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Image of Spain and Portugal in English written travelogues in
1750'

Obraz Španělska a Portugalska v anglicky psaných
cestopisech druhé poloviny 18. století

Master thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked on this thesis independently and quoted all used sources accordingly. I did not present this thesis to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 2nd August 2017

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Abstract in English

The master thesis is concerned with the analysis and interpretation of English written travelogues of the second half of the 18th century, which described Spain and Portugal. I work with two original texts and one translation from Italian, all the texts which were popular among their readers. The main goal of the thesis is to create the complex image of both respective countries and their inhabitants, based on the analysis of travelogues. During the analysis, I use the concept of stereotype as defined by Walther Lippmann. I also use so-called Black Legend, the negative view of the Iberian Peninsula originating in the 16th century. At the same time, the aim of the thesis is to compare the images in all works and come to more general conclusions about English perception of Spain and Portugal.

Keywords: Spain, Portugal, travelogues, image of the Other, Black Legend, Southey, Baretti, Young

Abstrakt v českém jazyce

Diplomová práce se zabývá rozбором a interpretací anglicky psaných cestopisů druhé poloviny 18. století, popisujících Španělsko a Portugalsko. Jedná se o dva původní texty a jeden překlad z italského, všechny texty přitom byly ve své době oblíbené mezi čtenáři. Hlavním úkolem práce je na základě rozboru cestopisů vytvořit komplexní obraz obou dotčených zemí a jejich obyvatel. Během analýzy používám koncept stereotypu dle definice Walthera Lippmanna. Současně využívám tzv. černou legendu, negativní vidění Pyrenejského poloostrova pocházející z 16. století. Zároveň je cílem práce srovnat obrazy v jednotlivých dílech a dojít tak k obecnějším závěrům o anglickém vnímání Španělska a Portugalska.

Klíčová slova: Španělsko, Portugalsko, cestopisy, obraz druhého, černá legenda, Southey, Baretti, Young

Arrangement of the thesis

Introduction.....	7
Definition of the Topic.....	7
Methodology and Conceptual Framework.....	11
State of Research, Literature and Sources.....	13
1 English Travel to Europe and Travel Writing in the 18 th Century.....	16
1.1 General Characteristics.....	16
1.2 Foreign views of Spain and the Black Legend.....	19
1.3 Travelling to Spain and Portugal.....	21
2 Authors.....	24
2.1 Giuseppe Baretti.....	24
2.1.1 Life and literary work.....	24
2.1.2 Motivation for the journey.....	26
2.1.3 Character and context of the travelogue.....	26
2.2 Arthur Young.....	28
2.2.1 Life and literary work.....	28
2.2.2 Motivation for the journey.....	29
2.2.3 Character and context of the travelogue.....	30
2.3 Robert Southey (1774-1843).....	31
2.3.1 Life and literary work.....	31
2.3.2 Motivation for the journey.....	32
2.3.3 Character and context of the travelogue.....	32
3 Concrete topics.....	34
3.1 Sources of the authors.....	34
3.2 Itineraries-general characteristics.....	41
3.3 Comparison of itineraries.....	45
3.3.1 Southey and Baretti.....	49

3.3.2	Baretti and Young	52
3.3.3	Southey and Young	57
3.4	View on the centre/provinces	59
3.5	Perception of racial differences	67
3.6	Perception of the religion	71
3.7	Discomfort and Dirt on the Journey	75
3.8	Encounters on the Road	79
	Meeting with countrymen	79
	Meeting with officials	83
3.9	General behaviour of Spanish and Portuguese	87
Conclusion	91
	Different views of the peninsula/one shared view, comparison	91
	Comparison of Spain and Portugal	93
Sources and Literature	96
Attachment	100

Introduction

Definition of the Topic

This thesis is concerned with the image of Spain, Portugal and their respective inhabitants during the second half of the 18th century in England. It aims to show how the countries and peoples of the Iberian Peninsula were perceived, which ideas and stereotypes were connected to them and to which countries they were compared. Not all elements of the image, however, were equally important and some had a greater role in defining each country. In my case the sources of these perceptions are the travelogues written about respective countries. Such works described foreign cultures through images and stereotypes and influenced how they were perceived. At the same time, the character of these images revealed the opinions of travel writers themselves. During the 18th century, travelogues played a significant role in describing far away countries such as Spain and Portugal. Since many such perceptions existed during the specified period, one can by no means encompass all of them. For this reason, I only focus on the image presented in English travel accounts about Spain and Portugal, and, in one case, an English language translation of a foreign travelogue.

In my work, I focus on the peninsular territories of the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms in the second half of the 18th century. This period was chosen because of the rising number of travellers to these countries, many of which were English. Furthermore, it also witnessed the new cultural and diplomatic approach to foreign countries and their governments, marked by the Enlightenment. At the same time, both England and Spain underwent great social and economic changes during this time, such as the democratization of travelling or beginnings of industrialization.

As for the definition of the peninsular territory, this means solely the European landmass and not overseas possessions or colonies. The reason is that most travellers only connected the term “Spain” and “Portugal” to the respective territories of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, travelling to Spain was much more common than journeys to other parts of the Spanish empire and most

travellers did not travel beyond it. The same is true for Portugal. As for the sources of their image, these will be primarily travelogues available in English in the given period, including original works and translations. I focus on the works presented as accounts of concrete journeys. For this reason, various books dealing with the Iberian Peninsula in a more general way are included only as references.

My research question is what the images of Spain and Portugal in those books were like, which issues were connected to them and whether they were positive or negative. At the same time, I am interested in the differences between these two views. My hypothesis is that the image of Spain was rather negative in English travelogues, marked by the old enmities and Black Legend, a phenomenon which I explain later in my thesis. On the other hand, Portugal could have been seen in different light, given much stronger economic and political ties between the two countries and the absence of such long-lasting hostilities. Since the majority of Englishmen did not know the Iberian Peninsula from their own experience, it can be argued that these general views were formed by a set of stereotypes, created and transmitted by literature to a large extent. Every future author wrote his travelogue within the context of such stereotypes, but also contributed to them by his own work. Throughout the thesis, I aim to analyse if the earlier stereotypes of 16th and 17th centuries were manifested within 18th century travelogues and secondly, what image did the authors themselves create.

As for the choice of Spain and Portugal, both countries were rather specific in the context of 18th century Europe. Being once important powers, their rather quick decline was considered remarkable by many writers and thinkers of the period. This is particularly visible in the case of Spain. Secondly, there was an Islamic and Jewish heritage in both cases, together forming a unique feature amongst the European states in the eyes of contemporary observers. Thirdly, the Iberian Peninsula had a specific position both culturally and geographically, being the westernmost part of continental Europe and the one closest to Africa.

Basically, I analyse the perception of both countries, although Spain plays a more important role in this analysis for several reasons. Firstly, there was the long history of English enmity with Spain, but not with Portugal. Secondly, Englishmen usually travelled to Portugal for different purposes, such as their

health.¹ Even though my focus is slightly asymmetrical in favour of Spain, the image of Portugal is also very important to me. Given its positive relationships with Great Britain, it can act as a model for different view of the whole Iberian Peninsula. While Spain was traditionally seen as a periphery of the western world, Portugal may have appeared as the more civilized and “European” of the two kingdoms. Besides, two of the travellers in my analysis visited Spain and Portugal during the same voyage and could compare them. Nevertheless, Spain is still the key object of the thesis, given a more extensive literature on its perception and my own previous research about it.

I divided the body of my thesis into three main chapters. First, I characterize 18th century travelling, focusing on English travellers to the Iberian Peninsula. In the second chapter, I introduce the authors of the chosen travelogues, their background and the basic characteristics of the works they have written about the Iberian Peninsula. In the third chapter, I focus on specific topics rather than on concrete travelogues. Firstly, I talk about the literary sources for travellers in more detail, since they conditioned their expectations of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, they usually influenced the route they took and the places they wanted to visit. Secondly, I analyse the itineraries themselves and compare them. For a better illustration, I list their itineraries in a table. I also pose the question to which extent they were usual or unusual in an 18th century context.

In the rest of the third part, I pay attention to the different aspects of the image of Spain and Portugal. These are chosen either because of their importance to the traveller (quality of inns, meeting with the countrymen) or because they were part of the Black Legend (religion, racial specificity). Since these two groups naturally overlap sometimes, I do not put a strict distinction between them. Moreover, many of these topics were considered important by travellers and their readers, since they told much about the character of these countries. As for the actual analysis, I look for the view of all authors and compare them. I also put them into the context of 18th century travelling and the state of Spain during that time. In the last analytical part of the thesis, I focus on the behaviour of Spaniards and Portuguese. In the concluding part of the thesis, I draw basic conclusions

¹ See for example Fielding 1755.

from the preceding analysis. The topic of my thesis is connected to the study of the image of the other which drives the English view of Spain. The Other as the object of historical works has been quite frequent in recent decades, especially since the publishing of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978. It is concerned with cultural phenomena which helped 18th century Englishmen describe foreign countries and with it also their own "Englishness." Therefore, this thesis can contribute to a better understanding of the way in which these foreign images were created, used and transmitted in the 18th century. Moreover, the view on Spain and Portugal comes from a Western-European "core," which remains an important element in the formation of the idea of Europe. However partial my thesis is, it can turn attention to the comparative analysis of travelogues as sources of public image constructed through literary works and through the diffusion of stereotypes contained therein. At the same time, it turns attention to a process which constructs the understanding of two relatively similar countries as "semi-peripheries" on the basis of their reputed lack of modernity. Moreover, it can explain why two countries which were essentially very similar, could be seen in a different light depending on political and economic alliances.

Beside the definitions of the main research issues, there are several other important points to address. Throughout my thesis, I use the adjective "English" instead of "British" when talking about the image of Spain and Portugal in the 18th century British Isles. In all three travelogues I analyse, the former term is used much more frequently. This practice also prevails in many other 18th century travelogues about the Iberian Peninsula.² Concerning the spelling of Spanish and Portuguese geographical names, I chose the contemporary one to avoid possible confusion. If the 18th century spelling differed substantially from the modern name, I wrote it in brackets when mentioning the place for the first time. In that case, I chose the 18th century name which was used the most often, in the most travelogues respectively. I also apply this rule in case of French names, which appeared mostly in Catalonia. Concerning the denomination of the place, I again used the one which was used most in the travelogues themselves. Therefore, I use the term village or town for many places which have the character of cities today.

² See for example Fielding 1755, Twiss 1775 or Dalrymple 1777.

As for the order of the three travelogues, I usually sort them in chronological order. However, it is sometimes more illustrative to begin with the author who dealt with a certain topic in more detail or had a specific point of view.

Methodology and Conceptual Framework

The primary methodological tool in my thesis is textual analysis of a range of selected travelogues, focusing on a list of specified problems. Since I deal with the “Western European” (English) travelogues about the ‘Continent,’ I was inspired by the work of Larry Wolff regarding Eastern Europe. In a similar way to him, I approach the travelogues as authoritative texts which created the image of foreign countries, that were inaccessible to most Englishmen. At the same time, the travellers used the described countries as the “Other,” to which they projected negative features of their own society. (Wolff 1995: 4, 6) Unlike him, however, I did not aim to perform a general analysis of a large number of travelogues. Instead, I chose to analyse only three travelogues in a more detailed way.

Part of my analysis is examining the sources which the travellers themselves used in their books. As an example of such analysis, I use an article by José Pérez Berenguel, which deals with another 18th century Spanish travelogue by Henry Swinburne. In the case of Swinburne, the author distinguishes three types of sources which the traveller used. Firstly, there are literary sources, mostly well-known and respected works, such as *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes. The second type of sources includes specific topics, among which belong history, art or language. The last group which Berenguel distinguishes encompasses the contemporary works on Spain, regardless of the aim of those books. All these groups include English books as well as Spanish or French ones (Berenguel 2009, 68-69). In the same way as Berenguel, I look for the sources which are mentioned in selected travelogues, classify them and observe in which connection they are mentioned. I also focus on the purpose of such references, which can be strengthening the author’s arguments or criticising others.

Since the thesis deals with representations of Spain and Portugal in English literature, it is also necessary to define the notion of stereotype. I use the

definition by Walther Lippmann, presented in his book *Public Opinion*. According to his theory, even the most impartial observer cannot just relate the facts, but uses his own invention. Therefore, it is impossible to see foreign reality in itself, but one has to always define it in terms of his own understanding through his own cultural lens. Secondly, the reality is too complex to be fully understood by any individual directly. As a tool for understanding the world around him, one has to use stereotypes, which simplify the reality and make it easier to understand. Furthermore, the stereotype is deeply imbedded in the human mind which strongly influences the cognitive process. In other words, one tends to see the world according to learned stereotypes and it is difficult to approach it from a different point, even if it was disproved by experience (Lippmann 1991, 79-90). In the context of my thesis, it means that all judgements of selected travellers should have been conditioned by stereotypes prevailing in their period. At the same time, their descriptions are also influenced by their own invention, even if they think they are being entirely objective.

I also employ the comparative approach, given the fact that I work with three different sources and the images of two countries. In accordance to the definition of comparison by Jürgen Kocka, I look for similarities and differences between concrete cases (Kocka 1996, 197-198). First, I compare the travellers themselves, then their views on different topics and finally, on Spain and Portugal. By using this approach, the results of my analysis can show how much the view of Iberian Peninsula has changed over time, since the journeys were undertaken within a 37-year period. Furthermore, comparisons can show the similarities and differences within a group of authors whom can all be marked as “scholars.” In the case of the English translation of a foreign travelogue, I can show how much it differed from the works written by Englishmen.

State of Research, Literature and Sources

Above all, my work belongs among the historical works dealing with travelogues as their principal sources. The literature on travelling has become quite extensive in recent decades and has shown many possibilities for how to approach this type of source. For example, many scholars stressed the role of travelogues in forming “European” identity via the creation of the cultural “Other” beyond and within Europe. Larry Wolff, Maria Todorova, or Mary-Louise Pratt showed that travelogues played an important role in creating the image of distant countries and thus reinforcing the self-awareness of Europeans.

Concerning the foreign travelogues on Spain and Portugal, they received scientific attention mainly in their respective national historiographies. Particularly in the case of Spain, the scholarship on travelling to the country was influenced by the search for the Spanish position within Europe at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. For example, one can see this relationship in *Leyenda Negra* by Julián Juderías.³ The first synthetic works on foreign travelogues to the country appear in that period, such as that of Arturo Farinelli.⁴ Later, the modern Spanish editions of these travelogues followed. Towards the last quarter of the 20th century, many works also approached travels to Spain from a regional point of view, focusing only on travellers to certain cities and autonomous communities.⁵ Concerning the travelogues about Portugal, there were relatively few Portuguese scholars who dealt with this topic. Arguably the most important of them was Castelo Branco Chaves, author of the extensive bibliography of the topic and editor of many such travelogues.⁶ In more recent times, the Lisbon University began publishing translated editions of English

³ See Juderías 1943.

⁴ Farinelli, Arturo. "Viajes por España y Portugal desde la Edad Media hasta el s. XX." (1920).

⁵ See for example works of Pedro Ballesteros Torres, Blanca Krauel Heredia or Elvira Lindoso-Tato.

⁶ Chaves, Castelo Branco. *Os livros de viagens em Portugal no século XVIII e a sua projecção europeia*. Vol. 2. Instituto de cultura portuguesa, 1977.

travelogues about the country, together with the journal *Revista de estudos Anglo-Portugueses* (Paulino 2013, 104).

From the available literature, I mostly use works on travelling and travel writing of the 18th century, including general works and those specialized on Spain and Portugal. Given my focus on English travelogues, most of the selected literature focuses on English travelling, rather than on that of France, German principalities and other European countries. From the former group, I use works by Tim Youngs, Peter Hulme and Percy Adams for the general history of European travelling and travel writing. Concerning the specifics of English travellers, I refer to Charles Batten and Edward Godfrey Cox. From the literature on Spanish and Portuguese travels, I quote works by Mónica Bolufer Peruga, Ana Hontanilla, Ester Ortas Durand and Maria Clara Paulino. The works of Batten and Cox helped me to better understand the English attitude to travelling, its role in the literature of the time and how Englishmen approached different foreign countries. The latter group of authors enabled me to see which role Spain and Portugal played in European travels.

Besides, I also add authors which dealt with the 17th and 19th century as references, including Antoni Maçzak and Xavier Andreu Miralles. There were also academic works on travel, which inspired me. Besides the already mentioned Larry Wolff, I was influenced by such authors as Maria Todorova, Mary Louise Pratt and Neval Berber. Their works inspired me regarding the creation of the “Other” beyond one’s own society and the way it was connected to travel literature. The work of Mary Louise Pratt was used as an example of how new paradigms of human knowledge and science changed the character of literature, including travelogues. For the notion of the Black Legend described in the next chapter, I use the work *Leyenda Negra* by Julián Juderías, together with the *Black Legend in England* by William Maltby.

The corpus of the primary sources used in my work is selective, even though 18th century travelogues about Spain and Portugal were scarcer than those of the following period. To realize an in-depth analysis, I work with three main primary sources in total, supplemented by several other works. The main criterion for their choice was availability, followed by popularity in England. Even though it is difficult to measure actual popularity and influence of such works, I judged so

according to their quotation by other writers and to the number of editions and translations. Also, there has already been certain scholarly interest in all the works, although no author aimed to compare their travelogues in a detailed way. Finally, all the authors were respected figures in English intellectual circles, although not always in the field of travel writing. Two of them visited both Iberian countries at once, giving me an opportunity to compare their views on each of them. As for Young, there is the similar opportunity for the comparison of Catalonia and France, which he also visited. Furthermore, Catalonia was not such a frequent destination for an Englishman, at least if he did not travel through France. Therefore, I can compare Young's and Baretti's image of the principality. Also, I can put their views on this quite specific land into the context of the whole "Iberian" discourse.

Chronologically, first of the travelogues is *A Journey from London to Genoa* by Giuseppe Baretti from 1770, followed by *A Tour in Catalonia* by Arthur Young, published in 1787.⁷ The last work, *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*, was written by Robert Southey in 1797. In case of all three travelogues, the years indicate the first English edition, which I also used for my analysis. I would also like to emphasize that for my analysis, I only use the parts of the travelogues that deal with Spain or Portugal. This applies for Baretti and Young, whose travelogues described longer journeys across several European countries. As referential works, I also used other Spanish and Portuguese travelogues of the period, such as the ones by Henry Swinburne, Richard Twiss and William Dalrymple.

Besides travelogues, I also use other types of primary sources. For the overview of 18th century literature on Spain and Portugal, I refer to contemporary statistical works by J.G. Meusel. Although written in German, it includes the most important travelogues published both in English and French. As the reference to major Spanish sights and most common itineraries, I use the English edition of the popular travel guide by Louis Dutens from 1782. For the better illustration of the itineraries the travellers were taking, I also work with 1790's maps of Spain and Portugal by William Faden and Tomás López.

⁷ Full title of the former work is *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Spain and France*. Although the author was a Piedmontian, he is sometimes referred to as Joseph Baretti.

1 English Travel to Europe and Travel Writing in the 18th Century

1.1 General Characteristics

“For this hath ever appeared to him to be the true and proper design of Travelling, to bring back such notices of foreign countries, as may correct any prejudices and errors we have entertained concerning them; such as may improve our present opinions, and contribute to form a just idea of different nations” (Clarke 1763, I).

In the context of the early-modern and modern periods, travelling experienced remarkable popularity during the 18th century. Compared to previous centuries, an increasing number of people were able to travel abroad and a much greater part of them also published the record of their journey. There were several reasons for this development, both in the mentality of the people and in the field of technical advances. Firstly, cheaper transport and better state of roads enabled more people from the middle class to go abroad, not only for business, but for their own pleasure as well. The international situation from 1763 onwards also spoke in favour of travelling, since there was no major war on the European continent.⁸ (However, even ongoing war did not necessarily stop all travellers, as I will later show with the example of Baretti)

Together with improvements in the means of travel, the attitude to travelling also changed. As Peter Hulme showed, travelling was justified by the moral and philosophical principles of the time, namely in the writings of John Locke or Jean Jacques Rousseau. On the one hand, writers and thinkers were travelling abroad to learn about improvements which they could use for the sake of their own society. On the other hand, knowledge of foreign countries was highly appraised in the age of enlightenment (Hulme and Youngs 2002, 4). However, most authors encouraged their readers to travel only to some countries, while others have been omitted. For example, writer and Bishop of Worcester Richard Hurd published an

⁸ See Batten 1978, 2.

essay “On the Uses of Foreign travel” in 1763, in which he did not consider European travelling very fruitful, although he spoke in favour of travelling to America or Africa.⁹ Together with the enlightened demand for the descriptions of foreign countries, the number of printed travelogues rose rapidly. As the readers were becoming more familiar with neighbouring lands, other ones were added to the “repertoire” of travel writers. Even more important still is that a wider circle of people could travel and thus verify the statements of such books.

Considering the forms and reasons for travelling, the 18th century witnessed great changes. At its beginning the Grand Tour was especially important. This form of travelling appeared already in the previous century and concerned above all young gentlemen from aristocratic families. Its aim was to prepare them for their future life, and destinations for the Grand Tour were usually France, Italy and Germany, where they could learn refined manners and get in contact with classical culture. Even though this classical form is connected to England, similar educational journeys were also widespread on the continent (Hulme and Youngs 2002, 37-40). However, the Grand Tour was to a large extent reserved for the travellers of higher social status and did by no means represent the prevailing form of travelling. Many people travelled because of their work, as pilgrims to Santiago or Rome or to spa towns because of their health. These reasons of travelling were present already in preceding centuries and unlike in the case of the Grand Tour, most of the travellers did not leave any record of their journeys.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, however, some changes in forms of travelling occurred. Work, pilgrimage, or educative journeys were not the only reasons for travel anymore. Now, travelling for pleasure became possible, as the travel for knowledge of foreign countries did. As for the latter, the “representative” countries such as France and Italy were not the sole destinations anymore and they started to be replaced by the lesser known Netherlands, Greece, or the Iberian Peninsula (Bolufer 2003, 261).

⁹ Hurd, Richard. 1764. *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel: Considered as a Part of an English Gentleman's Education: Between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke*. London: Millar, Thurlbourne and Woodyer, p. 157. Quoted in: Porter 1991, 27.

These characteristics applied for intra-European travelling in general on the western part of the continent. In the case of English travelling, which is the key object of the thesis, it is also necessary to stress other factors. Given Britain's role as maritime power, foreign travels of its inhabitants were numerous and also well documented by historians. Moreover, many English travellers actually published their travelogues, which also contributed to the popularity of the genre. Conditioned by the book market and literary criticism, travel accounts became a separate literary genre and acquired a relatively standardized form. Before the analysis of the English travelogues I chose, it would be vital to define the 18th century travelogue, together with most important literary conventions which influenced it.

Firstly, as Charles Batten states, these works were much more respected than nowadays, and many contemporaries spoke of them as the most popular literary genre aside from novels. Undertaking the journey and writing the travelogue about it was considered a worthwhile employment for educated circles. Respected writers like Daniel Defoe or Henry Fielding were among authors of travelogues. Furthermore, the information contained within these works was often used by renowned philosophers or scientists who could not or did not want to travel themselves (Batten 1978, 1-3).

Secondly, 18th century travelogues were expected to be literary works and sources of information at the same time. The absence or prevalence of either element in the travel work was often criticized by literary critics in such periodicals as *Monthly Review* or *Critical Review*. According to the 18th century convention, the ideal travelogue was supposed to bring useful information and entertain its readers at the same time (Batten 1978, 45). Since literary conventions influenced 18th century travelogues very much, it is impossible to understand them as direct and immediate impressions of their authors. Instead, each author had to pay attention to the critic and readers. It was not unusual that some travel writers visited certain place not so much because he wanted to, but because he was expected to (Batten 1978, 4). Furthermore, the travelogues were not supposed to be only authentic, but they should have also seemed plausible to the reader (Batten 1978, 56-58). In other words, most authors did not try to bring only new

information, but they also built on already existing beliefs and stereotypes.¹⁰ All these conventions played a much more important role than in the case of today's travelogues

1.2 Foreign views of Spain and the Black Legend

As I stated in the introduction, I am going to compare the 16th and 17th century image of Spain with that of the 18th century. It is therefore vital to describe in more detail the Black Legend, which strongly influenced that earlier perception. Therefore, it is necessary to stress that contemporary scholarship described the phenomenon as largely specific to Spain and its colonies and not affecting the foreign image of Portugal. In the case of Spain, however, this view took a strong hold and has continued to influence the perception of the country up until present times, as I shall show.

Even though the term *Leyenda Negra* was first used by Spanish journalist Julián Juderías at the beginning of the 20th century, the phenomenon itself is much older.¹¹ Originating in the 16th century, it was mainly the product of England and the Netherlands, Protestant countries which felt threatened by Spanish political ambitions (Maltby 1971, 4). However, the negative view also appeared in the Catholic Italian states, as Sverker Arnoldsson shows (Arnoldsson 1960, 11). One of the major sources for future critics of Spain was an inside criticism by Spanish clergyman Bartolomé de las Casas, who attacked the brutal behaviour of his countrymen in America. His work on the subject, *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (1552), was soon translated into English and Dutch and followed by many works of English and Dutch authors. Besides these type of works, there were also travelogues and reports from foreign ambassadors which spread the negative image of Spain (Juderías 1943, 303-305; Arnoldsson 1960, 8-10).

¹⁰ See for example Pratt 2007, 122-23.

¹¹ See Juderías 1943.

According to most books and pamphlets, the typical characteristics of Spaniards were cruelty, greed and pride. Their passionate nature supposedly resulted in strong jealousy and their haughty dignity led to the scorning of any manual work. All these negative features of individual Spaniards were to a large degree connected to the country itself and to its king Philip II. The Catholic religion also had an important place in this image, especially in connection to the inquisition, which brutally persecuted anyone who was against Catholic orthodoxy (Juderías 1943, 243; Hontanilla 2008, 129-130). Even after the period of Spain's power zenith, such negative views still prevailed and new stereotypes appeared. The Black Legend received new impetus with the theories of the enlightenment, which frequently used Spain as the example of poor civilizational development. Spanish intolerance, bad state of economy and the ignorance of common people were stressed. The negative view of Catholicism was also strengthened by the enlightenment, since it was deemed to have suppressed free thinking (Juderías 1943, 350).

According to Henry Kamen however, the Black Legend and especially the idea of Spanish decline did not affect only early-modern travelogues and philosophical works of the enlightenment. On the contrary, it did not lose much of its strength during following centuries and even appeared in the works of professional historians. Especially in early 19th century France, the idea of Spanish decline was manifested most explicitly in the books of Charles Weiss. Most works explained the Spanish decadence on an historical basis and identified its start with the death of Philip II. Some of them also popularized the idea in Spain itself after their translation to Spanish. Thanks to these authors, the "myth" of Spanish decline prevailed until the 20th century and even respected historians of Spain, such Earl Hamilton and Jaime Vicens Vives, agreed with it (Kamen 1978, 24-25, 31-32).

1.3 Travelling to Spain and Portugal

Spain! Still my mind delights to picture forth.

Thy scenes that I shall see no more for there

the most pleasant were my wanderings. Memory's eye

Still loves to trace the gentle Minho's course

And catch it's winding waters gleaming bright

Amid the broken distance (Southey 1797, XVII).

As I defined in the previous part of the thesis, 18th century European travellers originally visited well-known and relatively close countries, such as France, Italy, Switzerland or the German principalities. Especially the Grand Tour had relatively fixed itineraries and as a result, certain countries of the continent were almost entirely omitted. Among them were Spain and Portugal. Compared to other European countries, the English attitude to Spain was specific in certain aspects. Given long-lasting hostilities and the geographical distance of both kingdoms, mutual visits of travellers were not very frequent at the beginning of the 18th century and this trend only started to change during its second half. Religious differences were the primary cause of such grievances dating back to The Reformation. This was aggravated by the continuous conflicts between the two countries, both in Europe and in Americas.

In the period of the Enlightenment, this peripheral position of Spain started to be strengthened by other negative aspects. The Spanish Kingdom was perceived as a country in decline, forming the cultural, political and economic periphery of Europe. Spain's weakening political power did no doubt contribute to such an image. Therefore, Spain was visited for different reasons and by different groups of travellers than other European countries. Most of them were merchants or officials, who travelled there because of their duty or as part of their job (Hontanilla 2008, 123; Bolufer 2009, 86). Many of these travellers wrote a travelogue about their stay, which could help them later to start their literary career.

From the beginning of the 18th century, and especially from the 1760's, Spain was becoming a much more desirable travel destination than it was during the reign of the Habsburgs (Bolufer 2009, 86). This change partially overlapped with the new attitude to travelling in general. According to 18th century English travellers, the ascension of the Bourbon dynasty after 1713 also made Spain more influenced by France, but at the same time less connected to its "violent" past. The enlightened governmental reforms played their role too. All these factors contributed to change its perception abroad. Rather than being judged according to obsolete works of the 16th and 17th centuries, it started to be perceived through the eyes of contemporary travellers (Bolufer 2003, 275-276; 2009: 93-95).

Even though not all visitors to Spain have published a record of their journeys, the rising number of travelogues during the second half of the century shows more interest in Spain, be it from the travellers themselves or their readers. This trend continued after the Napoleonic wars and in the period of Romanticism, which witnessed the greatest number of such travels (Bolufer 2003, 262; Meusel 1790, 51-54). It is also important to note that the reasons for travelling also influenced the destinations within Spain itself. Usually, English travellers visited major cities and historical sites in Castile, such as Madrid, Toledo, or royal palaces at Escorial and Aranjuez. On the other hand, places within other provinces were much scarcer in those travelogues and varied more from author to author. Spanish seaside's, as John Walton shows, only became popular destinations in connection to sea-bathing in the 1820's (Walton 2013, 25).

Despite the Catholic religion and similar geographical position, the English attitude to Portugal was very different from that to Spain. The political alliance between England and Portugal existed from 1373 and mutual relations only strengthened thanks to following economic treaties in 1654 and 1703. In this way, English merchants in Portugal had partial religious tolerance, their own jurisdiction and their trade with Portuguese colonies became easier. Aside from economic connections, both countries were allies against Spain both in the 17th and 18th centuries (Jones 1919, 407-413; Paulino 2013, 101-102). Portugal, mainly Lisbon, has been visited for different purposes than its bigger neighbour,

one of them being its wholesome climate.¹² Despite better relationships, English travellers to Portugal were even scarcer than those to Spain, judging from the number of travelogues on that country. According to the statistical literature of the period, it seems that the only travelogues on Portugal before 1760's were published in French and that the English ones only appeared from this decade onwards. This change can be also connected to the Great Lisbon Earthquake in 1755, which caught the attention of many writers across Europe (Meusel 1790, 40-42; Paulino 2013, 102). Moreover, many English travellers in the 1760's and 1770's have connected Spain and Portugal in their journey.¹³

While it is true that the 19th century was the “golden age” of English travels to the Iberian Peninsula, the preceding period already witnessed some changes in attitude to this part of Europe. Travel books on Spain and Portugal became increasingly popular and a greater number of authors published them. Nevertheless, both countries were still approached as European peripheries and English travellers visited them with different expectations than countries such as France or Italy. In the case of Spain, such attitudes were only strengthened by the Black Legend and ongoing enmity in the colonies. In a way, the 18th century was a period of transition between relatively low interest in the Peninsula in the 17th century and Romanticism, which popularized Iberia's Muslim past.

¹² See for example Fielding 1755.

¹³ See for example Clarke 1763, Twiss 1775 or Dalrymple 1777.

2 Authors

In the second chapter, I focus on travellers themselves as authors of selected travel accounts. Chronologically, I introduce all three principal writers whose travelogues I analyse and focus on three main topics concerning them and their works. Firstly, it is their biography and literary work, with stress on travel literature. Secondly, these are their reasons for visiting Spain and Portugal, which were still not entirely common destinations during the second half of the 18th century. Thirdly, I pay attention to the position of selected travelogues in their literary work and lives, their success and other editions or translations. Furthermore, I outline formal characteristics of travelogues and their literary form. Already in this part of the thesis, I proceed to the first comparison of the background, other literary work and general style of writing travelogue.

2.1 *Giuseppe Baretti*

2.1.1 Life and literary work

Giuseppe Marco Antonio Baretti (1719-1789) was a literary critic, linguist and writer from north-Italian Piedmont. He was born in Turin and after unsuccessful literary career in his home country, decided to move to England in 1751. There he became a teacher of Italian and published his first works in English. He also became acquainted with Samuel Johnson and his intellectual circle, including such figures as Henry Fielding or James Boswell. Thanks to the success of his books in England, he could undertake the long journey through Iberian Peninsula and France to Genoa in 1760, which gave him material for his later travelogue (Hainsworth 2002, 44-45; Brand 1999, 376; Bondanella 2001, 29). He spent the next six years in Venice, where he published first two volumes of his travelogue as *Lettere familiari a suoi tre fratelli*. During this period, he also began to issue his fortnightly *La frusta letteraria* (The literary scourge), where he criticized contemporary Italian literature, above all the influences of French

enlightenment. He returned to England in 1766, after his journal was banned. Three years later, he got a post of the secretary for foreign correspondence at the Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. He was also offered the university position in Dublin, which he refused, and in 1782, he was granted the royal pension. Apart from several other journeys to the continent, he stayed in England until his death in 1789 (Bondanella 2001, 30; Hainsworth 2002, 45).

Baretti's work mostly focused on Italian language, literature and culture and some part of it had a didactic character. However, he has also published some poetry before he came to England. His probably most successful book was *Dictionary of English and Italian languages*, published already in 1760. It continued to appear in many editions throughout the following century and served as the reference for both languages even until the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁴ Before Spanish and Portuguese journey, Baretti has also published his polemic with Voltaire, in which he defended Italian literature. However, most of his works were written after his return to England in 1766, including the English edition of his Spanish-Portuguese travelogue. His later writings often had a polemic character and Baretti used them to defend Italian and English literature against enlightenment criticism. Such was the case of *Discourses sur Shakespeare et sur Monsieur Voltaire*, another polemic with the French philosopher. In similar way, his *Account of the Manners and customs of Italy* was targeted against Samuel Sharpe's *Letters from Italy*. Besides, Baretti has also published *An Introduction to the Italian Language, A Dictionary-Spanish and English* or the edition of Machiavelli's works (Hainsworth 2002, 45; Brand 1999, 376-377; Bondanella 2001, 29-30).

¹⁴ Bondanella 2001, 30. See for example Davenport 1854.

2.1.2 Motivation for the journey

Baretti himself named two main reasons for travelling to the Iberian Peninsula. Firstly, Portugal and Spain were part of his itinerary to Genoa, where he intended to meet his brothers (Baretti 1770, 1: 1). Secondly, he stated that Spain was chosen so he could observe its contemporary state. He justified his choice by an additional argument that Englishmen did not have reliable information of Spain from available travel accounts, which were often obsolete. Curiously, Baretti did not even mention other country than Spain in the general introduction to his book, although he has travelled through Portugal, France and a part of Italy. This indicates that he considered Spain the least known and most interesting to readers. As for publishing a travelogue about the journey, it should have been his friend Samuel Johnson who advised him to do so (Baretti 1770, 1: V-VII; Brand 1999, 376). According to the literature, however, Baretti's choice was also determined by the hostilities between France and England, which did not allow him to take a direct land route to Genoa (Walther 1927, 36)

2.1.3 Character and context of the travelogue

The travelogue I use in my analysis, *Journey from London to Genoa*, was an English translation of first two volumes of Baretti's *Lettere familiari* published in Italian between 1762 and 1763. However, the third and fourth part of the original travelogue were never published because of the censors and were only included in the English version. Besides all four parts, the latter also includes the short account of two other journeys which Baretti made in 1768 and 1769. It is probably for this reasons that according to his memoirs, he considered the English version to be almost a new work, not just the translation from Italian. (Cox 1935: 140) *Journey* (and its Italian antecedent) was the first and only travelogue in Baretti's literary career, although he was already an established author in the field of linguistics, especially thanks to his Italian dictionary (Brand 1999, 376-377). The travelogue as whole was first published in 1770, and experienced quite positive reception from the critique, such as from the Critical Review. Especially

the novelty of a journey to such unknown country as Spain was highly praised (Batten 1975, 93). According to Edward Cox, two more editions of the book were published the same year (Cox 1935, 140). The shortened German translation of the work followed in 1772 and the French one in 1776 (Batten 1978, 93; Meusel 1790, 42).

According to the travelogue, Baretti's journey began after he left London on 14th August 1760 and ended in Genoa on 18th November the same year. From this time span, Spain and Portugal, together with the sail from England, encompassed more than two months (from 23rd August until 2nd November). His two shorter journeys from Bayonne to Madrid and from Madrid to the Biscayan town of Orduña were undertaken between 16th and 24th December 1768 and from 19th to 28th February 1769 respectively. Formally, travelogue consists of four volumes and is written in epistolary form, presented as letters of Baretti to his brothers in Genoa. The final volume contains index to all others, with list of letters and their topics. It was published in a small, octavo format, common among travel books so that the reader could take it with him during his own travels (Michaud 1865, 3: 372). Unlike some other travelogues about Spain from that period, it lacked any illustrations, despite its great extent.¹⁵ Besides, it includes the "practical" part of the travelogue with detailed instructions for the travellers to Spain from France, overview of possible routes, warnings etc. It is also worth noting that Baretti's travelogue begins already in London and devotes great space to the description of journey from London to Falmouth. Even the maritime route from Falmouth to Lisbon occupies whole eight letters out of total 89. (Baretti 1770)

¹⁵ For illustrated travelogues, see for example Thicknesse 1777 or Swinburne 1787.

2.2 *Arthur Young*

2.2.1 Life and literary work

Arthur Young (1741-1820) was an English agronomist, writer and political economist from London. In 1761, he started his literary career by publishing a periodical *Universal Museum*. During years 1763-1766, he has taken over the family estate in Bradfield Hall and became a farmer. Although he was not successful at first, this experience contributed to his interest in farming and agriculture. From 1767 to 1770, he travelled around northern, southern and eastern England and described the state of agriculture there in several travel accounts. He was elected the Fellow of the Royal Society in 1774 and later became honorary member of agricultural and geographical societies in Mannheim, Florence or Saint Petersburg. During years 1776 and 1777, he has also undertaken the tour to Ireland, which gave him material for another travelogue. During 1780's, he invited many of his friends and colleagues to his manor in Bury, among them French agriculturalist Maximilien de Lazowski and Duke of Liancourt. On their invitation, he could make several tours through France between years 1787-1789, at the beginning of the French revolution. Influenced by his experiences in France, he later became opponent of radical reform movement in British parliament (Betham-Edwards 1898, 26-205).

Young published the most travelogues from all three travellers, even though they were mostly related to agriculture in his case. His tour in Catalonia was preceded by total of seven volumes of agricultural Tours through England, published between 1768 and 1771 and *A Tour in Ireland* from 1780. However, his most famous and most extensive work in this respect were *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, which offered the complex picture of the French kingdom at that time (Jones 2012, 1108, 1100). The Spanish journey itself was undertaken during this long stay in France, even though its description was published separately from the main travelogue. Aside from travel writing, Young was the author of *Farmer's calendar* and the editor of the successful periodical *Annals of Agriculture and other useful arts*. In fact, several of his travel narratives, including the *Tour in Catalonia* itself, were published within these

annals.¹⁶ He also left the manuscript of his autobiography, which was later published by Matilda Betham Edwards (Drabble 2006, 1126).

2.2.2 Motivation for the journey

Arthur Young is one of the authors who choose the destination according to their field of interest, which was agriculture in his case. His reason for visiting Spain, concretely Catalonia, was his first stay in France in 1787 (Jones 2012, 1101). According to his correspondence, he was invited to accompany his friend Maximilien Lazowski and Count de la Rochefoucault to the spa town of Bagnere de Luchon, on the French side of the Pyrenees. In his own words, Young decided to set out on the journey, since he was interested in French agriculture very much. His study of the subject in England proved unsatisfactory, since he was not able to find much reliable data from available literature. As for Catalonia, Lazowski described it in his invitation letter as the “finest province” from the whole itinerary, which it would be possible to visit during the long stay in Bagnere de Luchon (Betham-Edwards 1898, 154-157). Unlike Barette or many other 18th century travellers to Spain, Young did not claim to be interested in the whole country as such, only in one of its provinces. In the description of his journey, he even described the trip to Spain rather as an immediate idea than something which he planned (Young 1787, 193).

In the main body of his *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, Young talked about the reasons for writing and publishing the travelogue in more detail. In their introduction, he expressed his desire to contribute to wisdom of the people of England. In his opinion, the travelogue should have offered new information to the reader and they should also be somehow important. Therefore, he decided not to write about his personal experiences, since they would not be of much use to others. From such position, he criticized Barette’s travelogue for his banality, which the former tried to defend (Young 1792, 2-3). Still, one must bear in mind that such introduction was expected by the literary conventions of the

¹⁶ See for example *Annals of Agriculture and other Useful Arts. Vol. 6, 1786 and Vol. 8, 1787.*

time and did not tell so much about the specific goals of the author. On the other hand, this “erudite” position was different from the one defended by Baretti and showed another way to convince readers and the critique about qualities of the book. However, it is not entirely clear whether the author also wanted to apply these criteria of selectivity for *A Tour in Catalonia*, which was not included in his French *Travels*. Still, the very fact that it was published in a specialized periodical about agriculture suggests that the whole journey was intended to be more than a simple distraction of its author.

2.2.3 Character and context of the travelogue

The Catalonian travelogue forms a separate work from Young’s main writing about France and was published already five years before it. Unlike Young’s extensive work on pre-revolutionary France, it encompasses less than hundred pages and was originally published only as part of the periodical *Annals of Agriculture and Other Useful Arts*, edited by the author. Some of his other travel accounts, describing English countryside, also appeared there, together with the travelogues of several other English and French agriculturalists.

Given the separate publication of *A Tour in Catalonia*, it can also be supposed that it did not achieve the popularity of the French travelogue at first. However, the description of Catalonian journey became part of the *Travels* already in its 1793 edition and at least in one more. Curiously, it seems that the description of Catalonia was absent in numerous French editions of the original work and was only incorporated around the half of the following century. According to his autobiography, *Annals* experienced enormous success, although it is perhaps of the project as such, not of the Catalonian tour itself (Betham Edwards 1898, 112, 309). Furthermore, his French travelogue rather made him famous than have any commercial success, at least according to Leslie Stephen. Only the French translations should have been sold in greater quantities (Stephen 1898, 196-197).

Same as 1792 *Travels*, Catalonian travelogue consists of two parts, first descriptive and the second one analytical. While the former contains observations

in the form of travel diary, the latter sums up results of the journey. In this way, Young combines both literary forms of travelogue that he defines in the introduction to his *Travels*-the “diary” and the “essay,” as he calls them (Young 1792, 1). Formally, the travelogue is written as the homogenous text, without further division into chapters or letters. For the easier orientation in the text, it only contains the itinerary with the list of distances. Same as Baretti’s work, it was published in octavo format without any illustrations, but in this case, it was probably not because of the portability of the books during the journey. All other volumes of the *Annals* were published in this format (Michaud 1865, 45: 277)

2.3 Robert Southey (1774-1843)

2.3.1 Life and literary work

Robert Southey was a poet and writer from Bristol, one of the “lake poets,” the group of English writers associated with him, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth and sometimes also Thomas de Quincey, who all lived in the lake district in North England (Birch 2009, 568). Southey was probably the most famous of the three writers I chose for my thesis and it was in many other fields than just travel writing. During his studies at Oxford, he had a reputation of “Jacobin” and was known for his radical opinions. He later became friend of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and together with him planned to form the utopic society of intellectuals in America (so-called pantisocracy). However, he left the plan and instead went to Spain and Portugal in 1795 to prepare for his future life and career (Simmons 1945, 37-39, 58). After the return from the Iberian Peninsula, he studied law in London. He quitted his studies, however, and decided to devote himself entirely to writing. Despite his radical youth, he started contributing to the periodical Quarterly Review in 1809. In 1813, he was also named poet laureate. After the death of his wife in 1837, his last years were marked by a mental disease (Simmons 1945, 93, 129-140, 204).

Even though I approach Southey as a travel writer, this literary form occupied only the small part of his writings. His work included variety of different genres, poetry, prose and drama alike (*The Life of Nelson, Joan of Arc, Madoc*).

Nevertheless, his probably most widely-read work is the fairy tale *Goldilocks and the Three Bears*, the tale which is usually not connected with Southey's name. His attraction to the Iberian Peninsula is visible in his plan to write the history of Portugal, from which only the first part, *History of Brazil*, was published. He was also a translator from Spanish, *The Chronicle of Cid* being his major work. Aside from the Spanish-Portuguese travelogue, he only published one more travel account, *Journal of a Tour in Netherlands*. Even though he has visited Portugal once more in 1800, he did not publish any travelogue about this journey (Simmons 1945, 88).

2.3.2 Motivation for the journey

Robert Southey travelled for different purposes than the other two travellers. Being only 21 years old, he took a trip to the Peninsula as an opportunity to think about his future life and literary career. He was invited there by his uncle reverend Herbert Hill, chaplain of the English factory in Lisbon. Using uncle's library in Portuguese capital, Southey planned to start his studies on Spanish and Portuguese literature and history. Before the journey, he also arranged with his friend, publisher Joseph Cottle, the future publication of the travelogue about Spain and Portugal (Simmons 1945, 59, 63). Unlike Baretto or Young, this was not Southey's last stay in the Iberian Peninsula and he returned to Lisbon once more in the years 1800-1801 (Simmons 1945, 84-85).

2.3.3 Character and context of the travelogue

Southey had undertaken the Journey to Spain and Portugal at the very beginning of his literary career and the resulting travelogue was one of his first works. However, it was right before the journey when he published his poem *Joan of Arc*, which became successful already before his return. Southey's travel account resulted from the journey undertaken between 1795 and 1796 and its first edition appeared in 1797. The travelogue begins on the 8th December, when

Southey set sail from Falmouth, and ends on the 14th May 1796, when he returned to England. Unlike Baretti and Young, his itinerary only consisted of the Iberian Peninsula. His stay in Spain and Portugal was also much longer than in case of former authors, given by his long residence in Lisbon. Concerning the popularity of the work, it was probably most widely read from all three travelogues. Its first two editions appeared during 1790's and one more at the beginning of the 19th century (Simmons 1945, 65). Some authors, such as Charles Batten, also speak about it as quite popular work (Batten 1978, X-XI).

From the formal point of view, the first edition of the travelogue contains the itinerary with overview of distances, contents and, quite unusually, index to the poetry. This is given by the fact that besides the description of the countries and their people, one can also find many information about Spanish and Portuguese literature and poetry. These topics are discussed in much detail and Southey even includes several essays about them. Great part of the work consists of extracts from the Spanish and Portuguese poetry, as well as Southey's own poems connected to some parts of the journey. Even though some travelogues also included information about the Spanish and Portuguese poetry, they usually were not so extensive.¹⁷ Several longer stories relating to Spanish and Portuguese history are also included. Besides these, the travelogue contains some notes about the Spanish and Portuguese language, monetary systems and measures, making it possible to use the book for the preparation of the journey to the peninsula. (Southey 1797) Same as other two works, the travelogue was published in octavo format without any illustrations. In Southey's case the reason is perhaps clearer, since he lacked the necessary money and probably could not afford to pay for illustrations (Michaud 1865, 39: 712).

¹⁷ See for example Clarke 1763.

3 Concrete topics

3.1 Sources of the authors

As the first element of the analysis, I chose sources which travellers themselves used. As the part of my analysis, these references can show which works formed their ideas of Spain before the journey, or at least before publication of the travelogue. They are likewise indicators of the popularity and credibility of previous travel accounts, since it is probable that only generally known sources would be quoted. The different use of the references can likewise tell more about the aim of the author, who could quote other works as respectable authorities, or question them. Still, it is necessary to remember that only some of the sources were actually quoted. In 18th century, it was customary to use whole passages from other authors without telling the reader (Adams 1962, 11-12). Even though these “borrowings” could be traced by comparison to other works of that time, this work would be beyond the frame of this thesis. Nevertheless, some of these sources were mentioned in correspondence or autobiographies, even though they were absent in published travelogue as such. Of course, they could not be connected to the exact part of any work, but I mentioned them for referential purposes, to observe which works were read before the journey and could influence authors.

While classifying these sources, I use the system of José Pérez-Berenguel, who distinguishes traveller’s sources into three categories: literary works, specialized works, such as those of history or art and finally, direct testimonies (Berenguel 2009, 68-69). Same as him, I divide the sources into these groups. I also compare which of them was the prevalent one and whether there was any difference among the three authors. At the beginning, it is necessary to say that the number of sources was quite asymmetrical as for the two countries of the Iberian Peninsula. Most of the travelogues quoted only refer to Spain, while there were much less sources mentioned in case of Portugal. Therefore, most of the sources I enumerate only concern Spain.

As the starting point of my analysis, I focus on quotations of classical works of Spanish literature from the period of *Siglo de oro*. These works, such as *Don Quixote* by Cervantes or plays of Lope de Vega, were often translated into English and had an important role in the development of modern English literature (Juderías 1943, 123-124; Berenguel 2009, 69). In fact, they were some of the few works of Spanish literature widely known in Great Britain of that period (Berenguel 2009, 69-70). Even though both authors lived already in 16th and 17th century and their works were fictional, they were often considered reliable sources of information about Spain of the 18th century. Especially *Don Quixote* had an important position in an English imagination of Spain (Ortas Durand 2006, 120-121). For this reason, I look for references to Cervantes and Lope de Vega in all travelogues I analyse. Only then I proceed to other groups of sources, the direct testimonies, literary works and specialized books respectively.

Despite their popularity, however, the travelogues in my analysis quote works by Cervantes or Lope de Vega only sporadically. Baretti quoted the former only once, surprisingly not in connection to Spain, but already in Portugal. This remark concerned the strong crackling of the cart-wheels, which author described as a common phenomenon in the streets of Lisbon. According to Baretti, Portuguese thought that the noise scared away the devil. As this reason seemed ridiculous to him, he quoted *Don Quixote* for another explanation. As the extract from the work said, the crackling was used in Spain to scare wolves and bears. In his opinion, this was at least probable to function, while the Portuguese reasoning was nonsense (Baretti 1770, 1: 279-280). Otherwise, the works of Cervantes and another Spanish classic, Calderón, were only mentioned as normative texts of Spanish language. Concretely, the jargon of Spanish lawyers was said to be different from the Spanish of these authors and thus completely unintelligible. (Baretti 1770, 3: 282).

Southey also mentioned Cervantes and Lope de Vega, although he did not use them as direct sources. They were part of his contemplations about Spanish literature, together with such authors as Luis Ponce de Leon or Francisco Quevedo. It is true, however, that the commented reprint of the poem *La hermosura angelica* by Lope de Vega encompasses almost 30 pages of the travelogue. Although it was not used in the same way as the previous reference by

Baretti, it was still the kind of source. Southey quoted it to give the reader idea of the Spanish poetry and to support his own view of it. It is necessary to say that it was not least favourable, especially if one considers the popularity of the other Spanish classic, Cervantes, in England. In Southey's opinion, the poem did not reach the level of Ariosto, the Italian poet which it intended to imitate. As for the rest of his literary work, Southey was content with the statement that "in his smaller pieces, however, he is generally tolerable and sometimes excellent" (Southey 1797, 131-167).

Concerning the second famous author from *Siglo de oro*, such extensive sample of his work is absent. In fact, Southey did not even mention the name of Don Quixote in connection to the literary work of Cervantes. However, Southey was much more interested in poetry than in prose, which explains this discrepancy (Southey 1797, 182, 481-482). As for Young, neither Cervantes nor his famous book were mentioned, which could be ascribed to quite brief and sober style of his work. Neither was Spanish literature connected to the aim of the work, which was observation of agriculture, economy and way of life in Catalonia. Situation was the same as for Lope de Vega. Even though it was still possible that the literature of *Siglo de Oro* was normative for information about Spain in analysed travelogues, it was only Baretti who quoted any such work in connection to his travels.

As for the other sources, the third group defined by Berenguel was the prevailing one and for this reason, I focused on it already before the literary sources and specialized works. To be more specific, these "direct testimonies" were mostly other 18th century travelogues. Given the very purpose of such quotations, some of the sources were very influential and well-known travelogues. However, one must keep in mind that the three travelogues were written within a longer time span and each author probably referred to the most recent works of their time. Especially Baretti's travelogue was published in English only 10 years after the journey and his sources could date back to 1750's.

The principal travel source for Baretti was an English clergyman Edward Clark, who published his *Letters concerning the Spanish nation* in 1763. This choice was logical, since Baretti published his work only seven years after Clark. All these references concerned the description of palaces or churches, in one case

also the practices of the Spanish inquisition. However, the numerous quotations did not seem to be aimed for additional information or to support Baretti's own statements. On the contrary, he used them to make ironic remarks on Clarke's opinions and ridicule his national and religious prejudices. For example, Baretti compared his own view of the royal palace in Aranjuez with that of Clarke:

“Yet by what I have here said, I hope you will be able to conceive that Aranjuez is one of the most pleasing spots in Europe. A more pleasing I have seen no where. The French travelling countess, who saw it eighty years ago, was charmed with it: yet it was not then half so beautiful than now... Mr Clarke says, that the royal palace in Aranjuez is a “tolerable edifice,” and the garden “a dead flat.” There are unlucky people in this world, whom nothing can please out of their own country” (Baretti 1770, 2: 249).

In other place, Baretti even quoted one work by a member of Spanish inquisition to show that Clarke's hatred against this institution was based on false information (Baretti 1770, 2: 197, 249; Baretti 1770, 3: 54, 144). In a way, his whole work could be considered a polemic with protestant travel writers from British Isles, such as Clarke was. Several times in his *Journey*, Baretti criticized earlier travelogues on Spain as obsolete and even incorrect. For example, he expressed his disagreement with the “far spread notion” that Spaniards had natural and unchanging traits, such as laziness or pride (Baretti 1770, 3: 1-8; Bolufer 2003, 273).

The sole exception to this critique of older travelogues was another of Baretti's sources, “the French countess,” who should have been charmed by the palace in Aranjuez. He apparently meant Marie Catherine, Baroness d'Aulnoy, author of one of the most popular 17th century travelogues on Spain.¹⁸ This travelogue was being re-edited throughout the whole 18th century, although its first edition already appeared in 1691. Later editions contained many supplements, which added up-to-date information about Spain. It is interesting

¹⁸ Ironically, precisely this work has been considered a skilful compilation of several earlier accounts by 20th century literary critics, who argued that its author has not been to Spain at all. For more information, see Foulché-Delbosc 2014.

that in the 1774 edition, it is precisely Baretti's travelogue which provided these supplements (Branda 2015, 42-43). Concerning the second group of sources, references were much scarcer than those to travelogues. In the city of Alcalá de Henares (Alcalá), for example, Baretti got the information about the local university from the work of Spanish historian Mariana (Baretti 1770, 3: 182). Later in the travelogue, he also quoted several works on Biscayan language, such as the *Grammar* by a Spanish philologist Manuel Laramendi (Baretti 1770, 4: 23-24).

Southey's references were less polemical and mostly provided the reader with additional information. The most often quoted source was the travelogue by the Spaniard Antonio Ponz. Most of the references to his work were the inscriptions on monuments, interesting stories connected to concrete places or statistical data. For instance, Southey used the book to support his statement about the depopulation and decay of Extremadura (Southey 1797, 203, 226-228, 238-239). Less often, he also referred to the similar work by Juan Álvarez de Colmenar, the work which was itself based on the older travelogue by Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy (Ortas Durand 2005, 61). Colmenar's name appeared in connection to Medina del Campo and while Southey passed through the countryside of Extremadura. The popular travel guide by Louis Dutens was also quoted twice in the *Letters*, apparently in its original French version (Southey 1797, 98, 185, 202, 241; Dutens 1789, 109).

Edward Clarke, who was quoted several times by Baretti, also appeared in Southey's work, although only once. This seems quite surprising at first, since both travelogues had largely same itinerary from Galicia until Madrid (Clarke 1763). The reason could be the publication of Clarke's travelogue more than 30 years before Southey. Besides, its author was a clergyman and Southey had quite reserved attitude to the church whatsoever. In the reference, it is interesting that Southey showed the change which occurred since the publication of Clarke's work. Perfectly safe mountain pass which Southey crossed should have been a very dangerous one in 1760's (Southey 1797, 222). He also devoted the greater part of his 24th letter to one particular work with a character of direct testimony. It was the supposed memorandum on the state of Portugal written by Portuguese secretary of state, which I analyze in more detail in the chapter about religion

(Southey 1797, 407-463). According to his correspondence, Southey also read the work on Spain by Alexander Jardine, published seven years before his own journey. He did not directly quote it, though, despite his opinion that the “book conveys much” (Southey 1856, 20).

The first group of sources, literary works, was nearly as numerous as the third one. Southey devoted much of his work to reflections about Spanish and Portuguese poetry and he used several of his own poems too. As I already outlined, this type of sources did not give reader any new information about countries or their inhabitants. On the other hand, they described some monuments or places in verse and could work to entertain reader and enliven the text. Furthermore, they also showed Southey’s image of the Spanish and Portuguese poetry. Besides Lope de Vega, such figures as Yriarte, Louis Ponce de Leon and Francisco Quevedo were quoted. Their poems were usually rewritten as whole, so the author could comment on their style and performance. Most of them were not directly connected to the text of the travelogue and were rather parts of Southey’s reflections on various topics such as Catholicism, despotism or knowledge (Southey 1797, 326, 374). Other poets, however, were quoted in direct connection to some places Southey has visited and not all of them were Spanish or Portuguese. One of these places was Cintra, where Southey quoted the ode on the town by the English captain Jeremiah Thompson (Southey 1797, 518-19).

Southey also referred to several authors from the second group, mainly to scholars and academics, such as José Andrés Cornide and César Oudin. He quoted these works mostly in connection to historical monuments and facts about Spanish history (Southey 1797, 19-20, 226). However, this type of sources did not appear as often as the travelogues. Even though Southey used the most passages from other authors to provide readers with seemingly objective facts, their use was not entirely impartial. Many of them, such as the travelogue by Ponz, served him as proofs of the reputed decline of Spain and Portugal. In this way, he used the literature to promote his own stereotypes as an Englishman.

Arthur Young did not name his sources very often, at least compared to other two authors. This cannot be much of a surprise, however, since his travelogue is much shorter than the other two. If he did use references to other works, they were mostly from the second group, concretely specialized texts about agriculture or

political economy. Furthermore, some of them have been written by his friends, such as Professor John Symonds (Young 1787, 211-212). One of the few direct testimonies he mentioned in his work was the travelogue *A year's journey through France and Part of Spain* by Philip Thicknesse. While visiting the Catalonian Monserrat, Young wrote that he wanted to see this place because of its description by Thicknesse (Young 1787, 228-229). He was the only author who admitted he has visited some place because it was mentioned in other travelogue.

Overall, all three authors quoted previous works quite extensively in their own travelogues. Most of the quotations were from other travelogues and they offered similar kind of information as authors themselves. Only Young used the different approach and rested mostly on specialized texts rather than travelogues. In case of Baretti and Southey, most of the works were Spanish, and they probably served to give the travelogue more authenticity, given the “insider’s perspective.” As for English speaking authors, there were only two works, namely Clarke in Baretti’s and Southey’s travelogues and Thicknesse in Young’s *Tour*. It is worth noting that only one of the sources overlapped, that of Clarke. Its quotation by Southey indicates that the work was still popular and authentic in 1790’s. Nevertheless, he was the exception from the rule. Besides the obvious chronological gap between the publications of each travelogue, the difference in sources can be connected to the different background of each author, their previous journeys and their knowledge of contemporary literature on Spain respectively.

Besides other sources, it is also quite surprising that none of the later travellers quoted their predecessor Baretti. This fact is perhaps more connected to the changing popularity of individual travelogues and the change in the literary market. While I wrote that Baretti’s travelogue was quite appraised for its original topic, critics also pointed out to his many drawbacks, such as “egoism” and too much focus on his own experiences. Furthermore, many other journeys through Spain and Portugal were published until 1787 (Swinburne’s, Thicknesse’s, Dalrymple’s) and both Young and Southey could quote more contemporary works than Baretti’s. In this connection, it is also worth reminding that Young explicitly marked that book as “banal” in the introduction to his 1792 travels. In short, it

seems that the image of Spain before or during actual journey was formed by quite different information in case of each traveller.

3.2 Itineraries-general characteristics

“Every body knows that there is no entering Spain from any part of France, but by crossing the Pirenees. The roads through those mountains go under two different denominations with the Spaniards. Those which admit of wheel-carriages, they call *Caminos de ruedas*. And *Caminos de herradura* they term those, which are too narrow for such vehicles; a *Camino de herradura* is generally travelled on a mule. Couriers only run it out on horseback, changing horses at different stages” (Baretti 1770, 4: 189).

After sources, I proceed to the two main chapters of my analysis, the itineraries of all three journeys. Firstly, I outline the itineraries chosen by selected authors of the travelogues. Secondly, I pay attention to places which overlapped in these itineraries. At the same time, I compare the way how these cities, towns and villages were presented in each travelogue. Firstly, it is necessary to stress that all the travel accounts were written only in the second half of the 18th century. This implies that their destinations and itineraries have undergone certain changes compared to English accounts on Iberian Peninsula written before 1750. For example, the Spanish conquest of the island of Minorca from Britain in 1782 no doubt influenced the English travels to the Iberian Peninsula itself. Even though it is not the part the Spanish mainland.¹⁹

On the other hand, it seems that the number of travelogues to Portugal was increasing towards the end of the century. Besides, it is possible to judge that the route through France became less popular during the French revolution. Concerning the chronology of analysed travelogues, it is useful to remind that they were published within quite a long time, between 1770 and 1797. Furthermore, the date of the first edition did not always correspond to the year of

¹⁹ It was for example John Armstrong who formed his judgement on Spain by his stay at Minorca in 1730's and 1740's. See Hontanilla 2008.

a journey. Especially in case of Barette, his journey ended already in 1760, ten years before the publication of the whole travelogue. For all these reasons, it is necessary to pay attention to the publication of all travelogues and of the date of the actual journey. For the basic overview, two of the three travellers chose to visit Spain and Portugal during a single journey. Arthur Young, on the other hand, only visited north-eastern Spain as a part of his travel across France.

There were some generally known routes which travellers could take on their journey to Spain or Portugal. They are either described in travelogues themselves or in travel guides, such as that of Dutens. Basically, it was possible to travel through France by land or by sea from the north-west. Both directions had several variations from which the traveller could choose. Concerning the French route via Pyrenean mountain passes, it was usual to travel from Bayonne to the Basque Country, which was the case of the famous travelogue by Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy or of the one by Henry Swinburne.²⁰ Other possibility was to travel from Perpignan, Belgarde or Bagnere de Luchon to Catalonia and then to Madrid. One more possibility was to visit Valencia on the way from Catalonia and only then head to Madrid (Dutens 1782, 130-151). As for the maritime route, there were three principal parts of the Iberian Peninsula where the traveller could land. It was either Lisbon in Portugal or the English enclave in Gibraltar. Galician ports were not so widely used at that time, although this trend started to change during the second half of the century.²¹

Since all travellers had different destination and reasons for visit, they also used different routes. Besides, the itineraries were influenced by the Spanish attitude to travelling as such. For example, it was considered suspicious to travel without the proper reason and Spaniards themselves mostly travelled along well-defined routes among the capital and provincial centres, the seats of the king respectively (Shaw 2012, 372). While this suspicion did not have to apply on foreigners, it certainly influenced their itineraries concerning the quality of the road or the service they could expect.

²⁰ See Aulnoy 1708, Swinburne 1787.

²¹ Lindoso-Tato 2015, 215. Besides Southey's travelogue, see for example Clarke 1763.

Starting with Young, perhaps the most exceptional of the three, his itinerary was leading from French province of Béarn (Bagnere de Luchon) through the north-western Catalonia. Then he turned seawards, heading along Catalonian coast until Calella (Calielli) and consequently turning back to the inland. He returned to France via county of Rousillon (through La Jonquera). On his journey, he passed through major Catalan towns and cities, namely Barcelona, Mataró and Girona. The itinerary only covered about half of the Catalonia, completely avoiding the southwest of it. Compared to his extensive tour in France, stay in Catalonia was only a short trip and it seems that Young also perceived it as such. Neither did he consider Catalonia to be a typical part of Spanish kingdom, at least in the field of agriculture (Young 1787, 193). However, he is a good example of the traveller visiting part of Spain, even though France was his main interest.

Other two travellers have itineraries very different from that of Young. Not only did they visit much greater part of both Iberian kingdoms, but they also did not pay such attention to Catalonia as a specific part of Spain. In fact, it was only Baretto who also visited this province. If we look on the routes of Southey and Baretto, they are almost identical between Lisbon and Madrid. The only difference was Baretto's side-trip to Toledo. However, the rest of them varied significantly. While Southey started his journey in Galician town of Coruna and then proceeded to Madrid and Lisbon, Baretto travelled the other way around. Arriving from England to Lisbon, he visited Madrid and then continued northwest through Aragon and Catalonia, leaving Spain to French Perpignan.

One particularity of Baretto's account were also his two side-trips in 1768 and 1769, included in the appendix to the fourth volume. However, I decided not to include them in these two chapters for several reasons. Firstly, they do not overlap with the itinerary of any of the two authors and could not be used for the comparison. Secondly, it would be only confusing to add these separate journeys to the analysis of already three different itineraries. Nevertheless, I keep in mind that they were included in the main body of the travelogue and could therefore have its influence on the readers, even though it encompassed only 100 pages from around 1300 which formed the whole travel account. For this reason, I include it later in my work, where it can be used as the evidence of possible changes in Baretto's attitude.

On examples of Southey and Baretti, one can see the type of a traveller from England who visited Spain and its metropolis, but at the same time used the capital of Portugal as a point of his arrival or departure. Despite their mostly different routes, the two travellers visited both kingdoms on the Peninsula, which gave them opportunity for their comparison. Also, they could benefit from English presence in Portugal, reflected by each of them. Moreover, it was quite interesting that reversed route between Lisbon and Madrid appeared to have influenced their judgements on both countries. Southey, travelling from Spain to Portugal, expressed his gratitude of leaving Spain immediately after crossing Portuguese borders (Southey 1797, 242). Baretti, on the other hand, criticized number of issues in Portugal and described Spain with much more understanding than its western neighbour. Moreover, both Southey and Baretti travelled over the extensive part of Spain, while their stay in Portugal was limited to crossing borders and heading straight to Lisbon (or the other way around). Although this pattern of the journey was connected to the geographical situation of the capital, it also suggests that north and south of the country were not favourite destinations during the period.²²

In conclusion, none of the travellers used the same route, given by their interests and by the fact that they travelled within thirty-five-year period. Except for Southey, however, their itineraries were not very surprising and followed the patterns I wrote about earlier in this chapter. It is visible that when travelling between same places, they also had the same itinerary. Of course, this was given by the character of the road network, connecting main centres and not giving travellers so many options to choose from. However, it also shows that places visited by more than one of them were probably considered somehow interesting for the foreign visitor.

Besides gothic monuments or Roman ruins (Mérida, Truxillo, Cintra), some towns were also the seats of the Spanish or Portuguese king and offered the possibility to see his palace there. It is also visible that some parts of both countries were still beyond the interest of many English travellers. Aside from north and south of Portugal I wrote about, this means also Andalusia. Even though

²² Apparently, one of the first English travellers who visited these parts of Portugal was James Murphy in the years 1789 and 1790. See Meusel 1797, 23.

several English travellers visited this province during 18th century, it only achieved greater popularity during the period of romanticism (Bolufer 2009, 88). Northern Spanish provinces of Asturias and Cantabria were also omitted. All these parts of Spain were relatively remote, with the bad state of communications. Also, their climate could be considered too harsh for the traveller from north-western Europe. Finally, the “Moorish” heritage of Andalusia still did not attract so many visitors at that time.²³

3.3 Comparison of itineraries

“In garrison at Gibraltar, I set out, without any other motive than curiosity, to visit Madrid; when there, I enlarged my views, resolved to extent my original plan, and pursue a track, little beaten by former travellers. O’Reilly’s newly formed military academy, at Avila, became my first object; my next was the university of Salamanca, on my way to Ferrol, the great marine arsenal of the state: I then determined to return by Oporto and Lisbon; and was thus drawn from one object to another, until I completed my tour, which was made in five months” (Dalrymple 1777, III).

In this part of my work, I focus on the descriptive and comparative work with the itineraries. Besides recording the list of places all travellers visited or mentioned, I also compare which places were common to more than one journey. In the next step, I analyse the way how they described different cities, towns and villages. Furthermore, I connect these descriptions to earlier stereotypes, basing my analysis on the elements of the Black Legend and also on sources mentioned in previous chapter. I also compare to what they paid attention to in their descriptions, being it landscape, impression of the city or behaviour of the people. I also singled out the cases when the place was visited for a concrete purpose, not

²³ There were some exceptions, such as William Darlmyple, Henry Swinburne or William Beckford. See Bolufer 2009, 88.

just because it lay on the same route. I did not analyse the description of all overlapping places, but only of the provincial capitals, or other cities or towns of the importance for some author. Besides, I also looked at smaller towns and villages if they were considered somehow important. One more aspect I pay attention to are the differences in descriptive style of each travelogue. According to the 18th century division, there were two basic forms, the description and the reflection. While the former mostly enumerated statistical and other data, the latter attempted to draw more general conclusions from such observations (Batten 1975, 82-83).

As a starting point, I use the itinerary of Giuseppe Baretti, being the longest of the three. I have composed the table with the list of places he visited and the ones he just mentions as well. Alongside this, I place the ones of Southey and Young, since both have partially common route with Baretti. For the sake of comparison, I write the Southey's itinerary in the reversed order, so that the places would follow in the same way as in Baretti's itinerary. For this purpose, I also write Young's itinerary next to respective places in Baretti's account. Within the table, I distinguished mountains, rivers and other natural borders by writing them in capitals letters. For the purpose of comparison, I highlighted the common places in each itinerary in blue. For the better orientation in the list, I also divided the places in Spain and Portugal. Unlike in the rest of the work, I use the spelling which the travellers used in the table. In this way, I can better illustrate differences in spelling between authors.

Of course, this comparison has limitations in the sense that Baretti's, Young's and Southey's journeys were undertaken within almost 40 years. For this reason, some phenomena were necessarily absent in one of the books, even though they appeared in the other. Still, it is presumable that certain characteristics, such as the size and general character of visited places did not change remarkably during this period. Possible difference may have been caused rather by author's different point of view or by the circumstances of the visit (travelling at night, in bad weather, with broken chaise).

<u>Baretti</u>	<u>Southey</u>
Lisbon	Lisbon
Aldeagallego	Aldea Gallega
Estallage of Peagones	Atalaya
Vientasnuevas	Ventas de Pagoens
Montémor	Ventas Novas
Arrayolos	Ventas Silveyras
Vienta do Duque	Montemor
Estremor	Arroyolos
Villa Vizosa	Venta del Duque
<u>Elvas/Yelvas</u>	Estremos
CAYA, GUADIANA	Venta del Ponte
Badajoz	Villa Vizosa
Talaveróla	Fort la Lippe
Lobon	<u>Elvas</u>
Mérida	Badajos
San Pedro	Talaveruela
Meaxáras	Lobon
Truxillo	Merida
Puerto Santa Cruz	San Pedro
Zarayzejo	Miajadas
Los Casas del Puerto	Puerto de Santa Cruz
Castillo de Mirabete	Truxillo
TAGUS	Jarayzejo
Almaráz	Las Casas del puerto
Navál Morál	Venta Nueva
Calzada de Oropeza	TAGUS
Cuesta de Oropeza	Almaraz
Venta Perralvanegas	Naval Moral
Torralva	Calzada de Oropesa
Talavera la Reyna	Torralva
TAGUS	Venta de Peralbanegas
Cevolla	Talaveyra de la Reyna
Carichéz	TAGUS
Zenindote	Bravo
Castle of Barriente	Santa Olalla
Rialves	Maqueda
GUADARAMA	Chrismunda
Toledo	Santa Cruz
castle of Pelavenegua	Casarubios
Villa Mejór	Naval Carnero
Aranjuéz	Mostoles
Valdemoro	<u>Madrid</u>
Pinto	Las Rosas
Villaverde	Escorial

	Madrid	Guadarama
	MANZANARES AND	Funda San Rafael
	XARAMA	Villa Castin
	Torrejón de Ardóz	Labajos
	Alcalá	Espinosa
	Venta de Meco	Aribalo
	Venta de San Juan	Artequines
	Guadalaxara	Medina del Campo
	Taracena	Ruada
	Val dé Noches	Tordesillas
	Torrixa	Vega de Valdetrancos
	Grajanejo	Vega del Toro
	Triqueque	Villar de Frades
	Algóra	Villapando
	Alcoléa	Benevente
	Maranchon	Puente de Bisana
	Terra Molina	Baneza
	Tortuéra	Astorga
	Embid	Manzanar
	Uséd	Benveveria
	Sanséd	San Miguel de las Duenas
	Daroca	Ponferrada
	Retascón	Carcabalos
<u>Young</u>	Mainár	Villa Franca
Bagnere de Luchon	Venta de San Martin	Herrerias
Botoste	Longáres	Castro
Vielle	María	Lugares
Port of Piass	Zaragossa	Marillas
Briasca	La Puebla	St. Juan de Corbo
Laboursel	Venta de Santa Lucia	Lugo
Rudáse	Bujalaroz	Ravadi
Sctillo	Venta de Fraga	Bamonde
Poeblar	Fraga	Griteru
Fulca	Alcáraz	
Calati		
Montserrat		
Esparagara	Lérida	Betanzos
Martorelle	Molérusa	Coruna
Barcelona	Cervera	
Ballalo	Venta del Violino	
Gremah	Piera	
Meliasa	Igualada	
Maturó	Montserrat	
Arrengs	LLOBREGAT	
Canet	Molin de Reys	
Callieli	Barcelona	
Penether		

Malgra	Lináz
Goronota	Las Mallorquinas
Gerona	Girona
Figueras	Pontemayor
Jonquieras	La Jonquiera

3.3.1 Southey and Baretti

The most obvious result of the analysis is that the itineraries of Baretti and Southey had much in common, since they travelled partially in the same part of the Iberian Peninsula. From Lisbon to the Castilian town of Talaveyra, there were only a few places which were not mentioned in both works. However, the following part to Madrid lead through completely different part of Spain, given Baretti's wish to visit Toledo. Their journeys from Madrid onwards were again completely different and thus did not offer space for direct comparison.

The similarity of the large part of the journey is quite striking if we consider the different goals which each traveller had. While Baretti travelled to north-Italian Genoa, his itinerary across Spain and Portugal was apparently given by the ongoing war between France and England, which closed French port for English travellers (Walther 1927, 36). The choice of the Portuguese route was also useful since many English ships sailed to Lisbon for business (Fielding 1755, 36). On the contrary, Southey chose quite inconvenient way to get to Lisbon, which should have been his destination. Precisely because of the good connection between England and Portugal, it is strange that he took the inland route through Madrid. In his letters, Southey himself stated that no ship sailed from England to Lisbon since his departure from Falmouth and he stated the meeting with his uncle as the reason, although it seems strange that he has undertaken such long journey when they could meet in Lisbon. For this reason, it seems that the true reason was his intent to see Spain, perhaps with the writing of travelogue already in mind (Southey 1856, 23).

Besides the similarities and differences in routes, the comparison also concerns the very description of each place, together with the topics which each writer paid attention to. Since both writers were foreign travellers in Spain and

Portugal, it is natural that much of their travelogues consisted of the description of roads, inns and food. Therefore, they wrote about these topics when they stopped in almost any village or town. It was also the climate and the character of the landscape (mountains, swamps, plains) which fell into this category. Secondly, they were interested in the general state of visited places, such as the level of housing, agriculture, economy and prosperity. The behaviour of the people was perhaps slightly less important, given the fact that both authors were foreigners. Even though they claimed to know some of Spanish and Portuguese, their knowledge about locals largely came from the experience of their countrymen, not just from their own observations or from what Spaniards told them. This was especially true in bigger towns and capital cities, when they could meet their countrymen, who already had some knowledge of the local society.

One can also divide the journey according to the size of visited places. All authors visited cities, smaller towns and villages during the journey. Different attention was paid to each place, given by their sources or the information they gathered along the way. The first group were the capitals of Spain and Portugal, which encompassed the greatest part of both travelogues. Madrid was seen by Southey as unpleasant, dirty and very expensive to live in. He also noted the immorality and hypocrisy of local nobility (Southey 1797, 109, 112). Considering Baretti, the only major issue he did not like about the capital was the detestable and omnipresent stench. Even though this was enough for him to leave the place very early, his general description of Madrid was much more positive than Southey's. On the other hand, he tended to be biased against Lisbon, which he considered dirty and full of beggars (Baretti 1770, 1: 279-280).

Southey tended to see the Portuguese capital in relatively good terms, especially compared to Madrid. On the other hand, he spent more time there, which gave him additional opportunities for his criticism. However, critical remarks were not always aimed at Lisbon as such, but on the rest of Portugal instead. Concerning the religious practices, for example, he thought that "superstition" was much stronger outside the capital. The major issue he complained about was the astonishing filth in the streets, together with the large number of wild dogs and rats (Southey 1797, 263, 358-363). The character of Southey's and Baretti's stay in both capitals is also worth mentioning. In Lisbon,

both travellers went to see its surroundings, particularly Cintra and Cork Convent (Baretti 1770, 1: 212-259; Southey 1797, 509-518). In Madrid, only Baretti went for a trip to the king's hunting residence in Pardo, while Southey did not leave the city until his departure (Baretti 1770, 3: 143-144; Southey 1797, 107-185).

In case of cities and bigger towns, it was mostly their history and monuments which both writers were interested in. This applied for Mérida, Trujillo and Talavera, apparently the biggest towns between Madrid and Badajoz. Badajoz itself also fell into this category, but it was much more important for each author as the border town between Spain and Portugal. As for the smaller towns along the way, there was a difference in what both authors paid attention to. For example, Baretti made a remark about the town fortifications many times, while Southey only wrote about it once. In that very case, the latter stressed its bad state and used it rather as a symbol of the Spanish decay (Baretti 1770, 2: 42, 62, 196; Southey 1797, 42).

Besides, there were several topics which appeared throughout the travelogues and which were specific to each author. For example, Baretti noticed beggars on many occasions in Portugal and western Spain, although Southey did not talk about them at all (Baretti 1770, 2: 132). What also differed very much was the attitude of custom-men and innkeepers. Baretti generally described it in the positive light, while Southey only portrayed a negative picture of them.

This was visible in Badajoz, when their descriptions of border crossing were contradictory. The other important topic in Southey's travel account was the rude behaviour of the Spanish king and his retinue during their way from Madrid to Badajoz. Since the writer followed the retinue, he claimed to have witnessed all the results of such movement. However, lack of provisions or desolate character of the villages were also mentioned by Baretti, who travelled through the same places. (in the village of Zarayzejo, for instance) The attitude of each author to Spanish and Portuguese languages was also different. It is interesting that Baretti strictly divided between Spanish and Portuguese names in most cases. At the same time, Southey did not pay so much attention to such differences, for example when using the word "venta" in case of Portuguese inns. (Baretti 1770, 2: 9, 29; Southey 1797, 471)

The very fact that two travellers had such similar itinerary within the 35-year period indicates that neither Spanish or Portuguese road network, nor customary English itineraries changed very much during that time. Despite their different reasons for the journey, there were many similarities in their way of narration and description. They focused on history and the level of manufacturing, which conformed to the 18th century descriptive conventions. On the other hand, they focused quite a lot on their own feelings and description of stories about themselves, which would earn them label of “egoists” by the critics. Both authors could speak Spanish and Portuguese slightly, which offered them some insight into the local society and customs. Nevertheless, they seemed to place greater trust in judgements from their countrymen than directly from Spaniards and Portuguese. Overall, their itineraries and descriptions are very similar, but each author used the information for their own ends. While Baretto wanted to attract attention to the country which was not very well-known at the time, Southey rather wrote of Spain as exotic and strange place which is not particularly worth seeing.

3.3.2 Baretto and Young

The other comparison of itineraries was done between Baretto's *Journey* and Young's *Tour*. This time, overlapping places lay only in one part of Spain, Catalonia. Although both travelogues described extensive part of the province, their itineraries overlapped less than did Baretto's work with that of Southey. It could have been caused by the inverse direction of their travels, as well as by their different interests. In this case, however, the different length of both works probably played its role. While Baretto's account encompassed four volumes and Catalonia only formed small part of it, Young's travelogue had a form of a longer article and Catalonia was the only province it described. From all the places they mentioned, only Barcelona, Monserrat, Girona and the border town Jonquera appeared in both works.

Unlike in the previous comparison, where villages and little towns prevailed, these were all relatively important places, namely the provincial capital, famous

sanctuary and the border crossing. While Barcelona was one of the biggest cities in Spain and had the reputation of the trading centre, Girona was apparently the last bigger town before reaching the Pyrenees. At the same time, it seems that the route leading through it to France was more convenient than that through Bayonne.²⁴ In case of Monserrat, both travellers heard of it as the famous place of Catholic pilgrimage, well known throughout Spain and beyond. Even Young, who was not Catholic, read about the sanctuary and wanted to visit it. Overall, the places which overlapped in these two travelogues were not particularly surprising, given such characteristics.

What is perhaps more interesting, is the difference in their itineraries from Barcelona to Pyrenees. While Young continued along the shore before reaching Girona, Baretto took the inland route. Even from Girona to France, they passed through different places (Young 1787, 275; Baretto 1770, 4: 189-190). The differences in the last part of the journey are quite understandable, since Baretto headed to Italy and Young to southern France. Still, it seems logical that both travellers should have taken the coastal route from Barcelona to Girona, given the relatively dense population and thus the more possibilities to buy provisions or find accommodation. However, their basic direction was the same and it was probably also the *calesseros* who chose the precise route.

Starting with the provincial capital of Barcelona, the description of both authors was mostly positive. At least Baretto apparently had great expectations before actually coming there, which probably influenced this judgement (Baretto 1770, 4: 46). Both also decided to stay in the city for several days. However, Young's description was much shorter than the Baretto's, which encompassed whole three letters. Since the Catalan language was different from Spanish, none of the authors spoke it, but they both claimed to have all the information from reliable sources. Already during his arrival, Baretto praised the fertility of the soil around town and the way how the fruit trees and grain were planted along the road. Young's first impression was similar, stressing the quality of mulberry trees, which Baretto also mentioned. Same as in other parts of his travelogue, Baretto made notice of the size of the city and its strong fortification, similarly as Young.

²⁴ See for example Dutens 1782, 130, 136; Baretto 1770, 4: 189.

Both also observed that the streets in Barcelona were very narrow, especially for such a populous city. Baretto described Barcelona as “the best built town I have yet seen in Spain” which is quite a strong judgement after travelling through much of the kingdom. Young also considered Barcelona a very well-built city and both travellers paid attention to its good situation between the hills and the sea, together with its temperate coastal climate (Baretto 1770, 4: 76; Young 1787, 234).

One of the few negative features in this picture was the thick layer of dust in the streets, mentioned by Young. However, Baretto wrote that the streets of Barcelona were everywhere paved with regular stones. Both authors also appreciated the cheapness of all provisions, which were not more expensive than in the inland. Furthermore, Young added the remark on the variety of fruit found on the market, such as peaches, figs and melons. Both authors talked about the harbour, although Young paid more attention to it. He also used it as an example of good work which the Spanish king Charles III. has done. As for the historical monuments, it was only Baretto who wrote of the reputed remains of Roman lighthouse on the top of mountain Montjuic. As the sort of curiosity, both authors also mentioned punishments to Catalonians by Philip V. However, Baretto wrote that these orders were slowly being revoked and Catalonians were rather in favour of the present king Charles III. Still, Young wrote 17 years later that all these laws, such as the one which prohibited carrying any weapon, were still functioning (Baretto 1770, 4: 86; Young 1787, 239).

What was also common for both travelogues were the descriptions of new town called Barceloneta with wide, regular streets and regulated height of houses. According to Baretto, this part of Barcelona was home to many “merchants and traders of considerable note” (Baretto 1770, 4: 83). However, Young described it as the residence of mainly sailors, little shopkeepers and artisans (Young 1787, 236). Regarding the building of, Barceloneta, Baretto stressed the name of Marquis de las Minas, who once led Spanish forces against Italians (Baretto 1770, 4: 83). This information and other references to the Italian trade with Catalonia were naturally absent in Young’s travelogue.

Much space was devoted to the enumeration of the manufactures there and Catalonians were said to make most of clothes and weapons for the rest of Spain.

Such statements were even more interesting in context of the Black Legend, which considered manufacturing and other “useful arts” as foreign to Spaniards (Juderías 1943, 218). While Baretto stressed the manufacture of woollen fabrics, Young talked about the extensive production of silk and said that the wool is not processed there in the considerable amount. Both authors also seemed to admire the gun foundry, which Baretto also visited. Unlike Baretto, Young also described the local theatre and also the custom of the clergymen and workers to go there, which would not be seen in France. He also paid attention to the fashion, which was mostly in French style among the rich people. To complete the entirely positive image, Baretto said that the inn he stayed in while in Barcelona was the best one since leaving London (Baretto 1770, 4: 91).

Young wrote about the extraordinary quality of the accommodation and food too. He went as far as saying that they were better than in many places in England, the judgement which did not appear very often in his travelogue. Upon leaving Barcelona, however, both travellers had rather different experience. Baretto talked about kind custom men who did not even searched the luggage. In his opinion, this behaviour was present everywhere in Spain where he went through the custom-house. Young was apparently searched at the same place, which he saw as the nuisance, since he already had to pass through the custom-house upon entering Barcelona.

The mountain and convent of Monserrat were also mentioned by both travellers, although the character of their visit was rather different in each book. Its presence is not much of a surprise, since this place was mentioned in English-language travelogues at least since the time of Madame d’Aulnoy. (Aulnoy 1708, 81) As written already, Young chose to visit Monserrat, because he read about it in the other travelogue, concretely the one by Philip Thicknesse. At the beginning, he noted the steep climbing up the hill and the beautiful scenery with many hills and rocks of different sizes. He spent the night in the convent and then headed towards the summit, after which he continues to Barcelona (Young 1787, 228-230).

Baretto did not visit the convent himself, but just travelled under the mountain the whole day. He excused himself by the strong wind, which supposedly did not allow him to ascend the mountain. Being accompanied by the

canon going to Barcelona, he only told the story about the foundation of the sanctuary, which he heard from the clergyman. Same as Young, he noted the picturesque look of the whole mountain. Based on canon's testimony, he gave the topography of the convent and various hermitages on the mountain and describes the custom of local monks to offer accommodation for all travellers for almost no money (Baretti 1770, 4: 55-65). The similar description can be found by Young (Young 1787, 229-230).

In Girona, the last major town before France, Young noticed above all its obsolete fortification and absence of any significant manufactures. He also mentioned the cathedral and the encounter with the local bishop. Besides the prices and wages, he did not see anything interesting there and left the town the same day (Young 1787, 255-256). Baretti also did not stay long in Girona and his description was even shorter than Young's. However, he described the town as big, nice and seemingly full of people (Baretti 1770, 4: 97). Not only were both these descriptions very brief, but they also did not overlap very much, except the stress on the town's fortification. Young described Girona as quite insignificant from both economic and defensive point of view. All its riches were said to be due to the travellers coming from and to France and the workers from Castile and France (Young 1787, 255). Given Baretti's description, it did not really say much about the town as such. In fact, he devoted much more space to the description of the quarrel with the rude Spanish soldier there (Baretti 1770, 4: 98-104).

The mention of La Jonquera was even briefer than that of Girona and practically did not say anything important about the place. Baretti limited his description to a "poor village," while Young mentioned that it was a dirty town where he stopped to have breakfast. However, it is worth noticing that he regarded smuggling the only "industry" there (Baretti 1770, 4: 105; Young 1787, 258-259). It is possible, however, to see the different position which this place occupied in both travelogues concerning the Spanish border. Firstly, Baretti called it "the last village on this side of Spain," and located the border on the bridge, lying an hour from it. Young did not explicitly mention position of Jonquiera at the border. In fact, the overview of his itinerary named the French fortress Bellegard as the limit between the both countries, although Baretti already placed the fortress on the French side of Pyrenees (Baretti 1770, 4: 105; Young 1787, 275). These

differences in placing the direct border seem to show that the Pyrenees were to a certain degree permeable and it was difficult to say the precise point where Spain ended, and France begun.

In conclusion, the material for comparison of Baretto's and Young's travelogue was rather asymmetrical. Both books paid much attention to Barcelona. They described its situation, architecture and manufactures, all in mostly positive light. It is probable that this image stemmed from the idea that the whole province was the most progressive and industrious area in Spain and its capital was the symbol of such industriousness. However, the case was different for Monserrat and Girona. The description of both places was very brief, especially regarding the latter. Only Young truly visited the convent at Monserrat, which is interesting enough for the non-Catholic.

In case of Girona, both travellers just passed the town on their way to the Pyrenees and only gave its basic overview. This contradicts with their description of Girona as quite large, fortified town. The case of Jonquiera showed how differently the border could be described, especially in the high mountains. Regarding the topics which the writers focused on, it was mostly economy and architecture. Even Baretto, who paid more attention to the literature, judged Barcelona and Girona from these two points of view. It is then visible, that the reputation of Catalonia as the most industrious part of Spain did not change significantly in the period between the two travelogues. The same can be said for the reign of Charles III., who was mentioned as an important supporter of development in this province by both Baretto and Young (Baretto 1770, 4: 86; Young 1787, 238).

3.3.3 Southey and Young

Aside from comparing similar itineraries, it is also possible to make the last comparison, that of Southey and Young. Given their completely different itineraries, I rather chose to compare the overall character of their routes and the differences in their descriptive techniques. On the example of these two travelogues, I can also show how much the route of two visitors to Spain could

differ. The main difference of Young's itinerary was the fact that he did not visit Madrid, which distinguished him among other early-modern travellers to the country. The capital was probably the most popular destination of foreign travellers and almost every other Englishmen came there.²⁵ However, one must keep in mind that even his journey to Barcelona was undertaken only as the side trip to his French journey and that the tour from Barcelona to Madrid would be about the same length as his whole itinerary across Catalonia (Young 1787, 275; Dutens 1789, 96-100). For largely the same reason, Southey did not visit Barcelona, which lay far beyond his intended route.

Formally, the character of both itineraries also differed. Southey had a clear destination of his journey, the Portuguese capital Lisbon. However, he used relatively long way to reach it, crossing several Spanish provinces and first going to Madrid. Young, on the other hand, only expressed his desire to visit Catalonia and his main goal was probably Barcelona, the economical centre of the whole province. Unlike Southey, he did not pass through Catalonia to other provinces, but returned straight to France instead. His Spanish tour was only diversion to his French journey and for this reason, he only seemed to stay in each place for a short time. While Southey could not offer reader detailed observations of every place along the road, his stay in Lisbon was long enough for the complex reflections. On the other hand, Young did not have to travel so fast and could provide the reader with balanced account of the great part of the whole province.

Regarding the descriptive means of the authors, the biggest difference is in the objects they pay attention to. Southey is generally more subjective in his descriptions and reflexions, describing the space around him from cultural and aesthetical point of view. For instance, his description of Truxillo is limited to the historical overview and to contemplations about its connection to Francisco Pizarro. On the other hand, Young provided the reader with a detailed description of economy, population and the situation of every place he had visited. More than Southey, he also pays attention to the character of the agricultural landscape, its system of cultivation and also its economical profitability. Unlike Southey, the

²⁵ See for example Dalrymple 1777, Swinburne 1787 or Jardine 1788.

latter traveller wrote most of his account according to 18th century imperative for extensive descriptions of useful facts (Batten 1975, 86-88).

Besides the essential difference in their itineraries, comparison of Southey's and Young's routes offers additional insight into travelling to Spain in that period. Not only does it show that the traveller to France, could selectively visit only one part of Spain and not all "representative" places across several provinces. It also tells more about the way how each traveller constructed his text and how he described places on the road. Even though there was only 10-year gap between the two works, their style is completely different. It would probably be too much of a speculation to consider Southey's work as one of the first "subjective" or "romantic" travelogues. Rather, it is prudent to suppose that scientific and more subjective travelogues coexisted throughout the second half of the 18th century and each work represented one of the traditions.

3.4 View on the centre/provinces

One of the important aspects of the foreign image of Spain was its division into various provinces and principalities. Even though the kingdom was presented as united (and during 18th century, it was perhaps closest to such state), most of the early-modern travellers noticed the existence of different smaller entities within its borders.²⁶ Even though they did not necessarily connect any particularity with the province, it is significant that they acknowledged its existence. In case of Portugal, such division was mostly omitted, given the smaller territory of the kingdom and perhaps less visible specificity of the provinces. As I noted in the second chapter, the usual west-east pattern of travel did not allow many travellers to see more than few of Portuguese provinces. Apparently, this aspect only started to interest English travellers towards the end of the 18th century, with such travelogues as *Travels in Portugal* by James Murphy (Meusel 1797, 23). As for the term "province" I use in this part of the thesis, it is mainly the way to include all the geographical units from which Spain or Portugal

²⁶ See for example Swinburne 1787, Jardine 1788.

consisted of at the time. Therefore, I apply this name to each of them, be it officially called province, kingdom or principality. By using this word, rather connected to the administrative division, I can avoid more contemporary and ambiguous terms, such as “region.”

Of course, attention to some provinces was given by the very route the traveller was taking. However, all of them had to visit some part of the country beyond Castile and Madrid, given their geographical situation in the centre of the kingdom. It is therefore apparent that most of travellers had to pass certain 18th century provinces, such as Galicia, Estremadura, Vizcaya, Giupuzcoa or Catalonia respectively. In case of Spain, the centre mostly overlapped with the notion of Castile and, perhaps even more often, with that of Madrid. It was the city visited by most travellers to Spain and described in many travelogues of the period.²⁷ Still, its very wealth and pompous representation could have been also subject to severe criticism, connected to the Spanish colonial wealth.²⁸ In case of Portugal, on the other hand, the direct road to Lisbon was practically the only part of the country which appeared in travelogues for most of the 18th century. It can be argued that the Portuguese capital represented the centre of the country even more than Madrid. Many travellers sailed directly to Lisbon and other, such as Southey, also used the Lisbon port to return to England.

²⁷ See Clarke 1763, Twiss 1775, Dalrymple 1777, Swinburne 1787.

²⁸ See for example Clarke 1763, Twiss 1775.

Capital cities

As for Southey, his view of the Spanish capital was ambiguous, given perhaps by his youth radicalism. In fact, he even refused at times that he was much interested in seeing the capital, even though many of his countrymen had it as their main destination in Spain.²⁹ He especially described the magnificence of the Spanish royal court as “of little worth,” at least compared to the courts of medieval Al-Andalus (Southey 1797, 81, 185). Even though, the capital overall made a good impression on him, especially when approaching it on his journey. What he highly appraised from the aesthetic point of view, was the fact that it had no suburbs and distinguished itself clearly from the surrounding landscape. However, the inside of the city did not please him so much. Its streets were very narrow, unpaved and dirty and houses mostly without fireplaces or chimneys, “as everywhere in Spain.” There were the exceptions, of course, such as the very fine promenade, Prado, and also very well build gates and beautiful fountains.

Despite his relatively long stay (more than ten days), he only described quite few parts of the city, saying that “concerning the city and its buildings, the manners of the people, their Tertullas and Cortejo systems, you will find enough in twenty different authors” (Southey 1797, 109). This only contributed to the impression that he considered the capital already well known among his readers. However, he visited the art collection in one of the palaces and the local museum. While he was delighted with the collections of art, he described the museum as “wretchedly managed” and regretted that it is only opened to public irregularly. In his opinions, this practice is one of the factors which support Spanish ignorance, since common people do not have access to the knowledge the museum contains. Later in his description, Southey notes that the new, much better museum was being built in Prado (Southey 1797, 168, 171, 177).

The general characteristics of the metropolis were apparently unpleasant living environment and exceedingly high prices of all necessities. The former included quite extreme climate, which Southey described in these words:

²⁹ See for example Dalrymple 1777.

“In summer, the heat is intolerable, in winter the cold is very severe; for the soil around the city produces the nitre in great abundance and the Guadarama Mountains are covered with snow; so that you have the agreeable alternative of being starved by want of a fire, or suffocated by the fumes of charcoal” (Southey 1797, 170).

Besides, the inhabitants were considered immoral and unfriendly, which no doubt contributed to the image of unpleasant life in the city. Author described several stories of murders or adultery, which should have occurred in the capital. Rather than true stories, they have the character of exempla or sensational tales, which could demonstrate the decadence of inhabitants and at the same time entertain readers (Branda 2015, 55; Southey 1797, 112, 114-15). Since he did not mention such atrocities elsewhere, they only strengthen the image of Madrid as unpleasant and immoral city.

What also played great role in Southey’s description were the forms of entertainment which people visited in the capital. The first was the theatre, represented by his visit of the Spanish Comedy. It was the second one he has seen since his departure from Coruna and his judgement was also similar. The theatre performance was completely different from the English one, starting with the way how the entrance fee was collected and ending with bad lighting of the scene. Madrid was also the place where Southey described the first and only bull fight he has seen in Spain, which no doubt strengthened the negative image of the city. According to his testimony, there were more spectators in the arena than in Spanish theatre performance he has visited before. Furthermore, all of them seemed to enjoy such form of amusement, which the author considered a very disgraceful one (Southey 1797, 109-112).

The second Iberian capital was visited only after Madrid and as the goal of his journey. However, this does not mean that Southey only judged it in favourable terms. In the first place, he notices the dirty environment of the city, where the sewage goes right through main streets Southey also noticed the rebuilding of the city by Marquis de Pombal, which did not add to its beauty in his opinion. Concerning the inhabitants, their main characteristic should have been laziness and ignorance. The former is chiefly demonstrated by the presence of

Gallegos, porters of Galician origin who had to do all the heavy work in Lisbon. According to Southey, many inhabitants of Lisbon refused to carry even the small burden anywhere, since it collided with their sense of pride. According to a story from his uncle, one Portuguese refused to carry a package to the next house and instead, it was necessary to call Gallego from the other part of the city (Southey 1797, 263, 289). Even though the characteristics of people were not connected specifically to Lisbon, Southey did not visit so much of the country beyond the capital and its surroundings. For this reason, Lisbon was probably more representative of the whole Portugal than Madrid is of Spain.

Regarding Baretti, his first impression of Madrid, which he repeated several times during the visit, was the omnipresent stench. He even went that far as writing that it was mainly the smell which forced him to leave the city after several days, even though he has originally planned to spend a whole month there (Baretti 1770, 2: 256-259). However, his stay in the capital was otherwise quite pleasant, having visited several of his friends there. He admired the number of monuments and churches, some of which were decorated by renowned Italian artists. He also appreciated the refined manners of the people there.

In Lisbon, Baretti seemed biased already from the time of his arrival. When approaching the mouth of Tagus, he ridiculed the Portuguese rule that every foreign ship has to be navigated by a Portuguese, who was a “monkey-like” fisherman in his case. This reference to pointless laws of Portuguese coincided with similar part in the book of Henry Fielding, published five years before Baretti set out to Lisbon (Baretti 1770, 1: 113; Fielding 1755). Given the date of his journey, his description is marked by the great Lisbon earthquake in 1755, which was apparently still present in the imagination of Portuguese.

Concerning the capital cities of the Iberian Peninsula, Young did not visit either of them. Focusing on his itinerary, however, it was Barcelona which played central role in his description. Even though it was only the capital city of one province, it was after all the second biggest city of the Spanish kingdom. (Young 1787: 180) Moreover, I already mentioned the economic significance ascribed to the province of Catalonia. Young praised the industriousness of the inhabitants of Barcelona very high. The whole commercial and industrial spirit was especially contrasted with poor mountainous parts of Catalonia, such as Val d’Aran.

Provinces

In his travelogue, Southey noticed the fact that he has crossed various Spanish provinces during his journey. However, he paid more attention only to some of them. One was Galicia, where he started the journey and which he visited as the first part of the whole Iberian Peninsula. Its most visible characteristic was a wild and rocky landscape, at least in its coastal part (Southey 1797, VII, 2, 15). Then there was Castile, chiefly represented by Madrid. It is worth noting that he did not make any difference between Old and New Castile. The last province he mentioned more often was Estremadura, through which he travelled on his way to Portugal. The main reason why he wrote so extensively about it was its “poverty and wretchedness,” enhanced by the presence of king’s retinue. In this province, he put the most stress on its decline since the medieval Arabian rule (Southey 1797, 232-233).

As already outlined, neither Southey nor Baretto paid much attention to Portuguese provinces, especially compared to Spanish ones. Neither of them visited so much of Portugal so he would be able to do so. From all Portuguese provinces, Southey mentioned just Alentejo and Trás-os-Montes, through which the two routes to Portugal were leading. However, he did not see the latter himself (Southey 1797, 117, 388). This does not mean, however, that he only described Lisbon during his long stay in Portugal. Even though he mostly visited places in proximity of the Portuguese capital, they were too representative of the “provincial Portugal” in a sense they laid beyond the centre.

There were two such places he described during his trips and which, besides Lisbon, probably influenced his image of Portugal the most. The first one was the convent of Arrábida, lying south of Lisbon, and near towns of Setúbal and Palmella. In his opinion, all these places were remarkable for the exotic flora and beautiful landscape, which differed very much from what he known from England. Compared to his earlier impressions of Spain and Portugal, the landscape around these parts is described as cultivated. The destinations of his other trip were the town of Cintra and the nearby Cork convent. In this case, his judgement was even more enthusiastic than in case of Arrábida. He described Cintra as the remarkably beautiful. Perhaps more than in Lisbon, he noticed the

presence of English and Irishmen, who had summer houses there (Southey 1797, 510).

Baretti crossed provinces of Estremadura, Castile, Aragon and Catalonia on his journey and paid relatively lot of attention to each of them in the main body of the text. To the first one, he was not as critical as Southey, although he still noted high number of beggars there. He too, realized the uncultivated character of the province and the need for improvements in agriculture. More than thirty years before Southey, he offered the solution by building irrigation channels and also using local chestnuts to feed pigs. Unlike Southey, he was quite optimistic in his faith that the “Kings of Spain are rich, and long will be” and thus they would be able to undertake such changes in time. (Baretti 1770, 2:319)

Baretti noticed the continuity of the province across borders and distinguished “*Estremadura Portuguesa*” and “*Spanish Estremadura*” (Baretti 1770, 2: 62, 127, 133). After leaving Madrid and travelling towards Aragon, he noted several times that the behaviour of the people, state of the inns and the possibility to buy provisions gradually improved. Aragon was described as a pleasant province, together with its capital, Zaragoza. Equally positive judgement was expressed in the province of Catalonia, the last one he passed through before crossing Pyrenees (Baretti 1770, 2: 319; Baretti 1770, 3: 213).

In the appendix to his travelogue, he mentioned provincial borders even more often, especially in the overview of his journey. They were described minutely in the itinerary of his journey from Madrid to Perpignan. Thus, he mentioned Fraga as the first town in Aragon and Used as the last one in the province. He also noticed the existence of smaller “provinces or districts,” such as the one called De Soria. As the last border before Madrid, he named Alcala de Henares as the first town of the New Castile (Baretti 1770, 4: 192-194). In Portugal, he did not name many of its provinces, same as Southey. Besides Estremadura, he only mentioned Alentejo, which should have the similar flora and character of the landscape as the former. Another similarity with the previous travelogue were Baretti’s trips to the circumference of Lisbon (Baretti 1770, 1: 212-271).

In Young’s travelogue, one cannot talk much about a relationship between centre and provinces at a first glance. However, some of the characteristics of

Catalonia were put into contrast with those of the rest of Spain. The very supposition that Catalonia was “infinitely better cultivated than any part of the kingdom” showed its privileged position within the kingdom, together with Valencia. Then, the industriousness of local people was considered much greater than in any other part of the country, especially given the number of catholic festivities in the Spanish calendar (Young 1787, 193, 261-262). Another aspect of this relation was the connection of Spanish nobility to their land in Catalonia. In Young’s view, most of its members lived in Madrid or Barcelona, not taking care of their Catalonian estates whatsoever. They only used their property as the source of ready money they could spend on their comfortable life in the capital. This attitude was severely criticized by Young, since it hindered all possibilities of economical improvements and modernization of Catalonia (Young 1787, 268-269, 273-374).

In conclusion, all authors mentioned quite a large number of Spanish provinces both along and beyond their itineraries. The term province was also used most often by authors themselves, next to the term kingdom in case of Aragon or Catalonia. Nevertheless, neither went as far as strictly separating all of them in terms of local specifics. After all, each author referred to the whole kingdom as “Spain,” implicitly connecting its various provinces in terms of political unity. Moreover, even the certain cultural unity of the kingdom was supposed, given the fact that only its eastern provinces of Galicia and Catalonia were described as remarkably different in language or customs.

If one should have posed the question which province represented the whole Spain, it would have probably been Castile and its capital, Madrid. Compared to the 19th century romantic perception, which increasingly identified “true” Spain with Andalusia or Asturias, there is quite a huge gap. In case of Portugal, the only provinces which were mentioned were Estremadura with its capital Lisbon, Trás os Montes and Alentejo. These were mostly places in the neighbourhood of Lisbon which were described besides the capital itself. However, Portuguese territory was much smaller than the Spanish one and so was the number of provinces. Besides, there is the question how did travellers know the names and if there was not the difference in “visibility” of Portuguese provinces (such as in road signs or monuments).

3.5 Perception of racial differences

According to “classical” forms of the Black Legend, it was primarily religion which differentiated Spain (and possibly Portugal) from its rivals, mainly England, Netherlands and at the beginning also France (Juderías 1943, 51). However, the concept of racial differences also played a significant role already in the early-modern period. On one hand, there was the supposed difference in racial character of many Spaniards and Portuguese, given by the long Islamic history of their country. On the other hand, I analyse the presence of specific racial groups beyond Spaniards and Portuguese themselves. On various occasions, authors referred to encounters with different “non-European” ethnicities on the Peninsula, such as Arabians, Jews or Africans. The presence of these groups could be used as an argument to support the notion of Spanish backwardness, and at the same time to stress the superiority of English society, where such groups were not present to such an extent.

Firstly, Arabian and Muslim influences were often referred to already in 18th century texts about Spain.³⁰ However, with the appearance of Black Legend and external criticism from the 16th century onwards, the interpretation of this legacy started to change. On one hand, Muslims started to be perceived as tolerant rulers, who brought prosperity and knowledge to the whole peninsula.³¹ At least after the expulsion of Moriscos, however, the presence of Arabians in Spain was not mentioned. Still, many authors wrote about the “Moorish” influences upon architecture and art (Aulnoy 1708, 150).

Another point of view stressed Muslim past and racial mixing in a negative way and its goal was to discredit Spaniards. According to Southey for example, inhabitants of La Coruna were “a Jew looking race” (Southey 1797, 6). However, the Jewish heritage was particularly stressed in case of Portugal, where secret Judaic worshippers were still being present. However, enlightenment authors did not consider the racial preconditions to be the sole sources of negative Spanish character. In fact, equal stress was put on other factors, mainly despotic

³⁰ See for example Dutens 1782, 133, 141.

³¹ See for example Southey 1797, 232, Miralles 2005, 202.

government and natural conditions, such as hot climate (Hontanilla 2008, 133-134).

An interesting approach to racial differences could be observed in the work of Baretti. He mentioned people of different races chiefly in Lisbon, at the beginning of his journey through the Iberian Peninsula. One of the first Portuguese he encountered was the fisherman who led the ship up the mouth of Tagus. Baretti describes him as “a mulatto so very like a monkey, that his dirty had and tatter’d cloaths could hardly make me think him a human being” (Baretti 1770, 1: 113). This reference to a “mulatto” was the single one in the travelogue. Nevertheless, it was one of the first people he encountered after leaving England, which could influence his idea of Portugal as exotic or strange. Instead of this racial group, Baretti said that the extensive numbers of black Africans coming to Lisbon were the major issue, influencing a racial character of Portuguese. As he supposed with a certain disgust, these people were allowed to marry white Portuguese and therefore have children of mixed ethnicity. Already during his first day in Lisbon, Baretti noticed that the “negro” was the driver of his new coach. He also mentioned Africans on other occasions. During the walk on the quay by the river Tagus in Lisbon, he saw two of them swimming in the water with extraordinary skill. When he gave them a few coins, they were singing songs in what he calls “Mosambique language.” During his trip to Mafra he mentioned another “negro” to demonstrate that not even him could eat the dinner in the inn (Baretti 1770, 1: 122, 169, 216, 273).

Another racially different group in Portugal were the Jews, who “personated” Christians. Baretti wrote, again with quite a disgust, that they could intermarry with Portuguese as well. His negative attitude to Jewish inhabitants of the city was indicated in the very title of the respective chapter “Jews and their perverseness.” Besides Portugal, the negative attitude to different races is mentioned in case of Spain. In an appendix to his travelogue, Baretti mentioned the rules of admittance to the royal military academy in Segovia. As one of them, he quoted the qualification that the cadet should “bear no consanguinity with Moriscos and Jews.” It seems that both Portuguese government and Baretti himself did not like the way how Jews were connected to the Portuguese (Baretti 1770, 1: 275; Baretti 1770, 4: 251).

According to Baretti's information, racial mixing was so widespread at the time of his visit that being called *blanco* has become a title of honour, not being necessarily connected to one's race. Enumerating all kinds of children who were born from mixed marriages, Baretti concluded that the immense racial variety existed among them. He saw all these factors as influencing Portuguese ethnicity in a rather negative way, calling children from mixed marriages "human monsters." He even went as far as writing that given the look of people there, Lisbon almost did not seem a European town (Baretti 1770, 1: 274-275). In Spain, however, Baretti did not mention racial differences whatsoever. Neither big cities nor countryside were described in racial terms and there were so such people mentioned.

Other two authors paid much less attention to the racial character of Spanish and Portuguese. Southey, however, also commented on the presence of Africans in Portugal, although on one sole occasion and not from his own experience. In his supposed transcription of the *Memorial on the State of Portugal*, there was the mention of "a Negro, asking for charity" (Southey 1797, 441). Although this might indicate that he connected black Africans to the poor strata of Portuguese society, it is difficult to justify such statement by only one example. Much more often, Southey referred to the race in connection to Jews. He related the history of their persecution in Portugal and added that it had but a little effect. This meant that Jews could still preserve their religion and "the true Israelite physiognomy is evident in half the people you meet." In other place, he quoted Marquis de Pombal, who, after being compared to the King Solomon, should have said on the address of Portuguese: "yes, and there are Jews watching me" (Southey 1797, 311-316). This all should have shown that there were still many Jews in the kingdom, despite the official doctrine of preserving the Catholic faith.

In Spain, his references to racial differences were rather marginal in context of his whole journey. However, they apparently formed great part of his first impressions of Spain when he landed in Coruna. Much of his first judgements consisted of the ugliness of women and the "Jewish" character of men (Southey 1797, 6). In Madrid, he occasionally returned to this topic, complaining that he expected beauty of Spanish women, but found none. Still, the race was not the main character which defined Spaniards or Portuguese in his travelogue.

Unlike previous two authors, Young did not pay any attention to racial character of Spain whatsoever. However, one must remember he only visited Catalonia, quite specific province both geographically and culturally. For this reason, he probably did not connect traditional judgements on Spain with it. Furthermore, he described Catalonia as sometimes more similar to France than to Spain (Young 1787).

Overall, race was one of the few topics which did not refer directly to Spaniards and Portuguese. When describing the racial character of Spain and Portugal, travellers mostly focused on members of non-European races there, not on Spanish and Portuguese people as such. The races which were mentioned the most often were Jews and Africans, while descendants of Muslims only appeared several times and were not encountered directly. Even though both authors wrote about racial mixing of Spaniards and Portuguese with these groups, the different racial profile of all inhabitants was not a dominant paradigm. Rather, Jews or Africans were described as particular groups within the population and their appearance as a sort of curiosity. Unlike in some other passages, the comparison to England was mostly absent while authors write about different races of the Iberian Peninsula. Nevertheless, it was present implicitly, since the racial character of both kingdoms was apparently considered something strange and exotic. It is apparent that references to racial differences were much scarcer than the religious ones and that they influenced the resulting image in less visible way. However, they strengthened the otherness of the Iberian Peninsula by referring to races of non-European origin. On the other hand, each author also implicitly praised his own society for being racially more homogenous.

3.6 Perception of the religion

As stated earlier, the authors from Protestant countries are generally considered main authors of the Black Legend. In case of England, the religious aspect played an important role too when perceiving Spain and Portugal, both being Catholic countries. Therefore, the attitude to the religion is also an important category in analysis of different English travelogues. On one hand, 18th century travel accounts usually do not pay so much attention to confessional differences as their counterparts from 16th and 17th century. However, English Protestant writers could be more critical to these issues than their counterparts from France or Italy. Moreover, marking of Spain as a country of bigot Catholics already became a commonplace in that period, together with the cruel practices of the Spanish inquisition (Maltby 1971, 4; Hontanilla 2008, 128-129). English travellers seemed to confirm such assumption, since they compared the tolerance and the private character to the intolerance and omnipresence of the Roman Catholicism (Southey 1797: 309-310).

Among the three writers, each had a slightly different attitude to Spanish Catholicism and religion as such. Baretti was the only Catholic among them and as such should not have been so apt to perceive the religious criticism (Bolufer 2003, 273). Therefore, remarks on religion and religious ceremonies did not play such an important role in his observations. Even though he took part in Catholic masses on several occasions, he did not consider these rituals very important or surprising. Even though, this element was not entirely missing in his travelogue, but it was more connected to Portugal than to Spain. He tended to compare English and Portuguese forms of piety, stressing the exalted character of Portuguese religious ceremonies. In fact, he considered Portuguese much more bigot than people in some parts of Italy. Interestingly, this devotion was supposedly not caused by despotism or ignorance, but by passionate character of the people, given by hot climate. On the other occasion, he took part on the religious procession and then proceeded to the church. There he witnessed quite strange religious ceremony, during which a clown sprinkled holy water into both of his eyes. As Baretti remarked, this ritual reminded him the one practiced by Irish porters in London (Baretti 1770, 1: 299-30; Baretti 1770, 3: 98, 237-238).

Young's *Tour in Catalonia*, on the other hand, paid relatively little attention to religion of the Iberian Peninsula whatsoever. It was given by the fact that he was mainly interested in economics and agriculture. Moreover, his travelogue was published in the agricultural periodical, which naturally somehow limited its audience. Perhaps the only mention of religious issues was the short part about the state of the Spanish inquisition. According to his information, this institution only solved particularly grievous cases of immoral or lawless behaviour at the time of his visit. However, the inquisitor coming to Catalonia was in a paradoxical situation. While he mostly solved cases not connected to religion at all, the official accusation still had to be of religious nature (Young 1787, 240). By stressing other aspects than religion, Young's travelogue represented quite specific view on Iberian Peninsula in the century of enlightenment.

As for the Southey's account, the situation was remarkably different from both previous authors. Even though he described himself as not very interested in the issues of faith, Catholicism was still one of the chief elements which should have differentiated Spain from England. Aside from this, he developed his ideas of religion in many parts of his book. According to them, Catholicism could be a good faith for weak-minded people, to which it gave necessary hope. However, he later concluded that it could also have negative influence on their knowledge and free will. One aspect he judged in a particularly severe way was the role of the Catholic Church in strengthening of what he calls "despotic government" over Spanish people (Southey 1797, 15, 29-30, 59).

Unlike Baretti or Young, Southey observed manifestations and proofs of catholic faith literarily everywhere in Spain and Portugal. Apart from the crosses in the landscape, he noticed holy pictures and religious tractates in many households or taverns. Also, he remarked on many popular "superstitious" customs, such as scaring the devil away by bells (Southey 1797, 29). However, critique of Catholicism in Southey's travelogue was manifested most explicitly in the Portuguese part of his travelogue, although not in his own words. He reprinted the supposed memorandum by the Portuguese secretary of state, where the author summed up the state of the kingdom around 1740. Among other topics, he devoted much space to the critique of the religious situation in the country. For instance, he pointed to the great number of convents in every town of Portugal,

which “drain the country,” presumably of its economic productivity. In his opinion, monks and nuns needed someone to produce food for them, but they themselves did not contribute with any work. Not only the superstition, but also the “natural indolence of the Portuguese” should have contributed to this evil. The author thought that the religious orders of Portugal had too much money, which could lead to the same destiny as that of the English church during the times of Henry VIII. In his opinion, the situation was even worse in the Portuguese colonies, where many clergymen refused the authority of the king and replaced it with their own. As a remedy for such situation, he gave a positive example of the French monastery, where all monks devote themselves to manual labour instead of such indolence (Southey 1797, 413-422).

Later in his travelogue, Southey added other examples of superstition in Portugal. For example, street lamps in Lisbon were only lighted if they lay in front of the sacred image. He described the case of an Englishman, who had to place the image of saint to his door to keep the lamp lighted. Likewise, Southey described exorcism as the widely used means against swarming ants. He noted several other examples of worshipping miraculous corpses or the statues of Virgin Mary. These prejudices were said to be much worse in the provinces than in the capital now, an example being the funerals in Porto, attended without a clergyman. There appears another anecdote of the English watchmaker who performed this service and being drunk, he read from the war history instead of the prayer book (Southey 1797, 358-359, 362). As already mentioned, Southey sometimes connects superstition to the ignorance of the people. During his stay in Lisbon, there was the little snow, which caused confusion among many Portuguese, since nothing like that happened in the city for 14 years. As the result, one chaise-driver ran to the nearest church, thinking it to be the end of the world. Southey’s notes on superstition contain another anecdote ridiculing the Irish Catholics, this time the emptiness of their sermons. Instead of writing the proper sermons, they pray to the divine forces to inspire them (Southey 1797, 364-365). In other part of the travelogues, there appears another anecdote of the friars, who are ignorant, but do not want it to be known. Overall, in the attention given to

religious issues, his work was similar to the Spanish travelogue of William Dalrymple from the 1770's.³²

The analysis of religious references showed that the difference between Catholicism and Protestantism was still the key element of the image of Spain. It was apparently even more connected to Portugal, although it was an English political and economic ally. In a similar fashion as the racial differences, the notion of specificity of Spanish and Portuguese faith were shared by all three travelogues. Travellers usually compared the tolerance and private character of English Protestantism to the intolerance and omnipresence of the Roman Catholicism.

Even Catholic Baretti admitted, that the Portuguese piety was very different from that of Piedmontians or other "Italians." In case of Southey and Young, references to religion were very similar character to those of 17th century travellers. Thus, they mentioned inquisition and its crimes, superstitions of the villagers or the confinement of monks and nuns in their monasteries. Since some of those phenomena are known only from hearing, they can be considered the extension of earlier stereotypes. Besides, most of these elements appeared already well before the publication of these travelogues. However, other manifestations of Catholicism, such as crosses in the countryside, are presented as eye-witnessing and they rather help to create new stereotypes.

³² See Hontanilla 2008, 128.

3.7 *Discomfort and Dirt on the Journey*

“In every posada, there are established rates, which the posadero is obliged to produce, if required; though often concealed, to impose upon the unwary traveller. It is the custom, in general, for the guests to provide everything, except straw to their cattle: the innkeeper will cause their meat to be dressed, or furnish utensils for that purpose, and for which a stipulated sum is to be paid. In all the inns I have hitherto been, the landlords think that you are obliged to them for even allowing you to spend your money in their houses; they will scarcely stir to get any thing for you; yet if they find you ignorant, they will produce a heavy charge on your departure, and make you believe it is your duty to pay it” (Dalrymple 1777, 11).

In this part of the thesis, I will focus on the way how travellers described the quality of inns, and of the food and drink in Spain and Portugal. Obviously, all travellers had to cope with these problems every day during their travels. For this reason, they played a very important role in their judgements on Spain and Portugal. Especially for the food, drink and table manners, the tendency to compare Iberian Peninsula to one’s own country was visible among many English authors (Agustín 2010, 16).

As Michael Crozier Shaw shows, Spanish inns varied quite a lot and so did their quality. This was given by the prosperity of the region, but also by the distance from major cities. One of the better ones, for example, could be found in Valdemoro, a town lying between Madrid and the residence of Spanish king (*sitio*) in Aranjuez. This very condition meant that also richer travellers would use it and the services were relatively good. Such state was better than most other inns, since many of them were in need of repair and often without much furniture. There were attempts to build unified, stone inns throughout the kingdom, directed by the Count Floridablanca from 1781. Despite all the effort, the plan failed and travelling in Spain did not really improve much during the second half of the eighteenth century (Shaw 2012, 367-368, 381). The bad state of Spanish inns has

become commonplace during the 18th century. As Louise Dutens expressed in his travel guide:

“You should take a servant with you who speaks French and Spanish, is accustomed to the road and can serve as an interpreter, caterer, and cook. This precaution is almost indispensable, because you find nothing at the inns of Spain to eat” (Dutens 1782, 129, 139).

The number and state of the inns could influence the itinerary of the traveller. For instance, Roman ruins in Mérida were not frequented by travellers, despite their historical interest. The bad state of inns was given by the fact that most of the travellers were muleteers, who were used to harsh conditions. There were also other reasons for neglecting repairs and modernization of the inns, such as high rental fees and taxes. This situation no doubt contributed to the reputation of innkeepers as thieves who overcharged the traveller whenever they could (Shaw 2012, 368-369, 377). The quality of food in the inns was occasionally demonstrated by the fact that the author had to bring his own food and wine with him. However, this mostly applied to the inns in the surroundings of Madrid, already described as very poor.

Starting with food, there was usually stark contrast between English and Spanish cuisine. It was visible very much in Southey's account. Especially in the beginning of his stay in Spain, he was disgusted both by the drinking of wine as such and by its low quality. The same was true for the extensive use of oil and aromatic spices in Spanish cuisine. However, it seems that during the journey, Southey started to change his opinion on Spanish food and even to like some of it. Still, he stated that whenever possible, he ate “English” food (mostly meaning beef and bread). Especially after reaching Portugal, he seemed delighted by the possibility of having a “toast and butter” for a breakfast, which apparently was not possible in Spain. In conclusion, he connected English food to the idea of comfort and saw it as a positive value. On the other hand, his judgement on Spanish cuisine was generally unfavourable, especially if he encountered it in the countryside. In connection to food, it is worth mentioning that even if Southey did

not like Spanish meals very much, he often appreciated the civility with which Spaniards offered it to him (Southey 1797, 4-5, 13, 82, 94).

Young's travelogue was generally in agreement with the opinions of Southey. Inns were mostly described as bad, especially in the countryside. Among their main drawbacks count the absence of chimneys, no panes in the windows and the lack of beds, most of which were inhabited by fleas. The similar quality was ascribed to the local oil, wine and Spanish brandy. The white wine being of superior quality, the red was spoiled by its storage in pig skins and brandy was seasoned with aniseed. Food, however, was considered relatively good, with only a few exceptional remarks on truly disgusting meals (Young 1787, 206, 212, 230).

Baretti's opinions on quality of the lodgings, food and drink were given by the very direction of his journey (from Portugal to Spain). Also, he apparently established some contacts within both countries already, which gave him some advantages during travelling. He was invited for a meal by his acquaintances several times and did not have to dine only in the inns. As the material for his travelogue, these visits also allowed him to describe domestic gastronomy and table manners in Spain. As for the inns, he originally stayed in the one owned by an Irishman when residing in Lisbon. According to his judgement, there was nothing truly positive or negative on this inn (Baretti 1770, 1: 109). After leaving the town for trips to Mafra and Cintra, however, he had to sleep in other places, which he judged very negatively. To describe one of them, such expressions were used as "*the room would be a tolerable lodging for a Gipsey or a Jew.*" In a similar way as Southey, he even described space for the mules as being better than his own bedroom. He also mentioned fleas and other insects in the bed, accompanied by rats living in the house. However, this situation changed when he visited tavern owned by non-Portuguese, such as the "English inn" which was supposed to be very good (Baretti 1770, 1: 212-217, 255-256). In Madrid, Baretti stayed at the inn owned by a Venetian and rated it very highly. However, its major flaw was supposed to be the terrible stench and dirt, typical for the whole metropolis of Spain (Baretti 1770, 2: 256).

Considering the diet and cuisine of not only Portugal, but of the whole Peninsula, Baretti proceeded to more general conclusions. In the second volume of his *Journey*, he gave other travellers advices concerning the food and cooking

in Spain (Baretti 1770, 2: 263). Food was often highly seasoned with garlic and pepper, but bread, wine and water were excellent (Baretti 1770, 1: 215-216, 227-228). He also highly appreciated the Lisbon market, calling it “perhaps the most variously supplied in Europe.” Particularly in Spain, he also mentioned an abundance of fresh fruit during summer, which could be bought very cheaply or even gained for free from the peasants (Baretti 1770, 1: 303-304; Baretti 1770, 2: 265, 291). Same as Southey, however, he could not encounter any butter during his travels. However, he did not describe it as such an inconvenience as the former (Baretti 1770, 2: 263-264). Overall, Spanish cuisine was not perceived as particularly bad, as was sometimes the case in other travelogues. However, the way of cooking in Spain was limited to the roasting on the hand-spit, which Baretti called “Tartarick” manner. He made the remark that if any Spanish kitchen would be equipped with more advanced equipment, everyone would have come to look at it as some wonder (Baretti 1770, 2: 263-265).

Not surprisingly, inns and the food contributed largely to the image of Spain and Portugal in selected travelogues. It was, after all, something they had to encounter every day, and which could differ the most in different parts of Spain and Portugal. Overall, it seems that the state of the inns conformed to earlier stereotypes to a large extent. Many inns in both countries were described as terrible, with no food, furniture and without much comfort. Especially the country between Lisbon and Madrid was described as such almost universally, both in Baretti’s and Southey’s accounts. Similar descriptions could be seen while Young described his accommodation in Catalonia.

It is perhaps more interesting to look for reasons to which travellers attributed such state. According to Southey, it was undeniably despotism of royal power, especially in case of Spain. As a result, people were kept in poverty and tried to overcharge travellers whenever they could. However, he supposed that it was only because of the poverty and not because of the essentially bad character of common people. On the contrary, Southey described that in even the worst inns, the people proved extraordinarily hospitable. Baretti did not proceed to such overarching conclusions and rather judged each inn individually. When it was of a low quality, especially in Portugal, he ascribed it to the innkeeper himself and not to any defect on the part of government. However, his judgement on most of the

inns was generally favourable compared to Southey. As for Young, he judged inns from agriculturalist's point of view, which stressed the role of local economy. In his travelogue, underfinancing of public works and remoteness of many inns were the major causes of their low quality. In short, all travellers defined the causes of bad infrastructure as the absence of features which were considered indispensable in English inns. Moreover, this shows that they were used to find good food and comfortable rooms for their money, same as in their country of origin.

3.8 Encounters on the Road

On their journeys, travellers described encounters and conversation with many different people. However, these meetings must be taken with some reserve. According to Percy Adams, it was nothing unusual to change certain parts of the 18th century travelogue for the sake of the narrative and the three travelogues I analyse were not an exception (Adams 1962, 9-10). Moreover, it was quite difficult for the contemporaries to verify the existence of these people, especially in such distant countries as Spain or Portugal. Nevertheless, authors could use fictional characters to demonstrate the character of countries they visited. On one hand, they were used to show that the traveller had first-hand information from the locals. On the other hand, the fictional characters served to express author's opinions on the country, forming part of his image. Mónica Bolufer, for example, doubts that all people mentioned in the travelogue of Giuseppe Baretti really existed (Bolufer 2003, 273).

Meeting with countrymen

Firstly, I want to observe was whether the travellers spend time with their countrymen during the journey and to which extent. According to the Black Legend, Spaniards were proud, bigot and not very hospitable to the foreigners (Juderías 1943, 213, 215). For this reason, it would be only logical that each traveller preferred the company of Englishmen whenever possible. However, the

frequency of such meetings might show if the travellers accepted these stereotypes or if they wanted to question them. In the group which I define as countrymen, I also include all non-Spaniards and non-Portuguese, such as French or Italians. Despite their different nationalities, English travellers wrote about them in a similar way as about their countrymen. They had some common traits with the English, which distinguished them all from the local population, for example industriousness and honesty (Baretti 1770, 2: 125).

For these reasons, people from other European countries could have been perceived as the better companions than the Spaniards or Portuguese. At the same time, they could have offered better services as innkeepers or owners of shops. According to the literature, this view was sometimes shared even by English Catholic travellers, such as Henry Swinburne (Shaw 2012, 369). Besides, I also pay attention to the fact whether the author of the travelogue travelled with natives or with people he understood as his countrymen. People who accompanied him could influence the way how he described his whole journey.

In the oldest of the travelogues, one sees rather cosmopolitan attitude of its author. Baretti is the specific example of the 18th century traveller, since he considered “Italians” his countrymen together with the English. Being Piedmontian living in England, he travelled all the way from Lisbon with his French servant Batiste. Despite his generally good attitude to the Iberian Peninsula and its inhabitants, it was already in Lisbon where he stayed in the inn kept by an Irishman (Baretti 1770, 1: 109). Later, he found accommodation in the Venetian inn in Madrid, and in the French one in Guadalajara. In all cases, Baretti praised the quality of such inns, the last being described as the best one he has yet seen in Spain (Baretti 1770, 2: 156; Baretti 1770, 3: 193). However, it does not mean he despised the quality of all Portuguese and Spanish inns, as I have shown in the chapter about inns. In some of the Spanish inns, such as in Guadalajara, he appreciated the evening dancing and the beauty of the Spanish women who took part in it. On such occasions, he seemed to prefer the company of Spaniards from that of his countrymen (Baretti 1770, 2: 66-67, 136-137).

As for the fellow travellers and other people he met on his journey, these were again inhabitants of various countries. When residing in Madrid, he visited his old Spanish friend Felix d’ Abreu and his wife, Dona Paula. Precisely during

the visit, he mentioned the refined manners and hospitality of Spanish nobility, which contrasted with a widespread idea of its graveness. He also met another of his acquaintances, certain Diego Martinez, in Longáres (Baretti 1770, 3: 236-237). On other occasion, he conversed with a Swiss lady in the city of Talavera (Baretti 1770, 2: 161-167). When looking for the city gate in Zaragoza, he met the drummer who turned out to be an Italian (Baretti 1770, 3: 252-253). As for his fellow travellers, he was apparently accompanied by the group of Spanish knights at first. For the later part of his Spanish journey, he should have travelled with the canon from Sigüenza, who told him much information about the Northern provinces of Spain, their customs and their specific languages (Baretti 1770, 3: 245-246). In both these cases, he said to have been in very good terms with his Spanish companions and kept a good mood by different jokes and forms of amusement. It is also worth mentioning that he expressed the same attitude to his fellow travellers during his later journey from Bayonne to Madrid.

Concerning Southey, he probably spent most of his time in company of his countrymen. Already in Coruna, he met the English major Alexander Jardine, whom I included in more detail in the next chapter. Later, he mentioned several times that he had met an English officer, especially in Portugal. It was in that country where he noticed the presence of his countrymen most often, especially in smaller towns, outside Lisbon. He stayed in an Irish hotel in Setúbal, which disappointed him, however. During his trip to Cintra, he described how “the houses of the English are seen scattered on the ascent half hid among cork trees.” The English burial ground in Lisbon is also described (Southey 1797, 510, 531).

Young apparently travelled all the way from Bagnere de Luchon with his friend Maximilien Lazowski, the French agronomist. However, he mentioned him only at the beginning of the travelogue and the only thing which reminded of his presence was the use of the pronoun “we” during most of the travelogue. He did not describe his judgements nor any of his information about the journey. However, the use of plural could have also been the rhetoric figure, which should have protected him from the accusation of “egoism” on the part of the critics. Since he also conformed to the rules of enlightenment travel writing by descriptive and sober style of his work, this explanation is quite probable. Unlike Baretti and Southey, Young did not talk of meetings with his countrymen. When

writing about Spaniards, it was usually not in much detail and he did not mention any particular person. In comparison, he mentioned English expatriates in his main travelogue about France, although mostly just in border provinces. (Young 1787, 176; Young 1792, 188, 538).

Even though the Iberian Peninsula was geographically distant from England, two of the three travellers met at least some Englishmen or Irishmen there. Some of them were fellow travellers, others were innkeepers or traders. All such encounters were described as a diversion from staying in the foreign country. None of the travellers made the journey alone, although they all mentioned their fellow travellers in different frequency. While Southey and Baretti talked quite a lot about their companions, Young did not mention them very often. This could have been because the two former travellers travelled mostly with Spaniards and talked about them so often to interest the reader. Young, on the other hand, apparently travelled only with his French friend, which he probably had no need to write about. In case of first two authors, these travel companions were largely used to demonstrate Spanish character, sometimes in good, sometimes in a more negative way. Neither Southey nor Young apparently looked for the company of Spaniards or Portuguese and especially the former did not seem to be very enthusiastic about their company. Only Baretti wrote favourably about travelling with Spaniards. In this aspect, his opinion differed remarkably from that of other two travellers and it indicates that as a foreigner, he was probably not so much influenced by the Black Legend.

Meeting with officials

“Of this kind, likewise, is that power, which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of snuff, and every leaf of tobacco, brought hither from other countries, tho’ only for the temporary use of the person, during his residence here. This is executed with great insolence, and as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very scandalously: for, under pretence of searching tobacco and snuff, they are sure to steal whatever they can find” (Fielding 1755, 214-215).

One specific group of people the travellers could meet were the officials, mostly Spanish and sometimes also English. Such meetings were usually shorter than encounters with other people and their character was more formal. Under officials, I understand the individuals who represented Spanish and Portuguese states, mostly governors (*Corregidores*), their employees and custom-men. The other part of these officials were Englishmen, which represented England in Spain and Portugal. Each of the three travellers met these people on at least one occasion, since he needed a passport to travel around the country. However, such meetings were described in very different ways and with different frequency in each travelogue. At the same time, it could differ quite remarkably from the description of other Spaniards and Portuguese, since the officials were encountered in different situations and for different reasons.

Baretti’s encounters with Spanish and Portuguese officials were quite numerous, given his long itinerary through much of the Iberian Peninsula. He met the first official upon his arrival to the Portuguese town of Estrémor, where the “little officer” stopped him at the gate and required the passport for the entrance to the town. According to Baretti, he would have been taken to jail if he had none, which he attributed to the “jealously” of the Portuguese government. It is interesting that he also connected these laws with the duke of Aveiro’s conspiracy against king, which occurred only two years before his visit (Baretti 1770, 2: 24; Disney 2009, 295-296).

In the same town, Baretto later had to obtain another passport from the local governor to be able to travel around Portugal. He did not meet the governor himself, but was only confronted with one of his subordinates who thoroughly checked and noted his appearance before giving him a passport. Baretto ridiculed such ceremony and pointed out that nothing alike was necessary in Britain. In connection to this meeting, Baretto described other such laws which controlled all strangers coming to Portugal. Even though he did not have to do so, it was apparently the duty of all ship captains to provide officials with information about all passengers before landing. Other such formalities should have been imposed on travellers by land too. However, Baretto did not describe these proceedings from his own experience and apparently could land without any permission as the passenger of the English ship (Baretto 1770, 2: 27-29).

In Spain, Baretto met the governor in person in Talavera, after the meeting with the Swiss lady. The purpose of his visit was to cancel the embargo imposed upon on all chaises in the city, because one of Baretto's calesseros stabbed someone in the quarrel. To ridicule the circumstances of this official meeting, he recorded it as the theatre performance. He especially targeted the rude way with which he was accepted and the fact that the Corregidor lay in his bed, dressed in night gown, while talking to him. Soon after this incident, however, Baretto changed his critical tone on being told that such behaviour was not aimed at him but was quite customary even among nobility. Furthermore, the governor was offended by too familiar tone which the Baretto used, given his imperfect knowledge of Spanish. In the village of María, he was invited to the dinner with another Corregidor (Baretto 1770, 2: 169-174; Baretto 1770, 3: 246). Besides, Baretto described his experience with Spanish custom-men and it was a very favourable one given the general infamy of such officials among travellers. Even though he disliked the idea of such examinations in the first place, the men he encountered were polite and did not molest him more than necessary. He even argued that their counterparts in England were much ruder to travellers (Baretto 1770, 2: 63-65).

As for English officials, Baretto mentioned only one, in rather minor note. When the passport was required of him in Estrémor, he mentioned that it was provided to him by an English ambassador. However, such person was not

mentioned anywhere else in the travelogue, only in the manuscript of his letters, he mentioned certain Mr. Kinnoul in this connection (Baretti 1770, 2: 24; Baretti 1873, 195). This note shows that it was rather thanks to the English official, and not Portuguese one, that he was able to get the necessary passport. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that Baretti mentioned only this English ambassador, but no representative of Piedmont or any other Italian state. This could be the result of their no diplomatic representation in Spain and Portugal. One more reason could be the publication of work in English. It is probable that Baretti did not want to act too much as a foreigner when the book was published for English readers and critics. Besides, he already resided in England for nine years before the journey and it is possible that he did not look for any representative of Italian states.

Southey's journey was equally long as that of Baretti and he also had many opportunities to meet state officials. As an Englishman, his encounters were perhaps more biased, and he expressed more scorn to the representatives of both Iberian monarchies. Unlike in case of Baretti, his first experience with the official occurred immediately after his arrival to Coruna, where he visited the "general" of Galicia, in company of major Jardine. Being his first encounter with the Spanish noble, he described both his figure and his house as indifferent and not very dignified (Southey 1797, 21-22). As for custom-men, they were described as a nuisance most of the time, since they required the custom for everything the traveller had with him. Again, Southey found an antidote in the Spanish bigotry, as he heard that any book could be carried through the customs house if it had the holy image on the frontispiece. The critical tone which appeared throughout Southey's work was not unlike that of Henry Fielding in his *Journal of a voyage to Lisbon*. Already in 1755, the author was warned to look out for his "swords and watches" when being examined by custom-men (Fielding 1755, 215; Southey 1797, 3, 7).

The first official Southey met after reaching Spain was major Alexander Jardine, who was the consul in that town. As Southey mentioned, Jardine was himself an author of the letters about Spain, which he visited in 1788. Although major falls into the category of an English official, it seems that Southey perceived him differently. If one is to trust his correspondence, Southey had very

good relationship with him and learned much about Spain from him. He also spent most of the time in Coruna in his house. Although he did not mention Jardine in such detail in the travelogue itself, it too confirms Southey's good attitude to him (Southey 1797, 7, 15-16; Southey 1856, 20).

Young's meeting with the governor took place already in Vielle, to obtain permission to travel to Spain. He was said to receive the traveller with "Spanish formality" and tell them how roughly the travellers without the passport were treated in the past. Furthermore, Young described that the governor was knight of the order of Calatrava and in his house, there was the portrait of the king, pair of pistols and the crucifix. The description of pistols hanging next to the crucifix seemed to indicate the bigot Catholicism of the official, since Young "did not ask in which (of the two) he put the most confidence" (Young 1787, 202-203).

Most of the time, Spanish and Portuguese officials were portrayed as the necessary evil which the traveller had to cope with. As for provincial governors, their only role in the narrative was to provide the writer with the passport in most cases. In connection to strict laws controlling movement of foreigners in Spain and Portugal, such meetings were usually described as unpleasant episodes and every author seemed glad when the formality was over. Each traveller criticized the ceremony, often in quite ironical way. Since the governor represented the crown, such picture contributed significantly to the image of bad government, especially if the author mentioned it somewhere else in the travelogue. However, there were also exception from this universal scorn, such as in case of Baretti's dinner with the governor in the village of María.

Next to governors, Spain and Portugal were chiefly represented by custommen and various military officers. The former group was universally despised in Southey's work, while Baretti wrote of them in completely contradictory way. Young did not mention them all in his travelogue. The latter group, officers, were almost universally the target of ridicule and scorn of travellers. They were said to misuse their authority and they were also described as very rude. The judgements I wrote about so far only applied to Spanish and Portuguese officials, however. Concerning English officials, the situation was completely different. When they appeared in any travelogue, they were of assistance to traveller and often provided him with an agreeable company. Given the fact that all authors identified with

England to a certain degree, it seems surprising how scarcely the representatives of England appear, even in such important cities as Madrid. This was especially visible in Case of Young, who did not mention any. It is possible that he did so because he wanted to inform the reader about Catalonia and Catalonians, not about Englishmen living there.

3.9 General behaviour of Spanish and Portuguese

“Whoever compares the natives of Switzerland, England, Ireland and Scotland, with those of Spain, Portugal, or other southern climates, will find, that men born among cold, bleak mountains, are infinitely superior to those of the finest climates under the sun. Perhaps, however, this difference might arise more from the want of liberty than the power of climate” (Thicknesse 1777, 126).

In the concluding chapter of my thesis, I focus on the way how Spaniards and Portuguese behaved, their language, customs and general way of thinking. Together, these topics formed the idea of Spanish and Portuguese “character,” according to which every traveller judged their whole community as such. These observations could be also summarized under the title “everyday life,” since each traveller described everyday routines of people he met and formed the resulting image on this basis.

When analysing this element of travellers’ image, one needs to consider which people they could meet on their journey. They were by no means able to get to know members of all social strata, neither all their intellectual counterparts in respective cities and towns. Instead, they judged both Iberian kingdoms according to people they came to contact with most frequently. Since travellers were on the road most of the time, these were mainly innkeepers, landlords and other visitors of the inns. The latter group, however, could be quite variable, since inns were used by common muleteers as well as soldiers or clergymen. Apart from them, travellers also had the opportunity to meet officials mentioned in previous two chapters. On those occasions when the traveller stayed somewhere

for a longer time, he could also have some experience with inhabitants of these places. These could be peasants, local surgeons, but also local nobility. The character of these people then influenced the judgment on the province or the whole country.

Given the fact that Baretti was the most favourable to Spaniards and Portuguese, his observations of their behaviour took up quite large part of his whole travelogue. After all, he was considered one of the first “modern” travellers to Spain and Portugal by his contemporaries and as such, he could offer his readers many new information about both countries. The first element which defined Spaniards and Portuguese was probably their form of religion and piety, which I analysed in the chapter 3.6. Besides, their behaviour was characterized according to their festivities and evening amusements. He spent much time watching them dancing in the evenings and was overjoyed how they could amuse themselves after work. He also mentioned guitar as the typical Spanish instrument played on such occasions, the stereotype which resonated later in the travelogue of Southey (Baretti 1770, 2: 66; Southey 1797, 168, 246). The dancing or feasting was described in both countries, although he made different conclusions in each case. In Spain, he judged feasts as a diversion, which also enliven the time spent at the inn. In Portugal, on the other hand, he judged such forms of amusement as basic elements of Portuguese national character: *“thus live the Portuguese in an uninterrupted round of devotion and pleasure.... without thinking much of to-morrow, that plaguy to-morrow, which, along with liberty, is always uppermost in the head of an Englishman”* (Baretti 1770, 1: 303-305; Baretti 1770, 2: 136-137). Baretti’s focus on dance and festivities also seems to conform to earlier notions of Spanish passionate character, which formed the Black Legend (Juderías 1943, 148, 268).

Southey also devoted great part of his work to observations of Spanish and, less so, Portuguese character. Due to the publication date in 1797, his travelogue could not have been presented as the work bringing many new information about countries he had visited. Instead, he described Spanish and Portuguese character from his subjective point of view. Moreover, he stressed several times how these national characters should have changed and how different they were from his expectations (Southey 1797, 112). Firstly, it is quite visible that he reflected on

the Spanish character more than on the Portuguese one. On one hand, it is logical since Spaniards were old enemies to England and their character was popular topic since the appearance of the Black Legend. On the other hand, it seems as a bit of a discrepancy, since he declared Portugal, and not Spain, as his main destination.

It seems that similarly as Baretti, he described the national character of both kingdoms in term of religion. However, he also added another agent which should have influenced it, the despotism of royal power. Being much more stressed in Spain, it was said to influence almost everything which people did. Most visibly, it was the obedience to the king and the church. Another characteristic of Spaniards caused by despotism was what he called “ignorance.” This word did not have only the obvious meaning as lack of information and knowledge of the outside world. It also described certain naiveté or carelessness in many respects. For example, Southey seemed terrified that many people in the countryside were setting fire near the bags of straw, “totally unaware of the danger of fire.” However, he contrasted these defects of the Spanish character to their extraordinary civility to strangers, although it was not clear if he considered it to be the result of the despotism too (Southey 1797, 59).

Since Young visited only one border province of Spain, it is perhaps useful to observe how he described Catalonia within Spain. He used the adjective “Catalonian” much more than the one “Spanish” and the title of his travelogue also referred only to Catalonia. The province was rather considered the extension of France in many aspects. For example, the land which Young crossed until Vielle was named as France, even though it was part of Spain according to contemporary maps (Young 1787, 202; Faden 1796). He also used exclusively French name when describing Catalan monetary system-the Livre. Even though he described the local language as “the Catalan dialect of Spanish,” he also admitted that the people of Languedoc “speak the same language as the Catalans.” Even in the provincial capital in Barcelona, the prevalence of French fashion was one of Young’s chief impressions (Young 1792, 197, 212, 250, 260). These observations only strengthened cultural and economic proximity to France and interconnection between the two countries.

The Catalans as such were described in terms of their industriousness, which apparently conformed to the idea which Young had about them before the journey. As he said, “the activity which is seen in all the towns upon the coast can hardly be greater.” Even in the people in the interior, which was generally considered very poor and underdeveloped, were considered very industrious. Such nature of people is put in contrast to the central government, “inattentive to their interest, and, probably, oppressive.” This characteristic also applied to owners of the Catalonian land, residing mostly in Madrid or Barcelona, far from their peasants and their needs (Young 1787, 261-263). The industriousness was practically the only characteristic of Catalan people as such, together with the oppressiveness and careless nature of their Spanish rulers. It even seems at times that Young wanted to avoid any observations of people, since it would collide with the objective nature of his work. However, his main object was agriculture and for this reason, he was probably less interested in culture and everyday life. One must also not forget that Spain was not his main destination and, as he admitted, he did not know the language (Young 1787, 260). Also, his travelogue is much shorter than the other two, so there was not so much space for detailed description of “national character.”

From the comparison of the travelogues, it is apparent that each travel-writer understood the Spanish and Portuguese national character in different way and described it in different terms. All authors agreed that people in Spain and Portugal had the different character from English. Thus, they observations on this topic served to define Iberian Peninsula as “the Other” to English readers. The character of Spaniards and Portuguese was happy and passionate in the opinion of Baretti. He described both nations as easy-going in their attitude to life and quite affectionate. Especially Portuguese should have been such, which differentiated them from the English, their political allies. According to Southey, such attitude was not present among the people he encountered, or at least he did not call it so. Instead, he described ignorance as the chief characteristic of Spaniards, and partially also Portuguese. Especially country people should have been rather naïve and without much knowledge, again contrary to Englishmen. Last of the travellers described Catalans as extraordinarily hard workers, who were kept in poverty by

their nobility. However, he did not see the rest of Spain, so it cannot be said how specific this situation was in the Spanish context.

Conclusion

Different views of the peninsula/one shared view, comparison

Given the fact that all the three travelogues were written during more than thirty years, one can see how they reflect changes in literary conventions, style of travel writing and a more general state of a society. Even though they are only isolated examples of all the travel accounts from the period, they still can be used to represent different approaches to the Iberian Peninsula between the years 1770 and 1797. However, one also must bear in mind that only two of the travelogues were written by Englishmen and one by a foreigner living in England. Furthermore, there is also the role of the book market, which forced the writers to describe Spain and Portugal in a way interesting and believable to their readers. With such a reserve, one can generalize the conclusions from the three different travelogues.

In the case of Baretti, especially Spain was portrayed as a country with a promisingly developing economy, enlightened government and refined manners. Also, the stress was put on its very rich literary heritage. When proceeding eastwards towards Aragon and Catalonia, the author noticed a better state of the inns and generally improved behaviour and living conditions of the people. Similar can be said about Portugal, although Baretti still seemed to prefer Spain. Only a major nuisance whatsoever was the rudeness of the beggars and some soldiers encountered mainly in parts of Portugal and Estremadura. In short, both countries were not considered very different from the rest of "Europe." Baretti saw Spain in mostly positive light and even considered some features better than in his home Piedmont or in England. What was more important, he explicitly denied the popular notion of earlier travelogues that Spaniards were naturally idler or more jealous than inhabitants of other countries. As for Portugal, he had many more complaints, but still did not see the country in completely negative light.

Young viewed the Peninsula in a different way, that of agriculture and commerce, even though such a view only applied to a small part of Spain he had visited. According to his observations, Catalonia was supposed to be the most fertile province of whole Spain and its people remarkably industrious. However, the land was generally underfinanced and neglected by its owners and many parts of the province were very poor. Even the inhabitants of remote and mountainous areas seemed to be working very hard, which was all truer for large towns on the sea shore. However, these negative aspects of the image were given rather by Young's disappointment than straightforward condemnation. He had very large expectations before his visit, which were only confirmed to a small extent. One of the reasons could be the comparison of Catalonia rather to France than to the rest of Spain, which he did not visit after all. Compared to Baretto, he has also questioned the traditional picture of Catalonia as agricultural and manufacture centre of Spain, even though Baretto wrote about it only seventeen years later.

Southey, on the other hand, described Spain as the country dominated by the despotic government and superstitions, with almost no contemporary literature and culture worth mentioning. This state was all the worse since it could have been prosperous with only a slight effort on the part of its government. He described Spaniards and Portuguese alike as people living equally in the past and not interested in any improvements. This was also visible in their capital cities, which were very dirty and unpleasant. More than in Baretto's travelogue, it was also the character of the Spanish king himself which strongly influenced the overall negative image of the country. Also, absence of richer eastern provinces of Spain in Southey's travelogue played its role in the description of the kingdom as generally poor, without much commercial activity or agriculture. However, Southey often felt compassion for the Spaniards, who were very civil despite their wretchedness. In case of Portugal, all these characteristics were weakened only by the beauty of the nature, such as in the town of Cintra. Another factor which elevated country in his eyes was the presence of Englishmen. Overall, Southey was probably the most negative of the three travel-writers, criticizing two countries from the position of development and modernity. Furthermore, such a view is most explicitly given by the fact that the Iberian Peninsula was different from the author's homeland, England.

Generally, the image of whole Iberian Peninsula shifted from great expectations to the condemnation, or indifference at best. Relatively unknown area of the Peninsula, which was described in positive terms in 1770, gradually became synonymous to backwardness, at least concerning its biggest part. Only exceptions to this image were “peripheral” parts of the Peninsula, Portugal and Catalonia. While the former was sometimes judged differently because of the English influence, the latter avoided complete decay thanks to the industriousness of its people and perhaps because of its contacts with France. Nevertheless, the whole Iberian Peninsula, experienced the renaissance of the Black Legend in a certain way. Thanks to the higher number of travellers during the second half of the century, many negative aspects were added to its 16th and 17th century form. Among them were the deviation from the enlightenment standards or the racial mixing of the inhabitants.

Comparison of Spain and Portugal

Within the whole image of the Iberian Peninsula, there were also differences between its two parts, Spain and Portugal. Comparison of these countries was specific, since it only involved two of the three travellers, Baretti and Southey. Same as in previous part, there was the difference in aims of their journeys, their itineraries and the ways how they changed their works for publication. In the case of comparing the two countries, it is also important that also the length of their stay varied and sometimes resulted in discrepancies of these two images. In more detail than in previous part, it was also possible to observe the supposed unity or heterogeneity of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, the political changes have taken place between the publications of the two travelogues. While Baretti visited Spain of Charles III and Portugal ruled by Marquis de Pombal, Southey talked about the rule of Charles IV., Maria I. respectively.

Concerning the actual similarities and differences between the two countries, the religion is a good example. Both authors almost naturally connected Spain and Portugal with Roman Catholicism, which was sometimes supposed to be even more devoted than in Rome itself. However, there were references to the stronger

presence of Protestants in Portugal, Lisbon respectively. In connection to faith, there was also a notion of inquisition. Again, there were certain differences in the perception of Spanish and Portuguese holy tribunal. At least in Southey's travelogue, Spanish inquisition has already ceased to be the "bloody tribunal," described by many authors before him. Instead, it has turned to a controlling mechanism, mainly censuring new books and thus influencing the public opinion. On the other hand, there were still religious processes and executions in Portugal, given by the large Jewish population in the country. In Baretto's account, the inquisition was not mentioned at all, even though it must have been present.

Regarding the general state of population though, there was a tendency to stress unity of both countries. Common people were usually poor, ignorant, but hospitable and civil on the other hand. According to Southey's account, idleness and pride were also a characteristic common to both nations. Aside from this, there were many thieves among the poor people, which was probably not a specific of the Iberian Peninsula. In Southey's case, Portuguese poor were equally wretched as the Spanish ones, although no connection was made between their poverty and the despotic government. Instead, Portuguese Catholic church should have been the main factor which kept people in such state and drained the country of its wealth. As for the behaviour of nobility and higher classes, Spain was appraised higher in Baretto's letters, given the refined manners of many people he has met there. On the other hand, Southey apparently did not meet these circles and could not write about them.

Overall, Spain and Portugal formed certain homogenous whole for Baretto as well as for Southey. Despite certain cultural differences, both countries had similar hot climate, religion and underdeveloped economy. The local inns were of equal quality, mostly good according to Baretto and detestable in case of Southey. Concerning Baretto, Spain and Portugal differed mainly on language grounds, by their monetary systems and the poverty in the Portuguese countryside was greater than in Spain and brought with it also a greater number of beggars. However, Baretto spent most of his time in Spain and his observations on Portugal were not so detailed as in case of Spain. Southey saw main differences in the government, which was not so despotic in case of Portugal.

In conclusion, one can say that Portugal and Spain were doubtless perceived as very similar countries in those travelogues, although not without reserve. Spain was perceived as the country with rich history and literature, although they were sometimes judged negatively and according to the Black Legend. For this reason, there were many places of interest in Spain, connected to Roman or Arabian history. However harmful their faith was, it influenced mainly individuals, not the functioning of the whole society. It was rather the royal power which had such effect. On the contrary, Portugal was country famous more for its present alliance with England than for its past power. Besides Lisbon, only the royal palaces in its surroundings were considered places worth visiting. Compared to Spain, the Catholic faith was consuming much more sources of the country and remained great problem for its economy. It can be said that despite its connections to England, Portugal was in many aspects considered the more backward of the two countries. It can be even said that some aspects of the Black Legend, such as bigotry and religious intolerance, were stronger than in Spain. This could have been given by the constant presence of Englishmen in the country, who reminded the traveller great differences between his country and Portugal.

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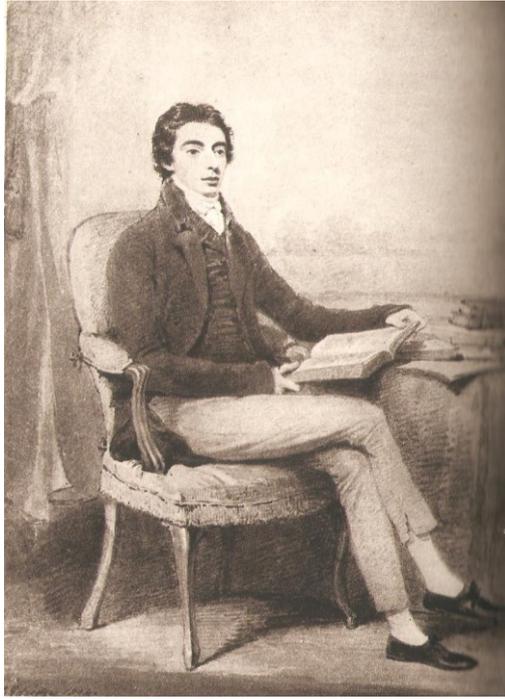
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Attachments

1. Portraits of the travellers



Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789)

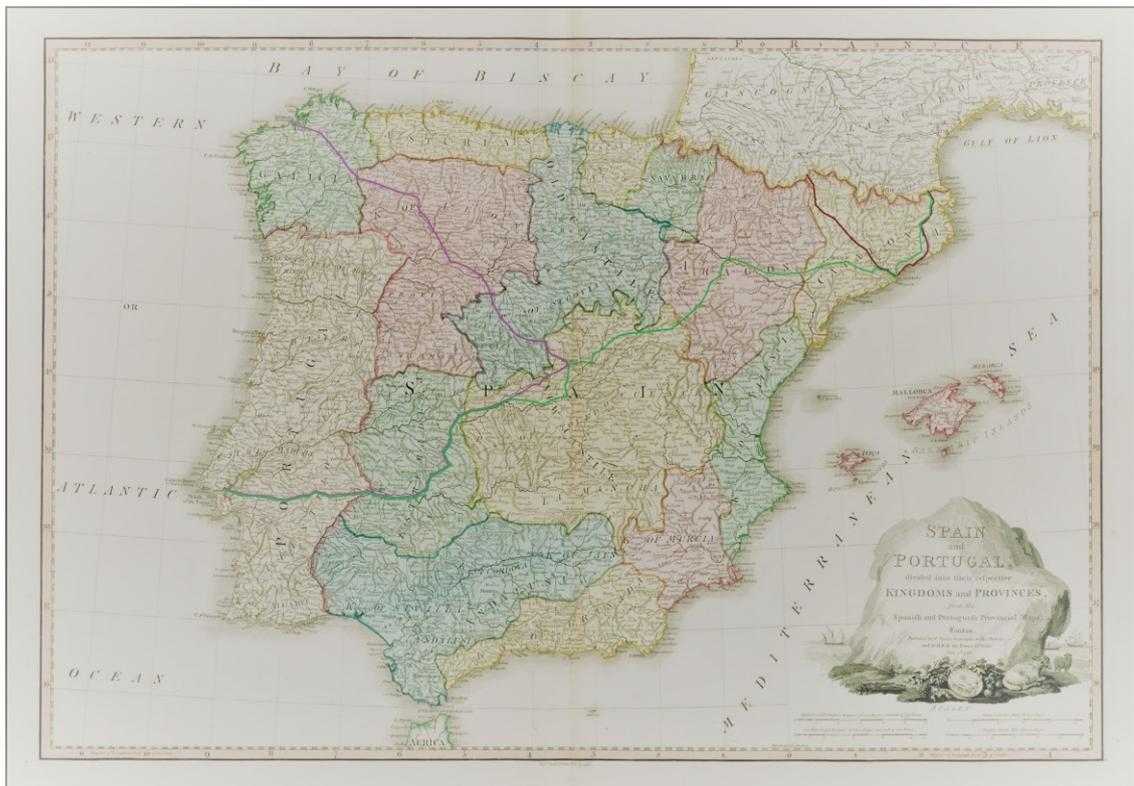


Robert Southey (1774-1843)



Arthur Young (1741-1820)

2. Illustration of itineraries



The itinerary of Giuseppe Baretti is marked in green, the one by Robert Southey in purple and the last one by Arthur Young in dark red. Routes of Baretti and Southey overlap from Talavera de la Reina in New Castile until Lisbon. Baretti and Young have partially common itinerary from Girona to Jonguiera. The map used in this illustration was published by William Faden in 1796 (see literature and sources).

Sources of the illustrations

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