one’s own sheets and tea-making paraphernalia was normal practice, and indeed advised in numerous publications. The dearth of tea and superabundance of bedbugs in continental inns were each the cause of considerable anticipatory anxiety. What was more unusual – particularly when Townsend’s recommendations are set against the experience of the Italian tour – is the extent to which travel in Spain and Portugal was construed as an ordeal demanding resources

¹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 1–2. It is worth noting that despite this emphasis upon the importance of travelling with servants, Townsend travelled without even one.

of stamina, resilience and courage, rather than as an experience promising aesthetic pleasure, improvement of the mind or an increase of knowledge and understanding. Townsend's advice, and that of other British travellers in the Iberian Peninsula, stands out for emphasising the discomfort and practical difficulty that was involved in any extended tour of the region. His instructions allude to some of the key challenges for the traveller in Spain or Portugal during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: poor roads, inadequate inns, language barriers, the danger of violence, and the difficulty of entrance into both Portuguese and Spanish society, where opportunities for sociability were limited. Despite these hurdles, travel in both countries had its rewards, and the remainder of this book will discuss what these might have been in more detail. This chapter, however, will focus rather upon the logistics and day-to-day experiences of travel.

Roads

Complaining about the quality of the roads was an essential element of any tour, whether at home or abroad. The British, always alert to opportunities to praise their own country at the expense of another, were quick to condemn the quality of both Portuguese and Spanish roads and critical commentary runs through earlier travels as a recurring complaint. By the later eighteenth century, Britain's ever-expanding network of turnpike roads was serviced by posting houses or inns that sustained the rapid, if expensive, practice of travelling post as well as the rather slower, but regularly timetabled, stagecoaches that connected London to provincial towns and cities across the country.² Such improvements engendered a complacent confidence in the superiority of British roads and inns as a manifestation of national 'prosperity and elegance'.³ Spanish and Portuguese roads and accommodation were held to be greatly inferior while the impossibility of travelling post in Spain, except by horseback, over most routes, irked many travellers, as did the need to procure a special licence to do so. Hailing from a country where responsibility for road maintenance through turnpike trusts was effectively delegated to the public spirit of local landowners, the British saw this as another instance of

² Maudlin, 'Inns and elite mobility'. On the development of the turnpike road system, and its limitations, see Albert, *Turnpike Road System*.

³ Arthur Young, 'A faithful account of the inns, in a tour to the North', *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 20 December 1769, cited in Maudlin, 'Inns and elite mobility', 39.

the supine apathy of a town-dwelling nobility, whose rural powerbase had been deliberately diminished by a despotic government: they 'neither feel the want of roads nor see their interest in having them repaired'.⁴

Comments about bad roads featured prominently in early texts such as that by Mme d'Aulnoy, and were uncritically reproduced throughout the period by both travellers and the compilers of more general topographical works. Travellers therefore arrived expecting bad roads and recorded them accordingly. But for all that the British regularly complained about the difficulties and discomfort of Iberian travel, a closer reading of their journals and correspondence reveals that travel in many areas was becoming much easier in the second half of the century, in Spain at least. In 1760, Edward Clarke had been surprised to discover that it was impossible to engage transport from A Coruña to Madrid, necessitating a journey on horseback over the mountains to Astorga to meet a coach that they had ordered from Madrid,⁵ but 30 years later, Robert Southey's party followed the same route on what he described as an 'excellent road'.⁶ Under Carlos III, successive ministers recognised the necessity of better-quality roads if the country were to develop economically, and in 1761, a *real decreto* and *instrucciones* were issued for the improvement of the road network. The ultimate aim was to construct a radiating system of roads that would emanate out of Madrid, extending across the whole of Spain and connecting the capital to the major cities. In 1778, the conde de Floridablanca was appointed *Superintendente de Caminos y Posadas* and in this role he attempted to improve maintenance and accommodation, but with very finite resources of money, expertise and labour, his achievements were limited.⁷ Nonetheless, by the 1780s and 1790s travellers like Southey were starting to note clear improvements and the cliché that Spanish roads were all execrable was repeatedly confounded as British visitors encountered well-designed roads that were as 'even as a bowling green'.⁸ They were constructed on elevated ground, banked up on each side, and with walls flush with the surface of the road to minimise the danger of flooding, while the approaches to major cities were always lined with rows of trees providing welcome shade.⁹

⁴ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 236. On contemporary comments linking Britain's transport infrastructure to its prosperity and civilisation, see Maudlin, 'Inns and elite mobility'.

⁵ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 1.

⁶ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 29, 68, 75.

⁷ The German traveller Christian Fischer commented on how much easier travel had become since the days of d'Aulnoy (late seventeenth century), Twiss and Baretti (1760s–1770s): Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, 382–3, 398.

⁸ Graham, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 42.

⁹ Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France*, 134, 181.

'In Spain alone', wrote Lady Holland, in terms that would have delighted Carlos III's ministers, 'can the highways bear any competition with those of the Romans: each are Magnificent.'¹⁰ Travelling with a retinue of three carriages, a wagon, a mule, an ass and a 'calesio' (*caleso*¹¹), she had a nice appreciation for the quality of the roads, and in her progress from Barcelona down to Valencia in the winter of 1802, was full of praise for the superiority of their construction: the roads, she noted, were 'magnificent', being built and raised several feet above the surrounding ground level, thereby ensuring better drainage and engineered to avoid sharp bends.¹² British officers during the Peninsular War were likewise impressed, particularly after their experiences of less remarkable civil engineering in Portugal.¹³ In 1815, Robert Hyde Greg was so struck by the excellence of the road leaving El Puerto de Santa María that he could not help fancying that he was in England, or 'at least that I was no longer in Spain, for this kind of travelling I had not yet seen there'.¹⁴ Even in 1817, after years of wartime disruption and wear and tear, George Rennie described the road from Burgos to Miranda de Ebro as 'the finest I ever saw foot paving on each side' and from Miranda de Ebro as being 'truly superb'. 'Nothing' he concluded, 'can be finer than the Camino real which is superb & like the best English Roads not paved but made of broken stones the interstices being filled with sand'.¹⁵

Over time, six *caminos reales* were initiated; none, however, were completed, which the British thought a consequence of overweening ambition that sought, unrealistically, to emulate the roads of ancient Rome. Spanish infrastructure projects, they complained, tended towards the impractically grandiose and magnificent, rather than functionality.¹⁶ The skills, the materials and the finances were simply insufficient.¹⁷ Nonetheless, before Napoleon's invasion, Spain's roadbuilding success was another outward and visible sign of the reforming spirit of the *ilustrados* and the benign absolutism associated with Carlos III's rule that the British – and other northern European travellers – were keenly noting. In the nineteenth century, it became a sign of the lost potential

¹⁰ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 35v: Lady Holland, journal, commenting on the road from La Carolina to La Concepcion de Almuradiel.

¹¹ A chaise taking two passengers and a limited amount of luggage, see Figure 2.1.

¹² BL Add MS 51930, fos 43v, 46, 49v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹³ Graham, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 73.

¹⁴ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 142.

¹⁵ Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fos 74–5, 78: Rennie, journal.

¹⁶ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, I, 240–1; NLS MS.19389, fol. 65r: Thomas Traill commented that the Spanish preferred the 'more splendid to the simply useful contrivances'.

¹⁷ Crozier Shaw, 'El siglo de hazer caminos'.

for Spanish renewal that had disappeared in the context of civil war and imperial implosion.

Away from the major cities, however, the limitations of the road network soon became apparent. In 1775, Thomas Pelham recorded how his chaise overturned twice near Vélez-Rubio due to the 'badness' of the roads and the 'inductibility' of the mules;¹⁸ a week later, his coach was overturned again. Geographical barriers – notably mountainous terrain and dense forests – exacerbated the problems of regional communication within the Spanish interior. In Andalusia, William Jacob was dismayed to find that the road between Gibraltar and Málaga was impassable to wheeled traffic. 'Nor do I believe such a contrivance was ever seen in these parts', he added.¹⁹ From Málaga, most travellers turned inland to visit Granada – one of the most popular destinations for the British in Spain – but it could only be reached after 'two hundred miles of the worst roads in the world'.²⁰ 'Nobody told me there was any real difficulty', complained Ann Damer, when she discovered that the roads to Granada were 'impassable for a carriage with four wheels'.²¹ Even the well-equipped Lady Holland found the same road 'most abominably rugged'.²² The mountainous roads from Málaga to Granada and beyond, passable only by mules, left a more lasting impression than the smooth engineering of the *caminos reales*. The negative perceptions of Spanish travel and Spanish roads that circulated in Britain were due in part to the popularity of southern Spain as a destination.

The optimal period for travel was said to be from October to April and considerations of climate clearly dictated the itineraries of many of our travellers, whether escaping the freezing damp of an English winter or the oppressive heat of the Spanish interior in summer. For those who chose or were forced to travel in summer, the preferred strategy was to move by night or in the early morning. Travellers' journals regularly record starts at 1.00, 2.00 or 3.00 a.m., travelling until mid-morning, after which they spent much of the day asleep before starting again in the late afternoon. Nocturnal travel may sound hazardous, particularly given the state of some Spanish roads, but in an era before light pollution, the clear nights of the Spanish climate allowed sufficient moonlight to see

¹⁸ BL Add MS 33125, fol. 18: Pelham, journal.

¹⁹ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 224.

²⁰ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 255.

²¹ Lewis (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, I, 337, Ann Damer to Mary Berry, 6 March 1791 (emphasis in the original).

²² BL Add MS 51930, fol. 114: Lady Holland, journal.

the way. Lady Holland was surprised to find that the light was sufficiently strong to read a printed book in the carriage.²³

Unsurprisingly, such a punishing regime left travellers in a state of exhaustion: Robert Hyde Greg, riding by night from Madrid to Burgos in August 1815, fell asleep while his horse was still galloping and only awoke when he found himself thrown to the ground, thankfully uninjured.²⁴ But although travellers frequently complained of the heat, they seldom referred to or complained of sunburn – perhaps because they did not think it worthy of comment or because it was a relatively minor discomfort. Only John Hughes, travelling through Castile and Catalonia in April 1817, complained that his face was completely burned by the sun within three days: ‘without exaggeration, [it] seems exactly like a hot salamandering iron held before you to make a rice pudding of your nose.’²⁵ Travelling in the autumn and the spring therefore offered more temperate conditions and the *camino reales* were engineered to withstand poor weather conditions, even in winter. Autumn and winter rains, however, could cause floods and rockfalls, blocking roads, carrying away bridges, or simply rendering the road surface impassable to traffic. The roads, or rather mule tracks, through Andalusia often went along the course of a river bed that was dry in summer but impassable in winter.²⁶ Travellers might be stranded for weeks at a time or forced to undertake long detours through the mountains.²⁷ Weather conditions permitting, some journeys might be more swiftly and easily accomplished by sea, but winter storms made this an unreliable alternative. Edward Hussey found himself stranded in a ‘very, very miserable hut’ near Estepona, with nothing but bread and water to eat, for three days in January 1803. Having been forced by poor weather to travel overland from Málaga to Gibraltar rather than going by sea, he found that the rain had washed away the bridges over the River Guadiana.²⁸ Eventually, as the rain and the waters subsided, he was able to persuade a ferryman to take him across, only to face a ‘miserable walk’ over ‘uninteresting mountains’ to San Roque and then to Gibraltar.²⁹

²³ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 30: Lady Holland, journal.

²⁴ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 179. See also NLS MS.10355, 27, 29: Douglas, ‘Tour’.

²⁵ Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7963, fos 2v–3r: John Hughes to Harriet Thayer, 13 April 1817.

²⁶ OLA D1/1066/1, fol. 31v: Traill, ‘Journal during a voyage to Spain’, describing the route across the Sierra Tarifa towards Algeciras.

²⁷ KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 18 January 1803.

²⁸ Robert Hyde Greg similarly found his onward progress blocked by a washed away bridge at Estepona in February 1815: *Travel Journals*, 104.

²⁹ KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 20 January 1803.

In Portugal the transport infrastructure was even less developed, discouraging further exploration of the country and reinforcing the unfavourable comparisons that the British were wont to draw between the government of the two kingdoms. In 1767, the merchant Henry Hobart harboured ambitions to venture north from Lisbon to Porto but was dissuaded by his friends on the grounds that ‘travelling is very inconvenient’. There, he was told, *ventas* and inns were few and far between, the roads barely passable for carriages and ‘all sorts of necessaries for eating and sleeping must be carried with one’.³⁰ Nor did the situation noticeably improve over time. When James Cavanah Murphy travelled from Porto to Lisbon – the two largest cities in the kingdom – in 1789, the muleteers with whom he was travelling had to hire a party of four Galician labourers for the first day in order to clear the road of obstacles: the party managed to cover only one league.³¹ Accidents in Portugal were frequent: the itemisation of costs associated with coach repairs in Thomas Lister’s list of expenses bears material witness to the wear and tear of Iberian travel.³² In the early nineteenth century, Lady Holland and family travelled from Madrid to Lisbon and thence to Alcobaça and Batalha: her comments on the principal roads – from the border at Badajoz to Lisbon and from Lisbon to Coimbra – were positive and less inflected by the strong anti-Portuguese sentiment to be found in some travellers’ descriptions. But her account of the journey from Lisbon to Alcobaça via Caldas da Rainha highlights again the challenges in travelling away from the few major arteries of communication. Like Murphy, her party had to commandeer the services of peasants to remove stones, fill in ditches and take down fencing when the road itself became so impassable that they had to resort to the neighbouring fields.³³

Mules and muleteers

Given the limitations of the road network, travelling post in a coach, with a relay of horses or mules, was feasible only on the *caminos reales*; it was, however, prohibitively expensive and – as William Parsons and Roger Pettiward found out in 1788 – prone to multiple delays in securing fresh mules at the stages.³⁴ In 1817, George Rennie had

³⁰ NNRO COL/13/27, fol. 25v: Hobart, journal.

³¹ Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, 18.

³² ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

³³ BL Add MS 51932, fos 48r, 50v: Lady Holland, journal.

³⁴ Brigstocke (ed.), ‘William Parsons’s journal’, 82.



Figure 2.1 Mary Graham, 'Lisbon chaise' (1781). Source: NLS MS.3638. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

a more positive experience and was sufficiently impressed to record that the 'Posta a Cavallo' could travel 30 leagues in 24 hours and, with additional payment, might even go at a full gallop.³⁵ Two years later, George Douglas's experience of uncooperative postmasters at the posting houses and a deficiency of horses was more akin to that of Pettward and Parsons, however.³⁶ But given that travelling post was not viable for an extended tour, in the absence of any equivalent to the English system of stage coaches, the commonest advice was to hire a *calasero* (a carriage seating up to six) or a *caleso* (a chaise seating up to two and a limited quantity of luggage: see Figure 2.1). Neither was a rapid mode of transport: drawn by mules, they proceeded at little more than walking pace and would generally cover six to eight Spanish leagues in one day (around 25–30 English miles), whereas travelling post it was, in theory, possible to cover as much as 100 miles in 24 hours.³⁷ For those accustomed to speed, mule-drawn transport was almost unendurably slow for, as Richard Croker explained, 'an Englishman cannot travel at less than 10 miles an hour without discomfort'.³⁸ It was, however, less expensive. The cost of hiring such a carriage could be further reduced by sharing

³⁵ Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fos 78r–78v: Rennie, journal.

³⁶ NLS MS.10354, 214, 272, 291–2: Douglas, 'Tour'.

³⁷ Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, 384–5.

³⁸ Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 225.

one's journey with other travellers – either by, in effect, selling seats in the carriage to additional passengers oneself, or by joining forces with a pre-existing party. The great inns in the major cities boasted *corredores de carruajes y coches*, or carriage brokers, who listed carriages trying to find additional passengers on any particular route. The downside was that securing a place in a *calasero* could not always be promptly guaranteed and might involve a wait of several days for one to become available or for the driver to fill up his vehicle.³⁹ The cheapest option, however, was to travel by mule in the company of a muleteer, generally as part of a larger train. In addition to being the only possibility in many parts of Spain, it was also recommended for those wishing to gather information about the manners and customs, botany and geology of the country they passed through, as it enabled closer observation of the countryside.⁴⁰ Riding on a donkey or a mule – not a conventional form of transport for a gentleman – represented another hazard for the self-conscious Englishman, mindful of his dignity. But as one writer assured his readers, it was by no means degrading, 'since it is adopted by ecclesiastics, merchants, and even by men of consideration in all these classes.'⁴¹

Whichever mode one chose, however – unless hiring post horses – close contact with mules and muleteers was an inevitable necessity. Whereas most Britons were familiar with the reputation of Spanish horseflesh, few had directly encountered mules before. Alongside the muleteers who commanded them, they came to embody the particular challenges of travel in Spain and Portugal.⁴² With their picturesque bells and ornamental harnesses they were an Iberian novelty and a regular subject for the amateur draughtsmen among the travellers (see [Figure 2.2](#)). The heads of the mules drawing Robert Southey's party were 'most gaily bedizened with tufts and hanging strings of blue, yellow, and purple worsted' and each mule carried 16 bells 'so that we travel more musically, and almost as fast, as a flying waggon.'⁴³ The British were particularly intrigued by the convention of using rope harnesses rather than bridles and bits; the driver issued his commands verbally instead and each mule responded to its own name. Names that, according to Lord Grantham, were taught 'by putting them [the mules] when young into a Pitt & beating them

³⁹ Semple, *Observations on a Journey Through Spain I*, 19, 111.

⁴⁰ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 87.

⁴¹ Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, 392.

⁴² Barette, *Journey from London to Genoa*, IV, 94–5; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 188–9 on their diet, strength and stamina.

⁴³ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 29.

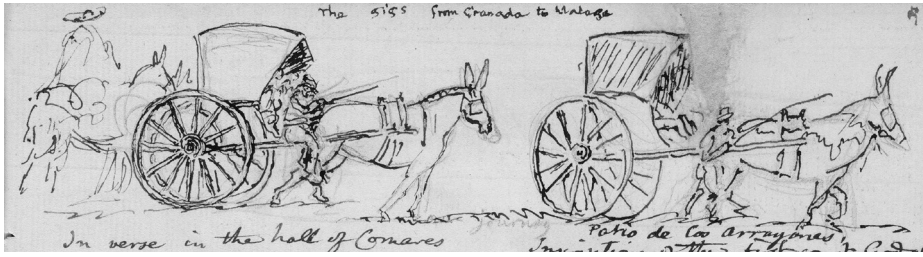


Figure 2.2 William Gell, 'The gigs from Granada to Malaga' (1808).
Source: BSR WG[MS]-6, 089. Courtesy of the British School at Rome.

unmercifully, hollowing their name at the same Time.'⁴⁴ The muleteers 'drive more with the voice than the whip', explained Knight to his mother, 'and each mule knows its own name and trots on or canters according to the tone in which it is uttered'.⁴⁵ (Although a mule from Barbary, might, as Thomas Traill was told, struggle to comprehend the muleteer's Spanish commands.⁴⁶) Postilions were unheard of, complained William Parsons, and if verbal commands failed, stones might be hurled at the beasts to make them change direction.⁴⁷ For the British, learning the names of the mules with which they travelled was evidently a satisfying pleasure: William Gell's coach was drawn from A Coruña to Madrid by 'Valerosa Ortolana Palagrina Gagliarda Platena & Cahona or Cajona'⁴⁸ and John Hughes, writing (in Spanish) to Harriet Thayer, similarly delighted in having mastered the mules' names and the language and intonation in which to address them:

sé tambien todas las inflexiones de la lengua que se habla a las mulas, animales mas razonables y mansos que sus dueños. Le alegraria mucho de oirme llamar 'Ar-r-r-rrr-rre-e-macho;' – 'sou, sou, mula-a-a-a-à'; 'alma de padre bor-r-rr-r-rico' – ar.r.r.r.re-è, Hostellana-à – Capitana-à Carbonera à – y todos estos encantamientos, que valen mas que espuelas y latigo.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ BA L30/17/4/85: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 1 August 1774.

⁴⁵ DRO D239/M/F16635, 18: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809.

⁴⁶ NLS MS.19388, fol. 85: Traill, journal.

⁴⁷ Brigstocke (ed.), 'William Parsons's journal', 82.

⁴⁸ BSR WG[MS]-6, 021: Gell, notebook.

⁴⁹ 'I also know all the inflections of the language spoken to the mules, animals more reasonable and tamer than their owners. You would be very happy to hear me call ... and all these enchantments, which are worth more than spurs and whip' (authors' translation). Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7963, fos 1r–1v: John Hughes to Harriet Thayer, 13 April 1817.



Figure 2.3 John Hughes, 'A master muleteer of Madrid' (1817). *Source:* Bodl. MS Don. b. 45, item 214. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

But mules and their muleteers were also another unfamiliar and, as Thomas Pelham came to appreciate, 'inductible' aspect of travel, the peculiar rigours of which meant that British travellers became better acquainted with their quirks and characteristics than they may have wished.⁵⁰

The muleteers, to whom they answered, were, like the gondoliers of Venice, a 'type' and a set piece of travel writing (see [Figure 2.3](#)).⁵¹ Giuseppe Baretti delighted in their 'manly' appearance, good humour and stamina, sustained, he said, by a diet of stock fish and chickpeas, and manifested in their love of dancing in the evening, even after a strenuous journey.⁵² Possibly travellers like Baretti would have been less charmed, had they been better able to understand the curses which the muleteers were notorious for throwing at their mules.⁵³ Others resented both the muleteers' rigid insistence on determining the speed of travel (particularly their reluctance to put the mules out of a walk) and their ability to

⁵⁰ BL Add MS 33125, fol. 18: Pelham, journal, 11 December 1776.

⁵¹ On gondoliers see Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 225–6.

⁵² Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*, III, 190–1.

⁵³ Buckham, *Personal Narrative of Adventures*, 93–4.

dictate the places of refreshment or accommodation. There was nothing so difficult, observed Henry Gally Knight, as to persuade a *mayoral* (muleteer) to do anything except that to which he was accustomed.⁵⁴ Thomas Pitt, already irritated by the slow pace of travel between Lisbon and Madrid, took further exception to the incessant jingling of the mules' bells while 'the Muleteer drawls forth thro' his Nose, some dismal holy Romance, which has neither Beginning nor Ending'.⁵⁵ Nor was the muleteers' picturesque propensity to play the guitar and dance into the night always appreciated.⁵⁶ Travellers – who frequently had only limited Spanish – were essentially required to surrender themselves, their itineraries and timetables and their personal safety to the whim of the muleteer with whom they were poorly equipped linguistically to argue. Unsurprisingly, the writers of both published and unpublished tours included detailed notes on how to strike a deal with a muleteer, what should be included in the prices and how to avoid being cheated.⁵⁷

The conventions of travel in the Iberian Peninsula forced the British not only into a state of dependence upon the muleteer but also into more familiar relationships with them and their English servants than those to which they were accustomed. John Macdonald, whose memoir is a rare record of a servant's continental travels, recognised his two journeys in service through Portugal and Spain as unusual interludes, during which inadequate accommodation forced his masters to dine with him and sleep in shared rooms. At an inn between Córdoba and Toledo, a maid was dismayed when Macdonald's employer, Sir John Stuart, started to eat his supper while Macdonald prepared his tent bed. She asked, 'Why do you begin before your comrade?', and Macdonald notes 'My master said: "John, I see I can by no means begin till you come, without disobliging the maid."' Macdonald obliged, put on his coat and sat down to supper; a practice that he and his master maintained until they reached Saint-Jean-de-Luz in France, where they resumed their usual distance. But returning to Spain a year or so later with a different employer, Macdonald conformed once again to local custom: 'I ate with my master, and slept in the same room, through Portugal and Spain, as I did with Sir John Stuart.'⁵⁸

⁵⁴ DRO 239M/F16320: Knight, 'Continuation of a six week tour' (unfoliated), 23 November 1809, describing a *venta* between Granada and Guadix.

⁵⁵ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 125: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

⁵⁶ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 203 on guitar playing; see also Malmesbury (ed.), *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris*, I, 32.

⁵⁷ Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, 392–8.

⁵⁸ Macdonald, *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe*, 353, 370, 390.

In the light of Macdonald's comments, it is unsurprising that one of the recurring themes in British commentary on both Portuguese and Spanish society was the ease of social relations between the different classes, where servants, as Richard Croker noted, 'are more than half friends and esteemed part of the family'.⁵⁹ Others were more taken aback by behaviour that to them appeared overly familiar and insolent. The merchant William Jacob, for example, commenting on the 'unconstrained behaviour' of Spanish servants, complained that his own *valet de place* 'makes no scruple of helping himself to a glass of wine, taking snuff from my box, or lighting his segar at my candle, while I am writing all this'.⁶⁰ Thomas Traill was similarly surprised at the 'intimacy' between master and servant. 'They [servants] often join in conversation while waiting at table, they ask questions respecting any thing which they are curious to know – and are always answered without impatience or appearance of superciliousness.'⁶¹ Traill, as one of the more thoughtful of British travellers who tried to qualify many of the negative images associated with Spain, sought an explanation in the differences of hierarchy and rank between the two countries. In England, he suggested, the nicety of fine gradations encouraged jealous protection of markers of social distinction. In Spain, by contrast, the gulf between rich and poor was so great, that no amount of familiarity could threaten it.⁶²

Muleteers in particular were no resisters of social hierarchies: Knight recorded how the muleteer carrying him from Seville to Granada would thrust his head through the carriage window to regale him with tales of all the Frenchmen that he had personally murdered.⁶³ It was in the evenings, however, that traveller, muleteer and mule were brought into closest proximity at the *ventas* and *posadas* which provided accommodation for passing traffic. In these circumstances distinctions of rank – particularly through maintaining social distance – proved impossible to sustain as travellers were forced to share food and floor space with the muleteers. Privacy was a luxury that was seldom available. At a 'miserable' *posada* outside Granada, Knight found himself reduced to sharing a rug with his muleteer.⁶⁴ His near contemporary, the Lancashire textile manufacturer, Robert Hyde Greg, recorded the social embarrassment

⁵⁹ Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 111. For Portugal, see Neale, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 182; Mackinnon, *Journal of the Campaign*, 43.

⁶⁰ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 106.

⁶¹ NLS MS.19388, fol. 68v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'. See also NLS MS.10355, 49: Douglas, 'Tour' (at Lisbon).

⁶² NLS MS.19389, fol. 203v: Traill, journal.

⁶³ DRO D239/M/F16318, 1: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁶⁴ DRO D239/M/F16318, 11: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

of living in close company with muleteers; an embarrassment that was compounded by the language barrier. Despite a course of Spanish lessons in Cádiz during autumn 1814, he complained in his journal that he felt like a foreigner trying to understand Manchester carters.⁶⁵ A few professed to find this absence of servility attractive: Moyle Sherer nostalgically recalled how 'I have often sat round the fire of a Posada, amid Spaniards of all classes, whom chance has assembled together; and have been quite charmed to mark the general good-humour, and the easy, unembarrassed propriety of the common peasants.'⁶⁶ For others, however, keeping such close quarters was another indignity to add to the charge sheet of Iberian travel.

Ventas and posadas

As every traveller would at some point observe, Spanish accommodation away from the major cities left much to be desired. In Madrid or Seville or the ports of Barcelona, Valencia and Cádiz, good-quality inns were readily available, often run – as the British were quick to point out – by French or Italian rather than Spanish innkeepers. Beyond the cities, however, travellers were reliant upon the system of *posadas* and *ventas* which – unlike the principal inns to which they were accustomed in Britain – essentially existed to service muleteers rather than tourists. Domestic tourism for leisure and recreation, of the kind that was rapidly increasing in popularity within Britain, was relatively unknown in Spain. The Spanish, noted one writer, 'rarely stir from home ... by which means the country is inhospitable, and the travellers as much at a loss as in the desarts of Arabia'.⁶⁷ If forced to travel, the Spanish elite would draw on the traditions of hospitality to stay in the private houses of acquaintances, rather than entrust themselves to the accommodation of the road.⁶⁸ In general, those who travelled did so for business or for purposes of pilgrimage and the infrastructure of accommodation was organised accordingly.

British travellers with letters of recommendation, such as William Parsons and Roger Pettiward, could sometimes take advantage of the hospitality of their Spanish hosts to avoid the discomfort of the local

⁶⁵ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 80.

⁶⁶ Sherer, *Recollections*, 272.

⁶⁷ Dillon, *Letters from an English Traveller*, 29.

⁶⁸ Sherer, *Recollections*, 109.

venta or *posada*.⁶⁹ Similarly, Lord and Lady Holland had the social capital and political contacts to ensure that houses were readied for them and their party wherever they went and a night at a *venta* was an uncomfortable rarity. As a lone female traveller Anne Damer was, unusually, recommended to a 'private house' at Aldega Gallega in Portugal, 'the inn being bad'.⁷⁰ But in most cases travellers were forced to resort to whatever was available. *Ventas* were inns established in more remote areas at every 18 to 20 miles (in effect, a day's travel apart), for the 'convenience of travellers' (in practice for muleteers rather than Britons travelling for pleasure), while *posadas* offered equivalent facilities in towns and villages.⁷¹ Neither kind of establishment allowed the landlord to achieve the levels of prosperity enjoyed by the English urban innkeeper: profit margins were narrow and the British were consequently convinced that their hosts made their money where they could. Landlords were required by law to exhibit the bill of charges which were regulated by the government. In practice, claimed more than one traveller, these were hidden out of sight to allow the landlord free rein to charge what he would.⁷² Allegations of extortion were part of the standard litany of travellers' grievances: in Portugal, Greg grumbled that he was charged as much for a bed of straw as for a night in the best hotel in London.⁷³ Extortion or not, travel was universally agreed to be far more expensive than in other parts of Europe – the cost itself being a reflection of the fact that both Spain and Portugal, as travellers were painfully aware, were yet to develop an effective infrastructure of travel.

The accommodation offered was variable: Portuguese *estalagens* were generally regarded as inferior to accommodation in Spain but because most travellers spent less time touring Portugal the quality, or otherwise, of the inns attracted less comment.⁷⁴ In Spain some *ventas*, purpose-built under the aegis of Floridablanca, were spacious, if sparsely furnished, able to accommodate up to 600 mules and their muleteers. Equally, some of the village *posadas* were praised for their hospitality.⁷⁵ On closer inspection of most travellers' accounts, the number of acceptable *ventas* and *posadas* experienced outnumbered

⁶⁹ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Roger Pettiward's journal', 136.

⁷⁰ Lewis (ed.), *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, I, 336, Anne Damer to Horace Walpole, 25 February 1791.

⁷¹ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 39.

⁷² Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 11.

⁷³ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 43.

⁷⁴ For excoriating commentary on the quality of Portuguese *estalagens* see Robert Southey's diary written in Portugal 1800–1, Bristol Reference Library B20854.

⁷⁵ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 89v: Lady Holland, journal.

those that were found wanting. Henry Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* (1779) notably provided the itinerary of his route and the number of hours required for each stage; he also included a column detailing the inns at which he had stayed, noting the name with brief comments (bad, poor, tolerable, good). In total he referred to 72 inns, of which 15 were poor, bad or wretched; 8 were tolerable; and 33 were clean, good, new, pleasant or even excellent.⁷⁶ Nearly 30 years later, William Gell's journal of his tour through Spain made reference to 18 different *posadas* between A Coruña and Granada, of which 11 were 'good' or 'decent', one 'tolerable' and only two were 'bad'; four received no kind of comment at all. The *ventas* and the inns (Gell was inconsistent in his usage) fared less well, but even here his experiences were far from uniformly negative: 11 were bad or poor while 8 were tolerable, good or decent.⁷⁷ But inevitably, it was the 'execrable' that dominated travellers' recollections and their full descriptive powers were reserved for the bad accommodation: places that were little more than vermin-ridden, windowless hovels, with earth floors, a hole in the roof through which the smoke from an open fire escaped, and only a partition separating the travellers from the mules.⁷⁸ The *venta* at Santa Isabel in Galicia, according to Gell, constituted a single room, occupied not just by a hurdy gurdy man and some 'very civil' drivers of oxen but by 'hens cat dog & pig'.⁷⁹ Fleas, bedbugs, other vermin and unspecified 'nastiness' inevitably made their presence felt. With such limited facilities, sleeping arrangements were necessarily basic: Baretti set the tone for a generation when he recommended travelling with a sack full of straw in order to ensure a reasonable mattress wherever one stayed: Robert Waddilove left his bed at Bayonne, after which he planned to 'imitate Baretti & defy the Rats upon a Straw Bag'. Later travellers brought with them purpose-made sleeping bags in anticipation of future discomfort.⁸⁰ 'An Englishman who visits Spain from curiosity,' declared Thomas Traill, 'must make up his mind to forgo every thing he has been accustomed to associate with comfort in travelling.' He too followed Baretti's advice to travel with a sleeping bag:

⁷⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, xii–xv.

⁷⁷ BSR WG[MS]-6: Gell, notebook.

⁷⁸ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 125: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

⁷⁹ BSR WG[MS]-6, 032: Gell, notebook.

⁸⁰ Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*, II, 294, 266; III, 146; BA L30/14/408/16: Waddilove to Grantham, 30 May 1774; Greg, *Travel Journals*, 76 took 'a sack to fill with straw for a mattress, and thereby avoid the teeming beds of the Posadas' when he set out for a tour of Andalusia from Seville; Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 6.



Figure 2.4 John Hughes, 'Capt. C – cooking in a venta' (1817). *Source:* Bodl. MS Don. b. 45, item 230. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

A pair of sheets and a bag of coarse linen about eight feet long are exceedingly convenient. This bag when filled with clean straw and doubled down at one end to serve as a pillow makes an excellent bed – and is much preferable to the filthy mats of the country.⁸¹

The image of the primitive inn was indelibly associated with Spain and Portugal: as much as the mules or the fandango. As volumes illustrating manners and customs – local dress, for example – became more common in the early nineteenth century, the interior of the inn offered a means of representing the discomforts of travel and the backward state of much of rural Spain and Portugal (see [Figure 2.4](#)). Edward Hawke Locker's *Views in Spain* (1824) depicted the inn at Benicàssim, which the French writer Laborde had described as the worst in the country. Locker based his account upon his experiences in 1813, when he had carried despatches for the Duke of Wellington:

The Venta de Benecasi may serve as a fair specimen of the low posadas in Spain. The kitchen is the general rendezvous of the

⁸¹ NLS MS.19389, fol. 55: Traill, journal, describing route between Cádiz and Gibraltar.

whole family, not excluding goats, pigs, and poultry, who make it their common thoroughfare, the doors being rarely closed even at night. Beneath the mouth of a huge chimney appears the hostess, in gay attire, fuming before her frying-pan, which successively receives salt-fish for the carriers, omelet [sic] and bacon for the better guests, with oil and garlic for all. Here she reigns supreme, for all else, whatever be their rank of calling, mingle in perfect equality. The Spaniards are loud talkers, but amidst all the clamour and confusion her voice and authority prevail. The guests cluster round with their cigarras, and bandy their jests with unceasing mirth. This is their greatest delight, and no people on earth surpass them in low humour. Here at night the carriers repose on their pack-saddles; their mules and carts being stationed in the outer apartment, where commonly stands the well which generates myriads of musquitos [sic] to infest the lodging-rooms above, and these swarm with vermin of a baser kind.⁸²

Locker emphasised the vermin, the close proximity of man and beast, the lack of social distinction and the asphyxiating fumes of cigars, open fires and cooking oil and garlic. But his account also conveys something of the carefree contentment and merriment that travellers frequently professed to find among the 'lower orders' whom they encountered, particularly by the early nineteenth century, when Spain was increasingly viewed in picturesque terms.

Oil and garlic

As Locker's description suggests, the misery of physical discomfort was compounded by the lack of palatable food. The British found little to their taste in Spanish or Portuguese cuisine. Although they admired the profusion of fruit and vegetables that flourished in the Iberian climate, they took universal exception to the quantities of oil and garlic with which most food was prepared.⁸³ Despite the ubiquity of tobacco, it was the pervasive smell of oil and garlic that they most objected to.⁸⁴

⁸² Locker, *Views in Spain*.

⁸³ For a survey of British travellers' comments on food (taken from published sources), see Pérez Samper, 'La alimentación Española del siglo XVIII'.

⁸⁴ Objections to the smell of garlic were ubiquitous, but see, for example, BL Add MS 5845, fol. 125: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'; Southey, *Letters During a Short Residence*, 186; NLS MS.10353, 47: Douglas, 'Tour'; OLA D1/1066/1, fol. 9v: Traill, 'Journal during a voyage to Spain'.

Garlic impregnated everything and was used in every dish; travellers were advised to watch the cook like a hawk to ensure that excessive garlic was not added to an otherwise palatable dish.⁸⁵ They particularly disliked the flavour of Spanish olive oil which they attributed to the custom of letting olives rot on the ground before pressing them. Noting that the Spanish used olive oil in their lamps, they tended to describe it pejoratively as ‘lamp oil’. British expectations of meat and dairy products were never satisfied (cattle in Spain and Portugal were rarely kept for milk); unfamiliar ingredients such as chickpeas and peppers were looked on askance, while the chocolate that generally constituted breakfast in Spain was regarded as woefully inadequate: ‘a comfortless breakfast’ according to Robert Southey.⁸⁶ Robert Hyde Greg made himself the object of amused admiration among his Spanish travelling companions by his habit of washing in cold water and drinking no fewer than three cups of chocolate for breakfast, ‘feats so extraordinary to the company that they scarcely gave credit to the relation’. The story soon spread round the *posada* and the next morning ‘some of them came to confirm with their own eyes the account of the preceding morning’.⁸⁷ Even the Cruz de Malta, Madrid’s most expensive hotel, could not provide a drinkable cup of tea, as Southey found to his cost.⁸⁸ Lister’s distress when his chaise overturned was particularly acute, as the bottles of rum, good quality oil and Quin’s sauce (made from anchovies and pickled walnuts) that were smashed in the accident were ‘all essentials for an Englishman in a journey thro’ Portugal as their Wine is little better than Vinegar their oil rancid no Butter throughout the Kingdom ... & we were now without our excellent little Bottle of Sauce that had given Relish to the homeliest fare.’⁸⁹

In most *posadas* and *ventas*, however, the traveller was expected to source and dress his own food – hence the importance of having a servant who spoke Spanish and who could be sent out to purchase provisions as well as prepare them. The journal of the manservant John Macdonald includes many entries on the meals he had to concoct for himself and his master:

As it was early in the night for supper, my master asked me if I could get him a dish of the Queen of Scots soup [Macdonald’s speciality].

⁸⁵ Eliot, *Treatise on the Defence of Portugal*, 146.

⁸⁶ Southey, *Letters During a Short Residence*, 33, 188; Graham, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 55.

⁸⁷ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 79.

⁸⁸ Southey, *Letters During a Short Residence*, 107.

⁸⁹ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

I sent Henry [a fellow servant] to inquire if he could get chickens, eggs, and parsley below. I made a fine dish of soup, and Sir John invited the Frenchmen to sup with him. They liked the soup, and ate nothing else. No person belonging to the house came near us; and we wanted nothing below but water, and a kettle to boil the soup.⁹⁰

Not every traveller had such resourceful servants and the need to furnish one's own food was a recurring complaint throughout the period. The limited cooking facilities in most *ventas* and *posadas* gave rise to a form of one-pot cookery, such as the *olla podrida*, which the British found deeply unappealing and described in the most disparaging terms. Their revulsion was compounded by the practice of communal sharing: dishes were prepared in one large pan from which everyone helped himself with a spoon. Robert Hyde Greg described his first experience of what appears to have been paella with anthropological interest and evident distaste for both the ingredients and the promiscuous sharing of food and drink:

They first put on the fire an enormous frying pan about half full of oil, and boil for sometime, then throw in the meat, whatever it may happen to be, with a quantity of salt, pepper, onions and garlic and when this has fried some time, add a small quantity of water. The last operation is putting in rice sufficient to fill the pan, and after remaining sometime longer the whole forms into one solid mass. The pan is then set upon a small table, the handle being supported by the back of a chair, and the whole party sit round it and help themselves with their fingers and large wooden spoons. The sallad however invariably preceeds this dish; it is served up in an immense large basin, the lettuce, garlic etc chopped very small swims on the surface of a mixture of oil and water, and looks like a duckpond covered with green weed. When all the sallad is taken out, this unwieldy basin is handed round and each one raising it to his mouth drinks as much as he thinks is his share.⁹¹

In his role as British ambassador to Spain, one of the invaluable services that Lord Grantham provided for his British visitors was to equip them with hampers of portable soup, ham and other delicacies before they set off on further travels through Spain.⁹² On his journey through Andalusia,

⁹⁰ Macdonald, *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe*, 314.

⁹¹ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 83.

⁹² BL Add MS 33127, fol. 137v: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 18 December 1776.

Edward Hussey subsisted on cheese and bread that he had brought with him from Gibraltar, much to the fascination of the local population: 'Their astonishment was very great at the Sight of a roast Cheese (Gloucester) but more particularly so when they heard that it was made of Cows milk.'⁹³ Writers such as Joseph Townsend provided frequent admonitions on the need to carry with one both provisions and cooking equipment in order to compensate for the inadequacies of Spanish inns; travellers regularly recorded going hungry when their own supplies failed and they were unable to procure adequate provisions *en route*. Yet, as the German travel writer Christian August Fischer explained to his readers, it was simply impracticable for the keeper of a *venta* in a remote location to maintain a stock of food in the event of travellers turning up, particularly when the nearest market might be a day's travel away. It was far more logical for travellers to purchase food locally and prepare it themselves, or to carry their food with them.⁹⁴ Many British, however, chose rather to see this convention as another instance of the lamentable organisation of Spanish society and a failure of the traditions of hospitality. The inconvenience of miserable inns, explained John Talbot Dillon, was the consequence of Spain's 'gothic laws and bad policy of government' rather than 'the natural disposition of the people'.⁹⁵

Danger and discomfort

The hazards of travel were not limited to badly maintained roads and wretched accommodation; the British were also acutely aware of the dangers of violence from robbers and smugglers (the *contrabandistas*) who might attack unwary travellers on less frequented stretches of road or set upon them at night. Joseph Townsend, for example, claimed he never walked too far in front of the coach for fear of being set upon by robbers.⁹⁶ Self-evidently, there were problems of law and order throughout rural Spain and Portugal and one of the reasons why muleteers proceeded in convoys of 30 or more mules was to provide safety in numbers in the face of an attack. Richard Twiss, who did not apparently encounter a single threat to his life in the course of his travels

⁹³ KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 21 December 1802.

⁹⁴ Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, 398–9. Semple similarly attempted to manage the expectations of travellers by highlighting how *posadas* served a different function to that of inns: *Second Journey in Spain*, 203.

⁹⁵ Dillon, *Letters from an English Traveller in Spain*, 26.

⁹⁶ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 227.



Figure 2.5 John Hughes, 'Stone post and robber's head' (1817). Source: Bodl. MS Don. b. 45, item 171. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

through Spain, nonetheless advised particular caution in the choice of a *calasero* driver. The key consideration, he stressed, was to choose one who was well-known at the inns and *ventas* as this was 'the greatest protection a traveller can have against being murdered'. If such a muleteer were to be murdered, he explained, they would be immediately missed, and 'the most diligent search would be made after them, and the persons who had employed them; but if a young and obscure muleteer should be chosen, he, as well as his fare, might be assassinated with impunity.'⁹⁷ But equally it is evident from many travellers' accounts that the muleteers and innkeepers did nothing to dissipate these fears, recounting tales of gory bloodshed and narrow escapes as well as highlighting the many crosses along the way that purportedly marked the burial spots of those who had been murdered (see John Hughes's sketch of a stone post and a robber's head that he passed in Valencia in [Figure 2.5](#)). Any remote or wild part of country – particularly if wooded or mountainous – was assumed to be a refuge for criminals and smugglers.

⁹⁷ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 196–7.

In the early nineteenth century, during the Peninsular War, the dangers of travel certainly increased, as we shall see in [Chapter 7](#). The Hollands – an obvious target given their evident wealth – invariably employed an escort of several soldiers and, when travelling through regions reputed to be particularly dangerous, recruited additional dragoons for their security. Although they were never directly threatened themselves – due perhaps to their armed escort – Lady Holland’s journal betrays a stoic acceptance of the potential for robbery and violence as part and parcel of the rigours of travel. In practice, the Hollands included, few British travellers found themselves in any danger, although all had to take the extra precaution of hiring additional escorts to accompany them through areas known to be the haunts of brigands and robbers. Robert Semple was robbed of his pistol, money and watch outside Córdoba in 1809 but escaped with his portmanteau;⁹⁸ most, however, experienced nothing more than petty pickpocketing.⁹⁹ Far more common were the tales of robberies and murders at second or third hand: threatening figures were frequently glimpsed in the distance, who either melted away or subsequently revealed themselves to be innocuous.¹⁰⁰ Brigands with muskets turned out to be peasants with hoes.¹⁰¹ For some, no doubt, the latent danger in travelling through the Spanish countryside formed part of its appeal. Unsurprisingly, reviewers often received such accounts with considerable scepticism.¹⁰²

In short, travel was uncomfortable, slow, potentially dangerous and tedious. ‘Patience, books, and pen and ink’, as James Harris pragmatically noted, ‘are the most useful companions for Spanish travelling’.¹⁰³ It demanded resources of personal and physical stamina that a number of travellers found challenging to meet. One such was Thomas Pelham, who, aged 20, undertook a tour of southern Spain in the late autumn, before proceeding into France and Italy (see [Map 2](#) for his itinerary). A cousin and protégé of Lord Grantham, with whom he had spent almost a year based in Madrid, he was initially accompanied by Grantham’s chaplain, Waddilove, but completed the final stages on his own after Waddilove returned to Madrid. Grantham’s exchanges with both Waddilove and Henry Swinburne, the travel writer who had visited

⁹⁸ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 106.

⁹⁹ BSR WG[MS]-6, 063: Gell, notebook.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the hyperbole around the danger of interpersonal crime and violence in Naples: Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 181.

¹⁰¹ Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7963, fol. 5: Hughes to Harriet Thayer, 15 June 1817.

¹⁰² Review of Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, in *Edinburgh Review*, 18 (1811), 123–52 at 144.

¹⁰³ Malmesbury (ed.), *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris*, I, 38.

Grantham during Pelham's stay, reveal a shared concern about how the young man might withstand solitary travel: a companion, recommended Swinburne, was absolutely necessary if he were 'not to die of the hip' (that is, of depression).¹⁰⁴ In the light of Pelham's letters home, Swinburne's comments, informed by his own knowledge of the rigours of Spanish travel, appear remarkably prescient. Without hyperbole, Pelham confessed to his parents much of the wearying unpleasantness of solitary travel in Spain during the winter and its impact on his mental wellbeing:

It is so long since I have had an Opportunity of writing to you & my Mother with any comfort or pleasure that I have determined to begin, on the Road & enjoy this kind of conversation when I shut myself up in my Posada: really [sic] it is very necessary to have some employment to keep up one's Spirits during a long winter Evening in Spain, at least in these Parts where Poverty, Filth & Misery are strongly marked on every thing one sees ... being alone my Life becomes as monastic & Regular as any Fryar & when I get into my Chaise (little conversation passing between Clement [Pelham's manservant] & myself) I can fancy myself in a Carthusian Cell: I rise every Morning at 5 o'clock take my chocolate over a small earthen Pan filled with wood ashes, while my Bed & things are packed up; set out from the Posada at 6; read a chapter or two in the Greek Testament as soon as there is sufficient light. I then walk; or read Don Quixote till about 12 our usual Time for dinner ... I return to my Cell in about an hour & ½ till Night when I get another Pan of Coals & go to bed about 8 or 9 you will be surprized at my constantly having fire (if it deserves the Name) but I can assure you that Granada & the Mountains from thence towards Cartagena are as cold as England: I send you the Account thinking that you might like to see how I passed my Time during my long & tedious Journeys from one Town to the other but I beg you will by no means conclude from it that I am unhappy or low spirited for thank God I have never enjoyed better Health, the inconveniencies I met with are grown habitual, & I am not very averse to a little occasional solitude when I can think of Home form Ideas of what you are doing what I may hope to do on my Return to England & with as much Pleasure & not very short of

¹⁰⁴ BA L30/14/370/1: Swinburne to Grantham, 3 September '1775' [that is, 1776, as in endorsement next to seal].

the Enthusiasm with which my Friend de la Triste Figure does of Knight Errantry.¹⁰⁵

Pelham's testimony is remarkable for its emotional openness as his efforts to reassure his anxious parents of his wellbeing fought against his overwhelming sense of loneliness, homesickness and general physical discomfort. His strategies for dealing with the boredom and the unwelcome solitude – a fixed routine and a programme of reading and writing home – provided structure and a sense of purpose in the absence of any congenial company with whom to talk. Few other travellers discussed their experiences with such disarming honesty, but many complained vociferously about the miseries they endured. Even Swinburne, author of the most widely read volume of travels on Spain in this period, came to the damning conclusion that 'neither the beauties of nature, nor those of art, to be met with in this kingdom can be deemed an equivalent for the tediousness of travelling, the badness of the roads, or the abominable accommodations of the inns ... no man has as yet undertaken this tour a second time for pleasure', he concluded, 'and, if my advice be listened to, no body will ever attempt it once.'¹⁰⁶

Swinburne had a book to sell and a readership to entertain: his provocative conclusion was clearly tongue in cheek and, as Lady Holland – herself a veteran of travel in Italy – crisply observed, 'the difficulties have been exaggerated beyond all belief both as to the state of roads & accommodations'.¹⁰⁷ Lady Holland, however, was nothing if not a privileged traveller. Nonetheless, plenty of Britons ignored Swinburne's advice and followed him to the Iberian Peninsula, many with his volumes in their luggage. Their published and unpublished testimony does confirm the underlying truth of his jaded conclusion: travel in Spain and Portugal offered much to fascinate and delight but it also necessitated both physical and social discomfort for those who penetrated beyond the most easily accessible cities of Lisbon and Cádiz. It also represented an alienating environment of smells, tastes and sounds. It was a place where 'Curiosity can only be satisfied at the expense of much fatigue and difficulty.'¹⁰⁸ But complaints about challenging travel conditions were also so deeply associated with the region that, even when conditions in parts of Spain and Portugal

¹⁰⁵ BL Add MS 33127, fos. 137r–138r: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 18 December 1776.

¹⁰⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 137–8.

¹⁰⁷ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 110: Lady Holland, journal, 25 April 1803.

¹⁰⁸ JRL GB 133 HAM/1/8/9/3: Court Dewes to Mary Hamilton, 7 April 1788.

improved, the *expectation* of discomfort clearly shaped travellers' experiences.

Against these orgies of complaints, we should remember that an emphasis upon discomfort had become a commonplace trope of travel writing in the later eighteenth century. Undergoing travails and misadventure endowed the traveller with a certain amount of kudos; it distinguished him or her from the mere tourist and led to the 'valorization of the unpleasant', particularly in the travel writing of the romantic period.¹⁰⁹ Travellers in Spain set off in the full knowledge that they could not expect to encounter the sort of accommodation that they might find on better established tourist itineraries through Europe. A detailed enumeration of the hardships that they had to undergo was therefore also a claim to hardiness and stoicism that set them apart from the common traveller or tourist. Thus, for some, travel to Spain offered an opportunity to demonstrate their own resourcefulness and masculine hardiness: Pelham, in a more positive mood, assured his parents that the 'want of Conveniencies in the Inns makes one more active in providing them for oneself & when found they give double Pleasure from their rarity.' He would not, he continued, recommend a Spanish journey to a lady: 'but it is by no means a bad beginning for a young Traveller'.¹¹⁰ For others, *pace* Swinburne, the rewards of travel repaid the fatigue and privation: as one reviewer breezily observed of William Jacob's *Travels in the South of Spain*, 'What Englishman of taste would not gladly sleep in a Spanish posada, on straw, in order to enjoy the climate and explore the beauties of Andalusia and Granada!'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*, 1–23.

¹¹⁰ BL Add MS 33127, fol. 97: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 29 October 1776.

¹¹¹ *The Monthly Review*, 65 (May 1811), 25.

3

Itineraries and destinations

Compared to Italy, where there was a well-worn itinerary and numerous guides and roadbooks to tell one where to go and what to think, there was far less information to guide the prospective traveller to Spain and Portugal. Itineraries were correspondingly more varied: there was no fixed sequence of cities to follow and no migrating flocks of English *milordi* to travel with or to avoid.¹ This chapter owes much to both the form and content of the topographical tours that were so popular: it provides an overview of the principal itineraries and destinations of Iberian travel, focusing first on Portugal, where the majority of Britons seldom ventured beyond Lisbon and its environs, and then on Spain where most travellers spent rather more time and explored more extensively. In many respects visitors' observations on the towns and countryside through which they passed were no different to the comments made by travellers in other parts of Europe: at any town they noted the key geographical features, its defensive properties, the principal buildings (churches, monasteries, palaces and charitable foundations) and the quality and cleanliness of the streets, while making observations on the local economy or structure of government. In the countryside attention turned to the landscape and the state of agriculture, the evidence for poverty or affluence and of good or bad management and the manners and customs of the people. Changing fashions and tastes – notably the popularity of the picturesque tour – made their impact on perceptions of Spanish and Portuguese landscapes as much as on the Wye Valley. Observations on place provided the framework through which preconceived opinions and

¹ For the Italian tour and its itineraries see Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*; for a French perspective see Bertrand, *Le grand tour revisité*.

prejudices could be rehearsed – and to this extent they are revealing of the stereotypes and assumptions with which the British travelled. But travellers were also open to new experiences and discovery: they were aware of the importance of eye-witness accounts of regions that were unfamiliar. They were intrigued, disgusted and delighted by what they encountered as they travelled across the Peninsula and their testimony – published and unpublished – contributed to the expanding imaginative geography of eighteenth-century Europe.

Lisbon and Portugal

The quickest route from Britain to Portugal or Spain was via the Falmouth packet, arriving either at A Coruña or Lisbon.² The latter was a common choice of destination, even for those travellers intending to proceed eastwards into Spain, given that A Coruña offered fewer attractions to the prospective visitor than the cosmopolitan port of Lisbon (see [Figure 3.1](#)). The city, which provided the British with their primary and often sole extended experience of Portugal, was, as Richard Twiss rightly pointed out, one of the first in Europe for size and population, thanks to the influx of Brazilian gold and diamonds.³ Even with the loss of life consequent upon the earthquake, its population is estimated to have been around 150,000 in the 1780s.⁴ As late as 1807, Robert Semple described it as still the ‘largest commercial town on the continent of Europe’.⁵ It was, according to William Gell, ‘certainly a better place than Madrid or any city in Spain, and more like Italy’.⁶ Alone of Portuguese cities, it could boast theatres, operas and social and cultural amenities. Its situation on seven hills beside the Tagus was widely admired as one of singular beauty. Given how little the British knew of Portuguese history, descriptions of Lisbon generally focused upon its more recent past rather than using the built environment as a prompt for rehearsing narratives of earlier centuries. Unlike Rome, that other seven-hilled city, the key attractions accordingly were less the historic fabric than the developments in the Baixa initiated by Pombal following the earthquake; the commercial hub around the Praça do Commercio, with the Royal Exchange and Customs

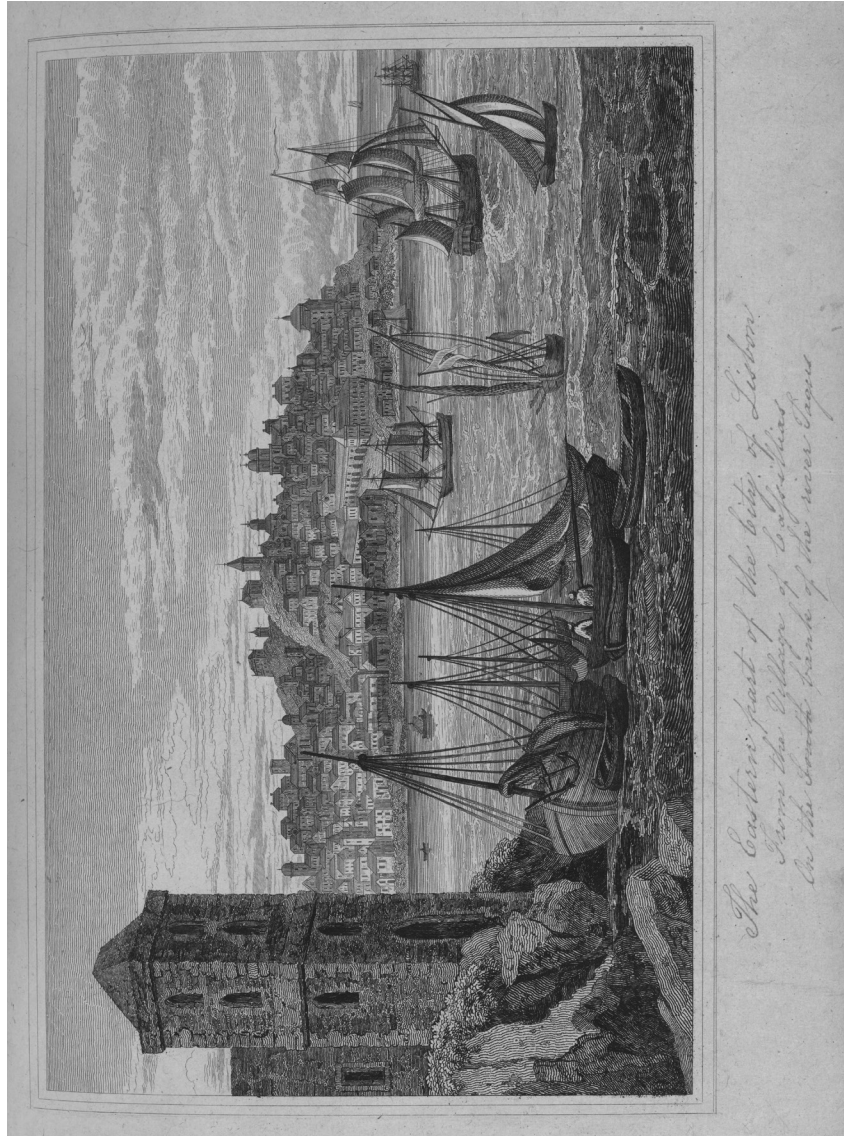
² Packet ships were lightly armed vessels carrying mail on behalf of the British government to British embassies, colonies and other outposts of empire.

³ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 26.

⁴ Maxwell, *Pombal*, 38.

⁵ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 206.

⁶ Lewis (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, II, 441, William Gell to Misses Berry, 9 November 1810.



*The Eastern part of the city of Lisbon
From the Village of Cacilhas
On the south bank of the river Tagus*

Figure 3.1 George Douglas, 'The eastern part of the city of Lisbon from the village of Cassillias [Cacilhas] on the south bank of the River Tagus' (1819). Source: NLS MS.10361. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

House and the equestrian statue of Joao I; and the Praça do Rossio, notorious for housing the headquarters of the Inquisition and as the site for the execution of criminals. The British seldom found much to admire in either Portuguese art or architecture, but the church of São Roque was generally singled out for its mosaic 'paintings' and the monastery at Belém was allowed to be 'one of the finest gothic buildings in the country'.⁷ The aqueduct at Alcântara was widely admired as a piece of modern engineering that might rank with the achievements of the Romans, but such comments also spawned reflections on the failure of the Portuguese to achieve anything comparable elsewhere.⁸

But the city provoked mixed reactions: alongside admiration were frequent expressions of outright distaste. The stench of Lisbon was said to be worse than most other cities: 'Filth and beastliness assault you at every turn', complained Henry Matthews.⁹ In the absence of any system of refuse collection, human waste and kitchen rubbish was tipped into the middle of the street and left there; even the corpses of dead animals, claimed Southey, were allowed simply to lie in the sun.¹⁰ Southey and Matthews were both writing for a reading public eager to be affirmed in their assumption of the superiority of British cleanliness: less hyperbolic but equally critical comments may also be found in almost every visitor's journal or correspondence.¹¹ Nor was filth the only hazard: Lisbon was peculiarly afflicted with packs of scavenging dogs which roamed the streets, particularly at night when visitors nervously made their way along poorly lit paths.¹² The problem of dogs was peculiar to Lisbon, but these criticisms have much in common with those levelled at other continental cities where complaints about the lack of cleanliness were endlessly rehearsed and provided a standard metaphor for poor governance.¹³ But there were other features that were specific to Lisbon that unsettled British travellers and influenced their perception of the city.

First, many foreign visitors to Lisbon were discomfited by the presence of a significant Black and mixed-race population, evidence

⁷ BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 39: Stanhope, Journal; Milford, *Peninsular Sketches*, 165; Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 77.

⁸ Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, 179; Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, I, 391; Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 23; NLS MS.10355, 214: Douglas, 'Tour'; Eliot, *Treatise on the Defence of Portugal*, 178.

⁹ Matthews, *Diary of an Invalid*, 10.

¹⁰ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 267.

¹¹ See, for example, William Gell's account: BSR WG[MS]-6, 139: Gell, notebook.

¹² BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 33: Stanhope, Journal; Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 13. Greg recorded that Junot had had all the dogs shot; however, they had evidently repopulated the streets by the time of Matthews's visit in 1817: *Travel Journals*, 39.

¹³ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, passim.

of Portugal's long-standing traffic in enslaved West Africans and its 'Moorish' heritage. Giuseppe Baretti, an Italian writing for an English audience, was surprised at the sight of so many 'Blacks' and expressed his disgust at the evidence of 'cross-marriages' which created 'different breeds of human monster'.¹⁴ His were the most outspoken comments, but Lisbon's racial mix also proved unsettling to others, many of whom reported the statistic that a fifth of the population comprised 'Blacks and Mulattoes', of which most were enslaved. But it was the 'mixing' of blood, the 'intermediate tint of black and white', specific to Lisbon, which represented the chief focus of anxiety.¹⁵ In the later eighteenth century, attributes of skin colour and complexion became increasingly important in defining race and difference and this was reflected in travellers' emphasis upon the 'swarthy' complexions of the Portuguese. The expression of revulsion and horror at the 'Africanness' of Lisbon in the proliferation of published and unpublished military travelogues at the time of the Peninsular War reflected hardening biological conceptions of race that depicted the African population as animal-like and subhuman.¹⁶

In certain contexts the term 'Moor' was used to ennoble or dignify the Black African but the specific geographical and cultural connotations of 'Moor' were ill-defined in British culture.¹⁷ This much is evident in the contrasting responses to the legacy of 'Moorish' influence in Spain and Portugal. In the former, as we shall see, it formed a strong part of the country's fascination for British visitors, but in Portugal it was much more likely to be seen in negative and racial terms. It was an inheritance that was detected in the dark skins and jealous habits of Portuguese men, rather than in feats of hydraulic engineering or the romantic legacy of chivalry as it was in Spain. Hostility to 'Moorish' influence was often partnered with overt antisemitism, as Portugal was known to have harboured many of the Jews who fled Spain following their expulsion in 1492 (in Spain the Jews were principally noted in the context of their absence and the negative impact that their departure had on the Spanish economy). Thus, travellers claimed to detect the presence of Jewish as well as 'Moorish' blood in the faces and skin tones of the people. The complexions of Portuguese men, complained Henry Hobart, were 'very

¹⁴ Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*, I, 273.

¹⁵ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 2; repeated in Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 296.

¹⁶ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 57–9; on the rise of racial theory and its limits at this period, see Hudson, 'From "nation" to "race"'; Banton, *Idea of Race*, 18–19; Stepan, *Idea of Race in Science*, xiii–xiv.

¹⁷ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 316.

brown' due to the mixture of 'Moorish' and Jewish blood; they were, he added, 'an ugly race of people, look cross and ill natured.'¹⁸ Lady Craven expressed the 'horror and contempt' she felt for Lisbon in a letter to Sir William Hamilton; the Portuguese, she complained, 'seem to me to be half Negroish half Jewish'.¹⁹ Nearly 30 years later, George Douglas was similarly convinced that – despite their pale complexions – he could trace both Jewish and 'Moorish' features in the faces of the ladies of Lisbon.²⁰ Taken together, British responses to Lisbon's racial mix were expressed as deep suspicion and hostility directed towards both the appearance and character of Lisbon's inhabitants and the Portuguese more widely.

Second, although Lisbon's geographic setting may have been uniquely beautiful, it also rested upon a geological fault line. The impact of the Lisbon earthquake, 'the first modern disaster', upon European culture and its representation in print media have been much discussed,²¹ but confrontation with the physical evidence of destruction brought home the brutal reality of the disaster and cast a long and disturbing shadow over the surviving city. Visitors in the 1760s found the evidence of recent human suffering throughout the city painfully moving, with Thomas Pitt writing that

At present nothing strikes the Eye in the City but Ruin & Desolation, the Fire having completed what the Earthquake began. Heaps of Rubbish, broken Walls, Fragments of Churches, with the Paintings & Ornaments in many Parts remaining, form altogether a Scene of Horror [sic] rather to be felt than described.²²

Similarly, Edward Clarke noted that the 'tragic effects' of the earthquake

... cannot but touch every beholder with sentiments of pain ... One's imagination can scarce form a scene of confusion, horror, and death more dreadful than this'.²³

The ruins – which were only partially cleared and rebuilt – continued to represent a potent reminder of the devastation into the nineteenth century: 'immense masses of ruined churches and convents rise up in

¹⁸ NNRO COL/13/27, fol. 16v: Hobart, journal.

¹⁹ Beinecke Osborn MSS File 16826: Lady Craven to Sir William Hamilton, 23 September 1791.

²⁰ NLS MS.10355, 132: Douglas, 'Tour'.

²¹ Kendrick, *Lisbon Earthquake*, 72–164; Braun and Radner, *Lisbon Earthquake of 1755*.

²² BL Add MS 5845, fol. 115: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

²³ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 352.

all directions among the modern buildings', and the contrast that they offered with the grandeur and magnificence of Pombal's reconstruction continued to provide ample opportunity for reflection upon the human tragedy that they evoked.²⁴ The ruins of Rome might symbolise the fragility of temporal power; those of Lisbon represented the vulnerability of the city – and human civilisation more generally – to natural disaster in a way that was evident nowhere else in Europe.

Third, Lisbon was a place where the clash between the values of the Enlightenment and the traditional authority of the Roman Catholic church was constantly in evidence. The rectilinear layout of Pombal's new town seemed to represent the triumph of enlightened order and reason as the physical structures of the church were subsumed within the plan's standardised blocks, without even a belltower to distinguish them.²⁵ But beyond the Baixa, the city was still punctuated with churches and convents, while Roman Catholic processions continued to crowd the streets. For all Pombal's attempts to subordinate the church to royal power, the bigotry of Portuguese society seemed to observers to continue unabated and the distaste for the priest-ridden, superstitious environment was a persistent theme in travellers' comments. Following Pombal's fall from grace in 1777, the influence of the Catholic clergy and the Inquisition was allowed to rise again under the 'ultra-pious' Dona Maria, reversing many of the Pombaline reforms.²⁶ Despite the city's obvious colonial wealth, visitors complained that the streets and public spaces were full of impoverished beggars, supported by the myriad monasteries and convents that perpetuated poverty in an endless round of indiscriminate charity. Priesthood and doghood (those packs of roaming dogs), according to Henry Matthews, were the two dominant professions in Lisbon in 1817.²⁷

Despite these points of tension, however, Lisbon had a long-standing reputation as a health resort among invalids, who sought out its mild winter climate and sea air. It became increasingly attractive to valetudinarians when the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars meant that favoured destinations in France and Italy such as Naples, Nice or Montpellier were no longer accessible. Lisbon alone of all the cities in the Iberian Peninsula was the subject of a dedicated guidebook in English,

²⁴ Neale, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 117–18; see also, for example, NLS MS.16045, 3: Graham, 'Extracts from Mrs Feildings [sic] journal'; Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 9 and Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 274–5.

²⁵ Walker, 'Enlightened absolutism and the Lisbon earthquake'.

²⁶ Maxwell, *Pombal*, 164.

²⁷ Matthews, *Diary of an Invalid*, 22.

published in 1800.²⁸ Potential visitors were reassured that they would find a sizeable expatriate English community around the Factory (the community of merchants) – as well as a Protestant burial ground. There were concerts, assemblies and theatrical productions and members of the Factory had contrived to establish an infrastructure of inns, hotels, assemblies and coffee houses to which English visitors could resort, compensating for the social reserve that they encountered from the Portuguese nobility. Throughout our period, many Britons spent weeks or months in Lisbon, contented with its social life and excursions around the neighbourhood to Sintra – where Mrs Dacey provided familiar home comforts for British visitors (see Figure 3.2) – the nearby Cork Convent, the royal palace at Mafra and the baths at Caldas da Rainha.²⁹ In the early nineteenth century William Beckford’s villa at Sintra, where he had lived from 1793 to 1795, provided an additional point of interest

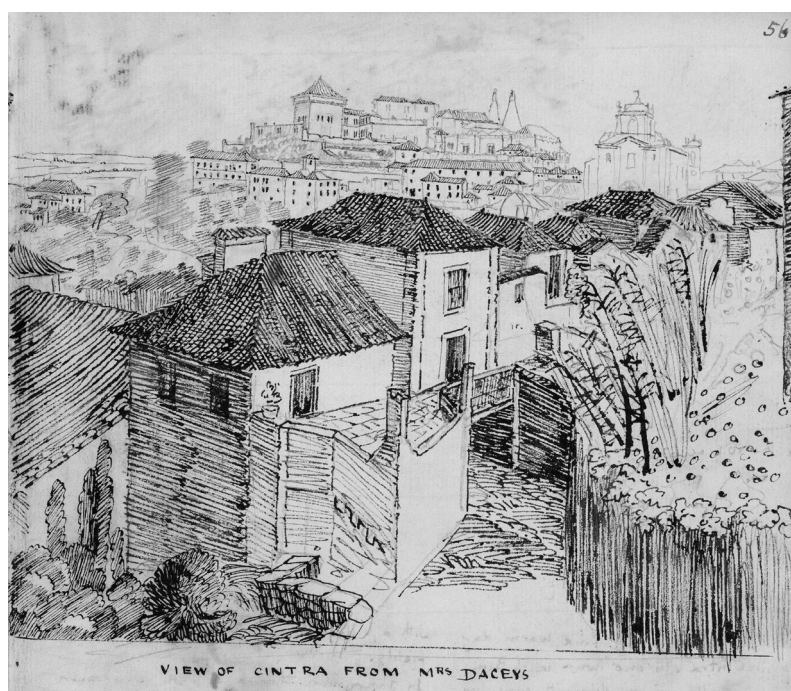


Figure 3.2 William Gell, ‘View of Cintra from Mrs Dacey’s’ (1810–11).
Source: BSR WG[MS]-6, 149. Courtesy of the British School at Rome.

²⁸ Anon., *Lisbon Guide*.

²⁹ Macaulay, *They Went to Portugal*; Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of William Hickey*, II, 370–86.

and notoriety: in 1817, George Rennie found it ‘fast running to ruin’. The walls, he noted, were covered with ‘the most obscene & disgusting inscriptions all expressive of their abhorrence at such infamous scenes as have taken place within its walls’.³⁰ During the Peninsular War, as we shall see in [Chapter 7](#), Lisbon was the point of arrival for most of the army, a semi-permanent military headquarters and the inevitable destination for periods of leave. The journals of civilian observers, such as William Gell or John Spencer Stanhope, reveal how the military integrated with the expatriate community of Britons and – to a lesser degree – members of the Portuguese social elite as well.³¹ But even before the war, Lisbon, like Florence, had become known as a city where the English might feel at home and where English expectations of comfort could be met. As Richard Croker informed his readers,

From the management of the house [the English hotel], the servants who are all English, the cookery, and other circumstances, which exactly resemble those of an inn of the superior order in England, a person might be easily induced to forget that he is in Portugal, and believe himself in a much better country.³²

A sojourn in Lisbon, however, rarely involved a more extended tour of Portugal, beyond the surrounding attractions of Sintra and Mafra. The inadequacy of the Portuguese road system was the most obvious impediment to further travel, but the limitations of the itinerary were also symptomatic of a lack of curiosity about the kingdom beyond its capital city. It is notable, for example, that despite the concentration of British merchants at Porto and the importance of the Anglo-Portuguese trading partnership, the city was little visited by travellers: Henry Hobart, as we have seen, was deterred by the quality of the roads. Richard Twiss proved more intrepid in 1773, but Porto (see [Figure 3.3](#)) as a city failed to impress (the theatre was ‘the vilest in the two kingdoms’) and few British travellers visited until after 1815.³³ Similarly, for all that the monastery at Batalha boasted a connection with the English monarchy – being the burial place of Dom João I who had married John of Gaunt’s daughter Philippa, the mother of Henry the

³⁰ Bodl. MS Eng. Misc. e. 203, fol. 22v: Rennie, journal.

³¹ BSR WG[MS]-6, 130–61: Gell, notebook, and BALSD MS StSp 60643 (3), fos 15r–40r: Stanhope, journal.

³² Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 271; on British partiality for Florence, see Sweet, ‘British perceptions of Florence’.

³³ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 49.



Figure 3.3 Henry Smith, *View of Oporto from River Douro* (1813). Source: BM museum number 1950,1012.1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Navigator – like nearby Porto, it drew only a handful of visitors. Thomas Pitt visited it with Lord Strathmore in 1760 in his quest to establish the origins of Gothic architecture, but his itinerary was unusual and only a handful of travellers ventured north from Lisbon, as opposed to eastwards towards Spain, before the onset of the Peninsular War (see [Map 1](#) for his itinerary).³⁴ The artist and architectural antiquary, James Cavanah Murphy, provides the exception to this rule, as he strove to counter the negative images so commonly associated with Portugal in the 1790s. He found much to admire in the architecture of the royal monastery of Batalha, which he described as ‘one of the most perfect and beautiful specimens’ of the Gothic style (see [Figure 3.4](#)).³⁵ ‘Murphy has done good’, wrote Robert Southey a few years later: ‘he has made the friars proud of their dwelling & they show it with the attentive civility of pride.’³⁶ Murphy was similarly enthusiastic in his praise for cities such as Coimbra and Leiria as he sought, unsuccessfully, to promote an alternative view of the country and its history and to encourage British visitors to penetrate beyond the capital. Portugal’s history as a pioneer of overseas exploration, its global trading networks, the wealth of its colonies and the produce of its own country, he argued, ought to be of interest to the ‘Historian, the Naturalist, and Statesman’.³⁷

Given the reluctance of the British to venture much beyond Lisbon and its environs, comments on the Portuguese landscape tended to be limited, simply because travellers never explored it to the same extent and, encountering none of the dramatic contrasts which they would meet in Spain, they were less concerned to record the topography and agricultural regions through which they passed. The countryside around Sintra found favour with most visitors, who effusively praised its picturesque and romantic properties, often comparing it to Derbyshire,³⁸ while the sight of orange and lemon groves and neatly ordered vineyards in Lisbon’s hinterland was universally pleasing.³⁹ Arthur Costigan was casually dismissive, but his comments betray the wider prejudices based upon assumptions of Portuguese indolence and economic backwardness: ‘What a delightful country might this be made, and would soon become, were it in the hands of the English, French or Irish, instead of the slovens

³⁴ BL Add MS 5845, fos 121v–123r: Pitt, ‘Observations on Spain & Portugal’.

³⁵ Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, 32–46; see also Murphy, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha*.

³⁶ Bristol Reference Library B20854: Southey, diary, 10 March 1801.

³⁷ Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, v, 24–30, 76–9.

³⁸ BSR WG[MS]-6, 150: Gell, notebook; SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 2 August 1785.

³⁹ BL Add MS 51932, fos 44r–45r: Lady Holland, journal.



Figure 3.4 George Douglas, 'Batalha' (1819). Source: NLS MS.10361. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

who now possess it?’⁴⁰ There was in Portugal none of the interest in the state of agriculture and its potential for growth that we find in Spain, not least because in Portugal there was no circle of *ilustrados* eager to secure wider European recognition for their visions for reform.⁴¹ At best, most travellers simply directed caustic comments towards Pombal’s attempts to circumvent the monopoly of English merchants over the viticulture around Porto.⁴² The parting comments of Whittington, on leaving Portugal after a tour of Spain, reveal both a surprising lack of curiosity and the confident arrogance of the English traveller. ‘With little regret’, he wrote, ‘I embarked on board the packet for England, without seeing more of Portugal; which, from want of splendour in the privileged orders, and want of character among the people, must be reckoned one of the most uninteresting and unpleasant countries in Europe.’⁴³

One of the consequences of the Peninsular War, however, as Christopher Clarke, a captain in the Royal Artillery, observed, was to remove ‘the obscurity in which the state of Spain had previously been involved’, while ‘the marches of the contending armies through all parts of the Peninsular, have made her real condition generally known.’⁴⁴ In Portugal, British military officers had become much more familiar with the environs of Lisbon and the country to its north as the army marched north and east in 1808 and 1809 via Leiria, Coimbra, and Porto into Spain to repulse the French. In the publications that started to appear during and after the war, readers were introduced not just to a history of the campaign but also to accounts of parts of Portugal that hitherto had – bar Murphy – been overlooked by other travellers. Many of these memoirs bear witness to the positive impression made by the beauty and fertility of the countryside, the character of the people and the attractions of cities such as Coimbra or Porto.⁴⁵ Charles Leslie of the 29th Foot, for example, found a warm welcome at Coimbra, where he was billeted upon a canon of the cathedral, a very liberal ‘gentlemanlike’ man whose house was fitted up with many ‘English comforts’. Leslie’s enjoyment of

⁴⁰ Costigan, *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal*, I, 133.

⁴¹ Murphy attempted – largely unsuccessfully – to redress this omission in his *General View of the State of Portugal* (1798), which drew on Portuguese authorities as well as his own observations.

⁴² On Pombal’s creation of the *Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro* (General Company for the Agriculture of the Vineyards of the upper Douro) in 1756, see Maxwell, *Pombal*, 61–70. For contemporary comment see for example Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 288; NNRO COL/13/27, fol. 18v: Hobart, journal.

⁴³ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 77.

⁴⁴ Clarke, *Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, iii.

⁴⁵ Neale, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*; Mackinnon, *Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain*; Leslie, *Military Journal*; Fisher, *Sketch of the City of Lisbon*.

these domestic comforts may well have coloured his positive perception of Coimbra, which he deemed the Oxford of Portugal, with its superb public buildings, its cathedral, churches and convents, its 'clean, white private houses with verdant gardens and fine terraces', all of which formed a 'fine and pleasing effect'.⁴⁶ Porto, built on the steep banks of the Douro and exuding an air of commercial prosperity, impressed with its romantic situation and picturesque appearance.⁴⁷ Strikingly, although often critical of the indolence of the Portuguese and the backward state of their agriculture, the accounts of military officers were largely positive, with particular praise for the beauty and picturesque qualities of the countryside, the variety of woodland, the vineyards and orange groves and the fields of Indian corn. They welcomed the sight of fields enclosed by hedges and neat white cottages, which they contrasted with the barren emptiness of the unenclosed landscapes of Old Castile, Extremadura and La Mancha, where habitations were few and far between, adding to a sense of desolation and neglect.

On one level the kind of cavalier dismissal evident in so many eighteenth-century accounts reflected a self-fulfilling prophecy: fewer travellers visited Portugal, so less was written about its attractions, which in turn meant fewer were encouraged to investigate its society or to explore its regions. The Peninsular War bequeathed a narrative of British military superiority and Portuguese cooperation which provided a framework through which subsequent travellers could view the country and record their experiences. But the relative lack of interest that characterises most of our period is also reflective of the weaker cultural ties between Britain and Portugal – despite the proximity of trading links – and a lesser degree of familiarity with Portuguese scholarship and history. Just as significantly, perhaps, the Portuguese monarchy under Dom João I or Dona Maria I did not share the ambition of Carlos III to establish a national patrimony of architecture and antiquities or to attract the esteem of other European nations. In the eyes of eighteenth-century Britons, Portugal was consistently overshadowed by the claims for attention of neighbouring Spain, which appeared to offer more in the way of cities, civilisation and a complex history in which the development of Europe as a whole was implicated.

⁴⁶ Leslie, *Military Journal*, 104–5.

⁴⁷ SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Goulburn to his mother, 1 August 1809; Graham, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 38; NLS MS.10356, 248–50: Douglas, 'Tour'.

Spanish landscapes

Although there was no fixed itinerary for travelling in Spain, the limitations of the road network, discussed in [Chapter 2](#), inevitably influenced the routes that were taken. Most obviously, few travellers visited Spain without going to Madrid and the surrounding *sitios* (royal seats), not least as the *caminos reales* all led to the capital city. Madrid was always the main destination, but longer stays were often made in the cities of Andalusia – Seville, Cádiz and Granada – and in the coastal cities of Murcia, Valencia and Barcelona. Madrid, being strategically located at the centre of the country, might be approached from a number of directions. Travellers who had arrived in Portugal went east from Lisbon via Badajoz through Extremadura. Some took the Falmouth packet to A Coruña and travelled south through Galicia, León, Old and New Castile via León and Valladolid. Those who travelled overland from France might enter through the Basque provinces and proceed via Burgos; alternatively, they might cross the Pyrenees at the Mediterranean and travel south through Catalonia and Aragon, via Barcelona, Tarragona and Zaragoza. Others might approach from the south, starting from Gibraltar or Cádiz and proceeding via Seville, Ciudad Real and Toledo. Thus, given the literal and metaphorical centrality of Madrid as a destination, a tour of Spain inevitably involved crossing a number of different landscapes and terrains.

From the ice and snow of the Sierra Nevada or the dusty aridity of Old Castile and Extremadura to the luxuriant fertility of the vales of Murcia and Valencia or the verdant green of the mountainous north-west, the variety of the Spanish landscape was a never-failing source of comment. The extremes of Spain's landscape and terrain offered more opportunity for the traveller to explore the full range of his or her descriptive powers and to engage in a closer commentary on geology, natural history or political economy than did the much less-frequented Portuguese countryside. Despite, or perhaps because of, the unfamiliarity of the environment, comparisons, when they were drawn, were as often with British landscapes as with those of other Mediterranean regions such as France or Italy; a reflection too, of the increase in domestic tourism that had taken place during the eighteenth century and that had rendered the landscapes of the British Isles more familiar.⁴⁸ John Hughes compared the countryside of Catalonia to 'the

⁴⁸ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*; Ousby, *Englishman's England*; Borsay with Sweet, *Invention of the English Landscape*, 27–48.

wilder parts of Monmouthshire'⁴⁹ and Henry Gally Knight found that the 'wild romantic' parts of Castile resembled Craven in Yorkshire, while the landscape of Extremadura was as 'rude' and 'wild' as that of Derbyshire.⁵⁰ More prosaically, Edward Hussey was struck by an unlikely similarity between Royston in Hertfordshire and the town of Alhama, near Granada, known for its thermal baths.⁵¹ Quite why, he did not say. In general, landscape was either barren and dreary (much of Old Castile, La Mancha and Extremadura); wild and romantic, potentially harbouring gangs of robbers and banditti (in the mountainous regions); or gaily picturesque, particularly in the well-cultivated regions of the Basque provinces, Andalusia and along the Mediterranean coast. By the early nineteenth century there is evidence of greater interest in landscapes and scenery – Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* were repackaged with additional illustrations as *A Picturesque Tour* (1806), for example, and the sketchbooks of post-war travellers such as John Hughes and George Douglas included as many landscapes as city views or buildings of note.⁵² The conventional register of the picturesque and the sublime, in short, was as routinely invoked in travel writing on Spain as it was in any other part of Britain or continental Europe.⁵³

The conventions of travel writing were such that landscape was seldom described in great detail; the countryside was rather still seen predominantly in terms of the agriculture that was practised and, latterly, in terms of its geological formation. Travellers were attentive to the quality of the soil, the kinds of crops grown and methods of harvesting, crop rotation or fertilisation, reflecting the curiosity of the traveller but also – implicitly or explicitly – reflecting the wider interest in determining the extent to which Spanish agriculture really was in decline. The agriculture of both Spain and Portugal – like so much else in Iberia – was widely assumed to be primitive and backward. Travellers noted the absence of the kind of improvements and technologies that were becoming commonplace in the English countryside and passed judgement accordingly. Regional variations were noted – in terms of methods of ploughing or agricultural implements – but the comments were a variation on a common theme. Spanish modes of

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7963, fol. 5v: Hughes to Harriet Thayer, 15 June 1817.

⁵⁰ Knight, *Iberia's Crisis*, 8, 61.

⁵¹ KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 20 December 1802.

⁵² NLS MS.10361: Douglas, 'Peninsular Scenery'; Bodl. MS Don. b. 45: John Hughes, 'Sketches in France [sic]'; see also for example Bradford, *Sketches of the Country, Character, and Costume; Locker, Views in Spain*.

⁵³ On the idiom of the picturesque in travel writing more generally see Buzard, 'Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)', 38.

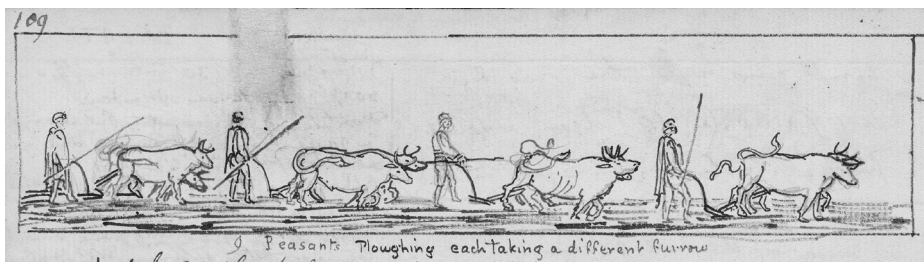


Figure 3.5 William Gell, ‘Peasants ploughing each taking a different furrow’ (1808). Source: BSR WG[MS]-6, 088. Courtesy of the British School at Rome.

ploughing and threshing were deemed to be antiquated, and were often compared with Biblical or Homeric models or with archaic survivals in the Highlands of Scotland, in keeping with the wider assumption that Spain was a country in which the customs of Europe’s former ages persisted unchanged (see Figure 3.5).⁵⁴ Around Villa Franca, claimed Locker, the carts exactly resembled ‘those vehicles of Homeric antiquity still to be found on the plain of Troy, as represented by Dr. Clarke’.⁵⁵ The distinctive mode of threshing – using horses or cattle to tread out the corn – was contrasted unfavourably with English methods and, as many travellers noted, could be traced back as far as the Old Testament.⁵⁶

Some observers, such as Arthur Young, Joseph Townsend and the Scottish physician Thomas Traill, however, travelled with a much clearer agenda of inquiring into Spain’s political economy: they were well aware that Spain’s agriculture had been mismanaged, but were also influenced by the Spanish *ilustrados* either directly, or indirectly, via their reading of French writers, such as Peyron, Bourgoing and Laborde.⁵⁷ They were still critical, but provided more nuance: they did not deny the problems faced by the Spanish agrarian economy, but ascribed the causes to poor management rather than innate laziness. Their familiarity with the

⁵⁴ *Analytical Review* (1764), 77; Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 94; Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 289; Carter, *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 103.

⁵⁵ Locker, *Views in Spain*, unpaginated, letter press accompanying ‘Villa Franca’; the Dr Clarke in question was the traveller and antiquary E. D. Clarke, son of Edward Clarke. Cf. Robert Southey, who compared the carts around A Coruña to ‘ancient war chariots’, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 6 and Thomas Traill’s reference to ‘Homeric’ carts in Andalusia: NLS MS.19389, fol. 13: Traill, journal.

⁵⁶ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 251; Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, I, 29; Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France*, 194.

⁵⁷ For which, see Chapter 6.

reforming programme of Carlos III's government fostered a particular interest in the evidence for potential economic renewal. Young, who never penetrated beyond Catalonia, professed to find the case for agrarian revival overblown and discovered widespread signs of mismanagement: not one in two hundred acres of Catalonia was under cultivation, he claimed. 'We have experienced an entire disappointment in the expectation of finding this province a garden'.⁵⁸ Townsend, however, who travelled more extensively and was better connected with Campomanes and his circle of *ilustrados*, was correspondingly more sanguine and found evidence for improvement even while he issued savage criticisms of many other aspects of Spain's agriculture.⁵⁹

The regions of the interior in Old Castile or Extremadura appeared to British eyes as unpopulated landscapes, punctuated only by the occasional *venta*. Adjectives such as 'barren', 'sterile' and 'desolate' frequently recur. The cause of this desolation and poverty was often attributed to the impact of the Mesta, the powerful association of sheep herders whose merino sheep migrated annually from León and Old Castile in the north to Andalusia in the south. The negative consequences of this transhumance on Spanish agriculture seemed obvious to the British in the vast plains that were left uncultivated in the wake of the migrating sheep, whose numbers had increased from two million at the start of the century to five million by 1780.⁶⁰ The privileges of the Mesta, the most important of which was the right of *posésion* entitling them to perpetual tenancy of all the pastures leased by its members, also ran counter to British beliefs in the primacy of the rights of property and the benefits of enclosure. But travellers' criticism was fuelled also by their reading of Spanish critics such as Padre Martín Sarmiento, whose essay on the subject was published by Antonio Ponz in the eighth volume of his *Viage de España*. It was also mediated for an Anglophone readership, however: John Talbot Dillon, a keen advocate for the enlightened Spain of Carlos III, reproduced the letter in full in his *Travels Through Spain*, itself based upon William Bowles's *Introducción a la historia natural, y a la geografía física de España* (Madrid, 1775). Ventriiloquising Bowles, Dillon argued that Sarmiento's letter 'shews how far the spirit of improvement has extended, and reached even within the gloomy walls of convents'.⁶¹ Sarmiento was clear that the

⁵⁸ Young, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, I, 618, 668.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 6.

⁶⁰ Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 204.

⁶¹ Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 57–65.

Mesta had contributed to the depopulation of rural Spain: 'where there is no Mesta, every part is populous'. Through Extremadura, León and Castile, the sheep destroyed the country in their passage, preventing farmers from inclosing lands according to their natural rights, as well as 'civil and national laws'. Galicia, through which the Mesta did not pass, by contrast, was far more populous and enjoyed greater prosperity.⁶² In Dillon's translation, Sarmiento's critique informed the comments of many other travellers, chiming as it did with their own prejudices and views on agricultural improvement.⁶³

The power of the Mesta, however, stopped short before the region of Biscay (covering the provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa). This region was invariably depicted as a fertile, cultivated and prosperous landscape where the people were freedom-loving, independent and industrious, showing none of the signs of depopulation or poverty that travellers were so quick to note in Castile or La Mancha. 'The whole country wears a cheerful smiling aspect', as one traveller observed, even in the aftermath of the Peninsular War.⁶⁴ Houses were in good repair and dispersed across the country, unlike the empty interior, through which one might travel an entire day without meeting a single habitation. The British were keenly aware of the different system of property-holding that prevailed in this region: there were no aristocratic landlords owning vast estates; rather, the country comprised a series of smallholdings passed down from generation to generation. There were no punitive seigneurial dues to be paid, nor did the central government have the right to levy heavy taxation: the *fueros* were strictly upheld, as was the principle of egalitarianism among a population almost all of whom claimed *hidalgo* descent.⁶⁵ 'Was the Government of Every Province as free and as Liberal as that of Biscay', wrote Thomas Lister, 'I have no doubt but the Lands & Commerce wou'd flourish equally with it.'⁶⁶ Noting their proud assertion of freedom and liberty – and their diet rich in animal protein – Alexander Jardine purported to find in 'Biscayans' a close resemblance to British national character.⁶⁷ For Dillon their freedom implicitly exceeded even that of Britain, being innocent of the corrosive consequences of luxury and emulation affecting commercial societies such as his own. The Biscayans

⁶² Sarmiento's essay (via Ponz) formed the basis for Semple's discussion in his *Second Journey in Spain*, 44–58.

⁶³ See, for example, Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 227–8 or Clarke, *Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, 147–58.

⁶⁴ NLS MS.10532, 80: Douglas, 'Tour'.

⁶⁵ Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 200–1.

⁶⁶ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

⁶⁷ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 12.

lived a life of primitive simplicity where true freedom was untrammelled by such concerns: 'Such is the happy life of the inhabitants of Bilbao, free from the luxuries as well as the ambitious passions, which agitate the minds of their neighbours, they pass their lives in tranquillity, governed by wholesome laws.'⁶⁸ Their independent spirit was a frequent foil for the 'lazy indolence' of the Castilian, 'who has not the spirit to oppose Tyranny himself & even dislikes activity in others',⁶⁹ and was regularly paired with their other defining characteristics, a spirit of industry and capacity for physical endurance. In short, to the British, the Basque region seemed to offer an example of what Spain might be, were it to follow the example of more enlightened nations such as their own.

For all their familiarity with Strabo and Pausanias, who celebrated Iberia as a region rich in natural resources, most travellers were still pleasurably surprised when they encountered the luxuriant fertility of the eastern littoral. 'From my tour in Portugal', wrote John Spencer Stanhope as he entered the Vale of Murcia, 'I had been led to expect in Spain a barren and uncultivated country instead of that all that I had seen was under cultivation'.⁷⁰ The Vale of Valencia, according to Whittington, exceeded even Capua in its beauty: 'here the prospect is more diversified, and infinitely more like a garden ... What a glorious triumph of nature and industry!'⁷¹ Groves of olives, oranges, lemons and pomegranates elicited frequent expressions of delight, while palm trees, aloes and prickly pears were intriguingly exotic, suggestive of 'Eastern' or 'Oriental' influence, and frequently framed a prospect view in travellers' sketches (see [Figure 3.6](#)). Even wasteland was covered with flowering shrubs, such as myrtle and arbutus, that in England would be cultivated in gardens or hothouses. Their scent perfumed the air, as many travellers noted with pleasure, offering a more positive sensory experience amidst the discomforts of Iberian travel.⁷² The sheer abundance of fruit was a source of wonder and travellers enjoyed the novelty of meals that principally comprised grapes or melons (although several patriotically asserted the superiority of fruit grown in English hothouses).⁷³ Knight enthused over the displays of fruit in the market at Cádiz – melons,

⁶⁸ Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 177.

⁶⁹ BL Add MS 33125, fol. 26: Pelham, journal.

⁷⁰ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 1, fol. 38: Stanhope, journal.

⁷¹ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 29.

⁷² DRO D239/M/F16318, 98: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'; Young, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, 648; Thicknesse, *Year's Journey*, I, 177; Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7963, fol. 2v: Hughes to Harriet Thayer, 13 April 1817; BL Add MS 51930, fol. 43v: Lady Holland, journal.

⁷³ Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 139; Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France*, 121, 201.

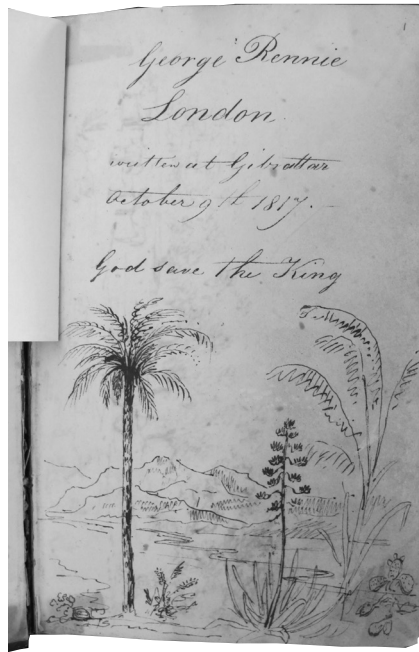


Figure 3.6 George Rennie, prickly pears, date palms and aloes (1817).
 Source: Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fol. 1. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

grapes, peaches and figs all piled up as ‘apples and potatoes are at home’, plus ‘a fruit new to me, the Tomata, which makes the whole market gay with the scarlet of its rind’.⁷⁴

A common refrain among travellers to Andalusia, as we saw in [Chapter 1](#), was disapproval of the indolence of the workers and the backwardness of their methods, which squandered the natural fertility of the land and failed to exploit the legacy of ‘Moorish’ irrigation. But not all travellers visited Spain simply to rehearse the prejudices of the armchair traveller and some were more inquiring and receptive to the arguments of the *ilustrados*: in Joseph Townsend’s view, it was the system of land tenure in Andalusia that was to blame for the lack of agricultural development and the poverty of the labourers, not their want of industry. Land and wealth were concentrated in the hands of a few proprietors while the bulk of the population was condemned to live as day labourers, crowding into the cities where they lived off

⁷⁴ DRO D/M/F16335, 4: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809.

the charity of the church and thereby exacerbating the problem of rural depopulation.⁷⁵ Thomas Traill was another visitor who was more critically engaged, and who relied heavily on Townsend as a guide. Travelling through Andalusia in the immediate aftermath of war, Traill encountered a country devastated by the impact of French occupation. Although he found plenty of evidence of poor agriculture, he also gave credit to good practice, providing a more nuanced and variegated picture of the state of Spanish agriculture in Andalusia than that offered by many of his compatriots, who could not look beyond their own preconceptions of indolence and bad management. The agricultural implements were not those that were used in England, he noted, but they were well adapted to the local context. Rather than criticising the Spanish method of yoking oxen, at the small village of Torre de los Molinos, he pronounced it a ‘most advantageous way of using oxen’; at Ronda, he admired the practicality of the short hoe used by the peasants tending the vines. But it was the agriculture around Granada that he singled out for particular praise, noting the skill with which ‘Moorish’ methods of irrigation continued to ensure the fertility of the region.⁷⁶ By the early nineteenth century, British travellers were still critical of Spanish agriculture, but were able to provide more nuance, recognising the efforts at reform and the regional variation within Spain. They did not deny the problems faced by the Spanish agrarian economy, but ascribed the causes to poor management – which could be redressed – rather than innate laziness.

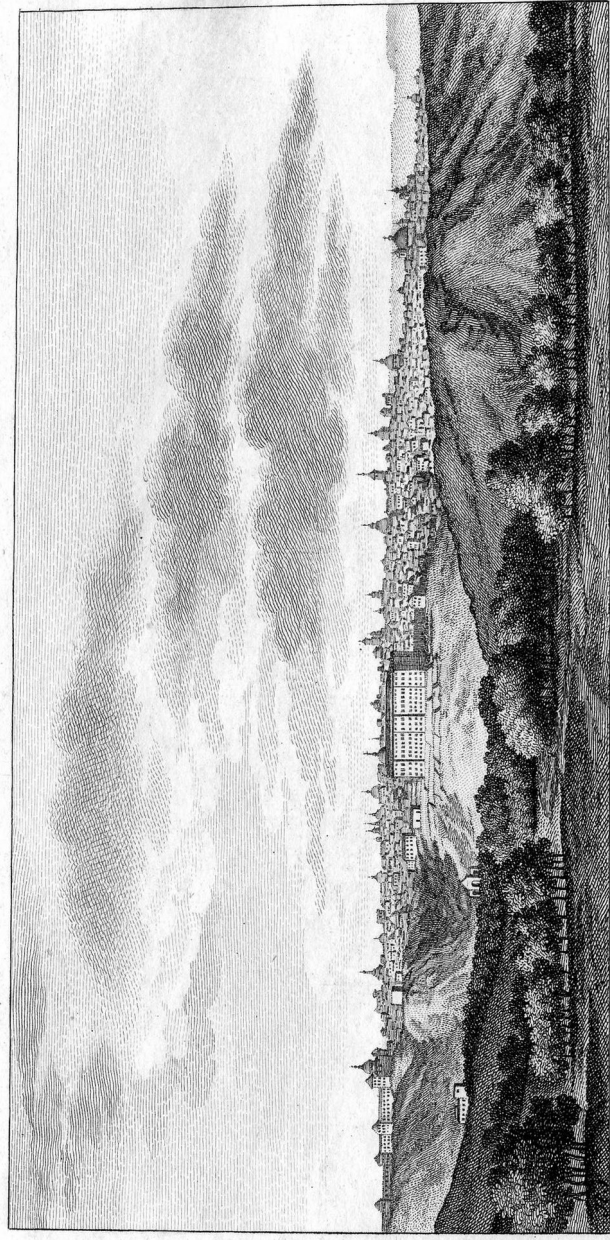
The cities of Spain

As the capital of Spain, Madrid was on the itinerary of almost every visitor, if only because it was the hub of the road network at the centre of the country (see [Figure 3.7](#)). As a city, however, it was far less striking than Lisbon in terms of architecture and its setting, evoking instead the hubristic ambition of the Spanish monarchy in their attempt to overcome the limitations of its geographical location simply by the exercise of royal will.⁷⁷ Its river, the Manzanares, was a feeble trickle for most of the year and did not even bear comparison with the Tagus. In the 1760s, visitors were unimpressed by its mud walls, its lack of magnificence, and the

⁷⁵ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 327–9.

⁷⁶ NLS MS.19388, fol. 7: Traill, ‘Journal of a tour’; MS.19389, fol. 255: Traill, journal.

⁷⁷ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 57.



Perfil de Madrid, visto desde la R.ª Casa del Campo.

Figure 3.7 Anon. 'Perfil de Madrid, visto desde la R.ª Casa del Campo (View of Madrid seen from the Casa de Campo park)' [c. 1777]. Source: BM museum number 1917,1208.4272. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Based on Henry Swinburne's sketch, 1775-6, Yale Center for British Art, B1977.14.4002. An identical etching is enclosed in BA L30/17/4/160, Grantham to Anne Robinson, 28 April 1777, mentioning that Waddilove had commissioned etchings from Swinburne's sketches.

'nastiness' of the streets, which was sufficiently bad even to rival those of Lisbon. 'There is not certainly a Capital in Europe, which has so little worth shewing to a Stranger', reported Thomas Pitt. 'During my long Stay here, I could not learn one curious Building that was to be seen, except the new Palace, which is not finisht, & the Chapel of a very large & handsome Nunnery, built by the late Queen: which Chapel is pretty, but nothing extraordinary.'⁷⁸

Under Carlos III, however, the city underwent dramatic improvements to which the comments of visitors provide a clear index.⁷⁹ In 1775, Richard Twiss claimed to have been impressed by the signs of a well-ordered urban polity: the names of streets were painted on corner houses and the houses were all numbered; the streets were as well-lit even as those in London, he claimed, and the paving was neat and regular. Madrid, he suggested, was cleaner and better ordered than even the cities of Holland (which Twiss knew well, having been raised there). All these improvements had come about only in the last 10 years, that is, since the accession of Carlos III.⁸⁰ There was more recognition for the spaciousness of the streets, which contrasted markedly with those of other Spanish cities, and for Robert Semple the 'great ornament' of Madrid were the gates resembling triumphal arches erected by Carlos III.⁸¹ The Plaza Mayor was generally admired, but without great enthusiasm: its primary significance for visitors being the fact that it was the site of the bullfights, a subject on which most British were, as we shall see in [Chapter 4](#), at best, equivocal. The new palace built by Felipe IV evoked mixed responses: some thought it magnificent, comparing it favourably with Versailles – for Twiss it was the 'grandest and most sumptuous of any in Europe' – but others complained of a plain exterior that was redeemed only by the richly ornamented apartments within.⁸² The mixed verdict on its architecture notwithstanding, the palace was acknowledged to house a fine collection of paintings, which almost every visitor felt it incumbent upon them to view. Beyond the palace, the *gabinete de historia natural* offered a point of access to Spanish America, containing objects and specimens that could not be found in any other collection in Europe. The fact that the museum was open to the public, free of charge on certain days of the

⁷⁸ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 125v: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

⁷⁹ For an overview of the programme of urban improvement introduced by Carlos III, see Noel, 'Madrid: City of the Enlightenment', and Álvarez Barrientos, 'Urban cultural model: center and periphery', 159–60.

⁸⁰ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 140.

⁸¹ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 58–9.

⁸² Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 140; Cumberland, *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain*, II, 163.

week, 'during which every person of a tolerably decent appearance is admitted',⁸³ was welcomed by most visitors as a sign of the dissemination of knowledge and improving education, although some were offended by what Robert Southey termed the 'raree-show for all the Mob of Madrid'.⁸⁴ The palace aside, visitors counted off the convents, nunneries, parish churches, colleges and hospitals – as they did in all Spanish cities – and appraised the opportunities for leisure and recreation, finding that the Prado was a 'fine public walk', providing plenty of opportunities to study the dress, air and gait of the Spanish.⁸⁵ Overall, the recent improvements introduced in the capital served to reinforce the prevailing view that enlightened reform was, belatedly, exercising some influence over Spanish society. Yet the image of the lazy and dirty foreigner was hard to counteract, and resurfaced again in Alexander Jardine's comments on the resistance that the reforms had met from inhabitants who, out of their 'general aversion to cleanliness', resented the efforts to prevent them from dirtying the streets 'from wantonness and bad habits'.⁸⁶

Moyle Sherer, always endearingly determined to speak positively of both Spain and Portugal, claimed to have been 'literally burning with curiosity' to see Madrid. '[I] would almost have faced a volley of musketry', he wrote, as he described how he stole away from his column to make a rapid tour of the city's highlights, finishing with a coffee at the Plaza Mayor 'in a large saloon filled with the gentlemen of Madrid'.⁸⁷ Although Madrid features consistently as a haven of civilisation and refined living in the military memoirs of the Peninsular War, the experiences of officers such as Sherer were undoubtedly given a roseate hue by comparison with the privations that were suffered on campaign.⁸⁸ Outside war time, most visitors defined the city's defining feature as its stultifying boredom: isolated in the centre of Spain, dominated by the society of the court, there was nothing to say and nothing to do. It offered little in the way of society or entertainment, particularly in comparison with metropolises such as London or Paris, or even the port of Cádiz. There was no such thing as a tavern or a coffee house, complained Edward Clarke in 1760, and only one newspaper in the entire city, the *Madrid Gazette*.⁸⁹ Over 50 years later, little had

⁸³ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 77.

⁸⁴ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 171.

⁸⁵ LA MS Worsley 53, 210: 'Journal of a tour'; Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 60.

⁸⁶ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 113.

⁸⁷ Sherer, *Recollections*, 290–2.

⁸⁸ Daly, *British Soldier in Peninsular War*, 140.

⁸⁹ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 344.

changed for Robert Hyde Greg: 'There is perhaps no Capital where a stranger can find so little to amuse himself as in Madrid'.⁹⁰ In the eyes of Whittington, Madrid's 'dulness and want of magnificence' arose from private, not political causes 'and is rather to be attributed to the apathy and unenterprising genius of the Spanish nobles, than to the absence of trade, or the poverty of individuals'.⁹¹ In Madrid and elsewhere, the British were disappointed by the limited extent of Spanish hospitality which they encountered: there was no tradition of entertaining beyond the *tertulia*, which generally failed to impress both in terms of sociability and refreshment – 'a dull Assembly, where the Ladies sit around the room, & the Gentlemen stand at the end', as the noted hostess Lady Holland described it.⁹² George Douglas was repeatedly disappointed by the drearily sedate nature of Spanish society – 'a sad contrast to the propriété, vivacious company, and general brilliancy, of a Parisian Caffé'.⁹³ John Hughes, travelling in 1817, evidently suffered in equal measure from the limitations of Madrid's society and entertained his correspondent, Harriet Thayer, with an account of a day in her life, were she to marry a Spanish grandee and live 'at that stupidest of places'. He depicted a lifestyle of superficial piety and limited sociability, mixing among an unchangingly narrow circle of self-important courtiers. Sedate drives through Madrid's arid and dusty environs in a 'great brown tub' of a coach would be followed by dinner at home with one's spouse, consumed in a haze of cigar smoke. In the late afternoon, the only entertainment would be a walk in the Retiro gardens, where the greatest excitement would be the sight of the royal family rowing on the lake. The evening might involve a *tertulia*, enjoying 'the few topics of conversation possessed by an insulated set, at a capital which nobody visits'.⁹⁴ To Englishmen accustomed to more robust traditions of conviviality and open-handed hospitality, the iced water and sweetmeats that were the standard fare offered slim pickings. The faro table constituted the principal entertainment and conversation with attractive women was believed to be hazardous, due to the danger of arousing the jealous attention of a lady's *cortejo* (a male companion) – on which the British held strong views, as we shall see in [Chapter 4](#).⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 170.

⁹¹ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces of Spain*, 58.

⁹² BL Add MS 51930, fol. 63: Lady Holland, journal.

⁹³ NLS MS.10354, 203: Douglas, 'Tour'.

⁹⁴ Bodl. MS Eng. c. 7963, fol. 4: Hughes to Harriet Thayer, 15 June 1817.

⁹⁵ BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 110r–113r: Stanhope, journal.

Most visitors to Madrid also used it as a base from which to explore the royal palaces, or *reales sitios*, at El Escorial, San Ildefonso and Aranjuez, if only because the roads connecting them to Madrid were some of the best in the country, given that they were used so regularly by the royal household. More importantly, the *sitios* were also showcases for the wealth, taste and magnificence of the Spanish monarchy. At San Ildefonso, in the foothills of the Sierra de Guadarrama, the main attractions were the gardens (which flourished in the cooler climate) and the Real Fábrica de Cristales de La Granja, maintained, as was often noted, at great expense and great annual loss.⁹⁶ At Aranjuez, it was the lush and elaborate gardens which provided a welcome contrast to the aridity of the country around Madrid and, for a privileged few, longed-for access to milk and butter from the royal herd.⁹⁷ The palace of El Escorial, located in countryside that the British found barren and dreary, attracted few plaudits for its prison-like architecture, which was ‘solid, dull and gloomy beyond imagination’, according to Lady Holland.⁹⁸ Its grandiose size prompted travellers to pace out and record its dimensions but it seemed to symbolise the empty futility of the monarchy’s absolutist pretensions and its failure to live up to its former glory.⁹⁹ The art collection, before the depredations of the French, was reputed one of the finest in Europe and it is the descriptions of the paintings that dominate most accounts, although John Croft’s diary suggests that these were maintained in less than optimal conditions: in one of the finest saloons, he noted, ‘there were several Holes thro’ the best pictures made by the Infantes letting off Rockets in the Room.’¹⁰⁰ Curatorial shortcomings aside, the paintings and the Library, with its collections of Latin, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew and Spanish manuscripts, were the principal objects of interest. Less edifying was the ‘monstrous collection of relics’ preserved in the monastery, seen as another symptom of the sinister hold of superstition at all levels of Spanish society.¹⁰¹ More than anything else, however, the magnificence and pretension of the royal palaces offered an opportunity to comment on the nature of the Spanish monarchy, its strengths and – to British eyes – its very evident limitations.

⁹⁶ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 88.

⁹⁷ Macdonald, *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe*, 361.

⁹⁸ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 45v: Lady Holland, journal.

⁹⁹ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 100; Greg, *Travel Journals*, 155.

¹⁰⁰ Brigstocke and Delaforce (eds), ‘John Croft’s tour to Spain’, 37. Thomas Pitt also suggested that its reputation derived from being so rarely seen by strangers: BL Add MS 5845, fol. 129v: Pitt, ‘Observations on Spain & Portugal’.

¹⁰¹ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 156; Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 104.

Segovia was not a regional capital but, due to its proximity to San Ildefonso and Madrid on the *camino real* to Valladolid and the north, it was a city that British visitors regularly passed through and on which they commented. Although it was noted for textile and paper production, the main attractions were its Roman aqueduct, its Gothic cathedral and its association with Gil Blas. The aqueduct was widely admired as the ‘best preserved of all the Roman remains in Spain’ but, with no inscriptions to prove when it was erected or by whom, there was some uncertainty over its origins: a circumstance that allowed British visitors to ridicule the suggestion of Spanish antiquaries that it was the work of Hercules or the Phoenicians (see [Figure 3.8](#)).¹⁰² But ‘most intelligent travellers’, according to Greg, believed it to have been built by the Romans, probably under Trajan (to whose patronage, as Edward Clarke observed, almost every Roman antiquity in Spain was attributed).¹⁰³ Changes in taste among the travelling population, influenced by a re-evaluation of Gothic architecture, meant that the cathedral, described by Twiss simply as ‘an old Gothic building’, was greatly admired by the travellers of the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Robert Hyde Greg was particularly impressed by its majestic simplicity and the height, elegance and lightness of the pillars.¹⁰⁵ The former Alcázar – converted into a military school – was the third highlight. The richness of the interior décor was particularly impressive and Joseph Townsend – always more interested in people than buildings – relished the opportunity to see the ‘Spanish character strongly marked in the countenances’ of the young gentlemen being educated there.¹⁰⁶ The key attraction, however, was the Tower in which the fictional Gil Blas had been imprisoned before he escaped. ‘An almost incredible circumstance’, as Lady Holland noted drily, given the height of the cell and the difficulty of the fall.¹⁰⁷ The prospect from the window over the surrounding countryside, however, was suitably ‘bleak and desolate’.¹⁰⁸

Toledo, dramatically situated on a hilltop, was renowned as the capital of the Gothic kings of Spain (see [Figure 3.9](#)). Its association with the legend of Rodrigo (or Roderic), under whom the Visigothic kingdom fell to the Umayyads in 711, gave it a romantic allure, even before the

¹⁰² Greg, *Travel Journals*, 161.

¹⁰³ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 160; Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 185.

¹⁰⁴ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 84.

¹⁰⁵ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 160; BL Add MS 15391, fol. 44r: Lady Holland, journal; Anon. [Whittington], *Tour of Principal Provinces*, 60.

¹⁰⁶ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 115.

¹⁰⁷ BL Add MS 51391, fol. 44v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁰⁸ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 61.



Figure 3.8 Fernando Brambila, 'Vista de una parte del aqueducto de Segovia (View of part of the aqueduct at Segovia)' (1798). Source: BM museum number 1942,0325.2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 3.9 William Gell, ‘Toledo with coffee’ (1808). Source: BSR WG[MS]-6, 059. Courtesy of the British School at Rome.

success of Robert Southey’s epic poem, ‘Roderick the Last of the Goths’ (1814). Toledo was also the seat of the fabulously wealthy Archbishop of Toledo, whose revenues were variously reported to exceed £10,000, £30,000 or £100,000 per annum.¹⁰⁹ The cathedral inspired awe and admiration, for the richness of its décor, for Alonso Berrenguer’s

¹⁰⁹ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 180; Thomas Lister claimed a yearly revenue of £100,000: ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated), entry dated 16 August 1784.

carvings depicting the conquest of Granada in the choir and for the soaring proportions of its Gothic architecture.¹¹⁰ But it was also a source of fascination for the celebration of the Mozarabic rite that continued to take place every morning: a ritual that had survived since the days of the early Spanish church, before the Bishop of Rome had extended his influence over the country, and which, according to Edward Clarke, was similar ‘in all essentials’ to the rites of the Church of England.¹¹¹ The church of San Juan de los Reyes was admired less for its architecture than for the display of ‘monstrously large’ iron fetters, said to have been taken at the release of Christian captives and held by the Spanish as evidence of the cruelty and oppression that Christians had suffered under ‘the Moors’.¹¹² Although most travellers noted the city’s period under Islamic rule, they never acknowledged any evidence of it in the built fabric before the nineteenth century.¹¹³ The city’s Jewish heritage was equally invisible: only Edward Clarke noted the Hebrew inscriptions at San Benito, the former synagogue of El Tránsito, that had been revealed beneath crumbling plasterwork, but for their potential to cast light on Old Testament scholarship rather than as evidence for the history of the Jewish community.¹¹⁴ The church of Santa Maria la Blanca had formerly been a synagogue, as Richard Twiss noted, but he was unimpressed, and recorded it, he said, ‘only to spare any other person the trouble of searching for [it]’.¹¹⁵ Of greater interest for most visitors were the reputation of Toledo steel and the manufacture of the renowned Spanish swords. Superiority in sword manufacture was closely associated with Spain’s military prowess in the sixteenth century. But along with the rest of Spain’s military glory, the original workshops had disappeared. In an attempt to revive Spain’s manufacturing heritage, Carlos III had established a new manufactory just outside the city: Thomas Lister attempted to bribe his guide to allow him to purchase a cavalry sword as a souvenir, ‘but there were too many tell tales about us to permit our Conductor to violate his Duty to his Royal Master’.¹¹⁶ The manufactory

¹¹⁰ BL Add MS 15391, fos 99r–100r: Lady Holland, journal.

¹¹¹ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 9–10; LA MS Worsley 53, 203: ‘Journal of tour’.

¹¹² Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 178; Greg, *Travel Journals*, 164; BSR WG[MS]-6, 057; Gell, notebook.

¹¹³ Greg suspected that ‘the greater part’ of buildings in Toledo were of ‘Moorish construction’ (*Travel Journals*, 164) while William Gell noted ‘a little oratory ... built by the Moors of still older Roman materials’ and that the church of Santa Leocadia had ‘been converted into a mosque & back again’ (BSR WG[MS]-6, 057–058; Gell, notebook).

¹¹⁴ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 177–8.

¹¹⁵ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 186.

¹¹⁶ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated), entry dated 16 August 1784.

failed to flourish, however: 'The work does not go on very briskly', observed William Gell in 1808.¹¹⁷ It was a pale imitation of the past – the modern swords were inferior in elegance of shape and temper, noted Robert Hyde Greg – and as such it was seen as another symptom of Spain's modern decline from former glory.¹¹⁸ 'Nothing', in Whittington's summary, 'could surpass the gloomy dullness' of the city.¹¹⁹

Seville was renowned in Spain for its beauty, as the eighth wonder of the world and the paragon of cities: 'Quien no ha visto Sevilla, no ha visto maravilla'.¹²⁰ British travellers had imbibed some of this enthusiasm from afar, and it was one of the few destinations in Spain about which they expressed a sense of anticipation. As Moyle Sherer approached from Zafra, 'the towers of fair Seville' rose before him in his imagination, and Richard Croker declared himself 'mortified' at having passed within sight of its 'gilded towers', without being able to view its wonders (see [Figure 3.10](#)).¹²¹ Such effusive sentiments were more often expressed in print – itself an indication of the wider reputation that Seville enjoyed in educated society – than in unpublished journals. Edward Hussey's reaction was less enthusiastic. Although he admired the prospect view from Utrera in which the cathedral, the public buildings and the great tobacco warehouse formed 'an excellent foreground', his overall verdict was damning and undercut some of the more romantic images associated with the city. 'Seville tho' large is I think a wretched town, the streets are narrow & but badly paved, and from want of energy in the inhabitants or from want of population it seems melancholy dull. The cathedral with its grand Tower have been too much praised by travellers.'¹²²

Seville was regarded by many as the more appropriate capital for Spain, given its long-term historical importance, and had rather more to offer to the visitor with any interest in Spain's past glories or colonial connections than did Madrid. Settled first by the Phoenicians and then the Romans, it continued to grow under Islamic rule and was the capital of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties, before being conquered by Fernando III of Castile in 1248. In the sixteenth century, it had hosted the most splendid court in Europe and was the thriving hub of commerce

¹¹⁷ BSR WG[MS]-6, 058: Gell, notebook.

¹¹⁸ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 165.

¹¹⁹ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 76.

¹²⁰ 'Whoever has not seen Seville, has not seen a marvel'. Ap Rhys, *Account of the Most Remarkable Places*, 107; Cumberland, *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain*, II, 1; Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 302.

¹²¹ Sherer, *Recollections*, 206; Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 196.

¹²² KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 14 February 1803.

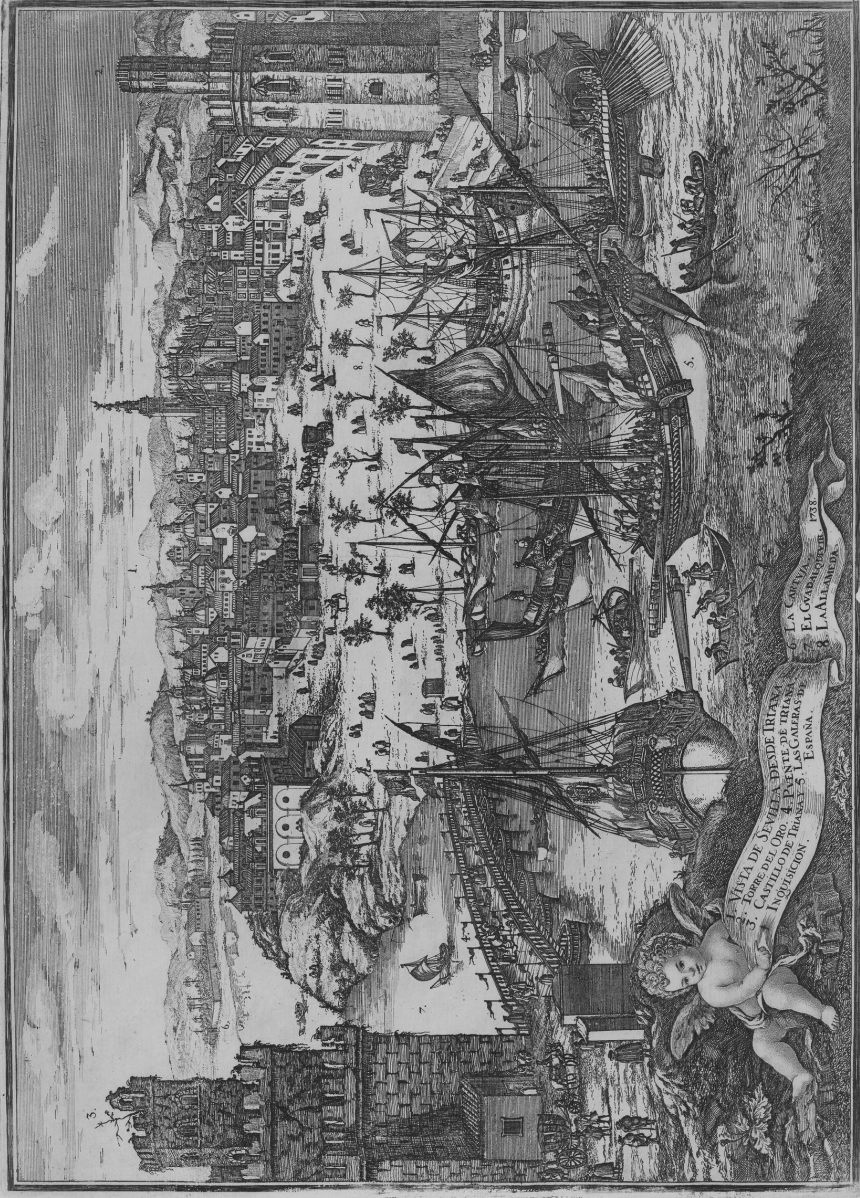


Figure 3.10 Pedro Tortolero, *View of Seville from across the Guadalquivir* (1738). Source: BM museum number 1917,1208.4276. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

with the New World, its streets – according to Swinburne – thronged with people and warehouses packed with valuable merchandise, while the river was crowded with shipping.¹²³ The Alcázar and the cathedral were key sites of interest for their blend of ‘Moorish’ and Gothic design that bore testimony to the transfer of power from Islamic to Christian rulers. But they also pointed to stylistic cultural exchange: travellers were surprised to discover how the Christian ruler Pedro I had remodelled much of the Alcázar in the ‘Moorish’ style.¹²⁴ The cathedral was most famous for its tower, the Giralda, built by the Almohads in the twelfth century, which, as Semple noted caustically, the modern Spaniard ‘scruples not to glory in’, despite their normal contempt and abhorrence for their ‘Saracen ancestors’.¹²⁵ Overpraised it may have been in Hussey’s view, but it nonetheless offered a spectacular view across the surrounding country as well as boasting the additional attraction of an incline rather than a staircase, up which horses could be ridden. Its architecture, however, was deemed inferior to that of York Minster, the *non-pareil* of medieval ecclesiastical buildings for many British travellers.¹²⁶ As with any ecclesiastical foundation, visitors noted the wealth on display, the size of the structure and the notable paintings, but for many the most interesting element was the association with Christopher Columbus: it was to Seville that Columbus was brought home in disgrace, while a memorial was subsequently erected to him in the cathedral and his son’s collections formed the basis of the library.¹²⁷ ‘Who’, asked Robert Semple, ‘does not feel himself recompensed from all his fatigues, when he beholds, in the great church, the simple tablet of stone which records the birth and the death of that great man?’¹²⁸

But as well as being the hub from which the expansion of empire had opened up, Seville was also the city that gave birth to Velázquez and to Murillo, artists who were rapidly rising in the estimation of the British population in the later eighteenth century.¹²⁹ While the former was drawn to the Hapsburg court and spent most of his career in Italy and in Madrid, Murillo – always a favourite among British travellers¹³⁰ – stayed

¹²³ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 262–3.

¹²⁴ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 253–4; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 81; LA MS Worsley 53, 81: ‘Journal of tour’. See also [Chapter 8](#).

¹²⁵ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 76.

¹²⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 264.

¹²⁷ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 142; NLS MS.19389, fos 330v–331r: Traill, journal.

¹²⁸ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 59.

¹²⁹ Glendinning and Macartney (eds), *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland*, 16–17; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 125–7.

¹³⁰ Richard Cumberland described him as better known in England than any other artist of the Spanish school apart from Ribera: *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters*, II, 101.

loyal to his home city. For many travellers, therefore, viewing his major works in situ was an essential part of their itinerary through Seville. The principal artworks, however, were to be found in ‘convents, churches and hospitals without end’,¹³¹ rather than in the private collections of the nobility: viewing art did not permit the kind of entrée into the houses of the Spanish elite or the opportunities for sociability that visitors were accustomed to receive in the palazzi of Italian cities.

In 1717, the Casa de Contratación (the crown agency that oversaw trade with the Americas) was removed to Cádiz, accelerating Seville’s economic decline. Despite its loss of the colonial trade, the Exchange or Lonja, which housed the Archivo General de Indias from 1785, was admired both for its external appearance and as a symbol of Seville’s former importance in the development of the New World. Like the monument to Columbus, the building and its contents offered a tangible point of contact with the epoch-making discoveries of the sixteenth century. Lady Holland visited the Lonja filled with eager anticipation to see the ‘original letter of Cortez’, only to be disappointed as the custodian with the key was absent.¹³² George Rennie similarly associated the Exchange with the ‘American Indian Papers of Pizarro, Cortez etc’ and, like Lady Holland but with more success, took the opportunity to inspect Cortés’s papers.¹³³ As Thomas Traill (a reader of William Robertson’s *History of America*) appreciated, it was ‘an arrangement of the highest importance to the future historian of the new world’.¹³⁴ But even in the eighteenth century, not all Seville’s links with the New World were in the past: most importantly, it continued to operate as the centre of state-run production of tobacco. After several decades of construction, the Royal Tobacco Factory opened for business in 1757 and, from the outset, was an essential destination in any tour of Seville, offering an opportunity to gauge Spanish economic progress, not only as a state-of-the-art facility but also as the manifestation of a royal monopoly, in contrast to the private enterprise that the British believed had sustained their own colonial expansion. Understandably, most accounts focused on the factory’s size: an ‘immense building’ of 14 courts housed some 1,500 men and 200 horses in the 1770s, with nearly 500 people making cigars in a single room (inflated to 900 by some); by the turn of the nineteenth century, others counted 24 or 28 courts and perhaps 2,000 men, though

¹³¹ BL Add MS 33125, fol. 11v: Pelham, journal.

¹³² BL Add MS 51932, fol. 21v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹³³ Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fols 49v, 60r: Rennie, journal.

¹³⁴ NLS MS.19389, fol. 339: Traill, journal.

only 100 horses.¹³⁵ The positive commendations bestowed upon the factory are likely to have been a reflection of the pride and enthusiasm conveyed by the local guides, but, given that few if any factories in England could boast an equivalent workforce in this period, the size and scale of the Seville factory must have been impressive, even for visitors familiar with the manufactures of Birmingham or Manchester. By the mid-1810s, however, it was operating at a fraction of its pre-war peak. The impact of war was to cripple production. It was increasingly seen as obsolete, with its reliance on animal power rather than the steam that was driving Britain's manufacturing growth.¹³⁶

Almost every city in Spain was criticised for the narrowness of its streets, but in Seville the houses stood so close that, as one traveller complained, an open umbrella would scrape against the sides; nor was this density relieved by any squares or open spaces.¹³⁷ Such narrow streets were never to British taste (they had yet to acquire connotations of romantic atmosphere or authenticity). Their darkness and shadow, combined with their winding irregularity, seemed to be an open invitation to encourage crime. Their form, laid down before the Christian conquest, was a constant reminder of 'the Moors', whose legacy was visible throughout the urban fabric. Churches were built upon the foundations of mosques and Arabic inscriptions survived on the walls of the streets. Convents and monasteries resembled the inner courtyards of mosques, betraying their Islamic origins, and the ancient form of the bazaar could still be seen, suggested Robert Semple, in the way that tradesmen of the same profession lived together in rows on the principal streets. Among those, like Semple, who had travelled more widely, comparisons were often drawn with North Africa or Constantinople.¹³⁸ It was the design of the houses that lined the streets, however, that struck travellers most forcibly. The featureless façades with grates at the windows appeared to British eyes like prisons and were linked to the jealousy with which 'the Moors' were assumed to have guarded their women; a trait that it was supposed the Andalusians had inherited. The style of building was seen as symptomatic of the 'reclusive, selfish' manners of 'the Moors', who jealously preserved their private and family

¹³⁵ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 306; Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 164; Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 269–70; KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 17 February 1803; Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 79; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 72–3; Greg, *Travel Journals*, 66.

¹³⁶ NLS MS.19389, fol. 345: Traill, journal; Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fol. 47: Rennie, journal.

¹³⁷ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 80; Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 291; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 71.

¹³⁸ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 64–5.

interests but were strangers to social virtues and pleasures.¹³⁹ 'The whole character of Seville is Moorish', concluded John Carr.¹⁴⁰

But this reading of the architecture was also combined with admiration for the contrivances – also inherited from the 'Moors' – for mitigating the unremitting heat of summer: the narrowness of the streets meant that sunshine never penetrated and they retained 'almost the coolness of our cellars'.¹⁴¹ The largely blank facades minimised the number of windows that let in light and heat; the houses might have appeared off-putting from the street but they opened onto an inner courtyard lined with covered arcades. White marble reflected back the warmth, while water playing in fountains cooled the air and canvas awnings provided further shade. 'All have an open court within them called the Patio; in the centre of this space there is usually a fountain of cool water, occasionally surrounded with orange trees, and other evergreens.'¹⁴²

Seville had more to offer than Madrid, but it existed in the shadow of its past, enshrouded within an atmosphere of pervasive gloom.¹⁴³ Cádiz, by contrast, was a city that presented an air of cheerfulness, bustle and animation.¹⁴⁴ There was none of Madrid's suffocating insularity nor Seville's sense of decline. Cádiz had taken over from Seville as the seat of American commerce and it was this that rendered it so interesting to British travellers, both for the opportunity to observe and comment upon the extent of Spanish trade and for the dynamism brought by an international community of merchants. Like the Basque region, Cádiz seemed to offer a vision of what Spain might be, if different economic policies were pursued. For Richard Worsley, its extensive trade made Cádiz appear different from any other Spanish town: 'you would suppose yourself not in the Kingdom' and nothing he had seen in Spain was 'more lively or pleasing'.¹⁴⁵ British visitors were quick to praise the various improvements and reforms undertaken by General Alejandro O'Reilly, the former governor of Louisiana: he had, reported James More Molyneux, constructed the causeway connecting Cádiz with La Isla, embellished the city with handsome buildings, established a well-regulated police, a military academy and a school of arts, and erected a workhouse. Under

¹³⁹ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 187.

¹⁴⁰ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 80, 96.

¹⁴¹ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 71.

¹⁴² Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 71.

¹⁴³ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 99.

¹⁴⁴ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 11v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁴⁵ LA MS Worsley 53, 103: 'Journal of tour'.

his authority the streets were kept clean and free of importuning beggars. This paragon of enlightened reform in action was, as the British were also quick to point out, an Irishman by birth.¹⁴⁶

The British often complained of the Spanish reluctance to entertain; the opportunity to mix with a more cosmopolitan community in Cádiz, and to enjoy the hospitality of the English, Scottish and Irish merchant communities, was therefore warmly welcomed. James Duff, the wine merchant and English consul, performed a sterling service, delighting British visitors as an 'excellent old man, civil and attentive', who kept up 'the old, exploded English custom of toasts'.¹⁴⁷ His introductions to merchants along the south-east littoral were equally valuable. The positive synergy between commerce, civility and liberty was a shibboleth for most British travellers and they triumphantly traced its impact in Cádiz: Henry Gally Knight found the inhabitants more polished and less superstitious, while Alexander Jardine identified a 'more liberal way of thinking ... More cheerful manners, more confidence, credit, and sociability among men'. Commercial intercourse 'with the rest of the civilized world', explained John Carr, gave the society of Cádiz a superior quality.¹⁴⁸

In practice, this more liberal way of thinking and greater cheerfulness of manners translated into a busier social life. It was, said Joseph Townsend, 'a most agreeable city for social intercourse'.¹⁴⁹ Cádiz offered Spanish and French theatres (the latter, according to Richard Twiss, the most magnificent outside France) and an Italian opera, each with a different opening time, so that the company might partake of all three in succession if they so wished.¹⁵⁰ The city offered the opportunity for walks on the Alameda (see [Figure 3.11](#)) where one might observe the ladies of Cádiz, whose black eyes were reputedly the most beautiful in Spain and who could boast uncommon grace when walking.¹⁵¹ They displayed, according to Robert Hyde Greg, a 'majestic strut, for which a woman in England would be stared at'.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 24 June 1785; see also Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 346; BL Add MS 15931, fos 11r–12r: Lady Holland, journal; BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 192v: Stanhope, journal. On O'Reilly, and specifically his career in Cádiz, see Recio Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly*, 337–413.

¹⁴⁷ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 12: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁴⁸ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 127; DRO D239/M/F16635, 12: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 28.

¹⁴⁹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 410.

¹⁵⁰ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 280–1; Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 227.

¹⁵¹ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 28; Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 299.

¹⁵² Greg, *Travel Journals*, 140, March 1815.

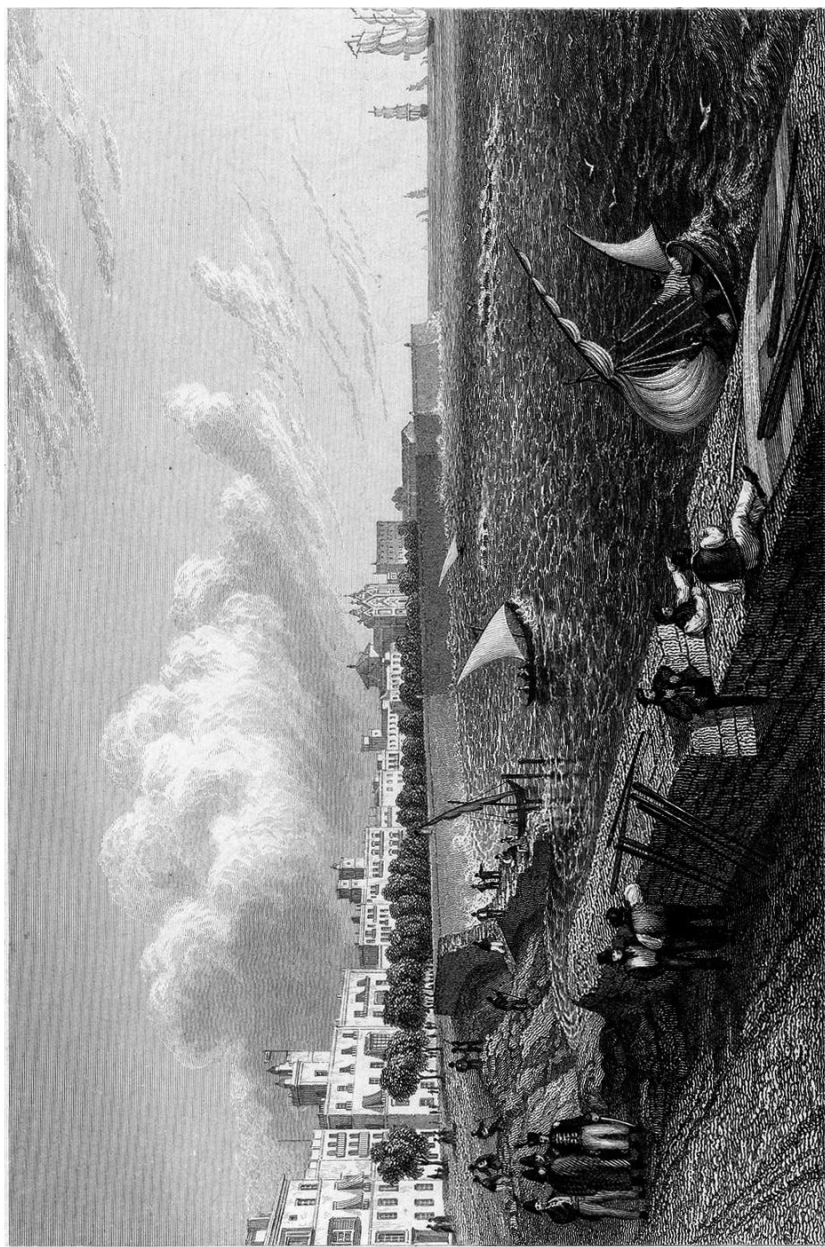


Figure 3.11 *View of Cádiz from the Alameda*, from *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Words of Lord Byron* (1833–4). Source: BM museum number 1868,0822.4525. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In Cádiz, there were more *tertulias* to attend, there was greater variety in the shops and more animation and activity in the streets. There were, however, fewer public buildings of interest: visitors noted the *hospicio* or workhouse – many availing themselves of a detailed description given by Townsend, who had found much to admire in its constitution and management¹⁵³ – and there was the cathedral, although this won few plaudits, being both modern and unfinished and, according to William Gell, ‘heavily ornamented in bad taste’.¹⁵⁴ The cathedral aside, there was not one church, according to Thomas Traill, that was remarkable for its architecture.¹⁵⁵ Nor could Cádiz rival Seville as a centre of artistic production: that said, there were plenty of churches to be viewed, and a number of them housed notable artworks, not least the Convent of the Capuchins, where Murillo had famously fallen to his death when completing the altarpiece.¹⁵⁶ But, as a commercial city, the favourable impression that Cádiz made on visitors depended more on its general appearance and layout than on specific buildings: unlike Seville, the streets were straight and at right angles to each other – none of the twisted alleyways associated with ‘Moorish’ urban morphology – and, while narrow, they were at least paved, clean and well lit.¹⁵⁷ The houses shared the same kind of architecture as those of Seville – a largely blank façade facing the street and an internal courtyard – but showed greater uniformity and their appearance was relieved by details such as balconies at the windows and verandas, with trellises covered by vines. Knight was quite captivated with the picturesque effect of the flat roofs with observatories for looking out to sea, ‘which gives to the city when seen from a distance that irregularity of outline, which ... I think so principal a source of beauty in architecture.’¹⁵⁸ In short, he found the town ‘one of the most beautiful’ he had ever seen.¹⁵⁹

Going north from Madrid, most travellers passed through Salamanca and Valladolid, cities that bore testimony to former Spanish and Catholic ambitions. Salamanca, founded by Alfonso the Wise and a thriving hub of learning in the Middle Ages, boasted much fine architecture and an imposing square or plaza – ‘spacious, regular ... where

¹⁵³ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 12: Lady Holland, journal; Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 350–4.

¹⁵⁴ BSR WG[MS]-6, 117: Gell, notebook; Townsend similarly disliked the cathedral: *Journey Through Spain*, II, 347.

¹⁵⁵ OLA D1/1066/1, fol. 16v: Traill, ‘Journal during a voyage to Spain’.

¹⁵⁶ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 44.

¹⁵⁷ BL Add MS 51931 fol. 11v: Lady Holland, journal: ‘it is the best paved, lighted, built, and cleanest town that can be seen’.

¹⁵⁸ DRO D239/M/F16635, 4: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809.

¹⁵⁹ DRO D239/M/F16635, 3: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809.

symmetry unites with greatness' – which Joseph Townsend thought would be admired 'even in London or Paris'.¹⁶⁰ But by the eighteenth century it had fallen into decline and desuetude. The buildings now were neglected and empty, inhabited by only a handful of students: a standing indictment of the stifling of intellectual inquiry by the Roman Catholic church.¹⁶¹ Valladolid, briefly the capital of Spain in the sixteenth century and another haunt of Gil Blas, was in an even worse state of neglect: impoverished, dirty and almost deserted. John Talbot Dillon found nothing but bare walls inhabited by bats and spiders in the palace where Philip II was born.¹⁶² Lady Holland was less than impressed, finding the city 'disgustingly filthy'. The buildings had the appearance of 'ancient magnificence' but looked neglected and slovenly, the more so given the contrast between the grandiose pillars and arches and the state of their current condition and inhabitants.¹⁶³ Both cities were dominated by the physical presence of the Roman Catholic church: the cathedral, the churches, the convents, the seminaries and the Irish (Salamanca), Scots and English Colleges (Valladolid). The Colleges were one of the reasons for a longer stay in both cities as English-speaking visitors could be sure of a welcome – even as Protestants. Dr Curtis, Rector of the Irish College at Salamanca, welcomed numerous British visitors and later became a valuable source of intelligence for Wellington.¹⁶⁴ The clergy could provide guides and informed conversation in a country where the British often struggled to gain a social entrée. Burgos, home to the tomb of El Cid, was another regular destination on the itinerary north: the key attraction was the cathedral – travellers seldom remarked on much else – which was widely admired, even by those who did not count themselves enthusiasts for Gothic architecture. But for all the admiration it inspired, the British held it, like Seville Cathedral, to be inferior in beauty to York Minster.¹⁶⁵ The overwhelming impression, as with Salamanca and Valladolid, was of emptiness, poverty and lost grandeur: their decline further proof of the unsustainable grandeur of the Spanish crown.

Those travellers who arrived via Lisbon or Gibraltar generally focused their tours on Madrid and the cities of southern Spain. But for those who arrived via the south-east of France or by sea from

¹⁶⁰ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 83.

¹⁶¹ Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal*, 70.

¹⁶² Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 118.

¹⁶³ BL Add MS 51932, fol. 24: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁶⁴ NLS MS.5545, fol. 114r: Joseph Townsend to Robert Liston, 21 October 1786; NLS MS.3628, fos 15r–16r: Graham, journal; Davies, *Spying for Wellington*, 102.

¹⁶⁵ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 415; Brigstocke (ed.), 'William Parsons's journey', 83.

Genoa or Livorno, the first city that they encountered was Barcelona. Barcelona was an outlier among the cities of eighteenth-century Spain, showing significant population growth, rapid expansion of its Atlantic trade and substantial investment in manufacturing production (see [Figure 3.12](#)).¹⁶⁶ Visitors admired the Roman antiquities, the magnificent public buildings, the citadel and its fortifications and the Rambla, where Catalan society promenaded in their coaches in the evening.¹⁶⁷ But most of all, Barcelona impressed by its manufacturing and commercial prosperity: chiefly armaments and textiles. Nowhere, claimed Philip Thicknesse, had he seen a town where trade was carried on with more spirit and industry. The calico manufactories, Thomas Pelham informed his mother (on whose authority it is unclear), had the potential to rival those of Britain.¹⁶⁸ Joseph Townsend found that ‘all is in motion’ as he approached Barcelona: the whole road was alive with people and traffic thronging to the market. ‘No such activity, no such business is seen in any other of the provinces.’¹⁶⁹ He commented positively on public institutions such as the foundling hospital and the house of correction, comparing them favourably with those with which he was familiar in Britain and Ireland, praising the poor for their frugality and hard labour. He was impressed by the evidence of industry – the shoemakers, the gunsmiths, the chocolate grinders and the worsted manufactures – and in particular he admired the machines for winding and twisting the worsted on 80 reels that could be managed by one little girl, while another put the entire knitting machine into motion. One of the advantages of travel, he observed, was the opportunity to see new mechanical contrivances and inventions. Far from seeing Spain as unequivocally backward, he was ‘inclined to think, that no country, if thoroughly examined, would furnish more [inventions] than Spain’.¹⁷⁰ More generally, Barcelona was seen as the exception that proved the rule of Spanish indolence, so much so that Edward Clarke declared that the streets were filled with as much industry ‘as if the people were not Spaniards’; an observation which still had resonance some 50 years later, as Whittington copied it verbatim into his *Tour Through the Principal Provinces of Spain and Portugal* (1806).¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 244, 307, 354–5.

¹⁶⁷ Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*, IV, 75–80; BL Add MS 51930, fol. 45v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁶⁸ Thicknesse, *Year’s Journey*, 161; BL Add MS 33127, fol. 157: Thomas Pelham to Lady Pelham, 8 January 1777.

¹⁶⁹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 317.

¹⁷⁰ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 123, 126, 132, 138, 141, 144, 146.

¹⁷¹ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 210; Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 22.



Figure 3.12 John Hughes, 'Barcelona from the quay' (1817). Source: Bodl. MS Don. b. 45, item 285. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Other cities attracted less consistent or detailed attention: Tarragona's claims to notice rested chiefly on its Roman foundation and its association with Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, under whom it became a fortress against the Carthaginians. The fact that it had been briefly held by the British for 14 years during the War of Spanish Succession provided an additional layer of interest.¹⁷² However, its antiquities, without the assistance of *ciceroni* or guidebooks, proved hard to interpret and made unrewarding viewing. Along the eastern littoral, Valencia, rising 'exultingly out of a forest of mulberry trees',¹⁷³ always found favour thanks to the fertility of its hinterland, and was noted for its silk manufactory, its university, the drawing academy, and the presence of well-known *ilustrados* including Gregorio Mayans, Francisco Pérez Bayer and Antonio José Cavanilles.¹⁷⁴ It was also a convenient base for exploration of the Roman city of Saguntum (Sagunto), famously besieged by Hannibal at the start of the Second Punic War. Joseph Townsend was particularly impressed by Valencia's combination of prosperity and cultured society, recommending it as a city for a 'winter's residence': no city could be 'more delightful' or 'boast of more agreeable society'.¹⁷⁵ He was less taken by Murcia, where a plague of flies and a filthy *posada* evidently spoiled his experience.¹⁷⁶ The cathedral, with a tower to rival Seville's, according to Swinburne, was the only thing worth seeing.¹⁷⁷ Cartagena was noted for its harbour, reputed to be the most beautiful in Europe, with its wet and dry docks and the imposing arsenal.¹⁷⁸ Inevitably comparisons were drawn with Portsmouth or Chatham, but there was one crucial difference: the labour was performed by convicts and enslaved Muslims, whose condition appalled many visitors. Swinburne wrote of the 'disagreeable sensations at sight of so many fellow creatures in misery' – cruelty which he found difficult to reconcile with 'the principles of humanity, and the meek doctrine of Christianity'; it was, in effect, another iteration of the theme of cruelty in the Black Legend.¹⁷⁹ Málaga, the starting point for many expeditions to Granada, was renowned for its wine and its raisins, but trade with

¹⁷² BL Add MS 51390, fol. 53: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁷³ Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 374.

¹⁷⁴ Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos'.

¹⁷⁵ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 285.

¹⁷⁶ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 156.

¹⁷⁷ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 120.

¹⁷⁸ DRO D239/M/F16319: Knight, 'Continuation of a six week tour' (unfoliated), 21 December 1809.

¹⁷⁹ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 124–5; Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 224; Glesener and Hershenzon, 'Maghrib in Europe'.

Britain, as a number of travellers noted, was in decline. Nonetheless, the presence of a British consul eased the way of many travellers who relied on him for assistance with accommodation and letters of introduction. Due to problems of access (in winter Málaga could often be reached only by sea due to the condition of the roads) travellers were frequently detained but found few compensations in its social life.¹⁸⁰ As with many Spanish cities, the cathedral was said to be the only building of note, particularly impressing Olaudah Equiano.¹⁸¹ It did not always meet with approval, however: ‘simplicity of architecture’, as Traill somewhat caustically remarked, ‘is a term not understood in Spain’. But by the early nineteenth century the tally of notable buildings increased as the Alcazaba and Gibralfaro began to attract more interest, not only as monuments of Islamic architecture but because the French, under Sebastiani, had refortified them during their occupation.¹⁸² In terms of ‘Moorish’ antiquities, the key destinations were Córdoba and Granada, rather than Málaga but the complex responses of British visitors to these cities and their Islamic heritage will be explored more fully in [Chapter 8](#).

South from Málaga, the presence of the British garrison at Gibraltar offered a practical reason for basing a tour of Spain in the south and throughout our period the Rock made a convenient starting point for both civilian and military travellers, not least as undertaking a ‘tour’ of southern Spain offered an opportunity for officers to escape the tedium of garrison life. For civilians, a visit to Gibraltar provided both the opportunity to reflect on the superiority of British arms, which had held Gibraltar as a British outpost since its capture in 1704 and through two gruelling sieges in 1727 and 1779–83, and also an experience of reassuringly familiar comfort – ‘a fat English landlady & beds without bugs’ – before and after the demands of Spanish travel.¹⁸³ George Rennie found himself ‘as it were in England at the extremity of Europe – Every thing neat clean & comfortable. What a contrast between this & Spain.’¹⁸⁴ Gibraltar’s cosmopolitanism, social life and natural history all excited comment. The mix of ‘Jews, Turks and infidels’ to be found on the Alameda and the variety of costumes on display provided picturesque entertainment but also evidence of a liberal policy that,

¹⁸⁰ KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 28 December 1802–16 January 1803; Brigstocke (ed.), ‘Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight’, 206.

¹⁸¹ Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 298.

¹⁸² NLS MS.19388, fos 10r–13r: Traill, journal; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 226–7.

¹⁸³ Brigstocke (ed.), ‘Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight’, 206.

¹⁸⁴ Bodl. MS Eng. misc. c. 203, fol. 53: Rennie, journal; cf. DRO D239/M/F16339: Knight to his mother, February 1810.

in contrast to neighbouring Spain, fostered international trade and rendered religious belief a private concern.¹⁸⁵ Visitors also recorded their relief at encountering something akin to the social routines with which they were familiar from Britain, notably the resources of the garrison library and assembly room, where balls were regularly held. The Rock itself, boasting curiosities such as St Michael's Cave and the Barbary apes, which came out at night to commit 'depredations' on the gardens around the soldiers' huts, merited the attention of anyone with pretensions to natural history.¹⁸⁶ The fortifications – and especially the tunnels excavated during the siege of 1779–83 and celebrated in John Drinkwater's *History of the Late Siege of Gibraltar* (1786) – inevitably featured prominently in any tour. The Rock was 'so perforated with galleries that it is like a beehive', remarked John Spencer Stanhope, and the rows of guns were 'like the quills upon the fretful porcupine'.¹⁸⁷

Under the Treaty of Utrecht, 'open Communication by Land' between Gibraltar and Spain had been forbidden. Supplies, therefore, had to be derived from other sources and the British government signed a series of treaties with the Barbary states which included clauses permitting British ships to seek provisions for Gibraltar from North African harbours.¹⁸⁸ There were consequently well-established lines of communication between Gibraltar and North Africa and also consular representation at Tangier (until 1780) and Tétouan.¹⁸⁹ However, the delicacy of diplomatic relations between Morocco and both Spain and Britain often precluded such visits,¹⁹⁰ as did inclement weather, plague and the threat of Barbary pirates. With this infrastructure in place, British visitors to Spain were regularly drawn to make the short crossing by the promise of excellent shooting – a particular attraction for bored officers. But it also allowed them to pursue their fascination with the Islamic influence on Iberia by tracing it, as they saw it, in both its origins and its modern form. Once in North Africa they typically visited the Spanish stronghold of Ceuta, the city of Tétouan (where every British traveller appears to have stayed with the same Italian innkeeper) and/or the former British colony of Tangier, although this particular historical

¹⁸⁵ SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Goulburn to his mother, 14 December 1809; OLA D1/1066/1, fos 33r–34r: Traill, 'Journey during a voyage to Spain'.

¹⁸⁶ OLA D1/1066/1, fol. 34v: Traill, 'Journey during a voyage to Spain'.

¹⁸⁷ BALSD MS StSp 60743(3), fol. 218: Stanhope, journal.

¹⁸⁸ Muller, 'Garrison revisited'; Anderson, 'Great Britain and the Barbary States'.

¹⁸⁹ Brown, 'Anglo-Moroccan relations', 53–89.

¹⁹⁰ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 276.

association seems to have held little significance for most eighteenth-century travellers.¹⁹¹ Few of them ventured to Fez due to uneasy diplomatic relations with the Emperor of Morocco, whose permission had to be secured to travel inland. James More Molyneux unusually managed to travel as far as Mogador (Essaouira, built in 1765 by Sīdī Muhammad) and Marrakesh. Mogador, he told his mother, was the best-built town in Barbary, being constructed on a regular system and of considerable beauty: 'Every foreigner must be most agreeably surpris'd to meet with such Uniformity & Taste in a Country whose Rudeness and Barbarity are expected'. For Molyneux, Mogador seemed to prove that, with a 'successful and lenient, wise and active' ruler, the country could recover from its apparently backward state.¹⁹²

These expectations of the barbarity of the 'Moors' gave an additional frisson of excitement to the experience of going beyond what travellers thought of as 'the very outposts of civilization'.¹⁹³ For many the trip to the Barbary coast represented the first time they had ever left the European continent or been among a non-Christian majority. They encountered a nation 'differing entirely in Religion, Manners, Customs and dress from those of Europe'¹⁹⁴ and recorded their fascination at the local costume (many recorded lengthy descriptions of the *haik*), the women, whose faces were always veiled when encountered in the street, the food (particularly the preparation of 'kouskous'), the camels with their 'extraordinary tractability' and the range of goods on sale in the market places.¹⁹⁵ More romantically, a visit to the Barbary coast presented the opportunity – as British travellers saw it – of stepping back in time to come face to face with the manners and customs of the society that had formerly inhabited so much of Spain and whose legacy was still so evident. For Stanhope, the Barbary 'Moors' were 'the descendants of the followers of the Abencerrages' who had fled from Granada after its fall in 1492.¹⁹⁶ Accordingly, for all the emphasis upon *difference*, they were also alert to any similarities with the society and culture of Andalusia that they had so recently left. The architecture in particular invited comparisons – not

¹⁹¹ Robert Semple, who visited Tangier in 1809, was a rare exception: 'There he sees English ruins upon a barbarous coast, once belonging to the most enlightened nation of Europe, but now held by an ignorant and bigoted race of Africans. The ground formerly trod by the freest people on the face of the globe, is now contaminated by a vile race of slaves', *Second Journey in Spain*, 255.

¹⁹² SHC LM /COR/13/306c: Molyneux to his mother, 20 May 1785.

¹⁹³ BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 232: Stanhope, journal; see also OLA D1/1066/2, fos 5, 6: Traill, journal.

¹⁹⁴ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 110.

¹⁹⁵ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 118.

¹⁹⁶ BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 231: Stanhope, journal.

only was the design of the houses similar, but the royal apartments at the castle in Tangier struck Thomas Traill as the ‘most perfect specimen of old Moorish work’ apart from the Alhambra.¹⁹⁷ Anyone acquainted with the ‘remains of the Moors at Granada’, suggested Greg, ‘cannot fail being highly gratified in tracing the same persons, dress, manners, customs, and religion among the descendants of that people, which formerly characterised that very people themselves’.¹⁹⁸ For many visitors, however, a visit to the Barbary coast was one of the most significant episodes of their voyage: one that they emphatically recommended to future travellers. In short, ‘No one who visits Gibraltar should omit making the little trip’.¹⁹⁹

There was no single ‘tour’ of Spain or Portugal but by the early nineteenth century different regions and cities were more clearly defined for the British public through the cumulative impact of a succession of travellers and publications. The comments of travellers discussed in this chapter reveal how their perceptions were shaped by prejudices and preconceptions, but such prejudices did not always survive confrontation with reality, and although many travelled with low expectations, they found that there was much to admire as well as much to denigrate. Spain and Portugal were no longer ‘unknown’; on the contrary Lisbon, Madrid, Cádiz, Seville and Barcelona in particular had acquired a strong imaginative presence and not a little of the familiarity associated with other cities in more frequented regions of Europe. British visitors encountered cities that were at least moderately prosperous – they were far from being universally sunk in decline – and agriculture that displayed potential for growth and reform. They also took away a strong sense of regionality: in theory they knew that the Spanish monarchy was precisely that, the *Monarquía hispánica*, rather than a unified and cohesive nation state. After travelling through Spain and experiencing the contrasts between regions in terms of landscape, economy, manners and customs, they had first-hand knowledge of this heterogeneity and the challenges that it posed to modern Spain. Overall, for all their appreciation of the freedom-loving traditions of the Basque region, the British were particularly drawn to Andalusia: not only were they attracted by the lush landscapes, the date palms, the vineyards and the pomegranate groves, the cities with their flat roofs and windowless façades, and the extraordinary remains of Islamic architecture (see [Chapter 8](#)) but they were also intrigued by the manners and customs – notably the traditions

¹⁹⁷ OLA D1/1066/2, fol. 14v: Traill, journal.

¹⁹⁸ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 130.

¹⁹⁹ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 130.

of music and dance and the bullfight – which increasingly came to be associated with the Warm South rather than any other region. In the following chapter we will explore in more detail some of the persistent images associated with the ‘national character’ of Spain and Portugal, focusing upon the role of the church, the position of women and the institution of the bullfight.

Religion, women and bullfights

Religion and the church

The dominance of the Roman Catholic church, the allure of the women and the spectacle of the bullfight were staples of commentary on Iberia from the seventeenth century and, to a certain extent, they continue to colour perceptions and images of the region today. These tropes are more frequently associated with Spain than Portugal, although remarks on the church and descriptions of the women and of bullfights featured equally in accounts of Portugal. While travellers at the time often contrasted the two countries, it is also apparent that Portugal was frequently subsumed within broader discussions of 'Spain'; moreover, there was – in this period – no defining characteristic associated with Portugal in the British imagination. On one level, the triad of church, women and bullfights represents the most hackneyed stereotypes of Iberian identity as constructed by outside observers, but it is worth going beyond the broad generalisations to investigate how these images changed over time and how they responded to broader cultural shifts in both countries and among British visitors before the nineteenth-century image of 'romantic Spain', seen through an Orientalist framework, was firmly established. Closer analysis of British responses also highlights the differences between the prescribed image and the actual experience; there was rather less homogeneity among the British than is often supposed.

The problems of Spain and Portugal and some of the peculiarities or perceived deficiencies of their national character were often explained in terms of the malign influence of the Roman Catholic church upon society as a whole. Both countries were known to be in its thrall and there was

no shortage of evidence to support the argument for its excessive power and wealth, nor for the negative effects of its influence over government policy. Lisbon, as we saw in [Chapter 3](#), was regarded as a city that was unhealthily dominated by the church, but the full force of criticism against Roman Catholicism and the Inquisition was generally directed against Spain, if only because proportionately travellers spent more time there than in Portugal. It is hard to find any consistent distinctions drawn between the levels of superstition or bigotry in one country or the other: individual travellers, influenced by their own personal experiences, might judge one country to be more bigoted or less superstitious, but in general terms Spain and Portugal were equally tarred with the same Papist brush.

Most travellers shared a deeply held antipathy to Roman Catholicism as part of their British identity and the continued influence of the Black Legend is easily detected in many of their observations, particularly those which were intended for publication where authors deliberately played to the gallery of national prejudice.¹ These texts are punctuated by familiar discourses inveighing against the corruption and cruelty of the church and the superstition and bigotry of the people.² The horrors of the Inquisition – particularly in Spain – were regularly rehearsed and the violence of the Spanish state, in partnership with the Roman Catholic church, against the Jews and the ‘Moors’ was invariably deplored. But even disallowing the influence of the Black Legend, the identity of both Spain and Portugal was so closely bound up with the Roman Catholic faith that it coloured every aspect of society. What the British saw as the superstition and bigoted belief of the inhabitants of both countries also permeated their daily life and shaped every encounter with their hosts – from the crucifixes and prints of martyred saints in their accommodation to the fact that, as many found to their frustration, the muleteers insisted upon their attending mass prior to departure in the morning.³ Henry Gally Knight saw proof of the pervasive

¹ On the relationship between Protestantism, anti-Catholicism and British national identity see Colley, *Britons*, 11–54; Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 164–203 on the later eighteenth-century softening in attitude towards Catholics. Clare Haynes has challenged the view that anti-Catholicism became less strident among the travelling elite and argues that it continued to represent an important dimension of the Protestant identity of British travellers: Haynes, ‘Trial for the patience of reason?’.

² Anti-Catholic rhetoric is a major theme of Ana Hontanilla’s somewhat partial analysis of British travel writing on Spain: Hontanilla, ‘Images of barbaric Spain’. On earlier traditions of anti-Catholicism see Maltby, *Black Legend* and Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*.

³ NLS MS.3628, fol. 13v: Graham, journal, describing a *venta* between Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca; BSR WG[MS]-6, 023: Gell, notebook, for Ordes; on muleteers and divine service see Greg, *Travel Journals*, 79, 82; NLS MS.19388, fol. 75v: Traill, ‘Journal of a tour’; Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, 21; Locker, *Views in Spain* at Alfajorin (unpaginated).

superstition in the fact that, as he claimed, there was not a single soldier among the Spanish armies who did not carry either a rosary around his neck or an amulet of the Virgin Mary.⁴ The incongruity of some of the popular iconography – a print of Christ carrying the cross, ‘dressed in a full bottomed wig & modern French coat’, for example – that travellers encountered in more humble settings reinforced their assumptions of ignorant superstition.⁵ In both countries the Roman Catholic church owned much of the countryside and it dominated every townscape with its churches, convents and monasteries and, in the major cities, the offices of the Inquisition. The revenues of monasteries and the incomes of the different episcopal sees were keenly noted as proof of the church’s ability to extract wealth and the unproductive ends to which it was put, evident in their art collections and the richness with which convents, churches and cathedrals were decorated. Superstition encouraged irrationally wasteful practices: Joseph Townsend railed against the excessive sums of money spent on wax for religious processions each year; if only it was applied to irrigation, it would ‘reap great rewards’.⁶ At the most basic level, the confinement of so many men and women to convents not only diminished the labour force but undermined any future population growth. Even as visitors were fascinated by the wealth and riches on display – and frequently while enjoying the hospitality of wealthy monasteries – they saw in this evidence of the church’s distorting effect on the economy. At Alcobaça, the richest monastery in Portugal, the monks were drawn from the younger sons of the nobility whose lifestyle was such ‘as might be expected from the union of wealth with idleness, ignorance, and superstition’, as the *Lisbon Guide* noted.⁷ Such wealth came at a cost, and, as Richard Twiss sardonically noted, for miles around the monastery it was as difficult to ‘procure an egg or an onion’ as between ‘Petersburgh and Peking’, because ‘this great gulph swallows up everything’.⁸

By the end of the century travellers arrived not only with lingering echoes of the Black Legend but with heightened expectations of religious cruelty and sinister influences formed through a reading of Ann Radcliffe and Matthew ‘Monk’ Lewis. They missed no opportunity to enjoy the frisson of gothic horror that the Inquisition in particular represented. Lady Holland, who was spending her evenings reading

⁴ DRO D239/M/F16318, 122: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

⁵ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 20 June 1785.

⁶ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 5.

⁷ Anon., *Lisbon Guide*, 56.

⁸ Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, 40.

Radcliffe's *Sicilian Romance* to her gout-ridden husband, nagged her host in Murcia to arrange for her to be shown the interior of the Inquisition and the instruments of torture. She was particularly taken by 'an iron instrument like a visor ... that is the mild punishment for blasphemy'.⁹ Henry Goulburn, similarly, 'immediately thought of Mrs Ratcliffe's [sic] description' when he visited the Inquisition at Córdoba in October 1809 and seemed almost disappointed to find that there were no longer any prisons in use.¹⁰ Goulburn's Cambridge contemporary, Henry Gally Knight, could not help shuddering as he walked through the Inquisition's building a couple of months earlier:

I fancied every now and then that I heard a groan & remembering my heresies I could not help figuring to myself the situation of those who had been led in chains along the same passages for no other crime than mine and for whom the doors I had entered never opened again except when they were conducted to the stake.¹¹

As part of this frisson, travellers liked also to claim that, being Protestants, they were regarded not as heretics but heathens by the local Spanish population, as an illustration of the ignorance and bigotry encouraged by the Catholic church. Thus, John Spencer Stanhope was amused at the 'astonishment' of a lady at Cádiz that he was a Christian, despite being a Protestant, and Robert Southey claimed that he was asked by a rural priest if they had such a thing as a church in England.¹² George Call and Frederick Aylmer both claimed they were 'hissed at' for 'not becoming idolaters' when they attended mass at Palencia in September 1808, but neither recorded any further hostility during their two month tour of northern Spain and Madrid.¹³ Only Philip Thicknesse, who never penetrated further than Montserrat and Barcelona, claimed that his Protestant faith put him physically at risk.¹⁴ At worst, most travellers simply recorded the resentment that might be caused if insufficient

⁹ See for example, Lady Holland's journals: BL Add MS 51930, fos 49v, 101v–102r; Add MS 51931, fol. 6; Add MS 51931, fol. 54v.

¹⁰ SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Goulburn to his mother, 4 October 1809.

¹¹ DRO D239/M/F16318, 7: Knight, 'Journal of six week tour'.

¹² BALSD MS StSp 60643 (3), fol. 251v: Stanhope, journal; Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 43.

¹³ Kresen Kernow CF/2/717: Anon. [F. W. W. Aylmer], journal of tour in Spain, 25 September 1808; BL Add MS 52284, fol. 8: Call, 'Ramble in Spain'.

¹⁴ Thicknesse, *Year's Journey*, I, 262–3.

respect was deemed to be shown to a religious procession, when knees were bent and hats removed.¹⁵

Amidst the criticisms of bigotry and superstition, however, travellers saw signs of change. In Pombal's Portugal they applauded his efforts to restrain the powers of the Inquisition and the wealth of the church, and noted with regret the backlash after his fall.¹⁶ One of the principal reasons that British observers were optimistic for Spanish revival under Carlos III was the evidence they saw for a decline in ecclesiastical influence, heralded by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768.¹⁷ Travellers such as Alexander Jardine, Joseph Townsend or the Hollands, who mixed predominantly with reform-minded figures such as the Conde de Campomanes or Antonio de Capmany, reported positively on the steps being taken to reduce inquisitorial power and the improvements to education consequent upon the expulsion of the Jesuits.¹⁸ Others noted a decline in fervour which, they argued, revealed the absence of true religion behind it. John Spencer Stanhope protested his reluctance to condemn a whole country 'by a sweeping clause' but argued that there was little 'real religion' in Spain – it was more a religion of forms and ceremonies, emphasising mechanical rather than moral observation.¹⁹ Of greater significance than this very conventional statement of Protestant moralism, perhaps, is the fact that Henry Swinburne, himself a Catholic, found the Spanish more lukewarm in their devotion than he had expected: 'there is in Spain as little true moral religion as in any country I ever travelled through'. He identified a loss of the 'burning zeal' of their Catholic ancestors, evident in the indifference that he saw to the fall of the Jesuits.²⁰

Unsurprisingly, most travellers during the Peninsular War welcomed, in principle, the suppression of the Inquisition and the reduction of monasteries enforced in the areas of French occupation: a recurring theme in all their commentaries was the declining number of clergy, particularly the regular clergy, in the monasteries and convents that they visited and the hope that this would herald an end to the superstition that had held Spain back for so long.²¹ 'The puppet shows

¹⁵ Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces*, 128.

¹⁶ See [Chapter 3](#) on Lisbon.

¹⁷ Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society*, 52–72; Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 269–93.

¹⁸ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 319; BL Add MS 51931, fol. 105: Lady Holland, journal. Others were more sceptical of the positive effects of the expulsion of the Jesuits on education: see for example Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 109–10.

¹⁹ BALSD MS StSp 60645 (3), fol. 208v: 'Notes on the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon'.

²⁰ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 373.

²¹ Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France*, 41–2; NLS MS.19389, fos 113–14: Traill, journal; Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey*, I, 181; Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society*, 105.

of Priesthood', opined the Unitarian Robert Hyde Greg, as he observed Seville's Maundy Thursday procession of 1815, were losing their effect on the minds of the people: none of the bystanders were kneeling or kissing the ground.²² Robert Ker Porter observed these changes with similar satisfaction, arguing that further contact with the English would only accelerate the process.²³ But the British were also acutely aware of the irony of fighting against an invasion that they saw as essential to Spain's progress: the French were the enemy, but at least through their actions the power of the church was being diminished: 'The holy impostors', asserted Knight, were being rooted out, 'without which there is no improvement for the country'. The destruction of the monastic houses could only lead to the happiness of Spain. 'The great evil of the contest of England against the French in Spain', he told his mother, 'is the necessity of our supporting those establishments which we know to be ruinous to the country'.²⁴ For Thomas Traill, the 'least hurtful consequence' of Bonaparte's invasion was the liberation of the vast mass of gold and silver that had been locked up in the churches into more general circulation.

However, Traill was also aware that it was the single cause that most irritated popular opinion, which, as he soon discovered, was still very much in favour of a return to the status quo ante.²⁵ Watching with mounting horror the celebrations marking Fernando VII's return to power and the abolition of the liberal constitution in the early summer of 1814, he observed in his journal: 'Such is the end of the celebrated constitution from which many fondly hoped the regeneration of Spain'.²⁶ From this point, British hopes for a Spanish future free from the malign influence of the church rapidly dissipated and the tropes of the Black Legend were readily revived. The revival of the power of the Catholic church in Portugal was equally regretted: in driving out the French, claimed George Douglas (himself a Catholic), the British had paved the way for 'the revival of vindictive bigotry and of blind superstition'.²⁷ By the 1830s – in the efflorescence of romantic travel writing on Iberia – the region's reputation for superstition and bigotry was firmly re-established

²² Greg, *Travel Journals*, 143.

²³ Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 154.

²⁴ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight', 208; DRO D239/M/F16138, 85: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'. See also SHC MS 304 B/Box 1 (9): Goulburn to his mother, 11 November 1809.

²⁵ NLS MS.19389, fol. 173: Traill, journal.

²⁶ NLS MS.19388, fol. 41v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'.

²⁷ NLS MS.10355, 154: Douglas, 'Tour'.

and the British found few traces of the secularising influences of the French occupation beyond the loss of gold, silver and other treasures from convents and churches to the looting armies.²⁸

Despite the continuing force of the Black Legend and British prejudice against Catholicism, a number of travellers were also favourably impressed by aspects of Roman Catholic devotion. The shift in religious sensibility in the later eighteenth century – the product of the evangelical revival and the emergence of more personally expressive forms of piety – that allowed British tourists to adopt a less judgemental attitude towards the monuments of Christian Rome were paralleled in their reactions to Roman Catholic piety in Spain.²⁹ The same sense of the sublime and religious awe that fuelled re-evaluation of the Gothic in later eighteenth-century Britain generated a more sympathetic response to the architecture and ritual of the Roman Catholic church and their capacity to stimulate devotion. The reaction of Joseph Townsend, an Anglican clergyman, to the La Seo cathedral at Zaragoza exemplifies this shift: '[it] is vast, gloomy, and magnificent; it excites devotion, inspires awe, and inclines the worshipper to fall prostrate, and to adore in silence the God who seems to veil his glory.'³⁰ Anne Damer was clearly deeply moved by her visit to the cathedral at Seville as she described the great altar illuminated with thousands of tapers, the music, but most of all the 'curious' ceremony of young boys dancing and singing before the altar 'with hats on their head, & castanets'. Rather than mocking idolatry, she accepted it on its own terms: it was 'really pritty and so antique, that it, by no means, struck me in a ridiculous light ... such churches & such magnificence is calculated to inspire devotion'.³¹ Others were impressed by the sight of crowds coming to a halt in prayer at the ringing of the Angelus: Stanhope found it impossible to 'convey an adequate ideal of the effect produced by the instantaneous silence of so vast a crowd'; for Thomas Lister it looked 'almost like a piece of Enchantment'.³² Indeed, Lister appears to have found the encounter with the sublimity of Spanish religious practice unexpectedly moving. Visiting the cathedral at Toledo he was:

²⁸ See for example Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, 59, 329; Roscoe, *Tourist in Spain*, 263; Brooke, *Sketches in Spain and Morocco*, I, 42–3.

²⁹ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 157.

³⁰ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 56.

³¹ Huntington Library MSS JE 312: Anne Damer to Edward Jerningham, 9 March 1791. The fact that Damer's correspondent, Edward Jerningham, was a Catholic may have influenced the tone of her comments.

³² BALSD MS StSp 60643(3), fol. 208v: 'Notes on the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon'; ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

Struck with the Solemnity & religious Awe of the Scene. Numbers of Both Sexes prostrated before the Different Chapels the Glimmering of Lamps thro' Ranges of Gothic Work & the Gloomy Silence that pervades the whole notwithstanding a Protestant's Disapprobation of all the Absurdities & Unnecessary forms & Parade of the Roman Catholic Religion yet the mind is filld with Devotion the moment you find yourself in this awful Temple of God.³³

Even the army surgeon Samuel Broughton, who was so disgusted by the bigotry and superstition evident on the streets of Lisbon, was overpowered by the ceremony of the grand mass on Christmas Eve: the silence, the tolling of the bell and the act of consecration accompanied by the organ and full chorus produced 'the grandest and most awful effect ... I left the church, with feelings which no language is adequate to describe.'³⁴ Thomas Traill was likewise struck by the 'most fervent' devotion of the congregation and commended the atmosphere of 'grave decency', the music and the ceremonial at the services he attended in Granada and Seville.³⁵ By the early nineteenth century, travellers were increasingly willing to be impressed by the display of devotion, rather than insisting on seeing it through the cynical lens of false piety.

More pragmatically, at an individual level, a less antagonistic attitude was directed towards the Catholic church simply by virtue of the fact that Catholic clergy – both regular and secular – often appear to have been informative and helpful to Protestant travellers, and travellers' sketches show how priests might be humanised (see [Figure 4.1](#)). A friar of San Juan de Dios introduced himself to James More Molyneux at Mérida and offered to show him round the town and its sights; he also helped Molyneux negotiate with the governor of the town for mules for his party's onward journey to Badajoz. Molyneux devoted pages of his journal to very conventional criticisms of the Roman Catholic church and its stultifying effect on the Spanish and Portuguese economy but was profoundly grateful for the 'good offices of the friendly friar'.³⁶ Travellers were rarely turned away from the monasteries and convents that they wished to visit and were generally hospitably entertained, although, as a woman, Lady Holland did find that there were places where not even

³³ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

³⁴ Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France*, 38.

³⁵ See for example NLS MS.19389, fos 174–5, 332: Traill, journal.

³⁶ SHC LM 1327/28/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), July 1785.



Figure 4.1 Mary Graham, 'A [Portuguese] priest' (1781). *Source:* NLS MS.3638. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

her wealth and status could overcome the barrier of her sex.³⁷ Clergy regularly feature as guides to churches and sources of information and, being better educated, were more easily engaged in conversation, if necessary, in Latin.³⁸ 'A stranger and especially an Englishman', remarked Greg, 'may indulge in a greater freedom of conversation with the friars and Clergy ... for whatever state of ignorance and bigotry they may keep the people, they are often liberal themselves'.³⁹ Townsend found his way through Spain eased by numerous clergy from parish priests to archbishops and enjoyed their hospitality, particularly that of the Bishop of Oviedo. Without exception these men were described as principled, charitable and humane (the Bishop was 'a perfect Model of good Sence & Good[ness]'),⁴⁰ even as Townsend disagreed fundamentally with them on issues such as alms giving.⁴¹ Some travellers were even capable of recognising that the prejudice ran two ways. In Seville,

³⁷ George Douglas reported that the rector of the Scots College at Valladolid recounted to him Lady Holland's unsuccessful attempt to secure access to the cloisters of the convent of San Pablo: NLS MS.10532, 257.

³⁸ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 1, fos 54, 56: Stanhope, journal.

³⁹ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 158; NLS MS.19389, fol. 336: Traill, journal.

⁴⁰ NLS MS.5545, fol. 9: Joseph Townsend to Robert Liston, 9 August 1786.

⁴¹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 1–5 (at Oviedo), 97 (Ávila), 288 (Seville); III, 56 (Granada).

William Jacob enjoyed his conversation with the prior of the Carthusian convent and reflected upon the differences between the ways in which Catholics and Protestants treated each other on religious subjects: 'The former generally speak of our religion with a sigh: we too frequently speak of theirs with a sneer.'⁴² Responses to Roman Catholicism in Iberia, as in Italy, provide an index to the range of religious sensibilities among the British population and their evolution in response to broader cultural shifts, such as the rise of evangelicalism, proto-romanticism and the diminishing political threat of Roman Catholicism to national security in the latter part of the eighteenth century.⁴³ Spain, even more than Italy, represented alternative models of piety and devotional practice which it was easy to ridicule and condemn, but from which some travellers were also willing to learn and to reflect upon in their own religious practice.

Objectifying women⁴⁴

*Prometheus-like, from heaven she stole
The fire that through those silken lashes
In darkest glances seems to roll,
From eyes that cannot hide their flashes;
And as along her bosom steal
In lengthened flow her raven tresses,
You'd swear each clustering lock could feel,
And curled to give her neck caresses.*⁴⁵

Byron's poem, written shortly after his 1809 visit to Spain, was not published until 1832, but the image of Spanish femininity that Byron provided drew on stereotypes that suffuse travellers' descriptions of Spanish women throughout the eighteenth century: first, the attributes of their physical appearance (flashing black eyes, lustrous black hair, an attractive figure); second, their obvious sexuality and a vivacious and passionate demeanour which was contrasted with the reserve and constraint of Englishwomen; third, the propensity, particularly among lower-class women, for singing and dancing. Thus, long before Byron's 'Girl of Cadiz' could colour perceptions, travellers arrived in

⁴² Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 128.

⁴³ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 147–63.

⁴⁴ This section is based on Sweet and Ansell, 'British travellers' representations of Spanish women'.

⁴⁵ Byron, 'The girl of Cadiz', in McGann (ed.), *Complete Poetical Works*, I, 270–2, lines 9–16.

Spain armed with ideals of Spanish womanhood derived from their reading of chivalric romances and novels such as *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas*. These oscillated between demure, unmarried maidens, jealously guarded by their fathers, and overtly sensual and sexually attractive women.⁴⁶ The image of Portuguese women was similar, but less clearly delineated; in this context (as in many others) generalisations about Spain and Spanish women were made to stand for the Iberian Peninsula as a whole. For most British travellers they represented a variation of the Spanish theme: they shared similar physical traits, were similarly subject to the control of male jealousy and were similarly lacking in education and refinement.

Travellers' observations both published and unpublished were often highly formulaic; to a great extent, they saw and described what they expected to see, only occasionally challenging such views. Unpublished sources, however, sometimes reveal the gap between the rhetorical construction of Spanish womanhood, which was part of a wider discourse of othering Spain and asserting British superiority, and the reality of personal encounters.⁴⁷ Moreover, there were some travellers who moved beyond the rehearsal of conventional pieties to present a more nuanced and reflective commentary on the position of women in Spanish society. The testimony of women travellers, although few in number, provides a valuable comparative perspective and challenges us to consider how far the typical view was a distinctively 'male' gaze. They also had the opportunity to observe the position of women from a different perspective: they might enter spaces such as nunneries, from which men were debarred, but their testimonies also reflect the embodied experience of womanhood. When they appeared in public, they were subject to the same social conventions and expectations as their Spanish counterparts. Thus, their comments also provide insight into actually 'being' a woman in Spanish society.

Published accounts were often extravagantly fulsome in their appreciation (and sometimes criticism) of Spanish women's physical characteristics. Henry Swinburne, who claimed that most of the ladies at court 'were the reverse of handsome', had to admit that 'almost all have sparkling black eyes, full of expression',⁴⁸ but the more private comments of diarists such as Henry Gally Knight, a young man of 20 on his first trip abroad, reflect a similarly objectifying gaze and descriptions

⁴⁶ Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 149.

⁴⁷ See the discussion of sources in Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 13–20.

⁴⁸ Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, 386.

that followed a virtual checklist of feminine attributes. According to Knight:

The Virtues of a Spanish Lady are her beauty her vivacity her grace & her manners. Their black eyes sparkle like those of the <Furies>, & they have a thousand nameless graces, elegance of form[,] prettiness of manner & a liveliness of expression, & everything that a young traveller would desire amongst the females of a country in which he is only a bird of passage.⁴⁹

Female travellers described Spanish women in similarly objectifying terms. Lady Craven emphasised precisely the same features as her male compatriots: 'Ladies of Spain', she wrote 'are handsome, particularly in the eyes of those accustomed to southern nations', highlighting their sparkling eyes, pale sallow complexion, delicate frame and vivacity of motions. Idealised visions of Spanish femininity did not always withstand confrontation with reality, however: the Porto wine merchant John Croft, for one, expressed his disappointment that the Spanish women he saw at a wedding were 'very far from those elegant forms they are represented in Romances & mostly of low stature'.⁵⁰ Thomas Lister's journal provides a similar record of disillusion:

The Donnas are generally of a low stature and very plain flat faces and small dark eyes And one wou'd hardly suppose that the same race of ladies existed now in Spain as we have formerly read accounts of in the Remarkable History of Don Quixote.

'Venus', he concluded smugly, 'has long taken her flight from the Spanish coast and to speak honestly I believe Dwells but in Britain'.⁵¹

It is not hard here to see how the reputation of Spanish women's sexuality predetermined how they were seen. Spanish women – from the social elite at least – were almost always described as physically attractive, witty, vivacious but also displaying a dangerously overt and voluptuous sexuality, that was associated with the warmth of the climate.⁵² Seen through the eyes of male travellers, the *mantilla* was a key element in

⁴⁹ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight', 207.

⁵⁰ Brigstocke and Delaforce (eds), 'John Croft's tour to Spain', 21.

⁵¹ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

⁵² Lady Craven's comments, for example, went on to refer to 'the romantic Spanish women, who breathe every voluptuous sensation.' Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, I, 417.



Figure 4.2 Mary Graham, sketch of 'A [Portuguese] lady at church', wearing a *mantilla* (1781). Source: NLS MS.3638. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

the arsenal of seduction. It could be swathed across the face or body, allowing tantalising glimpses of sparkling black eyes and endowing the wearer with an air of mystery (see Figure 4.2). Despite the vogue for French fashion, every traveller noted how Spanish women continued to wear the *basquina* (a black petticoat) and the *mantilla*, in which 'are centred all the magic and attractions of the Spanish beauties'.⁵³ Sir John Carr lingered on the skill with which young ladies in church managed their mantillas to draw attention, as he saw it, to their charms:

... sometimes drawing it under the chin, to give a beautiful oval to the face, at others tossing it open, and exhibiting a bewitching countenance and finely formed bosom, followed by an oblique and rapid glance to ascertain the effect of these enchanting coquetties.⁵⁴

⁵³ Carter, *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 424.

⁵⁴ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 140.

The perspective of female travellers was rather different however: as with their male counterparts, the ubiquity of the *mantilla* formed a standard part of their observations, but any woman travelling in Spain not only observed the fashion but was forced to adopt it herself whenever she ventured into public. In 1802, when Lady Holland reached Mataró, soon after crossing the French border, as was her custom, she set out to walk around the streets ‘and experienced what I could never have believed otherwise, the extreme derision and scorn with which a woman is treated who does not conform to the Spanish mode of dressing’. She found herself confined within doors, unable to go outside ‘from the certainty of being insulted’ owing to the manner of her dress. She swiftly arranged for the purchase of some black petticoats and draperies ‘to make myself as unlike a foreigner as I could’. Her difficulties reflected the insularity of Spanish society, as she saw it – one that was completely unaccustomed to foreign visitors beyond ambassadors and merchants, and particularly unused to the presence of female foreigners. For the *mantilla*, she argued, was wholly unsuited to being worn in the strong sunshine of the Spanish climate, offering no protection to the eyes against its glare.⁵⁵ Ten years earlier, Anne Damer had been similarly irritated by the attention that she attracted when she went outdoors in her normal clothes. Her protest reflected on the lack of cosmopolitan polish in Spanish society that rendered a foreigner a curiosity, but also on the practical restrictions which it placed upon her own experience as a visitor. Draped in one of their ‘vile mantillos’ she could not look up and around her: she could only cast those demure, downward glances that her male compatriots found so fascinating. ‘The moment you examine anything with the least attention’, she complained, ‘or look higher than your head, which I suppose Spanish women never do, you are discovered to be foreign, and a foreign *Lady* is so great a wonder, that, from that instant, they follow you, get before you, pursue and persecute you in a manner that far exceeds anything of the sort that I have ever seen in any other country.’⁵⁶

The objections of Lady Holland and Anne Damer notwithstanding, in the male gaze the *mantilla* stood metonymically for the sexual allure of Spanish women. But feminine voluptuousness and sensuality were also particularly associated with the performance of dances such as the

⁵⁵ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 45: Lady Holland, journal.

⁵⁶ BL Add MS 37327, fol. 185: Anne Damer to Mary Berry, 20 April 1791. Mary Graham also noted that she had ‘to put on a veil and a black petticoat to walk about the street’ in Salamanca: NLS MS.3628, fol. 14v: Graham, journal.

fandango and bolero, which, along with the bullfight, became one of the clichés of Spanish travel writing and one of the most anticipated sights of a journey to Spain. No traveller could visit the country without encountering Spanish dance: every theatre production featured an interlude with a performance, and dancing was described as a ‘ruling passion’ across all sections of society; peasants would spontaneously break out into dancing in the evenings.⁵⁷ But above all the fandango was associated with Andalusia. Although Roman poets such as Martial and Juvenal had celebrated the lascivious dancing of the *puellae gaditanae*, the girls from Gades (or Cádiz),⁵⁸ the distinctive qualities of the fandango were widely assumed to be a legacy of Arab culture.⁵⁹ Descriptions in published accounts generally emphasised the highly sexualised gestures and movements of the female (never the male) performers, which the male observers professed, not always convincingly, to find deeply shocking.⁶⁰ (Tellingly, Lady Holland’s journals include no suggestions of indecency in the performances of the bolero, seguidilla or fandango that she enthusiastically observed.⁶¹) For the older and more worldly Sir John Carr, a description of the ‘agitation’ of ‘a certain portion of the back part of her [the dancer’s] frame’ created the opportunity to provide mild titillation for his readers.⁶² Henry Swinburne described the dances as ‘lascivious and indecent’ but deliberately subverted the eroticism by comparing the movement of ‘a good Fandango lady’ to the wriggling of a worm ‘that has just been cut in two.’⁶³ More prosaically, Robert Hyde Greg, the 20-year old son of a Unitarian Lancashire textile manufacturer, recorded the embarrassment of an unworldly young man confronted with what he described as the ‘extreme indecency’ of the dancing.⁶⁴

Many travellers also noted the greater freedom now allowed to women, evident, for example, in women’s participation in the public sphere at mixed social occasions.⁶⁵ This was often tied to a diminution in the historic jealousy of Spanish men that dictated that unmarried women should be strictly secluded and kept: the ‘jalousies [that is, bars] attached to the windows, are the only traces of the restrictions to which

⁵⁷ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 341.

⁵⁸ Fear, ‘Dancing girls of Cadiz’.

⁵⁹ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 341. Dalrymple and Swinburne both assumed an African origin but one that was introduced via the West Indies: Dalrymple, *Travels through Spain and Portugal*, 51; Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, 228.

⁶⁰ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 341; Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 332.

⁶¹ BL Add MS 51930, fos 62, 97v, 104: Lady Holland, journal.

⁶² Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 26–7; see also, for example, Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, 302–3.

⁶³ Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, 46.

⁶⁴ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 73.

⁶⁵ BL Add MS 33126, fol. 244: Thomas Pelham to Lady Pelham, 28 December 1775.

the women were formerly subjected', observed one visitor.⁶⁶ The MP and merchant, William Jacob, went even further: 'In Spain', he wrote, 'the women possess nearly as much liberty as Mrs Wollstonecraft could have wished.'⁶⁷ But a similarly liberal attitude had not been extended to the instruction of women. British visitors found the education of both men and women in Spain defective, accounting for many of the problems that they identified in the society, economy and political culture of the country. Spanish girls, they reported, received virtually no instruction at all, being packed off to a convent as small children, where they received minimal instruction and had no experience of the outside world. On reaching a marriageable age, they were launched into the world as wives and mothers with nothing to engage their minds. The emptiness of their lives without rational occupation, it was thought, made them particularly susceptible to superstition and to love affairs, real or imagined. Lady Holland found her interactions with Spanish women to be constrained, without the capacity for informed conversation and social intercourse of the kind that she, a notable hostess, was accustomed to. The sole occupation of their lives, she claimed, was love.⁶⁸ This may have been an accurate reflection of Lady Holland's encounters with Spanish women, but it also echoed very closely Montesquieu's opinion that in hotter climates, 'one likes love for itself; it is the sole cause of happiness; it is life'.⁶⁹ Without education to occupy their minds, however, it was no surprise that they resorted to intrigue.⁷⁰ Daily visits to church to pray, guarded by their duenna (*dueña*) appeared to offer them their sole opportunity for contact with a potential lover. Piety, in short, was seen as a cover for the pursuit of love and provided yet another instance of the hypocrisy of Spanish religion. In this context, it is telling that some of the more erotically charged descriptions of women, such as that from Sir John Carr quoted above, were in the context of observing the behaviour of the ladies at the church of the 'convent of Victoire' (the convent of the Virgen de la Victoria, Málaga).

But lack of education led also to several undesirable character traits that travellers claimed to observe in Spanish women: Swinburne complained of their lack of self-control and emotional restraint (the passionate nature of the south). 'They are wild and impetuous, capricious and obstinate, and swerve from one extreme to the other, by incessant

⁶⁶ BALSD SpSt MS 60643 (3), fol. 111: Stanhope, journal.

⁶⁷ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 18.

⁶⁸ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 61v: Lady Holland, journal.

⁶⁹ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Cohler, Miller and Stone, 233–4.

⁷⁰ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 112.

transitions; either every thing or nothing, – their character knows no moderation.⁷¹ The vivacity of Spanish and Portuguese ladies was a constant theme, and to some degree it compensated for their lack of education in a social context; but as Swinburne's remarks hinted, 'vivacity' could lead to a degree of familiarity which Britons, accustomed to the conventions of polite society, found surprising, if not unnerving. James More Molyneux warned his readers that they 'must not be alarmed by unusual manoeuvres' performed by Portuguese ladies 'under the table' at dinner. One handsome young man, he claimed, had been very taken aback by the 'roving hand' of his dinner companion, which 'insinuated itself into a well-known spot', causing him, 'unaccustomed to the sensations of manual relief, to grimace. It was only with difficulty that the company was assured of his well-being.⁷² Such vivacity and 'voluptuous sensuality', as Henry Gally Knight admitted, could be a source of attraction to 'a bird of passage' like himself; it added to the country's exotic allure. But for him and many other travellers – particularly those writing for publication or with their mothers in mind – such behaviour was not a desirable quality of womanhood.⁷³ This moralising strain of commentary on Spanish women became particularly marked in the early nineteenth century as the ideal of virtuous, domestic womanhood assumed greater cultural significance in British society. Such comments therefore also presented an opportunity to explicitly or implicitly record the superiority of British women who maintained lives of moral propriety: a traveller 'of sense and reflection', concluded Knight, 'will thank heaven that the principals of the Andalusian Syrens are not those of his fair country-women'.⁷⁴ Robert Semple was similarly smitten by the bewitching air of female countenances, but, keeping himself in check, he assured his readers that Spanish expressions were not what an Englishman would like to see 'in any woman except his wife, his sister, or the woman he truly loves and respects.'⁷⁵

Thomas Lister, whose erratic notes on a journey through Spain in 1784 were clearly never intended for publication, offers a less salacious perspective on the relationship between Spanish women and the church than that of Carr. His comments also raise another issue relating to

⁷¹ Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, 2nd edition, II, 217.

⁷² SHS LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), 14 August 1785.

⁷³ LWL MS 41 Box 1, fol. 37: Holland, 'Journal in Spain', on the Colegio de Doncellas Nobles, Toledo.

⁷⁴ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight', 207.

⁷⁵ Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 37.

the behaviour of Spanish women that both fascinated and shocked the British. He recorded how he was

... taken aback by the Freedom with which the Women behave to the Priests They are at all times admitted to their Rooms Walk and Associate with them wherever they go & as the Clergy are prohibited from Marrying here there subsists as many believe only a Platonic affection between them the Sanctity of their lives and Professions & the Great Depth of Learning for which the Roman Catholic Priests are celebrated may induce the Ladies to be less reserved with them & more cautious of obtaining Information.⁷⁶

Lister's comments allude to the custom of the *cortejo* whereby Spanish women, once married, took on a close male companion – often a priest – who would sit with them and entertain them in private and escort them out in public to social events. William Beckford described the role as being the 'sworn victim, as it were, of all the lady's caprices' but most observers were more perturbed by the moral implications than subservience to female commands.⁷⁷ 'A Spanish lady', according to Knight, 'never violates the vestal vow before marriage but the moment that ceremony has taken place she looks upon herself as free & changes her lover'.⁷⁸ Clearly the practice involved both men and women, but as Knight's comments indicate, the custom was invariably discussed in terms of women abandoning their marital vows and seeking out a male companion: they, rather than the men, bore the brunt of observers' moral censure. Such relationships, it was widely assumed, were not purely platonic. Joseph Townsend was certainly convinced that the practice of taking a *cortejo* was in effect nothing more than socially sanctioned adultery and was shocked by the way in which the Roman Catholic church endorsed the custom by continuing to allow women to take the Eucharist, even when clearly in a state of sin.⁷⁹ Most other travellers simply made slyly knowing comments, which, in their similarity, suggest a prescribed response rather than first-hand experience of the practice. But the hypocrisy of women was always a recurring theme: virginal,

⁷⁶ ULSSC MD335/1/9/4/14: Anon. [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

⁷⁷ Alexander (ed.), *Journal of William Beckford*, 197.

⁷⁸ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight', 207.

⁷⁹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 148–9. Bizzocchi, *Lady's Man* allows for the existence of adultery between women and their *cicisbei* but argues that the practice primarily fulfilled a social function, allowing women to enter into mixed society with a male companion and further consolidating familial alliances. It seems likely that Spain was little different.

demure and pure before marriage, once wed they were brazen in their adultery.

The custom was inevitably compared with the similar Italian convention of the *cicisbeo*.⁸⁰ The advent of the *cicisbeo* in Italy, it has been argued, was associated with the subjugation of the city states to foreign occupation from the late fifteenth century, which was one of the reasons why discussion of the practice was frequently expressed in terms of Italian effeminacy. Certainly, by the eighteenth century, the association between Italy and the decline of military prowess was well established in Anglophone literature. The Italians, argued Patrick Gordon in 1711, were now 'less given to the Art of War, and military Exploits, than most other Nations of *Europe*.'⁸¹ Instead they were associated with the cultivation of the arts and debauchery of manners, such that they were 'acknowledged to be the most effeminate in Europe'.⁸² Spanish manhood, by contrast, was still associated with the martial superiority of the sixteenth century and with the qualities of jealousy, honour, pride and gravity: there was never any hint of effeminacy.⁸³ The complicity of Spanish husbands in the practice of *cortejar* was perhaps also seen as less of a reflection upon their masculinity because the custom was associated with the accession of Carlos III and the introduction of Italian manners to the Spanish court.⁸⁴ That said, the British often expressed surprise that the renowned jealousy of Spanish men should tolerate such behaviour; but even in the face of such complaisance they did not accuse them of effeminacy. A Spanish man still displayed jealousy but it was directed not towards his wife, to whom, John Spencer Stanhope argued, he was often largely indifferent, but towards 'the Wife of his affections'. In the latter, he concluded, 'is concentrated all his feelings, and his life is a continual devotion to her service.'⁸⁵

In Italy, two of the key themes when discussing women were, first, the custom of taking a *cicisbeo* and, second, the fate of daughters who were made to enter a nunnery. One of the set pieces of 'Grand Tour'

⁸⁰ Bolufer Peruga, 'Gallantry and sociability in the South of Europe', notes how little attention has to date been paid to comparison between the *cicisbeo* and the *cortejo*.

⁸¹ Gordon, *Geography Anatomiz'd*, 169. The phrase was widely reproduced in other texts.

⁸² Anon., *New Moral System of Geography*, 17.

⁸³ Anon., *New Moral System of Geography*, 11; our thanks to James Adams for providing us with these references.

⁸⁴ Townsend blamed the practice on Italian influences consequent upon the accession of Carlos III: *Journey through Spain*, II, 151 and III, 50. Bolufer Peruga, 'Gallantry and sociability', 24; on the Italian practice see Bizzocchi, *Lady's Man*.

⁸⁵ BALSD SpSt MS 60643 (3), fol. 112: Stanhope, journal. Joseph Townsend arrived at a similar view (*Journey Through Spain*, II, 146–8) and it is likely that Stanhope's comments were influenced by the former.

writing was to observe the ceremony of taking the veil, which would then provide the opportunity to discourse upon the evils of the Roman Catholic church in unnaturally locking these women away and upon the greed of families that did not wish to provide dowries for their daughters. It also gave an excuse (for men) to lament the fate of beauties no longer available for masculine pleasure and for the more cynical to cast doubt on the strength of the aspirant nun's profession. Visitors similarly enjoyed visiting nunneries to converse with the nuns and professed to be surprised by their knowledge of worldly affairs and – in many cases – insinuated a less than total submission to their vows.⁸⁶ Before the Peninsular War, despite the ubiquity of female convents, the motif of the nun was less prevalent in tours of Spain and Portugal than it was in Italy. There was no convention of visiting the nuns and conducting a flirtatious conversation through the grille or viewing the ceremony of taking the veil; indeed, it is striking how few travellers even mentioned visiting nunneries or female convents. Lady Holland, one of the few female travellers in Spain to have left a record, unsurprisingly did attend a number of nunneries – in some cases to view their art collections but in others apparently more out of a spirit of curiosity. At the convent of St Claire at Barcelona, for example, she was disgusted by the 'hideous' habits of the nuns and pointedly noted that five out of six had been placed there by their fathers.⁸⁷ It was only in Lisbon, where 'courting nuns' was an old Portuguese custom, that visiting a convent appears to have formed a routine part of the visitor experience.⁸⁸ Mrs Fielding's journal of her stay in Lisbon included a number of visits to convents to converse with the nuns, but in this she may simply have been following the model of Queen Maria, for whom visiting nunneries was apparently a favourite occupation.⁸⁹

For the 'travellers in uniform', the serving officers and soldiers of the Peninsular Campaign, however, visits to convents have been identified as 'among soldiers' greatest pleasures'.⁹⁰ These visits appear to have chiefly been made to Portuguese convents, unsurprisingly given that the army spent more time in Portugal than Spain. The practice reflects the soldiers' and officers' need for occupation during periods of leave and, given that a number of the convents so visited were for Irish

⁸⁶ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 41–2, 222.

⁸⁷ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 48v: Lady Holland, journal.

⁸⁸ Francis, *Portugal 1715–1808*, 19.

⁸⁹ NLS MS.16045, 10–11, 23–4: Graham, 'Extracts from Mrs Feildings [sic] journal'.

⁹⁰ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 184; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 99; Hurl-Eamon, 'Habits of Seduction'. Hurl-Eamon rightly emphasises, *pace* Kennedy and Daly, that the interest in nuns was confined to officers and was limited to Portugal.

or English nuns, was indicative of their desire to converse with women in their own language. In some cases such visits were also occasioned by the need to acknowledge assistance and accommodation provided by the convents to the army.⁹¹ But many of these officers who subsequently wrote up their journals for publication would have been familiar with the literature of the Italian tour; accordingly, the recurring motifs of the melancholy ceremony of taking the veil, the tantalising glimpse of inaccessible feminine beauty through the grille, and laments for blighted lives lost in futile incarceration began to make a regular appearance.⁹² Scurrilous suggestions about the lifestyle followed by the professed nuns were also made: the inhabitants of the nunneries on the border between Spain and Portugal were said to allow 'free ingress' into their cells, where 'their veils were thrown aside, their holy abstinence neglected, and adventures truly romantic ensured.'⁹³ In many cases, however, British officers were disappointed to find that the nuns were simply a collection of elderly ladies, although, despite their age, they appeared quite happy and delighted to receive Englishmen and to hear the latest news.⁹⁴ Among civilians, touring the southern regions of Spain rather than Portugal, the fascination with nuns and convents was less apparent; those who did visit convents of nuns did so because, like William Jacob, they had heard that there were Englishwomen among them: thus, in Seville, he went to the convent of San Leandro, where he found an elderly lady who had left London 'about the time ... a new bridge, probably Blackfriars was building' (that is, around 1760) and another woman of about 30 years old. Both spoke English 'tolerably well', he reported, and were pleased to see countrymen but remembered very little of England. Far from entering upon the standard lament for wasted womanhood, Jacob observed that the majority of nuns entered 'from feelings of enthusiasm, rather than from the compulsion of their relatives'.⁹⁵ Henry Gally Knight deliberately sought out a convent in Ciudad Real, given that since the Revolution of 1808 nuns had been given permission to leave them and the convents were no longer forbidden territory. As he said, the interest arose 'not from the objects they say but from the idea of penetrating into a kind of mystery & seeing what had till then been hidden from the eyes of men'. Only one nun and a novice remained. The priest who

⁹¹ Stothert, *Narrative of the Principal Events*, 27, 143–4, 155.

⁹² Sherer, *Recollections*, 233–4.

⁹³ Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 184.

⁹⁴ Neale, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 229–30; Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 181–2; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 99.

⁹⁵ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 136, 138.

was acting as their guide insisted that the nun, Sister Ursula, should put on her robe of ceremony for the visitors; but with unusual sensitivity, rather than the more customary voyeurism of the British tourist, Knight hurried away from the convent 'in order to release Sister Ursula and her companion from this tormenting state of exhibition.'⁹⁶ But for most civilian travellers, convents of nuns, when discussed rather than simply enumerated, featured principally as the secluded sites for the (inadequate) education of girls.

The lure of the bullfight

The other custom that all travellers sought out was the bullfight or bull feast, regarding it as the perfect stage on which to observe the Spanish national character.⁹⁷ Bullfights also took place in Portugal, of course, but British visitors preferred always to describe them in the context of a Spanish tour, thereby reflecting the strength of the connection with the Spanish national character.⁹⁸ The description of a bullfight was a set piece of travel writing, whether in letters home to family, private journals or published tours of Spain. Descriptions in both published and unpublished accounts often occupied pages at a time and, along with descriptions of the Alhambra and the appearance of Spanish women, were frequently extracted in the periodicals of the day. The custom was widely assumed to be emblematic of Spanish culture, providing an opportunity to rehearse British stereotypes about Spanish pride, their chivalric traditions, and – increasingly – their cruelty and barbarism. But even as observers expressed their disgust at the proceedings, many were unable to condemn it wholly out of hand, being impressed by the intrepid courage of the *matador* and *picadores* and overwhelmed by the pageantry of the mass spectacle (see Figure 4.3). They found it a compelling, if disturbing, form of entertainment. Whether provoking admiration or disgust, the bullfight aroused powerful emotions. Although attitudes towards the practice changed over the course of our period, the bullfight appears to have been consistently one of the most powerfully immersive

⁹⁶ DRO D239/M/F16318, 24: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁹⁷ On the history of the bullfight in eighteenth-century Spain see Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon* and Zanardi, 'National heroics'.

⁹⁸ See for example Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, I, 396, commenting on a bull feast at Lisbon: 'But I shall leave a description of this scene to my account of what I saw at Madrid'. Portuguese bull feasts were described by Henry Hobart in 1767: NNRO COL/13/27, fos 3–4; see also Murphy, *General View of the State of Portugal*, 79–82 and Alexander (ed.), *Journal of William Beckford*, 88, 104, 106.



Figure 4.3 Francisco de Goya, 'El esforzado Rendon picando un toro, de cuya suerte murio en la plaza de Madrid (The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pique, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid)'; from *La Tauromaquia* (1816). Source: BM museum number 1862,0712.168. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

and memorable experiences of a Spanish tour and was held to be the ideal context in which to observe the essence of Spanish character.

In the 1760s observers such as Thomas Pitt expressed admiration while acknowledging the inherent cruelty of the practice. Pitt described the bullfight he witnessed at Madrid as a 'gay and cheerful sight', concluding that 'The spectacle is certainly one of the finest in the World, whether it is considered merely as a Coup d'Oeil. Or as an Exertion of the Bravery & infinite Agility of the Performers'. It was, he suggested, no worse than English bull baiting or cock fighting, and while he allowed that it might offend the 'compassionate feelings of a tender Heart', he argued that it had real value in inculcating and stimulating the 'Hardness of Manhood' and staving off effeminacy. He praised the combination of bravery and skill and compared the impact to the 'good Effects of Chivalry' in spurring the minds of spectators to 'great & glorious Actions' and qualities that 'do Honour to any Nation'.⁹⁹ Pitt's account, viewed through the lens of romance and chivalry, is the most positive traveller's account to have survived. Although unpublished, it achieved wider circulation in Edward Clarke's volume *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation* (1763), which drew extensively upon Pitt's description.¹⁰⁰

Even as Clarke admired the spectacle, its desirability was debated by other travellers and within Spain itself, where some reformers were making the case for its abolition. Their principal concern regarded the impact of the festivals upon the labouring classes in terms of the encouragement to idleness and the loss of labour to industry and agriculture.¹⁰¹ British observers shared some of these concerns with regard to unproductive idleness, but their most pointed criticisms were informed by the culture of sensibility which associated the reluctance to inflict pain with civilised emotions and cruelty with barbarity.¹⁰² Only a few years after Pitt and Clarke witnessed the bullfight through the prism of chivalry, the merchant Henry Hobart offered a more prosaic account, again noting similarities with animal sports in England, but tellingly he described the bulls as being 'butchered in this horrid manner'.¹⁰³ The language of torture, butchery, slaughter and massacre came to dominate, even as the visual spectacle – the costumes, the pageantry, the carnival atmosphere – was admired. Lord Grantham, ambassador to Spain in 1771–9, and his brother Frederick Robinson described the bullfights, their own responses

⁹⁹ BL Add MS 5845, fos 126v–127v: Pitt, 'Observations in Spain & Portugal'.

¹⁰⁰ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 107–15.

¹⁰¹ Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon*, 147–56.

¹⁰² Halturren, 'Humanitarians and the pornography of pain'.

¹⁰³ NNRO COL/13/27, fol. 4: Hobart, journal.

and the reactions of other visitors in their family correspondence. Both were unequivocal in their distaste and disapproval: 'I will tell you plainly', wrote Frederick to his sister Anne, 'that I do not like it ... I generally return from them discontented with myself and ashamed of human nature'. Grantham was no more enamoured of the practice than his younger brother: 'I did not like it at all'; but, for all his sensibility, he recognised the power of the emotional response that they evinced: 'there is something in every Action which causes Emotion, which one cannot be a judge of till put to the trial.'¹⁰⁴ For Frederick, bullfights 'tend to make the people cruel & consequently cowardly, instead of teaching them to despise danger which is the only plausible excuse I have ever heard for the toleration of them'.¹⁰⁵ Even the English servants, he reported, were indignant 'at seeing the people [sic] applaud and huzza as much as if they were at a puppet shew'.¹⁰⁶ The traditional argument that the bullfight encouraged manly virtues of 'energetic vigour' and 'habitual courage' among its participants – as prize fighting was supposed to do at home – began to seem less convincing.¹⁰⁷

The outrage, or sympathy, of the British was particularly reserved for the fate of the horses – rather than the bulls or humans – whose treatment the British found distressing to the point of physical revulsion. The horses, upon whom the *picadores* rode, were regularly gored in the belly by the enraged bulls but were forced to carry on, even as their intestines trailed on the ground and were trampled underfoot. The cult of sensibility, as has often been noted, prompted a fundamental shift in attitudes towards animals, but within this recalibration, not all animals were equal.¹⁰⁸ The horse, writes Monica Mattfeld, 'was [considered] special, unique and extraordinary in the eighteenth century'.¹⁰⁹ Its fate in the bullring, therefore, was the object of particular horror. Looking back on his memories of his visit to Spain in 1809 in later life, John Cam Hobhouse reflected that an Englishman was quite happy to watch two men beating themselves to pieces in a boxing match but 'cannot bear to look at a horse galloping round an arena with his bowels trailing on the ground, and turns from the spectacle and the spectators with horror

¹⁰⁴ BA L30/17/1/6: Frederick Robinson to Theresa Parker, 23 September 1771; L30/17/2/33: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 13 July 1777; L30/14/333/136: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 23 April 1779.

¹⁰⁵ BA L30/17/2/33: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 13 July 1772.

¹⁰⁶ BA L30/17/1/5: Frederick Robinson to Theresa Parker, 9 September 1771.

¹⁰⁷ Croker, *Travels through Several Provinces*, 76–7; see also Glover (ed.), *Gentleman Volunteer*, 47.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 143–91.

¹⁰⁹ Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur*, 2.

and disgust.¹¹⁰ The testimonies of numerous visitors to Spain bear him out, almost all of which recorded the suffering of the horses with genuine horror and distress. The more private comments of letters and unpublished journals, where writers were less reticent in admitting to possible signs of weakness, are particularly revealing: Lord Grantham reported that one of his visitors, the travel writer John Talbot Dillon, was very nearly sick at the sight of so many horses killed and men wounded.¹¹¹ Forty years later, George Douglas claimed that one of his companions, a veteran of Waterloo, was sick with revulsion and nothing but shame inhibited him from leaving on the spot.¹¹² Henry Gally Knight was so disgusted that he could not bring himself to describe what he had seen, referring his mother simply to the description in Twisden (that is, Twiss), and resolved never to attend another such event again.¹¹³

One of the most impassioned accounts of the bull feast of any traveller came from Lady Holland, who claimed she could not bear to watch the matador kill the bull, which was staggering and vomiting blood until it collapsed before its 'inhuman and barbarous opponent'. After seeing another horse disembowelled but still forced to face the combat, she withdrew in protest at 'the hardened sensibility of the participants' and full of 'disgust, aversion, dislike and anger'. She relieved her feelings by driving around the empty alleyways of Seville, unable even to bring herself to return to watch the closing firework display.¹¹⁴ The eagerness and enthusiasm inspired by an *auto da fé*, she protested, was easier to understand than the torments inflicted upon the blameless bulls and horses.¹¹⁵

The extreme disgust that Lady Holland recorded in such detail may be read on one level as a statement of her claims to refined feminine sensibility and, more specifically, her identity as an English woman. Respectable women in Britain would certainly not frequent equivalent blood sports, whether bull baiting or pugilism. The very presence of women at bullfights was therefore of itself an indictment of Spanish society and was frequently cited as a signifier of the barbarous and

¹¹⁰ Coleridge (ed.), *Works of Lord Byron – Poetry*, II, 522.

¹¹¹ BA L30/14/333/50: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 15 June 1778.

¹¹² NLS MS.10359, 176: Douglas, 'Tour'.

¹¹³ DRO D239/M/F16335: Henry Gally Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809. William Beckford, unusually, felt more sympathy for the sufferings of the bulls at the fight that he witnessed: 'It takes little courage to attack such patient animals. I was highly disgusted with the spectacle. It set my nerves on edge, and I seemed to feel cuts and slashes the rest of the evening'. Alexander (ed.), *Journals of William Beckford*, 89.

¹¹⁴ BL Add MS 51931, fos 24v–27r: Lady Holland, journal.

¹¹⁵ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 28v: Lady Holland, journal.

sanguinary Spanish character. In her own account, however, she paid little attention to the other female spectators in the crowd, except to record with disgust that women would 'sell their shifts & finally persons to procure sufficient to obtain a seat'.¹¹⁶ Nor did Lady Craven comment on the presence of women in her lively description of bullfights in Madrid.¹¹⁷ For their male compatriots, by contrast, the female spectators were an unvarying object of remark. Women, wrote Thomas Pitt, even with babies at their breast, were eager spectators in the crowd, 'feasting their eyes upon the bloody scene'.¹¹⁸ Pitt put forward no overt criticism, although the implications of unfeminine savagery are clear, but other writers were far more shocked by what seemed to them a deplorable absence of proper feminine feeling. James More Molyneux was horrified by the 'ardor' shown by women, who were the 'most numerous ... and the most clamorous' part of the company and who hissed at any backwardness on the part of those in the arena and incited the combatants to the most dangerous attacks.¹¹⁹ Richard Twiss chose to describe their behaviour in terms of female capriciousness rather than innate cruelty: women who 'faint or feign to faint' at the sight of a frog or a spider delighted in the barbarous spectacle and bloodshed, 'clapping their hands, waving their handkerchiefs, and hallooing the more to enrage the bull'.¹²⁰ Their bloodthirsty enthusiasm seemed to represent another instance of the hypocrisy of female manners among Spanish womanhood. Others, such as Robert Southey, linked women's participation more directly to a wider depravity of manners and morals that he identified in the Spanish nation: 'What hope is there of a nation where such are the fashionable and popular amusements?'¹²¹ Even those who wrote against the long-standing stereotype of the Black Legend struggled to reconcile Spain's claims to be recognised as 'a polite and intelligent nation' with such gratuitous displays of cruelty.¹²²

The fact that the Spanish nation was quite happy to countenance such disgraceful cruelty – to the extent that bullfighting was revived in 1811 after being banned in 1805 – was proof to many observers that the Spanish character continued to display the savagery and barbarism that had originally given rise to the Black Legend and that was more

¹¹⁶ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 27: Lady Holland, journal.

¹¹⁷ Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, I, 410–15.

¹¹⁸ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 128: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

¹¹⁹ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), June 1785.

¹²⁰ Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, 289.

¹²¹ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*, 172.

¹²² Croker, *Travels through Several Provinces*, 76.

recently to be seen in the violence and cruelty meted out against the French during the Peninsular War.¹²³ (Most British observers conveniently overlooked the many and vocal voices that had been pressing for abolition of bullfighting since the reign of Carlos III.¹²⁴) But while disgust and outrage dominated, the condemnation was not as uniform as some accounts would suggest.¹²⁵ The calmness, courage and intrepidity of the *matadores* and *picadores* (praised 50 years earlier by Pitt and Clarke) and their ‘fidelity in assisting one another in danger’ continued to excite admiration, even as observers were horrified by the fate of the horses.¹²⁶ Although humanitarians expressed concern that exposure to such barbarism would inure the viewer to cruelty, others continued to argue that the spectacle might animate qualities ‘productive of good, and honour to a country’.¹²⁷ Sir John Carr suggested that the men who most distinguished themselves at the notable Spanish victory at Bailén were former *picadores*.¹²⁸ Similarly, Thomas Traill’s admiration of the skill and bravery involved in the bullfight that he witnessed at Cádiz tempered his criticism of the brutality; moreover, as he admitted to himself, given that the ‘more dastardly cruelties of bull baiting and cock fighting’ were not only tolerated but applauded in his own country, he could not ‘upbraid the Spaniards with the barbarity of their favourite amusement’.¹²⁹

Robert Hyde Greg’s response was similarly equivocal. He described the full horror of the scene in some detail, itself an indication of the depth of the impression that it had made on him and a revelation of how the phenomenon of the bullfight continued to fascinate, even as fashionable sensibility dictated that it should be shunned:

The horse commonly receives his first wound in his flanks, when the bowels instantly gush out; his rider continues spurring him on to attack the Bull, though his entrails are dragging along the ground, and he keeps tearing them to pieces with his feet. Sometimes the horn of the bull penetrates the breast of the horse which the[n]

¹²³ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 150–3; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 102 and see [Chapter 7](#).

¹²⁴ Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon*, 147–56. Greg, *Travel Journals*, 170 noted that Carlos III had introduced regulations to limit the number of bull feasts being ‘sensible of the injurious effects’ on morals and on industry and agriculture.

¹²⁵ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 148–51.

¹²⁶ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 173.

¹²⁷ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 65–6.

¹²⁸ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 65–6.

¹²⁹ NLS MS.19389, fol. 41: Traill, journal.

presents a truly melancholy sight; it begins to turn round and round without moving from the spot, till it falls with loss of blood.¹³⁰

The spectacle, he wrote, left him feeling 'nervous, sick and unwell' and he resolved never to go again. But a couple of days later, finding time lying heavy on his hands, he returned, simply for something to do. 'I never went out with the wish of attending again', he concluded, 'But time went on, the day came round, I walked with pleasure and alacrity and when the trumpet sounded, I was always to be seen in my place.'¹³¹ For Greg, an experience of sublime horror – a close confrontation with death – was combined with a heady mix of dazzling pageantry, feelings of awe at the skill and courage on display and the infectious mass excitement and enthusiasm of the crowd. It was a seductive mix.

Nor was Greg alone in expressing revulsion, only to return.¹³² For these travellers the fascination of the spectacle and the atmosphere of the crowd clearly had powerful and, as Grantham noted, unforeseen effects; the bullfight may have been a quintessential part of the Spanish tour, in which the national character of Spain was on display, but it was also a completely immersive sensory experience in which 'all the Senses are agitated; & every Feeling excited'.¹³³ The visceral emotions that it provoked occasioned personal introspection as travellers confronted their own responses to the spectacle and attempted to reconcile their feelings of excitement and disgust. Molyneux described it as creating an 'epidemic of madness' among the crowds: his phrase captures the atmosphere of mass hysteria and excitement from which some, like Greg, found it difficult to dissociate.¹³⁴ In a similar vein, Hugh Fortescue observed that no-one 'who has not witnessed it can have an idea of the enthusiastic delight of the spectators in which no feeling of either reason or humanity can prevent even a stranger from partaking. At least', he added, 'so I found it'.¹³⁵

In 1845, Richard Ford explained the passion for bullfighting in terms of the persistent 'Eastern' influence in Spain. The bullfight itself, he argued, originated in 'Moorish' customs; he rejected the thesis that

¹³⁰ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 173.

¹³¹ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 174.

¹³² See for example Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fos 42r–43r, 44v: Rennie, journal and NLS MS.5554, fos 131v–132r: Robert Liston to Thomas Johnes, 25 September 1778: Liston's first bullfight 'made me sik [sic] at heart' but the second 'made a less violent Impression upon me, and it is probable I shall acquire a taste for the amusement like other people.'

¹³³ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), June 1785.

¹³⁴ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), June 1785.

¹³⁵ Devon Archives 1262M/FD 3, fol. 29: Lord Fortescue, journal.

it could be traced back to the animal sports of the Roman amphitheatre. Rather, he argued, the Spanish regarded it as innocent recreation because it was part of a long-standing tradition, and would be far more horrified by the quantity of blood shed in an English shambles than that lost in a bullfight. Foreigners, he continued, should not project their own feelings (or those which they imagine their readers to feel) upon the Spanish, for whom the bullfight appeared neither cruel nor disgusting. For Ford, the spectacle was 'irresistible, and all-absorbing'. He found the display of 'manly courage, nerve, and agility, ... all on the very verge of death ... most exciting'.¹³⁶ This paean to the bullfight was all part of a process of othering and exoticising Spain – it was trapped in tradition and its culture and values were alien and opaque to the British observer, who needed a mediator such as Ford to explain them. The bullfight embodied the essential qualities of the 'authentic' Spain that Ford set out to discover and describe. Observers in the eighteenth century – while conscious of the 'irresistible' fascination of the spectacle – never saw it in such romantic terms. Explanations ultimately devolved to either the invocation of innate qualities (cruelty, rather than indolence, in this instance) or, again, the shortcomings of Spanish government. Despotic rule in Spain ensured that the country remained backward, with bullfights fulfilling the function of bread and circuses in suppressing discontent, while in other, more enlightened countries the government took measures to limit such pursuits.¹³⁷

The role of the church, the beauty of the women and the customs of dancing and bull-fighting continued to structure British commentary on Spain and Portugal throughout the nineteenth century – and the legacy of such hard-wearing tropes continued into the twentieth century and beyond, the latter two in particular shaping the commodification of Spanish culture for modern tourists.¹³⁸ Portugal, from the British perspective, continued to be seen as a minor variation on the broader Spanish theme throughout the nineteenth century. But while the broad outlines remained constant, both Spanish and Portuguese society underwent significant changes. Richard Ford may have claimed that much of Spain – indeed the 'authentic' Spain – was largely unchanged, but tourists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had yet to succumb to such wholesale romantic nostalgia and recognised the significant shifts that were taking place there and in Portugal.

¹³⁶ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, I, 281.

¹³⁷ SHC LM 1327/26/1: Molyneux, journal (unfoliated), June 1785.

¹³⁸ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 3.

Nonetheless, the cumulative impact of their commentary in this period served only to reinforce the imaginative associations between Iberia, Roman Catholicism, dark-eyed women with a distinctly southern sexual allure, the exoticism of the fandango and the excitement of the bullfight. By the nineteenth century, these tropes were increasingly associated with assumptions about innate racial characteristics. The eighteenth-century emphasis upon the importance of government in shaping national character did not disappear, but was increasingly overshadowed by insistence upon the 'Eastern' qualities – both physical and mental – that manifested themselves in the forms of religious observance and social organisation, the role and appearance of women and in customs such as dancing and bullfights.

The British and Spain in the 1770s: Lord Grantham's circle

The 1770s were a crucial decade for British engagement with Iberia. While interest in Portugal took a quieter path, characterised by long-standing alliance, ongoing trade and the fall of an intriguing figure in Pombal, several developments combined to deepen British encounters with Spain. Anglo-Spanish peace between 1763 and 1779 coincided with rising British travel to the Continent, at a moment when there was much to observe in Spain: the lessons of its declining empire, reform under Carlos III and attempts to create a sense of Spanish national heritage. British public interest was piqued, and new travel writing about Iberia sold well throughout the 1770s. The voluminous correspondence of the ambassador to Madrid, Lord Grantham (see [Figure 5.1](#)), offers a unique opportunity to explore Anglo-Spanish cultural relations in this formative period, and the role that Grantham and his circle played in their development. These are personal letters to friends and family, rather than the official correspondence that survives for most diplomats, and they suggest what people in 1770s Britain knew, thought they knew or wanted to know about Spain.

Thomas Robinson, second Baron Grantham, spent his 30s in Madrid with his younger brother, Frederick, and Robert Waddilove, Grantham's chaplain and Westminster schoolfellow.¹ Illness drove Frederick home a year early, but before then he acted as his brother's unofficial secretary. For almost a decade, the three men played an important intermediary role, helping to shape British engagement with Spain and informing the directions pursued by future travellers and scholars. Grantham's

¹ Barker, 'Robinson, Thomas, second Baron Grantham (1738–1786)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23880>; Aston, 'Waddilove, Robert Darley (1736–1828)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28368>.

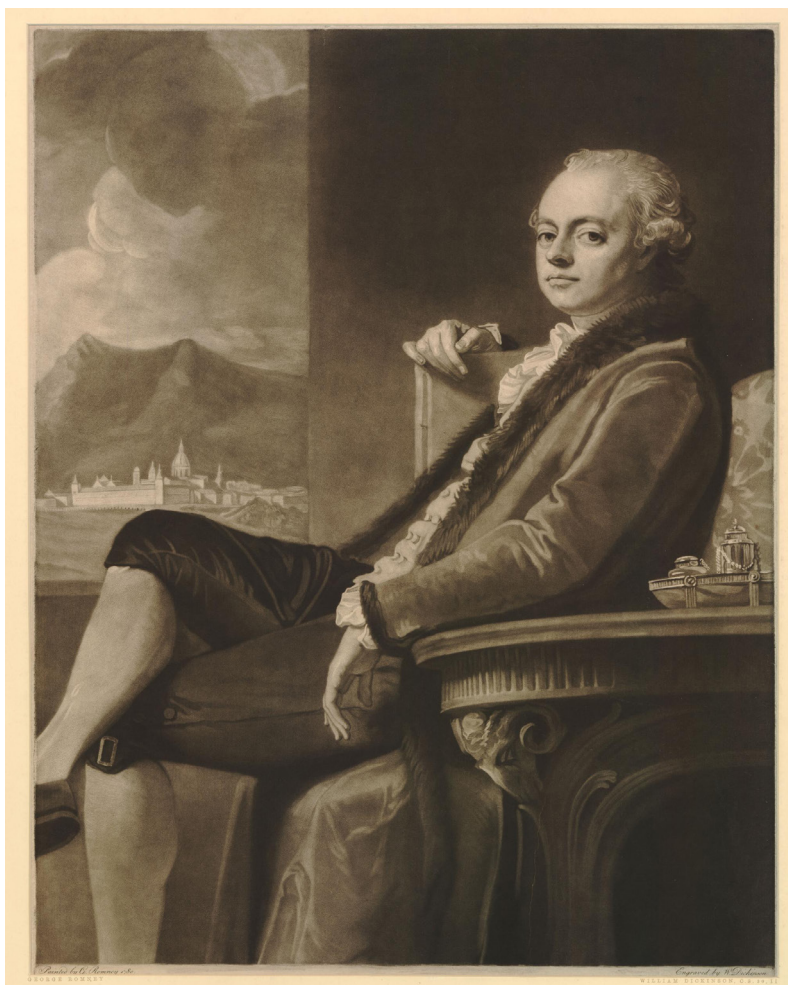


Figure 5.1 Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham, by William Dickinson after George Romney (1783). *Source:* BM museum number 1902,1011.681. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

eight-year residence was one of the longest of any British diplomat posted to Madrid in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, allowing his circle to build up connections with local artists, intellectuals, politicians and courtiers.² Between 1771 and 1779, he and his retinue hosted travelling

² Grantham's eight years matched Henry Drummond Wolff (1892–1900) and were outdone only by Benjamin Keene (1729–39 and 1748–57), Henry Wellesley (1810–21, in special circumstances) and Austen Henry Layard (1869–78). Most diplomats stayed in Madrid for a couple of years.

countrymen and conveyed ideas and goods to and from Spain in a lively correspondence with friends and relations at home.

British diplomats played cultural as well as geo-political roles throughout Europe, hosting travellers, encouraging scholarship and facilitating artistic collection.³ The most famous examples are Sir Horace Mann and Sir William Hamilton, whose names are intimately connected to the 'golden age' of the Italian Grand Tour, but such contributions were especially necessary in Spain, where British engagement was developing from lesser beginnings. Art historians have laid out how ambassadors promoted Spanish painters in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, and Grantham himself is credited with helping to popularise Velázquez and Goya.⁴ This chapter will not rehearse their arguments, but beyond high culture, and the Grand Tour framework into which so many try to fit Spain, Grantham and his circle made wider-ranging contributions to a two-sided encounter. They facilitated rising British travel and exposure to Spanish scholarship in ways that set the tone for Anglo-Spanish cultural relations over the next few decades, but they also provide a window onto how and what correspondents in Britain knew about Spain and its empire.

Hosting travellers

Grantham saw the facilitation of travel as an important part of a diplomat's job, modelling himself on what he had seen on his own Grand Tour of 1759–61.⁵ As in Italy, the provision of hospitality was as much about building up an ambassador's own social and cultural capital. Grantham garnered his reputation by introducing impressive travellers at court, sending commissions and gifts to prominent people at home, facilitating popular travel writing and generally enhancing the cachet of his posting to Madrid. But where counterparts in Italy saw the influx of visitors after 1763 as a nuisance,⁶ British diplomats in Madrid felt that travellers brought variety to the monotony of Spanish court life. Even Grantham and Frederick were surprised that visitors stayed so long: 'surely nothing but novelty' could 'make this country tolerable to a

³ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 65–113; Mori, *Culture of Diplomacy*, 149–210.

⁴ Glendinning, 'Nineteenth-century British envoys in Spain'; Glendinning, Harris and Russell, 'Lord Grantham and the taste for Velázquez'; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 121–5.

⁵ Lewis (ed.), *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, XXI, 436: Horace Mann to Walpole, 13 September 1760.

⁶ Mori, *Culture of Diplomacy*, 153.

traveller'.⁷ Grantham nevertheless enjoyed a virtuosic reputation at the Spanish court, and his unusually long residence helped to deepen British encounters with its people and culture.⁸

The ambassador and his circle offered tours of Madrid and the *sitios*, the royal sites around the capital.⁹ Travellers of the highest standing were presented at court and lesser – and 'less troublesome' – visitors only admitted to the royal presence, leaving Grantham with some awkward explaining to do.¹⁰ He handed less prestigious visitors to Waddilove, whose standard tour included the royal palace, the armoury and several cabinets of curiosities, as well as a trip to the Escorial.¹¹ Guests were also taken to bullfights.¹² In other countries, Grantham complained, travellers 'may be sent to see things, or easily put into Companies that may suit them, but here they must either go about every where with us, or live with us, either of which is inconvenient.'¹³ His long residence nevertheless guaranteed visitors an entrée to high society.¹⁴ In other decades, without the help of a long-standing ambassador, travellers complained of the difficulty of entering Spanish circles without letters of introduction.¹⁵

Grantham also provided an entry into the cultural world of Madrid. As [Chapter 1](#) outlined, this was a period of growing Spanish attention to the country's curiosities on the part of court-based writers and artists, from the description of artistic holdings to the appropriation of Islamic monuments into a national story. Most prominent in these circles was the painter and scholar Antonio Ponz, whose 18-volume *Viage de España* (1772–94) began as an inventory of artwork held by the recently expelled Jesuits but grew into a survey of the country's patrimony.¹⁶ The success of its early instalments cemented Ponz's cultural authority and saw him made secretary of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes ('Royal Academy of Fine Arts') de San Fernando (RABASF). Grantham and Waddilove's immersion in court circles placed visitors close to these homegrown initiatives. The ambassador's cousin, Thomas Pelham, even

⁷ BA L30/17/2/92: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 5 September 1774.

⁸ For Spanish esteem for Grantham, see Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 202.

⁹ For example, BL Add MS 33125, fos 3v–7v: Pelham, journal.

¹⁰ BA L30/17/4/121: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 6 November 1775.

¹¹ Macdonald, *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, 363–5.

¹² See [Chapter 4](#).

¹³ BA L30/17/4/121: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 6 November 1775.

¹⁴ For example, Lord Chatham's warm reception: BA L30/17/4/245a: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 2 April 1779.

¹⁵ For example, KA U1776/F7, Hussey, journal (unfoliated) 5 March 1803.

¹⁶ Ponz, *Viage de España*. For Ponz's career and context, see Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 13–31. For his engagement with travel writing, see [Chapter 6](#).

studied with Ponz, who was then working on his account of southern Spain. Pelham received the 'double Advantage of improving myself in Spanish & gaining information for my own Tour' of the south, which he made with Waddilove (see [Map 2](#)).¹⁷

Frederick's illness foiled his own plans to see Andalusia and Catalonia, but he and Grantham helped others on their way.¹⁸ As we saw in [Chapter 2](#), the ambassador recognised that meals were hard to come by on Spanish roads and sent visitors off with provisions. Grantham also provided letters of introduction for the journey southwards, especially to British merchant communities in Cádiz, Málaga, Cartagena and Alicante, who offered accommodation, assistance and local tours.¹⁹ Another of the ambassador's contacts in the south was Ricardo Wall, the former Spanish prime minister who had retired to an estate outside Granada. Wall was the son of Irish Jacobite exiles and had served as Spanish ambassador to London between 1748 and 1752.²⁰ In his Andalusian retirement, he professed himself glad to offer English visitors 'han hartheli Wellcome'.²¹ The conversation of a renowned statesman was a significant draw, but Wall also proved an excellent guide to Granada.²² He had been president of the RABASF between 1754 and 1763, as the academy had begun to take an interest in Spain's Islamic heritage, so manifest in the city.²³ Later, between 1769 and 1772, Wall had headed a royal commission to restore parts of the Alhambra, looking to satisfy 'the [Spanish] nationals or foreigners who are curious to see these monuments'.²⁴ In retirement, he acted as a 'cicerone', or guide, to visitors who arrived with Grantham's recommendation.²⁵ Two soldiers returning from Madrid to Gibraltar, John Vignoles and Robert Baird, were constantly with Wall, who gave them a 'most pleasing' tour of 'some old Morish Palaces', the Alhambra and the Generalife. Their host even provided a replacement for Baird's dog, Sultana, who had died on the road.²⁶ From Ponz's research to

¹⁷ BL Add MS 33127, fos 37v–38: Thomas Pelham to Lady Pelham, 26 August 1776.

¹⁸ BA L30/15/54/102: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 24–28 November 1778; L30/17/2/102: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 3 January 1775.

¹⁹ BA L30/14/420/10: Roger Wilbraham to Grantham, 10 January 1775; L30/15/42/2: Thomas Pelham to Frederick Robinson, 18 October 1776; 6: same to same, 20 December 1776.

²⁰ Téllez Alarcia, 'Ricardo Wall'.

²¹ BA L30/14/409/1: Ricardo Wall to Grantham, c. November 1772.

²² BL Add MS 33125: Pelham, journal, fol. 17v; BA L30/14/7/20: Francis Andrews to Grantham, 10 March 1774.

²³ The RABASF resolved to begin work on the Alhambra in October 1756: Navascués, 'Protagonists of the "Antigüedades"', 128.

²⁴ Téllez Alarcia, 'Documentation concerning the role of Ricardo Wall'.

²⁵ BA L30/14/409/1: Ricardo Wall to Grantham, c. November 1772.

²⁶ BA L30/14/402/1: John Vignoles to Grantham, 14 July 1772.

Wall's hospitality, Grantham put British travellers in touch with Spanish efforts to solidify a sense of national heritage. Few came to the country because he was there, but the ambassador's connections allowed deeper engagement with the society and history of Spain.

British writing about Spain and its empire

Grantham's correspondence confirms the 1770s as crucial years for British interest in Spain and its empire, and highlights the role of the ambassador's circle in developments. As Waddilove wrote – in Spanish – to the Valencian scholar Gregorio Mayans, friends at home wanted 'to take advantage of my residence in Spain to get a better idea of this country than is to be found in the few books that presume to give its description.'²⁷ Above all, Grantham's circle played important roles in the production of two highly influential new texts about Spain and its empire: William Robertson's *History of America* (1777) and Henry Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* (1779). The ambassador saw such services as an aspect of his mission, spreading knowledge of the country at home and enhancing the prestige of his posting, but it was indeed Waddilove who ended up doing much of the work. He was not the only chaplain to make such a contribution: Edward Clarke published his *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation* (1763) after a posting with the Earl of Bristol and the Earl of Rochford's chaplain, Louis de Visme, hosted travellers, befriended intellectuals and maintained a flow of books to England.²⁸ Embassy chaplains tended to be educated and well-connected men with time on their hands, ensuring them a prominent but under-explored role in cultural encounters.²⁹ Grantham's long residence afforded him and Waddilove unusually deep knowledge of Spanish people, culture and history, and it allowed them to share that knowledge with others in Britain.

Robertson (see [Figure 5.2](#)), the principal of the University of Edinburgh, had made his name with his *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769), which placed his subject's vision for Europe in a wide-ranging account that highlighted the once-great power of Spain. The book was a resounding success, and Robertson's continuing

²⁷ Quoted in Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos', 329, from letters in the Biblioteca Municipal de Valencia, fondo Serrano Morales, caja 7272-32: 'Yo soy un poco curioso y algunos de mis amigos también, y quieren aprovechar de mi residencia en España para obtener mejores luces de este país de (las) que se hallan en algunos libros que presumen haber hecho su descripción'.

²⁸ Brigstocke and Delaforce (eds), 'John Croft's tour to Spain', 13; Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos', 321–5. Both Clarke and De Visme befriended the Valencian scholar Gregorio Mayans.

²⁹ For a similar dynamic in another context, see Mills, *Commerce of Knowledge*.

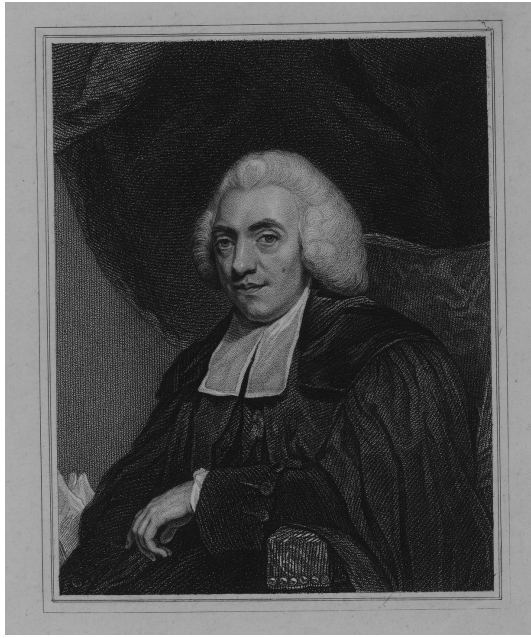


Figure 5.2 William Robertson, after Joshua Reynolds (1772). *Source:* BM museum number 1843,0513.10. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

interest in the country's rise and fall led him to the conquest of America, on which he soon began gathering sources.³⁰ The appointment of Grantham, whom Robertson knew, was a great opportunity. Although the Spanish kept their American archives in secrecy, especially amid competition with the British in the Caribbean, Robertson hoped that they would bend to Grantham's endeavours and his own promises 'to vindicate the Castilian character'. Early in the embassy, Robertson sent Grantham a list of queries and a request for copies of 'the most authentick materials' in Spanish archives. While the ambassador could answer questions on Spanish-Portuguese relations and American art, which he had seen in collections in Madrid, he left the bulk of the work to his chaplain.³¹

Over several years, Waddilove served as Robertson's research assistant in Madrid. He procured most of the historian's Spanish books, some of them rare, and copies of manuscripts from the royal library at

³⁰ Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 1–15.

³¹ Black, 'Enlightenment historian at work' reproduces letters between Robertson and Grantham, but not Waddilove.

the Escorial. Robertson even sent questions about 'the customs and policy of the native Americans, and the nature of several institutions in the Spanish settlements', which Waddilove translated into Spanish and put to people with first-hand experience.³² He also posed them to scholars such as Mayans, who gave answers, books and reading recommendations.³³ When *The History of America* emerged in 1777, Grantham and Waddilove took pride in their inclusion in the preface and recommended it to friends in England, Spain and Italy.³⁴ Privately, too, Robertson recognised that they had rendered his book 'much more worthy of public approbation'.³⁵ Less generously, one of Grantham's friends surmised that 'the chief Part of what is new' had come from the ambassador and his circle.³⁶ This was an exaggeration, but Waddilove's contacts, interests and linguistic skill had indeed contributed much to the work.

Robertson had written a history of *Spanish* America, and of the early conquest at that, with a mooted companion on the British colonies not finished in his lifetime.³⁷ Two aspects of the book were particularly notable: its account of indigenous cultures, which fascinated contemporaries, and a review of Spanish colonial policy to Robertson's own time, appended to the narrative. This latter analysis threw matters in 'quite a new light', thought Edmund Burke.³⁸ In no more than a page, it also directed attention towards slavery in the Spanish Empire.³⁹ Amid parliamentary debates over the Royal African Company in 1779, the bishops of Oxford and Peterborough asked Grantham about the Spanish situation. The ambassador set 'the indefatigable Waddilove' to consult politicians in Madrid and commissioned a 'little Negro boy' from a neighbouring household to compile a document of relevant legislation.⁴⁰ Waddilove soon sent a long account of the situation of enslaved Africans across the Spanish Caribbean and, a few days later, a summary of the laws and practices of the Indies.⁴¹ The bishops had wanted to verify claims of new legislation, apparently by the abolitionist Granville Sharp, but

³² Robertson, *History of America*, I, vii–viii; Ronan, 'Antonio de Alcedo', 499 n. 19.

³³ Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos', 326.

³⁴ BA L30/14/408/81: Waddilove to Grantham, 29 August 1777; L30/14/394/6: Cardinal Valenti to Grantham, 12 October 1777.

³⁵ Robertson to Grantham, undated, reproduced in Black, 'Enlightenment historian at work', 259.

³⁶ BA L30/14/315/17: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 10 August 1777; 10: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 24 December 1777.

³⁷ The British sections were published in 1796: Robertson, *History of America*, Books IX and X.

³⁸ See Humphreys's essay, 'William Robertson and his *History of America*', in Humphreys, *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America*, 18–36.

³⁹ Robertson, *History of America*, II, 369–70.

⁴⁰ BA L30/14/333/187: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 16 March 1779; L30/15/54/133: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 11–12 April 1779; 135: same to same, 17 April 1779.

⁴¹ BA L30/15/26/11: 'Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias', 3 May 1779 (in Waddilove's hand).

Waddilove had found nothing: they must have been reading Robertson, he imagined, and had confused his points about enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples.⁴²

The History of America was initially well received in Spain and the Real Academia de la Historia elected Robertson as a corresponding member, something in which the British ambassador surely had a hand.⁴³ The book blamed the cruelties of the conquest on individuals rather than government policy, such that one of Grantham's correspondents thought the Spanish 'much obliged to Dr Robertson for wiping off this Stain from their national Character'.⁴⁴ Plans were made for a court-sponsored translation into Spanish, but by 1779 they had been abandoned in favour of a refutation.⁴⁵ Grantham and Frederick felt that Carlos III's ministers had bowed to the Inquisition, intimidated by the recent conviction of the reformist Pablo de Olavide for impiety and heresy.⁴⁶ The ambassador regretted that Robertson 'was admired here, without being read, translated without being understood'; such was 'the fate of his History in this enligh[te]ned Country'.⁴⁷ Any Spanish translation was in fact forbidden, its introduction to Spanish America and the Philippines prohibited and the French edition banned by 1790.⁴⁸ This did not prevent *The History of America* being read in Spain, however. Waddilove supplied copies to courtiers and diplomats at Madrid and remained a go-between with Spanish scholars such as Mayans and Antonio de Alcedo, then working on a geographical-historical dictionary of America. Robertson was keen to hear 'the remarks and criticisms of the Spaniards' and incorporated some of them into new editions of both *Charles V* and *The History of America*.⁴⁹ Waddilove meanwhile maintained the flow of books and manuscripts to Edinburgh, contributing to work that exercised a strong influence on British understandings of Spain and its empire.⁵⁰

⁴² BA L30/15/66/31: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 26 April 1779.

⁴³ BA L30/14/331/5: Robertson to Grantham, 31 January 1778.

⁴⁴ BA L30/14/315/10: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 24 December 1777.

⁴⁵ Humphreys, *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America*, 34–5; Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos', 327. The refutation was Muñoz, *Historia del nuevo mundo* (1793).

⁴⁶ BA L30/15/54/115: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 24 January 1779; L30/14/333/179: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 16 February 1779.

⁴⁷ BA L30/15/54/115: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 24 January 1779.

⁴⁸ Humphreys, *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America*, 35; Martínez de Bujanda (ed.), *Índice de libros prohibidos y expurgados*, 955.

⁴⁹ BA L30/14/331/4: Robertson to Grantham, 19 May 1777; L30/14/408/82: Waddilove to Grantham, 2 September 1777; 83: same to same, 9 September 1777; 85: same to same, 13 September 1777; Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos', 327–9; Ronan, 'Alcedo', 497–501.

⁵⁰ BA L30/14/331/5: Robertson to Grantham, 31 January 1778; L30/15/66/16: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 24 September 1778; 18: same to same, 12 October 1778.

The encouragement of travel writing, by contrast, got off to a difficult start. Grantham, Frederick and their sisters Anne Robinson and Theresa Parker were all keen readers of the genre, and the ambassador referred his sisters to specific pages of Baretti's itinerary (1770) as he arrived in Spain for the first time.⁵¹ Yet the first writer to publish an account of his time in Madrid during Grantham's embassy was an utter disappointment. Richard Twiss had been a 'great vulgar' in England and proved himself 'a compleat gegg' on his visit to Madrid in 1773, bragging incessantly, spurning the ambassador's hospitality and taking notes on everything.⁵² When Twiss's book came out a couple of years later, Grantham thought it 'the most false, erroneous, ignorant, superficial, indecent Performance' and his secretary, Thomas Shadwell, called it 'frivolous'.⁵³ There was plenty of snobbery here, and evident personal dislike, but the ambassador and his retinue were also concerned with enhancing the prestige of their posting to Spain. Grantham believed that facilitating the best travel writing was an important way of doing so, and he discussed the merits of books about Spain with family and friends. Most writers published only a year or two after the journeys that inspired them, so Grantham's circle could have a rapid impact.

Over the next few years, discussion centred around who could outdo Twiss. Perhaps Nathaniel Wraxall, who had written a successful book on Scandinavia, might write about Spain too, but it never came to pass.⁵⁴ Members of the ambassador's circle were also hopeful for their friend William Dalrymple (1777), but Roger Wilbraham, another visitor to Madrid, found the book a disappointing treatment of rich subject matter.⁵⁵ Even Dalrymple had presented a copy to the ambassador only as 'light summer reading', hoping to 'enter the lists with either Barretti or Twiss, & further pretend not.'⁵⁶ Grantham took a couple of years to get round to Philip Thicknesse on Catalonia (1777) and read his 'malevolent Ribaldry' with 'Contempt & Indignation'.⁵⁷ For most of the decade,

⁵¹ BA L30/17/3/1: Grantham to Theresa Parker, 7 August 1771; L30/17/4/4: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 31 July 1771.

⁵² BA L30/17/2/52: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 22 March 1773.

⁵³ BA L30/14/315/29: Grantham to Beilby Porteus, 6 November 1775; Clements Library, University of Michigan, 1940.M-408: Thomas Shadwell to John Marsh, 3–9 November 1775.

⁵⁴ BA L30/17/2/125: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 30 October '1774' [that is, 1775]; Turner, 'Wraxall, Sir Nathaniel William, first baronet (1751–1831)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30012>. He had been to Portugal earlier in the decade: Wraxall, *Historical Memoirs*, I, 10–73.

⁵⁵ BA L30/14/420/18: Roger Wilbraham to Grantham, 13 March 1777; 19: same to same, 15 July 1777; Clements Library, 1940.M-408: Shadwell to Marsh, 18 July 1777.

⁵⁶ BA L30/14/93/6: William Dalrymple to Grantham, 11 April 1777.

⁵⁷ BA L30/15/54/133: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 11–12 April 1779.

the ambassador's circle shared hopes that were consistently dashed.⁵⁸ Waddilove still recommended Twiss to those interested in Spain, for lack of anything better, and Frederick put Anne onto d'Aulnoy, 'though written near 100 years ago', because she conveyed 'more truth & information in one letter, than is I believe to be found in Mr Clarke Barette & Twiss all put together'. Although customs had changed, most of d'Aulnoy's observations held and her stories were 'by no means improbable'.⁵⁹

The man to put an end to these disappointments was Henry Swinburne. He was an experienced traveller who had come through France with his wife, Martha, and their friend and patron, Sir Thomas Gascoigne. Leaving the pregnant Martha at Bordeaux, Swinburne and Gascoigne spent time in Barcelona and Valencia on their way to Granada (where Swinburne sketched the Alhambra over Christmas 1775: see [Figures 8.3](#) and [8.4](#)), Cádiz, Gibraltar, Seville and Córdoba. Turning northwards, the pair stayed in Madrid over May 1776, building a close relationship with Grantham's circle. Unlike Twiss, they seemed 'lively agreeable & well bred People': Swinburne was 'much the Gentleman', thought Shadwell, and Gascoigne had 'no small Spice of Chivalry about him'.⁶⁰ Frederick deemed them 'the most intelligent travellers we have had' and they advised Grantham's guest, the young Thomas Pelham, about his impending southern tour.⁶¹ Swinburne and Gascoigne used Grantham's contacts to ease their journey with Martha through France and Italy, they reunited with Pelham in Naples and Swinburne visited Waddilove in Yorkshire after their return.⁶²

Swinburne was always sketching and taking notes in Madrid (see [Figure 3.7](#)), already determined to outdo Twiss's 'shallow, pedantic, catch-penny book', and he raised hopes of a satisfactory description of Spain at long last.⁶³ If he brought out a work 'accompanyd with good prints of the views he has taken', Frederick thought, Swinburne might 'entirely stop the sale of the sad stuff which Messrs Barette Twiss & Dalrymple have written

⁵⁸ The only mention of Francis Carter's book (1777) comes after Grantham had returned to England: BA L30/15/54/197: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 29 August 1783.

⁵⁹ BA L30/14/408/33: Waddilove to Grantham, 7 April 1775; L30/17/2/123: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 2 October 1775.

⁶⁰ BA L30/17/4/133: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 13 May 1776; Clements Library, 1940.M-408: Shadwell to Marsh, 3 May 1776.

⁶¹ BA L30/17/2/141: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 3 June 1776; L30/14/370/4: Henry Swinburne to Grantham, 7 July 1776.

⁶² BA L30/14/370/8: Swinburne to Grantham, 19 May 1777; L30/14/408/98: Waddilove to Grantham, 4 October 1779; BL Add MS 33127, fol. 242: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 17 May 1777; fol. 252v: same to same, 27 May 1777.

⁶³ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain* (1779), iii; Swinburne, *Courts of Europe*, I, 68, 78.

about this country'.⁶⁴ Members of Grantham's circle were hopeful because they had been close to the writing process from the outset. Swinburne's preface thanks Waddilove for drawing information from Spanish authors, manuscripts and public libraries, of which more imminently, and the group had access to early drafts in Madrid.⁶⁵ Waddilove even had some of the writer's sketches engraved for friends, including a view of Madrid across the Casa del Campo park that does not appear in the eventual book.⁶⁶ Swinburne soon finished the text but continued to wait on the illustrations during his subsequent years in Italy, bringing out *Travels Through Spain* in 1779.⁶⁷ Grantham and Waddilove were impatient to receive copies, and asked Frederick in London for an immediate verdict.⁶⁸ Swinburne provided 'much curious, new, interesting & entertaining information', he thought, though he quibbled with his style, the quality of his plates and his inclusion of trifling details, 'The great fault of all these Epistolary travels'. Frederick had nevertheless met readers who shared his enthusiasm for the book and its innovative contributions.⁶⁹ Grantham's circle finally had what they wanted: a popular travel book that raised the profile of their posting in the British imagination and would remain a point of reference on Spain for decades.

Swinburne's main innovations were his description and illustrations of the Alhambra, which were formative for British ideas about the palace. [Chapter 8](#) will discuss these contributions in detail, but here it is worth highlighting the role of Grantham's circle in connecting Swinburne, like Robertson, to sources and scholarly developments in Spain. The RABASF had been working on plans of the Alhambra and translations of its inscriptions since 1756, the pinnacle of court-sponsored efforts to incorporate the Islamic past into a Spanish national heritage.⁷⁰ The *Antigüedades árabes de España* were severely delayed, with the plans appearing in 1787 and the inscriptions only in 1804. They nevertheless

⁶⁴ BA L30/17/2/182: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 12 January 1778.

⁶⁵ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain* (1779), vi; BA L30/14/370/6: Swinburne to Grantham, 24 November 1776; 10: same to same, 24 November 1777.

⁶⁶ BA L30/14/370/10: Swinburne to Grantham, 24 November 1777; L30/17/4/160: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 28 April 1777 (including the engraving, another copy of which is [Figure 3.7](#)). Swinburne also asked Waddilove for a print of Burgos cathedral, though it does not appear in his book: BA L30/14/370/4: Swinburne to Grantham, 7 July 1776.

⁶⁷ Swinburne, *Courts of Europe*, I, 121; BA L30/14/370/13: Swinburne to Grantham, 27 August 1778. Swinburne's time in southern Italy also resulted in his *Travels in the Two Sicilies* (1783–5), ensuring him an influential role in the expansion of British interest in southern Europe.

⁶⁸ BA L30/15/54/137: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 1–3 May 1779; L30/15/66/25: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 7 December 1778.

⁶⁹ BA L30/14/333/190: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 23 March 1779; 191: same to same, 26 March 1779; L30/15/54/125: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 19–22 March 1779.

⁷⁰ Navascués, 'Protagonists of the "Antigüedades"'; Schulz, "Porcelain of the Moors".

began influencing British understandings of the Alhambra much earlier through Swinburne, who compared his observations with the academy's drafts and fed them into his own work. Twiss had tried to buy copies of the drawings, but they were kept in such secrecy that he could only 'with much difficulty' get the general view of the palace included in his book.⁷¹ How, then, did Swinburne see everything a few years later? The presumption has been that his Catholicism afforded him privileged access, but it was Grantham's connections and his chaplain's interests that gave Swinburne his head start.⁷²

Waddilove was fascinated by the Islamic past. His own description of Granada is lost, but he returned to Madrid talking enthusiastically about its 'Moorish buildings quite different from any thing in Europe'.⁷³ Waddilove also owned an Arabic-Spanish grammar, suggesting an interest in linguistic as well as architectural legacies.⁷⁴ It is therefore no surprise that, a few months before his southern tour, he had borrowed drafts of the *Antigüedades* from the royal librarian, Miguel Casiri, and pored over them at home. Grantham's reputation at court offered unusual access to the project, having allowed the ambassador to send home updates on its progress the previous year.⁷⁵ It was a fortunate coincidence for British knowledge of Spain that Waddilove was borrowing the drafts when Swinburne visited, allowing the latter to spend days 'closely screwed down to a table in Mr Robinson's Antechamber, copying Arches, & plans, & dog Latin'.⁷⁶ Clearly, Swinburne was looking at plans and sketches for the first volume by José de Hermosilla, Juan de Villanueva and Juan Pedro Arnal, as well as Casiri's draft Arabic-to-Latin translations for the second.⁷⁷ Swinburne would not leave such 'Treasures' even to eat, taking soup at the same table. As a result, some of his sketches and published plates strongly resemble those that would appear in the *Antigüedades*. When the second volume of the academy's text finally appeared in 1804, it praised Swinburne's illustrations but criticised his translations of the Arabic inscriptions, which it presumed he had put into English from an

⁷¹ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 245; Navascués, 'Protagonists of the "Antigüedades"', 130.

⁷² Lock, *Catholicism, Identity and Politics*, 67–70.

⁷³ BA L30/17/2/154: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 16 December 1776.

⁷⁴ Waddilove's copy of Cañes, *Gramática árabe-española* was in the collection of Don Lorenzo Zambrano sold by Morton Subastas, Mexico City, June 2020.

⁷⁵ BA L30/14/315/29: Grantham to Beilby Porteus, 6 November 1775.

⁷⁶ BA L30/14/370/2: Swinburne to Grantham, 31 May 1776; Swinburne, *Courts of Europe*, I, 110, 115.

⁷⁷ Hermosilla, Villanueva and Arnal had replaced original drawings by Diego Sánchez Sarabia, with most of their new plates engraved by 1775, and Casiri's Latin was later revised for publication by Pablo Lozano: Navascués, 'Protagonists of the "Antigüedades"', 131, 135, 139–40.

unknown Latin source.⁷⁸ That source was probably Casiri's drafts, which Swinburne had only seen because of Grantham and Waddilove.

This unprecedented emphasis on the Alhambra was the key to Swinburne's popularity in Britain, as [Chapter 8](#) will explore, but the ambassador's circle worried for the book's fate in Madrid. Frederick thought that 'the Spaniards if any of them read it will not like it', going on the dissatisfaction of the Spanish ambassador's secretary in London, and he predicted that 'the Inquisition will prohibit it as an heretical performance'.⁷⁹ In fact, the Inquisition did not much concern itself with travel writing: among its list of prohibited books, there is nothing in English and only d'Aulnoy in French, whose work was bowdlerised rather than banned.⁸⁰ Frederick was right in a sense, though, because the next chapter will show that Swinburne's book became a focus for Spanish rebuttals of foreign travel writing, including by Grantham's friend, Antonio Ponz. As in Robertson's case, the ambassador and his retinue had connected a British writer to the very Madrid circles that would later criticise him in print. These connections nevertheless helped to ensure the domestic success of *The History of America and Travels Through Spain*, providing access to scholarship and source material that was wholly new to a British reading public.

Encounters with Spain in Britain

If Grantham's circle helped Robertson and Swinburne to stimulate British interest in the Spanish past and present, the depth of the ambassador's personal correspondence also offers the chance to assess how elite and, sometimes, middle-class Britons engaged with Spain and its empire. Grantham's Cambridge tutor, Beilby Porteus, had never visited the country and claimed to have read little about it before his former pupil's embassy. As a result, when Porteus told Grantham about the questions he was fielding from friends, he hinted at wider British understandings:

When did you hear from your friend Lord Grantham? How does he like Madrid? How does the climate agree with him? How does his Vivacity accord with Spanish Solemnity? What pursuits

⁷⁸ Anon., *Antigüedades árabes de España*, II, preface.

⁷⁹ BA L30/14/333/190: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 23 March 1779.

⁸⁰ Martínez de Bujanda (ed.), *Índice de libros prohibidos y expurgados*, 307.

has he found out to employ his active Genius? What account does he send you of the Ecclesiastic & literary State of the Country? What illustrious monuments has he seen of Moorish or of Roman Grandeur?⁸¹

In response, Grantham wrote about Carlos III's court, the sights of Madrid, the local climate, national character and the fandango, as well as Spanish spelling and pronunciation.⁸² These descriptions encouraged Porteus, a royal chaplain who would become Bishop of Chester in 1776, into light-hearted comparisons: Peterborough was his Escorial, 'For here are, a Church, a Palace (for the Bishop) & very large remains of one of the most antient & magnificent monasteries in the Kingdom', as well as his own house on ground formerly dedicated to St Laurence. 'If you will make me Archbishop of Toledo', wrote Porteus, 'I will absolutely come & reform you all.'⁸³

What people knew about Spain, and how they consumed the country at home, are questions that tend to be overlooked in favour of studying French and Italian influence on eighteenth-century British culture. Where Spanish themes are broached, it is often by art historians working to a model derived from the Italian Grand Tour, such that one of the few areas of Anglo-Spanish cultural exchange to draw much attention has been the collection of Spanish painters.⁸⁴ Grantham is afforded a prominent role in accounts of changing artistic tastes, but his papers shed light on so much more. They reveal that British images of Spain had many facets: the Earl of Carlisle owned a Velázquez, as is commonly mentioned in histories of British engagement with Spanish art, but he also sent for Spanish wine and asked about bullfighting.⁸⁵ All these things shaped his mental picture of the country. Grantham's letters show that objects with resonance of Spain and its empire worked alongside travel writing, published histories and correspondence to produce vicarious encounters with the country.

⁸¹ BA L30/14/315/12: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 30 May 1772.

⁸² BA L30/14/315/24: Grantham to Beilby Porteus, 22 June 1772; 2: Porteus to Grantham, 15 March 1773; 25: Grantham to Porteus, 15 July 1773. Letters from Grantham's Grand Tour also show a shared interest in linguistics: L30/14/315/22: Grantham to Porteus, 13 January 1759; 23: same to same, 23 February 1760.

⁸³ BA L30/14/315/6: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 26 August 1775; 7: same to same, 4 February 1774; 10: same to same, 24 December 1777.

⁸⁴ Howarth, *Invention of Spain*; Glendinning and Macartney (eds), *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland*.

⁸⁵ BA L30/14/188/3: Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, to Grantham, 10 November 1771; Glendinning, 'Cross-cultural contacts with Spain', 17.

It must be said that Grantham made important contributions to British appreciation of Spanish painting, as did predecessors and successors in Madrid, from Benjamin Keene's efforts in the first half of the eighteenth century to Austen Henry Layard's 'cultural crusade' of the 1870s.⁸⁶ Although art historians emphasise the Peninsular War in explanations of changing taste, the popularity of Murillo and, later, Velázquez had already established itself during the eighteenth century, and Grantham is given a role in the latter development. Anton Raphael Mengs, Carlos III's court painter, had portrayed Grantham in Italy and probably encouraged his interest in Velázquez during his years in Madrid. The ambassador commissioned one of Mengs's students to make copies from the royal collection for his seat at Newby Hall and sent friends in England, including Joshua Reynolds, sets of Goya's etchings after Velázquez. Grantham was even compiling a catalogue of works by the latter, 'a great favourite of mine', and asked Pelham to find examples in Italy.⁸⁷ The undertaking was never completed, but it helps to explain why the ambassador enjoyed a reputation as a virtuoso at the Spanish court.

Like other diplomats, Grantham provided access to foreign art markets for friends, relations and clients at home.⁸⁸ Among them were his sister, Theresa, and her husband, John Parker, later Baron Boringdon, who were interested in Murillo. Originals were difficult to secure, but Grantham and his friends at court found a painter to copy two works at the royal palace, which still hang at Saltram, the Parkers' home in Devon.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Grantham's other sister, Anne, acted as an agent for the distribution of lesser items. Frederick sent her prints of bullfighting, for example, hoping that she would keep as many as she liked and give out the rest.⁹⁰ Other gifts were more personal: a plan of Madrid with her brothers' house marked, an engraved portrait of Frederick by one De la Cruz, and sample engravings of Grantham's own sketches of the royal *sittios* (for a later version of one sketch, of Aranjuez, see [Figure 5.3](#)).⁹¹ The ambassador is sometimes afforded a heroic role – Velázquez's 'first serious advocate' in Britain, 'the first Englishman to have noticed

⁸⁶ Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 125, 145–52, 160; Glendinning, 'Nineteenth-century British envoys'.

⁸⁷ BA L30/17/4/152: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 20 January 1777; Glendinning, Harris and Russell, 'Grantham and the taste for Velázquez'; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 121–5.

⁸⁸ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 65–90; Mori, *Culture of Diplomacy*, 158–60.

⁸⁹ BA L30/14/333/198: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 27 April 1779; Glendinning, Harris and Russell, 'Grantham and the taste for Velázquez', 602–3.

⁹⁰ BA L30/17/2/102: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 3 January 1775.

⁹¹ BA L30/17/2/123: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 2 October 1775; L30/17/4/43: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 11 January 1773; 116: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 11 September 1775; 193: same to same, 17 April 1778.



Figure 5.3 'Distant view of the Palace at Aranjuez' by Amabel Hume Campbell, Countess de Grey after Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham (1790s). Source: BM museum number 1881,0108.70. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Goya' – but his interests and activities depended upon developments in Spain.⁹² The involvement of Mengs is clear, but so too is that of Antonio Ponz, whose *Viage de España* was then fostering appreciation of Spanish art.⁹³ Ponz helped to find a copyist for the Parkers' Murillos, for example, gave them his seal of approval and showed Pelham notable works around Madrid.⁹⁴ Grantham may have been unusually cultured, but he also happened to be in Madrid during an important period for Spanish artistic self-promotion.

Art was only a small part of how the British consumed Spain, however, and it was in everyday products, as much as the conveyance of a Velázquez, that Grantham's circle contributed to knowledge of the country. Anne Robinson distributed all sorts of Spanish goods to friends and relations in England. Besides the Murillo copies, the Parkers received wine, sherry and seeds for the garden at Saltram.⁹⁵ Anne also dealt with commissions for wine and sherry from a long list of friends and neighbours, as did Grantham himself.⁹⁶ Spanish wine had come second to imports from France in the late seventeenth century but took first place during the Nine Years' War. It then suffered from conflicts and embargoes in the first half of the eighteenth century, clearing the way for port to dominate middle-class and – by the 1780s and 1790s – aristocratic consumption in Britain, though national figures hide the enduring taste for French claret among the elite. The rise of sherry would return Spanish imports to primacy in the mid-nineteenth century, but Grantham's embassy came at a relative low point for British consumption of wines from Spain, though they remained second nationally to those of Portugal.⁹⁷ The ambassador offered easier access to Spanish options, however, and perhaps the chance for early adoption of sherry. The Parkers certainly enjoyed the wine and sherry from Grantham, who had sent 'a great deal' of the latter to friends at home, and Thomas Pelham

⁹² Glendinning, Harris and Russell, 'Grantham and the taste for Velázquez', 605; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 122.

⁹³ For Ponz, see [Chapter 6](#).

⁹⁴ BA L30/15/54/112: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, January 1779; 138: same to same, 9 May 1779; Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 123–4.

⁹⁵ BA L30/15/66/15: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 21 September 1778; L30/17/4/148: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 25 November 1776; 229: same to same, 3 December 1778.

⁹⁶ BA L30/14/140/7: William, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, to Grantham, 10 March 1774; 8: same to same, April 1774; 10: same to same, 7 July 1774; L30/14/188/3: Earl of Carlisle to Grantham, 10 November 1771; L30/14/333/183: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 2 March 1779; L30/17/4/51: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 3 May 1773; 114: same to same, 14 August 1775; 137: same to same, 8 July 1776; 148: same to same, 25 November 1776; 152: same to same, 20 January 1777; 202: same to same, 18 June 1778.

⁹⁷ Ludington, *Politics of Wine in Britain*, 130, 139, 145, 229–37. For relevant graphs, see 24, 39, 68, 131, 168, 172, 234.

offered his father some Spanish wine, as 'it seems to be much drank in England'. Grantham himself made sure to stock his cellar before leaving the country for good.⁹⁸

Spanish horses were more difficult to bring home. Their established reputation in England – for riding rather than racing – was burnished by travellers such as Twiss, who wrote of 'justly celebrated and beautiful Andalusian horses'.⁹⁹ Grantham's letters include individuals valuing an animal 'merely because he is Spanish' and curious 'to know something of a Spanish Horse', especially once George III had been seen on one in 1779.¹⁰⁰ Twiss warned that 'it is death to export' them, however, and recounted the difficulties he had faced in attempting to do so at Gibraltar. Accordingly, diplomats fielded requests from travellers for passports to take horses out of Spain and acquaintances at home saw an opportunity to secure a prestigious mount.¹⁰¹ Grantham's uncle, Thomas Worsley – who had built his house at Hovingham around its stables – was particularly keen to get hold of Spanish horses. His nephew bought two of them through the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Carlos III's equerry, Uncle Worsley not baulking at £500 for an unseen animal facing a long sea voyage.¹⁰² Works of art were not the only Spanish souvenirs to stretch finances.

If paintings, wine and horses carried Spain into England, other items brought home Spain's American empire. The English had recognised the quality of Cuban tobacco since the seventeenth century, but travellers to Spain – and especially to the royal factory in Seville – had raised its profile even further.¹⁰³ Grantham sent a box of 'very choice' Havana snuff for the queen and Tom Pelham brought home another, of unrecorded quality, for his sister.¹⁰⁴ Cocoa was another

⁹⁸ BA L30/14/333/140: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 20 October 1778; L30/17/4/148: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 25 November 1776; BL Add MS 33127, fol. 42: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 29 August 1776.

⁹⁹ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 253, 267–8. On the popularity of Spanish horses, see Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, 71–4, 239.

¹⁰⁰ BA L30/14/7/12: Francis Andrews to Grantham, 3 March 1773; L30/14/333/199: Frederick Robinson to same, 20 April 1779; L30/15/66/24: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 26 November 1778.

¹⁰¹ For examples from Liston: NLS MS.5539, fol. 11: William Burton Conyngham to Robert Liston, 4 December 1783; MS.5541, fol. 48v: H. Read to Liston, 16 June 1784; MS.5544, fol. 73: Alexander Garden [sic] to Liston, 23 February 1786. Dr Achmet, ever alive to opportunities for patronage, tried to get Spanish horses for the Duke and Duchess of Leinster: BA L30/14/2/17: Achmet to Grantham, 2 October 1777.

¹⁰² BA L30/14/333/103: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 21 July 1778; L30/15/54/53: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 26 June–2 July 1778; 75: same to same, 1–3 September 1778; Giles Worsley, 'Worsley, Thomas (1711–1778)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63121>.

¹⁰³ Sweet and Ansell, 'Othering Spain through tobacco'. On the tobacco factory, see [Chapter 3](#).

¹⁰⁴ BA L30/17/4/63: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 25 October 1773; BL Add MS 33126, fol. 246v: Lord Pelham to Thomas Pelham, 30 December 1775.

well-known Spanish imperial product by this time, but it could 'easily be sent in large quantities' from Madrid, much to the pleasure of the Robinsons' relations.¹⁰⁵ The most prominent Spanish American product in Grantham's papers was the fine wool of the vicuña, an Andean relation of the llama and alpaca. Frederick's vicuña frock coat was much admired after his early return to England, encouraging him to boast of 'setting the fashion' in London and tempting the Pelhams and Parkers into their own orders. A sample of the wool, intended for their suits, survives among Grantham's letters.¹⁰⁶ With consumer goods, as with scholarship and collecting, Spain acted as a gateway to America for travellers, diplomats and their friends at home.

It would be easy to overplay the consumption of Spanish goods. Grantham's friends and family were not necessarily Hispanophiles, but rather general collectors and vicarious travellers with a contact in an interesting country. They consumed Spanish things as much because Grantham was there, as because they were from Spain. The ambassador and his circle even bemoaned the difficulty of getting high-quality gifts. Waddilove returned empty-handed on one trip home because in Spain 'Invention is never born, new Fashions come late, & every thing is clumsily made', while Pelham 'never could find' his father 'any thing really Spanish worth the Expence of carriage'.¹⁰⁷ Obligated to get Sir Ralph Payne 'some indigenous present', in return for prints, busts and champagne, Grantham hesitated between vicuña wool, a Spanish translation of Sallust or a gun barrel, which he had already sent to a couple of Yorkshiremen.¹⁰⁸ Some gifts evidently received little thought. But why should such items – even reluctantly chosen and unexpectedly received – be any less part of Anglo-Spanish cultural exchange? A vicuña coat at a London event or a serving of sherry among friends embodied Spain and its empire for those at home just as much as any copied Murillo.

¹⁰⁵ BA L30/17/2/102: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 3 January 1775; BL Add MS 33126, fol. 246v: Lord Pelham to Thomas Pelham, 30 December 1775. Drinking chocolate had spread in England over the second half of the seventeenth century, beginning 'among wealthy hispanophiles, courtiers, and metropolitans with strong mercantile or diplomatic ties': Loveman, 'Introduction of chocolate into England', 38.

¹⁰⁶ BA L30/14/333/166: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 30 December 1778; L30/17/4/201: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 10 June 1778.

¹⁰⁷ BA L30/17/4/95: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 18 December 1774; BL Add MS 33127, fol. 42: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 29 August 1776.

¹⁰⁸ BA L30/15/54/123: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 5–8 March 1779; L30/17/4/83: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 18 July 1774.

Reading about Spain

The 1770s were a decade in which British people deepened their knowledge of Spain through reading, not least books by Robertson and Swinburne, but what could they get hold of and how did they read it? Grantham's correspondence gives a few glimpses, most notably of Beilby Porteus, who began reading about Spain so that he could discuss the country with Grantham. Porteus received his former pupil's vitriol about Twiss, but thought d'Aulnoy a good guide because 'the Inhabitants are said to be reasonably tenacious of old Customs'.¹⁰⁹ More seriously, Porteus and Grantham discussed Robertson's *History of America* and Robert Watson's *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, both of which appeared in 1777.¹¹⁰ The clergyman appreciated Watson, whose book had been well received, but it was so full of 'Persecution, Treachery, Carnage, deliberate Inhumanity, & brutal ferocity' that he had barely finished the first volume, which he seems to have read with his family. Robertson had a similar subject, on the conquests of Cortés and Pizarro, but Porteus preferred his emphasis on individual culpability rather than national shame. 'Let him write as many Volumes as he pleases', he concluded, 'I will read them all.'¹¹¹ The Porteus family, at least, were keen for a way out of the Black Legend.

Porteus did not move beyond British writing about Spain, but his interest in the country offers a window onto deeper engagement by another clergyman, John Butler, who was Bishop of Oxford from 1777. Butler arrived one day while Porteus was writing to Grantham and agreed to put the letter into fluent Spanish, including humorous translations of his location ('la Abadia de la Comunidad Monastica de la Santa Cruz cerca de la Ciudad de Winchester') and his assistant ('el Padre Butler Canonigo de Winchester'). Porteus claimed to have learned the language in a day, but Grantham realised the trick and responded in kind. He switched to English when asking after Mrs Porteus, though, because 'in writing to a Clergyman in Spanish, it appears to me a solecism, an Heresy, to ask him how his Wife does'.¹¹² Why was Butler so

¹⁰⁹ BA L30/14/315/3: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 18 November 1774; 29: Grantham to Porteus, 6 November 1775.

¹¹⁰ On the popularity and anti-Spanish arguments of Watson's book, intended as a sequel to Robertson's on Charles V, see Allan, 'Anti-Hispanicism'.

¹¹¹ BA L30/14/315/17: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 10 August 1777; 10: same to same, 24 December 1777. Grantham's secretary found that Watson 'has not the Art of interesting his Reader much, even in interesting Subjects': Clements Library, 1940.M-408: Thomas Shadwell to John Marsh, 18 July 1777.

¹¹² BA L30/14/315/30: Beilby Porteus to Grantham, 10 August 1776; 32: Grantham to Porteus, 17 October 1776; 16: Porteus to Grantham, 21 December 1776.

proficient in the language? He had been born to a merchant in Hamburg, so perhaps he had acquired it in a business context, but by the 1770s he was building a Spanish library and asked Waddilove to help him ‘compleat’ his collection of the essayist Benito Jerónimo Feijóo.¹¹³ This chance encounter with Butler’s pursuits suggests a wider hinterland of British interest in Spain.

For most British readers, as [Chapter 1](#) made clear, Spanish literature began and ended with *Don Quixote*; other texts made relatively little impact. Recent work on Spanish books in London overlooks translations and English- or French-language travel writing, making it difficult to turn towards wider points about British engagement with Spain, since people learned about the country in a variety of ways. Inevitably, Spanish-language texts played a minor role in the cultural life of the English capital, and finding a few Spanish titles in large libraries cannot reveal whether they were read.¹¹⁴ What is clear, however, is that those who wanted to move beyond Cervantes needed access to the book market in Madrid. Waddilove and Frederick bought items for travellers who had recently left Spain, with Gascoigne and Swinburne getting volumes of Lope de Vega and Pelham several collections of Golden Age poetry.¹¹⁵ As Waddilove prepared to come home, an inventory of boxes sent back to England included books for friends. Robertson and Watson – who had published his history of Philip II the previous year and was moving onto Philip III – received a box each.¹¹⁶ Thomas Shadwell, the secretary, got three and Pelham two, including the latest volumes of Ponz’s *Viage de España*. Box 14 held a mixture: Velázquez prints, Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla’s new illustrated collection of Spanish costumes, a recent atlas by Tomás López, volumes of Lope de Vega and other poetic and scholarly works were divided among Grantham, Frederick, Waddilove, Pelham, Robertson, Watson and a couple of other acquaintances.¹¹⁷ The ambassador’s group introduced friends to a range of Spanish literature and to the latest Madrid publications.

The difficulty of getting Spanish books in England meant that Grantham’s circle could make significant contributions by working with booksellers.¹¹⁸ Antonio and Gabriel de Sancha of Madrid sometimes

¹¹³ BA L30/15/66/31: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 26 April 1779.

¹¹⁴ Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 254–9. For library holdings, see 181–228.

¹¹⁵ BA L30/14/408/83: Waddilove to Grantham, 9 September 1777; L30/15/66/5: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 8 November 1776; 21: same to same, [24 August?] 1778.

¹¹⁶ Watson, *Philip the Second*; Watson, *Philip the Third*, published posthumously.

¹¹⁷ BA L30/15/66/16: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 24 September 1778; Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 135–6.

¹¹⁸ On London booksellers, see Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 229–50.

exchanged stock directly with Benjamin White in London, but on other occasions they used Frederick or Waddilove as intermediaries.¹¹⁹ In 1777, the Sanchas sent a parcel to White, including 12 copies of the Golden Age poet José de Villaviciosa, and received six of Robertson's *History of America* in return, just before it was banned in Spain.¹²⁰ On occasion, Waddilove even recommended books for White to put on sale: De la Cruz Cano's collection of Spanish costumes would, he thought, do well in London.¹²¹ The flow of books from Madrid received official encouragement, too, and many letters concern efforts to place a Spanish translation of Sallust by Carlos III's son, the Infante Don Gabriel, on the shelves at the British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge.¹²² Grantham also promised to send the universities books by the late Juan de Iriarte but, thinking poorly of Iriarte's Latin, he decided to keep them for the time being and 'slide them on a shelf' at his return.¹²³ Though at times reluctantly, the ambassador's circle worked with booksellers and institutions, as well as friends, to widen British engagement with Spanish publications.

A two-way exchange

The art-historical approach that has dominated the few accounts of eighteenth-century British engagement with Spanish culture tends to envisage a one-way flow of artworks coming into Britain and working effects on British taste. Most, with some justification, cast Grantham in a prominent role. Yet if his personal papers afford so much more depth to British engagement with Spain and its empire, they also show a two-way exchange. As with the flow of goods into Britain, members of Grantham's circle emerge as key facilitators, providing Spanish and diplomatic elites at the Bourbon court with the products of British manufacturing and intellectual enquiry. As such, Grantham, Frederick and Waddilove

¹¹⁹ Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 133–4, 231–2; BA L30/15/66/16: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 24 September 1778.

¹²⁰ BA L30/14/408/85: Waddilove to Grantham, 13 September 1777.

¹²¹ BA L30/15/66/11: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 4 June 1778; Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 134; Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, *Colección de trajes de España*.

¹²² BA L30/14/48: letters between Grantham and M. Maty (librarian of British Museum), 1773; L30/14/63: letters between Grantham and University of Cambridge, 1773–6; L30/14/262: letters between Grantham and Thomas Fothergill, 1773–5; L30/15/54/123: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 5–8 March 1779.

¹²³ BA L30/14/315/26: Grantham to Beilby Porteus, 18 July 1774. The Bodleian has several books by Iriarte, but none appear to be annotated.

played a small role in creating among Spanish elites the image of Britain as a centre of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.¹²⁴

The ambassador's correspondence includes regular requests for British-made carriages, watches, fabrics and Staffordshire ware from Spanish courtiers and foreign diplomats.¹²⁵ Grantham and his circle, including his sisters at home, dealt with Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Bentley to send porcelain to the Duque del Infantado, the phenomenally wealthy Duque de Arcos and others at Madrid.¹²⁶ Arcos's new duchess also commissioned a pianoforte overseen by one Mr Paxton, of the musical family, as did the Marqués de Branciforte, an Italian in Spanish service.¹²⁷ Grantham even worked with the coachmaker John Wright to provide sought-after English carriages for local courtiers and foreign diplomats in Madrid, including the Portuguese ambassador.¹²⁸ There was probably similar demand for British goods in Portugal, where Pombal also bought samples from Wedgwood and Bentley, but the long-standing representative in Lisbon, Robert Walpole, has left fewer papers that might track such exchanges.¹²⁹ Although exports from Britain to Spain and Portugal were in decline after 1760, the creation of a national brand – especially for ceramics, metal goods and furniture – kept the cachet of British commodities high.¹³⁰ As Thomas Lister noticed in the homes of Madrid, 'English Manufactures are universally produced first as the best Goods they have in their possession'.¹³¹

In his most ambitious project, Grantham aimed to supply Spain and its empire with Irish cloth. An early visitor from Dublin, Francis Andrews, had connected him with Dr Achmet, an eccentric character who ran 'Royal Baths' in the city. Achmet was in fact Patrick Joyce, 'an Hibernian Hercules drest in a Turban & a Turkish Habit', his clothing and identity marketing for the baths.¹³² During a miserable period for

¹²⁴ On the image of England in the Spanish press, see Villamediana González, *Anglomanía*.

¹²⁵ Especially letters between Grantham in Spain and Frederick Robinson in England, 1778–9: BA L30/14/333/1–216; L30/15/54/1–156.

¹²⁶ BA L30/14/193/3: Infantado to Grantham, 9 April 1777; L30/14/333/187: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 16 March 1779; L30/14/417/1–3: Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Bentley to Grantham, 1771–8; L30/14/425/1: Wood to Grantham, 9 August 1774; BA L30/17/4/49: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 5 April 1773.

¹²⁷ BA L30/14/333/211: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 25 May 1779; Crosby, 'Stephen and other Paxtons'.

¹²⁸ BA L30/14/426/1–5: John Wright to Grantham, 1773–5; Jackson, 'To make a figure in the world'.

¹²⁹ BA L30/14/417/1: Wedgwood and Bentley to Grantham, 9 December 1771.

¹³⁰ Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 280–4. On the British manufacturing brand in an American context, see 279–325.

¹³¹ ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14 [Lister], notes relating to a tour (unfoliated).

¹³² BA L30/14/7/14: Francis Andrews to Grantham, 4 May 1773; 16: same to same, 16 July 1773. On Achmet, see Musielak, 'Bathing in porphyry'.

the Irish economy, he hoped to set up large exports of poplin to Spain and its empire, noting that Irish linen was also well suited to wear in the Spanish American colonies.¹³³ The import of foreign textiles into Spain was illegal, so Grantham distributed contraband among the Spanish elite in the hope of influencing the king.¹³⁴ The samples were admired and Grantham sent back dozens of commissions for poplin suits, including some from *grandees*.¹³⁵ Frederick boasted that his brother had clothed the court of Spain and the Dublin Corporation of Weavers even honoured Grantham for introducing their *tabinet* and poplin as 'fashionable wear', though it must have helped that English-style frock coats and dresses were then becoming popular among the Spanish elite.¹³⁶ A merchant based in Madrid, Patrick Joyes (apparently no relation of Joyce/Achmet), was planning to import Achmet's linen, but Spain's entry into the American War of Independence must have ended these schemes.¹³⁷ While Grantham had been able, he had, for Achmet as for Wedgwood, 'greatly fomented our manufactures' in Spain.¹³⁸

As Benjamin White's collaboration with the Sancha family has already suggested, books were central to the two-way exchange that emerges from Grantham's papers. If art has been the main focus of Anglo-Spanish relations as seen by historians of Britain, scholars working on Spain have increasingly dealt with books, as part of efforts to correct the old assumption that the country's readers and thinkers fell outside an Anglo-French Enlightenment.¹³⁹ The steady flow of books from London is an important aspect of their arguments, and Grantham helped to satisfy lively demand for the latest English-language publications among royals, courtiers and scholars in Madrid.¹⁴⁰ The Infante Don Luis, Carlos III's brother, received Thomas Pennant's *British Zoology*, 'a very fine work, ... not yet in his Library', and the Infante Don Gabriel, the king's son, got

¹³³ BA L30/14/2/5: Achmet to Grantham, 30 December 1775; 16: same to same, 19 August 1776.

¹³⁴ BA L30/14/2/4: Achmet to Grantham, 6 October 1775; 9: same to same, 29 December 1776; L30/14/435/24: Spanish royal order against import of foreign textiles, 1772.

¹³⁵ BA L30/14/2/13: Achmet to Grantham, 30 April 1777; 18a: Grantham to Achmet, 27 August 1778; L30/14/202/46: Patrick Joyes to Grantham, 9 April 1777; L30/15/54/123: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 5–8 March 1779; L30/17/4/137: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 8 July 1776.

¹³⁶ BA L30/14/333/118: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 31 July 1778; L30/14/2/7: Richard Fox to Grantham, 17 August 1776; L30/14/414/1: Corporation of Weavers to Grantham, undated; Giorgi, 'Nuevas prendas para los nuevos tiempos', 109; Amaro Martos, 'Revolución de la moda', 312–13.

¹³⁷ BA L30/15/54/69: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, August 1778.

¹³⁸ BA L30/17/4/137: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 8 July 1776.

¹³⁹ Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, though for its shortcomings, see John Stone's review in *The Library*, 21 (1) (2020), 128–32.

¹⁴⁰ For English libraries in Spain as products of social networks, including Grantham, see Stone, 'Case for English as a language of culture'; Saéz-Hidalgo, 'Anglo-Spanish Enlightenment'.

several finely bound books from Oxford and a translation of Isaiah by the Bishop of London.¹⁴¹ Most strikingly, Don Gabriel received John Baskerville's fine edition of the King James Bible, as perhaps did others at court.¹⁴² Felice Gazzola, one of Carlos III's Italian courtiers, borrowed Lord Chesterfield's *Letters* and received William Chambers's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, while the cartographer royal Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla requested Cook's *Voyages*.¹⁴³ The well-travelled Count of Fernán Nuñez received Cook and a copy of Robertson's *History of America*.¹⁴⁴ Grantham's circle also helped to market British scholarship, securing subscribers for Benjamin Kennicott's book on the Old Testament ('even in Spain'), James Nasmyth's edition of medieval *Itineraria* and Samuel Horsley's of Isaac Newton; Horsley's Spanish subscribers apparently outnumbered all other foreigners.¹⁴⁵ With the active input of recipients in Madrid, the ambassador and his friends helped to convey the latest British publications. They emerge from their correspondence as important intermediaries in the flow of Spanish goods and learning to Britain, and of British goods and learning to Spain.

The afterlives of Grantham's embassy

Spanish entry into the American War of Independence forced Grantham back to England in July 1779, Swinburne's *Travels* in hand on the road north, but the decade-long encounter with Spain continued to shape the ambassador and his circle.¹⁴⁶ Both he and Frederick had acquired good spoken and written Spanish and peppered letters to each other with phrases in the years afterwards.¹⁴⁷ On occasion, well into the 1780s,

¹⁴¹ BA L30/17/4/86: Grantham to Anne Robinson, 15 August 1774; L30/15/54/120: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, February 1779; 137a: loose note, April/May 1779.

¹⁴² BA L30/14/408/80: Waddilove to Grantham, 28 August 1777; L30/15/54/117: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, February 1779.

¹⁴³ BA L30/14/71/1: William Chambers to Grantham, 13 August 1773; L30/14/408/86: Waddilove to same, 17 September 1777.

¹⁴⁴ BA L30/14/408/82: Waddilove to Grantham, 2 September 1777.

¹⁴⁵ BA L30/14/186/1: Samuel Horsley to Grantham, 5 December 1776; L30/14/208/1–3: Benjamin Kennicott to Grantham, 27 February 1773–20 April 1783; L30/14/315/2: Beilby Porteus to same, 15 March 1773; 30: same to same, 10 August 1776; L30/15/66/21: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, [24 August?] 1778.

¹⁴⁶ BA L30/15/54/155: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 8–16 July 1779.

¹⁴⁷ BA L30/14/3/1: Conde de Aguilar to Grantham, February 1777; L30/14/333/101: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 9 June 1778; 138: same to same, 9 October 1778; 155: same to same, 27 December 1778; 171: same to same, 19 January 1779; 182: same to same, 26 February 1779; 209: same to same, 18 May 1779; 265: same to same, 19 September 1783; L30/15/54/136: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 23 April 1779; 137: same to same, 1–3 May 1779.

they wrote to acquaintances at Madrid in the language.¹⁴⁸ They also saw plenty of Spanish company in London, including the Bourbon ambassador's entourage.¹⁴⁹ For these and other social occasions, Frederick owned a Spanish waistcoat, alongside his vicuña frock coat, and the Robinsons were still receiving vicuña wool from Spain for their own clothing into the mid-1780s.¹⁵⁰ They had also exported four Spanish horses during the embassy, at least one of which (Chico) was for Frederick and another (Rocinante, named after Don Quixote's steed) for Waddilove.¹⁵¹ The horses came to England with a groom, Diego, who preferred the country and was still working for Waddilove a few years later.¹⁵²

Grantham and Frederick lived surrounded by memories of Spain. Their Yorkshire home housed what Waddilove called 'the Newby Collection of Spanish Literature' and Grantham had a case of Spanish books and prints of Campomanes in his London library in the mid-1780s, when Frederick's 'Spanish Books sobre las Indias' were available for others to borrow.¹⁵³ Frederick was still receiving packages from booksellers in Madrid later in the decade.¹⁵⁴ It is more difficult to establish other aspects of the Robinsons' day-to-day surroundings, but they brought home 'semioval' tables of Valencian marble and bespoke Spanish 'sophas' and damask furnishings for drawing rooms in London and Yorkshire, as well as mysterious 'sarcophagi from Granada'.¹⁵⁵ There is no inventory of Grantham's picture collection in the 1780s, when it must have included more Spanish items than his 13 copies of Velázquez,¹⁵⁶ but art was only one way in which the Robinsons advertised their Spanish experiences, alongside language, dress, horses, libraries and furnishings.

¹⁴⁸ BA L30/15/54/245: Grantham to Francisco Pérez Bayer, 13 January 1785; L30/14/333/307: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 23 January 1785.

¹⁴⁹ BA L30/15/54/69: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, August 1778.

¹⁵⁰ BA L30/14/296/1: John Parker to Grantham, 30 November 1779; L30/14/333/261: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 9 September 1783; 281: same to same, 24 June 1784; 304: same to same, 16 January 1785.

¹⁵¹ BA L30/14/333/166: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 30 December 1778; L30/15/54/83: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 3–9 October 1778.

¹⁵² BA L30/14/289/1: unidentified correspondent to Grantham, 24 October 1779; L30/14/333/106: Frederick Robinson to same, 22 June 1778; L30/15/54/181: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 4 August 1781.

¹⁵³ BA L30/14/333/306: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 22 January 1785; 329: same to same, 29 November 1785; L30/15/66/21: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, [24 August?] 1778.

¹⁵⁴ NLS MS.5549, fol. 139: Frederick Robinson to Robert Liston, 30 December 1787; MS.5550, fol. 123: same to same, 28 March 1788.

¹⁵⁵ BA L30/14/333/187: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 16 March 1779; L30/14/408/101: Waddilove to Grantham, 11 November 1779; L30/15/54/102: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 24–28 November 1778; 123: same to same, 5–8 March 1779.

¹⁵⁶ Glendinning, Harris and Russell, 'Grantham and the taste for Velázquez', 604.

Grantham and Frederick mocked Waddilove's collecting habits, joking about a 'Musaeum Topcliffeanum' assembled for his vicarage at Topcliffe in Yorkshire. As embassy chaplain, he had regularly visited auctions and the Rastro market, the 'Rag fair of Madrid', and he sent home boxes full of personal possessions.¹⁵⁷ They included etchings of Velázquez from Ponz's *Viage de España*, the illustrations for De la Cruz Cano's book of costume, López's atlas, a collection of literature, guides to Spanish and Portuguese roads, specimens of marble, gypsum and 'Madrid Diamond', and 'a piece of Roman Pavement'.¹⁵⁸ Waddilove gathered natural curiosities that represented Spain and its empire, from Mexican minerals to 'sundry Spanish Plants'. He had also discussed America with Antonio de Ulloa, the traveller and colonial governor, who promised to enrich his collection – as Grantham put it – 'with stones, Roots, seeds & what not'.¹⁵⁹ A couple of years after his return, Waddilove's museum even included 'some Malaga figures, which Diego dresses on holydays, with sprigs & Flowers as Nuns would an Alter Piece'.¹⁶⁰ Visitors to Topcliffe were entertained with a cellar of Spanish wine, which Waddilove replenished well into the 1780s, and enjoyed first-hand encounters with Spain and its American empire.¹⁶¹

At the heart of Waddilove's collection were his books. He had got rid of some before leaving Madrid, with Anglican sermons and Classical texts ending up at the English College in Valladolid, but he still brought home plenty of titles.¹⁶² As he told Frederick a few months before his return, 'We ought to know more, & have more of the Spanish good or useful Books than any body else'.¹⁶³ Almost 40 years later, a visitor noted that Waddilove's library was indeed 'rich in Spanish lore'.¹⁶⁴ He eventually bequeathed some items to York Minster, including Casiri's catalogue of Arabic manuscripts and Thomas Falconer's edition

¹⁵⁷ BA L30/15/54/59: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 12–17 July 1778; 123: same to same, 5–8 March 1779.

¹⁵⁸ BA L30/15/66/16: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 24 September 1778; 25: same to same, 7 December 1778.

¹⁵⁹ BA L30/15/54/59: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 12–17 July 1778; 75: same to same, 1–3 September 1778; 124: same to same, 11–14 March 1779; 181: same to same, 4 August 1781. Waddilove bought at least two pictures in Madrid: Glendinning, Harris and Russell, 'Grantham and the taste for Velázquez', 603 n. 48.

¹⁶⁰ BA L30/15/54/181: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 4 August 1781.

¹⁶¹ BA L30/15/66/10: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 1 June 1778; 86: same to same, 4 February 1783.

¹⁶² BA L30/15/66/44: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 14 July 1781; Sáez-Hidalgo, 'Anglo-Spanish Enlightenment', 44, 50.

¹⁶³ BA L30/15/66/22: Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 20 November 1778.

¹⁶⁴ Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron*, III, 420.

of Strabo, for which Waddilove had collated a manuscript in the Spanish royal collection.¹⁶⁵

At home, Waddilove used his books to continue scholarly pursuits begun in Madrid. He had conducted research for Robertson and Falconer, had helped Swinburne's book through his own interest in Islamic history and had gathered material on Spanish America for himself and contacts at home. He had also investigated paintings at the Escorial, including those once owned by Charles I, for the antiquary Michael Lort.¹⁶⁶ A few months before leaving, Grantham observed that 'Waddilove is now deep in Spanish Plays', about which 'his Enquiries are most extensive & his Correspondence voluminous.'¹⁶⁷ Amid all these endeavours, he began his most notable work in the final few months of the embassy, a translation from Italian of Mengs's 'Essay on painting'. Grantham begrudgingly helped with 'a favourite hobby horse' that would 'perhaps prove as Dear to his Rider as Rocinante does.'¹⁶⁸ When the text finally appeared in 1796, it did so anonymously and with a preface that only briefly mentioned the translator's having 'visited the capital of Spain where the paintings of Mengs appear in all their greatness'.¹⁶⁹ In later years, however, Waddilove (see Figure 5.4) turned away from the subject to antiquarian research on Yorkshire.¹⁷⁰ As in the case of William Gell, his active and wide-ranging interest in the history, natural history and culture of Spain and its empire has been overlooked because it produced no published monograph.¹⁷¹

Letters between Grantham, Frederick and Waddilove continued to share Spanish in-jokes over the years, looking back to an important period in their relationship. Their contributions had also made sure that the 1770s were a formative decade for British encounters with Spain. Grantham and his circle offer more than yet another example of the role of diplomats in travel and cultural exchange, already familiar from work on Italy. For a start, they were particularly important to travel in Spain, where British itineraries and networks were embryonic, and they insist on the general importance of figures surrounding the ambassador, most

¹⁶⁵ York Minster Library, II.B.17–18: Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*; IV.C.2: Iriarte, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis codices Graeci Mss.*; VIII.B.8: Nebrija and Zeballos, *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis*; VI.A.1–2: Strabo, *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Falconer.

¹⁶⁶ Lewis (ed.), *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, XVI, 168: Michael Lort to Horace Walpole, 6 August 1776; 170: same to same, 7 August 1776; 179–80: same to same, 11 January 1779.

¹⁶⁷ BA L30/15/54/123: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 5–8 March 1779.

¹⁶⁸ BA L30/15/54/125: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 19–22 March 1779.

¹⁶⁹ Anon. [Waddilove (ed. and trans.)], *Works of Anthony Raphael Mengs*, I, 2.

¹⁷⁰ Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, VI, 603–9.

¹⁷¹ Ansell, 'Gell's encounters with Islamic Spain'.

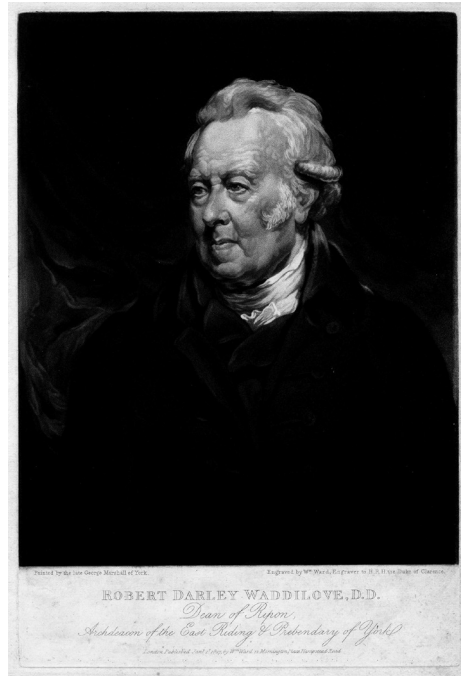


Figure 5.4 Robert Darley Waddilove by William Ward after George Marshall (1827). Source: BM museum number 1877,0811.1107. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

notably his chaplain. In this case, Grantham, Frederick and Waddilove connected British travellers, scholars and readers to developments within Spain at a crucial time for Spanish thinking about the country and its history, from Antonio Ponz's itineraries to the appropriation of the Alhambra by the RABASF. In doing so, the ambassador's circle contributed to on-going dialogue. Robertson's *History of America* would elicit a court-sponsored rejoinder in 1793 and, when it finally appeared in 1804, the second volume of the *Antigüedades árabes de España* would call Swinburne out by name for mangling the Alhambra inscriptions – thereby unwittingly going back to those few days in Frederick's antechamber. In these respects, Grantham's papers have introduced a two-sided Anglo-Spanish exchange that will continue to be explored in the next chapter. They have also made clear that the ambassador's circle helped to shape the agenda for British engagement with Spain. From Robertson's history to Frederick's vicuña to Waddilove's cabinet of curiosities, Spain was the gateway to America. Wall's hospitality and Swinburne's encounter with the *Antigüedades*, meanwhile, helped travellers and readers towards

defining Spain by the remains of its Islamic past. In particular, the 1770s saw the extension of curiosity about the Alhambra from a few scholars and architectural enthusiasts to ordinary travellers, soldiers and readers, a process that is examined in [Chapter 8](#). These two pillars – America and al-Andalus – would support British interest in the coming decades.

Iberia writes back: transnational exchange and international competition, 1779–1808

The period between Spanish entry into the American Revolutionary War in 1779 and the beginning of the Spain's own War of Independence against France in 1808 is overlooked in treatments of British travel to the country, falling as it does between a first spike in travel writing during Grantham's embassy and the mass engagement of the Peninsular War.¹ Between these two milestones, there was indeed a lull in new English-language books about Iberia after the flurry of material during the 1770s. In 1775, Richard Twiss maintained that he 'had never seen any satisfactory account' of Portugal and Spain, where he had enjoyed 'objects entirely novel'.² The claim was self-serving at the time, but it would have been impossible to make a few years later, when John Talbot Dillon (1781) thought that recent publications on Iberia had left little undescribed.³ By 1788, Alexander Jardine could only argue that a long stay in Spain had allowed him to observe its people, society and government 'with a more continued attention than ordinary'.⁴ Writers still published on Iberia, but only if they brought a fresh perspective: those with experience of living on the Peninsula, such as Jardine and Robert Southey (1797); those who had prosecuted unusually full itineraries, as had Joseph Townsend (1791); or those with a particular object in mind, such as James Cavanah Murphy's architectural pursuits

¹ Howarth sees the 1770s as a lost moment for Spain to join the Grand Tour, a hope dashed by Napoleon, with no mention of the three decades in between: *Invention of Spain*, 124–5.

² Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, i.

³ Dillon, *Letters from an English Traveller in Spain*, iii.

⁴ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, I, vi.

(1795) or the Catalonian political economy of Arthur Young (1793).⁵ Otherwise, a saturated market discouraged new books of Spanish or Portuguese travels, leaving little to work with in studies based solely on printed material.

The British continued to visit Spain and Portugal whenever possible in these decades, however, not least because of all the inspiration in print, and travellers and scholars from Britain developed cultural and intellectual connections with the two countries. Plenty who visited Iberia between 1779 and 1808 kept their journals in manuscript, and some who published European travels – such as Thomas Watkins – even left out their Iberian experiences.⁶ That many more British people made Iberian tours in these years than published their results is clear from the letters of diplomats: Robert Liston (in Madrid, 1783–8), William Eden (1788–90) and Lord St Helens (1790–4) all mention visitors whom we would otherwise not know about, and new angles on those whom we would. Research for this book has identified 54 British travellers to Spain and Portugal between 1780 and 1807 (see [Appendix](#)), but there were surely many more. Travel to Spain was indeed patchy in these decades, but the situation owed more to the oscillations of diplomacy than to any fading of British interest. As [Chapter 1](#) showed, Franco-Spanish military alliances closed the country to all but a few British visitors between 1779 and 1783, between 1796 and 1802, and from 1804 until the arrival of Wellington’s ‘travellers in uniform’ and the civilian opportunists in their wake. Although Portugal remained a British ally throughout the period, the feasibility of Spanish itineraries influenced how many Britons arrived in Lisbon, a principal gateway to Iberia.

The combination of a significant body of recent writing about Spain and Portugal, deepening scholarly and artistic contacts with the two countries but patchy opportunities for travel, lent a distinctive character to British cultural relations with Iberia in the 1780s, 1790s and 1800s. First, a shared, Anglo-French vision of Spain became especially clear in these years. British and French views already overlapped, as part of the ‘Enlightenment consensus’ discussed in [Chapter 1](#), but military conflict between Britain and France ironically served to expand cross-fertilisation among travel writers and readers from the two countries, as the British looked across the Channel for up-to-date accounts of Spain. After the

⁵ Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*; Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*; Murphy, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha*; Young, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789* (1793).

⁶ Beinecke Osborn MS c182: Watkins, travel diary; Watkins, *Travels Through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands, to Constantinople*.

relative quiet of the 1780s, French travellers found it easier to visit the country than their British counterparts, apart from between 1792 and 1795, when Spain was part of the anti-revolutionary coalition. This Anglo-French view was increasingly positive, but it was becoming so at a moment when Iberian writers and politicians were especially sensitive to criticism from their ‘enlightened’ neighbours. The second distinctive aspect of the period is, therefore, that the Spanish and (to a lesser extent) the Portuguese began to engage in earnest with foreign characterisations of their countries. Historians of travel usually adopt the viewpoint of travellers, many more of whom entered print before 1779 and after 1808, yet British ideas about Iberia emerged from collaborations and frictions between travellers and writers from Britain, France, and particularly Spain. This triangular relationship was strongest in the three decades before the Peninsular War, and it is important to explaining the nature of those ideas on the eve of the Napoleonic invasion.

Anglo-French travel writing

Although travel writing is often used to explore the construction of national identities, it was in fact a remarkably transnational genre, with plenty of cross-border borrowing.⁷ To some extent, this was one manifestation of the cultural dominion of France over eighteenth-century Europe, including its strong influence on British culture amid a century of war between the two powers. Yet the French themselves saw British travel writers as bringing something new to the observation of foreign countries, such that a genuine exchange developed on the subject of Iberia.⁸ Indeed, shifting military and diplomatic contexts encouraged crossovers between British and French accounts, even as British and French armies fought on opposite sides. Late eighteenth-century British attitudes towards Spain and Portugal nevertheless emerged from a wider European, rather than simply an Anglo-French, milieu.⁹ Scholars have traced the positive reassessments of Spain characteristic of the period to an Italian, Norberto Caimo, whose 1767 book was never published in English.¹⁰ Translations of a couple of German works made an impact

⁷ For these themes in an earlier period, see Ansell, ‘Reading and writing travels’.

⁸ The landmark treatment of French travel writing about Spain needs to deal extensively with British writers and their influence: Fernández Herr, *Origines de l’Espagne romantique*, especially 21–67.

⁹ For which, see Crozier Shaw, ‘European travellers and Enlightenment consensus’.

¹⁰ On Caimo, published in French in 1773, see Fernández Herr, *Origines de l’Espagne romantique*, 37–8, 66–7.

in Britain in the specific circumstances of the late 1790s and early 1800s, as we shall see.¹¹ The British and French travelled and wrote in greater numbers, however, and the Francophone English and increasingly Anglophone French were set up for closer dialogue, using original as well as translated texts. Readers on both sides of the Channel judged Iberia by the standards of an Enlightenment of which they believed their own countries to be paragons.

Chapter 1 charted the influence of Montesquieu and Voltaire on British attitudes towards Iberia, but Madame d'Aulnoy was the only French travel writer to have an appreciable impact in Britain before the 1780s. Her 1691 book was hugely popular and went through many English editions across the eighteenth century, to the point that members of Grantham's circle were still reading *The Lady's Travels*, and recommending it as the best introduction to Spain, as late as the 1770s.¹² At that point, though, d'Aulnoy's supremacy in Britain was about to be overturned by a host of new English-language books on Iberia, as Chapters 1 and 5 have laid out. *The Lady's Travels*, wrote Clarke in 1763, was 'no more a just description of the Spaniards, than an account of England in the time of Edward III would be called now'.¹³ The editor of a new 1774 English version seems to have seized on copy with which to meet rising interest in Spain, arguing that the Spanish character was 'much the same' as in d'Aulnoy's time and adding material on Carlos III's reign.¹⁴ The public appetite for Iberian travels would soon be satisfied by Twiss, Swinburne and other writers closer to home.

By the 1770s, readers of French were equally reliant on d'Aulnoy and a supporting cast of books that were at least 40 years old. Ostensibly new efforts by Étienne Silhouette (1770) and the abbé Delaporte (1772) narrated journeys undertaken decades earlier, and drew much from accounts of Spain at the turn of the century.¹⁵ Yet French readers were just as interested as the British in developments under Carlos III, and enterprising translators turned to recent English-language writing. The preface to the 1770 translation of Clarke argued that, although French books were out of date, the English were increasingly keen

¹¹ A host of Anglophone writers were translated into German: Clarke (1765), Twiss (1776), Dalrymple (1778), Thicknesse (1778), Carter (1779), Blankett (1782), Dillon (1782), Costigan (1788–9), Jardine (1790) and Townsend (1791), although Swinburne was not. For details, see Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal*, 112–29, 145.

¹² BA L30/17/2/123: Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 2 October 1775.

¹³ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, iv.

¹⁴ D'Aulnoy, *Lady's Travels into Spain*, v–x.

¹⁵ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 31 n. 1; 34 nn. 3–4; 57, 120–1; Delaporte, *Le voyageur François*; Silhouette, *Voyages à travers la France*.

observers of Spain, given their commercial links to Spanish America. Their accounts were well received in France because they travelled with less prejudice, thought Clarke's translator, even as he removed instances of anti-Catholicism and national bias. He regretted only that Spanish entry into the Seven Years' War (on France's side!) had forced Clarke home early.¹⁶ An appetite for British accounts grew, such that Twiss's *Voyage en Portugal et en Espagne* (1776) appeared only a year after the English original. The translator removed tedious passages, including Twiss's historical appendices and his essay on poetry, but was reluctant to lose too much detail, such as the birds that Twiss killed along the way, for fear of losing 'that playful turn of mind the English call humour'.¹⁷ A translation of Baretti, from an English rather than Italian edition, came out the following year, enriched with notes taken from Clarke.¹⁸ Swinburne took considerably longer to appear in French, emerging only in 1787 and with the involvement of friends in Paris.¹⁹

There may have been less urgency to translate Swinburne's 1779 book because original French works soon started to appear. Jean-François Peyron's *Essais sur l'Espagne* was only a year away and marked the return to prominence of French travel writing about Spain. The book relates a journey through Catalonia, the eastern coast, Andalusia, La Mancha, Madrid and the Castilles in 1777–8. As we saw in [Chapter 1](#), Peyron recognised changes in Spanish manners and dress since the days of d'Aulnoy and noted Carlos III's reforms, from the founding of learned institutions to the beautification of the capital.²⁰ He also recognised French interest in Spain's Islamic past, which was as strong as in Britain, not least because travellers and readers from both countries were inspired by Spanish developments to be discussed below and in [Chapter 8](#). D'Aulnoy had not mentioned Granada, however, and other books reproduced the relevant section of Juan Álvarez de Colmenar's *Délices de l'Espagne et du Portugal* (1707) as late as the 1770s.²¹ Although Peyron mostly copied his account of the Alhambra and its inscriptions

¹⁶ Clarke, *État présent de l'Espagne*, trans. Imbert, I, i–vi.

¹⁷ Twiss, *Voyage en Portugal et en Espagne*, iii–viii. Quotation at vi: 'ce tour d'esprit enjoué, que les Anglois appellent humour.'

¹⁸ Baretti, *Voyage de Londres à Gênes*, trans. Rieu; Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 41, 42 n. 1.

¹⁹ Although usually ascribed to the tax-farmer and composer Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, the translation was probably by his wife, Adélaïde Suzanne de Vismes; Swinburne knew them from visits to Paris. Pickford, 'Henry Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* (1779) in French and Catalan'.

²⁰ Peyron, *Essais sur l'Espagne* (1780), republished as *Nouveau voyage en Espagne* (1782); Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 43–4, 86.

²¹ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 120–1, 126. 'Juan Álvarez de Colmenar' was probably a pseudonym, and unlikely to have been Spanish: *idem*, 17 n. 3.

from a Spanish work of the 1760s, the *Paseos por Granada y sus contornos* by Juan de Echeverría, his book met an evident need.²² The *Essais* took little account of new work from across the Channel, however, mentioning only the Italian Baretti among ‘English writers’. Whether Peyron overlooked or deliberately ignored recent texts, including translations of Clarke and Twiss, it allowed him to assert that Spain was still relatively unknown.²³

It was impossible to ignore British books by the time that Bourgoing published in 1789, when even Swinburne had appeared in French, but Bourgoing’s book also emerged from deeper engagement with British networks and the English language. His *Nouveau voyage en Espagne* was the product of his diplomatic posting to Madrid between 1777 and 1785, when he knew a succession of British counterparts and their literary guests.²⁴ He wrote to his friend Liston in English as often as French, sharing books and periodicals, including Bourgoing’s copy of Cumberland’s *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain* (1782).²⁵ The Frenchman was engaging with British as well as French travel writing as he worked on his own, and his introduction would note Peyron, Twiss and especially Swinburne’s fine observations, even as it argued that their stays in Spain had been too brief to produce meaningful insights.²⁶ Since Swinburne had only been available in French since 1787, Bourgoing had probably been putting his good English to use. A decade later, his new edition also mentioned Townsend’s more recent book, even if he asserted (without elaboration) that some of the Englishman’s judgements had been a little hasty.²⁷

By the 1790s, readers and travellers from Britain and France were using each other’s books in tandem. Although some British travellers engaged with Peyron in the original French, most encountered him in abbreviated form, as the third volume of the 1789 English edition of Bourgoing. From a British perspective, the great strength of Peyron’s work was his section on Granada, which provided a channel into English for the inscriptions and translations offered by the *Paseos por Granada*.

²² Fernández Herr, *Origines de l’Espagne romantique*, 124–5.

²³ Peyron, *Essais sur l’Espagne*, 4–14.

²⁴ For Bourgoing’s encounters with Grantham, see BA L30/15/54/56: Grantham to Frederick Robinson, 3–4 July 1778; 58: same to same, 6–10 July 1778.

²⁵ NLS MS.5539, fol. 71: Bourgoing to Liston, 29 December 1783; MS.5542, fol. 154: same to same, 11 January 1784; MS.5553, fol. 12: same to same, undated.

²⁶ Bourgoing, *Nouveau voyage en Espagne*, I, ii.

²⁷ Bourgoing, *Tableau de l’Espagne moderne*, I, iv–v.

As the 1789 preface noted, this rendered Peyron a fitting supplement to Swinburne, and travellers did use the book in this way.²⁸ Equally, the decision not to illustrate the English version of Peyron's account may have assumed the possession of Swinburne's plates of the Alhambra.²⁹ In turn, Swinburne's illustrated, eyewitness account of the palace brought something new to French readers. Even Bourgoing, who innovated in other ways, regretted not having seen Granada and referred the reader to Peyron, and therefore to the *Paseos*. When Bourgoing added a description of the Alhambra to his 1807 edition, it was copied from the same source.³⁰ Swinburne may have come late to readers of French, but these omissions ensured an impact for his work. For a full account of the Alhambra, British and French readers set him and Peyron side-by-side.

By contrast, readers came to Bourgoing for modernity and, the Alhambra excepted, comprehensiveness. His long residence and access to politicians and thinkers in Madrid allowed him to cover topics more fully than other writers, including the present state of government, trade and manufacturing.³¹ Bourgoing's observations were, the 1789 English edition claimed, 'much the most modern', and French writers noted the speed with which the translation had been made, before the book had even been reviewed in Paris.³² Although Bourgoing still criticised laziness, bigotry and cruelty where he perceived them, he argued that Spain was improving under enlightened rule. His book applauded the expulsion of the Jesuits as a rejection of superstition, and it stressed recent progress in public works, charitable support and the renewal of manufacturing and agriculture. This positivity reflected the influence of local *ilustrados*, as will be explored below; if Peyron gave readers of English access to the Alhambra inscriptions as translated in the *Paseos por Granada*, Bourgoing introduced them to the world that produced Antonio Ponz's *Viage de España* (1772–94), on which he drew heavily. Bourgoing's determination to offer a total picture of Spain encouraged him to modify his account, informed by returns to the country in 1792–3

²⁸ Bourgoing, *Travels in Spain*, vi–vii. For uses of Peyron on the Alhambra, see Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 171; Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 9. Though often cited as Bourgoing, within whose English edition Peyron's account appears: Greg, *Travel Journals*, 92, 94. Swinburne gave only a few examples of the Alhambra inscriptions: *Travels Through Spain*, I, 277, 279, 281–2, 289–91. These were based on Casiri's Latin, for which see [Chapter 5](#).

²⁹ The first two volumes, by Bourgoing, did carry illustrations.

³⁰ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 118–26.

³¹ Bourgoing, *Travels in Spain*, v–vi. For agreement with these strengths, despite other criticisms, see Anon., 'Review of Bourgoing, *Tableau de l'Espagne moderne*', *Edinburgh Review*, 5 (1804), 125–36.

³² Bourgoing, *Travels in Spain*, v–vi; Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 130–1.

and 1795 as well as interactions with Ponz, and revised versions of the text appeared in French in 1797, 1803 and 1807, and in English in 1808 and 1809.

After the Spanish alliance with France in 1796, which prevented British travel to Spain apart from between 1802 and 1804, Bourgoing's successive editions sold well in Britain as a source of up-to-date information.³³ Some readers also took in the work of a German Protestant writer, Christian August Fischer, who had travelled in 1797–8, when the Holy Roman Empire had made peace with France and Spain but Britain remained at war.³⁴ Fischer collaborated closely with Bourgoing on other literary projects and marketed his book as a supplement to his friend's work, emphasising the progress that had been made in Spain over the past 30 years, from infrastructure to education, and paying particular attention to changing manners and customs. He professed to offer 'a living picture of the country', and reviews picked out the up-to-date reportage and animated style of the English edition when it appeared in 1802.³⁵ The brief opportunity for British travel to Spain in 1802–4 could not repair the lack of recent published information, so English-language publishers remained on the look-out for translatable accounts. It was in this context that Alexandre de Laborde's vast *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne* (1808) was put into English the following year as a five-volume *View of Spain*, and the product of direct collaborations between French and Spanish intellectuals to be discussed below.³⁶ When British travellers returned to Spain after 1808, many went with Bourgoing, Fischer and Laborde in hand.³⁷

Readers of English were usually less dependent on French writers or the occasional German for accounts of Portugal. Mercantile connections and visits for leisure or the recovery of health ensured good knowledge of the country in Britain and no shortage of copy for publishers, while

³³ St Clair, *Reading Nation*, 557: a print run of 1,500 for the 1808 English edition of Bourgoing and 1,250 for Laborde the following year.

³⁴ On Fischer, see Fernández Herr, *Orígenes de l'Espagne romantique*, 135–57; Raders, 'Impresiones de España recogidas por un alemán'. For uses of his book, see BL Add MS 51932, fol. 8: Lady Holland, journal; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 26, though taking issue with Fischer's 'indecent' account of the bolero, which the German may have mistaken for the fandango. Both Lady Holland and Carr wrote after the emergence of Fischer's English edition. On its title page, his first name is erroneously given as 'Frederick' rather than Christian.

³⁵ Fischer, *Travels in Spain*, iii. See reviews in *The Monthly Register and Encyclopedian Magazine*, 2 (1803), 320–6; *European Magazine and London Review*, 42 (1802), 433–7. Fischer knew English and cited Ponz, Twiss, Thicknesse and Dillon: Raders, 'Impresiones de España recogidas por un alemán', 317.

³⁶ St Clair, *Reading Nation*, 557.

³⁷ For the use of Bourgoing, see Knight's 'Journal of a six week tour': DRO D239/M/F16318, 5, 21, 29, 77; D239/M/F16319 (unfoliated), 12 December 1809.

French interest in Portugal was always lower than in Spain, their neighbour, historic rival and recent ally. The comparatively few books of Portuguese travels to emerge from France made little impact on the British market before 1808–9, when publishers began to translate older works to meet, as one reviewer put it, ‘the immediate demand of public curiosity’.³⁸ Even then, the duc du Châtelet’s journey of 1777 and Joseph-Barthélemy-François Carrère’s *Picture of Lisbon*, in 1796 have left no trace in the papers of British travellers, despite the translator’s efforts to adapt Carrère’s highly critical account of Portuguese society to more sympathetic British tastes.³⁹ Readers in Britain found more in common with another German Protestant, Heinrich Link, who also took advantage of peace in 1797 to travel through France and Spain to Portugal, when such a journey was not yet an option for the British. Link offered a positive account of the Portuguese, a ‘misrepresented people’, whom he contrasted favourably with the Spanish on topics ranging from agriculture and poetry to friendliness and religious fanaticism. He often engaged with Anglophone writers, especially Murphy’s 1795 *Travels*, but showed an unprecedented interest in evidence of manufacturing and trade. Most praise of Portugal was correct, Link decided, and most criticism exaggerated – a similar sentiment to Bourgoing and Fischer on Spain, but one that was rare in the few books on Portugal then emerging from France.⁴⁰ The disparity between published British and French views of the Portuguese in these few decades before 1808 may have been a minor factor in shaping wartime attitudes, alongside the actual conduct of the conflict, but it is evident that mainstream British and French views of Portugal were divergent on the eve of war.

By contrast, historians of the Peninsular War note a common view of Spain among British and French officers, which they ascribe to a shared gentlemanly code of conduct. As we shall see in the next chapter, contemporaries contrasted these values with what they perceived to be Spanish brutality in the waging of war.⁴¹ Yet this section has found

³⁸ Based on a survey of Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal*, 110–71, where only Châtelet’s book is listed as having an English translation. That misses out Dumouriez, *Account of Portugal*, the 1797 translation of a French book (1775) that recounted a visit in 1766. For the translation of Carrère, which Foulché-Delbosc also misses, see Castanheira, ‘Carrère’s *Tableau de Lisbonne*’. Quotation from review of Carrère, *Picture of Lisbon*, in *Eclectic Review*, 4 (1808), 1038.

³⁹ Castanheira, ‘Carrère’s *Tableau de Lisbonne*’. The book received mixed reviews, some of which correctly inferred that it was the translation from French of an outdated text.

⁴⁰ Link, *Travels in Portugal*, quotation at 367. For a British use of Link, see Kinsey, *Portugal Illustrated*.

⁴¹ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 111–12, 153–4, 191–2; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 110–11.

that the previous three decades had seen the elaboration of a shared Anglo-French view of Spain that was broadly positive in its outlook. Travelling through the country in 1812, the young physician Henry Holland compiled a list of ‘Modern writers or Travellers in Spain’, noting ‘Ponz. Townshend – Linck – Bourgoing – Laborde – Southey – Jacobs [sic] etc Twiss, Semple’.⁴² Holland’s was a transnational list, including British writers from the 1770s to the present alongside others from France, Germany, and indeed Spain who had treated the country in a ‘modern’, which was to say positive and rational, manner. His border-crossing approach was common: the previous year, one reviewer of new books by Jacob and Carr had cited Townsend, Swinburne, Bourgoing and Laborde as writers ‘whose travels have been in every body’s hands for the last two or three years’.⁴³ As on previous occasions, publishers were looking for additional material from authors on both sides of the Channel at a moment of heightened demand. The same was true in France, where a belated translation of Townsend appeared in 1809 and served, as one historian has put it, as an official guide to the Napoleonic invasion: indeed, Townsend’s book was still worth reading, the translator argued, because Spain had failed to make good on the promise of progress.⁴⁴ Between the 1770s and 1808/9, British and French writers, with the input of a couple of Germans, had told a shared, positive story about Spain and its progress towards Enlightenment, based around the Alhambra and modernisation. Its replacement with an increasingly negative view in a wartime context is a story to be told in [Chapter 7](#). Yet Henry Holland was astute to begin his list of ‘modern’ works with Antonio Ponz, as forward-looking treatments of these themes were partly the creation of Spanish writers, whose frictions and collaborations with foreign travellers we will now explore.

The Spanish write back (the Portuguese less so)

An important context for Spanish engagement with travel writers is that, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment in Spain ‘went public’.⁴⁵ Previous chapters have explained how the chance to see

⁴² LWL MS 41 Box 1, fol. 78v: Holland, ‘Journal in Spain’.

⁴³ *British Review and London Critical Journal*, 2 (September 1811), 60–96, at 63.

⁴⁴ Salas Álvarez, ‘Difusión de la arqueología’, 94–5; Townsend, *Voyage en Espagne*, ii, iv. The French edition of Townsend was intended to be accompanied by plates from Cavanilles’s *Observaciones sobre la historia natural*.

⁴⁵ Donato, ‘Introduction: “Espagne” or “España”?’, 3.

enlightened absolutism in action was a big draw for travellers to the country after 1763, as efforts at reform under Carlos III promised that Spain might live up to its languishing potential, and British visitors were invested in finding signs of progress as confirmation that they were living in an enlightened age. The Bourbon monarchy was only too keen to meet their expectations, fostering a 'directed culture' in which the crown and its ministers looked to transform intellectual and artistic endeavour into instruments for glorifying the monarchy and coming out well in the comparison of European nations. Many of the crown's servants combined administrative positions with enlightened scholarship, producing a group who 'worked for the government but belonged to the Republic of Letters'.⁴⁶ The situation encouraged a moderate, pragmatic approach to reform, in which the bases of absolute monarchy and Catholicism went largely unquestioned even before the radical turn in the French Revolution. As elsewhere in Europe, *ilustrado* administrators gathered around, and developed, crown-backed institutions that furthered their own careers and enhanced the prestige of the monarchy.⁴⁷

For British visitors, these institutions became gauges of Spanish progress towards Enlightenment. In Madrid, established academies such as the Real Academia Española (1713) and the Real Academia de la Historia (1738) expanded their activities and were joined by new institutions including the RABASF (1752), the academy of fine arts, which occupied the same building as a cabinet of natural history displaying South American objects from 1775. These bodies represented deliberate, crown-driven efforts to raise Spain to the esteem of its European neighbours, and the evidence of British visitors suggests that they were working, to an extent. Mary Graham was enthused by the RABASF and the cabinet in 1783, praising the handsome building, civil director and well-ordered collection, to which the king was adding every day.⁴⁸ Other British visitors had similar experiences, more or less explicitly incorporating these bodies into the case for Spain as a 'civilised' European nation.⁴⁹ Some still found room for improvement, however. Of the many literary and scientific institutions in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville and Valladolid in 1785, for instance, James More Molyneux

⁴⁶ López-Cordón Cortezo, 'Merits of good gobierno', 26, 37–8.

⁴⁷ López-Cordón Cortezo, 'Enlightenment and its interpreters', 203–17; Astigarraga, 'Introduction: admirer, rougir, imiter', 9; Álvarez Barrientos, 'Spanish Republic of Letters', 41; Herr, *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, 200.

⁴⁸ NLS MS.3628, fos 28–9: Graham, journal.

⁴⁹ Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 75; Craven, *Memoirs*, I, 408; BL Add MS 51931, fol. 47v: Lady Holland, journal.

conceded that they were ‘indeed noble Foundations & do great Honour to his Catholic majesty’. Yet they were ‘not of themselves sufficient for the Purposes of diffusing Literature among the Nation at large’, catering ‘only to Men already form’d: Men of Science and general Knowledge’.⁵⁰ The following year, Townsend was disappointed by the cabinet of natural history in Madrid, which seemed to him old-fashioned, but he was much happier with the RABASF, which had been recommended to him by his new friend, the Count of Campomanes.⁵¹ As we will see, Townsend’s visit to the academy was part of his deepening connections to a circle of *ilustrado* administrators who would help to produce his broadly positive impressions of Spanish society and culture.

Although recent work on the Enlightenment in Spain has stressed its regionality,⁵² most British travellers continued to encounter Spanish cultural and intellectual life through the court, royal institutions and Madrid society, often through the offices of diplomats such as Grantham and Liston. For foreign visitors, these institutions were gateways towards cultural exchange and even to scholarly and artistic collaboration, as we will see. But the centralised, institutionalised intellectual life of the *ilustrado* administrative elite also made the Spanish particularly effective ‘travellees’ – those who were travelled to, and who engaged with writing about their own country in ways that are routinely ignored in one-sided histories.⁵³ The term was created to explore the relationship between travel writing and imperialism, so it should be applied to a European context with care: while Spain was in some senses a liminal country in British views of Europe, Spanish writers had more power in this dynamic than colonised populations and, in many cases, more institutional support. Here was a basis not only for collaborations with foreign travellers, but also for organising refutations of their claims about Spain.

The final decades of the eighteenth century saw robust Spanish responses to foreign travel writers. In one of the most significant efforts, published in 1785, Antonio Ponz recognised that the previous 20 years had seen an unprecedented number of British and French books about Spain. Most of them were full of lies and contempt, he thought, and in desperate need of correction.⁵⁴ All Spanish writers would have agreed,

⁵⁰ SHC 1327/26/2: Molyneux, journal, 1 July 1785.

⁵¹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 119, 284.

⁵² Astigarraga, ‘Introduction: *admirer, rougir, imiter*’, 11.

⁵³ For the creation of the term, see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 258 n. 42. For its application to European contexts, see Bracewell, ‘Travellee’s eye’; Bracewell, ‘Arguing from experience’. For an attempt to see eighteenth-century British encounters with Spain through a postcolonial lens, see Hontanilla, ‘Images of barbaric Spain’.

⁵⁴ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 182.

and all took on the most condescending caricatures of backwardness and superstition, in which Enlightenment critiques seemed little more than revivals of the old Black Legend; but 'travellee' authors otherwise ranged widely in their approaches. Where *ilustrados* such as Ponz pointed to the latest programmes of reform, often writing with the backing of the Bourbon court, more reactionary voices endorsed foreign notions of a pious and traditional Spanish character, even as they railed against travellers' criticisms. Yet, as we have already begun to see, the story of Spanish interactions with British and French travel writing is not only one of opposition: the period also saw collaborations between local and visiting intellectuals on projects intended to bolster the glory of Spain and the Bourbon crown. The distinct images of the country that we find reflected in British travel accounts were co-productions of Spanish and foreign writers.

Chapter 1 showed how those heroes of the French Enlightenment, Montesquieu and Voltaire, had indeed put a new gloss on the old stereotypes of the Black Legend. Their evocations of a backward, brutal and superstitious Spain echoed across the eighteenth century, producing something of a French and British Enlightenment consensus on the country.⁵⁵ Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) were a particular target for writers such as José de Cadalso and Antonio de Capmany,⁵⁶ but the Spanish also took individual travellers from France or Britain as representative of the general discourse.⁵⁷ Often, writers related specific issues to the wider denigration of their country. In 1764, for example, Bernardo de Iriarte, who worked on foreign affairs for the ministry of state, replied to Voltaire's criticisms of Spanish theatre with a broad refutation of French impressions of Spain, bemoaning ubiquitous references to outdated dress, jealously guarded women and the guitar.⁵⁸ Iriarte's letter seems never to have been published, but we will soon see that the temperature and publicity of such exchanges rose significantly between the 1770s and the 1790s.

Foreign views of Portugal received comparatively little push-back throughout the period. There were cases of government suppression of works, such as Costigan's *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal* (1787), with its strong criticism of the monarchy, aristocracy and national

⁵⁵ Crozer Shaw, 'European travellers and Enlightenment consensus'.

⁵⁶ Ribbans, 'Spanish national pride and foreign travellers', 4; Ortas Durand, 'La España de los viajeros', 53.

⁵⁷ Bracewell, 'Travellee's eye', 218.

⁵⁸ Defourneaux, 'L'Espagne et l'opinion française'.

indolence, but there was relatively little direct confrontation.⁵⁹ In a rare example, the Portuguese minister in Paris, António de Araújo e Azevedo, co-wrote a French-language refutation of James Cavanah Murphy and three French travellers in the late 1790s, as a work of national defence, but the manuscript was never published and is now lost.⁶⁰ Ultimately, there was little to push back against: Murphy was hardly the most vitriolic traveller, having dedicated his book to the future João VI, and the French had far less interest in Portugal than in Spain. Montesquieu and Voltaire had little distinctive to say on the former, to which they ascribed a variant of the Spanish Black Legend, even if Voltaire famously used the Lisbon earthquake to meditate on the problem of evil. French indifference was reflected in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* of the early 1780s. Where Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers's combative, 16-page entry on 'Espagne' enflamed Franco-Spanish tensions, the royal geographer Didier Robert de Vaugondy contributed only three columns on Portugal, an inoffensive description of its geography, history and constitution that praised the Portuguese for transforming world trade.⁶¹ Masson had already written on the country himself, in a geographical text that also rehearsed much of his entry on 'Espagne', but there his treatment of Portugal was closer to Robert's offering: a brave and generous people, whose subjection to the Inquisition was fading but whose past discoveries still fuelled flourishing commerce.⁶² Spanish opposition to travel writing was, above all, motivated by the perception of French condescension, as part of wider debates about Spain's position in a French-centred Enlightenment, even though British travel writers received plenty of collateral damage. If the French wrote less about Portugal, and attacked it less vehemently, there was less for Portuguese 'travellees' to resist.

With regard to Spain, travellers and armchair philosophers from elsewhere in Europe had long recycled stereotypes of cruelty and superstition, but the promise of reform under Carlos III created a surprising dynamic in the last three decades of the eighteenth century. If anything, the hope that Spain would catch up with its 'enlightened' neighbours made reform-minded writers even more sensitive to criticisms of their country. Foreign accounts could not be dismissed, however: *ilustrados*

⁵⁹ Baillie, *Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823*, 2nd edition, II, 2: until the 1820s, the government had so detested Costigan's book that possession of it was punishable by the Inquisition.

⁶⁰ Chaves, *Os livros de viagens em Portugal*, 27–8; Tavares de Mello Abdalla, 'A arte de viajar', 241–4.

⁶¹ Robert de Vaugondy, 'Portugal'.

⁶² Masson de Morvilliers, *Abrégé élémentaire de la géographie universelle de l'Espagne et du Portugal*. On this text's similarity to Masson's entry on Spain, see Donato, 'Introduction: "Espagne" or "España"?', 15–16.

such as Ponz reflected wider practices among ‘travellee’ elites elsewhere, who often used foreign criticism to bolster the case for domestic reform,⁶³ and British and French travellers could also serve as a valuable gauge of progress in that direction. A funeral oration delivered for Carlos III in Zaragoza in 1789 argued that foreign visitors used to paint the Spanish court in blacker colours, but now praised the late king’s wisdom and his works (as, indeed, many did).⁶⁴ The impressions of foreigners could be a powerful force to inspire and glorify reformist politics.

The situation in Spain bears comparison with Carlos’s first kingdom of Naples, where he had ruled for 24 years before coming to the Spanish throne. Intellectuals in Madrid were caught in the same dilemma as their Neapolitan counterparts: they wished to establish a place for themselves in a European Enlightenment, embracing all the reformist views that that entailed, while at the same time defending Spain from criticism levelled by ‘enlightened’ writers from Britain and France.⁶⁵ The *ilustrados* bought into an international language of Enlightenment, but saw it used to denigrate both their country and their own achievements. In practice, many suspected, this language was merely dressing up the old stereotypes that lingered in British and French accounts of Spain. At the same time, more conservative voices (whom one historian has called *antiilustrados*) responded to travel writing as part of their wider resistance against the Enlightenment and its language, which they cast as corrosive influences on the Spanish national genius. If the godless English and French saw Spain as superstitious and intolerant, so much the better: the Reconquista and even the Inquisition were testaments to Spanish piety.⁶⁶ On both sides, whether *ilustrados* taking on Enlightened critiques or conservatives attacking accusations of backwardness, mounting a defence of the country might involve a good deal of cognitive dissonance.

Such tensions are to be found in the life and work of the *ilustrado* diplomat José Nicolás de Azara (see Figure 6.1). As Spanish ambassador to Rome, where Britain lacked official representation, he sometimes acted as a host and guide for British travellers and shared his archaeological passions.⁶⁷ Azara had befriended the ‘learned’ and ‘amiable’

⁶³ Bracewell, ‘Travellee’s eye’, 221.

⁶⁴ Arteta de Monteseuro, *Oración fúnebre que en las solemnes exequias del Sr. Rey Don Carlos III*, 42–3, cited in Ortas Durand, ‘La España de los viajeros’, 63.

⁶⁵ Calaresu, ‘Looking for Virgil’s tomb’. Efforts to insert Spain and its empire into the European Enlightenment continue: see Lewis, Bolufer Peruga and Jaffe (eds), *Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment*.

⁶⁶ Domínguez, ‘España contra las luces’, 224–6.

⁶⁷ García Sánchez, ‘José Nicolás de Azara, un icono del *Grand Tour*’.



Figure 6.1 José Nicolás de Azara by Domenico Cunego after Anton Raphael Mengs (1745–1803). *Source:* BM museum number 1869,0410.2197. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Lord Grantham when an extended break from Italy coincided with the Englishman's time in Madrid, and their bond was no doubt strengthened by their closeness to the court painter Anton Raphael Mengs, not to mention Azara's hosting of Thomas Pelham in Rome.⁶⁸ Pelham reported that the diplomat was popular with natives and foreigners there, having 'a liberal way of thinking that many of his countrymen do not possess'.⁶⁹ Azara nevertheless launched a sarcastic attack on another of Grantham's friends, Henry Swinburne, in his preface to the 1782 second edition of Bowles's natural history of Spain. English writers had recently set about describing the country 'with particular interest', Azara noted, but Swinburne represented a wider determination to 'ridicule our government, our customs and our Religion, however much he claims to profess the same.'⁷⁰ Bowles's book was a product of court

⁶⁸ Letter from Azara, 14 February 1782, in Bowles, *Introduccion a la historia natural*, prologue.

⁶⁹ BL Add MS 33127, fol. 216v: Thomas Pelham to Lord Pelham, 1 April 1777.

⁷⁰ Letter from Azara, 6 June 1782, in Bowles, *Introduccion a la historia natural*, prologue.

circles, dedicated to Carlos III by the principal researcher at the museum of natural history in Madrid, and this new edition was published by the royal press. Azara's involvement reflected his own support for Bourbon reforms, putting him on his guard against Swinburne's attacks on modern Spain.

Azara's retaliations were common to early modern European 'travellees': the writer had not visited for long enough, he lacked the appropriate background knowledge, and his stories could not be believed.⁷¹ Swinburne was 'so perceptive' as to be able to encapsulate the government, infrastructure, society and national character of Spain after a few days in the country. His account was full of stereotypes, from guitars and fandango to Don Quixote and Gil Blas ('the two perennial fonts of his erudition'), but found no room for academies, libraries, scholarly collections or infrastructural projects. Given Azara's political leanings, such things were close to his heart. To the diplomat's dismay, Swinburne used comparisons with the 'sublime' history and architecture of Islamic Spain and the 'paradise' of British Gibraltar to denigrate the lethargy, poverty and filth of the Spanish Catholic present. All this was the more galling for two reasons: first, Swinburne's own Catholicism, which should have disposed him well to Spanish piety; and second, that he had enjoyed the hospitality of the Spanish mission in Rome over some two years, 'most days enjoying the house and table of our Ambassador'.⁷² A decade later, Azara's attacks on Swinburne reached a larger audience through their inclusion in a defence of Spain by another of Grantham's friends, Antonio Ponz. Ponz's amplification of Azara, whom he preferred to reprint rather than develop his own criticisms of an 'unworthy' book full of 'calumnies and injustices', meant that few Spanish historians used *Travels Through Spain* until relatively recently.⁷³

Yet if Azara's problems with Swinburne are straightforward enough, the episode also represents the complexities of *ilustrado* engagement with foreign travel writing. There was plenty going on behind the printed exchange, from Azara's friendship with Grantham to his first-hand experience of Swinburne's impositions. Azara's own correspondence also shows the doublethink required of *ilustrado* defenders of Spain. Away from the public eye, his personal letters criticised the same governmental, religious and social issues as Swinburne: in its present, unreformed

⁷¹ On these points generally, see Bracewell, 'Arguing from experience', 555–8, 566.

⁷² Letter from Azara, 6 June 1782, in Bowles, *Introducción a la historia natural*, prologue.

⁷³ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 191–5; Pérez Berenguel, 'Las fuentes principales de los *Viajes por España* (1779) de Henry Swinburne', 86.

state, Azara confided, Spain stunk like a corpse. Other writers, such as the *ilustrado* soldier and poet José de Cadalso, similarly defended their country in print but criticised its superstition and despotism in private letters.⁷⁴ This ability to hold two visions of Spain in mind, or at least to present an alternative one to the public, must have made it easier to befriend British counterparts such as Grantham, whose own correspondence betrays frequent frustration with Spanish society.

Azara also reflects the complexity possible of *ilustrado* attitudes towards travel writing, despite rhetorical dismissals of all foreign authors. Although his preface rejected Swinburne's account, it endorsed a different *Travels Through Spain* (1780) by another of Grantham's guests in Madrid, John Talbot Dillon. Dillon's book was in fact a translation and elaboration of Bowles's natural history, which he had supplemented with material from other Spanish writers, including Ponz and – through him – Martín Sarmiento, to produce a guide for visitors to the country. Aside from stylistic criticisms, Azara generally approved, thinking the book 'well ordered' and 'useful for foreigners'; 'we should be grateful', he thought, 'for the manner and substance with which Mr Dillon treats our matters'. Unlike Swinburne, Dillon was 'an intelligent person affectionate towards our Nation'. Some of this positivity may depend on the work's overt connection to Grantham, to whom it was dedicated, but Azara's endorsement shows that *ilustrado* writers distinguished between foreign accounts of their country.⁷⁵ The book itself hints at exchanges, as well as oppositions, between Spanish and foreign writers, a theme to which we will return.

The impact of two French works that emerged a couple of years after Azara's verdicts on Swinburne and Dillon hardened most Spanish responses to foreign travel writing over the 1780s and 1790s. Aside from their importance in Anglo-French cross-fertilisation, these books are also essential to understanding the reception of British, as well as French, texts in Spain. The first was Masson de Morvilliers's entry 'Espagne' for the 1782 first volume of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*. Masson, like Voltaire and Montesquieu, had no first-hand experience of Iberia, and his colloquial account of Spanish history, society and culture recycled the usual stereotypes of laziness, superstition, pride and ignorance. Spain's natural advantages and American empire should have made it powerful, but its government and people were in hock to the tyrannical Inquisition and beset by a parasitical clergy and nobility. Masson ran through depopulation, lack of industry, stifled learning, languid

⁷⁴ Domínguez, 'España contra las luces', 235–7.

⁷⁵ Letter from Azara, 14 February 1782, in Bowles, *Introducción a la historia natural*, prologue.

commerce, poor communications and a standing for women that was 50 years behind the rest of Europe. His essay was not wholly negative, admiring Spanish bravery and sobriety, the beauty of the language, some famous literary and artistic achievements, and recent government initiatives that had begun to improve the state of learning, agriculture, industry and transport. Yet these nuances were lost in the shadow of his most infamous observation: all other European nations had contributed something to the general advancement of arts and sciences, Masson argued, but ‘What do we owe Spain? After two centuries, after four, after ten, what has she done for Europe?’⁷⁶

Masson’s question received a deluge of answers from Spanish *ilustrados* and *antiilustrados*. Among the former, Antonio José Cavanilles, a Valencian botanist based in Paris, addressed a French readership in 1784, arguing that Masson’s portrait of a wilfully unenlightened Spain embarrassed the *Encyclopédie*. Masson had neither seen Spain, nor understood the Spanish language, and he took the easy route to entertaining the public, risking plunging France and Spain back into their old enmity.⁷⁷ Cavanilles rebutted Masson theme by theme, from the navy to fine art, before focusing on the Frenchman’s assertions about Spanish laziness. These were disproved with reference to agriculture, industry and Carlos III’s reforms, which had encouraged trade, manufacturing and communications.⁷⁸ Cavanilles wanted to establish Spain’s position in enlightened Europe, but also to avenge his country. This second motivation encouraged defences of the clergy (caring rather than tyrannical) and even of the Inquisition, through whom Spain had avoided the religious tumults seen in England and France.⁷⁹ Cavanilles finished with historical evidence of Europe’s debt to his country, claiming Arab learning for Spain, listing New World discoveries and glorying in the cultural achievements of the Golden Age. Many of Masson’s accusations would have applied to the seventeenth century, he admitted, but Carlos III had reversed the decline.⁸⁰ These arguments were aimed at a French readership, but Cavanilles sent a copy of the text to John Talbot Dillon, who promised that it would become the most precious jewel in his library; certainly, the former’s later work on the Kingdom of Valencia shaped

⁷⁶ Masson de Morvilliers, ‘Espagne’, 565. For a translation, see Donato and López (eds), *Enlightenment Spain and the Encyclopédie méthodique*, 26–93.

⁷⁷ Cavanilles, *Observations sur l’article ‘Espagne’ de la nouvelle Encyclopédie*, 1–6. The book was immediately translated into Spanish.

⁷⁸ Cavanilles, *Observations*, 80–113.

⁷⁹ Cavanilles, *Observations*, 6, 114–24.

⁸⁰ Cavanilles, *Observations*, 124–55.

British accounts directly and by inclusion in Fischer's book.⁸¹ It is hard to know how sincerely Cavanilles was defending the Inquisition, but his published thoughts again reflect *ilustrado* doublethink.⁸² No such issues troubled Juan Pablo Forner in his 1786 Spanish-language apology for Spain, an entry to a government-run competition to refute Masson.⁸³ With a domestic and imperial readership in mind, Forner celebrated the fact that his country had not been exposed to modern philosophy, which was contrary to its religion and character, and he praised sixteenth-century humanists and current Inquisitorial censors alike. Forner attacked Masson less directly than Cavanilles, taking the opportunity to rail against all French thought, but he too was driven to answer the infamous question of what was owed to Spain: the difference between *ilustrados* and *antiilustrados* was between those who answered by pointing out recent progress and those who celebrated a glorious past.⁸⁴

If Masson generated plenty of anger, Jean-Marie-Jérôme Fleuriot, marquis de Langle, sustained it with his *Voyage de Figaro, en Espagne* (1784).⁸⁵ An idea of the book is given by its English title, *A Sentimental Journey Through Spain* – the preface to which warned readers that they would find neither learning nor accuracy, but recommended its 'mirth, vivacity and sentiment' to fans of Lawrence Sterne's famous journey through France and Italy.⁸⁶ Fleuriot gave his audience what they already knew of Spain. He ran through terrible transport and accommodation, a tyrannical (if lately tempered) Inquisition, the burden of censorship, abysmal education, horrifying bullfights and a jealous, lazy and taciturn Castilian character. Although he professed to love the women, climate and language of Spain, he took little account of changes under Carlos III. Serving up the familiar in a readable style, the book enjoyed enormous success in France.⁸⁷ Although Fleuriot's work was popular enough in Britain for a second edition, none of the travellers in this study mentioned it as an influence; its significance here is rather in the context it set for Spanish engagement with British, as well as French, travel writing.

The *Voyage de Figaro* elicited the same stinging rebuttals as Masson's essay, but also an official protest from the Spanish ambassador

⁸¹ Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 213. Fischer's *Picture of Valencia* was substantially built on Cavanilles's work. For a British use of Cavanilles, see Lady Holland's journal: BL Add MS 51930, fos 92, 98.

⁸² Domínguez, 'España contra las luces', 235.

⁸³ Herr, *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, 223.

⁸⁴ Forner, *Oración apologética por la España y su mérito literario*; Domínguez, 'España contra las luces', 234–5; Herr, *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, 227–8.

⁸⁵ Fleuriot, *Voyage de Figaro, en Espagne*.

⁸⁶ Fleuriot, *Sentimental Journey Through Spain*. First edition in 1786, second in 1788.

⁸⁷ For an analysis of Fleuriot's book, see Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 159–84.

to France, the Conde de Aranda.⁸⁸ After decades of French insults, Aranda saw Fleuriot as the last straw. He collaborated with an unidentified local on a French-language denunciation of Fleuriot's inaccuracies and nonsense, but these criticisms only seem to have encouraged a new edition. Enraged, Aranda wrote an open letter to the *Journal de Paris* and complained to the French minister of foreign affairs, warning of the danger to Franco-Spanish relations.⁸⁹ He achieved political success when the *parlement* of Paris ordered the book to be burned by the common hangman in 1786; it was banned in France 10 years before the Inquisition did so in Spain. But the old criticisms of inaccuracy and untrustworthiness were ill-equipped against a deliberately extravagant writer such as Fleuriot.⁹⁰ If anything, the Frenchman's public arguments with Aranda and other Spanish critics, including Cavanilles and Ponz, drove sales of later, expanded versions of the text.⁹¹ Certainly, the title page of the second English edition drew in potential readers with Figaro's fate at the hands of the Parisian hangman, having 'so offended the religious Dons'.⁹²

Antonio Ponz, 'travellee'

It was amid the furore generated by Masson and Fleuriot that the most influential *ilustrado* 'travellee', Antonio Ponz (see [Figure 6.2](#)), surveyed foreign – predominantly British and French – writing about Spain in 1785. A painter and scholar, he was part of a prominent group of Valencian intellectuals at the court of Carlos III that also included the likes of Cavanilles, Gregorio Mayans and Francisco Pérez Bayer, many of whom maintained British contacts.⁹³ In Ponz's case, his central position in political and cultural circles was cemented by his enormous *Viage de España* (1772–94), a survey of the country's patrimony of a piece with other court-sponsored projects looking to consolidate a sense of national heritage. The work also reflected Bourbon priorities in its advocacy of reform, taking a critical view on society and the economy.⁹⁴ From the outset, Ponz cast foreign criticism of Spanish arts and letters as a prompt for Spain to draw itself up to equal, or even surpass, the most advanced

⁸⁸ Ferrer Benimeli, *El conde de Aranda y su defensa de España*.

⁸⁹ Aranda, *Dénonciation au public du voyage d'un soi-disant Figaro en Espagne*; Anon. [Aranda], 'Aux auteurs du journal'; Bracewell, 'Arguing from experience', 563–4.

⁹⁰ Bracewell, 'Arguing from experience', 562–5.

⁹¹ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 164–5, 170–1.

⁹² Fleuriot, *Sentimental Journey Through Spain*, 2nd edition, title page.

⁹³ Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos'.

⁹⁴ Frank, *El 'Viage de España' de Antonio Ponz*.

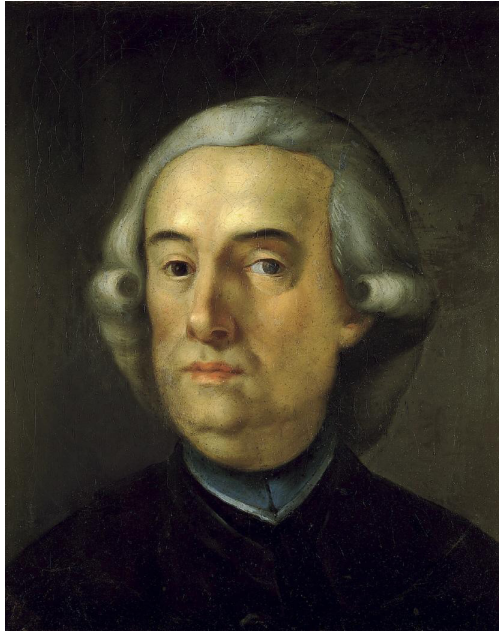


Figure 6.2 Antonio Ponz, self-portrait (c. 1774), Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. *Source:* Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

nations.⁹⁵ By the eleventh volume (1783), he was calling out Edward Clarke's 'ridiculous, common, and despicable' misunderstandings of Spanish art.⁹⁶ Yet like other *ilustrados* who took on foreign travellers, Ponz was a moderate, pragmatic reformer close to power; he was personally invested in an enlightened view of Spain, but also cognisant of the need for change.⁹⁷

Ponz confronted travel writing in his own account of time abroad, the two-volume *Viage fuera de España* (1785), which tracked a six-month journey through France, the Low Countries and England made in 1783.⁹⁸ He sought examples for the improvement of Spain, the standard Enlightenment justification for travel, but he also vowed to correct falsehoods written about his country. In the event, the second aim often dominated. The preface to the first volume focused on books published

⁹⁵ Ponz, *Viage de España*, I, 17–18.

⁹⁶ Ponz, *Viage de España*, XI, 249–50.

⁹⁷ On Ponz's career and context, see Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos'; Bolufer Peruga, 'Visiones de Europa en el siglo de las luces'; Bolufer Peruga, '¿"Conocimiento" o "desengaño"?'.

⁹⁸ For which, see Bolufer Peruga, 'Visiones de Europa en el siglo de las luces'; Bolufer Peruga, '¿"Conocimiento" o "desengaño"?'.

about Spain in the previous two decades, weighing the merits of the most famous British and French texts. In the second volume, the preface mounted a focused defence of Spanish colonialism against Masson.⁹⁹ France was the primary target of the main text, as Ponz used his journey to show the hypocrisy of French travellers who had criticised Spain; he refused to be seduced by any aspect of French society. By comparison, England got off lightly. Ponz criticised luxury and the exclusion of Catholics from English liberty, preferring enlightened absolutism as a system of government, and he gently mocked British manners. How could Clarke write of Spanish taciturnity, he wondered, when all you heard from over a thousand people in St James's Park were their footsteps?¹⁰⁰ Ponz nevertheless admired British agriculture, manufacturing and the economic and cultural contributions of the landowning elite (where travellers to Spain often criticised its absent, neglectful grandees, as noted in [Chapter 3](#)). Much of this flowed from Ponz's connections to that elite, not least to Grantham, but there is also a sense that he saw less need for revenge against Britain than France.

That sense emerges from Ponz's first preface, the survey of travel writing about Spain published between the 1760s and the 1780s. He wondered how the British and the French, who were of such opposed humours, had allied to insult Spain over the past 20 years. The answer, Ponz determined, was that their ideas had grown from a common, rotten seedbed, mostly laid down by French writers such as d'Aulnoy in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰¹ As we have seen, he was essentially correct. Ponz reserved his strongest criticism for recent writers from France, devoting 15 pages to a detailed rebuttal of the *Voyage de Figaro*. In part, he took issue with its romanticisation of Spain: the supposedly dilapidated Buen Retiro had never been in better repair, for example, and Fleuriot's claims about superstition deserved nothing but mockery. Ponz also found opportunities to celebrate Bourbon reforms, such as Floridablanca's schemes for medical care and poor relief in Madrid.¹⁰² He knew that he ought not to be triggered by a deliberately extravagant book, but Spanish failure to respond forcefully to the likes of Masson had given licence to imitators.¹⁰³ Cavanilles, for example, had been too fair-minded, when the *Encyclopédie* entry

⁹⁹ O'Hagan, 'Revering Spain's colonial past'.

¹⁰⁰ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 184.

¹⁰¹ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 185–6.

¹⁰² Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 209–24.

¹⁰³ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 224.

demanded a forthright defence of Spain.¹⁰⁴ And where Cavanilles and Aranda had criticised French writers in their language, Ponz did so in Spanish. All Europe knew the outrages levelled against Spain before the Spanish themselves, on account of censorship and linguistic barriers, but such books were to be translated and published widely so that they could be refuted. First, though, and apparently without irony, Ponz called for any religious impieties to be purged from these foreign works.¹⁰⁵

Where Ponz expected lies and insults from the French, he was more disappointed by British criticism. Spain had often trusted in England and, despite religious differences and frequent war, the predilection for the English in Spain was well known (so well known, in fact, that Ponz did not explain its origins). Yet, as the Irish and the Americans could attest, everyone knew that Englishmen aggrandised themselves at the expense of others.¹⁰⁶ Clarke, for one, did not know what he was talking about: he criticised all Spanish playwrights, having seen one bad play; he misrepresented Juan de Mariana's *General History of Spain*; he wrote of art at the Escorial like a street porter. Ponz would not defend the Inquisition's *autos-da-fé* (public torture and executions of those condemned), which had horrified Clarke, but these had been banned since his visit; nor did Ponz disagree that Spanish roads and inns were worse than the English, but this had not always been so and (under Carlos III) might not be again.¹⁰⁷ As for Swinburne, the reader was directed to Azara's dissection of his *Travels Through Spain*.¹⁰⁸

Yet Ponz recognised that some Englishmen had treated his country fairly, not least Richard Twiss. He picked out Twiss's praise for Madrid, where the accommodation was as good as in England and the streets as clean as in Holland; his enjoyment of Spanish hospitality, contrasting with Clarke's criticisms; and his rebuttal of French criticism of the royal palace in the capital. Unlike in Grantham's letters, Twiss was presented as a gracious visitor. These positives put Ponz in a forgiving mood: Twiss spoke badly of some inns, but the Spanish had said worse and the situation was being improved; he occasionally criticised Catholicism but, unlike Swinburne, he should be allowed to disagree as a Protestant; Twiss made some errors about art, but had consulted as many volumes

¹⁰⁴ O'Hagan, 'Revering Spain's colonial past', 4–5.

¹⁰⁵ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 225.

¹⁰⁶ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 182–5.

¹⁰⁷ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 186–8, 191. Mariana's work appeared in Latin from 1592, in Spanish from 1601 and in English from 1699.

¹⁰⁸ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 191–5.

of Ponz's *Viage de España* as were then available.¹⁰⁹ This recognition of Spanish influence may have been key, as the other Anglophone writer to receive Ponz's praise was John Talbot Dillon, whose book adapted Bowles's *Introducción*, neither misleading the English nor offending Spain.¹¹⁰ The only Frenchman to be congratulated was Peyron, an even-handed writer who criticised things that deserved it and gave a positive account of Spanish character and culture. His few errors, Ponz decided, were based upon hearsay.¹¹¹ Again, it must have been significant that Peyron had used Ponz's work as his guide to the fine arts, antiquities and churches of Spain.¹¹²

Ponz was noticing signs that he and other *ilustrado* 'travellers' were starting to have an effect. If the *Viage de España* had begun to respond to foreign criticism of Spanish intellectual and cultural life in 1772, British and French travellers were depending on its descriptions of Spanish patrimony within the decade. Ponz's government pension was awarded for informing the Spanish and foreign public, as well as his critical judgement of Spanish painting, sculpture and architecture.¹¹³ His work was used by a range of travellers, from publications by Twiss, Dillon and Peyron to Mary Graham, who referred to it in her manuscript account of Segovia in 1781.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the clearest example of the book's influence is Bourgoing's *Nouveau voyage d'Espagne* (1789), the author having known Ponz during his diplomatic postings to Spain in the late 1770s and mid-1780s.¹¹⁵ Bourgoing deferred to Ponz on all kinds of monument and borrowed heavily from him to expand his second edition (1797); he may even have adapted the text in response to Ponz's criticisms.¹¹⁶ The Frenchman was also well versed in debates between Spanish intellectuals and his countrymen, finding that the state of learning in Spain was somewhere between the condemnations of Masson and the rebuttals of Cavanilles.¹¹⁷ To a degree, as British readers turned to Bourgoing over the 1790s, Spanish self-presentations reached Britain through French intermediaries.

¹⁰⁹ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 196–201.

¹¹⁰ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 201–2.

¹¹¹ Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 202–7.

¹¹² Peyron, *Nouveau voyage en Espagne*, I, 5; Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 35–6, 43–4. As Peyron noted, Ponz did not say much about the manners and customs of his own country.

¹¹³ Bolufer Peruga, 'Visiones de Europa en el siglo de las luces', 171.

¹¹⁴ NLS MS.3629, fol. 8v: Graham, journal.

¹¹⁵ Ponz, *Viage de España*, XVII, 171–2.

¹¹⁶ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 72, 77–8, 118.

¹¹⁷ Bourgoing, *Nouveau voyage en Espagne*, 1st edition, I, 258–9, cited in Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 81.

Ilustrado arguments also came to readers of English more directly, as British travellers built their own relationships with the Spanish cultural and administrative elite. In several cases, an initial encounter with court-based networks in Madrid, often through the offices of the British diplomat, shaped an onward tour by furnishing letters of introduction and new perspectives. In effect, the kind of encounter that Swinburne had enjoyed with the RABASF's work on the Alhambra, explored in [Chapters 5 and 8](#), spread to other British visitors during the 1780s. Relationships with Spanish intellectuals might then continue through correspondence, as returned travellers set themselves up as cultural mediators in Britain and published their experiences of Iberia. One such was John Talbot Dillon, who came to Madrid late in Grantham's embassy, befriended Cavanilles and Mayans, and returned home to adapt Bowles's natural history, which he had first encountered in the Spanish capital.¹¹⁸ The work drew praise from Azara and Ponz, as we have seen. In later years, Dillon translated Mengs's letter to Ponz on painting and shared Cavanilles's work with botanists in Britain.¹¹⁹ Similarly, in both Portugal and Spain, William Burton Conyngham and his protégé James Cavanah Murphy built relationships with locals who shared their archaeological interests, including the Madrid-based scholar Francisco Pérez Bayer, who provided Conyngham with materials.¹²⁰ Murphy drew the Portuguese rebuttal mentioned above, but his books and Conyngham's activities also fed back into their Iberian context, informing ongoing scholarship and shaping what guides told visitors to the monastery at Batalha and the Roman theatre at Sagunto.¹²¹ Intellectual and cultural exchange found its best-known expression with Lord and Lady Holland, whose visits to Spain in 1802–4 and 1808–9 generated close relationships with politicians and thinkers, including daily meetings with the statesman Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, the historian and philosopher Antonio de Capmany and the poet Manuel José Quintana on the second journey, when so much of the Spanish elite had gathered in wartime Seville.¹²² The spread of liberal ideas from Holland House and its Andalusian outpost, Casa Liria, was achieved in collaboration with Spanish individuals, rather than as a

¹¹⁸ Bolufer Peruga, 'Intelectuales valencianos', 317, 335–6; Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, iii.

¹¹⁹ Mengs, *Sketches on the Art of Painting*, trans. Dillon; Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 211–15.

¹²⁰ Hurley, 'Conyngham's antiquarian tour', 43–5; León Gomez, 'Conyngham y el teatro romano de Sagunto', 15, 17. On Murphy's correspondence with the art critic Juan Agustín Ceán-Bermúdez about Arabic inscriptions at Italica, see Mulvin, 'Pioneer of "Moresque" revival', 153.

¹²¹ León Gomez, 'William Conyngham y el teatro romano de Sagunto', 15; Bristol Reference Library B20854, Southey, diary, 10 March 1801. On Conyngham and Sagunto, see also [Chapter 8](#).

¹²² Calvo Maturana, 'Lady Holland, hispanófila', 988.

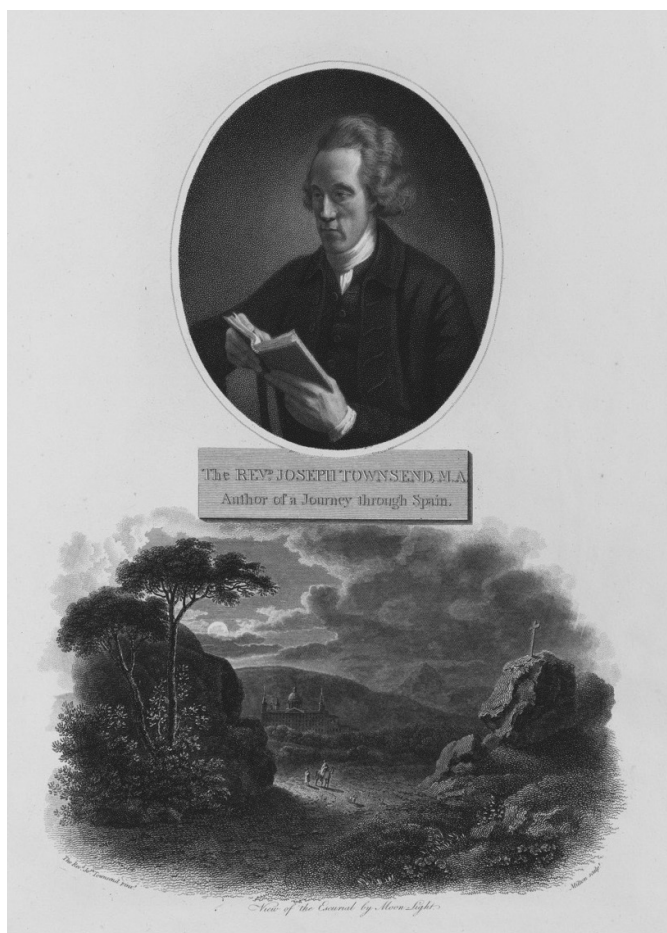


Figure 6.3 Joseph Townsend by William Holl (the Elder) after John Opie, from Robert Thornton, 'Botany' (1805). Source: NPG D34350. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

British imposition.¹²³ By that point, British and Irish writers had enjoyed two-way relationships with *ilustrados* for several decades, during which they had brought their perspectives to readers of English.

A significant example is Joseph Townsend's *Journey Through Spain* (1791), in which *ilustrado* connections helped to produce a broadly positive account that, as its subtitle proclaimed, paid 'particular attention to the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, population, taxes, and revenue of that country'. Townsend (see Figure 6.3) crossed the Pyrenees

¹²³ Kitts, 'Role of Holland House'.

in April 1786 and spent a month at Barcelona before heading to Madrid, but thereafter his encounter with Spain was structured by networks in the capital. A chance encounter with the botanist Casimiro Gómez de Ortega led Townsend to a meeting of the Real Academia de la Historia, where he first met a distracted Campomanes, ‘ungracious in his manner’. The relationship warmed, however, and Townsend was enchanted by ‘one of the best patriots that ever gave instruction to a rising nation’.¹²⁴ Campomanes recommended a visit to the RABASF, his ‘favourite establishment’, where Townsend was shown around by its secretary, Ponz, ‘a man of taste and judgement’. At the nearby cabinet of natural history, the Englishman was pleased to see Spain following his country’s example in a new science.¹²⁵ Around the same time, Liston introduced him to Floridablanca.¹²⁶ After a couple of months, Townsend headed north with letters from Campomanes, who hailed from Asturias.¹²⁷ The traveller returned to Madrid for the winter of 1786–7, when a better understanding of Spanish manners allowed him to deepen his connections to Campomanes’s circle, with whom Townsend often assembled ‘after the business of the day was over’.¹²⁸ Floridablanca also invited him to weekly dinners.¹²⁹ On these occasions Townsend befriended a gallery of *ilustrados*, including the mineralogist Eugenio Izquierdo and the historian Juan Bautista Muñoz, then writing a rebuttal of Robertson’s *History of America*.¹³⁰ For his part, Izquierdo was cataloguing the cabinet of natural history in order, Townsend noted, to ‘wipe away the reproach which M. Masson had cast upon the nation’.¹³¹ The Englishman was socialising with the very men charged with responding to foreign views of Spain.

These connections shaped his tour. When Townsend headed southwards in the spring of 1787, Floridablanca insisted on writing letters to all the provincial governors and notables along his route.¹³² As in the north, Townsend enjoyed the hospitality of bishops, landowners and officials who bought into the *ilustrado* programme of reform. The Englishman impressed

¹²⁴ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 279–84.

¹²⁵ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 284–9.

¹²⁶ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 291–2.

¹²⁷ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 353–4; II, 4, 92. Letters were particularly necessary for a man travelling alone, without a servant: NLS MS.5546, fol. 147: Townsend to Liston, 5 May 1787.

¹²⁸ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 283.

¹²⁹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 135.

¹³⁰ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 136–7, 247–53.

¹³¹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 247.

¹³² Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 254, 277, 317.

them, in turn, and reports of his insightfulness came back to Madrid.¹³³ These relationships also seem to have shaped Townsend's thinking about Spain. His account of the capital dwelt on industry and cultural institutions: although he was sometimes critical of the execution of *ilustrado* ambitions, the sense of progress was central to his account of the country.¹³⁴ *A Journey Through Spain* was full of praise for Campomanes, for both his erudite company in Madrid and the footprint of his reforms in the provinces, from the freeing up of Catalan industry to the statesman's 'favourite institutions' in Seville.¹³⁵ This treatment is unsurprising, as Townsend stayed in contact with Campomanes while writing up his travels at home, but the influence of his wider Madrid circle is also clear.¹³⁶ Townsend regularly cited Spanish books and periodicals, including Campomanes's own economic arguments,¹³⁷ Ponz on art, history and the economy,¹³⁸ and Cavanilles, his 'much respected friend', on agriculture and manufacturing.¹³⁹ Townsend's book came out too late to appear in Ponz's 1785 survey of travel writing but, much later, in the 1820s, the liberal exile Joseph Blanco White singled Townsend out for 'the truth and liveliness of his descriptions', thinking it impossible 'for any but a native Spaniard' to better his account.¹⁴⁰ There were limits to the Englishman's sympathy with the *ilustrados*: like many of his countrymen, he was more pessimistic about existing reforms and the extent of economic growth, and he proposed more radical solutions than his gradualist friends in Spain, whose centralising, interventionist instincts jarred with Townsend's liberal economics.¹⁴¹ Yet the writer's immersion in administrative circles in Madrid ensured that *A Journey Through Spain* hit the major *ilustrado* talking points, identifying the same social and economic problems, even if Townsend disagreed on some of the answers. Much like Bourgoing, he observed genuine changes in Spain, which looked to be bringing the country closer to an Anglo-French ideal of Enlightenment, but the attitudes of both writers were also informed by personal relationships with ministers and thinkers at the heart of reform. Both highly successful

¹³³ NLS MS.5546, fol. 141: Juan Mariño [Barrera, president of the Chancillería de Granada] to Robert Liston, 27 April 1787. Townsend thought Mariño 'the best informed Spaniard I have met with': MS.5546, fol. 133v: Townsend to Liston, 25 April 1787.

¹³⁴ Franco, 'El viaje como laboratorio intercultural', 28.

¹³⁵ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 148, 243; II, 141, 218, 245–6, 304.

¹³⁶ NLS MS.5551, fol. 1: Campomanes to Liston, 1 May 1788, mentioning books sent by Townsend.

¹³⁷ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, II, 216–17, 220, 372–3, 375, 386–7, 390; III, 176.

¹³⁸ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 253, 284; II, 212; III, 254–5.

¹³⁹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, I, 270–1; III, 256.

¹⁴⁰ Blanco White, *Letters from Spain*, 2nd edition, 4–5. Cavanilles received a copy of Townsend's English edition from his fellow botanist, James Edward Smith, in 1793: Bas Martín, *Spanish Books*, 211.

¹⁴¹ Paquette, 'Image of Imperial Spain', 197; Ramos Gorostiza, 'Imagen económica'.

books helped to convey *ilustrado* priorities to travellers and readers in Britain.¹⁴²

By comparison with the works outlined so far, the 1790s saw relatively few Spanish efforts to engage with foreign travel writing, aside from the final volumes of Ponz's *Viage de España*. This de-escalation may have been as a sign of success, as the likes of Townsend and Bourgoing had – under the influence of *ilustrado* writings and associational culture – produced books in need of far less correction than those of Swinburne, Masson or Fleuriot. At the same time, the French Revolution challenged the shared assumptions that had motivated *ilustrado* 'travellees' to write back in the first place. Put simply, it was no longer clear that the Spanish administrative and cultural elite *wanted* a place for themselves in enlightened Europe. At a governmental level, between 1789 and 1792, Floridablanca's determination to preserve Spain from the tide of events saw a range of reactionary measures, including working with the Inquisition on censorship, though such responses were common across the Continent. Then, as the Revolution radicalised, a popular upsurge of Catholic patriotism backed Spain's war against France between 1792 and 1795.¹⁴³ Those who had been at the forefront of *ilustrado* efforts against foreign condescension, such as Capmany, began to turn patriot *antiilustrados*, celebrating Spanish attachment to church and tradition. Observing the direction of change as early as 1787, Azara had written privately to Aranda, 'God save us our ignorance'.¹⁴⁴ If, as Richard Herr argued, the real revolution in late eighteenth-century Spain was the wartime shattering of the consensus behind enlightened absolutism, one effect was to remove the basis for centralised responses to foreign travellers.¹⁴⁵

Defeat in 1796 left Spain in thrall to France and at war with Britain, under the leadership of Manuel Godoy (in power 1792–8, 1801–8), who oscillated between progressive and reactionary policies in a period of war, famine and economic disaster. Godoy was at heart a Francophile and an *ilustrado*, keen to revive the enlightened ministries of the previous generation, and he drew one foreign travel writer back

¹⁴² Townsend's book went through three English editions (1791, 1792, 1814), one German (1791) and one French (1809). For its use by British travellers, see BL Add MS 51931, fos 12, 99v: Lady Holland, journal; NLS MS.19388, fos 7, 10v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'; MS.19389, fol. 12: Traill, journal; Clarke, *Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, 15, 19, 70, 72, 112, 118, 128, 136, 139–40, 152–3, 159, 199, 204–6. Townsend was also a prominent source for Conder, *Modern Traveller*, XVIII.

¹⁴³ On Spanish responses to the French Revolution, see Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 378–421; Herr, *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, 239–68, 435–44.

¹⁴⁴ Domínguez, 'España contra las luces', 235–6, 238.

¹⁴⁵ Herr, *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, 444.

into Spanish government circles as part of this vision. Alexandre de Laborde produced his *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne* (1808) and *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (1806–20) under the patronage of Carlos IV and Godoy. The former book sold well in its English translation of 1809 and immediately began shaping British encounters with the country.¹⁴⁶ Amid the painfully slow efforts of Spanish scholars, the Bourbon court had turned to Laborde for an encyclopaedic treatment of the country's curiosities.¹⁴⁷ The Frenchman nevertheless borrowed heavily from Jovellanos, the *Antigüedades* and most notably Ponz, whom he often translated or abridged, even on places that he had himself visited (certainly in 1801 and probably in the late 1790s).¹⁴⁸ Laborde's introduction to the *Itinéraire* put forward a radically positive interpretation of Spanish history: the country had never been more prosperous than it then was, nor its empire more profitable; the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims had united the country, as had the actions of the Inquisition; depopulation could not be blamed on the exploitation of the Americas and the Spanish had not treated the indigenous peoples there as badly as it was said. French writing on these subjects, even by Montesquieu, was singularly flippant and imprecise, Laborde argued. Ponz would have been proud. Since the 1770s, increasingly positive views of Spain had emerged from a triangular relationship between Spanish, French and British writers, to the point that Townsend, Bourgoing and the *ilustrados* could argue that the country was on a path out of decline. Now, it seemed, a French writer with Spanish backing and a broad British readership was throwing out the Black Legend in its entirety. There is a suspicion, however, that the introduction to the *Itinéraire*, written hastily in 1808, may have been meant to show Napoleon the value of annexing Spain and its empire; certainly, Laborde accompanied Bonaparte on his invasion that year.¹⁴⁹ If this is how he intended to use the likes of Ponz, Spanish efforts to write back against the condescension of foreign travellers ultimately served an ironic end.

¹⁴⁶ As noted, a print run of 1,250 in 1809: St Clair, *Reading Nation*, 557. For uses of Laborde, see Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 96; LWL MS 41 Box 1, fol. 78v: Holland, 'Journal in Spain'; NLS MS.19389, fol. 121: Traill, journal; Clarke, *Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, 79, 128; Locker, *Views in Spain*.

¹⁴⁷ On Spanish disillusionment with this decision, see Canto, 'El Viaje arquitectónico-anticuario de Fray José Ortiz y Sanz'.

¹⁴⁸ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 212–15, 217, 256–7.

¹⁴⁹ Fernández Herr, *Origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 234–7.

Civilian travel and the Peninsular War¹

War is conventionally seen as a constraint upon travel and tourism. Historians of the Italian 'Grand Tour', for example, have noted a fall in the number of British travellers on the Continent during the Seven Years' War and, to a lesser extent, during the American War of Independence.² The dangers of being captured at sea, being arrested as a spy or simply being unable to proceed through hostile enemy territory were all very real and certainly proved a deterrent to travellers. But the relationship between war and travel is a more complex matter than simply passing through enemy territory. The business of war in the past and in the present – or 'military tourism' – could also prove a positive attraction to travellers: battlefields, as well as antiquities, were a key part of their itineraries.³ Indeed, war and travel have always been closely allied and from the early modern period, where more abundant sources start to survive, it is easy to identify soldiers combining military service overseas with touring and to find prescriptive advice for travellers recommending attention to fortifications and military affairs.⁴ Long before the era of 'battlefield tourism', the practice of viewing a country in the light of past and recent military conflicts was a crucial means of understanding both its history and its current political and military state. Travellers sought out the sites of memorable battles, both as a chance to reflect upon the vagaries of history and as an opportunity for informal military training: an appreciation of the terrain on which previous engagements were

¹ This chapter draws on and develops arguments in Sweet and Ansell, 'Alhambra and the Peninsular War'.

² Towner, 'Grand Tour', 304; Black, *British Abroad*, 6–11; Sweet, 'Who travelled, where and when?'.

³ Butler and Suntikul, 'Introduction', 2.

⁴ Towner, 'English tourist and war', 48.

lost or won and the strategy deployed was clearly instructive for the future members of the officer class. Young men who aspired to a life of military leadership might also seek out opportunities to gain battlefield experience.⁵ Moreover, the opportunity to observe war at first hand and to be a witness to events that might shape the subsequent course of history – despite the inherent dangers – has often proved attractive to civilian travellers. In the context of travel to Spain and Portugal, the Peninsular War (or Spanish War of Independence) from 1808 to 1814 proved particularly significant in terms of stimulating wider public interest in the region within Britain but also in terms of attracting civilian travellers, who took advantage of the peculiar circumstances of war to explore and report on the country. War in fact could, directly or indirectly, facilitate travel. If nothing else, the logistics of transporting an army to another country and supplying it with food and equipment intensified the networks of communication, networks that – at least in the context of the Peninsular War – could be exploited by civilian travellers.⁶

Before the Peninsular War, Britain had enjoyed a long-standing alliance with Portugal, ratified most recently through the Methuen Treaty of 1703: this ensured trading privileges for the British but led also in 1776 to British military assistance when Portugal was threatened with invasion by Spain.⁷ Relations with Spain were not so close and the two countries had rarely been allied; periods of peace allowed for closer economic and cultural ties to develop, but, like the French, the Spanish were traditionally regarded as the ‘enemy’, accounting for not a little of the hostile ‘othering’ that is apparent in a number of travellers’ accounts. Accordingly, while travel to Portugal was never interrupted for diplomatic reasons, tensions between Britain and Spain clearly inflected the patterns of travel to Portugal too. Most notably, during the period 1779–83 there is little evidence for British travellers (as opposed to a military or mercantile presence), reflecting how war – in this case the American War of Independence, which Spain joined in 1779 – put an end to the decade of warmer relationships presided over by Thomas Robinson, second Baron Grantham, as discussed in [Chapter 5](#). Mr and Mrs Graham, travelling through Spain in 1781 with Mary Graham’s

⁵ Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger*, 80–97 on ‘martial itineraries’.

⁶ To this extent, the presence of civilian travellers during the Peninsular War bears similarities to the growth of tourism in areas involved with but separate from an actual war in the twentieth century, as identified by Butler and Sunitkul, ‘Introduction’, 6.

⁷ On Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic relationships in the eighteenth century see Francis, *Portugal, 1715–1808*.

sister, Charlotte Cathcart, as well as Lady Charlotte Finch and her son and daughter, may appear to present an exception; their tour, however, was made out of necessity, itself a consequence of war, as their ship from Lisbon had been captured by an American privateer, which subsequently put them ashore at Vigo. Following a courteous reception from the governor of the town and 'all the officers of an Irish Regiment in the King of Spain's service', the party had to travel overland through Spain and France back to England.⁸ Similarly, Richard Croker, author of a tour published in 1799, recounted his journey through Spain in 1780, but it was a journey made as a prisoner of war rather than one made through freedom of choice.⁹ In both cases, the conventions of war and the norms of civilised behaviour among the European elite ensured that the travellers were treated with courtesy and hospitality by the Spanish and faced no personal danger as a result of their enemy status.

During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the situation became more complex. In the War of the First Coalition (1792–7) Spain and Britain were allied against France until 1795 but with the Second Treaty of San Ildefonso (1796), Spain entered into a Franco-Spanish alliance targeted against British naval supremacy; an alliance which lasted until the Peace of Amiens in 1802–3. During this period of hostilities there is no record of British travellers to Spain, but in 1802 Europe opened up briefly to British travellers once more. A number of these, such as Edward Hussey, Edward Stanley or George Whittington, extended their travels to include Spain on their way back from tours of Italy, sailing from Genoa or Livorno to Barcelona before leaving via Cádiz or through Portugal and Lisbon. The resumption of war in 1803 put a halt to much continental travel once more, given that foreign nationals were liable to be interned in prisoner of war camps by the French. The situation in Iberia, at least, changed in August 1808 when the British army landed in Portugal in an attempt to drive out Napoleon's army.¹⁰

⁸ NLS MS.3628: Graham, journal, 1781; NLS MS.16045: Graham, 'Extracts from Mrs Feildings [sic] journal'. Sophia Fielding, who was captured with them, went first to Caldas da Rainha where she was reunited with her mother and brother (Lady Charlotte Finch and Lord Winchilsea) and they joined the Grahams in Madrid. See also JRL GB 133 HAM/1/12/32: Lady Charlotte Finch to unspecified recipient, 4 July 1781. Mr Graham, later, Sir Thomas Graham, would come to know Spain much more intimately during the Peninsular War in which he served as one of Wellington's generals.

⁹ Croker, *Travels Through Several Provinces of Spain and Portugal*.

¹⁰ Robert Semple, whose Spanish tour of 1805 was published as part of *Observations on a Journey* in 1807, represents an exception.

The military context

At this point it may be useful to provide a brief outline of the course of the Peninsular War, the backdrop against which much of the remainder of this chapter takes place. In 1807 Napoleon had marched his troops through Spain to invade Portugal, prompting the flight of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil; his ostensible aim was to enforce the trade blockade against Britain but the ulterior motive was to have troops in place in preparation for a full invasion of Spain, which would allow him to close off all the ports to British trade, seize control of the straits of Gibraltar and thereby block off the British from the Mediterranean and trade with the East, and to secure French access to Spain's colonial wealth. In February 1808, French forces crossed the Pyrenees into Navarre and Catalonia; by March Carlos IV had been forced to abdicate in favour of his son Fernando VII, but two months later, in May, Fernando too was forced to abdicate when Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the throne instead. Napoleon's actions immediately prompted resistance – swiftly and brutally repressed in Madrid – but the rebellion rapidly became a nationwide phenomenon, where it proved far harder for French forces to eliminate. Joseph ruled in name but, in those parts of Spain not yet under French occupation, regional Juntas or councils were established. An unexpected Spanish victory at Bailén in Andalusia in July 1808, led by Generals Castaños and Von Reding, gave cause for hope and persuaded the British government to provide assistance to the rebellion. It also captured the imagination of much of the British public, who believed the Spanish were bravely rising up against the French tyrant to regain their lost liberty. The story of Agustina de Aragón, or the 'Maid of Saragossa', who manned the cannons in the siege of Zaragoza in June 1808, was of minor significance strategically but was far more powerful as a narrative of Spanish heroism and resistance (see [Figure 7.1](#)).¹¹ Agustina would become a celebrity in her own right, lauded in verse by Byron in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and eagerly sought out by British travellers.¹²

In August 1808, the British formally entered the war, sending troops to Portugal under Lieutenant General Wellesley, whose forces were victorious over Delaborde at Roliça and Junot at Vimeiro that same month. However, early enthusiasm for the war gave way to anger at

¹¹ Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 191–200; Lasa Álvarez, 'Maid of Saragossa'; Esdaile, *Women in the Peninsular War*, 4–7, 94–101; Charles Vaughan's *Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza* (London, 1809) went into five editions in the first year of its publication.

¹² On personal encounters see, for example, DRO D239/M/F16335: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 30–1.



AGUSTINA ARAGON.

Conocida generalmente con el nombre de La Artillera. En el ataque del 4. de Julio quando los Franceses embistieron furiosamente á la bateria del Portillo, Agustina, viendo caer muertos ó heridos á todos los que la servian, trepa denodadamente por encima de los Cadaveres, coge la mecha de manos de uno que acababa de espirar; y la aplica á un Cañon de 24, jurando no desampararle, mientras durase el sitio. Este heroico exemplo alento á los Patriotas que corrieron á la bateria y rechazaron de ella á los enemigos. La heroína fue condecorada con un escudo de honor y con las insignias de Oficial.

Figure 7.1 Agustina de Aragón ('The Maid of Saragossa') by Fernando Brambila, from *Ruinas de Zaragoza* (1808–14). Source: BM museum number 1899,0713.177. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

what was seen as the betrayal of the Convention of Cintra, under which the British agreed to transport the French army back to France, complete with loot and equipment. Napoleon may have lost Portugal but in the following months he redoubled his forces in Spain and defeated the Spanish army in a series of battles through November, taking Madrid at the start of December. Meanwhile, the British army under Sir John Moore had marched north from Portugal into Spain with the intention of liberating Madrid, only to be cut off by Soult, forcing the famous retreat to A Coruña in January 1809, during which Moore was killed and over 7,000 British troops were lost. This brief experience convinced many in the British military command, including Lord Paget, that the Spanish nation was

... *not worth saving*. Such ignorance, such deceit, such apathy, such pusillanimity, such cruelty, was never both united. There is not one army that has fought at all. There is not one general who has exerted himself, there is not one province that has made any sacrifice whatever.¹³

Such negative first impressions proved hard to shift.

Wellesley returned to Portugal in spring 1809 and General Beresford was appointed Marshal in the Portuguese army, in which role he led a programme of reform. Although initially dismissive of Portuguese forces, the British grew to be favourably impressed by their willingness to submit to Beresford's authority and began to look more positively upon Portugal as an ally.¹⁴ In the second Portuguese campaign of 1809, the British army, with Portuguese assistance, drove the French back northwards. The story in Spain, however, was rather different. Wellesley advanced into Spain in the summer of 1809 and defeated the French at Talavera on 28 July 1809, but the supplies of men and horses to reinforce the British army that the Junta had promised never materialised and he was forced instead to retreat into Portugal to the disgust and disappointment of the British. Lord Wellesley arrived as ambassador to the Spanish Junta in Seville in August 1809, with a remit to improve relations between the British army and the Junta and, more specifically, to support his younger brother's campaign – all

¹³ Ilchester (ed.), *Spanish Journal*, 376, Lord Paget to Lord Holland, 23 December 1808 (Ilchester's italics). Holland, however, believed that 'only failed English soldiers described the situation as hopeless, and poured calumnies on the heads of the Spanish as an excuse for their own military incapacity': Mitchell, *Holland House*, 227.

¹⁴ See, for example, Fisher, *Sketch of the City of Lisbon* 24–6, 34–6.



Figure 7.2 Thomas Landmann, 'Torres-Vedras from the North; Estremadura', from *Historical, Military and Picturesque Observations on Portugal*, 2 vols (1818). Source: BM museum number 1982,U.743. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the more pressing after the debacle of Talavera – but he had no great success. The French therefore met little resistance when they invaded Andalusia early in 1810 under Sebastiani, forcing the Junta Central to flee from Seville to Cádiz, where it was replaced by the Regency and the Cortes of Cádiz that would later establish the Constitution of 1812.¹⁵ In Portugal, meanwhile, Wellesley, now Viscount Wellington, established a defensive position behind the lines of Torres Vedras, securing Lisbon from invasion from the north or the east (see [Figure 7.2](#)). Through 1811 there was, from the British perspective, little progress until the successful capture of the besieged cities of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz in the spring of 1812 (see [Figure 7.3](#)); following on this success and victory at Salamanca in July 1812, Wellington took Madrid in August. Although Wellington was forced to lift the siege of Burgos in the autumn of 1812 and retreat to Portugal, incurring very substantial losses, by 1813 the odds were shifting significantly in the Allies' favour as Napoleon was forced to withdraw troops from Spain to counter the threat from the east as Austria and Prussia joined the Allies. Having

¹⁵ On the French invasion of Andalusia, see Esdaile, *Outpost of Empire*.



Figure 7.3 ‘A view of the storming and taking of Cindad [sic] Rodrigo in Spain, 1812’ (1812). *Source:* BM museum number 2019,7074.2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

won a major victory over the French at Vitoria in June 1813, Wellington was able to take Pamplona and San Sebastián and then to advance into the south-west of France. Allied success at the Battle of Toulouse and Napoleon’s abdication in April brought an end to the conflict and the Peace of Paris was signed on 30 May 1814.

The Spanish army failed to cover itself with glory – except at Bailén – and was unable to prevent the French advance. More significant in withstanding the French, it has been argued, was the informal resistance of the bands of guerrillas, who harassed the army, picked off stragglers, ambushed convoys and prevented reconnaissance and foraging. One account estimates that guerrilla forces numbered as many as 55,000 in 1811, while the Spanish army constituted only around 70,000.¹⁶ Undoubtedly, the guerrillas helped to slow down the French advance, but a recent historian of the Peninsular War has forcefully argued that their contribution to the defence of Spain and in sustaining resistance to

¹⁶ Fraser, *Napoleon’s Cursed War*, 394.

the French is more equivocal than has generally been portrayed; regular soldiers in fact played a more important role in the skirmishes, raids and ambushes that ground away at the French military presence.¹⁷ What is less equivocal are the violence and savagery – whether committed by guerrillas, bandits or regular soldiers – that are associated with the Peninsular War, both in terms of the cruelty that the Spanish inflicted upon the French and in terms of French reprisals.

Changing itineraries

Far from putting an end to civilian travel on the Continent, as some historians have argued, the impact of war in this case was to redirect travellers to alternative itineraries.¹⁸ With Italy out of bounds, following the Napoleonic invasion of 1796, more travellers were venturing further east to Greece and Asia Minor. While an overland route through Germany was possible for some of the period, after the British victory over France's Mediterranean fleet at the Battle of the Nile in 1798, which ensured British superiority in the Mediterranean, the best option was to go by sea, through the straits of Gibraltar. In some respects, this simply looks like a re-routing of the traditional Grand Tour for elite young men, but Spain – and to an even greater extent Greece and Asia Minor – offered very different challenges and experiences to a tour of Italy, and involved a rather different set of travel behaviours. With the presence of the British army in Spain and Portugal, travel in the Iberian Peninsula became relatively safer, while the increasing density of transport communication with Britain provided numerous opportunities for civilians to seek a passage to A Coruña, Lisbon, Cádiz or Gibraltar. Many – including most famously Lord Byron – took the opportunity to develop a different kind of Mediterranean tour, taking in Spain, Sicily and Malta before reaching Greece.¹⁹ The onset of war in 1808, therefore, heralded a distinct change in patterns of travel to Spain: firm figures are difficult to compile given the patchy survival of evidence, but more travellers may be identified in Spain between 1808 and 1811 than for any other comparable period covered in this study (see [Appendix](#)). Moreover, the majority of these travellers were young men of independent means, in clear distinction from the very mixed

¹⁷ Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon*; see also Esdaile, *Peninsular War*, 280.

¹⁸ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 41; Heafford, 'British travellers in early nineteenth-century registers and guest books', 376.

¹⁹ Thomas, *Lord Byron's Iberian Pilgrimage*; on the importance of Byron's Iberian experience for his poetic development, see Sánchez, 'Byron, Spain, and the Romance of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*'.

age and occupational profile of previous decades. The closure of much of Western Europe to travel enhanced the attractions of Spain, as did the opportunity to see the British army in action and to witness, they hoped, the liberation of Spain from both French tyranny and the oppression of absolutism and the Roman Catholic church.²⁰ Not a few of these travellers were enthused with liberal sentiments inspired by the Holland House set – Lord and Lady Holland paid their second visit to the Iberian Peninsula in 1808–9, accompanied by the young Lord John Russell – and they were joined by many other English who arrived in Spain eager to witness both the defeat of France and the dawn of liberty in Spain.²¹ ‘Spain’, as Knight asserted in the explanatory notes to his otherwise eminently forgettable poem, *Iberia’s Crisis*, ‘is rendered interesting to the whole world by the momentous crisis that at this juncture displays her giving an example to all Europe, in contending to support her natural rights and liberties against an unprincipled foreign usurper’.²²

Despite the increasing quantity of civilian travellers in this period, they were vastly outnumbered by the military personnel, the ‘travellers in uniform’, many of whom left testimonies of their experiences in Spain and Portugal in diaries, letters, and published accounts.²³ Unsurprisingly, their writings overlap considerably with those of their civilian counterparts: comments on landscapes, remarks on public buildings or observations on social mores reflect the common cultural background from which both officers and civilians came and, more pragmatically, the consumption of the same books of travels that informed their views. There are some obvious differences, however. In the first instance, many of the military were permanently based in Portugal and the north-west of Spain and never visited the south-east; by contrast, the majority of civilian travellers in this period necessarily made Cádiz (besieged but never taken by the French) or the British garrison at Gibraltar their base for a tour of southern Spain. Portugal beyond Lisbon became much more familiar to the British as a result of the number of military memoirs

²⁰ There were also many more volunteers who joined the Spanish cause: see Iglesias Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*. Iglesias Rogers argues that they ‘behaved as liberators, driven, in many cases, by a romantic quest for adventure and a desire to fight in what they considered a popular wave of national independence’ (5).

²¹ On the Hollands’ involvement in Spain, see Mitchell, *Holland House*, 217–39; their less developed interest in Portugal is discussed by Clarke and De Sousa, ‘Critics to enthusiasts’ and De Sousa, Clarke and De Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*. On Russell’s formative experience in Spain in 1808–9 and his two subsequent visits in 1810 and 1812–13, see Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, I, 38–72 and Prest, *Lord John Russell*, 14–22.

²² Knight, *Iberia’s Crisis*, 59.

²³ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 92–113; Ramsey, *Military Memoir*.

describing the region that were published during and after the war, but the descriptions of southern Spain and Andalusia came principally from civilian travellers. Second, civilian travellers were in the country for a shorter period and in most cases endured far less contact with the remoter and less economically developed regions of Spain and Portugal. An experience based upon time spent chiefly in Lisbon, Cádiz, and Gibraltar, for example, mixing with elite society and one's compatriots, and accommodated for much of the time in comfortable inns or hotels, engendered a very different perspective on society than that entertained by soldiers billeted upon families in remote regions of Galicia or Portugal for weeks or months at a time. Third, even though some civilian travellers opined at great length on the progress of the war, they did not share the same first-hand experience of its frustrations and hardships, and this may be reflected in the tenor of their comments, particularly relating to national character, as we saw in [Chapter 4](#).

One of the first civilian travellers to arrive in Spain after Britain's entry into the war was William Gell, with his friend and 'intimate companion' Richard Keppel Craven, whom he had met earlier in 1808.²⁴ Gell does not fit the model of the elite young man thwarted from undertaking a tour of Italy: in 1808 he was 31, the veteran of three tours in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, and had already made a name for himself as the author of *The Topography of Troy* (1804) and the *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* (1807). The immediate reason for going to Spain was health: he suffered from gout, or more probably a form of rheumatoid arthritis, for most of his life and a warmer climate eased his pain. But there were other reasons, of which the most obvious was a desire to be an eye-witness to the course of events unfolding in Spain: Gell and Craven had formed the intention of travelling to Spain in May 1808, as soon as the Spanish Revolution broke out.²⁵ Just as the British dashed across the Channel to witness events in France in 1789, so too the dramatic turn of events in Spain were an attraction in their own right. Gell, a future chamberlain to the Princess of Wales, was certainly no adherent of the Holland House set, but as he pointed out to his brother Philip when he was planning his tour: 'Dupont being taken, Bessiers retreating, Joseph in a funk and Austria in a very uneasy state all conspire to render the sejour of a winter in Spain profitable'.²⁶

²⁴ BL Add MS 63609, fol. 32: Craven, diary. It seems likely that Gell and Craven were in a long-term relationship, as discussed by Thompson, *Queen Caroline and Sir William Gell*, 14–15.

²⁵ BL Add MS 63609, fol. 32: Craven, diary.

²⁶ DRO D258/50/18: Gell to Philip Gell, 12 August 1808.

Junot's fall (following the battle of Vimeiro and the Convention of Cintra), he wrote, 'left all the peninsula south of the Ebro' to him and to Craven.²⁷ Gell – permanently in need of money to supplement his limited income as a younger son – sought always to monetise his travels through publication, and he would later attempt to publish from his Spanish journals, as we shall see in [Chapter 8](#). But his interest in Spain is also likely to have been kindled by acquaintances in his own social network, which included the sculptor Anne Damer, who had visited Spain in 1791, and Keppel Craven's mother, the Margravine of Anspach, who had similarly travelled to Portugal and Spain the following year.²⁸ It is also possible that Gell's experience of the Eastern Mediterranean, where he was keenly observant of Ottoman manners and customs, may have stimulated an interest in the legacy of Spain's era of Islamic rule. After landing at A Coruña at the end of September, he and Craven proceeded down to Madrid, dining with Sir Charles Stuart, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Walpole and Sir Thomas Graham at Aranjuez,²⁹ where the latter was attempting to secure supplies for Sir John Moore's army and the others were 'amusing themselves'.³⁰ Travelling over the Sierra Morena through Jaén and Andalusia, they reached Granada on 9 November 1808, where they spent three weeks.³¹ From Granada they proceeded on to Málaga, Gibraltar and Cádiz, calling in upon Tangiers and Tétouan on the North African coast early in 1809, before returning home in March 1809 (see [Map 4](#) for their itinerary).³²

A couple of months after Gell's arrival in Spain, another two Derbyshire gentlemen, Francis Sacheverell Darwin and Theodore Galton, landed at A Coruña on 30 November 1808, where they encountered Lord and Lady Holland, also recently arrived, bearing with them the 17-year-old Lord John Russell. Rather than proceeding straight to Madrid as Gell had done – that route being effectively cut off due to the advance of the French army in November that had led to the surrender of Madrid

²⁷ DRO D258/50/19: Gell to Philip Gell, 6 September 1808.

²⁸ Lewis (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, II, 342; Craven, *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*, I, 374–430; Gasper, *Elizabeth Craven*, 211, 236.

²⁹ At that point Stuart was leading on intelligence gathering in Spain: Davies, *Spying for Wellington*, 72–3; Lord Walpole was the former British ambassador to Portugal; Bentinck was a member of Sir Harry Burrard's staff and was attempting to negotiate Anglo-Spanish cooperation with the Junta: Douglas M. Peers, 'Bentinck, Lord William Henry Cavendish [known as Lord William Bentinck] (1774–1839)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2161>. Graham was still on half pay but had chosen to accompany Sir John Moore to Spain as *aide de camp*: see Grant, *Peer among Princes*, 147–9.

³⁰ BSR WG[MS]-6, 055: Gell, notebook.

³¹ BL Add MS 43230, fol. 350: Gell to Lord Aberdeen, 3 December 1808.

³² For further detail on Gell's tour of Spain see Ansell, 'Gell's encounters with Islamic Spain'.

on 4 December – Darwin and Galton went south to Lisbon via Porto and Coimbra. After three weeks in Lisbon, they sailed to Cádiz on 16 January 1809, ‘being tired of travelling by land’, an understandable sentiment, given the challenging nature of Portuguese roads to the north of Lisbon.³³ From Cádiz, they made a similar tour of Andalusia to that of Gell and Craven, also incorporating Tétouan and Tangier. Darwin and Galton, aged 22 and 24, respectively, were more typical of the young men who might otherwise have travelled to Italy, and following their tour of Spain they proceeded, as would many others, to Malta, Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. For both men the key attraction was, as Galton’s obituary would put it, ‘to contemplate the exertions of a people struggling for their liberty’.³⁴ Darwin’s journal also records the presence of other travellers – Sir William Ingilby (MP for East Retford and a lieutenant with the West Riding yeomanry, who had gone abroad ‘to avoid the duns, and saying nothing to his constituents’),³⁵ a Mr Mackinnon and a consumptive Mr Slade, travelling for his health,³⁶ as well as the merchant Robert Semple, by then on his second visit to Spain and with whom they joined forces to visit North Africa.

By 1809, the attractions of the Peninsula as a destination had clearly increased, particularly for the kind of young man in his early 20s, who might previously have travelled to Italy. But there were also older observers such as Semple, the travel writer Sir John Carr and the MP William Jacob, all keen to report on the progress of the war and responding to an increased appetite for information about Spain among the British reading public. By this time, the pattern was to land at Cádiz or Gibraltar and to tour southern Spain and North Africa before (in most cases) proceeding further across the Mediterranean. After 1810, the enthusiasm for Spain or Portugal seems to have dwindled: few civilian travellers have been identified in 1811–12. Logistically, so much more of Spain was now under French occupation that a ‘southern tour’ would have been impossible; but the early enthusiasm for the cause of Spanish liberty had been replaced by disillusion following Spanish defeats and the stalemate of 1811. Apart from William Bankes, who travelled through Portugal and Spain in 1813 on his way to Egypt, and the physician Henry

³³ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 15.

³⁴ Theodore Galton died of typhus fever at Malta on the return journey to England: see notice of his death in *Monthly Magazine*, 30 (October 1810), 290.

³⁵ P.A. Symonds, ‘Ingilby, William (1783–1854)’, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790–1820*, ed. R. Thorne, 1986. Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/ingilby-william-1783-1854>.

³⁶ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 19.

Holland, who visited Portugal in 1812 and Spain in 1813, few civilians appear to have travelled to witness allied success in 1813 and only a handful – including Robert Hyde Greg with his cousin Isaac Hodgson and the Orcadian physician Thomas Traill – visited in 1814 in the immediate aftermath of the war.³⁷

In 1809 Andalusia had not yet fallen to the French and some visitors, such as Carr and Jacob, were content to remain within the region of southern Spain. Others were more adventurous and undertook more extensive tours: among them were Henry Gally Knight, who visited Spain in 1809–10 as the first part of an extended tour of the Mediterranean. Knight would later gain fame as a writer on architectural antiquities, particularly in Italy, but his visit to Spain was clearly a formative experience. He was, no doubt, inspired by ideals of Spanish liberty, but there were also family connections: his uncle, Alleyne Fitzherbert, Lord St Helens, had been British ambassador to Spain in 1790–4 and had clearly provided him with guidance on, inter alia, Spanish art.³⁸ Knight arrived at Cádiz in August 1809 with Lord Wellesley and his entourage, where he met Byron and John Cam Hobhouse.³⁹ He fulfilled his ambition to visit the Alhambra and then, bearing letters of introduction from both St Helens and Wellesley, decided to make a tour of La Mancha in order to ‘see the Spanish armies and to ascertain how they might fare against the French’.⁴⁰ During his travels, Knight joined forces at various points with other of his contemporaries from Eton and Cambridge making similar tours, including Michael Bruce, Henry Pearce, Edward Clough Taylor, Granville Leveson-Gower, William Lennox Bathurst, Henry Goulburn and William Ponsonby (all, bar Bathurst and Ponsonby, acquaintances from Cambridge) and noted that his friends Frederick North, Lord Lewisham and Mr Fazakerley had also passed through.⁴¹ Of these, all but Goulburn and Ponsonby continued their travels to the Eastern Mediterranean.

³⁷ On William Bankes’s tour of Spain, see Sebba, *Exiled Collector*, 48–61; for Holland, see LWL MS 41 Boxes 1 and 2: Holland’s letters to his parents from Portugal and his journal of a tour in Spain in 1813.

³⁸ Knight’s description of the Alhambra in his letters to his mother, Selina, also indicate that she had visited Granada, presumably during her brother’s posting: DRO 239M/F16318, 18: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

³⁹ BL Add MS 56527, fol. 18: Hobhouse, journal.

⁴⁰ DRO 239M/F16318, 48: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

⁴¹ Morkot, “My dear Faz...”. Bathurst was probably William Lennox Bathurst (1791–1878), another Old Etonian and in 1809 still a student at Christ Church; his father the third earl of Bathurst was Foreign Secretary October–November 1809. See M. H. Port, ‘Bathurst, Hon. William Lennox (1791–1878)’, *History of Parliament*, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/bathurst-hon-william-lennox-1791-1878>, accessed 22 July 2024; see also Morkot, “My dear Faz...”, 18. For Bruce’s letters to his father, recording his travels around Spain first with Sir John Moore’s army and subsequently with Knight, see Bodl. MS Eng. e. 5740.

Taylor and Pearce stayed on in Spain long enough to join forces with John Spencer Stanhope in Cádiz in April 1810; Stanhope had arrived in Lisbon with his friend Thomas Knox in January 1810 with a view to 'visiting those parts of the Peninsula which were then independent of the French' before proceeding to Sicily, Malta and Greece.⁴² He set off from Lisbon in March, travelling south overland to Faro, where the British consul, Mr Crispin, helped him secure a passage in an Italian boat 'taking fowls' to Cádiz.⁴³ Although most of the fowls, 'packed like African slaves', died on the voyage,⁴⁴ Stanhope arrived without mishap, excited at the prospect of experiencing life in a besieged town. He proceeded to enjoy an active social life, visiting his military friends who were on duty at the Isla de León and meeting up with Pearce and Taylor. Through the summer months the four of them visited Gibraltar and, like so many travellers, took advantage of the opportunity to pay a visit to North Africa, briefly calling in on Tétouan, before travelling up the coast through Murcia and Valencia in the summer of 1810. Plans to travel east to Sardinia and Sicily with Taylor and Pearce were aborted when Stanhope became ill and he was forced to make alternative plans, which, as we shall see below, ended in disaster.

Civilian travel became harder and more dangerous as more of Spain fell under French control, before the campaigns of 1812–13. Only the occasional civilian traveller ventured beyond Lisbon or Cádiz. In 1812, Henry Holland, a promising young physician, made his way to Portugal on a military transport in order to gain experience in the military hospitals at Santarem and Abrantes. He hoped also to go 'up country' to join Wellington's army following the siege of Badajoz; he was, however, soon disabused of the feasibility of that ambition by the military in Lisbon. As a civilian he had no means of drawing on the British army's commissariat for supplies and travelling independently was impossible. As he explained to his father, he would be unable to secure lodgings, rations or transport: 'Every thing tangible is taken for the use of the army, and what perchance may be left, the inhabitants carefully conceal from every passer by'.⁴⁵ From Portugal he travelled west for a tour of Greece and Ionia, but returned to Spain on his way home in 1813, with Frederick North, a Mr Taylor (possibly Edward Clough Taylor who had been in Spain with Knight and Stanhope), a Mr Howard and a Monsieur

⁴² BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fos. 120, 130, 140, 142, 174, 181–2, 221: Stanhope, journal.

⁴³ BALSD StStp 60643 (3), fol. 67: Stanhope, journal.

⁴⁴ BALSD StStp 60643 (3), fol. 116: Stanhope, journal.

⁴⁵ LWL MS 41 Box 2 vol. 1, 79: Holland to his father, 31 May 1812.

Joinville.⁴⁶ Having landed at Alicante they went first to Madrid and then north to Bilbao via Valladolid and Burgos, passing through war-torn country which had only recently been liberated from the French. It was not easy travelling, however, as they passed through scenes of empty desolation; fields were uncultivated, the towns and villages in ruins, and the *ventas* ‘destitute’ of doors, windows and furniture. The owners of the *ventas* – the survivors of the depredations of both the French and the British armies – treated all strangers with suspicion.⁴⁷

Mixing with the military

For all these travellers, wartime conditions presented both additional opportunities and enhanced danger. Lisbon and Cádiz – the one safely defended by the lines of Torres Vedras, the other besieged but never captured by the French – had a busy social scene in which the British army and navy commanders provided a hub of Anglophone sociability. Visiting Britons in both centres described regular visits to the theatre, receptions, triumphal dinners and a hospitable welcome from local elites. Lisbon, as the seat of government and the court, had long since attracted the first families of the land and more fled there as the French advanced from the north again in 1809. Wartime Lisbon, as Gell and Craven discovered in the autumn of 1810, on their second visit to the Peninsula, was a very agreeable place in which to spend the winter months. Gell’s notebook contains not just details of his social engagements – plays, musical evenings and excursions – but newspaper cuttings advertising some of the many performances staged for British entertainment in the winter of 1810–11, in parallel English and Portuguese text.⁴⁸ The keepers of the *posadas* or inns in Sintra and Mafra did a roaring trade as civilian and military personnel sought recreation and entertainment. Meanwhile in Spain, once the French took Madrid, there was a general exodus south, first to Seville and then to Cádiz, where the Madrileños were joined by all the foreign ambassadors and visitors.⁴⁹ The south of Spain, as Knight observed, ‘is like the end of a net to which the fish have all retired in

⁴⁶ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles*.

⁴⁷ LWL MS 41 Box 1, fos 10, 11, 45: Holland, ‘Journal in Spain’.

⁴⁸ BSR WG[MS]-6, 100–1, 106–7: Gell, notebook. See also Craven’s description of their lifestyle in Lisbon in Allardyce (ed.), *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, I, 423–7, Craven to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, 1 November 1810.

⁴⁹ Leslie, *Military Journal*, 232.

order to avoid the fishermen'.⁵⁰ As part of Lord Wellesley's entourage, he attended *tertulias*, balls, and the theatre, including a performance of the 'History of the Deliverance of the Spanish troops in the North by the English', which was followed by patriotic airs and dancing.⁵¹ Whereas Knight was keen to get away and to embark on further exploration of Spain, John Spencer Stanhope repeatedly postponed his departure from Cádiz, mixing easily in both Spanish and British society and conducting numerous flirtations; he found it hard to tear himself away.⁵²

These travellers took the opportunity to mix socially with other officers and to use such contacts to gain some first-hand military experience. During the eighteenth century, the boundaries between the army, its officers and wider society were porous and ill-defined, but in the era of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars it is argued that these distinctions became much clearer as the military machine in the combatant countries became far larger, better organised and more influential politically, economically and socially in the environment of 'total war'.⁵³ However, in the context of the Peninsular War, the distinctions between military and civilian society were more easily breached, with 'civilian' travellers able to move easily between mixing with the military and engaging in recreational travel. Byron claimed to have toyed with the idea of joining up in order to see some action, but decided instead to press on to the Eastern Mediterranean and found his military glory in Greece.⁵⁴ For other young men such as Stanhope or Michael Bruce, however, a key attraction to visiting Spain was the opportunity to experience warfare at first hand. While Bruce volunteered for a period and saw service with Sir John Moore, Stanhope never committed himself but did express great excitement at the prospect of coming close to military action. When at Cádiz, he made arrangements with an old schoolfellow to join him on picket duty at Isla de León – only to find that said friend, having forgotten the engagement, had been on picket duty the night before, when there had been a confrontation with the French: 'I was very much annoyed ... to find how narrowly I had missed witnessing a bit of a fight.'⁵⁵ As he sailed to Tétouan from Gibraltar in June 1810, what was thought to be a French privateer was spotted bearing down upon them: in 1828, his older self reflected on how he had 'still had

⁵⁰ DRO D239/M/F16338: Knight to his mother, 10 January 1810.

⁵¹ DRO D239/M/F16335, 5: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809.

⁵² BALSD StSp 60643 (3), fol. 172: Stanhope, journal.

⁵³ Bell, *First Total War*.

⁵⁴ Dallas (ed.), *Correspondence of Lord Byron*, 93.

⁵⁵ BALSD StSp 60643 (3), fol. 147: Stanhope, journal.

enough of the enthusiasm of romance about me to be animated at the thought of the approaching contest'.⁵⁶ Fortunately, given the limited fire power of the Liverpool packet on which they had embarked, it was a false alarm.

Regardless of whether they saw any active service or not, it was clearly to the advantage of tourists to pass themselves off as military personnel. Indeed, one of the challenges of working on travel in this period is to establish precisely who was travelling in a civilian and who in a military capacity. The half-pay officer, Hugh Fortescue, Viscount Ebrington, for example, travelled to Portugal twice in the autumn of 1808, staying on to tour Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia and Tangier in the summer of 1809. He always travelled in the company of other officers, and even participated in the battle of Almonacid, but his presence in Spain was that of an observer or a tourist.⁵⁷ This was not a practice new to the era of the Peninsular War: travellers with military pretensions had been adopting uniforms or 'regimentals' throughout the eighteenth century and 'volunteering' in military campaigns.⁵⁸ Even in peacetime, wearing a uniform was a means of asserting one's claim to social status as a gentleman – reflecting the porosity between military and civilian culture noted above. Looking back on his travels in Spain during the peace of Amiens, Edward Stanley commented on the difficulties he had encountered due to the fact that he was not in the army and therefore had no uniform, 'without which or a Court dress no person is considered as a Gentleman in this Country'.⁵⁹ Moreover, when travelling in wartime, an English gentleman could assume the role of an officer, simply by donning the uniform of a local yeomanry, volunteer or militia regiment – even if he no longer held a commission. Setting out for Spain in September 1808 'with the idea of seeing what was going on with the Patriot Armies and the French', George Call recalled that he 'packed up my things in my saddle bag, borrowed a Uniform Coat of the East Cornwall Volunteers, which had been mine when I played Captain in that Corps'. His commission by this time had been transferred to his brother.⁶⁰

Call's decision was a sensible one, for wearing uniform brought further advantages beyond social recognition. When he and his

⁵⁶ BALSD StSp 60643 (3), fol. 185: Stanhope, journal.

⁵⁷ Devon Archives 1262M/FD 3–4: Lord Fortescue, journals.

⁵⁸ Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger*, 75–109.

⁵⁹ Adeane and Grenfell (eds), *Before and After Waterloo*, 69.

⁶⁰ BL Add MS 52284, fol. 2: Call, 'Ramble in Spain'. Aylmer, at that point a post captain without a command, was appointed to the *Narcissus* in 1809 and went on to enjoy a distinguished naval career.

travelling companion, Frederick Aylmer, met General Doyle in Madrid that autumn, Doyle positively encouraged them to wear their uniforms when sightseeing in the city ‘as the best protection against insult’.⁶¹ More practically, wearing a uniform meant, for example, that it was possible to requisition both transport (horses and mules) and accommodation. Knight’s travelling companion – fellow old Etonian Michael Bruce, who was already experienced in the ways of Spain, having volunteered with Sir John Moore’s army as a ‘free lance’ – encouraged Knight to wear his yeomanry uniform and impersonate an officer, a strategy which, Knight explained, ‘enabled us to get on without meeting with any serious inconvenience’. Although he did allow that they met with some resistance from the ‘unhappy persons’ who were forced to surrender their horses to them.⁶² Once persuaded, Knight clearly enjoyed wearing his regimentals: ‘The fame of a certain uniform with which Gally was wont to array his person at Seville’, observed his friend Stratford Canning, ‘has already reached even this remote corner of the globe [Constantinople]’.⁶³ John Spencer Stanhope, a lieutenant colonel in the militia at home, similarly exploited the advantages of appearing as an officer as he travelled from Gibraltar up the Mediterranean coast. In Valencia, a Spanish colonel attempted to embargo his *calesa* [chaise], but ‘on seeing an Englishman in uniform he was very civil and begged pardon for having detained him’. Stanhope did not disabuse him of his civilian status and the two completed the journey amicably together, sharing the *calesa* as fellow officers.⁶⁴ Even older travellers such as William Jacob (a captain in the Loyal Islington volunteers) and Sir John Carr adopted a similar strategy, referring in passing to their military garb on their travels.⁶⁵

Not all travellers were able to don a uniform but this does not appear to have been the cause of insurmountable problems, particularly if the travellers were well connected. Neither William Gell nor Keppel Craven could lay claim to any kind of military position let alone

⁶¹ BL Add MS 52284, fol. 11v: Call, ‘Ramble in Spain’. Call and Aylmer had met a Captain Carroll at Frías who was an ‘agent’ of the government and had asked them (fol. 10) to carry despatches to Doyle, a key figure in British military intelligence, at Madrid (on Doyle, see Davies, *Spying for Wellington*, 37).

⁶² Brigstocke (ed.), ‘Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight’, 203. John Cam Hobhouse recorded meeting Knight in Cádiz, ‘dressed in blue regimentals of yeomanry’: BL Add MS 56527, fol. 18.

⁶³ Poole (ed.), *Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning*, I, 88, Stratford Canning to Richard Wellesley, 7 July 1810.

⁶⁴ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 1, fol. 48v: Stanhope, journal.

⁶⁵ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*. On Jacob’s career in the militia see J. M. Collinge, ‘Jacob, William (?1762–1851)’, *History of Parliament*. Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/jacob-william-1762-1851>.

a uniform, yet both travelled through Spain without mishap and Craven, at least, showed little interest in visiting the army when at Lisbon.⁶⁶ However, Craven's ample social connections would have eased their passage: 'My uncle', as he explained, 'is Gt Admiral of Portugal, as well as commander of the English navy here; one of my cousins commands the gunboats which are keeping the French from crossing the Tagus at Villa Franca; another cousin is a major in General Leith's division'.⁶⁷ During the winter of 1810–11 they stayed in Lisbon, enjoying highly sociable terms with the military. When visiting the British camp behind the lines with Captain Beresford (brother to Marshal Beresford), their obvious civilian status may even have been an advantage in securing preferential treatment. Gell recorded how he met Wellington, who 'seeing me *without uniform* took me entirely under his protection' and proceeded to show him Junot's camp in the distance.⁶⁸

Moreover, wearing regimentals was not without its hazards, for there was always a part to play, which Knight discovered to his discomfort when he and Bruce arrived at Montoro, between Alcaudete and Andújar:

The Governor, seeing my uniform, asked what rank I bore in the army – I had unfortunately not settled whether I would be a General or what, and the sudden way in which this home question was put made me hesitate for a moment in my reply. Bruce whispered in English 'Say you're a Colonel' 'Soy Coronel, mi Gobernador' I answered to the great inconvenience of my lips which I was obliged to bite most forcibly in order to be able to keep my countenance.⁶⁹

Even worse, on occasion, when they encountered the Spanish army during their travels, Knight found himself required to inspect regiments and to offer his opinion on 'batteries, fortifications, & other military matters'. He was at least able to turn to Bruce, who had a modicum of experience of active service:

⁶⁶ 'We say we are to go to the army, because it is the fashion, and one is ashamed to say otherwise; but to you I confess I feel very indifferent about this excursion': Allardyce (ed.), *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, I, 423, Craven to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, 1 November 1810.

⁶⁷ Allardyce (ed.), *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, I, 424, Craven to Charles Kirkpatrick Stuart, 1 November 1810.

⁶⁸ BSR WG[MS]-6, 156: Gell, notebook (our italics).

⁶⁹ DRO D239/M/F16318, 49–50: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'; cf. Carr's account of two English travellers who, having donned military uniforms, were immediately assumed to be a general with his aide de camp and called upon to inspect a regiment: *Descriptive Travels*, 198.

... especially when the governor of Montro [Montoro] enquired into the number of Companies attached to my division & when the Guard at Truxillo brought before me some miserable deserters & required to know whether I would have them shot or whether they should be imprisoned.⁷⁰

The physician Thomas Traill, however, was clearly deeply uncomfortable with such subterfuge: on arriving at the village of Güéjar Sierra, he found that the Alcalde [local governor] had kindly prepared his house for their reception.

But our guide having absurdly represented us as an English military party in disguise consisting of a General, his aid-de camp [sic] and a Colonel we resolved to decline the Alcalde's hospitality which I have no doubt would have been equally exerted for us as English strangers without any pretended rank.⁷¹

Not only did a uniform enable the traveller to requisition transport and accommodation, but it also helped to ensure that they were treated with respect and courtesy by both the military and civilians. As Knight informed his mother, 'great attention was paid to them on account of being English': officers offered to show them everything worthy of inspection and accompanied them wherever they had a mind to go.⁷² At the Franciscan Convent of Estepona, William Jacob found that there was little to see but 'we were gratified only by the respect and attention paid by these fathers to our English uniforms, which are sure to attract notice and civility from all the clergy'. On arrival at Marbella they were visited by the Corregidor and the Alcalde, who, on finding out that they were Englishmen by their uniforms, 'refused to look at our passports, lavished most profuse compliments upon us and our country, assured us that they, their houses, and their city, were at our disposal, and prayed most fervently that our journey might be fortunate.'⁷³ In general, most travellers claimed, like Knight, to have received a hospitable welcome, albeit in often difficult conditions, and many found that the Spanish sense of honour dictated that they should pay the bill for the English

⁷⁰ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight', 203.

⁷¹ NLS MS.19388, fol. 73v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'.

⁷² DRO D239/M/F16318, 72: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁷³ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 215, 217.

strangers, provoking considerable embarrassment.⁷⁴ Regardless of the uniform, the mere fact of their being English was sufficient to arouse curiosity and excitement. Travellers found themselves being treated as spectacles in their own right, as crowds gathered around to view the strangers and to hear the latest news.⁷⁵ At the village of Cañete la Real, Thomas Traill was visited, while he was shaving, by a deputation of local women, who had come out of curiosity to see an Englishman;⁷⁶ Knight was the subject of similar scrutiny over breakfast when staying at *posadas* during his tour of La Mancha.⁷⁷ 'We felt', as he told his mother, 'what I imagine the Irish Giant feels when he is obliged to shew himself to the hundredth set of visitors at a Fair'.⁷⁸

Wartime hazards

Although a military uniform may have helped ensure a warm reception in some quarters, such warmth, as Holland found, was never universal and tended to diminish over the course of the conflict. The British were keenly aware that the supporters of the French invasion and Joseph Bonaparte had not simply disappeared when he fled from Spain and that not everyone welcomed the presence of the British army, which all too often assumed an air of arrogant superiority. Even at the start of the war in 1808, Charles Leslie, then a lieutenant in the 29th Foot, noted that 'the higher orders seemed to entertain a jealousy of our assistance and undervalued our services'.⁷⁹ By the latter stages of the conflict, there is increasing evidence among both military and civilian travellers that the positive welcome once offered to the British was wearing thin. Samuel Broughton complained of a cool reception from the inhabitants as the Spanish started to look forward to the possibility of driving the French from Spain. He predicted, rightly, that Spain would be split between those who favoured the French and those who had fought for independence: both sides would 'look upon England with as jealous an eye as the unfortunate being who tries to mediate between a husband and wife'.⁸⁰ Robert Hyde Greg discovered the consequences of this hostility when

⁷⁴ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 340; Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 90; in 1814, Thomas Traill found this was still the case: NLS MS.19388, fol. 25v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'.

⁷⁵ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 1 fol 43v: Stanhope, journal.

⁷⁶ NLS MS.19388, fol. 85: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'. Although Traill was Scottish.

⁷⁷ DRO D239/M/F16318, 2–3: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁷⁸ DRO D239/M/F16318, 102: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁷⁹ Leslie, *Military Journal*, 28.

⁸⁰ Broughton, *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France*, 196–8.

he waited upon Marshal Beresford's secretary Colonel Arbuthnot in Lisbon, before proceeding into Spain in the autumn of 1814. Arbuthnot explained that he would not be giving him letters of introduction to the Spanish governors as they had behaved in a 'very insolent manner to some friends of his to whom he had given letters and that he did not wish any other persons to experience a similar treatment.' The Spanish, he suggested, feeling themselves now to be out of danger, wished to get rid of the English and 'had begun to throw obstacles in their way whenever they could.'⁸¹ The Spanish were also suspicious that the British had their eyes on Spain's colonial trade, understandably so given Britain's aborted 'liberating' invasion of South America in 1807: in 1814 Thomas Traill recorded being told that England did not wish to see Spain a free country lest it become a rival to England's prosperity.⁸²

There were also more immediate dangers consequent upon the travellers' close relationship with the military: in Lorca, Sir John Carr was mistaken for a French rather than a British officer and was rapidly surrounded by a threatening mob, which was only dispersed when a priest explained that Carr was an Englishman travelling through Spain 'for information and amusement'.⁸³ Events backfired rather more spectacularly for John Spencer Stanhope: having failed to sail from Gibraltar to Malta at the end of June 1810, on account of sickness, he had missed a rendezvous with his friend William Haygarth, with whom he had planned to travel in Greece.⁸⁴ By the time that he reached Valencia in August, Stanhope was becoming increasingly anxious lest he should fail to catch up with his party altogether. Somewhat unwisely, therefore, he decided to risk taking a passage with a French privateer to Majorca, reasoning that it would at least give him some protection from being taken by another privateer. Others warned him of the 'rascally' nature of privateers but, as Stanhope retrospectively explained, his sense of honour would not allow him to withdraw from the arrangement. His forebodings were justified: rather than taking him to Majorca, the privateer deposited him – without his knowledge – in Barcelona, where he was immediately apprehended as a prisoner of war. Stanhope attempted unsuccessfully to negotiate his release, and it was suggested to him that he might be exchanged for General Franceschi-Delonne, who had also been taken

⁸¹ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 40.

⁸² NLS MS.19388, fol. 45: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'; NLS MS.19389, fol. 135: Traill, journal.

⁸³ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 200.

⁸⁴ ULLSCG MS 233 vol.1, fol. 6: Stanhope, journal.

prisoner when travelling.⁸⁵ Aside from the fact that, unbeknownst to Stanhope, Franceschi-Delonne had died in captivity, the proposal was, as Stanhope insisted, based upon a false premise: he was a civilian and Franceschi-Delonne was an army officer:

I told him [the governor] that I was in fact not in the army & that I was convinced that the British Government would never consent to exchange as ~~an Officer~~ a Military man I did not choose to observe to him that there was a great difference in the case of a man travelling for his amusement & one travelling whilst employed upon service.⁸⁶

But given that Stanhope had been captured wearing uniform, his case was hard to sustain and his efforts to be released as a civilian were unsuccessful. Initially placed under house arrest, he was soon accused by a neighbour, 'a determined partisan of the French', who was jealous of Stanhope's flirtation with his wife, of inciting his fencing master, a Frenchman, to desert. Stanhope – who complained bitterly in his journal that the fencing master had simply asked him how easy it would be for him to find employment in England – found himself imprisoned in the citadel and in terror of facing a firing squad.⁸⁷ Eventually he was transferred to France, where he spent two years as a prisoner of war at Verdun until his release in 1813, following which he returned home, before resuming his abortive tour of Greece.⁸⁸ It is the latter journey – as with so many other visitors to Spain – for which he is now chiefly remembered.

Being captured as a prisoner of war was only a danger for those travellers who went beyond enemy lines – as did Stanhope when he was disembarked at Barcelona. But wartime travel also involved other hazards. Travellers had need to be circumspect in their behaviour or risk being apprehended as a spy: sketching was a particularly hazardous activity but it is clear that some individuals relished the opportunity to test the limits of Spanish tolerance. The Spanish, unused to the English tourist's sketching habit, were, as Thomas Traill put it, very jealous 'of the most trifling fortifications' and immediately assumed the worst when he sat down to sketch the 'old Moorish castle' (the Alcazaba) at Málaga, even though it was, as he said, 'now quite open'. Traill had the wisdom simply to abandon what he was doing and experienced no further

⁸⁵ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 2, fol. 8v: Stanhope, journal.

⁸⁶ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 2, fos 24r–24v: Stanhope, journal. Deletion original.

⁸⁷ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 2, fos 21–67: Stanhope, journal.

⁸⁸ Stanhope, *Topography Illustrative of the Battle of Plataea*, 7–8.

aggravation.⁸⁹ Henry Goulburn avoided making sketches of Granada altogether, aware that 'in these suspicious times' he would be at risk of being apprehended and detained.⁹⁰ Henry Gally Knight, however, found himself in rather deeper trouble at Cartagena, where he was tempted to make a sketch of the city walls. Despite Cartagena's strategic significance as Spain's naval stronghold on the Mediterranean coast, Knight blithely assumed that, as there were no fortifications in the immediate vicinity, no objection would be raised. He was rapidly disabused of this belief when he founded himself surrounded by a crowd headed by the Alcalde, who accused him of being a French spy taking a plan of the fortifications. 'It never occurred to them that spies could not have selected the most public spot in the middle of the day for the place and time of their operations and it was not worth their while to consider that the most able engineer cannot take a plan of fortifications when there are none in sight'. The Alcalde confiscated his sketchbook, refused to believe Knight's protestations that he and his companion were English and hauled them before the governor, who was happy to accept it all as a misunderstanding until he noticed some memoranda that Knight had also recorded, which, speaking English, he understood. Some were anodyne but others commented unfavourably on the indolence of the Spanish nation. Most damningly, there was also extensive criticism of the conduct of the Junta of Cartagena and the suggestion that they were notorious for being in the French interest. Knight was justifiably concerned that the matter might be reported to the Junta and 'judgements prejudicial to England might have been made'. Had he been a Spaniard, the governor told him, he would have paid with his life; as it was, he threatened to imprison him and his companion and to send them to Seville. Eventually, with the intervention of a local English merchant, and thanks to his letters of introduction from his uncle Lord St Helens and from Lord Wellesley, Knight was able to convince the governor that the memoranda were simply a record of comments heard in conversation rather than his own private observations and he was allowed to proceed on his travels.⁹¹ The heightened sensitivities of wartime were certainly not propitious for displays of English arrogance.

The most obvious danger, however, and the one that was most commented upon was the social dislocation and breakdown of law

⁸⁹ NLS MS.19388, fol. 13v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour', May 1814; NLS MS.19389, fol. 119v: Traill, journal.

⁹⁰ SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Goulburn to his mother, 4 October 1809.

⁹¹ DRO 239M/F16319: Knight, 'Continuation of a six week tour' (unfoliated), 14 December 1809.

and order consequent upon war. Travellers, as we saw in [Chapter 2](#), had always complained of the dangers inherent in travelling through the more remote parts of Spain, although they seldom confronted such dangers themselves. Even before the French invasion in 1808, the weakness of central government under Carlos IV and Godoy, combined with subsistence crises, inflation, and war-induced shortages had led to a deterioration in law and order.⁹² With the onset of war and the growth of guerrilla activity, travel became more hazardous – armed peasants, used to harassing stragglers from the French army, might easily mistake travellers in uniform. But equally bands of robbers, whose numbers were swelled by deserting soldiers, would prey on any kind of traveller. Travellers found that they were expected to hire armed guards to accompany them on longer journeys – thereby adding to the expense and increasing the incentive to join forces with other travellers to share the costs. Henry Holland, sceptical of the reliability and cost of such guards, was persuaded by his muleteer that it would be more straightforward simply to hire some of the robbers themselves.⁹³ Having the correct paperwork – letters of introduction and passports – became even more important, given the dangers of being mistaken for the enemy, as Knight could vouch for. Even so, few travellers recounted any direct encounters with guerrillas or armed robbers and Knight would later boast that he had travelled through Spain unarmed, attended only by a postillion, and was never attacked.⁹⁴ Similarly, William Jacob robustly asserted that the reports of robbers were very much exaggerated, ‘especially as I have not heard of a single Englishman having been attacked by them’.⁹⁵ Others wrote of near misses rather than direct threats: Darwin laconically reported that he was almost shot at by guerrillas after returning from a solitary mountaineering expedition at Granada, and was only allowed to proceed after showing them his passport.⁹⁶

Even though few travellers encountered violence directed against themselves, they were all witnesses to the brutalisation of society which they saw unequivocally as a consequence of the war. Spain had always been associated with violence in the British imagination – whether in the context of the Inquisition, bullfights or the frequency of murders as evidenced by wayside crosses. Both sexes, according to Edward Stanley,

⁹² Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 375–421.

⁹³ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 22; LWL MS 41 Box 1, fol. 15: Holland, ‘Journal in Spain’.

⁹⁴ Knight, *Iberia’s Crisis*, 64.

⁹⁵ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 171.

⁹⁶ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 32.

were 'sanguinary to a degree scarcely credible'.⁹⁷ But the impact of war was further to normalise brutality. If the Napoleonic Wars have been characterised as the first total war, the Peninsular War has been singled out for the callous violence on both sides that was engendered by the wholesale mobilisation of society.⁹⁸ The British were clearly shocked and discomfited at the bloodthirstiness and casual cruelty that they witnessed either at first or second hand. William Gell was unsurprised to see boys playing at soldiers as he travelled through Spain but was clearly taken aback when a youth of around 16 'with a mild & very good countenance' showed them the knife with which he claimed to have killed 11 Frenchmen. 'The battle of Baylen [sic] being fought so near makes this people particularly sanguinary', he concluded.⁹⁹ Knight was disgusted by the 'savage exultation' with which his muleteer, a year later, boasted of having killed seven Frenchmen with his own hands on 2 May 1808.¹⁰⁰ He was struck by how far the local population had become inured to violence: 'they appear to speak with little horror of a murder unless it is accompanied with extraordinary acts of brutality.' Lebrixa (Lebrija), he noted, was notorious for cruelty, the inhabitants having murdered 300 French prisoners – an episode that was also reported by William Jacob as proof that, when the vengeful passions of the Spanish were aroused, they were 'capable of the most horrible deeds of cruelty'.¹⁰¹ Francis Darwin was witness to the less deliberate but equally inhumane treatment of prisoners of war in the hulks at Cádiz: numbers of prisoners were dying on a daily basis and simply thrown overboard without even a weight to sink them, the usual precaution of lead shot being too valuable to waste upon that purpose. It was 'dreadful', he wrote, to see so many dead bodies floating about the harbour, washed up onto the shore and infesting the air.¹⁰²

The conduct of war

The Spanish, observed Knight, 'do not wage war as it is usually waged amongst civilized nations': he had been surprised to discover that they were in the habit of firing at advanced pickets in defiance of the unspoken

⁹⁷ Adeane and Grenfell (eds), *Before and After Waterloo*, 66.

⁹⁸ Bell, *First Total War*, 279–93.

⁹⁹ BSR WG[MS]-6, 048, 071: Gell, notebook.

¹⁰⁰ DRO D239/M/F16318, 1: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹⁰¹ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 49.

¹⁰² Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 20.

codes of military conduct that governed the French and the English.¹⁰³ He was far from being the only observer to express his disapproval of such violations of civilised norms. Firing at pickets was a clear breach of gentlemanly conduct; British observers, both military and civilian, were more deeply shocked, however, by the violence inflicted against the wounded French and prisoners of war, such as those prisoners at Lebrija whose fate was recorded with horror by both Knight and Jacob.¹⁰⁴ The stories of Spanish atrocities were undoubtedly exaggerated in the telling and do not need to be repeated here. Moreover, it was clearly in the interests of the French to dehumanise their opponents and to represent their actions as barbaric.¹⁰⁵ The British, it has been argued, shared this perspective and contrasted the bloodthirstiness of the Spanish with the supposedly more civilised conduct of the French, with whom they shared a gentlemanly code of martial behaviour.¹⁰⁶ This sentiment was combined among the military with deep frustration at what they perceived as the weakness, unreliability and indolence of the Spanish army and its leaders: the memory of the disaster that unfolded after Talavera – in terms of both the loss of men and horses and the loss of military advantage – was a running sore in Anglo-Spanish relations and subsequent events did little to change it.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, not only did the British argue that the Spanish were barbarous in their treatment of the French but they were also cowardly, uncooperative and callous in their dealings with the British.¹⁰⁸ Henry Mackinnon, for example, who subsequently died at the siege of Badajoz, complained of the inhumanity and neglect with which the Spanish had treated the British army at Elvas, claiming that he was obliged to use violent means to prevent his men from starving. A strong sense of resentment against perceived Spanish ingratitude was easily grafted onto prejudices inherited from the Black

¹⁰³ DRO D239/M/F16318, 116: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹⁰⁴ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 148. His argument is developed in more detail in Daly, "Barbarity more suited to savages".

¹⁰⁵ Esdaile, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 111–12, 153–4, 191–2; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 110–11. See, for example, the comments of Andrew Blayney on French treatment of prisoners of war compared with that of Spanish or German officers in their service: *Narrative of a Forced Journey Through Spain and France*, I, 88. This was true of Portugal too: Charles Leslie commented on how the Portuguese were 'quite amazed' to see British officers and soldiers on friendly terms with their French counterparts, 'laughing and shaking hands' when they met at a well to fetch water: *Military Journal*, 63, while William Gell recorded that French officers invited British officers to the opera at Santarem: BSR WG[MS]-6, 154: Gell, notebook.

¹⁰⁷ For bitterness at Spanish behaviour, see, for example, Hawker, *Journal of a Regimental Officer*, 99–100, 102–3, 108, 136. See also Esdaile, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses*, 120.

¹⁰⁸ Mackinnon, *Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain*, 38.

Legend that emphasised the innate violence and cruelty of the Spanish nation.¹⁰⁹

Civilian travellers experienced these frustrations and impatience with the Spanish less acutely, although – mixing with the military as they did – inevitably such attitudes coloured their perceptions. Henry Gally Knight, the veteran of six weeks spent visiting the army of La Mancha, had clearly imbibed the British army's irritation with their allies: 'The pompous declamations which the Spaniards daily pour forth about the dignity of this nation & the exploits of their ancestors puts me out of all patience, when one is an eye-witness of their present cowardice & pusillanimity'.¹¹⁰ But even while they were critical of – and feared – the uncontrolled violence of the Spanish mob, most British were also sensitive to the extreme provocation to which the Spanish were subject from the French armies. It was impossible to ignore the fact that atrocities were committed on both sides.¹¹¹ The fate of the suffering Spanish could not be ignored by either civilian or military observers, who had alike been educated in the language of sentiment. While Knight lamented the 'uncontrollable passion' that led to Spanish brutality, he also deplored the actions of the French who had laid waste to Trujillo: with 'laborious impiety' they had destroyed the cathedral, looted its contents and torn half-decayed bodies and skeletons from their graves, leaving behind them an impression of terror and the inhabitants entirely broken in spirit. Across La Mancha, he witnessed the miseries of military occupation: ruined vineyards, harvests left ungathered and skeletons unburied. The French, he concluded, had determined to reign by terror and had done everything to earn themselves the hatred of the Spanish: the abhorrence and disgust which they inspired would prevent them from reaping any advantages from conquest.¹¹² Four years later, Henry Holland was shocked at the devastation enacted by the French upon the Spanish people: it showed, he wrote, a 'wretched malice and vindictive spirit ... works of public utility have been destroyed, – & the habitations of private individuals devastated, without the effect either of benefiting themselves, or injuring the military operations of their enemies.' Wars two centuries ago, he concluded, 'had much more of courtesy and benevolence in them'.¹¹³ Another civilian doctor, Thomas

¹⁰⁹ Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 148.

¹¹⁰ Brigstocke (ed.), 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight', 207.

¹¹¹ Bell, *First Total War*. On the reactions of British officers to French atrocities, see Ramsey, *Military Memoir*, 40–1, 99–100.

¹¹² DRO D239/M/F16318, 109–10: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹¹³ LWL MS 41 Box 1, fos 16–17: Holland, 'Journal in Spain', commenting on the road between Ocaña and Aranjuez.

Traill, was travelling through southern Spain in 1814, after the French had been driven from the Peninsula, and bore witness to the systematic looting and destruction visited by the French upon the Spanish. He encountered individuals who had been robbed and physically attacked; he was particularly shocked by an encounter with a priest who showed him a deep sabre cut that had almost severed his nose from his face, as well as bayonet wounds to his arms and chest.¹¹⁴ In these accounts, the emphasis upon supposedly innate Spanish cruelty was tempered by an appreciation of the aggravation they had received at the hands of the French and the provocation of the ‘sanguinary and impolitic decrees’ that had been inflicted upon them.¹¹⁵ Holland and Traill may not have employed the vocabulary of war crimes, but their comments clearly anticipate the views of later historians who have argued for the emergence of a new and far more destructive era of total war in this period.

It was even possible to acknowledge the inflammatory arrogance and brutality of the British army itself. Some military memoirs consistently portrayed the British army in terms of valour, bravery and honour.¹¹⁶ Moyle Sherer, however, whose memoir was less the record of a military campaign than a travelogue, offered a more balanced view than some of his peers, noting how the British army went from being widely admired and esteemed to inspiring great dislike, due largely to their over-bearing and insulting behaviour and brutality when drunk (although he made no specific reference to the atrocities committed after the lifting of the sieges of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo).¹¹⁷ ‘They will not bend with good humour to the customs of other nations, nor will they condescend to soothe (flatter they never do) the harmless self-love of friendly foreigners.’ British officers, he continued, treated their Spanish allies with contempt that was not only uncharitable but unmerited.¹¹⁸ Sherer was not alone in expressing such reservations: as Major General Sir Frederick Robinson confessed to his sister, Anne,

We paint the conduct of the French in this country in very strong and harsh colours, but be assured we injure the people much more than they do, and all under the name of Friendship ... Wherever we move Devastation marks our steps.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ NLS MS.19389, fol. 235: Traill, journal.

¹¹⁵ NLS MS.19389, fol. 245: Traill, journal.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Mackinnon, *Journal of the Campaign*.

¹¹⁷ Gavin Daly explores the sense of horror, shame and outrage expressed in many officers’ memoirs at the sack of Badajoz in ‘“The sacking of a town is an abomination”’.

¹¹⁸ Sherer, *Recollections*, 50–1, 69.

¹¹⁹ Atkinson, ‘Peninsular Brigadier’, 165.

In this light, the less than warm reception extended to Mackinnon and his men seems more explicable. Sherer's and Robinson's comments are borne out by those of civilian travellers, who were better placed to take a more dispassionate view: Traill, like Sherer, was shocked by the arrogant contempt for their allies displayed by British officers and their lack of sensitivity to what he called 'national prejudices', as he witnessed the deliberate flouting of Spanish norms and traditions.¹²⁰ Henry Holland observed the arrogance with which British officers commandeered private residences as billets, wryly noting that no Briton would ever submit to such treatment himself.¹²¹ Stanhope, reflecting on his travels nearly 20 years later, but without any reference to specific events, was able to see that the behaviour of the British army had been less than conciliating: 'I had only to look back & recall to mind the feelings of those parts of Spain or Portugal, which had been the abode of our troops, to be conscious how little our manners or behaviour are calculated to gain the confidence or secure the affection of Foreigners.'¹²²

Battlefield tourism

Despite their revulsion at aspects of the conduct of the war, civilian travellers nonetheless continued in the tradition of visiting battlefields.¹²³ The experience confirmed their confidence in the superiority of British arms under Wellington, the inadequacies of their Spanish allies and the unscrupulous strategy of the French. Military engagements meant that itineraries were modified to take in new sites of memory in both town and country. Visitors to Lisbon were sure to see the sites of British victories at Vimiero and Roliça, while Sintra acquired a new significance as the site where the infamous Convention was signed.¹²⁴ In Cádiz – never taken by the French – Englishmen visited the house of General Solano and recounted the story of how he had been lynched by the mob in the summer of 1808 for being *afrancesado*, noting in particular the gallant role played by their countrywoman, Mrs Strange, the wife of an English merchant,

¹²⁰ NLS MS.19389, fol. 45: Traill, journal.

¹²¹ LWL MS 41 Box 2 vol. 1, 56–7: Holland to his father, 31 May 1812.

¹²² BALSD SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 252v: Stanhope, journal. Stanhope's retrospective reflections are likely to have been influenced by the publication in English newspapers of Wellington's circular against plunder after the retreat from Burgos in November 1812: see Daly, 'Plunder on the Peninsula', 213–14.

¹²³ Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger*, 75–110.

¹²⁴ SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Goulburn to his mother, 22 July 1809; NLS MS.10356, 4: Douglas, 'Tour'.

who had given him sanctuary before he was killed.¹²⁵ As Knight embarked upon his tour of La Mancha, following the route of the Spanish army, he observed that 'Every inch of the road now became doubly interesting for the events which were associated with the scenes through which we were travelling'. La Mancha was no longer simply Don Quixote country but had been endowed with a new layer of meaning through its association with the Spanish military campaign. When Robert Hyde Greg was shown where the British had made a breach in the walls of Badajoz and where so many men had been lost in the siege of 1812, he opined that nothing less than 'British valour' could have 'escaladed' such fortifications at the dead of night.¹²⁶ He said nothing of the brutality subsequently inflicted upon the civilian population. The reputation associated with these sites evoked powerful emotional responses as travellers identified themselves with the events that had taken place on the spot. When, nearly a year after the Spanish had defeated the French, Knight visited Bailén, a place he had read so much about in England, he felt 'a strange and indescribable emotion at being for the first time amongst regions which had so recently been the scene of great and important occurrences'. It was, he continued, 'a kind of uncertain feeling, as full of agitation as of pleasure'.¹²⁷ The emotional impact was the more powerful for the brevity of the historical distance between his own experience and that of the battle, but once he reached the site his exalted notions were brought down to earth as he confronted the reality of the location. Bailén, he found, after all, 'had nothing to distinguish it from any other little uncelebrated town'.¹²⁸

Similar sentiments of anticipation or admiration for past military glory might have been expressed at any other battlefield during the eighteenth century. The Portuguese and Spanish battlefields of the Peninsular War did not become tourist destinations in the way that Waterloo did after 1815; there was no trade in souvenirs or commemorative prints, no romantic meditation on fallen genius and the tragic reversals of fate.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, they acquired, temporarily at least, a memorial function. The difference from earlier battle site tours, however, was that the human cost of war was so much more visible. The fascination with mass suffering and death – the practice of dark or thanatourism

¹²⁵ BSR WG[MS]-6, 117: Gell, notebook; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 25–30; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 46–9; DRO D239/M/F16335: Knight to his mother, 13 August 1809; Leslie, *Military Journal*, 20–1.

¹²⁶ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 46–7.

¹²⁷ DRO D239/M/F16318, 53: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹²⁸ DRO D239/M/F16318, 55: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹²⁹ Semmel, 'Reading the tangible past'.

that is often associated with visits to battlefields and sites of military memory today – was never a dominant theme in eighteenth-century or early nineteenth-century travel writing.¹³⁰ However, confronted with the fatalities of the Peninsular campaign, in which their own countrymen were so closely involved, we can see travellers starting to dwell on the brutality and misery inflicted by war while they also expressed the more conventional emotions of pride and excitement at witnessing the site at which a major engagement had taken place. Arriving at Bailén four months after the Spanish victory, Gell was struck by the ‘bones of the French’ still on the field.¹³¹ Similarly, Knight was appalled at the sight of the immense quantity of horse carcasses littering the route of the English retreat after Talavera.¹³² For Francis Darwin, the battlefield of Vimeiro, where the British and Portuguese forces had defeated Junot in 1808, was less the site of heroism or military achievement than a place of human mortality: ‘a field of blood, where we observed many unburied bones’.¹³³ ‘Every statesman’, argued Henry Holland, ‘before he is one, and before he has the disposal of peace or war in his hands, ought to have seen the effects of war in detail’.¹³⁴ The chastening confrontation with human mortality did not last long, however, and the records of travellers in the period immediately after the war revert to a familiar format of celebrating British military glory and reliving the military strategy and tactics employed on the day. Even in 1814, when the war was scarcely over, the emphasis upon battlefields as sites of suffering, rather than military valour and heroism, had disappeared. When Thomas Traill landed at A Coruña in March 1814, his main priority was to visit the tomb of ‘our gallant but unfortunate countryman’ Sir John Moore, not least as he had a personal interest in Moore’s memorialisation, having sat on the committee to erect the monument to him in Glasgow.¹³⁵ But he and his companions also visited the battlefield itself, where Moore had gained his costly victory against the French. Traill and his companions attempted to ‘fix the spot where Moore fell’ but found all traces of the battle had been effaced by the plough.¹³⁶ They returned to town with, he

¹³⁰ Sharpley and Stone (eds), *Darker Side of Travel*; Stone, Hartmann, Seaton, Sharpley and White (eds), *Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*.

¹³¹ BSR WG[MS]-6, 053, 068: Gell, notebook; he also noted the music and lyrics of a song about the battle by Fernando Sor: 144–7.

¹³² DRO D239/M/F16318, 124: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

¹³³ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 15.

¹³⁴ LWL MS 41 Box 2 vol. 1, 67: Holland to his father, 31 May 1812.

¹³⁵ NLS MS.2732: Sederunt book of the Committee of Subscribers to Sir John Moore’s Monument.

¹³⁶ NLS MS.19389, fos 6–7: Traill, journal. See also Milford, *Peninsular Sketches*, 8 recounting a visit to Spain in 1812, and Lord John Russell at Salamanca in Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, I, 62.

added, keen appetites: there is no hint of a reflection on the human cost, beyond the death of Moore.¹³⁷

Traill's countryman, George Douglas, who toured Spain and Portugal five years later, was even further detached from the brutal reality of warfare and thoroughly convinced of the superiority of British arms: Vitoria, he found, had 'a rather mean appearance' but, as a native of Great Britain, he did not need picturesque scenery or architecture to arouse his enthusiasm, 'as it is the place where the military skill and characteristic bravery of his gallant countrymen were on a recent occasion so signally displayed'.¹³⁸ John Hughes left no written record of Vitoria, but in his sketchbook marked the road by which the French had retreated in his prospect view of the city in 1817 (see [Figure 7.4](#)).¹³⁹ For Thomas Roscoe, 20 years later, the region was still replete with interest due to its associations with Wellington's victory: 'On how many spots did we trace the memory of his exploits, and the impress of the iron foot of war!'¹⁴⁰ For others, however, the memory of the battles faded, or perhaps were never so significant. In 1817, the manufacturer George Rennie constantly saw evidence of the destruction caused by war as he travelled through Spain and Portugal, but made no pilgrimage to Vimeiro when based at Lisbon and, when he travelled through Vitoria on his way back to France, he simply noted that the 'vestiges of the late war are still visible'.¹⁴¹ As a businessman, he appears to have had little interest in the military affairs of the past or in commemorating the deeds of his gallant countrymen.

The Peninsular War occupies a particular place in British national mythology: it was, according to one study, 'the arena in which the redcoats of first Moore and then Wellington created one of her [Britain's] great national epics – the establishment of a dazzlingly powerful military machine that never lost a battle'.¹⁴² Contemporaries could not foresee Wellington's eventual triumph but the course of the campaign generated extraordinary public interest in Britain, drawing more civilian travellers to Spain than ever before and ensuring wider attention on Spain and Portugal that would continue through the 1820s and 1830s and beyond. Much of what visitors saw and recorded remained unchanged from

¹³⁷ OLA D1/1066/1, fol. 8: Traill, 'Journal during a voyage to Spain'.

¹³⁸ NLS MS.10532, 112: Douglas, 'Tour'.

¹³⁹ Bodl. MS Don. b. 45, item 92: Hughes, 'Sketches in France [sic]'.

¹⁴⁰ Roscoe, *Tourist in Spain*, 30.

¹⁴¹ Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203, fos 34v (Leiria), 64r (Villabarta), 73r (Burgos), 75v (Vitoria): Rennie, journal. See also comments by John Waldie in 1819: UCLA John Waldie Papers, Box 4, Journal 43, 84 and 86.

¹⁴² Text on inside jacket of Esdaile, *Peninsular War*.



Figure 7.4 John Hughes, 'Road by which the French retreated from Vittoria [sic]' (1817). Source: Bodl. MS Don. b. 45, item 92. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

the eighteenth century, but the war itself shaped new itineraries and generated new sites of interest. The Peninsular War became a 'national epic' in part because of the unprecedented quantity of memoirs and histories, written by combatants, to which it gave rise.¹⁴³ Both the authors and readers of subsequent nineteenth-century travel literature were familiar with these sources, and from them the regions of Portugal and Spain where Wellington had pursued his campaign derived a new set of associations within a narrative of British nationhood and military valour. The celebration of Wellington's victories became a staple of nineteenth-century travel writing on Spain, the most influential of which, Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), drew freely on the despatches of the Duke of Wellington, as well as some of the published memoirs, to follow the course of the campaigns and to reconstruct major engagements, providing a celebration of British military prowess and Wellington's strategic genius. The image of Spain as the site of *British* military triumph overlay and reinforced the image of Spain as a country in decline, bottled, as Ford put it, for the antiquarian.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ In addition to the work of Daly, Kennedy and Ramsey, which is heavily reliant on these sources, see also Greig, *Dead Men Telling Tales*, 2, who cites 103 memoirs by British authors that were published during the 100 years following the war.

¹⁴⁴ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 463.

Engaging with Spain's Islamic past

For many eighteenth-century travellers – whether travelling in Britain or further afield – the experience of travel was as much about encountering the past as it was about witnessing the present. Travellers looked out for sites made famous through their association with historical events, and they sought out traces of the different peoples, or – as they put it – races, that had conquered a country in both the landscapes and the population. Celtic, Phoenician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Gothic and Islamic invasions had all left their mark upon both Spain and Portugal. Portuguese antiquities, however, never evinced as much interest as those of Spain, chiefly because the British knew very little beyond the broad outlines of Portuguese history. Nor was there any tradition of English-language engagement with Portuguese antiquarian scholarship. To the extent that Portuguese antiquities and origins were discussed, they were generally subsumed within broader coverage of Spain. The past in Iberia, therefore, was primarily encountered in Spain. This chapter surveys the various ways in which British travellers engaged with, discussed and represented the different epochs of – chiefly – Spanish history and how they accommodated it within a broader narrative of the development of European history and civilisation. While the Iberian Peninsula had much in common with other parts of Europe in terms of its historic populations, it was unique in having experienced a prolonged period of Islamic civilisation, and it was the Islamic legacy above all that British travellers sought to explore.

Travellers, according to their own predispositions, noted the evidence for different periods of history. Some emphasised Celtic origins: looking for a point of connection with British history they found similarities between the peasants of the province of Biscay and the Celtic regions

of the British Isles. John Talbot Dillon noted that the country people wore brogues like Scottish highlanders and claimed to see a similarity between the manners of the 'Biscayners' and those of the ancient Irish that indicated a common ancestry.¹ The Phoenicians and the Carthaginians may have left few tangible traces but their influence could be traced in place-names and in the numismatic record. The Phoenician presence in Iberia offered a point of contact with early British history, as traders with the south-west coast who had introduced not just luxury goods but their religious beliefs, and with the events and landscapes of the Old Testament.² Carteia and Málaga, argued Francis Carter, had been important trading posts for the merchants of Tyre; the former, he suggested, was the port of Tarsis, to which Solomon had sent his treasure fleets.³ The Greeks had left even fewer traces of their presence and not even Carter, the best read in Spanish antiquarian literature of any British traveller of the period, could furnish much to say on their influence in Spain. Ultimately, the debates among Iberian scholars over the Phoenician, Greek or Roman origins of various cities met with little more than jaded scepticism from most British visitors.⁴

Iberia's Gothic past was equally under-conceptualised; nor could it offer an edifying narrative to match that of England, where Gothic liberties had prevailed against the pretensions of monarchy. In Spain, it was argued, the Goths had fallen into luxury and effeminacy, making them vulnerable to conquest by the Arabs. The exception was the Basque region and although the inhabitants were admired for the proud preservation of their historic liberties, these privileges were compared with English rather than explicitly Gothic traditions of freedom and independence. In 1763 Edward Clarke had suggested that the 'antient Spanish Cortes' resembled the English Parliament and that Spain, like 'the northern nations', had originally been governed under a mixed monarchy and argued that remnants of the Gothic constitution were still visible in the power of grandees over their vassals.⁵ As we saw in [Chapter 5](#), this view was more widely propounded by William Robertson in his *The History of the Reign of Emperor Charles V*, one of the most influential historical texts of the eighteenth century, where he explained how the Vandals and Goths 'established a form of government in that

¹ Dillon, *Travels Through Spain*, 166–8; Semple, *Observations on a Journey*, I, 221; Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 33. Gavin Daly cites further examples of officers identifying similarities with the Scottish Highlands: *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, 146.

² Collins, *Voyages*, 28.

³ Carter, *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, I, 64, 68, 170; II, 293, 303.

⁴ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 140; Greg, *Travel Journals*, 160.

⁵ Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 27, 29.

country, and introduced customs and laws, perfectly similar to those which were established in the rest of Europe.⁶ Other travellers, however, failed to build upon this lead. But in the early nineteenth century, the parallels between the Spanish Cortes and the English Parliament would be seized upon by the Holland House set in support of their calls for a liberal Spanish constitution.⁷ Ripples emanating from this enthusiasm influenced, for example, the descriptions of Edward Hawke Locker, the travelling companion of Lord John Russell, who pursued the traces of El Cid and the Gothic kings of Spain throughout his journey through Catalonia, Aragon and Biscay in 1813.⁸ Other signs of interest in a common Gothic heritage were evident in, for example, Robert Southey's translation of El Cid or John Lockhart's edition of Spanish ballads, although the latter never travelled to Spain. According to Southey, the Spanish Goths 'were a nation of freemen', while Lockhart declared that the Spanish were part of one 'great Gothic family' in Europe.⁹ Such comments aside, however, the descent of modern Spaniards from the Gothic peoples was largely forgotten, even as interest in the revival of the Cortes increased. Similarly, the burgeoning interest in and appreciation of Gothic architecture in Britain was scarcely reflected in the observations of British travellers. Gothic architecture in Spain and Portugal – as we shall see below – was discussed chiefly in terms of its hypothetical roots in 'Saracenic' or 'Moorish' architecture. Even when visiting notable structures such as the cathedrals of Burgos and Toledo, travellers issued bland praise rather than exercising close scrutiny. The former was, at best, simply a 'work of singular height and beauty' and the latter did not bear comparison with the Gothic churches of England.¹⁰ Only George Whittington, intent on proving a continental origin for the Gothic arch, was attentive to the distinctive Iberian variants of the Gothic style at Segovia, Toledo and Belém.¹¹ Spain's tradition of Gothic architecture awaited the travels of J. M. Neale and G. E. Street in the mid-nineteenth century to be fully appreciated and integrated into a wider narrative of European architectural evolution.¹²

⁶ Robertson, *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*, 144.

⁷ Mitchell, *Holland House*, 217–39. Clarke and De Sousa, 'Critics to enthusiasts', 71 n. 4 point to recent Spanish historiography that emphasises the Hollands' influence on the establishment of a parliamentary regime in Spain.

⁸ Locker, *Views in Spain*, letter press accompanying plates of Burgos, Segovia and Valencia.

⁹ Southey, *Chronicle of the Cid*, xiii–xvi; Lockhart, *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, xi.

¹⁰ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 179; Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 322; Dillon, *Letters from an English Traveller*, 264.

¹¹ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 60–1, 75, 77.

¹² Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture*; Basarrate, 'British discovery of Spanish Gothic architecture'.

Encounters with Roman Spain

It was the Roman and the 'Moorish' presence, therefore, that dominated in travellers' observations of the Iberian past and provided a framework through which both landscapes and townscapes could be interpreted. Roman remains were ubiquitous throughout both Spain and Portugal and easily recognised, although given travellers' general reluctance to explore Portugal beyond its capital city, the Roman province of Hispania was almost invariably equated with Spain.¹³ As more than one traveller noted, 'No country, except Italy, abounds more with ancient monuments than Spain.'¹⁴ It was a legacy that could be traced not only in physical remains but in contemporary manners and customs. 'To this day they [the Spanish people] bear indelible marks of a Roman origin in their language, dress, and domestic utensils', observed Francis Carter. The *capa* or cloak found throughout the Iberian Peninsula, for example, was often assumed to be a relic of the Roman toga.¹⁵ Henry Gally Knight similarly argued that the costume of the muleteers of La Mancha was 'a relic of the Romans', their leather buckles and aprons bearing 'a rude resemblance of the dress painters always give to a Roman General'.¹⁶ More frequent were the observations on the similarity between both the Spanish and Portuguese languages and Latin: Spanish, wrote Carter, 'has preserved more of the Latin idiom, grammar, and pronunciation, than any nation in Europe'. One might write 'whole sentences of pure Spanish, composed entirely of Latin words.'¹⁷ Importantly, the linguistic similarity was of more than philological interest, facilitating as it did travellers' acquisition of both Spanish and Portuguese, which many attempted to learn or improve during their travels: as Henry Holland told his mother, he had got by in Portugal through 'impudence and Latin'.¹⁸

Among British and Irish travellers to Spain there were some diligent antiquaries: William Burton Conyngham, for example, made a particular study of the amphitheatre at Sagunto (Saguntum) and reported upon his findings to the Royal Irish Academy; the paper failed

¹³ The subdivisions into Hispania Ulterior, Hispania Citerior, Baetica, Lusitania and Hispania Tarraconensis were rarely discussed.

¹⁴ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 384, quoting the Dean of Alicante to Scipio Maffei in a letter of 1722.

¹⁵ Carter, *Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 224.

¹⁶ DRO D239/M/F16318, 91: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹⁷ Carter, *Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 224.

¹⁸ LWL MS 41 Box 2 vol. 1, 17: Holland to his mother, 22 May 1812.

to raise the profile of the site in any significant way, however.¹⁹ But the story of how an ‘Englishman’ (his Irish identity was generally occluded) had excavated the site, relayed to successive British visitors by the local guides, provided another layer of meaning.²⁰ Francis Carter’s three-volume *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries and its president, Jeremiah Milles, was replete with details of antiquities and the ancient history of southern Spain, but never enjoyed the wider familiarity of Twiss, Swinburne or Townsend and was far less regularly cited. Notes on coins and inscriptions featured in many notebooks and journals but there was not, it seems, a widespread appetite for the kind of detailed antiquarian information that Carter imparted.²¹ The relative obscurity of his work highlights the extent to which interest in the Roman antiquities of Spain was, for most travellers, largely superficial.

Nonetheless, Classical authorities provided points of reference in otherwise uncharted territory, allowing sites in Iberia to be connected to the familiar narratives of Roman history and works of Latin literature. Hispania had been the birthplace of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, the philosopher Seneca and the poet Lucan; it was the scene of Scipio’s conquests in the second Punic War and of Caesar’s defeat of Gnaeus Pompey; and it had been described by writers including Pliny and Julius Caesar as well as Strabo. Unlike Rome, however, where generations of antiquaries had surveyed, measured, drawn and described the monuments of antiquity in copious detail, the British had few textual resources to draw on. Nor could they take advantage of a highly developed infrastructure of *ciceroni* and *valets de place* who might guide them round, telling them what to admire and providing the kind of information that they might record in their journals. At Segovia, Edward Clarke complained he had to measure the height and length of the aqueduct himself as the people ‘neither know nor care’.²² The aqueduct itself was admired for its architecture and as evidence of the reach and power of the Roman state, but it was never the subject of detailed study.

¹⁹ Conyngham, ‘Observations on the description of the Theatre at Saguntum’, 21–46. On Conyngham see Trench, ‘William Burton Conyngham (1733–1796)’, especially 45–6; Hurley, ‘William Burton Conyngham’s antiquarian tour’, 44–8.

²⁰ See, for example, ULLSCG MS 233 vol.1, fol. 61: Stanhope, journal; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 275.

²¹ See, for example, Thomas Traill (who clearly travelled with a copy of Carter and frequently corrected his observations).

²² Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*, 181. Clarke, in fact, demonstrated more engagement with Spanish scholarship on antiquities than most other travellers and his *Letters* included an ‘epistle’ from Gregorio Mayans on the aqueduct.



Figure 8.1 Henry Swinburne, 'Theatre of Sagunto, Spain' (1775–6).
Source: Yale Center for British Art B1977.14.3916. Public domain.

Unlike the antiquities of Rome, which were familiar to travellers from childhood through a profusion of schoolroom texts and printed images, monuments such as the aqueduct at Segovia or the amphitheatre at Sagunto failed to prompt the same excited buzz of visual recognition. Coming upon Mérida in 1809 when stationed in Estremadura, Moyle Sherer was astonished – as an educated Englishman – that he had been previously unaware of its existence.²³ Yet unfamiliar though the Spanish monuments were, as Sherer's comments suggest, the sheer physical presence of sites such as Mérida, Sagunto, Segovia, Italica and Carteia could elicit the kind of imaginative reveries on the mutability of human fortunes that were commonplace at any archaeological site by the early nineteenth century (see [Figure 8.1](#)). At Sagunto, wrote John Spencer Stanhope in an outburst of youthful enthusiasm,

I beheld in imagination ... a rich & powerful city I saw its inhabitants preferring a Glorious death to slavery & hurling themselves and their little ones into the flames. I saw Hannibal flushed with victory preparing to cross the Alps and march to the very gates of Rome. I looked to the theatre I saw a proof of the splendour and luxury of

²³ Sherer, *Recollections*, 88.

the Roman Empire. I looked to the Moorish Castle & I remembered the fall of Rome.²⁴

In general, however, Spain's Roman antiquities were almost invariably deemed inferior. Corinthian columns in Barcelona provided evidence of former Roman splendour but 'to those who have been in Italy they are but a matter of curiosity', opined Lady Holland.²⁵ As 'provincial' antiquities, they were often regarded with unconcealed condescension: at Sagunto, Whittington arose early and, attended by a guide, went eagerly to visit the ruins for 'we were anxious to see the architectural taste of a Roman town so far removed from the seat of the arts'.²⁶ Even by eighteenth-century standards, sites of Roman antiquity were poorly preserved. Antonio Ponz acknowledged as much in his *Viage*.²⁷ Sites were untended, there were no guides, and no means of preventing local inhabitants from plundering them for building materials. Travellers such as Robert Hyde Greg accused the Spanish of neglecting their heritage: 'Unfortunately for lovers of the fine arts Italica was built in Spain, and these treasures will probably remain buried till they no longer have existence'.²⁸ Under such circumstances, the tendency to be dismissive was only reinforced.

The Roman past was one of the frameworks through which the traveller made sense of Iberia – a region otherwise unfamiliar in so many ways. But the richness of Roman remains notwithstanding, travel to Spain or Portugal never facilitated the kind of self-actualisation of elite masculinity in the face of Classical antiquity which was expected of a tour to Italy or Greece. The appeal of Iberian travel was not that of a Classical Grand Tour manqué; rather its alterity formed its principal fascination, an alterity that was most often explained in terms of the pervasive 'Moorish' influence, whether seen in the architecture of the houses, the costume of the women, the customs of hospitality or the evocative remains of hilltop fortifications – the 'Moorish Castle' that struck Stanhope so powerfully at Sagunto. Even the crops bore witness to the 'Moorish' past as so many had been introduced during the Islamic occupation of the Peninsula – sugar cane, dates, carob, pomegranates, oranges and silk were all

²⁴ ULLSCG MS 233 vol. 1, fos 59v–60v: Stanhope, journal; Stanhope later came to regret this outburst of youthful romantic enthusiasm: see BASLD MS SpSt 60643 (3), fol. 227v (note written in 1828); Sherer, *Recollections*, 88–95.

²⁵ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 48: Lady Holland, journal. Cf. her underwhelmed comments at Mérida: BL Add MS 51932, fol. 42.

²⁶ Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*, 30.

²⁷ Ponz, *Viage de España*, VIII, 120.

²⁸ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 77.

attributed to the 'Moors' – while irrigation channels, water pumps and grain silos pointed to their agricultural skill and expertise. The Roman site of Italica, outside Seville, left William Jacob underwhelmed, but 'Moorish' antiquities 'afford me greater pleasure than the Roman; to me they possess more of novelty, have been much less described, and are in every respect better adapted to the climate.'²⁹

The contemporary reception of Islamic Spain

The medieval, Muslim inhabitants of Iberia were not, of course, all 'Moors' or Arabs. Observers in the eighteenth century, however, followed the Spanish in viewing all followers of Islam as ethnically distinct from the 'native' Spanish or Portuguese. But the term 'Moor' was itself highly generic and could apply to a wide range of ethnicities and populations; this lack of specificity is mirrored in the way in which contemporaries were happy to deploy a range of other terms to refer to the Muslim inhabitants. While 'Moors' and 'Moorish' were the most common terms, 'Arabs' and 'Arabian' were also frequently used, and less often 'Mahometans', 'Musulmans' or even 'Saracens'. These terms were all used more or less interchangeably and observers often moved seamlessly from discussions of the 'Moors' specifically to 'Mahometans' or 'Arabs' without differentiation. Even at the start of our period, the 'Moors' were viewed in terms of 'Eastern' influence and through an 'Oriental' prism. Comparisons were drawn with the 'Moors' of Morocco, where so many of the Spanish Muslims fled after 1492, and as the Eastern Mediterranean became more frequented in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, more comparisons were drawn between the 'Moorish' legacy in Iberia and the world of the Ottoman Empire, or further east, with Persia or even India.³⁰ The 'Moors' were distinctive to Spain and Portugal but they were also seen as part of a wider Islamic culture that continued to exist in North Africa and in the Eastern Mediterranean and which, like the *Tales of the Arabian Nights*, was not rooted in any specific geographical region.

As we saw in [Chapters 5 and 6](#), interest in Iberia's Islamic past intensified over the period, responding not only to developments in European culture, but to the re-evaluation of the legacy of Islam as part of the cultural patrimony of Spain which took place under Carlos III. The travellers' frames of reference for conceptualising Islamic Spain

²⁹ Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 83.

³⁰ Sweet and Ansell, 'Alhambra and the Peninsular War'.

were limited: one was architectural, arising from the attempt to connect 'Moorish' architecture to the evolution of the Gothic; another was literary, as the history of the period was seen through the prism of the ballads of chivalric romance which were believed to have originated in the conflict between the Christians and the 'Moors' during the Reconquista.³¹ Overwhelmingly, the focus of travellers' interest in 'Arabian' or 'Moorish' antiquities was Granada and the palace of the Alhambra. The palace was – and remains – an extraordinary physical monument and almost every traveller responded positively to the intricacy, delicacy and surface beauty of its interior. In eighteenth-century eyes it embodied all that they most admired in Islamic design. But the strength of its appeal rested also upon the imaginative associations which it could command as the location of events with which visitors could claim familiarity through their reading of ballads and romances: the civil wars of the Abencerrages and the history of the Nasrids' final defeat at the hands of the Catholic Monarchs.

The specific fascination of the Alhambra, however, needs to be contextualised within the wider reception of Spain's Islamic past. The fact that Iberia had once been home to a powerful Caliphate was as familiar to British readers and travellers as the story of *Don Quixote*. Knowledge of the sophistication of Islamic culture and its role in preserving texts of Classical antiquity was widespread even before the eighteenth century, but its contribution to the history of Europe was restated for Anglophone readers by William Robertson in his *History of the Reign of Charles V* and rehearsed in texts such as Swinburne's *Travels*.³² According to this view, during the Dark Ages, when scholarship was moribund through most of Europe, the Greeks in Constantinople focused on theology, while Arabic scholarship centred upon science, medicine and philosophy. The Arabs were known to have ensured the survival of Classical learning through the preservation of Greek and Latin manuscripts and the assimilation of Roman literary traditions; in more practical terms they maintained or improved upon Roman feats of hydraulic engineering. 'The Arabs', as Francis Carter explained, 'succeeded to the Romans, not only in their martial and ambitious spirit, but in their taste for the arts and sciences'.³³ In the climate of greater religious toleration that prevailed during the Enlightenment, the 'Moors' were also admired for the toleration that they showed to other faiths, notably the Christians and the Jews. Alexander Jardine noted with

³¹ Saglia, *Poetic Castles*, 51–7; Bryant, *Spanish Ballad*.

³² Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, 3–4.

³³ Carter, *Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 333.

approval the degree of intermarriage between Christians and Muslims in Córdoba and regretted the disappearance of such enlightened toleration. Had the 'Mahometan' empire in Spain remained, he suggested, 'and continued to improve, it might have helped to hasten the advancement and civilization of Europe as well as of the world.'³⁴ Their tolerance, along with their commercial, manufacturing and agricultural success, was regularly contrasted with the problems of the modern Spanish state that were invariably attributed to the impolitic policies of Spain's Catholic rulers in expelling both the Jews and the Moriscos.

In the early nineteenth century British readers were encouraged to acknowledge the achievements of Islamic Spain on a more regular basis as a flurry of publications rehearsed the familiar narrative of 'Moorish' learning and civilisation destroyed by Spanish brutality and religious intolerance for a new generation. This literature was part of the broadening interest in Spain that was stimulated by the taste for medieval romance that had been growing from the late eighteenth century. Titles such as Thomas Bourke's *Concise History of the Moors in Spain* (1811) or George Power's *History of the Empire of the Musulmans in Spain and Portugal* (1815) catered to this growing interest.³⁵ Both these works were heavily derivative of earlier scholarship (as reviewers gleefully pointed out) but reinforced the message of 'Moorish' tolerance, learning and civilisation and the debt of European culture to the 'Moors'. James Cavanah Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* was accompanied by John Shakespear's *The History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain* (1816) in which he provided an overview of not just the dynastic history and political evolution of Islamic rule but its cultural achievements too. As a chaplain to the East India Company, Shakespear was proficient in Arabic and was able to utilise Arabic sources, rather than relying on Spanish sources or the translations of Denis Dominique Cardonne's *Historie de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (1765). For these reasons, his history was well received by the reviewers of the day, in contrast to Bourke and Power's more pedestrian and unoriginal publications.³⁶ Shakespear's principal message was to highlight the startling achievements in science, technology and learning of the Arabs in Spain and across the Near East and their formative impact upon European cultural development. 'It would be difficult', he told his readers, 'to determine fully how much

³⁴ Jardine, *Letters from Barbary*, II, 195.

³⁵ See also Jacob's 'Sketch of the Moorish dominion in Spain', in *Travels in the South of Spain*, 256–81.

³⁶ See, for example, *British Review and London Critical Journal* (August 1816), 11–39; *New Annual Register* (January 1816), 267–8; *Literary Panorama* (March 1816), 896–900.

the modern nations of Europe stand indebted to the Arabs for the introduction of the sciences and of the arts, so great and numerous are the actual obligations.³⁷ Highlighting the achievements of the Islamic civilisation of the past, as Jardine, Shakespear and others did, was another way of denigrating the modern Barbary States whose decline could be attributed to the evil consequences of despotism. But admiration for the historical 'Moors' was equally important as a means with which to find fault with modern Spain, which was constantly found wanting against the standards set by its medieval Islamic past.³⁸

Appreciation of the contribution of Islamic Spain to Western scholarship in the fields of astronomy, algebra, geometry and medicine was complemented by a parallel interest in its contribution to the emergence of vernacular poetry in the form of romances and ballads, and the chivalric culture that sustained these developments. Two key traditions in the making of Western European culture, therefore, vernacular poetry and the cult of chivalry, could be traced back to medieval Spain and the conflict between the Islamic and Christian rulers.³⁹ The Arabic idiom, explained Francis Carter, was particularly adapted to poetry. The poets of Granada, he continued, composed romances celebrating the principal battles and events of their time, which the Christians emulated and these became the basis not just for romances but for the medieval chronicles.⁴⁰ Knowledge of this literature also gave the British a framework through which to view and respond to 'Moorish' or 'Arabic' antiquities. Eighteenth-century British readers were first introduced to Spanish ballads by Thomas Percy, who included two in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), intending to compile an entire volume of them. Spanish ballads also featured in John Pinkerton's *Select Scottish Ballads* (1783) and were discussed in context by both Dillon and Southey. The high point of enthusiasm for Spanish ballads and romances, however, did not come until the early nineteenth century.⁴¹ There were also other means by which British readers were familiar with the history of the Islamic kingdoms and that of Granada in particular: even though Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* was not translated into English until the nineteenth century, the story of

³⁷ Shakespear, *History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain*, 51.

³⁸ See Azara's complaints discussed in [Chapter 6](#).

³⁹ See, for example, Rodd, *Civil Wars of Granada*, xvii: 'The ancient ballads of Spain have an acknowledged pre-eminence over those of other nations, and in point of excellence'.

⁴⁰ Carter, *Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 342–58.

⁴¹ Dillon, *Letters from an English Traveller*; Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence*; Carrasco Urgoiti, 'Romantic revival of Castilian frontier ballads in England'.

the fatal civil wars that undermined Granada and its eventual conquest by the Spanish was familiar through sources such as Dryden's play *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* (1672), regularly republished, if not performed, throughout the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century the long-standing, albeit somewhat minor strand of interest in Spanish ballads and romances was powerfully reinforced by the growth of Romantic Orientalism to which Thomas Rodd's translation of *The Civil Wars of Granada* (1801) and the flurry of publications on the history of the 'Moors' in Spain bear witness. If, as Nigel Leask has argued, Romantic Orientalism saw the Arcadian *locus amoenus* of neo-classicism displaced from a Mediterranean golden age to a 'contemporary' Eastern site, it was not so contemporary as to exclude medieval Islamic Spain.⁴²

The final point of interest was in the 'Moorish' contribution to the emergence of Gothic architecture. From the late seventeenth century antiquaries had been attempting to establish when and where the pointed Gothic arch first originated. The thesis that the pointed arch was of Eastern origin, brought back by returning crusaders, and was subsequently spread through Europe by itinerant freemasons, was adumbrated by Christopher Wren in 1713 in his reports on Westminster Abbey, but not published until 1750 in *Parentalia: Or, Memoirs of the Family of Wren* (1750).⁴³ While Wren had posited a 'Turkish' origin and identified the crusaders as the agents of cultural change, bringing back the new architectural style to Europe from the Near East, others suggested that the origins were Arabian and the Gothic arch had entered Europe through Spain during the period of Islamic rule.⁴⁴ During the eighteenth century the theory was widely referenced in discussions of Gothic architecture. Even though antiquaries became increasingly sceptical of its validity as other theories proved more plausible, it continued to be mentioned until the mid-nineteenth century and beyond, if only to be set up as a straw man.⁴⁵ But even if the Arabic or Saracenic origins of the Gothic style were discounted the similarities between the two continued to fascinate: both Gothic and Arabic were aberrations from the Classical norm; both displayed delicacy of ornamentation and detail, were characterised by picturesque irregularities, and shared similarities in use of mass and volume. Regardless of its geographical origins, the Spanish Gothic was clearly cross-fertilised by its proximity to Arabic traditions of architecture and craftsmanship.

⁴² Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, 20.

⁴³ Wren, *Parentalia*, 295–303.

⁴⁴ Raquejo, "Arab cathedrals", 555.

⁴⁵ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 254–68; see for example Dennis, *Summer in Andalusia*, II, 33.

The Alhambra and its legacy

The Alhambra today is Spain's most visited tourist attraction and it has acquired global fame as a unique survival of medieval Islamic architecture and design. The roots of this fascination lie in the eighteenth century. Although Spain was relatively rarely visited by the British before the later eighteenth century, there was a broader awareness of its 'exotic' legacy of 'Moorish' architecture across Europe in which Britain shared.⁴⁶ Most famously, William Chambers included the 'Alhambra' among the pavilions that he designed for Kew Gardens in 1758 (see [Figure 8.2](#)).⁴⁷ The fact that his design, based upon a sketch by the Swiss architect Heinrich Muntz, bore scant relation to Islamic architectural forms (as the Spanish travel writer Antonio Ponz acerbically noted) means little in terms of understanding the anticipation of travellers who visited Spain.⁴⁸ More important is the fact that the Alhambra could command a level of familiarity, albeit as an exotic form of architecture alongside Chinese pagodas and Gothic cathedrals. The Alhambra, as we shall see, soon came to stand metonymically for 'Moorish' architecture in total. There were, as we saw in [Chapter 3](#), other sites of interest, such as Córdoba, but it was the Alhambra that attracted more attention and more commentary than any other building in Spain.

Constructed on a rocky hilltop overlooking the city of Granada, it continues to project an imposing presence: from the exterior it is clearly a fortress – despite the damage inflicted by the departing French in 1812 – and the blank walls and watchtowers convey a sense of military strength (see [Figure 8.3](#)). The outer walls house not a single palace but a complex of several palaces and gardens, which have undergone significant alteration and restoration, even since the eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century, visitors walked or drove up the hill through neglected woodland and gardens until they reached the Gate of Justice (see [Figure 8.4](#)) with its distinctive horseshoe arch and 'zigzag' entrance and entered the Square of the Cisterns (the Plaza de los Aljibes).⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*. For an overview of early travellers' accounts see Barrio Marco and Fernández Bahillo, *La imagen de la Alhambra y el Generalife*, 19–22.

⁴⁷ Chambers, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views*.

⁴⁸ Heide, 'Alhambra in Britain', 203. Ponz complained that 'Otro punto de vista es una imitación de edificio arabesco: me dijeron que de la Alhambra de Granada, pero si es así no tiene semejanza ninguna' ('another viewpoint is an imitation of a building in the arabesque style: they told me that [it was] of the Alhambra of Granada, but if so it bears no resemblance at all'): Ponz, *Viaje fuera de España*, ed. Bolufer Peruga, 496–7 (translation ours).

⁴⁹ NLS MS.19389, fol. 183: Traill, journal.

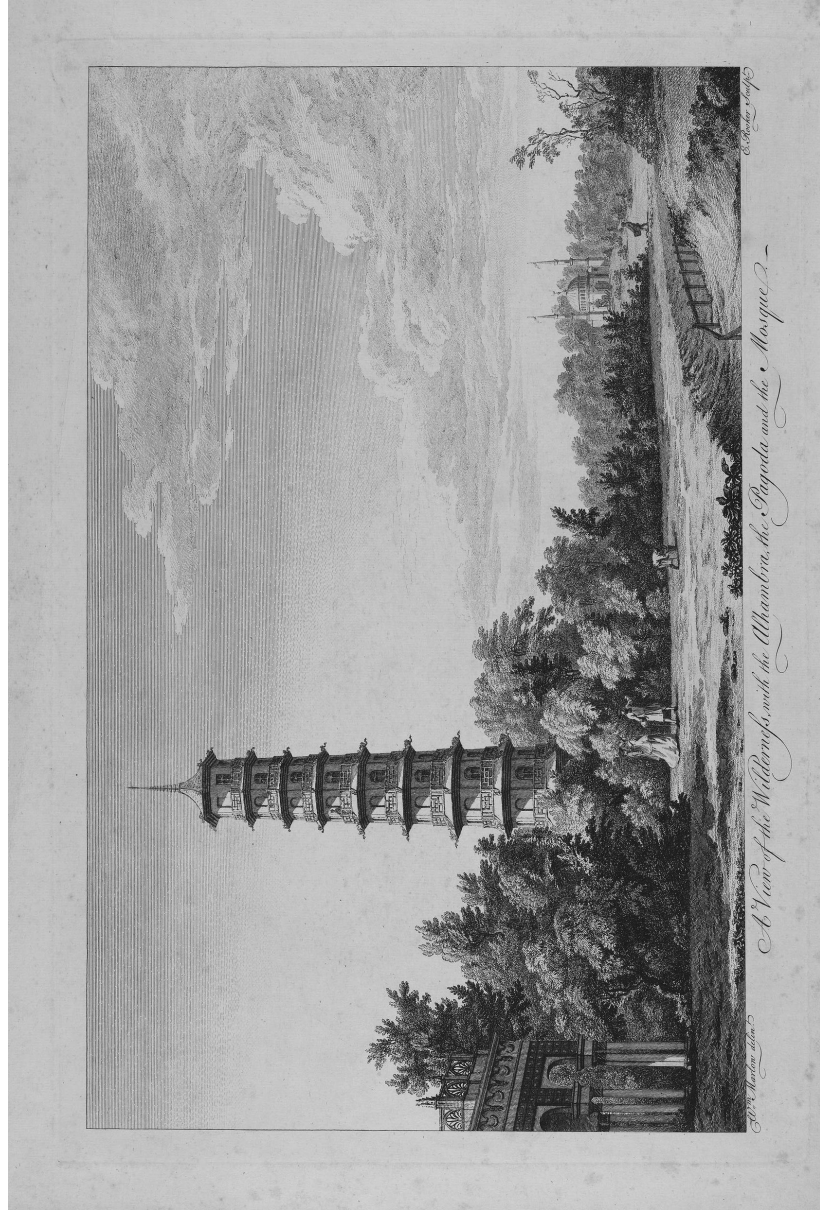


Figure 8.2 'A view of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque', from William Chambers, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew* (1763). Source: BM museum number 1863,0509,281. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

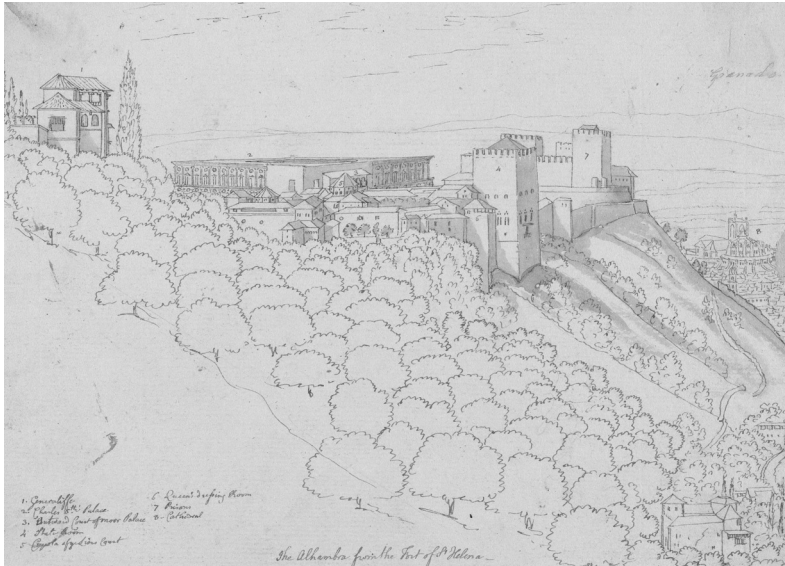


Figure 8.3 Henry Swinburne, 'The Alhambra from the Fort of St Helena' (1775–6). Source: Yale Center for British Art B1977.14.4023. Public domain.

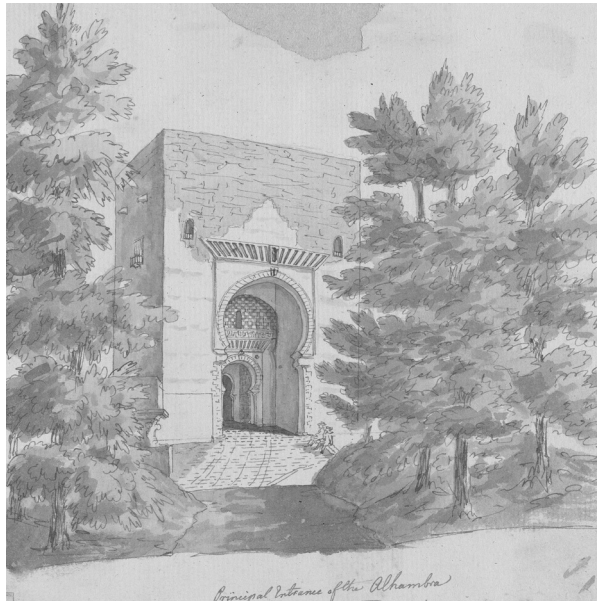


Figure 8.4 Henry Swinburne, 'Principal entrance of the Alhambra' [The Gate of Justice] (1775–6). Source: Yale Center for British Art B1977.14.3866. Public domain.

The oldest part of the Alhambra, the citadel, dates back to the ninth century. But visitors in the eighteenth century, as now, focused their attention on the Nasrid palaces that were constructed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries following the Nasrid usurpation of power in Granada in 1238. Comments generally revolved around what is now called the Court of Myrtles (Patio de los Arrayanes), with its central pool, which in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was usually known as the Court of the Cisterns, flanked by myrtle bushes and orange trees (see [Figure 8.5](#)), and the richly decorated Hall of the Ambassadors in the Tower of Comares (Torre de Comares) leading off it. In the eighteenth century, terminology for the different rooms had yet to become fixed: Thomas Pitt, who visited in 1760, simply referred to the Court of the Myrtles as a courtyard in front of the king's apartment (by which he appears to have meant the Hall of the Ambassadors) while Henry Swinburne called it the 'common baths';⁵⁰ later visitors generally referred to it as the Court of the Reservoir. After these, attention turned to the Court of the Lions (Patio de los Leones), with its distinctive fountain and pavilions of pillars (see [Figure 8.6](#)), the Hall of the Two Sisters (Sala de las dos Hermanas) leading off it to the north and the Hall of the Abencerrages (Sala de los Abencerrages) to the south. Guides made a point here of washing the marble fountain to reveal the indelible blood stains that had been left by the murder of the leaders of the Abencerrages.⁵¹ At the east end of the Court of the Lions was the Hall of the Kings (Sala de los Reyes), decorated with wall paintings, which some visitors referred to as the Hall of Justice. Between the Tower of Comares (see [Figure 8.7](#)) and the Court of the Lions were baths and the Patio de la Reina Juana. A corridor leading west-northwest from the Tower of Comares led to the Tocador or the queen's dressing room (the Torre del Peinador de la Reina), a kind of belvedere, overlooking the internal courtyard and garden of the Lindaraxa, which eighteenth-century visitors were told was occupied by former sultanas, and were shown the grating in the floor that was said to allow clouds of incense to billow up from braziers below as the final act of the queen's toilette. Beyond the Court of the Myrtles and the Court of the Lions was the palace of Charles V – a vast, circular, unfinished building, left empty and unoccupied – and the gardens of the Generalife. This was the summer palace of the Nasrids, 'not worthy of notice',⁵² according to

⁵⁰ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 142: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'; Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 2nd edition, I, 276.

⁵¹ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 2v: Lady Holland, journal; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 286.

⁵² BL Add MS 51931, fol. 3: Lady Holland, journal.



Figure 8.5 William Gell, 'Court of the Cisterns' (1808). Source: BM museum number 1853,0307.664. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.6 William Gell, 'Court of the Lions' (1808). *Source:* BM museum number 1853,0307.666. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

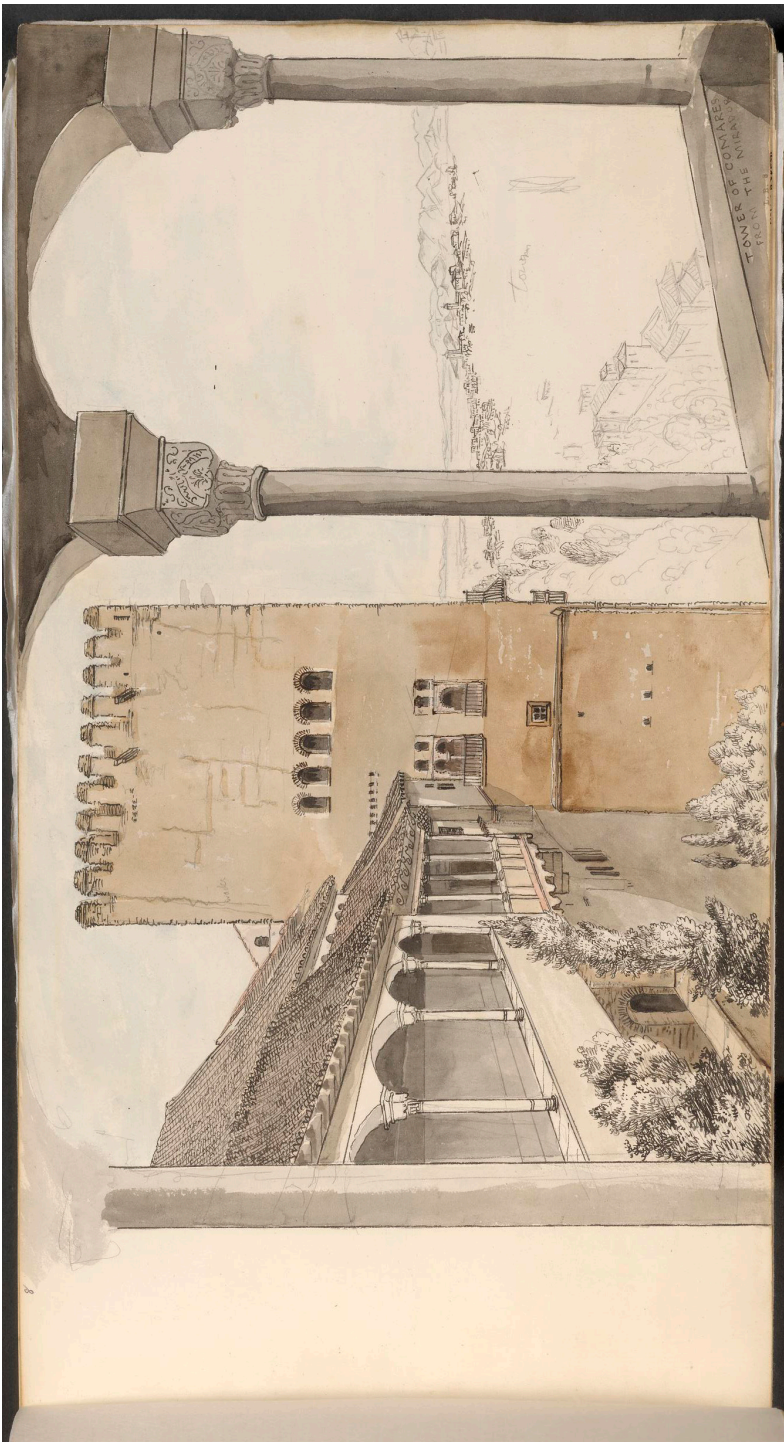


Figure 8.7 William Gell, 'Tower of Comares from the Mirador' (1808). Source: BM museum number 1853,0307.662. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Lady Holland, but the gardens were an essential element in the immersive experience of the Alhambra complex, as we shall see.

Thomas Pitt's account of 1760 is the earliest detailed description of the Alhambra by a British traveller to have survived. Pitt had particular reasons for wishing to visit the Iberian Peninsula: as a young man of precocious antiquarian and architectural taste, and a friend of Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole, those other earlier enthusiasts for the Gothic, he had become intrigued by Wren's theory that the origins of Gothic architecture came from the East and by the pointed arches of what had by then become known as the 'Saracenic' style.⁵³ Pitt needed convincing, and the matter could only be proved by first-hand observation combined with close attention to likely dates of construction. Differentiation of the Gothic from the 'Saracenic' or 'Moorish' had to proceed upon both chronological and stylistic grounds. Ultimately, he proved to his own satisfaction that the two styles had evolved independently, Spain's Islamic invaders bringing theirs from Arabia, via Africa.⁵⁴ In Spain, Pitt paid particularly close attention to the 'Moorish' architecture of the mosque at Córdoba and the Alhambra itself. The manuscript in the British Library, transcribed by the antiquary William Cole, includes his carefully drawn copies of Pitt's sketches of Córdoba (see [Figure 8.8](#)); Pitt made no drawings of the Alhambra, however. This, he explained, was because 'the Largeness & Loftiness of the Rooms, with the Minuteness of their Stucco-work, would be lost in a common Drawing'.⁵⁵ Rather his notes on the Alhambra concentrated on the 'scalopt' and 're-entering' arches (his term for horseshoe arches) and the 'lacework' on the ceiling, the colours of the tiles and what he referred to as the mosaics. Strikingly, his account, unmediated by the descriptions of other travellers, omits many of the clichés and tropes of later responses and is free of the language of the picturesque; rather, 'Words could not give an adequate Idea of Objects we are so little used to'.⁵⁶

Although unpublished, Pitt's manuscript tour was circulated and copied among friends and fellow antiquaries on his return and clearly inspired others to visit Spain to see for themselves as well. Most obviously, Edward Clarke, chaplain to the Earl of Bristol's embassy and with whom Pitt had travelled for some weeks, silently appropriated his description of the bullfight (if not his architectural analysis) as we

⁵³ Mateo, 'In search of the origin of the Gothic', 8.

⁵⁴ Frew and Wallace, 'Thomas Pitt, Portugal'; McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*, 17–18; Mulvin, 'Pioneer of Moresque revival'; Raquejo, "Arab cathedrals".

⁵⁵ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 142v: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

⁵⁶ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 142v: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

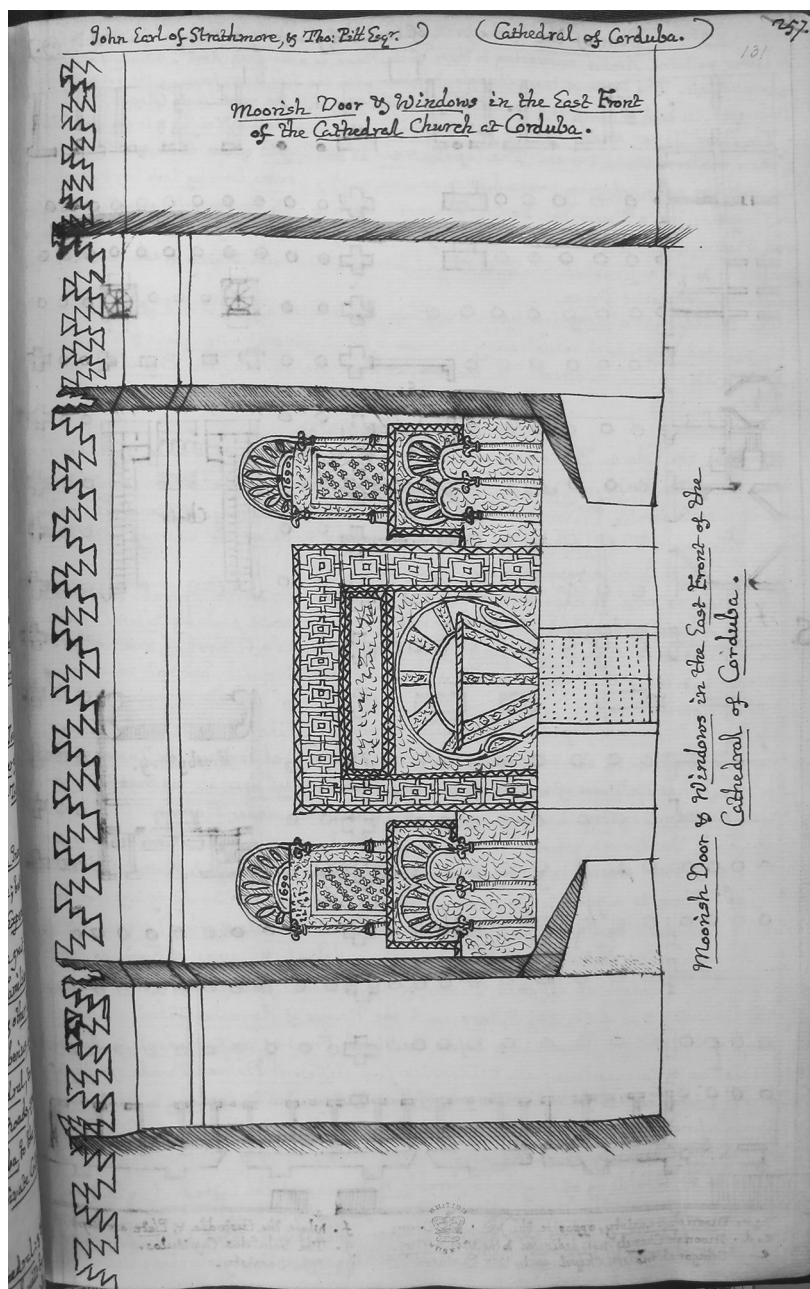


Figure 8.8 'Moorish Door & Windows in the East Front of the Cathedral of Corduba [sic]'. William Cole's copy of sketch by Thomas Pitt (1760). Source: BL Add MS 5845, fol. 131. Courtesy of the British Library.

saw in [Chapter 4](#). Back in England, the manuscript circulated among Pitt's Cambridge friends, Horace Walpole and Gray. His uncle, Charles Lyttelton, president of the Society of Antiquaries, clearly also read it (Cole's transcription includes one of his annotations)⁵⁷ and he regularly mentioned his nephew's tour in correspondence with friends. Through him, the manuscript evidently became known among other fellows of the Society: the director, Richard Gough, wrote to a friend in 1772, about the 'most accurate' drawings and plans of the 'principal Moorish and gothic buildings' in a tour of Portugal made in 1760 which he had been reading.⁵⁸ Two years later he was telling George Paton in Edinburgh that 'The Kingdome of Spain is at present a favourite object of Recherche with our people'.⁵⁹ Paton responded with the information that the Earl of Buchan had planned to send an artist to Spain to draw the 'Moorish antiquities' in 1772; nothing came of his plans, however, but it seems likely that Buchan too had been part of the discussion stimulated by Pitt's manuscript.⁶⁰ Beyond his private correspondence, Gough ensured its existence became more widely known by referring to it in his history of Gothic architecture which prefaced his gazetteer of antiquarian and topographical publications, *British Topography* (1780).⁶¹ More generally, the descriptive terms used by Pitt, such as 're-entering arches' to describe what was called 'gotico arabesco' or 'Saracenic' architecture, started cropping up more widely in antiquarian correspondence.⁶²

As [Chapter 5](#) showed, the 1770s saw a flurry of publications on Spain, including Francis Carter's *Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga* (1777). Although Carter stopped short of Granada, his intimate knowledge of the city, the Alhambra and of Andalusia's legacy of Islamic architecture is apparent throughout the text as he praised both Islamic skill in architecture and its delicacy of design and vibrant use of colour. Carter saw this architectural prowess and the use of pigments such as vermilion and skilled mosaic work as a link with the Roman civilisation that had dominated Spain's eastern littoral. This was obviously of a pattern with the widespread understanding that it was the Islamic civilisation in Spain that had preserved the learning of Classical antiquity during the Dark Ages.⁶³ Carter may have omitted the Alhambra: a choice

⁵⁷ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 145: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

⁵⁸ Bodl. MS Gough gen. top. 44, fol. 79v: Richard Gough to Michael Tyson, 28 March 1772.

⁵⁹ NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (1), fol. 44v: Richard Gough to George Paton, 15 February 1774.

⁶⁰ NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (1), fol. 17: Richard Gough to George Paton, 11 September 1772; Adv MS 29.5.7 (1), fol. 71: Paton to Gough, 28 September 1772.

⁶¹ Gough, *British Topography*, I, xxiv.

⁶² Bodl. MS Douce d. 36, fol. 18: Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, no date.

⁶³ Carter, *Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 320.

which would soon seem inexplicable, but Richard Twiss provided a somewhat perfunctory description alongside a prospect view in his tour of 1776.⁶⁴ It was Henry Swinburne's *Travels through Spain* (1779) that made the greatest impact upon the wider appreciation of the Alhambra outside Spain. Whether Swinburne had seen Pitt's manuscript (or a copy of it) is unclear, but the preface to his *Travels* made it clear that the possible 'Moorish' origins of the Gothic arch was one of the questions he intended to explore.⁶⁵ Although, like Pitt, he rejected the putative link to Gothic architecture, he was utterly seduced by this 'most voluptuous of all retirements'. His description, accompanied by six plates, extended over 17 pages. He described the experience as entering 'fairy land' – with ceilings covered with delicate stucco work like lace, and horseshoe arches resting on slender pillars with capitals of intricate design unlike any other style he had encountered before.⁶⁶

Swinburne's *Travels* were well received. A couple of months after publication, Frederick Robinson, brother of the British ambassador Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, wrote to tell him that he had already met several readers in London who spoke of it 'with much commendation'. Others specifically picked out Swinburne's account 'of the Moorish remains there existing' as an exciting contribution, and even those who disliked his style allowed that there was 'much new & curious information in the book'.⁶⁷ Widely reviewed, it rapidly became a point of reference for British travellers to Spain – especially Granada – and continued to be read for decades. A second edition was brought out in 1787; this was later abridged and reissued with new illustrations, in 1806 and 1810 as *A Picturesque Tour through Spain*. Swinburne's text was also translated into both French and German in 1787.⁶⁸ Its inherent interest for readers is evident in the fact that it was extracted in periodicals at the time of publication and at regular intervals afterwards, thereby ensuring that descriptions of the Alhambra continued in circulation.⁶⁹

Swinburne was not the only text that served to shape travellers' experiences, however. As we saw in [Chapter 6](#) there was increasing

⁶⁴ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 240–6.

⁶⁵ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, preface.

⁶⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 177, 179.

⁶⁷ BA L30/14/176/35: James Harris Sr to Grantham, 23 April 1779; L30/14/333/190: Frederick Robinson to Grantham, 23 March 1779; L30/14/333/211: same to same, 25 May 1779.

⁶⁸ Heleniak, 'English gentleman's encounter with Islamic architecture', 198 n. 14.

⁶⁹ 'Description of the Great Bath of the Alhambra', *London Magazine*, 48 (1779), 232–4; 'Description of the Great Bath of the Alhambra', *Weekly Miscellany*, 12 (1779), 457–8; 'A description of the Alhambra, or Palace of the Moorish Kings of Granada', *Town and Country Magazine*, 12 (1781), 79–82, 138–40. See also, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 83 (1788), 172–5; *New London Magazine* (1792), 9–10.

cross-fertilisation between English and French language accounts of Spain, which also drew on Spanish scholarship. Many visitors to the Alhambra from the 1780s onwards, for example, relied not on Swinburne for translations of the Arabic inscriptions but upon those provided by Jean-François de Bourgoing.⁷⁰ Bourgoing, in fact, had drawn on an account of Granada by his compatriot Jean-François Peyron, who in turn had relied on the translations provided in the locally produced guide to the city, the *Paseos por Granada*.⁷¹ The *Nuevos paseos por Granada* was published in 1807 by Simon de Argote and this too was referenced by some of our travellers, one of whom, Henry Gally Knight, was shown round the Alhambra by Argote himself.⁷² Swinburne's description referred on several occasions to information provided by his guide (often reported with considerable scepticism) and local *ciceroni*, who doubtless also recited the information in the *Paseos*, and continued to shape and inform the experience of subsequent visitors.⁷³ Lady Holland's tour was conducted by an 'infirm Veteran', possibly the same 'Old Soldier', a French veteran, who had shown Edward Hussey and Edward Stanley the sights of Granada in 1802.⁷⁴ Guides clearly provided a certain amount of interpretation about 'Moorish' customs (bathing, pronounced Lady Holland's guide, was 'as much a religious duty to the Moors' as confession to Roman Catholics) and he pointed out the niches in the entrances where shoes were removed and placed.⁷⁵ Few travellers, however, availed themselves of the *Antigüedades árabes de España*, although some noted its high production values, and even fewer relied on Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities*, published towards the end of our period, presumably due to its eye-wateringly expensive 40-guinea price tag.

Most travellers appear to have travelled with at least some knowledge of the Civil Wars of Granada as they almost all referred to the quarrel between the Abencerrages and the Zegríes as common knowledge, while the fate of Boabdil (Muhammad XII), the last King of Granada, who wept for his lost kingdom, was recounted by almost

⁷⁰ See, for example, DRO 239M/F16318, 21: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'; Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 155; Greg, *Travel Journals*, 92 and Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 171. Travellers would have consulted Bourgoing, *Nouveau voyage en Espagne* or the English translation, *Travels in Spain*.

⁷¹ Fernández Herr, *L'origines de l'Espagne romantique*, 118–19, 124–5; for English travellers' use see, for example, Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 244.

⁷² DRO 239M/F16318, 27–8: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 171; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 287.

⁷³ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 181–2.

⁷⁴ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 115: Lady Holland, journal; KA U1776/F7: Hussey, journal (unfoliated), 22 December 1802.

⁷⁵ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 3: Lady Holland, journal.

every visitor. But as well as the specific associations of history and romance, almost every description followed Swinburne's comparison of the Alhambra to 'fairy land' and 'magic ground'.⁷⁶ Long before Richard Ford was celebrating its 'fairy Aladdin palaces', the association with the fantasy world of the *Arabian Nights* was a well-established orthodoxy.⁷⁷ The adjective 'fairy' with its connotations of enchantment, other-worldliness and childhood reading of fairy tales reverberates through the comments of generations of visitors. Although none of the *Tales of the Arabian Nights* were set in Spain, let alone Granada, it provided one of the most important imaginative frameworks through which Britons viewed the Alhambra (and anywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean). Its significance as a staple of childhood reading (albeit abridged and bowdlerised) may help to explain part of the appeal of the Alhambra as the realisation of childhood dreams. In representing the *Arabian Nights*, the experience of viewing the Alhambra offered the nostalgic pleasure of encountering a familiar childhood favourite.⁷⁸ Robert Irwin has commented that eighteenth-century readers of the *Arabian Nights* had 'very little sense of the otherness of the Arab World'; and that before the publication of Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte* (1802) or Edward William Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), there were very few sources on which their visual imagination could draw.⁷⁹ Just as Pompeii allowed one to imagine the domestic life of the ancient Romans,⁸⁰ the Alhambra, uniquely, allowed visitors to visualise a setting for familiar and much-loved stories. But it also offered escapism from the real world into the realm of fantasy: Knight told his mother that he felt as if he had been 'translated' into Fairy Land or 'transported by Genii' into the palace of the *Arabian Nights*.⁸¹ Others referred to the 'enchanted halls' and even the normally, empirically prosaic Thomas Traill unbuttoned sufficiently in the fair copy of his journal to describe the ornamentation of the Court of the Lions as having 'all the novelty and fascination of a faery palace in the Arabian Nights Entertainment'.⁸²

By virtue of association with the *Arabian Nights*, the Alhambra was seen through the lens of luxury, voluptuous sensuality, pleasure and indulgence. The richness and complexity of the décor was of a piece

⁷⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 177–8.

⁷⁷ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 120.

⁷⁸ On the popularity of *Arabian Nights* as childhood reading, see Grenby, *Child Reader*, 94, 96, 109, 176, 206.

⁷⁹ Irwin, 'Arabian Nights and the origins of the Western novel', 149.

⁸⁰ Sweet, 'William Gell and Pompeiana'.

⁸¹ DRO 239M/F16318, 18: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁸² BL Add MS 51930, fol. 115: Lady Holland, journal; NLS MS.19389, fol. 187: Traill, journal.

with such expectations. The abundant supplies of water – represented by the marble baths, the endless fountains and by the irrigation that kept the gardens of the Generalife fertile – were the most important signifier of luxury. The gardens, with their heavily scented flowers, the coolness of the air, the sound of running water and dramatic views over the *vega* were evocative of those they had read about in the *Arabian Nights* and as important a part of the Alhambra experience as the palace complex itself.⁸³ The overwhelming sensory experience of colour, scents, sounds and visual delight reinforced the impression of the Alhambra as a ‘palace of pleasure’: Knight could not imagine ‘a spot more delightful or more abundant in those luxuries which are desired in a hot climate.’⁸⁴ The emphasis upon luxury is ironic, given that the Alhambra was, as subsequent historians have pointed out, very much built on the cheap, ornamented with plaster and tiles rather than marble and precious stones. But the Nasrid indulgence in luxury was also inherent in the tragic story of their kingdom’s downfall: luxury, as eighteenth-century Britons were well aware, was invariably accompanied by a decline in military discipline and capacity; it undermined political leadership and rendered any state vulnerable. It was what had brought about the fall of the Roman Empire and had the potential still to imperil the moral and political virtue of the British state. The Alhambra was a charming prospect to gaze upon, an escapist fantasy, but implicit within it was also a political morality tale of luxury, civil strife and the fall of kingdoms.

As Henry Swinburne informed his readers, there was ‘nothing to be met with any where else [that] can convey an idea of this edifice, except you take it from the decorations of an opera, or the tales of the Genii’.⁸⁵ It defied description: ‘Words could not give an adequate Idea of Objects we are so little used to, that we want Words to particularize them’.⁸⁶ Eighteenth-century travellers lacked a technical vocabulary with which to describe what they saw: there were, as Thomas Traill pointed out, no points of resemblance with ‘the Grecian style’ or with the English Gothic.⁸⁷ The Alhambra was *sui generis* and could only be judged on its own terms. As a building it was – and still is – difficult to read: for eighteenth-century travellers it was particularly perplexing, following none of the rules of

⁸³ See, for example, *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, IV, 126: ‘The close shade, the fragrant Smell, which perfumed the Air, the soft Murmurings of the Water, the harmonioms [sic] Notes of an infinite Number of Birds, and a great many other Things which were agreeable ...’.

⁸⁴ DRO 239M/F16318, 28: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

⁸⁵ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 177.

⁸⁶ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 142: Pitt, ‘Observations on Spain & Portugal’.

⁸⁷ NLS MS.19389, fol. 188: Traill, journal.

Classical architecture. It comprised a series of courtyards, corridors and chambers, with no coherence to the overall design. Thomas Pitt found it impossible to draw up a floor plan 'as they [the 'Moors'] seem never to have taken more than one Apartment into their Idea at once.'⁸⁸ The challenge of comprehending the whole continued to vex visitors, some of whom were more successful than Pitt in their attempts to impose order and sketch out a floor plan – a strategy they clearly found essential to try to make sense of what they saw (see [Figure 8.9](#)).⁸⁹

Unsurprisingly, descriptions often focused on listing the rooms and itemising the dimensions. Travellers tended to focus upon the surface qualities of colour, design and ornament. They reached for metaphors with which to describe the surface detail and ornament and to convey the overall impression of wonder. Robert Hyde Greg described the challenge in his journal:

... we can compare it to nothing, and can therefore convey no idea, much less a just one of the various singularities and beauties; we may well give the number, figure and dimensions of its halls and patios; and this is all we can do; yet this is doing but little, it assists us in some measure to a knowledge of the general plan of the building but a hundred buildings may have the same dimensions, and at best it leaves us in complete ignorance of what alone the Alhambra is celebrated for, the beauty, elegance, and incredible minuteness of all its parts.⁹⁰

Their descriptions drew comparisons with the natural world: the stucco decoration of the grottos in the Tower of Comares, suggested a number of visitors, was inspired by stalactites in caves.⁹¹ Greg compared the complexity of the stucco work lining the alcoves to 'the comb of a wasp nest bent into form of a cupula'.⁹² For Lady Holland, the ornamentation of the Hall of the Abencerrages appeared like 'scallop shells, acorns, pine cones and fat leaves'.⁹³ The patterns of the tracery in the plasterwork

⁸⁸ BL Add MS 5845, fol. 142v: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'. Cf. Irwin, *Alhambra*, 5.

⁸⁹ BL Add MS 51930, fos 115v–116r: Lady Holland, journal; BM museum numbers 1853,0307. 655–719: Gell, sketchbook; NLS MS 19388, fos 67r–v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'.

⁹⁰ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 90.

⁹¹ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 116v: Lady Holland, journal; see also NLS MS.19388, fol. 186: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'; Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 14 drew the same comparison as did Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 61.

⁹² Greg, *Travel Journals*, 91; Knight compared them to the honeycomb of a beehive: DRO 239M/F16138, 21: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

⁹³ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 2v: Lady Holland, journal.

Figure 8.9 William Gell, 'Alhambra Lower Plan' (1808). *Source*: BM museum number 1853,0307.702. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

were compared to the tread of pigeons on soft white clay or the footprints left 'by Ducks running through a nearly dry Duck Pond in Summer.'⁹⁴ (See [Figure 8.10](#)). More broadly, Swinburne's terminology of 'frosting', 'filigree' and 'fretwork', with its connotations of delicacy and intricacy, was regularly repeated.

Admiration for the stucco work was matched by fascination with the use of colour evident not just in the painted ceilings but in the brightly coloured *azulejo* tiles that covered the walls and the floors: Swinburne was particularly impressed by the blue and yellow tiles 'arranged chequerwise' in the Court of the Lions, up to a height of 5 feet, with a border of 'small escutcheons, enamelled blue and gold'.⁹⁵ Equally colourful, and even more striking, were the wall paintings in the Hall of the Kings, although they provoked mixed responses. William Gell was clearly deeply taken with them: he copied them in watercolour in his sketchbook and notebook and appears to have been particularly interested by the detail they provided on décor (noting the horizontal stripes of red and black on the sofa upholstery).⁹⁶ Visitors were unable to place them chronologically: they knew that the Islamic faith prohibited the depiction of human form and the guides informed them that they had been painted after the Reconquista, but they clearly wanted to believe that they were coeval with Boabdil and his court: it would mean they were the only specimens of 'Mahometan painting' in existence. If Arabian monarchs were prepared to countenance lions in the courtyard, might they not also have sanctioned wall paintings, asked Robert Semple?⁹⁷

Conventionally travellers made a point of copying inscriptions whenever they encountered them. Grand Tour journals are packed with copies of inscriptions dutifully transcribed: recording them was a key part of the renaissance recovery of Classical antiquity and previously undiscovered inscriptions were eagerly sought after. The Arabic inscriptions of the Alhambra, however, posed a challenge; visitors were very much aware of their presence ornamenting the walls throughout the complex, and could surmise their significance as extracts from the Qur'an, but they were illegible and defied their attempts at transcription. They had to rely on the translations provided by Swinburne (courtesy of the scholars employed upon the *Antigüedades*) or upon the *Paseos*.

⁹⁴ Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 168; BM museum number 1853,0307.677: Gell, sketchbook.

⁹⁵ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 179.

⁹⁶ BSR WG[MS]-6: Gell, notebook; BM museum number 1853,0307.697: Gell, sketchbook.

⁹⁷ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 170–1.

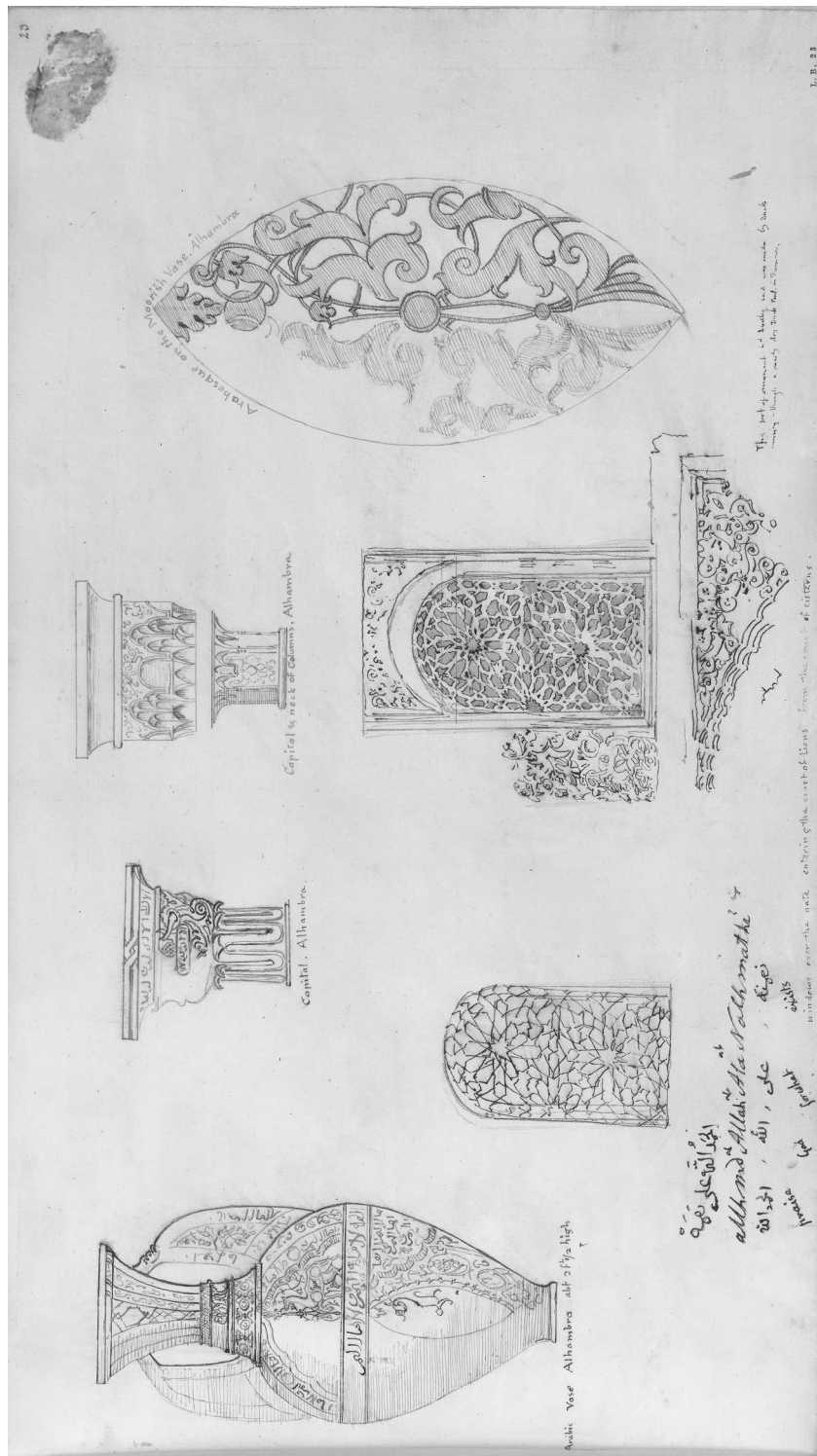


Figure 8.10 William Gell, tracery of windows over the entrance gate of the Court of the Lions compared to tracks left by ducks walking in drying mud (1808). *Source:* BM museum number 1853.0307.677. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

While acknowledging their significance as statements of Islamic faith, most, like Lady Holland, saw them in purely aesthetic terms, as another aspect of the surface decoration: ‘the arabick characters’, she wrote, ‘form a very pretty ornament from their mild irregularity.’⁹⁸

Swinburne had already argued that the horseshoe or Saracenic arch was unrelated to the Gothic, but the theory was one with which travellers were still familiar, even if it was only to confirm that it was erroneous. George Whittington, author of the posthumously published *An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France; with a View to Illustrate the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture in Europe* (1809), for example, visited Spain in early 1803, specifically to investigate the putative relationship between ‘Moorish’ architecture and the Gothic. However, with the resumption of hostilities in May, he had to cut his journey short and never reached Andalusia. His necessarily incomplete survey of Spanish Gothic architecture was omitted from the published volume.⁹⁹ Thomas Traill (a friend of Thomas Rickman, commonly credited with describing the first ‘system’ of Gothic architecture) was similarly on the look-out for any evidence to confirm the theory but found none to support it: ‘I find nothing like the Gothic tracery of windows, the mouldings of the piers, nor like the groined roofs of Gothic buildings in the Alhambra or any other Moorish edifice I have hitherto seen.’¹⁰⁰ Yet there was still an underlying similarity between the shape of the arches and the profusion of ornament, a similarity which the distortions introduced by Murphy and his engravers in *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* only accentuated.¹⁰¹

The Court of the Lions always demanded a set piece description recounting the elegance of the slender clustered columns, the complex ornament of their capitals and the stucco-work ‘cupolas’, and the fountain ornamented by lions (see [Figure 8.11](#)). Visitors admired the *tout ensemble* of the court, but without exception were disappointed by the quality of the carving on the fountain which compared unfavourably with the more naturalistic lions with which they were familiar from the statuary of Classical antiquity. Everyone described the lions – they were one of the most instantly recognisable features of the Alhambra – if only to denigrate them. Their legs, complained Lady Holland, were as

⁹⁸ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 117: Lady Holland, journal; on Gell’s later interest in the Arabic inscriptions and his attempts to teach himself Arabic, see Ansell, ‘Gell’s encounters with Islamic Spain’, 247.

⁹⁹ Whittington, *Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France*, v–vi; Anon. [Whittington], *Tour Through the Principal Provinces*; for the draft outline of the *Historical Survey*, see BL Add MS 43229, fos 31r–32v: Whittington to Lord Aberdeen, 5 September 1804.

¹⁰⁰ NLS MS.19388, fol. 51: Traill, ‘Journal of a tour’.

¹⁰¹ Raquejo, “Arab cathedrals”, 559–60.

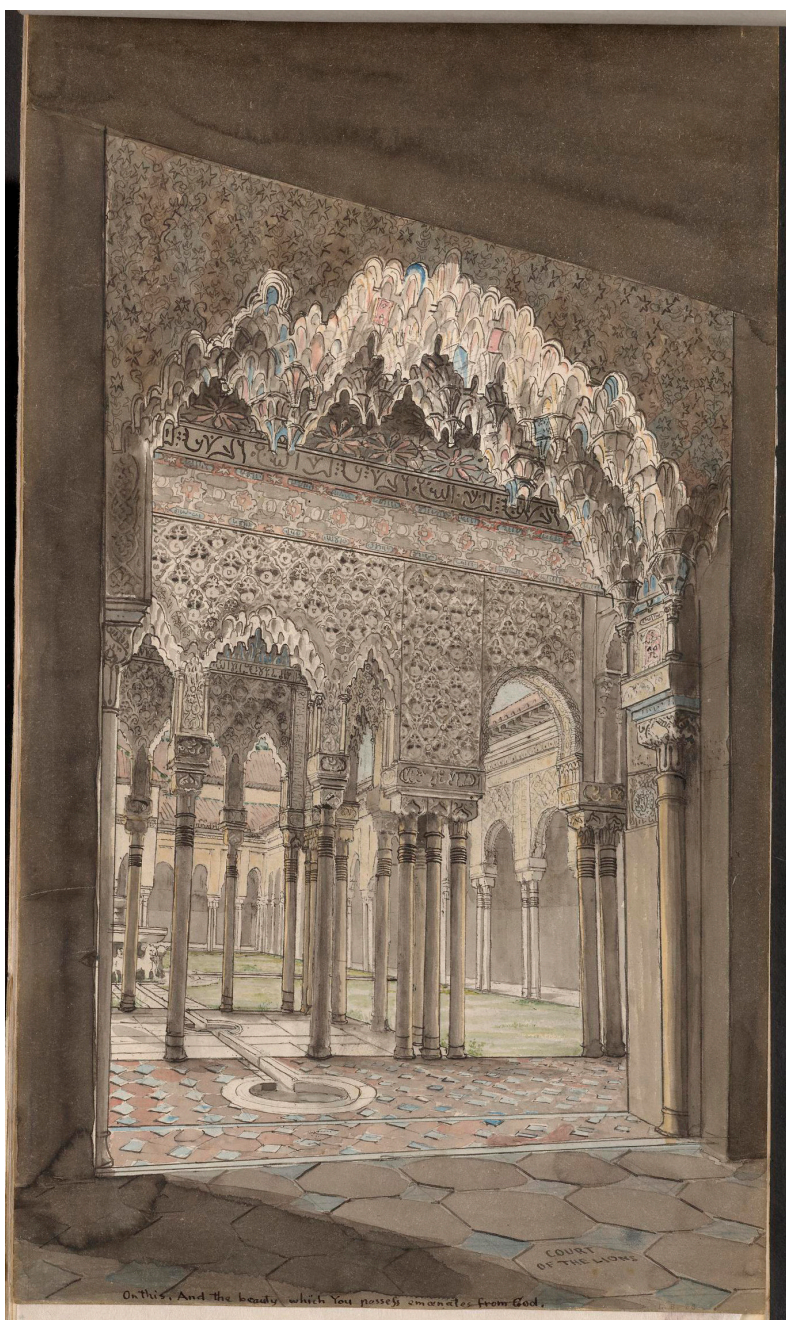


Figure 8.11 William Gell, stucco work in the Court of the Lions (1808).
Source: BM museum number 1853,0307.676. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.12 William Gell, ‘The Lion Fountain in the Court of the Lions’ (1808). Source: BM museum number 1853,0307.712. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

clumsy as those of a wooden horse (see [Figure 8.12](#)).¹⁰² ‘It was certainly fortunate’, agreed Knight, ‘that we knew before what animals the Moorish sculptor had intended to represent.’¹⁰³

Although most descriptions focused upon the surface appearance of the Alhambra and the visions of luxury that it evoked, there was also a more empirical dimension to many visitors’ comments. As with any Classical monument in Rome, they counted the number of pillars in the Court of the Lions and paced out the dimensions of the rooms and the courtyards. They noted the materials from which it was built – rather than the marble of Greek and Roman architecture, they found *tapia*, a mixture of clay and gravel that was formed into large building blocks through compression in oblong wooden frames¹⁰⁴ – which gave the buildings a very ‘mean’ exterior appearance and belied the richness

¹⁰² BL Add MS 51931, fol. 1: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁰³ DRO 239M/F16318, 21: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

¹⁰⁴ NLS MS.19389, fol. 66v: Traill, journal.

within. The stucco, made of 'plaster and white of egg', according to Greg, retained its white purity and was still sharp and well defined, unlike the additions of later Spanish kings which had become discoloured and badly decayed.¹⁰⁵ In 1779, Henry Swinburne had pointed out that the extraordinary extent of ornamental plasterwork had been created by using moulds: hence the uniformity and duplication of design. John Carr, who unusually among British visitors, found his patience 'completely exhausted' by the Alhambra, was dismissive of this technique, condemning it as requiring 'neither skill nor labour'.¹⁰⁶ Most, however, saw it as another instance of technological efficiency and good design. As Greg noted, 'were it not for doing this the work would have been endless'.¹⁰⁷

While the Alhambra was famed as the palace of the Nasrid kings of Granada, British visitors were well aware of its symbolic significance for modern Spanish history and the Christian conquest of the city. The set piece descriptions of the Alhambra were also accompanied by accounts of the cathedral at Granada, for example, with its Capilla Real (Royal Chapel) and the tombs of the Catholic Kings, and by reflections on the implications of the conquest for subsequent Spanish history. Although the Nasrid history of the complex was undoubtedly privileged over its Christian occupation, the adaptations made by the Spanish monarchy were also recorded as part of its history. Travellers were quick to note the pervasive presence of Fernando and Isabel's cyphers and Charles V's motto of 'Ne Plus Ultra', reading them as evidence of how the Spanish monarchs sought to incorporate the Alhambra into their own arsenal of symbolic power. Lady Holland's floor plan noted the room in which the guide had evidently informed her that Christian mass was celebrated for the first time, and many noted with grim fascination the terrace of Juana la Loca (Joanna the Mad) where Charles V's mentally unstable mother was reputedly confined behind iron bars. Most of all, however, they commented upon the vast palace that Charles V had begun to build for himself within the interior of the complex. Henry Swinburne had admired it, describing it as a 'superb palace' with 'grandeur of style, elegance and chastity of design' and expressed his regret that it had never been completed.¹⁰⁸ Some later travellers shared this positive evaluation: Joseph Townsend described the palace in as much detail as the Alhambra

¹⁰⁵ NLS MS.19388, fol. 46v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'.

¹⁰⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 178; Carr, *Descriptive Travels*, 167.

¹⁰⁷ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 91; BL Add MS 51930, fol. 116v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁰⁸ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 174–6.

itself.¹⁰⁹ Lady Holland, despite being clearly smitten with the Alhambra and its atmosphere, described Charles V's addition as a 'beautiful unfinished palace' and William Jacob thought it 'the finest building of the age at which Spanish architecture was at its height'.¹¹⁰ Increasingly, however, British visitors influenced by more historicist sensibilities came to view it as an anachronistic intervention that detracted from the other-worldly experience of the rest of the Alhambra. For Knight there was nothing of sufficient beauty in the building to excuse its being erected where it 'so little harmonizes with any thing around. It evidently has no business there and I think every one who sees it must wish it away.'¹¹¹ It represented yet another instance of the Spanish hubris and disregard for the value of the Islamic legacy in their midst: the Spanish, suggested Robert Semple, had erected it purely to insult the 'Moorish' architecture and to detract from it: it was a 'systematic absurdity'.¹¹² William Gell was equally critical of the impact of later interventions and neglect. His sense of taste and propriety were offended by what he saw as the crass insertion of Spanish superstition and gaudy show: 'Wherever the Spaniards have touched the building it is ruined, both in taste execution & durability.'¹¹³

The more recent past subsequent to the sixteenth century was barely visible in travellers' comments. The Alhambra's history as a centre of industrial production for the Spanish monarchy was never mentioned, for example.¹¹⁴ Writing in the nineteenth century, Richard Ford gave a potted history of the degradation of the complex under Spanish rule and the various indignities to which it had been subjected – it had been successively a prison, a silk manufactory and a sheep pen – but earlier visitors barely even acknowledged this more recent past.¹¹⁵ A few noted the contemporary use of the north-west corner as a prison.¹¹⁶ What they did comment on, however, was the lamentable state of repair into which it had been allowed to fall. Not only were Spanish alterations, as William Gell noted, inferior in 'taste execution & durability', but the Spanish, argued the British, had wilfully damaged the structure and allowed it to fall into decay. The attempts of Ricardo Wall to restore the Alhambra in

¹⁰⁹ Townsend, *Journey Through Spain*, III, 63–5.

¹¹⁰ BL Add MS 51930, fol. 115: Lady Holland, journal; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 284; BSR WG[MS]-6, 076: Gell, notebook; see also NLS MS.19389, fol. 185: Traill, journal: 'his [Charles V's] tasteless successors have never thought of finishing what would have formed one of the most noble palaces in the world'.

¹¹¹ DRO 239M/F16318, 19: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹¹² Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 165.

¹¹³ BSR WG[MS]-6, 080: Gell, notebook.

¹¹⁴ García Porras, Duckworth and Edwards (eds), *Royal Workshops of the Alhambra*.

¹¹⁵ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 557–8.

¹¹⁶ NLS MS.19388, fol. 49: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'; Jacob, *Travels in the South of Spain*, 287.

the 1770s were noted by some visitors, but not all his interventions met with their approval.¹¹⁷ Even when Swinburne visited in 1775, relatively soon after Wall's repairs, he found that walls had been defaced with the graffiti of 'idle scribblers'.¹¹⁸ His indignant expression of outrage, however, has to be set against the fact that he admitted to writing his own name 'behind the door in one of the subterraneous rooms'.¹¹⁹ After Swinburne – despite the attentions of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando – little appears to have been done to arrest the decline.¹²⁰ Comments on the air of neglect and decay started to appear more and more regularly in visitors' observations, contributing to a sense of anti-climax and disappointment, as well as fuelling their critique of the 'barbarism' of the Spanish who let a building of such beauty and significance fall into ruin. As early as 1791, Anne Damer declared herself 'at open war' with Swinburne: his descriptions, she complained, were woefully misleading.

What the Alhambra *has* been it is easy still to see, and it still is admirable, but miserably ruined, out of all repair, and neglected. By his account I imagined that I was to have seen great part of it as if the Moorish kings and their queens had, hand in hand, just walked out of their palace.¹²¹

The only repair that the Spanish authorities undertook, she claimed, was repeated whitewashing which was in danger of obliterating the plasterwork it was supposed to protect: 'those who wish to judge of Moorish plaster-work and carving must make haste and take their journey to Granada'.¹²²

Like Swinburne, Damer appears to have contributed to the process of decay herself: in 1802 she presented tiles from the Alhambra, which she had presumably removed or paid someone to remove, to the British

¹¹⁷ Swinburne was unimpressed by the red-tiled roof that Wall had erected over the Court of the Lions, which, he argued, 'disfigures the beauty of the square': *Travels Through Spain*, 180. On Wall's restorations, see Téllez Alarcia, 'Documentation concerning the role of Ricardo Wall'.

¹¹⁸ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 185.

¹¹⁹ Swinburne, *Courts of Europe*, I, 66, cited in Heleniak, 'English gentleman's encounter with Islamic architecture', 186.

¹²⁰ There were short-lived interventions during the French occupation (see below) and more sustained – if inconsistent – Spanish efforts through the 1830s and 1840s: Barrios Rozúa, 'La Alhambra de Granada y los difíciles comienzos de la restauración arquitectónica'.

¹²¹ Lewis (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, I, 338–40, Anne Damer to Mary Berry, 19 March 1791.

¹²² Lewis (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, I, 340–1, Anne Damer to Mary Berry, 19 March 1791.

Museum.¹²³ Souvenir vandalism was nothing new: eighteenth-century tourists happily chipped fragments off the sarsen trilithons at Stonehenge or pocketed pieces of mosaic from the Roman villa at Bignor, behind the backs of their guides.¹²⁴ It was also common practice at the Alhambra by the early nineteenth century. Theodore Galton sent his family a 'curious piece of mosaic', telling them that his guide had claimed that it was more than his life was worth to allow him to remove it, but was bought off with one dollar – there was evidently a ritualised performance and a going rate for tourists intent on souvenirs.¹²⁵ In 1814, Thomas Traill was disgusted to find that the perfection of the stucco work in the Hall of Ambassadors had been ruined by 'one of our countrymen', who, 'in the same spirit which rent the sarcophagus in the great pyramid of Memphis, broke down a small piece to show to his untravelled friends.'¹²⁶ The palpable signs of neglect that the Alhambra had suffered were a source of shock: he and others visiting during the Peninsular War sensed that it was reaching a crisis point at which the Court of the Lions in particular was in danger of collapse.¹²⁷ Two years before Traill, Knight had also noted with concern that the Alhambra was 'now so entirely neglected that it must ere long fall into ruins and leave nothing but its memory behind.'¹²⁸ Knight found this sense of transience added poignancy to the melancholy romance of the place: 'I could hardly tear myself away from scenes which poetry alone should attempt to describe'.¹²⁹ Others were less inclined to accept the inevitability of its decline for which they held the Spanish government accountable. As a reader of the *Antigüedades*, Traill was well aware of the importance that an earlier generation had attached to the Alhambra as part of the monarchy's cultural patrimony. Its dilapidation in the nineteenth century was therefore yet another symptom of the misgovernment of Carlos IV and Godoy and the subsequent chaos of war.¹³⁰

¹²³ BM museum numbers 1802,0508.1.a–e.

¹²⁴ Climenson (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Lybbe Powys*, 51–2; Stothard, *Memoirs*, 146. Eliza Stothard complained of the suspicion with which the custodian treated her, evidently expecting her to pocket pieces of mosaic.

¹²⁵ Library of Birmingham MS 3101/C/D/10/9/34: Samuel Galton junior to John Howard Galton, 25 April 1809. Galton himself never returned home from the Eastern Mediterranean as he died of typhus at the lazaretto at Malta.

¹²⁶ NLS MS.19389, fol. 187: Traill, journal; Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 12 also recorded English graffiti.

¹²⁷ Traill was visiting after the French occupation, during which the French General Sebastiani had 'turned it into a place d'armes', ripping up the 'Moorish' pavement of blue and white marble in the Court of the Lions and replacing it with shrubs. Sebastiani's parting shot, when withdrawing his army, had been to blow up eight of the towers. Ford, *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, II, 548.

¹²⁸ DRO 239M/F16318, 26–7: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹²⁹ DRO 239M/F16318, 29: Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour'.

¹³⁰ NLS MS.19389, fos 193v–194r: Traill, journal; references to *Antigüedades* at NLS MS.19388, fol. 49v: Traill, 'Journal of a tour'.

While Traill, articulating an incipient preservationist ethos, lamented the possible loss of so important and valuable a historical monument, others simply expressed disappointment at the evidence of decay rather than advocating that it should be halted. Edward Stanley told his family that ‘on the whole’ he was ‘much disappointed both with the Alhambra and Granada, which are I cannot say lasting Monuments, for they are falling fast to ruin.’¹³¹ Just as visitors to Rome felt a sense of anti-climax when they discovered it did not match up to Piranesi’s engravings, a number of British visitors felt the Alhambra failed to live up to expectations.¹³² It was a ‘striking ruin’, wrote Francis Sacheverell Darwin, but over-embellished by other travellers ‘as to its beauty or grandeur.’¹³³ Hugh Fortescue was similarly underwhelmed at finding everything so much smaller than he had imagined. Even the largest rooms, he complained, were ‘less than any in a good Country house in England’ while the Court of the Lions was only the size of ‘a small London garden’.¹³⁴ Others simply could not look beyond the obvious decay to find anything to admire: a view of the aqueduct at Segovia or a glance at the dome of St Paul’s was, according to Robert Semple, ‘worth all the beauties of the Alhambra’.¹³⁵

Beyond the Alhambra

While the primary focus of British interest in the legacy of the Islamic kingdoms was upon Granada and the palace of the Alhambra, it would be wrong to suggest that this was the only site in Iberia that drew their attention in terms of its Islamic heritage. As we have seen, the inhabitants of Portugal were frequently described as displaying evidence of ‘Moorish ancestry’, the more so given that many Moriscos escaped into Portugal following Philip II’s edict of expulsion in 1562. The influence of Islamic architectural and interior design was also acknowledged, although there were not set pieces to rank with those of Spain. Nor were such buildings, unlike the Alhambra, royal palaces, whose celebration might add lustre to the ruling dynasty. Thomas Pitt’s first point of call in his search for the Iberian origins of the Gothic arch had been the church at Batalha, which he much admired ‘tho’ I cannot persuade myself that it is Moorish, as

¹³¹ Adeane and Grenfell (eds), *Before and After Waterloo*, 59.

¹³² Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 128.

¹³³ Darwin, *Travels in Spain and the East*, 30.

¹³⁴ Devon Archives 1262M/FD 3, fol. 32: Lord Fortescue, journal.

¹³⁵ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 177.

pretended'; nor could he find any evidence to suggest that it had been a 'Moorish mosque' converted to Christian worship following the recapture of Lisbon from the 'Moors' in 1145.¹³⁶ Although James Cavanah Murphy, who was familiar with Pitt's manuscript, emphatically denied the theory of 'Saracenic' origins of the Gothic arch, the terminology with which he described Gothic structures such as the chapter house at Batalha and the monastery at Belém implied a connection: the arches at Batalha were 'Moorisque' or 'Arabian' while Belém was described as compounded of 'Norman, Gothic and Arabian' styles.¹³⁷ Even if the Gothic arch had its origins in northern Europe, rather than Spain, as was increasingly argued, Murphy's terminology highlighted the reciprocal influence between Islamic and Christian architectural styles in the medieval period. As one of the few authorities to have published on Portugal, his terminology was echoed by subsequent visitors – civilian and military – in the era of the Peninsular War.¹³⁸ But without the traditions of romance and ballads which fuelled the imaginations of British visitors in Spain, the 'Moorish' antiquities of Portugal lacked a narrative through which they could be interpreted: Robert Ker Porter's vague reference to the 'romantic' mountains around Sintra being the 'theatre of many a Moorish exploit' was telling in this regard.¹³⁹

In Spain, of course, there were far more sites associated with the combat between the Christian and Islamic kingdoms and with figures whose fame – thanks to the ballads and chronicles – were familiar to many English readers: Pedro the Cruel, Rodrigo and El Cid – and their struggles against the 'Moors' – provided a layer of associative meaning to cities such as Seville, Toledo and Burgos. By the 1830s, William Gell could describe Toledo as the place where one 'can safely begin to indulge in the idea of treading on Moorish ground'.¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Islamic Spain's reputation as a cradle of learning and science – the 'Athens of Arabian literature'¹⁴¹ – centred not upon Granada but Córdoba and the Umayyad Caliphate. Córdoba and the lost city of Madinat al-Zahra, built, as was commonly repeated, in honour of Abdoulrahman III's favourite slave, had featured countless varieties of marble, ponds of mercury to reflect

¹³⁶ BL Add MS 5845, fos 117r–v: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

¹³⁷ Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, 176.

¹³⁸ Neale, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 106; Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 6; Mackinnon, *Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain*, 8, 78.

¹³⁹ Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, 25.

¹⁴⁰ Gell, 'Romantic history', 4–5; Cifuentes, 'Southern exposure', 137–8 similarly argues that for nineteenth-century northern tourists, the Spanish 'Deep South' began at Toledo.

¹⁴¹ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 115.

the light and ceilings encrusted with precious stones.¹⁴² Travellers repeated the legends of great wealth and conspicuous consumption, but at Madinat al-Zahra the visitor found only the indistinct remains of ruined walls and no traces of the former glory to conjure up imaginative associations. Although it had clearly been far richer, far more luxurious than the Nasrids' cut-price Alhambra, the absence of any tangible remains, explained Greg, made it hard to imagine that it could have been superior to the Alhambra, or the 'streams of quicksilver' any more beautiful than the fountains of water in the Generalife.¹⁴³

Rather, the main attraction of Córdoba was the mosque, which Thomas Pitt, at least, greatly admired:

As soon as you enter this Door you are struck at once with a Grove of Columns, so disposed, as to lead the Eye into several different Perspectives. They are all of the finest Materials, well proportioned, & many of them covered with fine antique Corinthian Capitals, having formerly belonged to the Temple of Janus Augustus, & the Rest made in Imitation of them ... Such a multitude of Columns do not fail however to strike the Eye very agreeably at the first Entrance, leading it in different Perspectives, like a Grove, regularly planted, which has a beautiful Effect.¹⁴⁴

The mosque provoked a mixed reaction among most other visitors, however. On entering the vast, dimly lit space, most felt confused, even bewildered by the interior in which they were unable to interpret the space or even count the number of pillars (see [Figure 8.13](#)). These, as Richard Twiss complained, were placed in such an irregular manner as to make it impossible to enumerate them.¹⁴⁵ Certainly, different travellers arrived at wildly diverging calculations of their number. Unlike the Alhambra, which was so obviously of a different style from Grecian or Roman architecture, the architects of the mosque – as Pitt had recognised – had incorporated numerous Roman pillars with their capitals. But in reusing them, the Muslims had reduced their dimensions: the proportions were now awry.¹⁴⁶ The effect was very far from either the

¹⁴² Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 2nd edition, II, 66–9; all British accounts seem to have been derivative of Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, I, 331–6.

¹⁴³ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 146.

¹⁴⁴ BL Add MS 5845, fos 132v–133r: Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal'.

¹⁴⁵ Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain*, 251; he was convinced that the number surpassed 590.

¹⁴⁶ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 301.

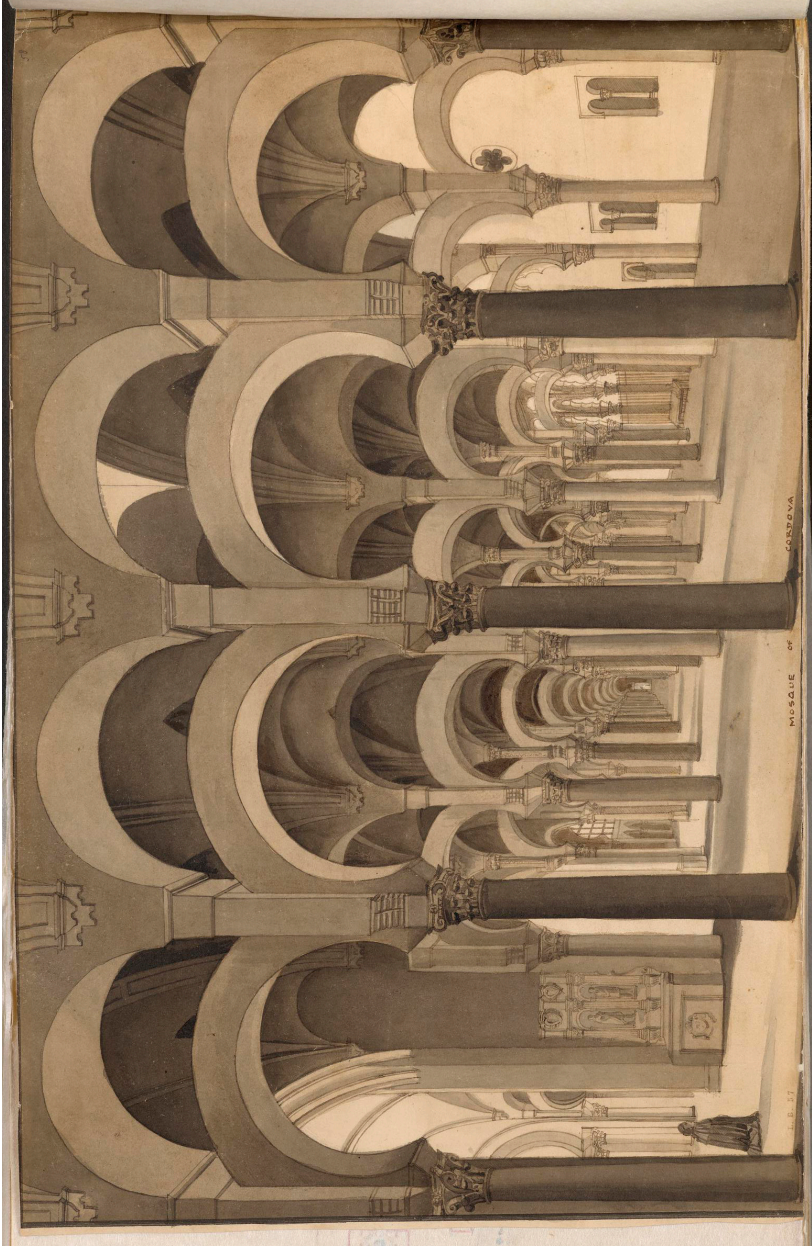


Figure 8.13 William Gell, 'Mosque of Cordova [sic]' [1830s]. Source: BM museum number 1853,0307.714. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

soaring height admired in Gothic cathedrals or the order, symmetry and decorum that defined Classical architecture.

Even those who waxed lyrical over the Alhambra found little to delight them in the mosque. Lady Holland arrived at Córdoba, full of anticipation, and put on her *mantilla* straight away so that she could go and see it – but found herself sadly disappointed, complaining that it lacked sublimity and grandeur.¹⁴⁷ Knight was equally underwhelmed – the number of columns was certainly impressive, he allowed,

but when I add what most travellers would not, that the columns are stumpy, that they are without bases and arise immediately out of a common brick floor, that they appear inadequate to support the weight of rude architecture which rests upon them and that for the effect of the thing they might as well have been so many boles of trees you will allow that even their number (which is nearly a thousand) must fail in producing magnificence.¹⁴⁸

It was above all the lack of height to which visitors raised the most objections.¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, as Greg pointed out, it was still ‘highly interesting and worthy of attention’ as a specimen of ‘Arabian taste and architecture’.¹⁵⁰ Charles V’s addition of a Gothic cathedral in the midst of the mosque – controversial in its own day – met with a mixed response.¹⁵¹ Some admired it: Greg, for example, praised the effect of walking from the ‘low dark forest of pillars’ into the ‘beautiful and lofty Gothic cathedral ... No-one can help remarking’, he concluded, ‘the infinite superiority of the latter style of architecture over the Moorish’.¹⁵² Others were less enthusiastic and objected to the obvious incongruity of style and there was noticeably more disapproval of this architectural intervention than there was for Charles’s palace at the Alhambra.¹⁵³ Robert Semple – not generally a great admirer of Islamic architecture – regretted that the ‘uniformity of the noblest specimen of Moorish religious edifices in Spain’ should have been ‘so disfigured by so preposterous an addition’.¹⁵⁴ Lady Holland agreed: it was handsome work but ill-placed.¹⁵⁵ Although engravings

¹⁴⁷ BL Add MS 51931, fos 32r–v: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁴⁸ DRO 239M/F16318, 6: Knight, ‘Journal of a six week tour’.

¹⁴⁹ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 116–17.

¹⁵⁰ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 147.

¹⁵¹ Urquizar-Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 24–5.

¹⁵² Greg, *Travel Journals*, 147.

¹⁵³ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 303; Brigstocke (ed.), ‘William Parsons’s journal’, 111.

¹⁵⁴ Semple, *Second Journey in Spain*, 119.

¹⁵⁵ BL Add MS 51931, fol. 32v: Lady Holland, journal.

of Córdoba were included in the *Antigüedades árabes de España*, the city was never the focus of efforts by the Spanish crown to celebrate its cultural patrimony. Nor was the mosque a royal palace and its complex history – as a Christian, then Islamic and then Christian cathedral site – meant that it did not symbolise the conquest of the Catholic Monarchs over the infidel in the way that Granada and – by extension – the Alhambra did. Nor could it be viewed simply as a space of romance or fantasy; its significance and inherent interest was appreciated, but it lacked the charm of association with luxury, pleasure and childhood reading that was offered by the Alhambra.

In Málaga, the Islamic heritage was clearly visible but was never much remarked upon. As we saw in [Chapter 3](#), most visitors saw Málaga primarily as a port city, renowned for its wine and its dried fruit, rather than a site of antiquarian curiosity. The avowedly antiquarian Francis Carter was fascinated by the legacy of Islamic rule and provided the only illustrations of the Alcazaba and Gibralfaro that were published in English texts in the eighteenth century, but few other travellers followed his example. Carter explained that he had been the more detailed in order to provide the reader with a better idea of the ‘Moorish’ manner of fortification; but for readers who were fascinated with ‘Moorish’ architecture as the built expression of an *Arabian Nights* fantasy or for its association with idealised images of chivalric honour, the gritty reality of military fortifications held less appeal.¹⁵⁶ [Chapter 3](#) showed how Seville was invariably described as a ‘Moorish’ city in terms of the architecture of its houses and its street plan. Visitors were very much aware that the cathedral had been built on the site of an Islamic mosque, of which the Giralda was the most striking survival. But while many included the Alcázar in their tours of the city, it never provoked the expressions of delight that the Alhambra met with, nor the same kind of detailed descriptions (see [Figure 8.14](#)). As a monument to the Christian kings of Castile it lacked the romantic associations of the Civil Wars of Granada. Swinburne devoted three as opposed to seventeen pages to the building, finding that there was less delicacy in design and execution than at Granada, and he was arguably more impressed by the gardens.¹⁵⁷ Although a number of visitors observed that the Alcázar was the finest specimen of ‘Moorish’ architecture after the Alhambra, they found it was unnecessary to rehearse lengthy descriptions of the form and style

¹⁵⁶ Carter, *Gibraltar to Malaga*, II, 312.

¹⁵⁷ Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, 254.

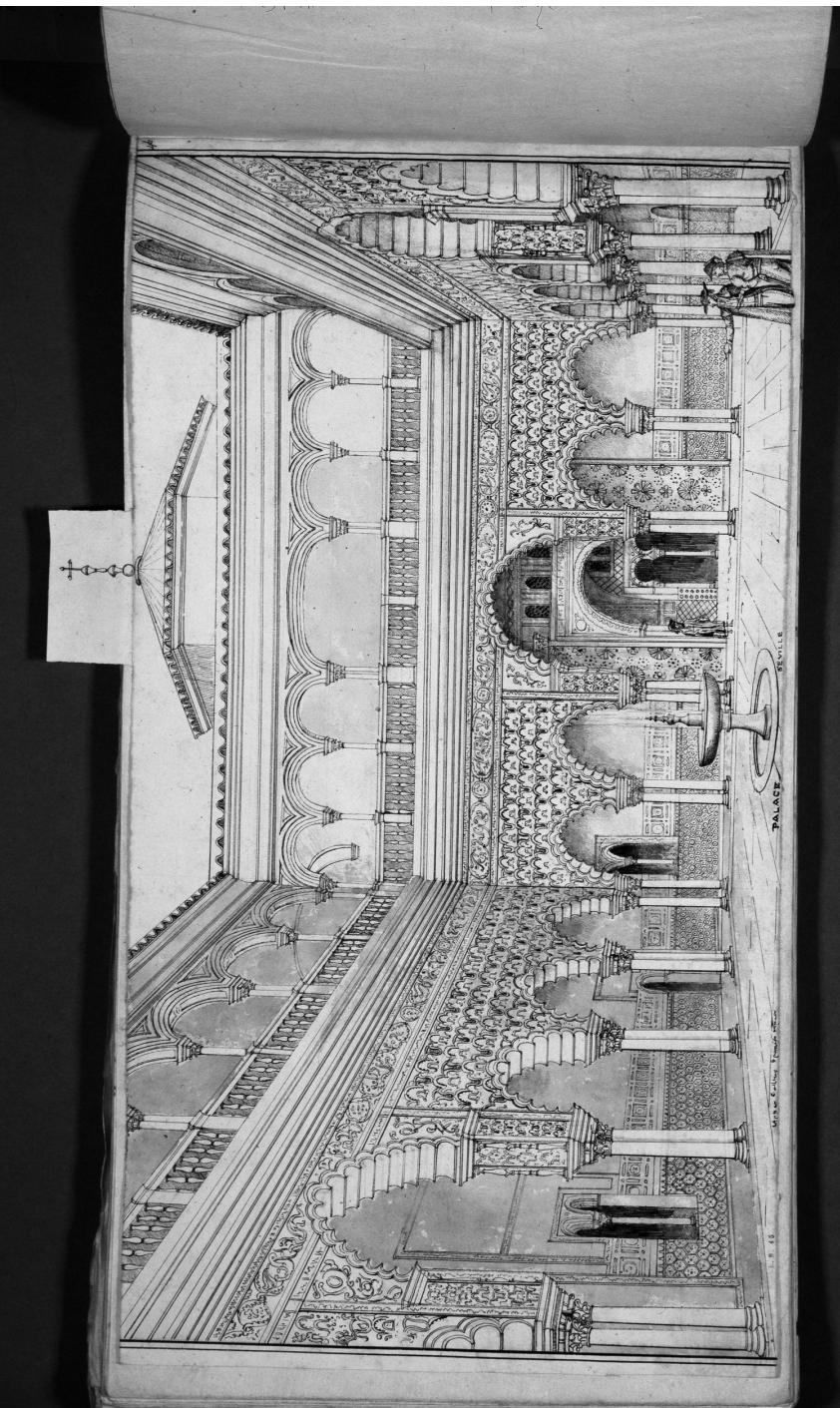


Figure 8.14 William Gell, The Court of the Alcázar, Seville [1830s]. Source: BM museum number 1853,0307,700. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

of 'Moorish' architecture again.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, although the blending of Gothic, Classical and 'Saracenic' styles provided evidence of the cross-fertilisation of Christian and Islamic cultures, it also offended against eighteenth-century views of architectural decorum.¹⁵⁹

All travel in Europe in this period involved encounters with the past and reflections on the course of European history. Despite the wealth of Roman antiquities and its remarkable heritage of Gothic architecture, in Spain the history that exercised the strongest imaginative fascination was that of medieval, Islamic Spain. Portugal's history – less well known, less populated with figures of romance – did not command the same attention and its built heritage, particularly that of its Islamic past, was consequently never as visible to British observers. By the early nineteenth century, the Islamic legacy had become the region's most significant attraction for British visitors. It embodied the liminality that the Iberian Peninsula was assumed to represent as the boundary between Europe and North Africa and it fascinated by its perceived exoticism and its association with romance and childhood nostalgia.

Before 1815 comments on the tangible and intangible legacy of Islamic Spain tended to concentrate upon Andalusia; while 'Moorish' customs or influences might be noted elsewhere – in Murcia or Valencia for example – these regions were not identified with Islamic Spain to the same extent. Later travellers, however, depicted Spain as a country where Eastern influences were far more widespread, from the legacy of the Phoenician and Carthaginian traders to the long-lasting impact of 'Moorish' culture upon Spanish society.¹⁶⁰ Spain was still a part of the European landmass, but its liminality at the edge of Europe and proximity to Africa were given new emphasis. According to Richard Ford, whose *Handbook for Travellers* was published in 1845, Spain was a 'singular country, which hovers between Europe and Africa, between civilisation and barbarism'. Travellers such as Ford, George Dennis or S. E. Cooke identified 'Eastern', 'Oriental' and 'Moorish' influences everywhere – in the appearance of the inhabitants, their customs, their houses, their superstitions and beliefs, their agriculture and their political culture. Anything that was deemed backward was taken as evidence of 'Oriental' influence. From seeing traces of 'Moorish' ancestry in the physiognomy, costume and manners of the Andalusians, Dennis argued that 'the whole

¹⁵⁸ Greg, *Travel Journals*, 64; NLS MS.19389, fol. 340: Traill, journal; BL Add MS 51931, fos 18v–19r: Lady Holland, journal.

¹⁵⁹ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain*, 253.

¹⁶⁰ On Orientalising views of Spain see Bolufer Peruga, 'Orientalizing Southern Europe?' and Andreu Miralles, *El descubrimiento de España*.

country is so stamped in a thousand different ways with the seal of the East ... the Andalucian of today seems the lineal descendant of the Moor himself, rather than of his conqueror and expeller.¹⁶¹ Nor was it only the Andalusian peasant who was described in these terms. Ford and Cooke found even stronger evidence of the 'Moorish' legacy in the populations of Valencia and Murcia, where, according to Cooke, the descendants of the 'Moors ... remain pure and unmixed'.¹⁶² In these accounts, the Oriental was reified and delineated at every opportunity and used as an explanation for all that was distinctive about Spain. 'Test her [Spain], therefore, and her natives by an Oriental standard', declared Richard Ford, and 'how analogous does much appear that is strange and repugnant, if compared with European usages!'¹⁶³

But even as contemporary Spain was Orientalised and described as backward, primitive and locked in the past, professed admiration for its medieval Islamic culture increased. Along with the increasingly romantic representation of the fate of Granada, Spain's Islamic past was idealised and celebrated as the country's 'halcyon days'.¹⁶⁴ It represented a period of flourishing agriculture, commerce and sophisticated civilisation, to which Europe rather than North Africa or the East was the heir. As such it was used as a yardstick against which to judge modern Spain and the modern Barbary States and was seen as superior to any other Islamic society, past or present. The 'civilized and polished Moslems of Spain', argued George Dennis, never 'exercise[d] the same jealous control over their females as other Mohammedan nations'.¹⁶⁵ From this perspective, even as the rest of Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages, Islamic Spain displayed qualities that foreshadowed the civilisation of modern Europe, rather than the East. Islamic Spain had become a delightful curiosity: an artefact of the past posing no threat to British claims to superiority; it was exotic and alluringly different, but in its economic, military and cultural achievements it also embodied values of chivalry, tolerance and the freedom of women, which the British could recognise and admire.

¹⁶¹ Dennis, *Summer in Andalucia*, II, 68.

¹⁶² Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, II, 649; Cooke, *Sketches in Spain*, I, 34.

¹⁶³ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 3. On nineteenth-century Orientalists' views of Spain see Colmeiro, 'Exorcising exoticism'.

¹⁶⁴ Dennis, *Summer in Andalucia*, II, 164–5.

¹⁶⁵ Dennis, *Summer in Andalucia*, II, 51.

Conclusion

Over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, few British travellers went to Spain or Portugal intending primarily to study paintings and admire Roman antiquities as they might have done had they ventured to Italy; nor did they ever rival in number the thousands who are known to have made an Italian tour.¹ An Iberian tour was a statement of independence and intent: it was known to require additional stamina and hardiness (even if the discomforts were often exaggerated) and it was framed more as a journey of discovery, than a retracing of familiar itineraries. Part of its appeal, therefore, lay in its novelty. However, recognising the extent of Iberian travel and the interest it generated among readers at home is an important counterbalance to the dominance of Italy in studies of eighteenth-century European travel. It is a reminder that the eighteenth century was a period in which the British explored the European continent as a whole, not just the Italian peninsula, and that information about the further reaches of Europe brought back by travellers fed into wider discussions of what it meant to be European.

Despite frequent positioning statements from both travellers and reviewers asserting how little was known about Spain and Portugal, there was rather greater familiarity than is generally assumed. Spain enjoyed a well-defined place in the national imaginary – drawn mainly from Cervantes, medieval ballads and the Black Legend – long before the Peninsular War and romanticism prompted broader interest. Portugal's

¹ There are 5,213 entries in Ingamells, *Dictionary*. Ceserani's team at Stanford has disaggregated entries with references to more than one traveller and there are now 6,007, but even this is an underestimate: Ceserani (ed.), *World Made by Travel*.

identity and character were less clearly articulated but the country occupied an indelible presence, if only as Britain's long-standing trading partner and – increasingly – as the source of so much of Britain's wine. Contemporary geo-politics meant that both Portugal and Spain and their overseas empires were of considerable importance to British interests and – as the preceding pages have shown – Spain's potential for renewal was a key matter of concern.

Iberian difference could fascinate and also alienate, but reactions to Spain and Portugal were tempered by recognition of a common cultural heritage and membership of a wider European entity. Iberia was never uniformly alien. The observations of British travellers in the long eighteenth century depict a region which was understood as central to the narrative of Western Europe's emergence and rise to eighteenth-century dominance. Although travellers did not describe the region's Greek and Roman antiquities in great detail, their presence embodied the common past from which Europe traced its origins. The similarity of Spanish and Portuguese to Latin and the facility with which British visitors claimed to acquire both languages were further proof of this. The medieval Islamic heritage highlighted the Peninsula's liminality at the edge of Europe and its proximity to African and 'Eastern' influences. But even as the exotic allure of the Islamic-era architecture was emphasised, its history was naturalised and incorporated into a narrative of European history, in which admirable and enlightened qualities of toleration, commerce, industry, artistic and literary patronage flourished.² Spain and Portugal were recognised as having played formative roles in the expansion of global commerce and in the geo-politics of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe and there was a shared history of diplomacy and alliance, hostility and antagonism with both countries through the medieval and early modern periods. Such episodes gave an additional level of meaning to the monuments of power associated with the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies and provided an imaginative point of contact for travellers.

Spain's cultural productions – its theatrical and literary traditions, its music, architecture and most of all the art collections of the Spanish monarchy and the nobility – were the most obvious expression of the country's claims to membership of a European civilised ideal, as well as a reminder of Spain's formerly commanding position as the hub of Europe. Although social access sometimes proved difficult without letters of

² Cf. early modern attempts to naturalise the Turks: Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror', 141.

introduction, in general the British found the Spanish elite courteous and hospitable and – to a lesser extent – *au fait* with the kind of cultural norms that underpinned elite cosmopolitan sociability in this period. To be sure, there were plenty of critical comments regarding the stultified education offered at Spain's formerly prestigious universities or the reluctance of members of the Spanish nobility to travel abroad, but there was never any sense that these individuals were not a part of a wider European elite. The tendency of British visitors to gravitate towards the more outward-looking *ilustrados* reinforced a perception that Spain was moving towards a more enlightened modernity.

By contrast, Portugal's separate identity as a country was seldom acknowledged in any detail by the British. Commentary, as we have seen, focused upon Lisbon rather than the country as a whole. Despite Portugal's strategic importance to the British in trading and geo-political terms, it never attracted the same level of scrutiny as Spain. Most visitors simply depicted Portugal as a variation upon the Spanish norm – the streets either slightly more or slightly less clean; the women either more or less beautiful; the church more or less oppressive and the people equally superstitious. The less celebrated traditions of Portuguese literary and artistic production were, in British eyes, confirmation of its subordinate relationship to Spain. There was often an implicit assumption that at some point Portugal would be absorbed into the Spanish monarchy again as it had been in the sixteenth century.

This image of Spain and Portugal reflected British prejudices and preoccupations but it was also the product of a wider northern European discourse, which was itself the consequence of over two centuries of translations and borrowings. The Black Legend was not the creation of any one country and although it displayed distinct variations across Britain, France and the Netherlands, the same basic tropes of cruelty and oppression and hostility to militant Catholicism and the overweening power of the monarchy were shared across national boundaries. The Black Legend continued to cast a shadow over the eighteenth century but the new perspectives on Iberia that emerged in this period were similarly an amalgam of different national traditions. Knowledge about Spain, and to a lesser extent Portugal, was often mediated through French and occasionally German sources, as we saw in [Chapter 6](#), but these sources themselves drew upon the information that Spanish and Portuguese hosts made available. As Wendy Bracewell has observed of Eastern Europe, travellers' perceptions did not evolve in isolation and images of a country were never the product of a 'single constitutive gaze' from a 'hegemonic centre' but the outcome of a complex interplay of texts and

ideas.³ While the Spanish and Portuguese objected to many of the characterisations that were perpetrated by foreigners, the more positive image that was emerging in the later eighteenth century was indelibly shaped by their responses to generations of hostile commentary, as [Chapter 6](#) argued. Although the British defined their own national character in opposition to that of other nations such as Spain and Portugal, the broader context in which such images were constructed was, in effect, co-created.

Spain and Portugal were clearly part of what northern Europeans designated the 'Warm South', functioning as the inferior, internal 'other' to the 'European' north.⁴ As previous chapters have shown, there were a number of tropes that were common to representations of the Mediterranean countries as a whole – warmth, indolence and sexually attractive women – as well as an assumption that the balance of power and wealth had shifted north. The 'Warm South', however, while lacking any specific geographical boundaries, clearly encompassed regional variation and the images of Spain (and Portugal to a lesser degree) were also distinct from those of Italy, which has traditionally attracted the most commentary. Most notably, the trope of effeminacy that underpinned so much observational writing on Italian mores was never reproduced in Spain. On the contrary, Spanish masculinity was generally equated with pride and manliness. The British found affinity with the Spanish not only as a fellow colonial power but in terms of national character, sharing qualities of honour, pride and a sense of humour. Even as some observers in the nineteenth century emphasised Spain's backwardness and Oriental characteristics (often associated with effeminacy), they also continued to stress the manliness of the Spanish character.⁵

Spain and Portugal were represented through powerful and enduring stereotypes but, as the preceding chapters have shown, confrontation with Spanish and Portuguese society and the immense regional diversity of the Peninsula regularly confounded the prejudices and preconceptions with which the British travelled. The Basque provinces and Catalonia seemed to display characteristically 'Northern' qualities of industry and activity, while their adherence to their traditions of liberty and freedom challenged assumptions of supine subordination to absolutism; the agricultural workers of Andalusia endured back-breaking labour rather than a life of idleness lying in the sun, and their

³ Bracewell, 'Limits of Europe in East European travel writing', 67.

⁴ Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*.

⁵ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 4, 101, 123, 281.

humour and vivacity belied the reputation for Spanish gravity and reserve. Overwhelmingly there was recognition also that the characteristics that were so often held to be the defining features of Spanish and Portuguese society were the product of political and economic structures rather than innate racial qualities or climatic determinism. As such, there was in both Spain and Portugal the potential for change, for modernisation and greater liberty. In the nineteenth century, in the period following the Peninsular War, this gave way to the more familiar but rather different view of Iberia as a region set apart from the rest of Europe, culturally and racially distinct, trapped in the past and, as such, offering an exotic and romantic allure to the visitor from the north.

The change can be seen quite starkly through the eyes of Henry Holland, the civilian physician who visited the Iberian war zone in 1812–13. In 1841, he returned to the Peninsula, nearly 30 years after his first visit. He arrived by steam packet rather than on a man-of-war and travelled up the Guadalquivir from Cádiz to Seville in a steam-powered paddle boat. The juxtaposition of technological modernity and the romantic associations conjured up by the river's name offended him: 'it seemed an act of treason', he complained, 'to ruffle its waters with the paddles of a steam packet'. Nonetheless, he reflected, progress was inevitable 'even in this least mutable of all European lands'. He arrived in Seville 'under a Moorish tower' and spent the evening 'perambulating this strange & romantic city – the light of a full moon giving more vivid character to all its Oriental peculiarities.'⁶ Holland's comments on Spain in 1813, on the occasion of his first visit, had been of a very different tenor, framed as they were by the context of war. On this occasion he was taking notes on the state of agriculture, the price of food and the quality of the roads. Spain, in the midst of the Peninsular War, had little of romance about it. Balconies added to the air of gloom in the streets, rather than being redolent of romantic assignations by moonlight.⁷ Holland only spent a few days in Spain during his second visit but his fleeting comments are indicative of much broader shifts that had taken place in the way in which British travellers perceived, experienced and wrote about Spain. In 1841 Holland still saw Spain as part of Europe, but it was timeless, 'immutable' and trapped in the past. Seville was romantic, 'Moorish' and 'Oriental' – this last adjective was used only occasionally in the eighteenth century but by the 1840s had become ubiquitous in travellers' accounts. On this occasion he did not travel

⁶ LWL MS 41 Box 2 vol. 2: Holland, journal, Seville, September 1841.

⁷ LWL MS 41 Box 1, fol. 9: Holland, 'Journal in Spain'.

beyond Andalusia, but this in itself was symptomatic of an increasing trend to equate 'real' Spain with its southern province.

The tumultuous events of the early nineteenth century – the French invasion, the Peninsular War and the subsequent descent into civil war in the 1820s, combined with economic crisis and the loss of its South American colonies – meant that Spain's position in Europe had been irrevocably transformed. The country's attractions for visiting Britons shifted accordingly. Spain was, in effect, a failed state: no longer did she represent a rival colonial power and, while there were lessons to be learned about imperial decline, the urgency of establishing Spain's strengths and weaknesses with an eye to future renewal that had driven travellers' curiosity in the eighteenth century disappeared. The convention – always there in the eighteenth century – of depicting Spain as a country stranded in the past became dominant. Spain, as Richard Ford said, was stuck in the age of the *Spectator*. It was an anomaly in the midst of the 'polished monotony' of European modernity.⁸

This sense of backwardness and timelessness was of a piece with contemporary descriptions of 'the East', and the Ottoman Empire in particular, which was viewed in increasingly critical terms as the power of Constantinople weakened and as the imperial ambitions of Western powers expanded.⁹ In this context the adjective 'Oriental' increasingly replaced the rather vaguer descriptor of 'Eastern',¹⁰ carrying connotations of not just exoticism but luxury, cruelty and the corruption of power. Meanwhile, research into 'Oriental' languages and history by scholars such as Silvestre de Sacy helped to establish the idea of a distant, alien 'Orient' in need of recovery and mediation by Western scholars.¹¹ Against this background, the discourse surrounding Spain underwent a fundamental re-orientation in early nineteenth-century travel writing, as the country was increasingly inscribed within an Orientalist framework. By the 1830s, Spain was well on the way to becoming 'semi-Orientalised'.¹² William Gell, who spent three weeks at the Alhambra in December 1808, never once used the adjective 'Oriental' in his contemporaneous notes, but when he returned to the subject in the 1830s, with a view to writing a fashionable Spanish history, he turned to Orientalist tropes of cruelty, violence and despotic power; where earlier he had used Turkey or the Turks as a comparator, these terms were replaced with references to

⁸ Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 119.

⁹ Çırakman, *From the 'Terror of the World' to the 'Sick Man of Europe'*, 106.

¹⁰ Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, 157–202.

¹¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 122–30.

¹² Bolufer Peruga, 'Orientalizing Southern Europe?'; Andreu Miralles, *El descubrimiento de España*.

‘Asiatic’ and ‘Oriental’ features.¹³ Anything that seemed different from what the British held to be European norms – whether in agriculture, architecture or manners and customs – was labelled as ‘Oriental’. This was both a description and an explanation as the ‘Oriental’ character of Spain was invariably attributed to the country’s ‘Moorish’ heritage. By the 1830s and 40s, travellers were treating southern Spain almost as part of an Islamic world.¹⁴

As travel to Spain increased in frequency from the 1820s, tourists tended to concentrate on Andalusia and images of southern Spain came to dominate its representation, establishing a pattern that was to continue into the twentieth century. Málaga, Granada and Seville would become increasingly popular as tourist destinations.¹⁵ Andalusia exercised a more powerful hold over the British imagination than any shared Gothic heritage in the north. Clearly, the growing fame of the Alhambra, discussed in [Chapter 8](#), was a key factor in drawing travellers to the south. Spain, as the historian Henry Hallam declared, was ‘now chiefly interesting to the traveller ... for the monuments which a foreign and odious race of conquerors have left behind them’.¹⁶ At the same time, however, the advent of steam-powered travel made the journey by sea, rather than overland through France or Portugal (via Lisbon), swifter and more practicable. Tours of Spain commonly started from Cádiz or Gibraltar, which reinforced the orientation towards the historic region of al-Andalus and encouraged the tendency to view Andalusia – rather than the kingdom of Castile – as the ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ Spain. Andalusia, claimed Nathaniel Wells, was to Spain what Paris was to France.¹⁷ George Dennis saw Granada as ‘thoroughly Spanish’ in character, but at risk of losing its innate ‘Spanish’ quality and its associations with ‘olden time’ as it became more frequented by foreign visitors.¹⁸ ‘Authentic’ Spain was untouched by modern progress and retained the clear influence of ‘Moorish’ customs: it was embodied by the figures of the *maja* and the *majo* (rarely identified in the eighteenth century), by the guitar, castanets and fandango.¹⁹ At the same time, hardening concepts of biological race encouraged visitors to articulate such differences in

¹³ Ansell, ‘Gell’s encounters with Islamic Spain’, 250.

¹⁴ Heide, ‘Alhambra in Britain’, 205–6.

¹⁵ Mowl and Barke, ‘Changing visitor perceptions of Malaga’, 234–6.

¹⁶ Hallam, *View of the State of Europe*, II, 88 quoted in Scott, *Excursions in the Mountains of Ronda and Granada*, I, 2.

¹⁷ Wells, *Picturesque Antiquities*, Letter 5.

¹⁸ Dennis, *Summer in Andalucia*, II, 188.

¹⁹ Cooke, *Sketches in Spain*, 7; Wells, *Picturesque Antiquities*, Letter 1; Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 224.

racialised language. Whereas in the eighteenth century, as we saw in [Chapter 3](#), Cádiz was preferred by the British for its more cosmopolitan society and outward-looking character, nineteenth-century visitors often regarded this as a regrettable corruption.²⁰ Seville, rather than Cádiz, became the favoured place of residence and its somnolent properties a positive attraction.²¹ For Maria Wilson, its ‘spirit of poetry and romance, and the remembrance of the deeds of former days throw such a halo over its time-worn monuments, that one cannot wish for one improvement of modern times.’²²

Publications on Spain started to proliferate from the 1820s; there were rather fewer on Portugal, however, which, despite its significance for Britain during the Peninsular War and its rising importance as a market for British exports, continued to exist in Spain’s shadow.²³ In *The Modern Traveller* of 1830 (a compilation of travelogues), Joseph Conder described Portugal as ‘The lowest and last of the countries of Christendom’ and observed that it ‘scarcely merits the rank of an independent kingdom’.²⁴ It might have been expected that Portugal would attract greater interest in the aftermath of the Peninsular War, but it was significant, perhaps, that Wellington’s greatest victories were all in Spain. In Portugal he enacted a less compelling defensive role, holding Lisbon and the British army safe behind the lines of Torres Vedras. The glory of his reputation was secured elsewhere in Spain.

Portugal was also, in a sense, unfinished business. In the aftermath of the Peninsular War, Britain continued to be involved more directly in Portuguese affairs than it was in Spain. During the 1820s, British influence over Portugal under Marshal Beresford amounted in effect to a Protectorate and the army intervened directly in Portuguese affairs on two occasions in 1823–4 and 1826–7. In the 1830s Portugal, like Spain, saw a descent into civil war when Don Pedro abdicated the throne of Brazil in 1831 and returned to help his daughter Maria defend her crown against Don Miguel. A further British expedition in support of the liberal cause ensued in 1832.²⁵ Meanwhile, travellers continued to visit Portugal and to observe political events, but whereas the story of British participation in Spain was concluded and could be looked back

²⁰ Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, II, 119.

²¹ Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, II, 84; Ford, *Handbook for Travellers*, I, 367.

²² Anon. [Maria Wilson], *Spain and Barbary*, 94.

²³ Paulino, ‘“Alien” European’, 101–16. On increasing trade with Portugal see Collins, ‘Limits of British power’, 747, 758.

²⁴ Conder, *Modern Traveller*, II, 292.

²⁵ De Sousa, Clark and De Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*, 1–10.

upon with pride and complacency, British involvement in Portugal did not enjoy the same narrative closure. This was one reason, perhaps, why Portugal continued to be seen in the present rather than the past. When Henry Holland returned to Portugal during his tour of 1841, he was seduced by the romance of Cádiz and Seville, as we have seen, but he failed to identify comparable romance in Lisbon. Rather he simply found it much improved, attributable no doubt in his mind to British influence: the streets were cleaner, the smells had abated, the monks had gone and there were no more dogs than in any other city.²⁶ There was no nostalgic regret that the 'authentic' Portugal had disappeared.

Lisbon remained the principal destination for British travellers, who continued to rely on James Cavanah Murphy as their principal guide. Following Murphy – and also the campaigns of the British army – it is noticeable that more visitors were also travelling north to visit Porto taking in Batalha, Leiria and Coimbra on the way. Narratives that had some connection with British history were emphasised: notably, the Plantagenet connections to the Portuguese monarchy through Philippa of Lancaster, evident at Batalha, began to be highlighted with greater regularity.²⁷ The country south of Lisbon, however, remained more or less *terra incognita*: on the evidence of published tours, at least, very few British in this period visited the Algarve – despite its associations with Portugal's Islamic past. Southern Portugal lacked the romantic appeal of southern Spain and – not having been occupied by the French or British armies – no efforts had been made to improve the roads.

The comparative lack of interest in Portugal's Islamic past compared with Spain, noted in the previous chapter, was due in large part to the fact that Portugal did not share in Spain's tradition of ballads and chivalric romances, which did so much to shape British perceptions of both medieval and modern Spain. It was this tradition that, in the eyes of writers such as John Bowring, gave Spain its national character: Spanish poetry, he argued, was 'truly national' and it, more than anything else, had preserved 'the peculiar characteristics of the Spanish nation'.²⁸ Had there been no ballads and romances, the nineteenth-century image of Spain would have been a very different construction. But there was no such poetical scaffolding around which to structure remarks and observations on Portugal. Familiarity with the *Lusiad* certainly increased, thanks

²⁶ LWL MS 41 Box 2 vol. 2: Holland, journal, September 1841.

²⁷ Lyall, *Rambles in Madeira and Portugal*, 246; Conder, *Modern Traveller*, II, 288; Harrison, *Tourist in Portugal*, 26, 202.

²⁸ Bowring, *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, vi.

to Mickle's translation, but it lacked the everyday familiarity of Spanish romances or *Don Quixote*. Even the bare outlines of Portuguese history were unfamiliar.²⁹ The need for a compelling Portuguese narrative was clearly felt, as more than one writer was driven to invent their own romantic legends and stories to flesh out their descriptions and to provide an element of associative romance to an otherwise dry account.³⁰ None of this did much to counter the tendency to view Portugal in the present: its past lacked the imaginative resonance to shape perceptions of people, cities or landscape. Similarly, Portugal's national character was rarely discussed in terms of inherited traditions: there were no attempts to identify the 'true' Portuguese and no laments for the disappearance of the 'authentic' Portugal under the influence of modern commercial society.

Not all observations were negative, however. Portugal may have lacked the romantic allure of Spain, but some observers identified a narrative of modern improvement. The preference given to the Portuguese over the Spanish among the military during the Peninsular War that was noted in [Chapter 7](#) continued in this post-war era in the observations of travellers, particularly those, such as Lovell Badock, who were associated with the military establishment.³¹ James Alexander, of the Horse Guards, undertook a mission to South East Africa on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society in 1834, taking in Portugal *en route*. He was largely sympathetic to Don Pedro and his efforts to secure the country's constitutional liberties after the misrule of Don Miguel and his account focused on Portugal's more recent past, emphasising eighteenth-century improvements and – unlike Spain – a reduction in the influence of the Roman Catholic church in the nineteenth century.³² The civilian W. M. Kinsey, chaplain to Lord Auckland, pointed to the similarities between Portugal and Britain in terms of their commercial history but also warned that Portugal embodied a lesson in terms of the consequences of empire for Britain.³³

Despite the marked increase in travellers to both Spain and Portugal in the decades after the Peninsular War, neither country became a major tourist destination during the nineteenth century. Iberia remained 'off the beaten track', appealing most to travellers who sought to escape the more densely travelled tourist itineraries in order to enjoy a more

²⁹ Kinsey, *Portugal Illustrated*; Harrison, *Tourist in Portugal*.

³⁰ Pardoe, *Traits and Traditions of Portugal*; Harrison, *Tourist in Portugal*.

³¹ Badcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal*, 2–3, 17.

³² Alexander, *Sketches in Portugal During the Civil War*, 32–3, 53, 200–11. Harrison recounted a similar story of enlightened reform under Queen Maria: *Tourist in Portugal*, 44.

³³ Kinsey, *Portugal Illustrated*, 14.

‘authentic’ experience.³⁴ Portugal rarely even merits a mention in discussions of nineteenth-century travel and tourism, while Spain is generally viewed to have been in the ‘third rank’ of tourist destinations, hampered by an underdeveloped infrastructure of transport and accommodation.³⁵ Thomas Cooke did not bring a tour to Spain until 1872 and there was no *Baedeker* to guide the English tourist before 1898.³⁶ The very ‘alterity’ or sense of difference that constituted part of its appeal was also a challenge and helped to perpetuate an assumption that the region was still unknown. Despite the proliferation of tours and travel literature published in the nineteenth century, Dr Thomas Madden was still able to pronounce in 1864 that ‘There is no country in Europe so little known and yet so well worth visiting’.³⁷ Iberia and Britain went through a repeated process of encounter and forgetting, which continued even into the twentieth century.³⁸

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the numbers of British (and other) visitors to Spain started to increase, drawn both to Spain’s Mediterranean coastline and the attractions of Andalusia and the newly developed resorts of the Atlantic coast.³⁹ Under Franco’s dictatorship tourism was seen as a pathway to economic growth and the foundations of a modern tourist infrastructure were rapidly constructed: fishing villages such as Marbella, Benidorm or Torremolinos, noted only in passing by eighteenth-century travellers, were transformed into modern, comfortable, purpose-built resorts. The promotion of Spain initially drew upon the inherited tropes of the eighteenth century and the sense that Spain was not fully European. The Spanish tourist bureau’s most prominent slogan was ‘Spain is Different’.⁴⁰ It was an image constructed around Andalusian stereotypes as bullfighting and flamenco dancers were rolled out to attract ‘the American and European descendants of the Romantic travelers’.⁴¹ Increasingly, as tourism provided a much-needed boost to the economy, its promoters, echoing the *ilustrados* of the eighteenth century, wrote back against the inherited stereotypes of the past, arguing that Spain needed to accept the modernisation encouraged by tourism in order to be admitted as a participant in ‘modern European

³⁴ Buzard, *Beaten Track*.

³⁵ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 48–9; see also Holland, *Warm South*, 186.

³⁶ Barke and Towner, ‘Exploring the history of leisure and tourism in Spain’, 8–9.

³⁷ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 48.

³⁸ Barke and Towner, ‘Exploring the history of leisure and tourism in Spain’, 19.

³⁹ Walton, ‘British perceptions of Spain’, 286–9.

⁴⁰ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 3.

⁴¹ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 3 quoting Álvarez Junco and Shubert, *Spanish History Since 1808*, 9.

civilization'.⁴² These attempts to promote a more nuanced and modern image were slower to take root outside Spain – foreign tourists still demand flamenco dancers and bullfights today – but in other respects the impact of tourism was to render Spain more like its northern neighbours, integrated into Western European culture.⁴³

In the late twentieth century, British patterns of travel on the European continent finally broke away from the inherited itineraries and conventions of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour. While Italy and France are still popular today, Spain has been topping the league table as the most popular British travel destination since the 1970s, and the British also make up the largest proportion of foreign visitors to Spain.⁴⁴ Since the fall of Salazar, Portugal has similarly prospered as a tourist destination for Britons, ranking fifth behind Spain, France, Italy and Greece, with British visitors only narrowly outnumbered by those from neighbouring Spain.⁴⁵ The appeal of sunshine and the beach, which underpins so much of the appeal of modern Iberian holiday culture, would have had little resonance with eighteenth-century travellers. But away from the resorts of the Mediterranean coast and the golf courses of the Algarve, there is a much longer history of British engagement with Iberia that this book has attempted to recover.

⁴² Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 5, 148–53, 191.

⁴³ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 152, 194–8.

⁴⁴ Office for National Statistics, 'Travel trends: 2023'; for a breakdown of foreign visitors to Spain by nationality see Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 'Movimiento Turísticos en Fronteras, resultados nacionales'. On the recent popularity of Spain as a tourist destination see Fabian, 'Flight to the sun'.

⁴⁵ Office for National Statistics, 'Travel trends: 2023'. British visitors constitute the second largest national cohort, just behind the Spanish: Gabinete de Estratégia e Estudos, 'Estatísticas do Turismo'.

Appendix: British and Irish travellers to Portugal and Spain, c. 1760–1820

This list of 160 British and Irish travellers to the Iberian Peninsula comprises the names of all the travellers we were able to identify in the course of our research, with their occupation where known, details of the archival source or publication which records their travels and, where relevant, any associated publications. While this list cannot be seen as comprehensive, it provides an indicative overview of the contours of travel and the social composition of those who ventured to Spain and Portugal.

There are a few points that should be noted: we have not listed long-term residents, such as merchants, unless they embarked upon a tour of Portugal or Spain. Similarly, we have only included those ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary who left a substantive written record of their travels to or from Spain or Portugal. Most visitors travelled with servants, some of whom would have travelled with them from Britain or Ireland but are almost always unidentified. The list also excludes the thousands of officers and other ranks who left a record of their time in Portugal and Spain during the Peninsular War. We list only the civilian travellers, as discussed in [Chapter 7](#), and have not included details of accompanying children.

For full archival references and publication details of the items listed, please refer to the bibliography.

Traveller	Occupation	Date of travel(s)	Where travelled	Archival source	Publication
Allen, John (employed by Lord and Lady Holland)	Physician and librarian	1802–5; 1808–9	Spain and Portugal (see Map 3)	BL Add MSS 51930–51932 and 51934–51936	
Andrews, Francis	Provost of Trinity College Dublin	1772	Spain	BA L30/14/7	
Aylmer, F. W. W.	Gentleman, militia officer	1808	Spain	Kresen Kernow CF/2/717	
Baird (travelling with John Vignoles)	Army officer	1772	Spain	BA L30/14/402	
Bankes, William	Gentleman	1813–15	Portugal and Spain		Sebba, <i>Exiled Collector</i>
Bathurst, Mr (travelling with Henry Gally Knight)	Gentleman	1809–10	Spain	DRO D239/M/F/16318 and D239/M/F16319–20	
Beckford, William	Gentleman	1787–8; 1791; 1793–5	Portugal and Spain		Boyd (ed.), <i>Journal of William Beckford in Portugal and Spain</i>
Benfield, Mr	East India Company officer	1789	Spain		Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i>
Bindley, James (travelling with Francis Andrews)	Commissioner of Excise	1772	Spain	BA L30/14/7	
Blackmore, Mr (travelling with Thomas Hardy)	Gentleman and invalid	1785–6	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.5544	
Broughton, Captain (travelling with William Burton Conyngham)	Naval officer	1783	Spain	NLS MS.5539	
Bruce, Michael	Gentleman	1808–10	Spain	Bodl. MS Eng. c. 5740, DRO D239/M/F/16318 and D239/M/F16319–20	
Byron, Lord George	Poet	1809	Portugal and Spain		McGann, 'Byron, George Gordon Noel', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4279

Call, George Cotsford	Gentleman	1808	Spain	BL Add MS 52284	Carr, <i>Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain</i>
Carr, Sir John	Travel writer	1809	Spain		
Carter, Francis	Antiquary	Long-term resident, but travelled through Andalusia in 1772	Spain		Carter, <i>A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga</i>
Cathcart, Miss Charlotte (travelling with Mary Graham)	Gentlewoman	1781	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.16045 and JRL GB 133 HAM	
Chatham, John, 2nd Earl of	Army officer	1779	Spain	BA L30/14, L30/15 and L30/17	
Clarke, Edward	Chaplain	1760–1	Spain		Clarke, <i>Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation</i>
Clarke, Mr	Gentleman	1788	Spain		Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i>
Cochrane, John Dundas	Half-pay naval officer	Between 1814 and 1820	Spain		Rigg (rev. Baigent), 'Cochrane, John Dundas', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5754
Colt, Adam (travelling with Earl of Chatham)	Army officer	1779	Spain	BA L30/14, L30/15 and L30/17	
Columbine, Mr (travelling with Mr Read)	Son of merchant	1784	Spain	NLS MS.5541	
Conway, Hugh (travelling with Earl of Chatham)	Army officer	1779	Spain	BA L30/14, L30/15 and L30/17	
Conyngnam, William Burton	Gentleman	1782–4	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.5539, MS.5554	Conyngnam, 'Observations on the description of the Theatre at Saguntum'
Cooper, Richard Jr	Engraver	1768?	Spain		L. H. Cust, 'Cooper, Richard (1740–1814)', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6223

Traveller	Occupation	Date of travel(s)	Where travelled	Archival source	Publication
Costigan, Arthur	Army officer in Spanish service	1778	Portugal		Costigan, <i>Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal</i>
Craven, Elizabeth, Lady Margravine of Anspach	Travel writer	1791–2	Portugal and Spain		Craven, <i>Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach Written by Herself</i>
Craven, Richard Keppel	Travel writer	1808–9; 1810–11	Spain and Portugal (see Map 4)	BSR WG[MSJ]-6 and BL Add MSS 63609–10	
Croft, John	Merchant	1766	Portugal and Spain		Brigstocke (ed.), <i>British Travellers in Spain</i>
Croker, Richard	Army officer	1780	Spain and Portugal		Croker, <i>Travels Through Several Provinces of Spain and Portugal</i>
Cumberland, Richard	Diplomat	1780	Spain		Cumberland, <i>Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain</i>
Dalrymple, William	Army officer	1774–5	Spain and Portugal	BA L30/14/93	Dalrymple, <i>Travels Through Spain and Portugal, in 1774</i>
Damer, Anne Seymour	Sculptor	1790–1	Portugal and Spain		Lewis (ed.), <i>Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry</i>
Darwin, Francis Sacheverell	Physician	1808	Spain and Portugal		Darwin, <i>Travels in Spain and the East</i>
Dickason, Thomas Jr	Son of merchant	1774–5	Spain	BA L30/14/103	
Dillon, John Talbot	Travel writer	1778	Spain	BA L30/14/104	Dillon, <i>Travels Through Spain; Letters from an English Traveller in Spain</i>
Douglas, George A. L.	Gentleman	1819	Spain and Portugal	NLS MSS.10351–56; MS.10361	
Duncan, Lady Mary	Gentlewoman and invalid	1772–3	Spain	BA L30/14/114	
Duncan, Sir William	Gentleman	1772–3	Spain	BA L30/14/114	
Ebrington, Viscount (Hugh Fortescue)	Gentleman, militia officer	1808; 1809	Portugal and Spain	Devon Archives 1262M/FD 3–4	

Eden, William	Diplomat	1788–9	Spain	Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i>
Equiano, Olaudah	Ship's steward	1769; 1774; 1775	Portugal and Spain	Equiano, <i>Interesting Narrative</i>
Errington, J.	Gentleman	1774–5	Portugal and Spain	BA L30/14 and L30/17
Eustace, John Chetwode	Travel writer and tutor	1812	Spain	Murphy, 'Eustace, John Chetwode (1761–1815)', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8937
Fazakerley, John Nicholas (travelling with Mr North and Lord Lewisham)	Gentleman	1808–9	Spain	Thorne, 'Fazakerley, John Nicholas (1787–1852)', <i>History of Parliament</i> . Accessed 23 April 2025. https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fazakerley-john-nicholas-evon
Fielding, Sophia	Gentlewoman	1781	Portugal and Spain	Devon Archives 1262/M/FD 3–4; BL Add MS 51936; DRO D239/M/F16322 and D239/M/F16340
Finch, Lady Charlotte	Gentlewoman	1781	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.16045 and JRL GB 133 HAM
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward	Gentleman	1787	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.16045 and JRL GB 133 HAM
Fitzgerald, Lord Robert	Gentleman	1786	Spain	NLS MS.5547
Fitzwilliam, Richard, 7th Viscount	Gentleman	1772	Spain	NLS MS.5544, MS.5547
Galton, Theodore	Gentleman	1808–9	Spain and Portugal	Burn and Reynolds, 'Fitzwilliam, Richard, seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (1745–1816)', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9660
Gascoigne, Sir Thomas	Gentleman	1775–6	Spain	Darwin, <i>Travels in Spain and the East</i>

Traveller	Occupation	Date of travel(s)	Where travelled	Archival source	Publication
Gell, William	Travel writer	1808–9; 1810–11	Spain and Portugal (see Map 4)	BSR WG[MS]-6	
Gordon, Mr (travelling with Thomas Hardy)	Gentleman and invalid	1785–6	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.5544	
Goulburn, Henry	Gentleman	1809	Spain	SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9)	
Graham, Mary	Gentlewoman and invalid	1781	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.3628	
Graham, Thomas	Gentleman	1781	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.3628	
Grantham, Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron	Diplomat	1771–9	Spain	BA L30/14, L30/17	
Greg, Robert Hyde	Manufacturer	1814–15	Spain and Portugal		Greg, <i>Travel Journals of Robert Hyde Greg</i>
Halliday, John Edmund	Clothier	1787	Spain	Wiltshire and Swindon RO 2845/1	
Hardy, Thomas	Gentleman and invalid	1785–6	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.5544	
Harris, Sir James	Diplomat	1769	Spain		Harris (ed.), <i>Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris</i>
Hartopp, Mr	Gentleman	1809–10	Spain	Devon Archives 1262/M/ FD 3–4	
Haygarth, William	Gentleman, poet, artist	1810–11	Spain	BALSD MS StSp 60643 (1–4); ULLSCG MS 233	
Herries, Catherine, Lady	Gentlewoman	1793	Spain	JRL GB 133 HAM/1/17/203	
Herries, Sir Robert	Banker	1793	Spain	JRL GB 133 HAM/1/17/203	

Hervey, Christopher	Army officer	1759	Portugal and Spain	Hervey, <i>Letters from Portugal, Spain, Italy and Germany</i>
Hickey, William	Lawyer	1782	Portugal	
Hoare, Sir Richard Colt	Antiquary	1788	Spain	Spencer (ed.), <i>Memoirs of William Hickey</i>
Hobart, Henry	Merchant	1766; 1767	Portugal	Greg, <i>Travel Journals of Robert Hyde Greg</i>
Hobhouse, John Cam	Gentleman	1809	Portugal and Spain	
Hodgson, Isaac (travelling with Robert Hyde Greg)	Manufacturer	1814–15	Spain and Portugal	
Holland, Elizabeth, Lady	Diarist	1802–5; 1808–9	Spain and Portugal (see Map 3)	Wright, 'Fox, Henry Richard, third Baron Holland of Holland and third Baron Holland of Foxley (1773–1840)', ODNB, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10035
Holland, Henry	Physician	1812–13; 1841	Portugal and Spain	
Holland, Henry Vassall Fox, 3rd Baron	Gentleman	1793; 1802–5; 1808–9	Spain and Portugal	
Hope, Thomas	Designer	During Mediterranean tour of 1787–95	Spain	Hope, <i>Observations on the Plans and Elevations Designed by James Wyatt</i>
Howard, Frederick, (travelling with Lord and Lady Holland)	Gentleman, son of Earl of Carlisle	1802–3	Spain	Kent Archives U1776/F7
Howard, Mr (travelling with Henry Holland)	Unknown	1813	Spain	
Hughes, John	Gentleman	1817	Spain	
Hussey, Edward	Gentleman	1802–3	Spain	

Traveller	Occupation	Date of travel(s)	Where travelled	Archival source	Publication
Ingilby, Sir William	Gentleman, MP	1808	Spain		Darwin, <i>Travels in Spain and the East</i>
Jacob, William	Merchant, MP	1809–10	Spain		Jacob, <i>Travels in the South of Spain</i>
Jardine, Alexander	Army officer	1762; 1766; 1776–9; 1790–9	Spain and Portugal		Jardine, <i>Letters from Barbary, France, Spain and Portugal</i>
Johnes, Thomas (travelling with Robert Liston)	Gentleman	1770	Spain	NLS MS.5554	
Knight, Henry Gally	Gentleman	1809–10	Spain	DRO D239/M/F 16318–16320, D239/M/F/16331–41, D239/M/F/16349 and D239/M/F/16390	Brigstocke (ed.), <i>British Travellers in Spain</i>
Knight, Selina Gally (née Fitzherbert)	Gentlewoman	1791?	Spain	DRO D239/M/F16331– 16341 and D239/M/ F16349	
Knox, Hon. Thomas (travelling with John Spencer Stanhope)	Gentleman	1810–11	Portugal and Spain	BALSD MS StSp 60643 (1–4) and ULLSCG MS 233	
Leveson-Gower, Granville (travelling with Henry Gally Knight)	Gentleman	1809–10	Spain	DRO D239/M/F16337– 16339 and D239/M/ F16390	
Lewisham, Viscount (travelling with Mr North and Mr Fazakerley)	Gentleman	1808–9	Spain	Devon Archives 1262M/ FD 3–4 and BL Add MS 51936	
Lister, Thomas	Gentleman	1784	Portugal and Spain	ULLSCG MD335/1/9/4/14	
Liston, Sir Robert	Gentleman; diplomat	1770; 1783–8	Spain	NLS MSS.5689–91 (1770 journals) and MSS.5536–53 (letters from 1780s posting)	
Macdonald, John	Servant	1776–7; 1778	Portugal and Spain		Macdonald, <i>Travels, in Various Parts of Europe</i>

Mackinnon, Mr	Gentleman	1808	Spain	Darwin, <i>Travels in Spain and the East</i>
Mann, Lady Lucy	Gentlewoman and invalid	1776	Spain	Ingamells, <i>Dictionary</i>
Mann, Sir Horatio	Gentleman	1776	Spain	Ingamells, <i>Dictionary</i>
Marsh, Matthew (travelling with Lord and Lady Holland as tutor to Frederick Howard)	Clergyman and tutor	1802-3	Spain	BL Add MS 51930
Marshall, Joseph	Travel writer	1770	Spain	Marshall, <i>Travels Through France and Spain, in the years 1770 and 1771</i>
Martin, James	Merchant	1772-3 or 4	Spain	BA L30/14/244
Matthews, Henry	Travel writer and invalid	1817	Portugal	Matthews, <i>Diary of an Invalid</i>
Molyneux, James More	Army officer	1786	Spain and Portugal	SHC LM/1327/26 and 27
Murphy, James Cavanah	Architect and artist	1788-90; 1802-9	Portugal and Spain	Murphy, <i>Arabian Antiquities of Spain; Plans, Elevations, Sections; Travels in Portugal; A General View of the State of Portugal</i>
North, Frederick	Gentleman	1788	Spain	Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i>
North, Frederick (travelling with Mr Fazakerley and Lord Lewisham)	Gentleman	1808-9; 1813	Spain	BL Add MS 51936; LWL MS 41 Box 2; Devon Archives 1262M/FD 3-4
O'Neil, James (employer of John Macdonald)	Gentleman, merchant	1778	Portugal and Spain	Macdonald, <i>Travels Through Various Parts of Europe</i>
Parsons, William	Gentleman	1788-9	Spain	Brigstocke (ed.), <i>British Travellers in Spain</i>

Traveller	Occupation	Date of travel(s)	Where travelled	Archival source	Publication
Pearce, Henry (travelling with Edward Clough Taylor, Henry Gally Knight and John Spencer Stanhope)	Gentleman	1810–11	Spain	DRO D239/M/F16318 and D239/M/F16390; BALSD MS StSp 60643 (1–4); ULLSCG MS 233	
Pelham, Thomas	Gentleman	1775–6	Portugal and Spain (see Map 2)	BL Add MSS 33125–7; BA L30/15/42	
Pennant, David	Gentleman	1787–8	Spain	Warwick RO CR 2017//TP460	
Pettiward, Roger	Gentleman	1788–9	Spain		Brigstocke (ed.), <i>British Travellers in Spain</i>
Pitt, Thomas	Gentleman	1760	Portugal and Spain (see Map 1)	BL Add MS 5845	
Pococke, George (travelling with Thomas Watkins)	Gentleman	1787–8	Spain	Beinecke Osborne MS c182	
Ponsonby, William (travelling with James More Molyneux)	Gentleman	1809	Spain	SHC MS 304/B/Box 1 (9)	
Porter, Robert Ker	Travel writer, painter and diplomat	1808–9	Portugal and Spain		Porter, <i>Letters from Portugal and Spain</i>
Read, H.	Gentleman	1784	Spain	NLS MS.5541	
Rennie, George	Civil engineer	1817	Portugal and Spain	Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 203	
Robinson, Frederick	Diplomat	1771–8	Spain	BA L30/15, L30/17	
Rushout, Hon. John (later 2nd Baron Northwick)	Gentleman	1792	Spain		Ingamells, <i>Dictionary</i> ; Sebag-Montefiore, ‘Rushout, John, second Baron Northwick (1769–1859)’, <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37924

Russell, Lord John	Gentleman	1808–9; 1810; 1812–13	Spain	Walpole, <i>Life of Lord John Russell</i>
Sample, Robert	Travel writer	1805; 1809	Spain	Sample, <i>Observations on a Journey Through Spain and Italy and A Second Journey in Spain</i>
Sheridan, Thomas	Actor and invalid	1809	Spain	Jeffares, 'Sheridan, Thomas [Tom] (1775–1817)', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25372
Shrewsbury, 16th Earl of (travelling with John Chetwode Eustace)	Gentleman	1812	Spain	Murphy, 'Eustace, John Chetwode (1761–1815)', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8937
Slade, Mr	Invalid	1808	Spain	Darwin, <i>Travels in Spain and the East</i>
Southey, Robert	Poet	1795–6; 1800–1	Portugal and Spain	Southey, <i>Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal</i>
Southwell, Thomas (travelling with Giuseppe Baretti)	Gentleman	1760	Spain	Baretti, <i>Journey from London to Genoa</i>
St Helens, Alleyne Fitzherbert, 1st Baron	Diplomat	1790–4	Spain	Lee, 'Fitzherbert, Alleyne, Baron St Helens (1753–1839)', <i>ODNB</i> , https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9601
Stanhope, John Spencer	Gentleman	1810–11	Portugal and Spain	BALSD MS StSp 60643 (1–4) and ULLSCG MS 233
Stanley, Edward	Gentleman	1802–3	Spain	Kent Archives U1776/F7
Strathmore, John, 9th Earl of (travelling with Thomas Pitt)	Gentleman	1760–1	Portugal and Spain (see Map 1)	BL Add MS 5845
Strickland, Jarrard Edward	Gentleman	1809–10	Spain	Wigan and Leigh Archives, D/D St./BundleC19/1
Strutt, Joseph	Gentleman	1789	Spain	Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i>

Traveller	Occupation	Date of travel(s)	Where travelled	Archival source	Publication
Strutt, Lady Charlotte (née Fitzgerald)	Gentlewoman	1789	Spain		Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i>
Stuart, Sir John (employer of John Macdonald)	Gentleman	1776–7	Portugal and Spain		Macdonald, <i>Travels Through Various Parts of Europe</i>
Swinburne, Henry	Travel writer	1775–6	Spain	BA L30/14/370	Swinburne, <i>Travels Through Spain</i>
Tarrant, Colonel (travelling with William Burton Conyngham)	Army officer	1783	Spain		Hurley, 'Conyngham's antiquarian tour'
Taylor, Edward Clough (travelling with Henry Pearce, Henry Gally Knight and John Spencer Stanhope)	Gentleman	1809–10	Spain	DRO D239/M/F16318, D239/M/16320 and D239/M/F16390; BALSD MS StSp 60643 (1–4); ULLSCG MS 223	
Thicknesse, Philip	Travel writer	1777	Spain		Thicknesse, <i>Year's Journey Through France and Spain</i>
Thomas, William	Gentleman	1795–6	Portugal and Spain	Beinecke OSB MSS File 17530	
Townsend, Joseph	Clergyman and travel writer	1786–7	Spain		Townsend, <i>Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787</i>
Trall, Thomas	Physician	1814	Spain	NLS MSS.19388–9; OLA D1/1066/1–2	
Twiss, Richard	Travel writer	1772–3	Portugal and Spain		Twiss, <i>Travels Through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773</i>
Vanderhorst, Thomas Cooper	Merchant	1819	Spain	Bristol Archives 8032/79a, 79b	
Vaughan, Charles Richard	Medical student; diplomat	1802–3; 1808–9	Spain	BL Add MSS 31930–31931, 51934–51936	Vaughan, <i>Narrative of the Siege of Saragossa</i>
Vernon, Henry	Gentleman	1785	Spain	NLS MS.5543	
Vignoles, John	Army officer	1772	Spain	BA L30/14/402	

Waddilove, Robert	Chaplain	1771–9	Spain	BA L30/14/408	Anon. [G. D. Whittington], <i>Tour Through the Principal Provinces of Spain and Portugal</i>
Waldie, John	Travel writer	1819	Spain	UCLA John Waldie papers Box 4, journals 43 and 44	
Watkins, Thomas	Clergyman and travel writer	1787–8	Spain	Beinecke Osborne MS c182	
Westmorland, Jane, Countess of	Gentlewoman	1809	Spain	Devon Archives 1262M/FD 3; LWL MS 41 Box 1	
Whittington, G. D. (George)	Clergyman and antiquary	1803	Spain		
Wilbraham, Roger	Gentleman	1774–5	Spain	BA L30/14/420	Wraxhall, <i>Historical Memoirs</i> Bishop of Bath and Wells (ed.), <i>Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland</i> Young, <i>Travels During the years 1787, 1788 and 1789</i>
Wilkinson, John Gardner	Antiquary	1818	Spain	Bodl. MS Wilkinson dep. d. 2	
Winchilsea, George Finch, 9th Earl of	Gentleman and invalid	1781	Portugal and Spain	NLS MS.16045 and JRL GB 133 HAM	
Withering, William	Physician	1792–4	Portugal	Library of Birmingham MS 3219/4/1/6/35	
Worsley, Sir Richard	Gentleman	1783	Spain	LA MS Worsley 53; NLS MS.5539, MS.5540, MS.5542, MS.5554	
Wraxall, Nathaniel	Travel writer	1772	Portugal		
Wycombe, Lord	Gentleman	1788	Spain		
Young, Arthur	Travel writer	1787	Spain		

References

Unpublished manuscript sources

Barnsley Archives and Local Studies Department (BALSD)

MS StSp 60643 (1–4): John Spencer Stanhope, journal in Spain and North Africa, 1810–11.

Bedfordshire Archives (BA)

L30/14: Correspondence of Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham, 1771–86.

L30/15: Correspondence of Frederick Robinson, c. 1770–92.

L30/17: Family correspondence between Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham, Frederick Robinson, Anne Robinson and Theresa Parker, c. 1770–9.

Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Osborn MS c182: Thomas Watkins, travel diary, 1787–8.

Osborn MSS File 16826: Elizabeth, Lady Craven to Sir William Hamilton, 23 September 1791.

Osborn MSS File 17530: William Thomas, seven letters to family from Lisbon, 1795–7.

Birmingham Library

MS 3101/C/D/10/9/34: Samuel Galton junior to John Howard Galton, 1809.

MS 3219/4/1/6/35: Letters from William Withering to James Watt, 1780–99.

Bodleian Library (BodL)

MS Don. b. 45: John Hughes, 'Sketches in France [sic]', 1817.

MS Douce d. 36: Letters to Francis Douce from Thomas Kerrich, 1804–27.

MS Eng. c. 5740: Correspondence of Michael Bruce with his father, 1803–11.

MS Eng. c. 7963: Correspondence of John Hughes with Harriet Thayer, 1817–33.

MS Eng. misc. e. 203: George Rennie, journal for Portugal, Spain and France, 1817.

MS Gough gen. top. 44: Correspondence of Richard Gough with Michael Tyson, 1770–80.

MS Wilkinson dep. d. 2: Sketchbook of John Gardiner Wilkinson, 1818–19.

Bristol Archives

8037/79a, 79b: Letters from Thomas Cooper Vanderhorst, 1819.

Bristol Reference Library

B20854: Robert Southey, diary written in Portugal, 1800–1.

British Library (BL)

Add MS 5845: Thomas Pitt, 'Observations on Spain & Portugal, 1760' (copy by William Cole).

Add MS 33125: Thomas Pelham, journal in Spain, 1775–6.

Add MSS 33126–33127: Correspondence of First Earl of Chichester, 1775–7.

Add MS 37327: Berry Papers Volume II, including letters from Anne Seymour Damer.

Add MS 43229–43230: Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen.

Add MSS 51930–51932, 51934–51936: Journals of Elizabeth Lady Holland in Spain, 1802–5 and 1808–9.

Add MS 52284: George Call, 'Ramble in Spain 1808' (autograph copy 1846).

Add MS 56527: John Cam Hobhouse, journal, 1809.

Add MS 63609–63610: Richard Keppel Craven, diary, 1809–13.

British Museum (BM)

1802,0508.1.a–e: Alhambra tiles, 14th–16th centuries, donated by Anne Damer.

1853,0307.655–719: William Gell, sketchbook 12 [c. 1808–36].

British School at Rome (BSR)

WG[MS]-6: William Gell, notebook 6, Spain and Portugal, 1808–36. Page references are to the image numbers of the digitisation, for which see the BSR Digital Collections. Accessed 17 February 2025. <https://researchprojects.bsr.ac.uk/s/william-gell/page/spain-and-portugal>.

Cambridge University Library

Add MS 3545: Richard Colt Hoare, notes on itineraries, 1785–8.

Clements Library, University of Michigan

1940.M-408: Letterbook of Thomas Shadwell, 1773–8.

Derbyshire Record Office (DRO)

D239/M/F/16318: Henry Gally Knight, 'Journal of a six week tour in La Mancha in September 1809'.

D239/M/F/16319–20: Henry Gally Knight, 'Continuation of a six week tour', November to December 1809 (unfoliated).

D239/M/F/16331–41 and 16349: Letters from Henry Gally Knight to his mother, 1809–11.

D239/M/F/16390: Letter from Henry Gally Knight to Henry Pepys, January 1810.

D258/50: Correspondence of William Gell with his family, 1800–36.

Devon Archives

1262M/FD 3–4: Journals of 2nd Lord Fortescue in Spain, Portugal, Tangier, Sardinia and Sicily, 1808–10.

Huntington Library

MSS ME Box 11: Edward Jerningham Papers.

John Rylands Library, University of Manchester (JRL)

GB 133 HAM: Mary Hamilton Papers.

Kent Archives (KA)

U1776/F7: Edward Hussey, journal of tour in Spain, 1802–3 (unfoliated).

Kresen Kernow

CF/2/717: Anon. [probable author F. W. W. Aylmer], journal of tour in Spain, 1808 (unfoliated).

Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (LWL)

MS 41 Box 1: Henry Holland, 'Journal in Spain 1812 [sic]', 1813.

MS 41 Box 2: Henry Holland, letters to his father, 1812, and journal of tour to Portugal and Spain, 1841 (unfoliated).

Lincolnshire Archives (LA)

MS Worsley 53: Sir Richard Worsley, 'Journal of tour from Appledurcombe to Italy, via Portugal, Spain and France', 1783.

National Library of Scotland (NLS)

Adv MS 29.5.6–29.5.7: Correspondence of George Paton with Richard Gough, 1762–1804.

MS.2732: Sederunt book of the Committee of Subscribers to Sir John Moore's Monument.

MS.3628: Mrs Mary Graham, journal of a journey from near Oporto through Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Madrid, Burgos, Bayonne, Toulouse, and Avignon to Lyons, 23 August–19 September 1781.

MS.3638: Mrs Mary Graham, album of sketches of figures and scenes in the Peninsula and France, 1780–2.

MS.5539, MS.5541, MS.5542, MS.5544, MS.55545, MS.5546, MS.5549, MS.5550, MS.5551, MS.5553, MS.5554: Robert Liston papers.

MSS.10351–56: George Lewis Augustus Douglas, 'Tour through some parts of France, Spain and Portugal', transcribed by him from the cipher of his original manuscript, 1819.

MS.10361: George Lewis Augustus Douglas, 'Peninsular scenery', 1819.

- MS.16045: Mrs Mary Graham, 'Extracts from Mrs Feildings [sic] journal while we were abroad together in 1781'.
- MS.19388: 'Journal of a tour from Gibraltar to Malaga & Granada and back by Antequera, Seteuil, Ronda and San Roque by T S Traill May 1814'.
- MS.19389: Literary version of Thomas Stewart Traill's tour in Spain of 1814.

Norfolk and Norwich Record Office (NNRO)

COL/13/27: Henry Hobart, journal of tour of Portugal and Spain in 1766 and 1767.

Orkney Library and Archive (OLA)

- D1/1066/1: Thomas Traill, 'Journal during a voyage to Spain and a tour through part of that country in the year 1814' (continuation of NLS MS.19389).
- D1/1066/2: Thomas Traill, journal of Tour in Morocco and Spain in 1814 (continuation of NLS MS.19388).

Surrey History Centre (SHC)

- LM 1327/26/1–2: James More Molyneux, journal in Spain and North Africa, 1785 (unfoliated).
- LM 1327/28/1–2: James More Molyneux, journal in Spain and Portugal, 1785–6 (unfoliated).
- LM/COR/13/306 and 13/326: Letters from James More Molyneux to his mother, 1786 (unfoliated).
- MS 304/B/Box 1 (9): Letters from Henry Goulburn to his mother, 1809–10 (unfoliated).

University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

John Waldie Papers Box 4, journals 43 and 44 (20 April–30 July 1819; 31 July–30 November 1819).

University of Leeds Library Special Collections and Galleries (ULLSCG)

- MD335/1/9/4/14: Notes relating to a tour of Portugal, Spain and France in 1784. Anon. [Thomas Lister] (unfoliated).
- MS 233, 2 vols: John Spencer Stanhope, journal in Spain and North Africa, 1810–11.

Warwickshire Record Office

CR 2017/TP460: Correspondence of Thomas Falconer with David Pennant, 1787–8.

Wigan and Leigh Archives

D/D St./BundleC19/1: Jarrard Edward Strickland to Thomas Strickland Standish, 23 March 1810.

Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office

2485/1: John Edmund Halliday, commonplace book, including photocopies of letters from Spain, 1787.

Printed primary sources

- Adeane, Jane H. and Maud Grenfell (eds). *Before and After Waterloo. Letters from Edward Stanley sometime Bishop of Norwich (1802; 1814; 1816)*. London, 1907.
- Alexander, Boyd (ed.). *The Journal of William Beckford in Portugal & Spain, 1787–88*. Reprinted Stroud, 2006.
- Alexander, James Edward. *Sketches in Portugal During the Civil War of 1834 with Observations on the Present State and Future Prospects of Portugal*. London, 1835.
- Allardyce, Alexander (ed.). *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1858.
- Álvarez de Colmenar, Juan. *Les délices de l'Espagne et du Portugal*. Leiden, 1707.
- Andrews, John. *A Review of the Characters of the Principal Nations in Europe*, 2 vols. London, 1770.
- Andrews, John. *Characteristical Views of the Past and Present State of the People of Spain and Italy Addressed to an English Traveller*. London, 1808.
- Anon. *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 2 vols. Madrid, 1787–1804.
- Anon. [Aranda, Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de]. 'Aux auteurs du journal'. *Journal de Paris* 318 (14 November 1785): 1309–11.
- Anon. *The Lisbon Guide*. London, 1800.
- Anon. *A New Moral System of Geography, Containing an Account of the Different Nations Ancient and Modern*. London, 1790.

- Anon. [Waddilove, Robert Darley (ed. and trans.)]. *The Works of Anthony Raphael Mengs First Painter to His Catholic Majesty Charles III*. Translated from the Italian published by the Chevr. Don Joseph Nicholas D'Azara Spanish Minister at Rome, 2 vols. London, 1796.
- Anon. [G. D. Whittington]. *A Tour Through the Principal Provinces of Spain and Portugal Performed in the Year 1803 with Cursory Observations on the Manners of the Inhabitants*. London, 1806.
- Anon. [Maria Wilson]. *Spain and Barbary. Letters to a younger sister, during a visit to Gibraltar, Cadiz, Seville, Tangier*. London, 1837.
- Ap Rhys, Udal. *An Account of the Most Remarkable Places and Curiosities in Spain and Portugal*. London, 1749.
- Aranda, Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de. *Dénonciation au public du voyage d'un soi-disant Figaro en Espagne, par le véritable Figaro*. London [probably printed in Paris], 1785.
- Argote, Simón de. *Nuevos paseos históricos, artísticos, económico-políticos, por Granada y sus contornos*. Granada, [1807?].
- Arteta de Monteseuro, Antonio. *Oración fúnebre que en las solemnes exequias del Sr. Rey Don Carlos III, mandadas celebrar por la Real Sociedad Aragonesa de Amigos del País en la Iglesia de San Carlos Borromeo de la ciudad de Zaragoza el día 31 de enero de 1789*. Zaragoza, 1789.
- Atkinson, C. T. 'A Peninsular Brigadier: Letters of Major General Sir F. P. Robinson, K.C.B., dealing with the Campaign of 1813'. *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* 34 (140) (1956): 153–70.
- Badcock, Lovell. *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal, During the Years, 1832, 1833, & 1834*. London, 1835.
- Baillie, Marianne. *Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823*, 2 vols, 2nd edition [1st edition 1824]. London, 1825.
- Baretti, Giuseppe. *A Journey from London to Genoa: Through England, Portugal, Spain and France*, 4 vols. London, 1770.
- Baretti, Giuseppe. *Voyage de Londres à Gênes*, trans. Henri Rieu, 4 vols. Amsterdam, 1777.
- Bath and Wells, Bishop of (ed.). *The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*, 4 vols. London, 1861.
- Blanco White, Joseph. *Letters from Spain*, 2nd edition [1st edition 1822]. London, 1825.
- Blankett, John. *Letters from Portugal, on the Late and Present State of that Kingdom*. London, 1777.
- Blayney, Andrew. *Narrative of a Forced Journey through Spain and France*, 3 vols. London, 1814.
- Borrow, George. *The Bible in Spain*. London, 1842.
- Boswell, James. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 2 vols. London, 1949.
- Bourgoing, Jean François, Baron de. *Nouveau voyage en Espagne, ou Tableau de l'état actuel de cette monarchie*, 3 vols. Paris, 1789.
- Bourgoing, Jean-François, Baron de. *Tableau de l'Espagne moderne*, 3 vols. Paris, 1797.
- Bourgoing, Jean-François, Baron de. *Travels in Spain: Containing a new, accurate and comprehensive view of the present state of that country*, 2 vols. London, 1790.
- Bourke, Thomas. *A Concise History of the Moors in Spain, from their Invasion of that Kingdom to their Final Expulsion from it*. London, 1811.
- Bowles, Guillermo [William]. *Introducción a la historia natural, y a la geografía física de España*, 2nd edition [1st edition 1775]. Madrid, 1782.
- Bowring, John. *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain. Selected and translated*. London, 1824.
- Bradford, William. *Sketches of the Country, Character, and Costume, in Portugal and Spain, made during the Campaign, and on the Route of the British Army, in 1808 and 1809*. London, 1812.
- Breval, John. *Remarks upon Several Parts of Europe: Relating chiefly to the history, antiquities and geography of those countries*, 2 vols. London, 1726.
- Brigstocke, Hugh and Angela Delaforce. 'John Croft's tour to Spain, Old Castile, from O Porto in Portugal, 1766'. In *British Travellers in Spain, 1766–1849: Part 1, Walpole Society 77*, edited by Hugh Brigstocke, 19–48. The Walpole Society, 2015.
- Brigstocke, Hugh and Angela Delaforce. 'Lord St Helens and Henry Gally Knight: Letters from Spain, 1790–1810'. In *British Travellers in Spain, 1766–1849: Part 1, Walpole Society 77*, edited by Hugh Brigstocke, 178–212. The Walpole Society, 2015.
- Brigstocke, Hugh and Angela Delaforce. 'Roger Pettiward's journal of a tour through France, Spain and Portugal, 1788–89'. In *British Travellers in Spain, 1766–1849: Part 1, Walpole Society 77*, edited by Hugh Brigstocke, 128–50. The Walpole Society, 2015.

- Brigstocke, Hugh and Angela Delaforce. 'William Parsons's journal from London to Seville, 1788'. In *British Travellers in Spain, 1766–1849: Part 1*, Walpole Society 77, edited by Hugh Brigstocke, 64–127. The Walpole Society, 2015.
- Brooke, Arthur de Capell. *Sketches in Spain and Morocco*, 2 vols. London, 1831.
- Broughton, S. D. *Letters from Portugal, Spain & France, Written During the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814, Addressed to a Friend in England*. London, 1815.
- Buckham, E. W. *Personal Narrative of Adventures in the Peninsula during the War in 1812–13 by an Officer late in the Staff Corps Regiment of Cavalry*. London, 1827.
- Cañes, Francisco. *Gramática árábigo-española, vulgar, y literal*. Madrid, 1775.
- Cardonne, Denis Dominique. *Historie de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne: Sous la domination des Arabes*, 3 vols. Paris 1765.
- Carr, John. *Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain and the Balearic Isles in the Year 1809*. London, 1811.
- Carter, Francis. *A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, 2 vols. London, 1777.
- Casiri, Miguel. *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, 2 vols. Madrid, 1760–70.
- Cavanilles, Antonio José. *Observations sur l'article 'Espagne' de la nouvelle Encyclopédie*. Paris, 1784.
- Cavanilles, Antonio José. *Observaciones sobre la historia natural, geografía, agricultura, población y frutos del reyno de Valencia*, 2 vols. Madrid, 1795–7.
- Chambers, William. *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry, the Seat of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales*. London, 1763.
- Clarke, Christopher. *An Examination of the Internal State of Spain: To which is prefixed a brief sketch of her history to the late invasion by the French*. London, 1818.
- Clarke, Edward. *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation: Written at Madrid during the years 1760 and 1761*. London, 1763.
- Clarke, Edward. *État present de l'Espagne et de la nation espagnole* [trans. G. Imbert], 2 vols. Brussels, 1770.
- Climenson, E. J. (ed.). *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Lybbe Powys, 1756–1805*. London, 1899.
- Coleridge, E. H. (ed.). *The Works of Lord Byron – Poetry*, 7 vols. London, 1898–1904.
- Collins, Francis. *Voyages to Portugal, Spain, Sicily, Malta, Asia-Minor, Egypt &c. &c. from 1796–1801*, 3rd edition [1st edition 1807]. London, 1822.
- Conder, Josiah. *The Modern Traveller: Spain and Portugal*, 2 vols. London, 1830.
- Conyngham, William Burton. 'Observations on the description of the Theatre at Saguntum ...'. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 3 (1789): 21–46.
- Cooke, S. E. *Sketches in Spain, During the Years, 1829–30–31–32*, 2 vols. London, 1834.
- Costigan, Arthur William. *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal. In a series of letters from Arthur Costigan, Esq. late a Captain of the Irish Brigade in the service of Spain to his brother in London*, 2 vols. London, 1787.
- Craven, Elizabeth, Lady. *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach Written by Herself*, 2 vols. London, 1826.
- Croker, Richard. *Travels Through Several Provinces of Spain and Portugal, &c.* London, 1799.
- Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, Juan de la. *Colección de trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos*. Madrid, 1777.
- Cumberland, Richard. *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain, During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; With cursory remarks upon the present state of arts in that kingdom*, 2 vols. London, 1787.
- Dallas, A. R. C. (ed.). *Correspondence of Lord Byron, with a Friend, Including his Letters to his Mother, Written from Portugal, Spain, Greece and the Shores of the Mediterranean, in 1809, 1810 and 1811*. Paris, 1825.
- Dalrymple, William. *Travels Through Spain and Portugal, in 1774; with a short account of the Spanish expedition against Algiers, in 1775*. London, 1777.
- Darwin, Francis Sacheverell. *Travels in Spain and the East, 1808–10*, edited by Francis Swift Darwin. Cambridge, 1927.
- D'Aulnoy, Marie Catherine La Mothe, Countess. *The Lady's Travels into Spain; or, a genuine relation of the religion, laws, commerce, customs, and manners of that country*, 2 vols. London, 1774.
- Delaporte (Abbé), Joseph. *Le voyageur François, ou La connoissance de l'ancien et du nouveau monde*, vol. 16, *Le voyage d'Espagne*. Paris, 1772.
- Dennis, George. *A Summer in Andalucia*, 2 vols. London, 1839.
- Denon, Vivant. *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte*, 2 vols. Paris, 1802.

- Dibdin, Thomas Frognall. *The Bibliographical Decameron*, 3 vols. London, 1817.
- Dillon, John Talbot. *Travels Through Spain, with a View to Illustrate the Natural History and Physical Geography of that Kingdom, in a Series of Letters*. London, 1780.
- Dillon, John Talbot. *Letters from an English Traveller in Spain, in 1778, on the Origin and Progress of Poetry in that Kingdom*. London, 1781.
- Drinkwater, John. *A History of the Late Siege of Gibraltar. With a description and account of that garrison, from the earliest periods*. London, 1786.
- Dryden, John. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*. London, 1672.
- Dumouriez, Charles-François du Périer. *An Account of Portugal, as It Appeared in 1766 to Dumouriez; since a celebrated General in the French Army*. London, 1797.
- Echeverría, Juan de. *Paseos por Granada y sus contornos*, 2 vols. Granada, 1764.
- Eliot, William Granville. *A Treatise on the Defence of Portugal, with a Military Map of the Country; to which is added, a sketch of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and principal events of the campaigns under Lord Wellington*, 3rd edition [1st edition 1810]. London, 1811.
- Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself*, 9th edition [1st edition 1789]. London, 1794.
- Fanshawe, Richard. *The Lusiad: or, Portugals Historicall Poem: Written in the Portingall Language by Luis de Camoens*. London, 1655.
- Fischer, Frederick [Christian] August. *Travels in Spain in 1797 and 1798*. London, 1802.
- Fischer, Christian August. *A Picture of Valencia, Taken on the Spot; Comprehending a description of that province, its inhabitants, manners and customs, productions, commerce, manufactures*, 2nd edition [1st edition 1809]. London, 1811.
- Fisher, R. B. *A Sketch of the City of Lisbon, and its Environs; With some observations on the manners, disposition, and character of the Portuguese nation*. London, 1811.
- Fleuriot, Jean-Marie-Jérôme, Marquis de Langle. *Voyage de Figaro, en Espagne*. Saint-Malo, 1784.
- Fleuriot, Jean-Marie-Jérôme, Marquis de Langle. *A Sentimental Journey Through Spain*, 2 vols, 2nd edition [1st edition 1786]. London, 1788.
- Ford, Richard. *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home*, edited by Ian Robertson, 3 vols [1st edition 1845]. London, 1966.
- Forner, Juan Pablo. *Oración apologética por la España y su mérito literario: para que sirva de exornación al discurso leído por el abate Denina en la Academia de Ciencias de Berlín, respondiendo a la cuestión ¿qué se debe a España?* Madrid, 1786.
- Galland, M. (ed. and trans.). *Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of one thousand and one stories*, 4 vols, 10th edition [1st edition 1706]. Dublin, 1776.
- Gell, William. *The Topography of Troy, and its Vicinity; Illustrated and explained by drawings and descriptions*. London, 1804.
- Gell, William. *The Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca*. London, 1807.
- Gell, William. 'The romantic history of the Arabs in Spain'. In *Heath's Book of Beauty*. 1837, edited by Countess of Blessington. London, 1836.
- Glover, Michael (ed.). *A Gentleman Volunteer. The letters of George Hennell from the Peninsular War 1812–1813*. London, 1979.
- Gordon, Patrick. *Geography Anatomiz'd: or, the Geographical Grammar*. London, 1711.
- Gough, Richard. *British Topography*, 2 vols. London, 1780.
- Graham, William. *Travels Through Portugal and Spain, During the Peninsular War*. London, 1820.
- Greg, Robert Hyde. *The Travel Journals of Robert Hyde Greg of Quarry Bank Mill. Travels in Scotland, Spain and Portugal, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire, 1814–17*, edited by Robert and Beryl Freer. Donington, 2007.
- Harrison, W. H. *The Tourist in Portugal*. London, 1839.
- Hawker, Peter. *Journal of a Regimental Officer during the Recent Campaign in Portugal and Spain under Lord Viscount Wellington with a Correct Plan of the Battle of Talavera*. London, 1810.
- Holland, Henry. *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c: During the years 1812 and 1813*. London, 1815.
- Hope, Thomas. *Observations on the Plans and Elevations Designed by James Wyatt, Architect, for Downing College, Cambridge; in a Letter to Francis Annesley, Esq. M.P.* London, 1804.
- Hume, David. 'Of national characters'. In *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, edited by Eugene F. Miller, 197–215. Indianapolis, 1985.
- Ilchester, Earl of (ed.). *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*. London, 1911.
- Inglis, Henry David. *Spain in 1830*. London, 1831.

- Iriarte, Juan de. *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis codices Graeci Mss.* Madrid, 1769.
- Irving, Washington. *Tales of the Alhambra*. London, 1832.
- Jacob, William. *Travels in the South of Spain, in Letters Written A.D. 1809 and 1810*. London, 1811.
- Jardine, Alexander. *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal &c: By an English officer*, 2 vols. London, 1788.
- Kinsey, W. M. *Portugal Illustrated; in a Series of Letters*, 2nd edition [1st edition 1828]. London, 1829.
- Knight, Henry Gally. *Iberia's Crisis, a Fragment of an Epic Poem in Three Parts*. London, 1809.
- Knight, Henry Gally. *An Architectural Tour in Normandy: With some remarks on Norman architecture*. London, 1836.
- Knight, Henry Gally. *Saracenic and Norman Remains to Illustrate the Normans in Sicily*. London, 1840.
- Knight, Henry Gally. *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. London, 1842.
- Laborde, Alexandre de. *Itinéraire descriptive de l'Espagne, et tableau élémentaire des différentes branches de l'administration et de l'industrie de ce royaume*. Paris, 1808.
- Laborde, Alexander de. *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, 2 vols. Paris, 1806–20.
- Lane, Edward. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. London, 1836.
- Leslie, Charles. *Military Journal of Colonel Leslie K.H., of Balquhain, whilst Serving with the 29th Regt in the Peninsula and the 60th Rifles in Canada, &c, 1807–1832*. Aberdeen, 1887.
- Lewis, Lady Theresa (ed.). *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, 3 vols. London, 1865.
- Lewis, W. S. (ed.). *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols. New Haven, CT, 1937–83.
- Link, Heinrich (Henry) Friedrich. *Travels in Portugal, and through France and Spain*. London, 1811.
- Locker, Edward Hawke. *Views in Spain*. London, 1824.
- Lockhart, J. G. *Ancient Spanish Ballads: Historical and romantic*. Edinburgh, 1823.
- Lyall, Alfred. *Rambles in Madeira and Portugal in the Early Part of M.DCCC.XXVI*. London, 1827.
- Macdonald, John. *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe, Asia and Africa*. London, 1790.
- Mackinnon, Henry. *A Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain, Containing Remarks on the Inhabitants, Customs, Trade and Cultivation of those Countries from the Year 1809 to 1812*. Bath, 1812.
- Mair, John. *A Brief Survey of the Terraqueous Globe*. Edinburgh, 1775.
- Malagrida, Gabriel. *The Proceedings and Sentence of the Spiritual Court of Inquisition of Portugal against Gabriel Malagrida, Jesuit, for Heresy, Hypocrisy, False Prophecies, Impostures, and Various other Heinous Crimes*. London, 1762.
- Malmesbury, third Earl of [J. Harris] (ed.). *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury*, 4 vols. London, 1844.
- Marshall, Joseph. *Travels Through France and Spain*. London, 1776.
- Masson de Morvilliers, Nicolas. *Abrégé élémentaire de la géographie universelle de l'Espagne et du Portugal*. Paris, 1776.
- Masson de Morvilliers, Nicolas. 'Espagne'. In *Encyclopédie méthodique. Géographie moderne*, 3 vols, I, 554–68. Paris, 1782–8.
- Matthews, Henry. *The Diary of an Invalid*, 2nd edition [1st edition 1820]. London, 1820.
- McGann, Jerome J. (ed.). *Lord Byron. The Complete Poetical Works*. Oxford, 1980.
- Mengs, Anton Raphael. *Sketches on the Art of Painting*, trans. J. T. Dillon. London, 1782.
- Mickle, William (trans.). *The Lusiad; or, The Discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Translated from the original Portuguese of Luis de Camoëns*. Oxford, 1776.
- Milford, John. *Peninsular Sketches During a Recent Tour*. London, 1816.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de. *Lettres persanes*. Amsterdam, 1721.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de. *De l'Esprit des loix, ou du rapport que les loix doivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement, mœurs, climat, religion, commerce, etc. (sic); à quoi l'auteur a ajouté des recherches sur les lois romaines touchant les successions, sur les lois françaises et sur les lois féodales*. Geneva, 1748.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de. *The Spirit of the Laws*, edited by Anne Cohler, Basia Miller and Harold Stone. Cambridge, 1989.
- Muñoz, Juan Bautista. *Historia del nuevo-mundo*. Madrid, 1793.
- Murphy, James Cavanah. *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha in the Province of Estremadura in Portugal*. London, 1795.

- Murphy, James Cavanah. *Travels in Portugal; through the Provinces of Entre Duoro e Minho, Beira, Estremadura and Alem-Tejo in the Years 1789 and 1790*. London, 1795.
- Murphy, James Cavanah. *A General View of the State of Portugal*. London, 1798.
- Murphy, James Cavanah. *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. London, 1815.
- Neale, Adam. *Letters from Portugal and Spain: Comprising an account of the operations of the armies under their Excellencies Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore from the landing of the troops in Mondego Bay to the battle at Corunna*. London, 1809.
- Nebrija, Antonio de and Eugenio de Zeballos. *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis, grammatici, chronographi regii*. Madrid, 1776.
- Nichols, John. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, VI. London, 1831.
- Pardoe, Julia. *Traits and Traditions of Portugal, Collected During a Residency in that Country*, 2 vols. London, 1835.
- Percy, Thomas. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. London, 1765.
- Pérez de Hita, Ginés. *Guerras civiles de Granada*. Paris, 1595–1619.
- Peyron, Jean-François. *Essais sur l'Espagne*. Geneva, 1780.
- Peyron, Jean-François. *Nouveau voyage en Espagne*. London, 1782.
- Pinkerton, John. *Select Scottish Ballads*. London, 1783.
- Ponz, Antonio. *Viage de España: en que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables, y dignas de saberse, que hay en ella*. Madrid, 1772–94.
- Ponz, Antonio. *Viaje fuera de España*, [1785], edited by Mónica Bolufer Peruga. Alicante, 2007.
- Poole, Stanley Lane (ed.). *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, K.G., G.C.B., D.C.L., L.L.D., &c From his Memoirs and Private and Official Papers*, 2 vols. London, 1888.
- Porter, Robert Ker. *Letters from Portugal and Spain, Written during the March of the British Troops under Sir John Moore*. London, 1809.
- Power, George. *The History of the Empire of the Musulmans in Spain and Portugal; from the First Invasion of the Moors, to their Ultimate Expulsion from the Peninsula*. London, 1815.
- Robert de Vaugondy, Didier. 'Portugal'. In *Encyclopédie méthodique. Géographie moderne*, 3 vols, II, 676–7. Paris, 1782–8.
- Robertson, William. *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, with a View of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Subversion of the Roman Empire, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*. London, 1769.
- Robertson, William. *The History of America*, 2 vols. London, 1777.
- Robertson, William. *The History of America, Books IX and X Containing the History of Virginia to the Year 1688, and New England to the Year 1652*. London, 1796.
- Rodd, Thomas. *The Civil Wars of Granada*. London, 1801.
- Roscoe, Thomas. *The Tourist in Spain. Andalusia*. London, 1836.
- Scott, C. Rochford. *Excursions in the Mountains of Ronda and Granada, with Characteristic Sketches of the Inhabitants of the South of Spain*, 2 vols. London, 1838.
- Semple, Robert. *Observations on a Journey Through Spain and Italy to Naples; And thence to Smyrna and Constantinople etc*, 2 vols. London, 1807.
- Semple, Robert. *A Second Journey in Spain, in the Spring of 1809*. London, 1809.
- Shakespeare, John. *The History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain: Containing a general history of the Arabs, their institutions, conquests, literature, arts, sciences, and manners, to the expulsion of the Moors*. London, 1816.
- Sherer, Moyle. *Recollections of the Peninsula*, 5th edition [1st edition 1823]. London, 1827.
- Silhouette, Étienne. *Voyages à travers la France, l'Espagne, le Portugal et l'Italie*. Paris, 1770.
- Southey, Robert. *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*. Bristol, 1797.
- Southey, Robert. *The Chronicle of the Cid*. London, 1808.
- Spencer, Alfred (ed.). *Memoirs of William Hickey*, 4 vols. London, 1913–[25].
- Stanhope, John Spencer. *Topography Illustrative of the Battle of Plataea*. London, 1817.
- Stanhope, John Spencer. *Olympia: or Topography of the Actual State of the Plain of Olympia and of the Ruins of the City of Elis*. London, 1824.
- Stothard, Eliza. *Memoirs, Including the Original Journals, Letters, Papers and Antiquarian Tracts of the late Charles Alfred Stothard, FSA*. London, 1823.
- Stothert, William. *A Narrative of the Principal Events of the Campaigns of 1809, 1810 & 1811 in Spain and Portugal*. London, 1812.
- Strabo. *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Thomas Falconer. Oxford, 1807.

- Street, G. E. *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*. London, 1865.
- Swinburne, Henry. *Travels Through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776: In which several monuments of Roman and Moorish architecture are illustrated by accurate drawings taken upon the spot*. 1st edition [2nd edition, 2 vols, 1787]. London, 1779.
- Swinburne, Henry. *Travels in the Two Sicilies by Henry Swinburne, Esq., in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780*, 2 vols. London, 1783–5.
- Swinburne, Henry. *The Courts of Europe at the Close of the Last Century*, 2 vols. London, 1895.
- Thicknesse, Philip. *A Year's Journey through France and Part of Spain*, 2 vols. Bath, 1777.
- Townsend, Joseph. *A Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787; With particular attention to the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, population, taxes, and revenue of that country; and remarks in passing through a part of France*, 3 vols. London, 1791.
- Townsend, Joseph. *Voyage en Espagne fait dans les années 1786 et 1787... Traduit de l'anglais sur la 2e édition par J.P. Pictet-Mallet*, 3 vols. Paris, 1800.
- Twiss, Richard. *Travels Through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 1773*. London, 1775.
- Twiss, Richard. *Voyage en Portugal et en Espagne fait en 1772 & 1773*. Berne, 1776.
- Vaughan, Charles. *Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza*. London, 1809.
- Voltaire. *An Essay on Universal History*, 4 vols. London, 1759.
- Watkins, Thomas. *Travels through Swisserland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands, to Constantinople etc*, 2 vols. London, 1792.
- Watson, Robert. *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*. London, 1777.
- Watson, Robert. *The History of the Reign of Philip the Third, King of Spain*. London, 1783.
- Wells, Nathaniel Armstrong. *The Picturesque Antiquities of Spain*. London, 1846.
- Whittington, G. D. *An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France; With a view to illustrate the rise and progress of Gothic architecture in Europe*. London, 1809.
- Wraxall, Nathaniel. *Historical Memoirs of My Own Time*, 2 vols. London, 1815.
- Wren, Christopher. *Parentalia: Or, Memoirs of the Family of Wren*. London, 1750.
- Young, Arthur. *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789, Undertaken More Particularly with a View of Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity, of the Kingdom of France. To which is added, the register of a tour into Spain*, 2 vols. Dublin, 1793.

Periodicals

- The Analytical Review: Or, History of Literature.*
- The Annual Register: Or, a View of the History, Politics and Literature of the Year.*
- The Annual Review and History of Literature.*
- The British Review and London Critical Journal.*
- The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature.*
- The Eclectic Review.*
- The Edinburgh Review.*
- The European Magazine and London Review.*
- The Literary Panorama and National Register.*
- The London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer.*
- The Monthly Register and Encyclopedian Magazine.*
- The Monthly Review.*
- The New Annual Register: Or, General Repository of History, Politics, Arts, Sciences and Literature.*
- The New London Magazine.*
- The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure.*
- The Weekly Miscellany.*

Secondary Sources

- Albert, William. *The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Allan, David. 'Anti-Hispanicism and the construction of late eighteenth-century British patriotism: Watson's *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 77 (5) (2000): 423–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074900052389959>.
- Álvarez Barrientos, Joaquín. 'Spanish Republic of Letters'. In *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*, edited by Jesús Astigarraga, 41–61. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.

- Álvarez Barrientos, Joaquín. 'The urban cultural model: center and periphery'. In *The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment*, edited by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer Peruga and Catherine M. Jaffe, 157–69. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020.
- Álvarez Junco, José and Adrian Shubert. *Spanish History Since 1808*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000.
- Amaro Martos, Ismael. 'La revolución de la moda y su trascendencia en España: El caso de la alta sociedad madrileña del siglo XVIII'. *BSAA arte* 84 (2018): 299–327. <https://doi.org/10.24197/bsaaa.84.2018.299-327>.
- Anderson, M. S. 'Great Britain and the Barbary States in the eighteenth century'. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 29 (79) (1956): 87–107. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.1956.tb02346.x>.
- Andreu Miralles, Xavier. *El descubrimiento de España: Mito romántico e identidad nacional*. Barcelona: Taurus, 2016.
- Andreu Miralles, Xavier and Mónica Bolufer Peruga (eds). *European Modernity and the Passionate South: Gender and nation in Spain and Italy in the long nineteenth century*. Leiden: Brill 2023.
- Ansell, Richard. 'Reading and writing travels: Maximilien Misson, Samuel Waring and the afterlives of European voyages, c.1687–1714'. *English Historical Review* 133 (565) (2018): 1446–77. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cey369>.
- Ansell, Richard. 'William Gell's encounters with Islamic Spain, 1808–36'. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 92 (2024): 221–56. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068246224000011>.
- Astigarraga, Jesús. 'Introduction: admirer, rougir, imiter – Spain and the European Enlightenment'. In *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*, edited by Jesús Astigarraga, 1–17. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.
- Bacigalupo, Mario Ford. 'An ambiguous image: English travel accounts of Spain (1750–1787)'. *Dieciocho* 1 (2) (1978): 116–38.
- Bacigalupo, Mario Ford. 'A modified image: English travel accounts of Spain, 1788–1808'. *Dieciocho* 2 (1) (1979): 21–42.
- Banton, Michael. *The Idea of Race*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1977.
- Barke, M. and J. Towner. 'Exploring the history of leisure and tourism in Spain'. In *Tourism in Spain: Critical issues*, edited by M. Barke, J. Towner and M. Newton, 3–34. Wallingford: C.A.B. International, 1996.
- Barker, G. F. R., revised by Hallie Rubenhold, 'Robinson, Thomas, second Baron Grantham (1738–1786)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23880>.
- Barrio Marco, José Manuel and Héctor Odín Fernández Bahillo. *La imagen de la Alhambra y el Generalife en la cultura anglosajona (1620–1920)*. Granada: Comares, 2014.
- Barrios Rozúa, Juan Manuel. 'La Alhambra de Granada y los difíciles comienzos de la restauración arquitectónica (1814–1840)'. *Academia: Boletín de la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 106 (7) (2008): 131–58.
- Basarrate, Inigo. 'The British discovery of Spanish Gothic architecture'. *Journal of Art Historiography* 19 (2018): 1–30.
- Bas Martín, Nicolás and Barry Taylor (eds). *El libro español en Londres: La vision de España en Inglaterra (siglos XVI al XIX)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2016.
- Bas Martín, Nicolás. *Spanish Books in the Europe of the Enlightenment (Paris and London): A view from abroad*, translated by Andy Birch. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Bell, David A. *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the birth of modern warfare*. London: Bloomsbury, 2007.
- Berg, Maxine. *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Berry, C. J. *The Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.
- Bertrand, Gilles. *Le grand tour revisité: Pour une archéologie du tourisme: Le voyage des français en Italie (milieu XVIIIe siècle–début XIXe siècle)*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008.
- Bizzocchi, Roberto. *A Lady's Man: The cicisbei, private morals and national identity in Italy*, translated by Noor Giovanni Mazhar. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Black, Jeremy. 'Anglo-Portuguese relations in the eighteenth century: A reassessment'. *British Historical Society of Portugal Annual Report* 14 (1987): 125–42.

- Black, Jeremy. 'The Enlightenment historian at work: The researches of William Robertson'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 65 (3) (1988): 251–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1475382882000365251>.
- Black, Jeremy. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the eighteenth century*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. 'Los intelectuales valencianos y la cultura británica del siglo XVIII'. *Estudis* 27 (2001): 299–346.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. 'Visiones de Europa en el siglo de las luces: El Viaje fuera de España (1785) de Antonio Ponz'. *Estudis* 28 (2002): 167–204.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. '¿“Conocimiento” o “desengaño”? El viaje europeo de Antonio Ponz (1785)'. In *Placer e instrucción: Viajeros valencianos por el siglo XVIII*, edited by Emilio Soler Pascual and Nicolás Bas Martín, 113–40. Valencia: Real Sociedad de Amigos del País de Valencia, 2008.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. 'Between two shores: Travellers as cultural mediators: The journey to Spain in the eighteenth century'. *Acta Histriae* 17 (2009): 83–102.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. 'Relatos de frontera: Alexander Jardine en España y Berbería (1788)'. In *Les sociétés de frontière de la Méditerranée à l'Atlantique (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)*, edited by Michel Bertrand and Natalia Planas, 83–99. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. 'Orientalizing Southern Europe? Spain through the eyes of foreign travelers'. *The Eighteenth Century* 57 (4) (2016): 451–67.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. 'Gallantry and sociability in the South of Europe'. In *European Modernity and the Passionate South: Gender and nation in Spain and Italy in the long nineteenth century*, edited by Xavier Andreu Miralles and Mónica Bolufer Peruga, 14–35. Leiden: Brill, 2023.
- Borsay, Peter with Rosemary Sweet. *The Invention of the English Landscape, c. 1700–1939*. London: Bloomsbury, 2023.
- Bracewell, Wendy. 'The limits of Europe in East European travel writing'. In *Under Eastern Eyes: A comparative history of East European travel writing on Europe*, edited by Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, 61–120. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008.
- Bracewell, Wendy. 'The traveller's eye: reading European travel writing, 1750–1850'. In *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, edited by Paul Smithurst and Julia Kuehn, 215–27. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Bracewell, Wendy. 'Arguing from experience: Travelers versus travelers in early modern exchanges'. *Renaissance Studies* 3 (4) (2019): 548–67. <https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12562>.
- Braga Riera, Jorge. 'The adaptation of seventeenth-century Spanish drama to the English stage during the Restoration period: the Case of Calderón'. In *Theatre and Culture in Early Modern England, 1650–1737: From Leviathan to the Licensing Act*, edited by C. Gill, 107–18. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Braun, Theodore E. D. and John B. Radner. *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755: Representations and reactions*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005.
- Bryant, Shasta. *The Spanish Ballad in English*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1973.
- Butler, Richard and Wantanee Suntikul. 'Introduction'. In *Tourism and War*, edited by Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, 1–35. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European tourism, literature and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Buzard, James. 'The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 37–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Calaresu, Melissa. 'Looking for Virgil's tomb: the end of the Grand Tour and the cosmopolitan ideal in Europe'. In *Voyages and Visions: Towards a cultural history of travel*, edited by Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 138–61. London: Reaktion, 1999.
- Callahan, William J. *Church, Politics and Society in Spain, 1750–1874*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Calvo Maturana, Antonio. 'Lady Holland, hispanófila: aportaciones inéditas del manuscrito del *Spanish Journal*'. In *Pasados y presente: Estudios para el profesor Ricardo García Cárcel*, edited by Rosa María Alabús Iglesias, José Luis Betrán Moya, Javier Burgos Rincón, Bernat Hernández, Doris Moreno and Manuel Peña Díaz, 987–97. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2020.
- Calvo Maturana, Antonio. 'Views of an “overthrown” kingdom: Britishness and otherness in *The Spanish Journal* of Elizabeth Holland'. In *British Women Travellers: Empire and beyond, 1770–1870*, edited by Sutapa Gupta, 46–51. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020.

- Calvo Maturana, Antonio. 'Nobody expects the Spanish Enlightenment: victimhood and sense of European belonging in late eighteenth-century Spain'. In *The Black Legend of Spain and its Atlantic Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Catherine M. Jaffe and Karen Stolley, 17–47. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press for the Voltaire Foundation, 2024.
- Canto, Alicia Maria. 'El Viaje arquitectónico-anticuario de Fray José Ortiz y Sanz: Una Carta arqueológica de España a fines del XVIII'. *SPAL: Revista de prehistoria y arqueología de la Universidad de Sevilla* 10 (2001): 29–55.
- Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. 'The Romantic revival of Castilian frontier ballads in England: Its precedents and aftermath'. *En la España Medieval* 32 (2009): 343–57.
- Castanheira, Maria Zulmira. 'Joseph-Barthélemy-François Carrère's *Tableau de Lisbonne*, en 1796 (1797) in English translation'. In *TRAlinea*, special issue, *Translating 18th and 19th Century Travel Writing* (2013). Accessed 21 June 2024. <https://www.intralinea.org/specials/article/1965>.
- Ceserani, Giovanna (ed.). *A World Made by Travel*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2024. Accessed 4 April 2024. <https://aworldmadebytravel.org/>.
- Chaves, Castelo Branco. *Os livros de viagens em Portugal no Século XVIII e a sua projecção europeia*. Lisbon: Instituto de cultura portuguesa, 1977.
- Cifuentes, Luis Fernández. 'Southern exposure: Early tourism and Spanish national identity'. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 13 (2–3) (2007): 133–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14701840701776207>.
- Çırakman, Aslı. *From the 'Terror of the World' to the 'Sick Man of Europe': European images of Ottoman Empire and society from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth*. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Clarke, John and José Baptista de Sousa. 'Critics to enthusiasts: The Hollands discover Portugal'. *Portuguese Studies* 21 (2005): 70–89. <https://doi.org/10.1353/port.2005.0014>.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the nation, 1707–1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Colley, Linda. *Captives: Britain, Empire and the world*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2002.
- Collins, Bruce. 'The limits of British power: Intervention in Portugal, 1820–30'. *International History Review* 35 (4) (2013): 744–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2013.813567>.
- Colmeiro, José T. 'Exorcising exoticism: "Carmen" and the construction of Oriental Spain'. *Comparative Literature* 54 (2) (2002): 127–44.
- Conway, Stephen. *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, connections, identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Cooper, Brian P. *Travel, Travel Writing and British Political Economy: 'Instructions for travellers', circa 1750–1850*. London: Routledge, 2022.
- Crosby, Brian. 'Stephen and other Paxtons: An investigation into the identities and careers of a family of eighteenth-century musicians'. *Music & Letters* 81 (1) (2000): 41–64.
- Crouzet, François. 'La rivalité commerciale franco-anglaise dans l'empire espagnol, 1713–1789'. *Histoire, économie et société* 31 (1) (2012): 19–29.
- Crozier Shaw, Michael. 'European travellers and the Enlightenment consensus on Spain in eighteenth-century Europe'. *Dieciocho* 31 (1) (2008): 23–44.
- Crozier Shaw, Michael. 'El siglo de hazer caminos: Spanish road reforms during the eighteenth century: A survey and assessment'. *Dieciocho* 32 (2) (2009): 413–34.
- Dainotto, Roberto M. *Europe (in Theory)*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Daly, Gavin. 'Plunder on the Peninsula: British soldiers and local civilians during the Peninsular War, 1808–1813'. In *Civilians and War in Europe, 1618–1815*, edited by Erica Charters, 209–24. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012.
- Daly, Gavin. *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War: Encounters with Spain and Portugal, 1808–1814*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Daly, Gavin. "Barbarity more suited to savages": British soldiers' views of Spanish and Portuguese violence during the Peninsular War, 1808–1814'. *War & Society* 35 (4) (2016): 242–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07292473.2016.1244920>.
- Daly, Gavin. "The sacking of a town is an abomination": Siege, sack and violence to civilians in British officers' writing on the Peninsular War – the case of Badajoz'. *Historical Research* 92 (2019): 160–82. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12252>.
- Davies, Huw J. *Spying for Wellington: British military intelligence in the Peninsular War*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.
- Defourneaux, M. 'L'Espagne et l'opinion française au XVIII^e siècle: Une lettre inédite d'un Espagnol à Voltaire'. *Revue de littérature compare* 34 (2) (1960): 273–81.

- Domínguez, Juan Pablo. 'España contra las luces: Antiilustrados, apologistas y el triunfo de la leyenda negra (1759–1808)'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 96 (2) (2019): 219–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2018.1515943>.
- Donato, Clorinda. 'Introduction: "Espagne" or "España"? Answering Enlightenment in the *Encyclopedia metódica*, the Spanish translation of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*'. In *Enlightenment Spain and the Encyclopédie méthodique*, edited by Clorinda Donato and Ricardo López, 1–23. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.
- Donato, Clorinda and Ricardo López (eds). *Enlightenment Spain and the Encyclopédie méthodique*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.
- Edwards, Peter. *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*. London: Continuum, 2007.
- Elliott, J. H. *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500–1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Esdaile, Charles. *The Peninsular War: A new history*. London: Penguin, 2002.
- Esdaile, Charles. *Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, bandits, and adventurers in Spain, 1808–14*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Esdaile, Charles. *Peninsular Eyewitnesses: The experience of war in Spain and Portugal, 1808–1813*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2008.
- Esdaile, Charles. *Outpost of Empire: The Napoleonic occupation of Andalucía*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.
- Esdaile, Charles. *Women in the Peninsular War*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.
- Fabian, Sina. 'Flight to the sun: Package tours and the Europeanisation of British holiday culture in the 1970s and 1980s'. *Contemporary British History* 35 (3) (2021): 417–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2021.1925550>.
- Fear, A. T. 'The dancing girls of Cadiz'. *Greece & Rome* 38 (1) (1991): 75–9.
- Fernández Herr, Elena. *Les origines de l'Espagne romantique: Les récits de voyage, 1755–1823*. Paris: Didier, 1974.
- Ferrer Benimeli, José Antonio. *El conde de Aranda y su defensa de España: Refutación del 'Viaje de Figaro a España'*. Madrid: Departamento de Historia Contemporánea de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 1972.
- Fisher, H. E. S. 'Anglo-Portuguese trade 1700–1770'. *Economic History Review* 2nd series (16) (1963): 219–33.
- Foulché-Delbosc, Raymond. *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal*. Paris: H. Welter, 1896.
- Francis, David. *Portugal 1715–1808: Joanine, Pombaline and Rococo Portugal as seen by British diplomats and traders*. London: Tamesis, 1985.
- Franco Rubio, Gloria. 'El viaje como laboratorio intercultural: Viajeros británicos y españoles en el siglo XVIII'. *Tiempos modernos: Revista electrónica de historia moderna* 7 (21) (2010). Accessed 25 July 2024. <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/227>.
- Frank, Ana Isabel. *El 'Viaje de España' de Antonio Ponz*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997.
- Fraser, Ronald. *Napoleon's Cursed War: Popular resistance in the Spanish Peninsular War*. London: Verso, 2008.
- Freeman, David. 'The Black Legend in travel accounts: perceptions of Spain in eighteenth-century Dutch travel writing'. In *The Black Legend of Spain and its Atlantic Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Catherine M. Jaffe and Karen Stolley, 253–72. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press for the Voltaire Foundation, 2024.
- Freixa, Consol. *Los ingleses y el arte de viajar: Una visión de las ciudades españolas en el siglo XVIII*. Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 1993.
- Frew, John and Carey Wallace. 'Thomas Pitt, Portugal, and the Gothic cult of Batalha'. *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 582–4.
- Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the construction of early modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Fuchs, Barbara. *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- García-Moscaldó, Ester. 'On the Spanish national character'. In *European Modernity and the Passionate Sout: Gender and nation in Spain and Italy in the long nineteenth century*, edited by Xavier Andreu Miralles and Mónica Bolufer Peruga, 36–55. Leiden: Brill, 2023.
- García Porras, Alberto, Chloë N. Duckworth and David J. Govantes Edwards (eds). *The Royal Workshops of the Alhambra: Industrial activity in early modern Granada*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022.

- García Sánchez, Jorge. 'José Nicolás de Azara, un icono del *Grand Tour*'. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie IV, Historia Moderna* 21 (2008): 147–66.
- Gaselee, S. *The Spanish Books in the Library of Samuel Pepys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Gasper, Julia. *Elizabeth Craven: Writer, feminist and European*. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2017.
- Gifra-Adroher, Pere. *Between History and Romance: Travel writing on Spain in the early nineteenth-century United States*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000.
- Giorgi, Arianna. 'Nuevas prendas para los nuevos tiempos: El cambio indumentario de las élites hispanas a las postrimerías del Antiguo Régimen'. *Investigaciones históricas* 36 (2016): 101–11.
- Glendinning, Nigel. 'Spanish books in England: 1800–1850'. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1) (1959): 70–92.
- Glendinning, Nigel. 'Nineteenth-century British envoys in Spain and the taste for Spanish art in England'. *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1031) (1989): 117–26.
- Glendinning, Nigel. 'Cross-cultural contacts with Spain: a broad perspective'. In *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1920: Studies in reception in memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfort*, edited by Nigel Glendinning and Hilary Macartney, 11–22. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010.
- Glendinning, Nigel, Enriqueta Harris and Francis Russell. 'Lord Grantham and the taste for Velázquez: "The electrical eel of the day"'. *Burlington Magazine* 141 (1159) (1999): 598–605.
- Glendinning, Nigel and Hilary Macartney (eds). *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1920: Studies in reception in memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfort*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010.
- Glesener, Thomas and Daniel Hershenzon. 'The Maghrib in Europe: Royal slaves and Islamic institutions in eighteenth-century Spain'. *Past and Present* 259 (2023): 77–116. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtac011>.
- Goldsmith, Sarah. *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour*. London: University of London Press, 2020.
- Grant, Philip. *A Peer among Princes: The life of Thomas Graham, victor of Barrosa, hero of the Peninsular War*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2019.
- Greig, Matilda. *Dead Men Telling Tales: Napoleonic war veterans and the military memoir industry, 1808–1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.
- Grenby, Matthew. *The Child Reader, 1700–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Guerrero, Ana Clara. *Viajeros británicos en la España del siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1990.
- Halttunen, Karen. 'Humanitarians and the pornography of pain in Anglo-American culture'. *American Historical Review* 100 (2) (1995): 303–34. <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/100.2.303>.
- Haydon, Colin. *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England: A political and social study*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Haynes, Clare. 'A trial for the patience of reason? Grand Tourists and anti-Catholicism after 1745'. *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2) (2010): 195–208. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-0208.2010.00277.x>.
- Heafford, Michael. 'British travellers in early nineteenth-century registers and guest books'. *Studies in Travel Writing* 25 (3) (2021): 374–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2022.2084009>.
- Heide, Claudia. 'The Alhambra in Britain: Between foreignization and domestication'. *Art in Translation* 2 (2) (2015): 201–22. <https://doi.org/10.2752/175613110X12706508989497>.
- Heleniak, Kathryn Moore. 'An English gentleman's encounter with Islamic architecture: Henry Swinburne's *Travels through Spain* (1779)'. *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (2005): 181–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-0208.2005.tb00295.x>.
- Herr, Richard. *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Hillgarth, J. N. *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The formation of a myth*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Holland, Robert. *The Warm South: How the Mediterranean shaped the British imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018.
- Hontanilla, Ana. 'Images of barbaric Spain in eighteenth-century British travel writing'. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 37 (2008): 119–43. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sec.0.0029>.
- Howarth, David. *The Invention of Spain: Cultural relations between Britain and Spain, 1770–1870*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Hudson, Nicholas. 'From "nation" to "race": The origin of racial classification in eighteenth-century thought'. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (3) (1996): 247–64. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ecs.1996.0027>.

- Humphreys, R. A. *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America and Other Essays*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969.
- Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. 'Habits of seduction: Accounts of Portuguese nuns in British officers' Peninsular War memoirs'. *Historical Journal* 58 (3) (2015): 733–56. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X14000569>.
- Hurley, Livia. 'William Burton Conyngham's antiquarian tour of the Iberian Peninsula, 1783–84'. *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 12 (2009): 38–54.
- Iglesias, María Carmen. 'Montesquieu and Spain: Iberian identity as seen through the eyes of a non-Spaniard of the eighteenth century'. In *Iberian Identity: Essays on the nature of identity in Spain and Portugal*, edited by Richard Herr and John H. R. Holt, 143–55. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1989.
- Iglesias Rogers, Graciela. *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering under the Spanish flag in the Peninsular War*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Ingamells, John (ed.). *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Irwin, Robert. *The Alhambra*. London: Profile Books, 2004.
- Irwin, Robert. 'The *Arabian Nights* and the origins of the Western novel'. In *Scheherazade's Children: Global encounters with the Arabian Nights*, edited by Philip F. Kennedy and Marina Warner, 143–53. New York: New York University Press, 2013.
- Jackson, Ben. 'To make a figure in the world: Identity and material literacy in the 1770s coach consumption of British ambassador, Lord Grantham'. *Gender & History* 36 (2) (2024): 386–407. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12655>.
- Jacobsen, Helen. *Luxury and Power: The material world of the Stuart diplomat, 1660–1714*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Jaffe, Catherine M. and Karen Stolley. *The Black Legend of Spain and its Atlantic Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press for the Voltaire Foundation, 2024.
- Kamen, Henry. *Imagining Spain: Historical myth and national identity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Kendrick, T. D. *The Lisbon Earthquake*. London: Methuen, 1956.
- Kennedy, Catriona. *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and civilian experience in Britain and Ireland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Kitts, Sally-Ann. 'The role of Holland House in the diffusion, exchange, and transformation of Spanish enlightened ideas, 1793–1845'. In *The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment*, edited by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer Peruga and Catherine M. Jaffe, 243–57. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020.
- Langford, Paul. *Englishness Identified: Manners and character, 1650–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Lasa Álvarez, Begoña. 'The Maid of Saragossa, a Spanish woman warrior in Anglo-American catalogues of celebrated women'. *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 13 (2020): 279–97. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2019.1627772>.
- Leask, Nigel. *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Leask, Nigel. *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- León Gomez, Alicia. 'William Conyngham y el teatro romano de Sagunto'. *SPAL: Revista de prehistoria y arqueología de la Universidad de Sevilla* 18 (2009): 9–28.
- Lewis, Elizabeth Franklin. 'Mapping Don Quixote's route: Spanish cartography, English travelers and national pride'. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 46 (2017): 35–48. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sec.2017.0005>.
- Lewis, Elizabeth Franklin, Mónica Bolufer Peruga and Catherine M. Jaffe (eds). *The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020.
- Lock, Alexander. *Catholicism, Identity and Politics in the Age of Enlightenment: The life and career of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, 1745–1810*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.
- Lodge, Richard. 'Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B.: A study in Anglo-Spanish relations in the earlier part of the eighteenth century'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 15 (1932): 1–43.
- Loftis, John. *The Spanish Plays of Neo-Classical England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

- López-Cordón Cortezo, María Victoria. 'The merits of good *gobierno*: culture and politics in the Bourbon Court'. In *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*, edited by Jesús Astigarraga, 19–39. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.
- López-Cordón Cortezo, María Victoria. 'The Enlightenment and its interpreters: nobility, bureaucrats, and publicists'. In *The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment*, edited by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer Peruga and Catherine M. Jaffe, 203–17. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020.
- Loveman, Kate. 'The introduction of chocolate into England: Retailers, researchers, and consumers, 1640–1730'. *Journal of Social History* 47 (1) (2013): 27–46. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shs050>.
- Ludington, Charles. *The Politics of Wine in Britain: A new cultural history*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Lynch, John. *Bourbon Spain, 1700–1808*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Macaulay, Rose. *They Went to Portugal*. London: Penguin, 1985.
- Maltby, William S. *The Black Legend in England: The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558–1660*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971.
- Marshall, P. J. and Glyndwr Williams. *The Great Map of Mankind: British perceptions of the world in the age of Enlightenment*. London: Dent, 1982.
- Martínez de Bujanda, José (ed.). *El índice de libros prohibidos y expurgados de la Inquisición española (1551–1819): Evolución y contenido*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2016.
- Mateo, Matilde. 'In search of the origin of the Gothic: Thomas Pitt's travel in Spain in 1760'. *Journal of Art Historiography* 15 (2016): 1–22.
- Mattfeld, Monica. *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-century masculinity and English horsemanship*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017.
- Maudlin, Daniel. 'Inns and elite mobility in late Georgian Britain'. *Past and Present* 247 (2020): 37–76. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz050>.
- Maxwell, Kenneth. *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- McCarthy, Michael. *The Origins of the Gothic Revival*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Meek, Ronald. *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Mills, Simon. *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, religion, and scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, c.1600–1760*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Mitchell, Leslie. *Holland House*. London: Duckworth, 1980.
- Moe, Nelson. *The View from Vesuvius: Italian culture and the Southern Question*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Moir, Esther. *The Discovery of Britain: The English tourists 1540–1840*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Mori, Jennifer. *The Culture of Diplomacy: Britain in Europe, c. 1750–1830*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Morkot, Robert G. "'My dear Faz ...': Stratford Canning, Henry Gally Knight, John Fazakerley, and friends'. *ASTENE Bulletin* 86 (2021–2): 17–24.
- Mowl, Graham and Michael Barke. 'Changing visitor perceptions of Malaga (Spain) and its development as a winter health resort in the nineteenth century'. *Studies in Travel Writing* 18 (3) (2014): 233–48.
- Muller, Hannah Weiss. 'The Garrison revisited: Gibraltar in the eighteenth century'. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41 (3) (2013): 353–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2013.768096>.
- Mulvin, Lynda S. 'A pioneer of "Moresque" revival in Continental Europe: James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814)'. *Art in Translation* 11 (2) (2019): 148–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17561310.2019.1658989>.
- Musielak, Ruth. 'Bathing in porphyry on the banks of the River Liffey: Lord Charlemont's missed opportunity'. *Irish Architectural & Decorative Studies* 18 (2016): 12–33.
- Navascués, Pedro. 'The protagonists of the "Antigüedades Árabes de España" and the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid'. *Art in Translation* 11 (2) (2019): 124–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17561310.2019.1690292>.
- Noel, Charles. 'Charles III of Spain'. In *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and reformers in later eighteenth-century Europe*, edited by H. M. Scott, 119–44. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990.
- Noel, Charles. 'Madrid: City of the Enlightenment'. *History Today* 45 (10) (1995): 26–32.

- Noel, Charles. 'In the house of reform: The Bourbon court of eighteenth-century Spain'. In *Enlightened Reform in Southern Spain and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750–1830*, edited by Gabriel Paquette, 145–66. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- O'Hagan, Ciara. 'Revering Spain's colonial past and colonial propaganda in the Prologue to Volume II of Antonio Ponz's *Viaje fuera de España*'. *Modern Languages Open* (2022): 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.339>.
- Ortas Durand, Esther. 'La España de los viajeros (1755–1846): imágenes reales, literaturizadas, soñadas'. In *Los libros de viaje: Realidad vivida y género literario*, edited by Leonardo Romero Tobar and Patricia Almarcegui Elduayen, 48–91. Madrid: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, 2005.
- Ousby, Ian. *The Englishman's England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Pack, S. *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Palmer, Melvin D. 'Madame d'Aulnoy in England'. *Comparative Literature* 27 (3) (1975): 237–53.
- Paquette, Gabriel. 'The image of Imperial Spain in British political thought, 1750–1800'. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81 (2) (2004): 187–214.
- Pardo, Pedro Javier. 'From Hispanophobia to Quixotophilia: the politics of Quixotism in the British long eighteenth century'. In *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550–1850)*, edited by Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, 189–212. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
- Paulino, María Clara. 'The "alien" European: British accounts of Portugal and the Portuguese, 1780–1850'. In *The British Abroad Since the Eighteenth Century. Volume 1: Travellers and tourists*, edited by Martin Farr and Xavier Guégan, 101–17. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Paulson, Ronald. *Don Quixote in England: The aesthetics of laughter*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Pemble, John. *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Pérez Berenguel, José Francisco. 'Las fuentes principales de los *Viajes por España* (1779) de Henry Swinburne'. *Hispania* 69 (1) (2009): 67–86. <https://doi.org/0.3989/hispania.2009.v69.i231.99>.
- Pérez Samper, María de los Ángeles. 'La alimentación Española del siglo XVIII vista por los viajeros británicos'. *Tiempos modernos: Revista electrónica de historia moderna* 7 (21) (2010). Accessed 25 July 2024. <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/228>.
- Pickford, Susan. 'Henry Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* (1779) in French and Catalan: Applying a skopos approach to book history'. In *TRAlinea*, special issue, *Translating 18th and 19th Century Travel Writing* (2013). Accessed 21 June 2024. <https://www.intralinea.org/specials/article/1969>.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Prest, John. *Lord John Russell*. London: Macmillan, 1972.
- Raders, Margit. 'Impresiones de España recogidas por un alemán entre la Ilustración y el Romanticismo: Christian August Fischer y sus libros de viaje'. *Revista de filología romántica*, special issue 4, *La aventura de viajar y sus escrituras* (2006): 315–27.
- Ramos Gorostiza, José Luis. 'La imagen económica de la España de Carlos III: Joseph Townsend, Alexander Jardine y los economistas españoles'. *Revista de historia economica – Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 24 (1) (2006): 139–73.
- Ramsey, Neil. *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011.
- Randall, Dale. *The Golden Tapestry: A critical survey of non-chivalric Spanish fiction in English translation, 1543–1657*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1963.
- Randall, David and Jackson C. Boswell. *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The tapestry turned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Raquejo, Tonia. 'The "Arab cathedrals": Moorish architecture as seen by British travellers'. *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1001) (1986): 555–63.
- Recio Morales, Óscar. *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General: Poder militar, familia y territorio en el reinado de Carlos III*. Madrid: Sílex, 2020.
- Reiter, Jacqueline. *The Late Lord: The life of John Pitt 2nd Earl of Chatham*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2017.

- Rendall, Jane. 'The "political reveries" of Alexander Jardine (1739?–99)'. In *Enlightenment and Revolution: Essays in honour of Norman Hampson*, edited by Malcolm Crook, William Doyle and Alan Forrest, 91–113. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Ribbans, Geoffrey. 'Spanish national pride and foreign travelers in the eighteenth century'. *Diechicho* 10 (1) (1987): 3–17.
- Robertson, Ian. *Los Curiosos Impertinentes/The Impertinent Curiosos*, 3rd edition. Madrid: Vallehermoso, 1992.
- Roller, Duane W. *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Ronan, Charles E. 'Antonio de Alcedo: His collaborators and his letters to William Robertson'. *The Americas* 34 (4) (1978): 490–501. <https://doi.org/10.2307/981162>.
- Sáez-Hidalgo, Ana. 'Anglo-Spanish Enlightenment: Joseph Shepherd, an English "ilustrado" in Valladolid'. *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43 (1) (2020): 43–59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1754-0208.12647>.
- Saglia, Diego. *Poetic Castles in Spain: British Romanticism and figurations of Iberia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000.
- Salas Álvarez, Jesús. 'La difusión de la arqueología y del patrimonio arqueológico de Andalucía a través de la literatura ilustrada de viajes'. *Cuadernos dieciochistas* 9 (2008): 79–103.
- Salvio, Alfonso de. 'Voltaire and Spain'. *Hispania* 7 (2) (1924): 69–110.
- Salvio, Alfonso de. 'Voltaire and Spain' part 2, *Hispania* 7 (3) (1924): 157–64.
- Sánchez, Juan L. 'Byron, Spain, and the romance of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*'. *European Romantic Review* 20 (4) (2009): 443–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10509580903220560>.
- Schor, Esther. 'The "Warm South"'. In *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, edited by James Chandler, 224–45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Schulz, Andrew. 'The porcelain of the Moors': The Alhambra vases in Enlightenment Spain'. *Hispanic Research Journal* 9 (5) (2008): 389–415. <https://doi.org/10.1179/174582008X369160>.
- Scott, H. M. *British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Sebba, Anna. *The Exiled Collector: William Bankes and the making of an English country house*. London: John Murray, 2004.
- Semmel, Stuart. 'Reading the tangible past: British tourism, collecting, and memory after Waterloo'. *Representations* 69 (2000): 9–37. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2902899>.
- Sharpley, Richard and Philip R. Stone (eds). *The Darker Side of Travel: The theory and practice of Dark Tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009.
- Shaw, L. M. E. *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the English Merchants in Portugal*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Shubert, Adrian. *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A history of the Spanish bullfight*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Simpson, James. 'Too little regulation? The British market for sherry, 1840–90'. *Business History* 47 (3) (2005): 367–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076790500055988>.
- Sousa, José Baptista de, John Clark and Maria Leonor Machada de Sousa. *Holland House and Portugal, 1793–1840: English Whiggery and the constitutional cause in Iberia*. London: Anthem Press, 2018.
- St Clair, William. *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Stepan, Nancy. *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
- Stock, Paul. *Europe and the British Geographical Imagination, 1760–1830*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Stone, John. 'The case for English as a language of culture in eighteenth-century Spain: The English libraries of the Conde de Fernán Núñez and John Hunter'. *Cuadernos Jovellanistas* 8 (2014): 73–100.
- Stone, John. 'Nicolás Bas Martín, *Spanish Books in the Europe of the Enlightenment (Paris and London): A view from abroad*, trans. Andy Birch (Leiden: Brill, 2018)' [review]. *The Library* 21 (1) (2020): 128–32. <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/21.1.128>.
- Stone, Philip R., Rudi Hartmann, Tony Seaton, Richard Sharpley and Leanne White (eds). *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Stoye, John. *English Travellers Abroad 1604–1667: Their influence in English society and politics*, rev. edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

- Strutt, C. R. *The Strutt Family of Terling, 1650–1873*. London: privately printed, 1939. Accessed 10 February 2025. <https://archive.org/download/struttfamilyofte00stru/struttfamilyofte00stru.pdf>.
- Sweet, Rosemary. *Antiquaries: The discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004.
- Sweet, Rosemary. 'British perceptions of Florence in the long eighteenth century'. *Historical Journal* 50 (4) (2007): 837–59. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X07006401>.
- Sweet, Rosemary. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690–1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Sweet, Rosemary. 'William Gell and Pompeiana (1817–19 and 1832)'. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 83 (2015): 245–81. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068246215000100>.
- Sweet, Rosemary. 'Who traveled, where and when?: using the Grand Tour explorer to examine patterns of travels and travelers'. In *A World Made by Travel*, edited by Giovanna Ceserani. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2024. Accessed 4 April 2024. <https://aworldmadebytravel.supdigital.org/scholars-essays/sweet-who-traveled/>.
- Sweet, Rosemary and Richard Ansell. 'The Alhambra and the Peninsular War: William Gell and the British in Spain, 1808–1814'. In *The United Kingdom and Spain in the Eighteenth Century: Beloved enemy*, edited by Manuel Reyes García Hurtado, 197–221. London: Routledge, 2025.
- Sweet, Rosemary and Richard Ansell. 'British travellers' representations of Spanish women, c. 1760–1810'. In *Women and Women's Worlds in the Eyes of Early Modern European Travellers*, edited by Helena Sanson and Małgorzata Trzeciak-Cygan. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2025.
- Sweet, Rosemary and Richard Ansell. 'Othering Spain through tobacco'. In *Tobacco through Time: Interdisciplinary perspectives on health and history*, edited by Sarah Inskip and Jason Hughes. London: Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming.
- Sweet, Rosemary, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith (eds). *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern metropolises and early modern travel behaviour*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art, 1550–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Taylor, Barry. 'Learning style from the Spaniards in sixteenth-century England'. In *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, print and culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, edited by Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, 61–78. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Téllez Alarcia, Diego. 'Documentation concerning the role of Ricardo Wall (1694–1777) in the restoration of the Arab Palace of La Alhambra'. *Archivum Hibernicum* 59 (2005): 90–105.
- Téllez Alarcia, Diego. 'Ricardo Wall, the forgotten minister of the eighteenth century'. In *Spanish-Irish Relations through the Ages*, edited by Declan M. Downey and Julio Crespo MacLennan, 137–48. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008.
- Thomas, Gordon Kent. *Lord Byron's Iberian Pilgrimage*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1983.
- Thomas, K. V. *Man and the Natural World: Changing attitudes in England 1500–1800*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.
- Thompson, Carl. *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Thompson, Jason. *Queen Caroline and Sir William Gell: A study in royal patronage and classical scholarship*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Towner, John. 'The Grand Tour: A key phase in the history of tourism'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 297–333. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(85\)90002-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(85)90002-7).
- Towner, John. 'The English tourist and war, 1500–1800'. In *Tourism and War*, edited by Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, 49–63. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Trench, C. E. F. 'William Burton Conyngham (1733–1796)'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 115 (1985): 40–63.
- Urquizar-Herrera, Antonio. *Admiration and Awe: Morisco buildings and identity negotiations in early modern Spanish historiography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Velasco, Julián de. 'España'. In *Enlightenment Spain and the Encyclopédie méthodique*, edited by Clorinda Donato and Ricardo López, 96–225. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.
- Villamediana González, Leticia. *Anglomanía: La imagen de Inglaterra en la prensa española del siglo XVIII*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2019.

- Walker, Timothy D. 'Enlightened absolutism and the Lisbon earthquake: Asserting state dominance over religious sites and the Church in eighteenth-century Portugal'. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 48 (3) (2015): 307–28. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ecs.2015.0016>.
- Walpole, Spencer. *The Life of Lord John Russell*, 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889.
- Walton, John K. 'British perceptions of Spain and their impact on attitudes to the Spanish Civil War: Some additional evidence'. *Twentieth Century British History* 5 (3) (1994): 283–99.
- West, S. George. 'The work of W. J. Mickle, the first Anglo-Portuguese scholar'. *The Review of English Studies* 10 (40) (1934): 385–400.
- Wheeler, Roxann. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of difference in eighteenth-century British culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Wilson, Edward M. 'Samuel Pepys and Spain'. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 (3) (1979): 322–37.
- Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization in the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Woodfine, Philip. *Britannia's Glories: The Walpole ministry and the 1739 war with Spain*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998.
- Yapp, Malcolm. 'Europe in the Turkish mirror'. *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 134–55.
- Zanardi, Tara. 'National heroics: Bullfighters, machismo and the cult of celebrity'. *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2) (2012): 199–221. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-0208.2012.00497.x>.

Unpublished dissertations

- Abdalla, Frederico Tavares de Mello. 'A Arte de Viajar: Erudição e ciência na literatura de viagens sobre Portugal da segunda metade do século XVIII e início do XIX', PhD diss. Casa de Oswaldo Cruz, 2017.
- Brown, J. A. O. C. 'Anglo-Moroccan Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, with Particular Reference to the Role of Gibraltar', PhD diss. University of Cambridge, 2009.
- Tolboom, Thom. 'Reworking (Trans)national Traditions: Dutch travellers imagining Iberia, 1750–1820', MA diss. Radboud University, 2023.

Websites

- Gabinete de Estratégia e Estudos. 'Estatísticas do Turismo'. Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.gee.gov.pt/pt/indicadores-diarios/ultimos-indicadores/33744-estatisticas-do-turismo-ine-3>.
- History of Parliament, online edition (2011). Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/>.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. 'Movimiento Turístico en Fronteras, resultados nacionales', 2023. Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=23984>.
- Office for National Statistics. 'Travel trends: 2023'. Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/leisureandtourism/articles/traveltrends/2023#visits-abroad-by-uk-residents>.
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB). Accessed 22 July 2024. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>.

Index

Page numbers for figures are shown in *italic*.

- academies 193–4
- accommodation *see* [ventas and posadas](#)
- Achmet, Dr (Patrick Joyce) 174–5
- adultery 136–7
- agriculture
 - ‘Peasants ploughing each taking a different furrow’ (1808) (William Gell) 85
 - Portugal 34, 81
 - Spain 34–6, 84–7, 88–90, 257–8
- Alcázar, Seville 102, 293–5
 - The Court of the Alcázar, Seville [1830s] (William Gell) 294
- Alexander, James 306
- Alhambra 3, 26–7, 189, 259, 263–88
 - ‘Alhambra Lower Plan’ (1808) (William Gell) 278
 - ‘A view of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque’ (Kew Gardens) (1763) (William Chambers) 264
 - ‘Court of the Cisterns’ (1808) (William Gell) 267
 - ‘Court of the Lions’ (1808) (William Gell) 268
 - guides 274, 287
 - inscriptions 162–4, 180, 187–9, 274, 279, 281
 - ‘Principal entrance of the Alhambra’ [The Gate of Justice] (1775–6) (Henry Swinburne) 265
 - stucco work in the Court of the Lions (1808) (William Gell) 282
 - and Swinburne 162–4, 180–1, 189, 273–4, 286
 - ‘The Alhambra from the Fort of St Helena’ (1775–6) (Henry Swinburne) 265
 - ‘The Lion Fountain in the Court of the Lions’ (1808) (William Gell) 283
 - ‘Tower of Comares from the Mirador’ (1808) (William Gell) 269
 - tracery of windows over the entrance gate of the Court of the Lions compared to tracks left by ducks walking in drying mud (1808) (William Gell) 280
- Allen, John 310
- American War of Independence 5, 21, 175, 176, 183, 215, 216–17
- Andalusia 89–90, 295–6, 303
- Andrews, Francis 30, 174, 310
- Anglo-French travel writing 185–92
- Anglo-French vision of Spain 184–5
- Anglo-Iberian relations 4–12
- Anglo-Portuguese trade 5, 12, 151
- anti-Catholicism 22, 120–1, 124–5, 138, 187, 206
- Antigüedades árabes de España* (1787, 1804) 26–7, 162–4, 180–1, 274, 287, 293
- Arabian Nights* 275–6
- ‘Arabs’, use of term 258
- Aragón, Agustina de (‘The Maid of Saragossa’) 218
 - portrait by Fernando Brambila (from *Ruinas de Zaragoza* [1808–14]) 219
- Aranda, Conde de 203

- Aranjuez (royal *sitio*) 95, 226
 ‘Distant view of the palace at Aranjuez’ (Amabel Hume Campbell, Countess de Grey), 167
- Aulnoy, Mme d’ 23–4, 45, 161, 164, 171, 186, 205
- Aylmer, F. W. W. 122, 232–3, 310
- Azara, José Nicolás de 197–200
 portrait of (Domenico Cunego) 198
- baggage 43
- Bailén 246, 247
- Baird (travelling with John Vignoles) 155, 310
- ballads 261, 262, 305
- Banks, William 227–8, 310
- Barbary States/coast 19, 114–16
- Barcelona 110
 ‘Barcelona from the quay’ (1817) (John Hughes) 111
- Baretti, Giuseppe 1, 53, 58, 73
basquina 131
- Bathurst, Mr 228n, 310
- battlefield tourism 215–16, 245–8
- Beauvarlet, Jacques Firmin, portrait of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquês de Pombal 11
- Beckford, William 17n, 136, 144n, 310
 villa at Sintra 76–7
- Benfield, Mr 18, 310
- Beresford, General 220, 234, 304
- Bindley, James 310
- Biscay 87–8
- Black and mixed-race population, Lisbon 72–4
- Black Legend 3, 21–9, 112, 299
 and Montesquieu and Voltaire 195
 and Roman Catholicism 120
- Blackmore, Mr 18, 310
- Bonaparte, Joseph 9, 218
- Bonaparte, Napoleon 218, 220, 222
- Bourgoing, Jean-François, Baron de 25, 188, 189–90, 207, 211–12, 274
- Bourke, Thomas 260
- Bowles, Guillermo [William] 86, 198–9, 200, 207, 208
- Brambila, Fernando
 portrait of Agustina de Aragón (‘The Maid of Saragossa’), from *Ruinas de Zaragoza* (1808–14) 219
 ‘Vista de una parte del aqueducto de Segovia (View of part of the aqueduct at Segovia)’ (1798) 97
- Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies) (Bartolomé de las Casas) 22
- Britain
 Anglo-French travel writing 185–92
 Anglo-French vision of Spain 184–5
 Anglo-Iberian relations 4–12
 Anglo-Portuguese trade 5, 12, 151
 encounters with Spain in 164–70
 exports to Spain and Portugal 173–6
 reading about Spain in 171–3
- British travel writing, lull between 1779 and 1808 183–4
- British views
 of national character 32–9
 of Spain and Portugal 1–4
- Broughton, Captain 310
- Broughton, Samuel 126, 236
- Bruce, Michael 14, 228, 231, 233, 234–5, 310
- brutality
 conduct of Peninsular War 241–5
 normalisation of 240–1
- bullfights 119, 140–8
 ‘El esforzado Rendon picando un toro, de cuya suerte murio en la plaza de Madrid (The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pique, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid)’ (1816) (Francisco de Goya) 141

- Burgos 109, 253
 Butler, John 171–2
 Byron, Lord George 14, 128, 218, 223, 228, 231, 310
- Cádiz 7, 8, 105–8, 230–1, 245–6, 304
 ‘Girl of Cadiz’ (Lord Byron) 128
View of Cádiz from the Alameda, from Finden’s Illustrations of the Life and Words of Lord Byron (1833–4) 107
- calasero 50, 51
 caleso 50, 50
 Call, George 122, 232–3, 311
 Camões, Luís de 28, 29
 Campomanes, Conde de 7, 86, 123, 194, 210, 211
 Capmany, Antonio de 123, 195, 208
 Carlos III 7, 8–9, 45, 86, 123, 146n, 196–7
 and Madrid 92
 portrait of (Manuel Salvador Carmona) 8
 verdict on reign 9
 Carlos IV 9, 218, 240, 287
 Carmona, Manuel Salvador, portrait of Carlos III 8
 Carr, Sir John 15, 131, 133, 147, 227, 233, 237, 311
 Carrère, Joseph-Barthélemy-François 191
 carriages *see* coaches and carriages
 Cartagena 112
 Carter, Francis 32, 252, 254, 255, 272–3, 293, 311
 Cathcart, Miss Charlotte 217, 311
 cathedrals
 Burgos 109
 Córdoba 271, 292
 Málaga 113
 Segovia 96
 Seville 102, 125
 Toledo 98–9, 125–6
 Zaragoza 125
 Catholic church/Catholicism *see* Roman Catholic church/Roman Catholicism
- Cavanilles, Antonio José 112, 201–2, 203, 205–6, 207, 208, 211
 ‘Celtic ancestry’ 3
 Celtic past 251–2
 Cervantes, Miguel de 29, 30–1
 Chambers, William 263
 ‘A view of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque’ (1763) 264
 chaplains, embassy 156
 Chatham, John, 2nd Earl of 13, 311
 chivalry 142, 261
 cicisbeo convention 137
 Ciudad Rodrigo 221
 ‘A view of the storming and taking of Cindad [sic] Rodrigo in Spain, 1812’ (1812) 222
 Clarke, Christopher 81
 Clarke, Edward 21, 29, 38, 45, 93, 156, 186–7, 204, 206, 252, 270, 311
 and Barcelona 110
 and bullfighting 142
 and Lisbon earthquake 74
 and Segovia 96, 255
 and Toledo 99
 Clarke, E. D. 85
 Clarke, Mr (gentleman) 311
 clergy 123–4, 126, 127, 136
 ‘A [Portuguese] priest’ (1781) (Mary Graham) 127
 climate
 and national character/racial difference 33
 and travel 47–8
 cloth, Irish 174–5
 coaches and carriages 49–51, 174
 ‘Lisbon chaise’ (1781) (Mary Graham) 50
 ‘The gigs from Granada to Malaga’ (1808) (William Gell) 52
 Cochrane, John Dundas 311
 cocoa 169–70
 Coimbra 81–2

- Cole, William, 'Moorish Door & Windows in the East Front of the Cathedral of Corduba [sic]' (copy of sketch by Thomas Pitt [1760]) 271
- colonies
 British 4
 as source of conflict 6
 Spanish 12, 158–9
- Colt, Adam 13, 311
- Columbine, Mr 13, 311
- Columbus, Christopher 102
- convents 126–7, 128, 137–40
- Conway, Hugh 13, 311
- Conyngham, William Burton 15, 18, 208, 254–5, 311
- Cooper, Richard Jr 311
- Córdoba 26–7, 289–90
 'Moorish Door & Windows in the East Front of the Cathedral of Corduba [sic]' (William Cole, copy of sketch by Thomas Pitt [1760]) 271
 mosque at 290–3
 'Mosque of Cordova [sic]' [1830s] (William Gell) 291
- cortejo* custom 136–7
- Costigan, Arthur 79, 81, 312
- Court of the Lions (Alhambra) 266, 275, 279, 281, 283, 287
 'Court of the Lions' (1808) (William Gell) 268
 stucco work in the Court of the Lions (1808) (William Gell) 282
 'The Lion Fountain in the Court of the Lions' (1808) (William Gell) 283
 tracery of windows over the entrance gate of the Court of the Lions compared to tracks left by ducks walking in drying mud (1808) (William Gell) 280
- Craven, Elizabeth, Lady 17, 130, 312
- Craven, Richard Keppel 18, 225–6, 230, 233–4, 312
- Croft, John 20, 95, 130, 312
- Croker, Richard 19, 50, 55, 100, 77, 217, 312
- Cumberland, Richard 21, 312
- Cunego, Domenico, portrait of José Nicolás de Azara 198
- Dalrymple, William 160, 312
- Damer, Anne Seymour 17, 47, 57, 125, 132, 226, 286–7, 312
- dancing 132–3
- dangers 63–5, 239
- Darwin, Francis Sacheverell 226–7, 240, 241, 247, 288, 312
- Dennis, George 295–6
- despotic government/monarchy 34–5, 36
- destinations and itineraries *see* [itineraries and destinations](#)
- Dickason, Thomas Jr 312
- Dickinson, William, portrait of Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham 152
- Dillon, John Talbot 15, 63, 86–7, 87–8, 109, 144, 183, 200–1, 207, 208, 252, 261, 312
- diplomats and diplomatic correspondence 13, 20–1, 151–3
- dogs 58, 72, 75, 155, 305
- Don Quixote* (Miguel de Cervantes) 29, 30–1, 66, 129, 130, 172, 177, 199, 246
- Douglas, George 37, 50, 74, 84, 94, 124, 144, 248, 312
 'Batalha' (1819) 80
 'The eastern part of the city of Lisbon from the village of Cassillias [Cacilhas] on the south bank of the River Tagus' (1819) 71
- dress, and Roman past 254
- Duff, James 106
- Duncan, Lady Mary 312
- Duncan, Sir William 312
- earthquake, Lisbon 74–5
- 'East', descriptions of 302

- Ebrington, Viscount (Hugh Fortescue) 147, 232, 288, 312
- Eden, William 21, 184, 313
- education of women, lack of 134–5
- ‘effeminacy’ 137, 300
- El Cid 253
- El Escorial (royal *sitio*) 95, 154, 165, 179
- Enlightenment 24, 26, 33, 75, 174, 175, 186, 192–5, 196–7, 204, 211, 259
see also ilustrados
- Equiano, Olaudah 113, 313
- Errington, J. 313
- Essais sur l’Espagne* (1780)
 (Jean-François Peyron) 25, 27, 187–9, 207
- estalagens* 57
- European travel, increase in 5–6
- Eustace, John Chetwode 313
- Exchange (Lonja), Seville 103
- fandango 133
- Fazakerley, John Nicholas 14, 228, 313
- Fernando VII 218
 restoration of 10
- Fielding, Sophia 138, 217n, 313
- Finch, Lady Charlotte 217, 313
- Fischer, Christian August 63, 190
- Fitzgerald, Lord Edward 13, 313
- Fitzgerald, Lord Robert 13, 313
- Fitzwilliam, Richard, 7th Viscount 313
- Fleuriot, Jean-Marie-Jérôme 202–3, 205
- Floridablanca, Conde de 45, 210, 212
- food 60–3
- Ford, Richard 147–8, 250, 295, 296
- Forner, Juan Pablo 202
- France 4, 9
 Anglo-French travel writing 185–92
 Anglo-French vision of Spain 184–5
- French national character 37, 38
- French Revolution 212
- French writers 23–6, 27, 195, 196, 200–3
- fruit 88–9
- gabinete de historia natural* 92–3
- Galton, Theodore 226–7, 313
- Gama, Vasco da 28
- garlic 60–1
- Gascoigne, Sir Thomas 161, 313
- Gauffier, Louis, portrait of
 Elizabeth, Lady Holland (1794) 16
- Gell, William 18, 31, 58, 70, 99n, 108, 225–6, 230, 233, 234, 241, 247, 279, 285, 289, 314
- ‘Alhambra Lower Plan’ (1808) 278
- The Court of the Alcázar, Seville [1830s] 294
- ‘Court of the Cisterns’ (1808) 267
- ‘Court of the Lions’ (1808) 268
- itinerary of *xix*
- ‘Mosque of Cordova [sic]’ [1830s] 291
- and Orientalism 302–3
- ‘Peasants ploughing each taking a different furrow’ (1808) 85
- during Peninsular War 225–6, 230, 233–4, 241
- stucco work in the Court of the Lions (1808) 282
- ‘The gigs from Granada to Malaga’ (1808) 52
- ‘The Lion Fountain in the Court of the Lions’ (1808) 283
- ‘Toledo with coffee’ (1808) 98
- ‘Tower of Comares from the Mirador’ (1808) 269
- tracery of windows over the entrance gate of the Court of the Lions compared to tracks left by ducks walking in drying mud (1808) 280
- ‘View of Cintra from Mrs Dacey’s’ (1810–11) 76

- German translations 186n
 German writers 190, 191
 Gibraltar 18–19, 113–14
Gil Blas (Alain-René Lesage) 31, 96
 ‘Girl of Cadiz’ (Lord Byron) 128
 Godoy, Manuel 9, 27, 212–13, 240, 287
 Gordon, Mr 18, 314
 Gothic arch 288–9
 Gothic architecture 79, 96, 109, 253, 262, 270, 272–3, 281, 289
 Gothic past 252–3
 Gough, Richard 272
 Goulburn, Henry 14, 122, 228, 239, 314
 Goya, Francisco de, ‘El esforzado Rendon picando un toro, de cuya suerte murio en la plaza de Madrid (The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pique, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid)’ (1816) 141
 Graham, Mary 17, 132n, 193, 207, 216–17, 314
 ‘A [Portuguese] lady at church’ (1781) 131
 ‘A [Portuguese] priest’ (1781) 127
 ‘Lisbon chaise’ (1781) 50
 Graham, Thomas 216–17, 226, 314
 Granada 27, 35–6, 47, 115–16, 188–9, 303
 Civil Wars of 261–2, 274–5
 see also Alhambra
 Grand Tour 3–4, 137–8
 Grantham, Lord (Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham), and circle 13, 14, 15, 20–1, 142–3, 151–3, 314
 ‘afterlives’ of Grantham’s embassy 176–81
 and Azara 197–200
 and British goods to Spain 173–6
 and British writing about Spain and its empire 156–64
 ‘Distant view of the Palace at Aranjuez’ (Amabel Hume Campbell, Countess de Grey after Lord Grantham [1790s]) 167
 and encounters with Spain in Britain 164–70
 hosting travellers 62, 153–6
 portrait of (William Dickinson) 152
 and reading about Spain in Britain 171–3
 Greg, Robert Hyde 20, 46, 48, 96, 99n, 100, 106, 116, 124, 127, 133, 237, 246, 257, 236–7, 246, 277, 284, 290, 292, 314
 breakfast routine 61
 bullfights 146–7
 food sharing 62
 guerrilla forces 222–3, 240
 guides, Alhambra 274, 287
 Halliday, John Edmund 314
 Hardy, Thomas 18, 314
 Harris, Sir James 65, 314
 Hartopp, Mr 314
 Haygarth, William 237, 314
 health, as reason for travelling 18, 225
 Herries, Catherine, Lady 314
 Herries, Sir Robert 314
 Hervey, Christopher 315
 Hickey, William 315
 history, engagement with 251–3
 Greek past 252
 Roman 32, 96, 112, 254–8, 259
 see also Alhambra; Islamic Spain and Portugal
History of America (1777) (William Robertson) 157–9, 171
History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V (1769) (William Robertson) 156–7
 Hoare, Sir Richard Colt 315
 Hobart, Henry 10, 20, 49, 73, 142, 315
 Hobhouse, John Cam 14, 143, 228, 233n, 315
 Hodgson, Isaac 20, 228, 315

- Holl, William (the Elder), portrait of Joseph Townsend 209
- Holland, Henry (physician) 15, 192, 301–2, 305, 315
and Peninsular War 229–30, 240, 243, 245, 247, 257
- Holland, Henry Vassall Fox, xviii
3rd Baron 17–18, 208–9, 315
- Holland, Elizabeth, Lady 16, 17–18, 315
and Alhambra 274, 277, 281, 283, 284, 285
and bullfights 144–5
and convents 138
and dangers 65
and fashion 132
and Inquisition 121–2
itinerary of xviii
and mosque at Córdoba 292
and national character 32–3
personal relationships 208–9
portrait of (1794) (Louis Gauffier) 16
and roads 46, 49
and Spanish women 134
- Hope, Thomas 315
- horses 143–4, 146–7, 169, 177
- Howard, Frederick 315
- Howard, Mr (travelling with Henry Holland) 229, 315
- Hughes, John 48, 52, 83, 94, 248, 315
‘A master muleteer of Madrid’ (1817) 53
‘Barcelona from the quay’ (1817) 111
‘Capt. C – cooking in a venta’ (1817) 59
‘Stone post and robber’s head’ (1817) 64
‘The Road by which the French retreated from Vittoria [sic]’ (1817) 249
- Hume Campbell, Amabel, Countess de Grey, ‘Distant view of the Palace at Aranjuez’ 167
- Hussey, Edward 14, 48, 62–3, 84, 100, 102, 217, 284, 315
- ilustrados* 23, 26–7, 46, 81, 85–6, 89, 112, 189, 192–213, 299, 307
antiilustrados 197, 201–2, 202
see also Ponz, Antonio
- indolence/idleness 33–4, 35–6, 110
- Ingilby, Sir William 227, 316
- inns *see* *ventas* and *posadas*
- Inquisition 7, 22, 75, 120, 121–2, 123, 159, 164, 197, 200, 201–2, 203, 206, 212, 213
- inscriptions, Alhambra 162–4, 180, 187–9, 274, 279, 281
- Iriarte, Bernardo de 195
- Irish cloth 174–5
- Islamic Spain and Portugal 162–3, 251, 258–96
contemporary reception of 199, 258–62, 298, 303, 305
‘Moorish ancestry’ 32–3, 73–4, 288, 295–6
‘Moorish’ influence 104–5, 257–8
‘Moors’ 3, 115–16, 258, 259–60
Spanish Catholic appropriation of 26–7, 154, 155, 162–3
see also Alhambra
- Italy 1, 5, 14, 69, 223, 297
‘effeminacy’ in 137
key themes when discussing women 137–8
national character 37–8
itineraries and destinations 69–70, 116–17
Barbary states/coast 114–16
changing, due to Peninsular War (1808–14) 223–30
cities of Spain 90–114
Lisbon and Portugal 70–82
selected itineraries xvi–xix
Spanish landscapes 83–90
- Izquierdo, Eugenio 210
- Jacob, William 15, 47, 55, 68, 192, 258, 285, 316
on Catholicism 128, 139
and Peninsular War 227, 228, 233, 235, 240, 241, 242
on Spanish women 134, 139

- Jardine, Alexander 19, 25, 27, 32, 38, 87, 93, 106, 123, 183, 259–60, 261, 316
- Jesuits 7, 10, 22, 25, 123, 154, 189
- ‘Jewish ancestry’ 32, 73–4
- Jewish communities
- expulsion of 32, 73, 120, 213, 260
 - in Gibraltar 113
 - under Islamic rule 259
 - in Toledo 99
- Johnes, Thomas 316
- Johnson, Samuel 1–2
- Journey Through Spain* (1791) (Joseph Townsend) 90, 183, 188, 209–12, 255
- French translation 192
- Joyce, Patrick (Dr Achmet) 174–5
- Keene, Sir Benjamin 4–5, 152n, 166
- Kew Gardens 263
- ‘A view of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque’ (1763) (William Chambers) 264
- Knight, Henry Gally 14, 30, 36, 38, 84, 88–9, 108, 144, 316
- and Alhambra 274, 275, 276, 283, 285, 287
 - and convents 139–40
 - and Inquisition 122
 - and muleteers 52, 54, 55, 254
 - and mosque at Córdoba 292
 - during Peninsular War 224, 228, 229, 230–1, 233, 234–6, 239, 240, 241–2, 243, 246, 247
 - and religion 106, 120–1, 124
 - and Spanish women 129–30, 135, 136
- Knight, Selina Gally (née Fitzherbert) 228n, 316
- Knox, Thomas 14, 229, 316
- Laborde, Alexandre de 25, 27, 59, 85, 190, 192, 213
- Lady’s Travels, The* (Mme d’Aulnoy) 23–4, 186
- La Mancha 30–1, 82, 84, 87, 228, 243, 246, 254
- Las Casas, Bartolomé de 22
- Latin 254
- law and order, breakdown of 239–40
- Lesage, Alain-René 31, 96
- Leslie, Charles 81–2
- Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation* (1763) (Edward Clarke) 29, 74, 142, 156
- Leveson-Gower, Granville 14, 316
- Lewisham, Viscount 14, 228, 316
- Link, Heinrich 191
- Lisbon 5, 10, 18, 19, 70–7, 81, 90, 92, 116, 120, 126, 138, 289, 299, 304, 305
- ‘Lisbon chaise’ (1781) (Mary Graham) 50
 - in Peninsular War 73, 77, 221, 225, 229, 230, 234, 245
 - ‘The eastern part of the city of Lisbon from the village of Cassillias [Cacilhas] on the south bank of the River Tagus’ (1819) (George Douglas) 71
 - ‘View of Cintra from Mrs Dacey’s’ (1810–11) (William Gell) 76
- Lister, Thomas 39, 49, 61, 87, 99, 125–6, 130, 135–6, 174, 316
- Liston, Sir Robert 13, 15, 20–1, 147n, 184, 188, 194, 210, 316
- Locker, Edward Hawke 59–60, 85, 253
- luggage 43, 50
- Lusiadas, Os* (1572) (Luís de Camões) 28, 29, 305–6
- Lusiad, The: or, the Discovery of India* (1776) (William Mickle, tr.) 28, 29, 305–6
- Macdonald, John 17, 18, 54–5, 61–2, 316
- Mackinnon, Mr 227, 317
- Madinat al-Zahra 289–90
- Madrid 70, 83, 90–5, 105, 116, 174
- academies and intellectual circles 157, 175, 193–4, 199, 208, 211

- accommodation in 56, 61, 206
 'A master muleteer of Madrid' (1817) (John Hughes) 53
 booksellers in 172–3, 177–8
 bullfights in 142, 145
 centre of road system 45, 83, 90
 dullness of 93–4
 'El esforzado Rendon picando un toro, de cuya suerte murio en la plaza de Madrid (The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pique, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid)' (1816) (Francisco de Goya) 141
 improvements to 7, 25, 92–3, 205
 in Peninsular War 93, 218, 220, 221, 226–7, 230
 Lord Grantham in 151–5, 160–2, 164–6, 168, 198
 'Perfil de Madrid, visto desde la R.l Casa del Campo (View of Madrid seen from the Casa de Campo park)' [c. 1777] 91
 royal *sitios* 21, 35, 83, 95, 154
 tours of 21, 95, 154, 168
 Málaga 18, 20, 47, 48, 112–13, 134, 155, 226, 238, 252, 293, 303
 Mann, Lady Lucy 317
 Mann, Sir Horatio 317
 mantilla 130–2, 292
 'A [Portuguese] lady at church' (1781) (Mary Graham) 131
 Marsh, Matthew 317
 Marshall, Joseph 15, 317
 Martin, James 317
 Masson de Morvilliers, Nicolas 26, 27, 196, 200–2, 205, 207, 210, 212
matadores 140, 144, 146
 Matthews, Henry 72, 75, 317
 Mayans, Gregorio 112, 156, 158, 159, 203, 208, 255n
 Mengs, Anton Raphael 8, 166, 168, 179, 198, 208
 mental wellbeing 66–7
 merchants, British and Irish
 resident in Portugal 5, 19–20, 76, 77, 81, 130
 resident in Spain 20, 106, 155, 175, 239, 245–6
 as travellers 12, 15, 17, 20, 49, 55, 130, 134, 142, 227, 311, 312, 315, 316, 317, 320
 Mesta 86–7
 Mickle, William 28, 29, 306
 Mogador (Essaouira) 115
 Molyneux, James More 19, 31, 33, 105–6, 115, 126, 145, 147, 317
 and literary and scientific institutions 193–4
 and Portuguese women 135
 monasteries and convents 74–5, 76, 82, 86, 93, 103, 104, 108, 109, 121, 123, 125, 126–8, 134, 137–40, 235
 at Belém 72, 289
 see also nunneries (convents) and nuns
 monastery at Batalha 77, 79, 208, 288–9
 'Batalha' (1819) (George Douglas) 80
 Montesquieu 24, 26, 33, 134, 195, 196, 200, 213
 Moore, Sir John 220, 247–8
 'Moorish ancestry' 32–3, 73–4, 288, 295–6
 'Moorish' influence 33, 99, 113, 147, 257–8, 303
 on agriculture 34, 89, 90, 257–8
 Seville 100, 102, 104–5, 108, 301
 'Moors' 3, 115–16, 165
 and Roman Catholic church/
 Roman Catholicism 99, 120, 199, 259–60
 terminology 73, 258
 see also Alhambra; Islamic Spain and Portugal
 Morocco 19, 114–15, 258
 mosque at Córdoba 26, 270, 290–3
 'Mosque of Cordova [sic]' [1830s] (William Gell) 291
 motives for travelling 13–21, 223–30, 297

- mules and muleteers 2, 33, 43, 46, 47, 49–60, 63–4, 120, 126, 233, 240, 241, 254
- ‘A master muleteer of Madrid’ (1817) (John Hughes) 53
- ‘Lisbon chaise’ (1781) (Mary Graham) 50
- ‘The gigs from Granada to Malaga’ (1808) (William Gell) 52
- Murcia 83, 88, 112, 122, 229, 232, 295–6
- Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban 102–3, 108, 166, 168
- Murphy, James Cavanah 18, 28, 49, 79, 81, 183, 191, 196, 208, 260, 274, 281, 289, 305, 317
- Napoleon 9, 213, 218, 220–2
- night, travel at 47–8, 63, 72
- ‘no country for travellers’, origin of phrase 4, 21–2
- North, Frederick 317
- North, Frederick (travelling with Mr Fazakerley and Lord Lewisham) 228, 229, 317
- Nouveau voyage en Espagne* (1789) (Jean-François, Baron de Bourgoing) 25, 188, 207
- nunneries (convents) and nuns 92, 93, 126–7, 128, 129, 137–40, 178
- oil 34, 60–1, 62
- O’Neil, James 317
- O’Reilly, General Alejandro 19n, 105–6
- ‘Oriental’, use of term 301, 302
- Orientalism 3, 119, 258, 262, 295–6 301–3
- Ottoman Empire 226, 258, 302
- Paget, Lord 220
- Parker, John 166, 168
- Parker, Theresa 160, 166, 168
- Parsons, William 14, 49, 50, 52, 56, 317
- Pearce, Henry 14, 228–9, 318
- Pelham, Thomas 13, 14, 31, 47, 53, 65–7, 68, 110, 154–5, 161, 166, 168–9, 170, 172, 198, 318
- itinerary of *xvii*
- Peninsular War (1808–14) 3, 9–10, 218–23, 302
- battlefield tourism 245–8
- causing increase of Britons in Portugal 11
- causing increase of familiarity with Spain and Portugal 1–2, 3, 15, 81–2, 166, 183, 297, 301, 304, 306
- and changing image of Portugal 37, 73, 301, 304, 306
- changing itineraries 223–30
- civilian travel 13, 15, 20, 65, 215–17, 248, 250, 287, 289, 301
- conduct of War 146, 191, 241–5
- and military personnel 19, 30, 77, 93, 224–5, 230–6
- and religion 123–5
- and visits to convents 138–9
- wartime hazards 65, 236–41
- Pennant, David 14, 318
- Pérez Bayer, Francisco 112, 203, 208
- Pettiward, Roger 14, 49, 50, 56, 318
- Peyron, Jean-François 25, 27, 85, 187–9, 207, 274
- Phoenician influence 96, 100, 251, 252, 295
- picadores* 140, 143, 146
- pirates/privateers 114, 217, 231–2, 237
- Pitt, Thomas 13–14, 54, 74, 79, 288–9, 318
- and Alhambra 266, 270–2, 273, 277
- and bullfights 142, 145, 146
- and Córdoba 290
- itinerary of *xvi*
- and Madrid 92
- Pococke, George 318
- poetry 2, 172, 187, 191, 261, 305–6

- Pombal, Marquês de (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo) 10, 22, 70, 75, 81, 123, 151, 174
 portrait of (Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet) 11
- Ponsonby, William 14, 228, 318
- Ponz, Antonio 26–7, 86, 154–5, 164, 168, 172, 178, 180, 189–90, 192, 194–5, 197, 199, 200, 203–13, 257, 263
 self-portrait (c. 1774) 204
- Porter, Robert Ker 124, 289, 318
- Porteus, Beilby 164–5, 171
- Porto 5, 19, 49, 77–9, 81, 82, 130, 227, 305
View of Oporto from River Douro (1813) (Henry Smith) 78
- Portugal 2, 10–12, 304–7, *passim*
 Anglo-Portuguese trade 5, 12, 151
 foreign views of, 36–7, 195–6
 separate identity often
 unacknowledged 2, 36–7, 119, 120, 129, 196, 299
see also Peninsular War; Spain and Portugal
- Portuguese empire 2, 7, 10–12, 28, 34, 70, 75, 79, 218, 298, 304, 306
- Portuguese history and literature, limited knowledge of 28, 70, 251, 306
- Portuguese landscapes 79, 81–2
- Portuguese language 2, 230, 254, 298
- posadas* *see* *ventas* and *posadas*
- Power, George 260
- prisoners of war 19, 217, 237–8, 241, 242
- Protestants and Protestantism 109, 120n, 122, 128, 206
 attitudes towards Catholicism 22, 119–28
 cemeteries 18, 76
 publications on Iberian travel, ‘flurry’ in later eighteenth century 6–7, 183
- race 33, 72–4, 115n, 149, 301, 303–4
- Radcliffe, Ann 121–2
- Raynal (abbé) 26
- Read, H. 318
- reading about Spain in Britain, 1770s 171–3
- religion and the church 119–28
see also Roman Catholic church/Roman Catholicism
- Rennie, George 20, 46, 49–50, 77, 103, 113, 248, 318
 ‘Prickly pears, date palms and aloes’ (1817) 89
- roads 44–9
- robbers 31, 63–5, 84, 240
 ‘Stone post and robber’s head’ (1817) (John Hughes) 64
- Robertson, William 21, 103, 156–9, 252–3, 259
 discussion of, between Grantham and Porteus 171
 portrait of (1772) 157
 sending and receiving books 172–3, 176
 Spanish rebuttal of 180, 210
- Robinson, Anne 143, 160, 161, 166, 168
- Robinson, Frederick 142–3, 151, 318
 and Swinburne 162, 164
 years following residence in Spain 176–8, 179–80
- Robinson, Major General
 Sir Frederick 244
- Robinson, Thomas *see* Grantham, Lord (Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham), and circle
- Roman Catholic church/Roman Catholicism 17, 119–28, 193, 212, 224, 274
 and Black Legend 120, 299
 British Catholic travellers 123, 124, 163, 199
 and *cortejo* custom 136
 in England 205
 influence/power of 10–11, 22, 36, 75, 109, 119–21, 124–5, 306

- Roman Catholic church/Roman Catholicism (*cont.*)
 intolerance of 24, 120, 122, 197
 and 'Moors' 259–60
see also anti-Catholicism;
 cathedrals
- Roman past 32, 34, 46, 72, 96, 100,
 110, 112, 133, 147, 165, 178,
 251–2, 254–8, 259, 272, 276,
 283, 290, 295, 297, 298
see also Sagunto, amphitheatre
- romanticism 31, 128, 246, 297
 Portugal lacking romantic appeal
 305–6
 romantic Orientalism 262, 289,
 296, 301
 romantic Spain 3, 5, 39, 119, 124,
 148, 205, 301
 romantic travel writing 68, 79,
 82, 84, 124, 307
- Royal Tobacco Factory, Seville 100,
 103–4, 169
- Rushout, Honourable John (later
 2nd Baron Northwick) 318
- Russell, Lord John 14, 224, 226,
 253, 319
- Sagunto, amphitheatre 18, 112,
 208, 254–5, 256–7
 'Theatre of Sagunto, Spain'
 (1775–6) (Henry Swinburne)
 256
- Salamanca 108–9, 221
- Sancha, Antonio and Gabriel de
 172–3
- San Ildefonso (royal *sitio*) 95, 96
- Sarmiento, Padre Martín 86–7, 200
- sea travel 19, 48, 70, 109–10,
 113, 114, 215, 217, 223, 229,
 231–2, 237, 301, 303
- Segovia 7n, 31, 96, 207, 253
 aqueduct 96, 255–6, 288
 'Vista de una parte del aqueducto
 de Segovia (View of part of the
 aqueduct at Segovia)' (1798)
 (Fernando Brambila) 97
- Semple, Robert 9, 15, 31, 70, 92,
 102, 192, 217n, 227, 319
 on Islamic past 104, 279, 285,
 288, 292
 on Portuguese 37
 robbed 65
 on Spanish 38, 135
 on Tangier 115n
- servants 17, 18, 43, 54–6, 61–2, 66,
 77, 143, 210n, 309
- Seven Years' War 5, 187, 215
- Seville 100–5, 108, 112, 116, 139,
 144, 301, 303, 304
 The Court of the Alcázar, Seville
 [1830s] (William Gell)
 294
 Islamic past 289, 293–4, 301
 Italica 258
 learned institutions 193–4, 211
 in Peninsular War 208, 220, 221,
 230, 233, 239
 religious devotions in 124–8
*View of Seville from across the
 Guadalquivir* (1738) (Pedro
 Tortolero) 101
see also Royal Tobacco Factory,
 Seville
- Shakespear, John 260–1
- sheep 86–7, 285
- Sherer, Moyle 56, 93, 100, 244–5,
 256
- Sheridan, Thomas 319
- sherry 168–9, 170
- Shrewsbury, 16th Earl of 319
- Slade, Mr 227, 319
- slavery 73, 112, 158–9, 229, 289
- Smith, Henry, *View of Oporto from
 River Douro* (1813) 78
- smugglers 63, 64
- Solano, General 245–6
- solitary travel 31, 65–7
- Southey, Robert 15, 28, 45, 51,
 61, 72, 79, 93, 122, 183, 192,
 319
 favoured Portugal over Spain 36
 on Goths 98, 253
 on Spanish ballads 261
 on Spanish character 39, 145
- Southwell, Thomas 319
- souvenir vandalism 286–7

- Spain 1–2, 7–10, 297–9, 300–4, passim
 Anglo-French vision of 184–5
 Anglo-Spanish trade 12, 112–13
 Spain and Portugal
 British exports to 173–6
 British views of 1–4, 21–39, 297–301, passim
 changing views of, in nineteenth century 301–7
 more familiar than generally assumed 297–8
 Peninsular War, causing increase of familiarity with 1–2, 3, 15, 81–2, 166, 183, 297, 301, 304, 306
 reasons for travelling to 13–21, 223–30, 297
 travel to, in twentieth century 307–8
 Spanish empire 4, 7–10, 12, 22, 26, 34, 92, 102, 103, 105, 151, 156–9, 169–70, 171, 174–5, 178, 187, 193, 200, 201, 205, 213, 218, 237, 298, 300, 302
 Spanish landscapes 83–90
 Spanish language 32, 38, 52, 56, 155, 156, 171–2, 176–7, 201, 202, 206, 254, 298
 Spanish writers and literature *see* *Antigüedades árabes de España*; Cervantes, Miguel de; *Don Quixote*; *ilustrados*; Ponz, Antonio
 spying, accusations of 215, 238–9
 Stanhope, John Spencer 14, 17, 36, 88, 114, 115, 137, 319
 and Catholicism 122, 123, 125
 during Peninsular War 77, 229, 231–2, 233, 237–8, 245
 and Sagunto 256–7
 Stanley, Edward 14, 34, 217, 232, 240–1, 274, 288, 319
 stereotypes 7, 21–4, 26, 32–9, 119, 128–9, 140, 196, 197, 199, 200, 300–1, 307
 St Helens, Alleyne Fitzherbert, 1st Baron 184, 228, 239, 319
 Strathmore, John, 9th Earl of 13, 79, 319
 Strickland, Jarrard Edward 319
 Strutt, Joseph 17, 319
 Strutt, Lady Charlotte (née Fitzgerald) 17, 320
 Stuart, Sir John 18, 54, 320
 sunburn 48
 Swinburne, Henry 6, 15, 34–5, 65–6, 91, 112, 161–4, 320
 and Alhambra 161, 162–4, 180–1, 189, 266, 273–4, 275, 276, 279, 281, 284, 286
 and *Antigüedades árabes de España* (1787, 1804) 26–7, 162–4, 180–1, 297
 and Azara 198–200, 206
 his Catholicism 123, 199, 206
 ‘Principal entrance of the Alhambra’ [The Gate of Justice] (1775–6) 265
 receiving books 172
 and Seville 102, 293
 and Spanish women 129, 133, 134–5
 ‘The Alhambra from the Fort of St Helena’ (1775–6) 265
 ‘Theatre of Sagunto, Spain’ (1775–6) 256
see also *Travels Through Spain* (Henry Swinburne)
 sword manufacture 99–100
 Tangier 19, 33, 114–15, 116, 226, 227, 232
 Tarragona 83, 112
 Tarrant, Colonel 320
 Taylor, Edward Clough 14, 228–9, 320
tertulias 94, 108, 231
 Thicknesse, Philip 15, 35n, 110, 122, 160, 320
 Thomas, William 320
 Thomas Landmann, ‘Torres-Vedras from the North; Estremadura’ (1818) 221
 tobacco 60, 100, 103–4, 169

- Toledo 54, 83, 96, 98–100, 125–6, 165, 253, 289
 ‘Toledo with coffee’ (1808) (William Gell) 98
 Torres Vedras, Lines of 221, 230, 304
 ‘Torres-Vedras from the North; Estremadura’ (1818) (Thomas Landmann) 221
 Tortolero, Pedro, *View of Seville from across the Guadalquivir* (1738) 101
 Townsend, Joseph 6, 15, 17, 35, 43–4, 63, 96, 109, 284–5, 320
 and Andalusia 89–90
 and Barcelona 110
 and Cádiz 8, 106, 108
 and Catholicism 121, 123, 125, 127, 136
 connections to *ilustrados* 27, 85–6, 89, 123, 194, 209–12, 213
 portrait of (William Holl [the Elder]) 209
 and Valencia and Murcia 112
 trade 6, 12, 34, 94, 105, 110, 114, 189, 191, 201, 218
 Anglo-Portuguese 5, 12, 151
 Anglo-Spanish 12, 112–13
 Phoenician 252, 295
 Portuguese colonial 10, 196
 as reason for travel 17, 19–20
 Spanish colonial 7–9, 103, 218, 237
 Traill, Thomas 35, 52, 55, 58–9, 85, 90, 103, 108, 113, 116, 126, 146, 255n, 287–8, 320
 and Alhambra 275, 276, 281, 287–8
 during Peninsular War 15, 90, 124, 228, 235, 236, 237, 238–9, 243–4, 245, 247–8
 ‘travellees’ 194–7, 199, 203, 207, 212
see also ilustrados; Ponz, Antonio
 travellers 12–21
 list of 309–21
 travelling in Spain and Portugal, overview of logistics and experiences 43–4
 danger and discomfort 63–8
 food 60–3
 mules and muleteers 49–56
 reasons for 13–21, 223–30, 297
 roads 44–9
ventas and *posadas* 56–60
Travels Through Spain (Henry Swinburne) 25, 58, 67, 84, 156, 162, 164, 171, 176, 186, 192, 199, 206, 212, 255, 259, 273, 276
 French translation 187–9
Travels Through Spain (John Talbot Dillon) 86, 200
 Twiss, Richard 6, 7, 15, 31, 40, 63–4, 96, 99, 106, 121, 144, 145, 163, 183, 186, 187, 192, 255, 320
 and Alhambra 273
 and Córdoba 290
 and Lisbon 70
 and Lord Grantham 160–1, 171
 and Madrid 92
 and Ponz 206–7
 and Porto 77
 translation into French 25, 187, 188
 uniform, wearing 17, 232–6, 238, 240
 unpublished writings 12–13
 Valencia 46, 56, 64, 112, 201–2, 203, 233, 295
 ‘Moorish’ legacy in 32–3, 295–6
 silk manufacture in 7, 112
 verdant 83, 88, 112
 Valladolid 7n, 83, 96, 108–9, 193–4
 English College 109, 178
 Irish College 109
 Scots College 109, 127n
 Vanderhorst, Thomas Cooper 320
 Vaughan, Charles Richard 320

- Velázquez, Diego 102, 153, 165–6, 172, 177, 178
- ventas and posadas 45, 49, 55–60, 61–2, 63, 64, 66, 68, 86, 112, 230, 236
- ‘Capt. C – cooking in a venta’ (1817) (John Hughes) 59
- Vernon, Henry 320
- Viage de España* (1772–94) (Antonio Ponz) 26–7, 86, 154, 168, 172, 178, 189, 203–4, 206–7, 212
- Viage fuera de España* (1785) (Antonio Ponz) 204–5
- vicuña wool 170, 177, 180
- Vignoles, John 155, 320
- violence 44, 63–5, 145–6, 223, 239–41, 242–3
- Vitoria 222, 248
- ‘The Road by which the French retreated from Vittoria [sic]’ (1817) (John Hughes) 249
- Voltaire 23, 24, 26, 195, 196, 200
- Voyage de Figaro* (Jean-Marie-Jérôme Fleuriot) 202–3, 205
- Waddilove, Robert 21, 91, 151, 154–5, 156, 157–9, 161, 162, 170, 173–4, 180, 321
- book purchases and recommendations 161, 172, 173, 178–9
- and Islamic past 163–4
- portrait of (1827) (William Ward) 180
- travels in Spain 58, 65
- years following residence in Spain 177, 178–80
- Waldie, John 321
- Wall, Ricardo 155, 180–1, 285–6
- Walpole, Robert 174, 226
- war and travel/tourism 215–17
- see also *Peninsular War* (1808–14), and *civilian travel*
- Ward, William, portrait of Robert Darley Waddilove (1827) 180
- ‘Warm South’ 33, 117, 300
- War of the First Coalition (1792–7) 217
- waste and filth 72
- Watkins, Thomas 184, 321
- Watson, Robert 171, 172
- Wellesley, Lieutenant General (later Viscount Wellington) 59, 109, 218, 220–2, 228, 231, 234, 239, 245, 248, 250
- Westmorland, Jane, Countess of 321
- Whittington, G. D. (George) 31, 81, 88, 94, 100, 110, 217, 253, 257, 281, 321
- Wilbraham, Roger 15, 100, 321
- Wilkinson, John Gardner 321
- Winchilsea, George Finch, 9th Earl of 217n, 321
- windmills 31
- wine 12n, 43, 55
- Málaga 113, 293
- merchants 106, 130
- Portuguese 61, 298
- Spanish 12, 165, 168–9, 178
- Withering, William 321
- women 24, 31, 33, 94, 104, 119, 195, 201, 202, 257, 296
- ‘A [Portuguese] lady at church’ (1781) (Mary Graham) 131
- at bullfights 144–5
- in Morocco 115
- objectifying 31, 128–40, 148–9, 299, 300
- women travellers 16–17
- and Spanish women 129, 130, 132, 134
- wool 170, 177
- Worsley, Sir Richard 15, 105, 321
- Worsley, Thomas 169
- Wraxall, Nathaniel 15, 160, 321
- Wren, Christopher 262, 270
- Wycombe, Lord 321
- Young, Arthur 15, 35, 85–6, 184, 321
- Zaragoza 83, 197
- cathedral 125
- siege (1808) 218, 219

'Sweet and Ansell's book is a remarkable study that profoundly renews our knowledge of travel in Spain and Portugal, 1760–1820. Many readers will benefit from this book: historians, art historians and literary scholars, as well as the curious and the amateur, travellers and tourists.'

Gilles Bertrand, Grenoble-Alpes University

'Sweet and Ansell offer a comprehensive history of British engagement with Iberia which contends with the stereotypes of the peninsula that were embedded in early modern confessional and civilisational hierarchies. It is a foundational work that will open up new avenues of research in eighteenth-century European history for years to come.'

Melissa Calaresu, University of Cambridge

No Country for Travellers? explores the rise and nature of British travel to Spain and Portugal between 1760 and 1820, across a region that is conventionally overlooked in studies of British travel to Europe. Drawing on extensive archival and printed sources left by travellers in the period, Rosemary Sweet and Richard Ansell reveal the unheralded significance of the two countries to eighteenth-century British culture, and their attraction as destinations long before the Peninsular War and nineteenth-century romanticism. The book's compelling narrative reveals the realities of Iberian travel, the different itineraries that travellers followed, the place of Spanish and Portuguese cities in the British imagination and the importance of mediators in cultural exchange, on the Iberian side as well as the British. The travellers' memoirs reflect changing perceptions of Spain and Portugal as modernisation raised new hopes that vied with pessimism and ancient prejudice, while the counterintuitive relationship between civilian travel and armed conflict emerges through a case study of the Peninsular War. Finally, focusing on contemporary fascination with the Alhambra in Granada, the authors examine the rise of British interest in Iberia's Islamic history, with its significance for contemporary understandings of 'Europe'.

Rosemary Sweet is Professor of Urban History and Director of the Centre for Urban History at the University of Leicester.

Richard Ansell is Postdoctoral Researcher at Birkbeck, University of London.

 Free open access
version available from
www.uclpress.co.uk

 **UCLPRESS**

Image credit:
Courtesy of the British School at Rome

Cover design:
www.hayesdesign.co.uk

ISBN: 978-1-80008-872-6



9 781800 088726