3L: Language, Linguistics, Literature® The Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies
Vol 29(4), December 2023 http://doi.org/10.17576/3L-2023-2904-02

Making Women's Travel Literature in Andalusia Visible: Annie J. Harvey's *Cositas Españolas, or Everyday Life in Spain* (1875)

MARÍA DEL MAR RIVAS-CARMONA
University of Córdoba, Spain

MARTA JIMÉNEZ-MIRANDA
University of Córdoba, Spain
l02jimim@uco.es

ABSTRACT

This paper is dedicated to the work of British[1] female travellers who visited Spain and, more specifically, Andalusia, from the 18th century to the present. Their works offer a sensitive, first-hand view that is different from that of their male contemporaries and, on numerous occasions, question or contradict the supposed myths, comments, and opinions of their compatriots, even those of renowned Hispanophiles as Richard Ford or George Borrow. Unfortunately, practically all the works on Spain by female travellers have remained forgotten, ignored, or silenced, and have not been translated into other languages. With the aim of making women's contributions to travel literature more visible, this paper offers an unpublished chronological list of women travellers in Andalusia and their works from the 18th century to the present, compiled thanks to consultations with the collections of the library of the Instituto Cervantes in London. As a sample of the sensitive and emotional vision that appreciates the essence of the rural and human landscape of Andalusia, compared to other technical accounts of male writers, we analyse Cositas Españolas, or Every Day Life in Spain *(1875) by Annie Jane Harvey, a work not yet translated into Spanish and whose visibility we claim from this work. The study shows Harvey to be a privileged "observer", whose alternative vision to that of other male travellers proves an optimistic defence of the values of the Spanish people.*

Keywords: British female travellers; literary translation; Andalusia; British travel literature; Spain

INTRODUCTION

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF BRITISH TRAVEL LITERATURE

Travelling abroad has been part of the British character since very early and the travelling roots in the United Kingdom run very deep. Among the more affluent English social class of the Elizabethan and Jacobean era, educational travel was already fashionable, as Sir Francis Bacon pointed out in his philosophical treatise *Essays* ([1597] 1884). The eighteenth century was to become the golden age of formative travel and the inhabitants of the United Kingdom flocked to the traditional sources of Western learning. On a journey that lasted months or even years, they would head first to France, then to Italy, through Switzerland, back through Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and back to the UK (Buzard, 2002). Sir Francis Bacon already recommended writing down everything they experienced on their journey and, from the 17th and especially the 18th century, the century of travel par excellence, British travellers wrote letters, diaries and comments on their journeys.

[1] All the authors of our list are British or conducted their literary work in Great Britain.

The war between France and England at the beginning of the 19th century made travel difficult, so after the cessation of hostilities, the British again flocked to the continent, with the Iberian Peninsula becoming a favourite destination after the War of Independence. Spain had been far from being a target country of the Grand Tour travels on account of the lack of industrialization and investment; nonetheless, what caught these romantic travellers' attention was precisely the nostalgia for the bygone times caused by the same industrialization of the world (Guerrero-Latorre, 1990). What is more, the aim of travelling to Spain was not only to meet their beloved past, but also to break with all those preconceived ideas that were held about Spain in the rest of Europe (Jiménez-Miranda, 2022). Thus, the first half of the 19th century was characterised by a profusion of literary works (Robert Semple, Samuel E. Cook, Richard Roberts, George Borrow, or Henry David Inglis, among many others) with the relevant novelty of the appearance of travel guides. This interest in Spain resulted in the great number of visitors and publications on the country. Hence the relevance of the study of the vision of British travellers, mostly English, in the peninsula.

THE TRADITIONAL AND PRECONCEIVED VIEW OF SPAIN

Until the 19th century Spain was only frequented by those who came for professional reasons, such as diplomats, soldiers or traders, or by those who were looking for an exotic adventure on new routes without having to leave Europe. The vast majority were British travellers, whose writings began to circulate widely throughout Europe.

Historical and literary studies have focused on weighing how much of their writings was objective and how much was based on prejudices and preconceptions. Cultural history began to analyse them after the Second World War in studies on the shaping of a common European identity (Pagden, 2002). In recent decades, the perspective of Edward Said in his *Orientalism* (1978), for whom the construction of a European identity was based on the opposition to the Eastern "Other" that underlies travel narratives, has been highly influential. In the process of shaping this European identity, the vision offered by travellers, especially the British, is very relevant, because they were the ones who crossed continents to the greatest extent from the 18th century onwards (Pratt, 1992). Travel in Hanoverian England had a very broad social impact and the authors who visited Spain tended to present it as a backward country, geographically and culturally distant from the political, economic and cultural centre of the most advanced Europe. Reputed French intellectuals, such as Voltaire (1756), had painted a bleak picture of Spain, marked by political despotism, the cruelty of its colonisation of America, religious obscurantism (represented above all by the tribunal of the Inquisition) and intellectual poverty.

England, France, Italy and Germany had the economic and cultural prestige; Spain began to be seen as an opportunity to offer novel descriptions to critics and readers especially from 1760, with the interruption of the outbreak of the French revolution and the invasion of 1808, and culminating with the frenzy of the Romantic travellers in the nineteenth century (Robertson, 1992). With the arrival of these Romantic travellers, the fossilised image of the country was updated, although it still represented for most of them the southern boundary of European civilisation (Wolff, 1994).

Within the framework of a trend towards Orientalism, which from the end of the seventeenth century showed its interest in Oriental languages and cultures, permeating everything from literature to the decorative arts (Hazard, 1971), in the nineteenth century the Romantic vision of Spain began to be framed through an "Orientalising" prism in which the Islamic heritage gave meaning to the country's past and present. In contrast to civilised, mercantile Europe, Spain

represented the excitement of the exotic and the primitive, such as travelling to Asia or Africa. This fascination with the Orient led travellers to seek the Arab imprint not only in art but also in Spanish customs.

Travellers began to see promising signs of social and cultural vitality, but for the most part they described a country that was still decadent, with social, economic, and political structures in need of profound changes in order to be on a par with other territories such as, specifically, England. Most of the travellers emphasised historical factors such as the power of the Hapsburg and Bourbon monarchy and the church as responsible for Spain's backwardness in science and culture, and for social inequalities (Müllenbrocke, 1984). If travellers were ambiguous about other non-parliamentary systems, in the case of Spain they made Bourbon despotism the key to their criticisms of manufacturing, trade, agriculture, customs and morals.

From 1760 onwards, the heterogeneity of the public led to a broader vision of the travellers, in which the observation of customs, an essential ingredient for assessing the degree of civilisation of a country, became more important than the interest in politics or monuments. Some authors, such as Townsend, rejoiced at the evolution in Spain but, at the same time, yearned for the progressive loss of its rural archaism (1791, pp. 1453-1456).

In short, the image of Spain that continued to be conveyed showed it as a peripheral territory with a low cultural level, which, if it progressed, was due to foreign influence, and the accounts reaffirmed English superiority in political and moral terms. For Bolufer-Peruga (2009), the travel narratives, which had such an influence on the European imagination, were framed by the doubt and tension between the benefits and detriments of inexorable progress and civilisation.

British travellers used to disembark in the port of Cadiz, and the journey to Madrid used to be considerably long and slow (Robertson, 1992); cities such as Cordoba, Seville and Cadiz would become an ideal place for resting while reaching the destination. During those stops, travellers felt captivated by Andalusian cities, not only because they remained rooted in the past, but they also found classical archaeology, picturesque customs, and attractive festivities (Hilton, 1966). The Mediterranean climate and its famous therapeutic value also encouraged many British people to travel to Spain, more specifically to Andalusia (Barke, 2002). Well-known writers and travellers like George Eliot and Annie J. Harvey travelled from England to Spain to improve their health; but, significantly, they were also interested in studying illustrious Spanish characters, art, and architecture.

Within Spain, Andalusia was a reference for foreign readers, who found in the guides and stories written by their compatriots an opportunity to discover a garden for the "dream makers". Travellers such as Richard Ford, George Borrow, Proper Mérimée, Edmundo D'Amicis or Washington Irving acquired celebrity very early on and have been profusely studied. Nevertheless, women's point of view has received little relevance in the history of travel literature. Many of the visitors in Spain did not publish their texts, and many others did so with male names, for fear of becoming the object of attention or to avoid being compared with their male peers (Egea Fernández-Montesinos, 2004; Barco-Cebrián, 2016). In general, it was considered that the texts written by female travellers were more personal and subjective; they attended to the reality of Spanish women, diving into everyday and domestic aspects; and they were driven by feelings such as passion, "with a certain halo of paroxysm" (Barco-Cebrián, 2016, pp. 58). On the contrary, in general terms, the texts by male travellers through Spain focused on aspects that affected men, and portrayed women only in passing, or ignored them; when they did, they used a lens or filter of exoticism instead of reflecting reality.

The vision that male travellers from the 18th and 19th centuries presented from Spain became the "official" image of this country abroad. What is more, the "Spain is different" cliché they conveyed was so powerful that Spaniards themselves, feeling self-conscious, believed it. Nevertheless, the female authors tend to offer an alternative vision that did not find an echo in society by remaining silent or forgotten:

> Most of these works remain unexplored as opposed to the widely studied and translated texts by their male peers. However, their alternative views of the social and cultural realities of Spain serve to contrast and question stereotypical approaches, such as the "Spain is different" cliché, of various male travellers.
>
> (Egea Fernández-Montesinos, 2008, pp. 161)

There are very few studies on these female travellers, and they hardly exist on female travellers in Andalusia, among which we highlight *Siete viajeras inglesas en Granada: 1802-1872* (López-Burgos, 1996) or *Viajeras románticas en Andalucía* (Egea Fernández-Montesinos, 2007). We agree with Egea Fernández-Montesinos (2007) on the need to give a voice to these female travellers who offer a more sensitive vision of Spain and Andalusia, which differs from the more technical and critical vision of their male contemporaries; and who remain unknown to Spanish readers, as they have not been translated into Spanish.

Consequently, the main objective of this work is to help rescue from silence the forgotten, silenced, and unknown authors who offered a particular vision of Spain, and Andalusia, that was far from the partly derogatory image of "Spain is different" that has prevailed outside of Spain for so long. For this reason, we propose the analysis of a work that offers an alternative vision of Spain, and that has not yet been translated into any other language. This is Annie Jane Harvey's *Cositas Españolas, or Everyday Life in Spain* (1875), a travel narrative that dwells on sociological and anthropological aspects, providing an intimate look at the daily life of Spanish men and women.

BRITISH FEMALE WRITERS IN ANDALUSIA

The first tourists attracted to Andalusia were imbued with the romantic ideas in vogue in 19th century Europe. In turn, they expected to satisfy in Andalusia the deep attraction for the exoticism of distant lands, since it was like travelling to the Orient without leaving Europe (Hilton, 1966; Black, 2011). On the other hand, and paradoxically, many of the travellers were also attracted by the war conflicts in which Spain, France and Great Britain were involved at the beginning of the century. The explanation lies in the fact that, unlike in the 18th century when travel was understood as an experience for the intellect and for the benefit of society, in the 19th century the purpose of travel was conceived as an experience for the soul and a personal physical, emotional, and spiritual adventure (Serrano-Segura, 1993).

The first women who travelled to Spain did so accompanied by their husbands and in almost none of the cases on their own initiative. Egea Fernández-Montesinos (2008) points out that the first travelling writer on record was the English aristocrat Lady Anne Fanshawe, born in London in the 17th century. Many other women authors followed her, but none achieved the recognition of their male counterparts. For these women, writing was a way of giving free rein to their ambitions in life, those that were not allowed by the very fact of being a woman (Barco-Cebrián, 2018). According to Egea Fernández-Montesinos (2008), the decision to write travel books was not accidental or fortuitous; they chose it because that was the way to deal with topics that until then had been reserved exclusively for men. Paradoxically, the fact that travel literature

was considered as a minor genre, on the other hand, facilitated women's access to it. It would have been virtually impossible for women to write as sociologists, naturalists, or anthropologists, since that discourse was reserved for men. However, writing travel literature gave them a platform for access to a wide spectrum of viewers.

For Casasole (2020), female travel writers focused their works on eradicating the constraints that had always forced women to stay at home waiting for a man. Like men, women writers also managed to become promoters of change in foreign territories that they tried to integrate into their own universe. The acquisition of these territories, public and private, became a small gateway to the world of knowledge as well as a job opportunity; consequently, it also became a way to gain economic independence. Despite the fear of entering new spaces, for many women this stage represents the abandonment of the closed and oppressive environment of the home.

This was the context in which female travellers began to write travel literature. As can be seen, this type of literature is born both from territorial displacement itself and from the need to create new identities and personalities. Some Spanish experts in the field, such as López-Burgos (1996, 2007), Egea Fernández-Montesinos (2007, 2008), Marchant-Rivera (2008), Barco-Cebrián (2016), or López-Gómez (2021) have presented different partial lists and studies on individual British women travellers in Spain or more specifically in Andalusia[2], but chronological lists focused solely on women writers in Andalusia have not been offered before by Spanish or British experts.

The consultations of the bibliographic collections of the library of the Instituto Cervantes in London, which specialises in the literature of travellers who have visited Spain, made it possible for us to compile the following list of British female travellers in Andalusia from the 18th century to the present.

- Elizabeth Grosvenor (1797–1891): *Narrative of a yacht voyage in the Mediterranean, during 1840-41 (1842)*
- Isabella Frances Romer (1798–1852): *Journey to Spain: The Rhône, the Darro and the Guadalquivir* (1843).
- Dora Quillinan (1804–1847): *Journal of a few months' residence in Portugal, and glimpses of the south of Spain* (1847).
- Louisa Mary Anne Tenison (1819/27–1882): *Castile and Andalucia* (1853).
- Emmeline Charlotte Elizabeth Stuart-Wortley (1806 – 1855): *Wanderers* (1918).
- Lady Elizabeth Herbert (1822–1911): *Impressions of Spain* (1866).
- Matilda Betham-Edwards (1836 – 1919): *Through Spain to the Sahara* (1868).
- Penelope Holland (×–1873) *Recollections of Spanish Travel* (1873).
- Annie J. Harvey (×–1909): *Cositas Españolas, or Every Day Life in Spain* (1875).
- Claudia Hamilton Ramsay (1825 – 1902): *A Summer in Spain* (1874).
- Sybil Fitzgerald (×): *In the Track of the Moors. Sketches in Spain and Northern Africa* (1904).
- Virginia Woolf (1882–1941): *To the South. Travels through Spain* (1912).
- Gamel Woolsey (1895–1968): *Death's Other Kingdom* (1939).
- Cecilia Hill Moorish (×): *Towns in Spain* (1931).
- Margot Asquith (1864–1945): *Places and Persons* (1923).
- Helen Nicholson (×): *Death in the Morning* (1937).
- Madelaine Duke (1919–1996): *Beyond the pillars of Hercules: a Spanish journey* (1957).
- Honor Tracy (1913–1989): *Silk hats and no breakfast: notes on a Spanish journey* (1957).
- Penelope Chetwode (1910–1986): *Two Middle-aged Ladies in Andalusia* (1961).

[2] López-Burgos collects texts by various British authors in Andalusia, focusing on Lady Elizabeth Holland, Isabella Frances Romer, Lady Mary Elizabeth Herbert and Margot Asquith. For her part, Egea Fdez-Montesinos analyzes the work of Louise Chandler Moulton, Matilda Betham-Edwards, Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley, Louisa Tenison and Virginia Woolf. Marchant-Rivera offers a study on Lady E. Grosvenor, Louise M. A. Tenison, M.C. Jackson and Olive Patch in Málaga. Barco-Cebrián focuses on Lady Anne Fanshawe, Mrs. Jemima Kindersley, Lady Chatterton and Sophia Barnard. López-Gómez, for his part, reviews the literary and pictorial work of Louisa Tenison.

Compiling this provisional list of the female authors who wrote about Andalusia makes us reflect on the degree of ignorance about these authors. The vast majority are unknown and, obviously, have not been translated. If we take into account that it only includes British authors who published in the United Kingdom, it can easily be imagined that the list of female travellers in general who published works on Spain and Andalusia is much higher. Their vision of Spanish culture, people and customs has remained silent.

IDENTITY, VISIBILITY, AND FEMALE TRAVELLERS' POINT OF VIEW

The study of women travel writers, in general, had been carried out as a study of individual exceptions until the appearance of Sara Mills's influential Foucauldian work *Discourses of Difference* (1991). From this, the production and reception of female travel literature as a whole began to be contemplated from a feminist perspective, attending not only to the trip itself, but also to the writing process. Influenced by Michel Foucault's concept of "panopticism", travel literature studies, such as those of Said (1978), Mills (1991) or Pratt (1992), began to consider not only the historical or illustrative value of descriptions, but also the value they had as construction of identities. As a literary genre, travel literature intersects individual and collective identities, contributing to the creation of the identity of both visiting travellers, as well as visited residents and readers.

As Bird (2019) points out, travel writing was a matter of men; but since the 19th century the number of women became so significant that more attention and recognition would have been expected. The trips allowed women to "observe" and evaluate other realities and stop being only the ones observed and evaluated; nevertheless, they continued to feel observed by their compatriots and their readers, since the first-person narration, almost always very introspective, publicly exposed their personal way of acting and feeling. Thus, their works, of which they were narrators and characters at the same time (Korte, 1996), became not a vision of the "social", but also of the "individual" (Quaireau, 2022). In essence, exposing their personal identity became an act of vindication and "assertion of [their] femininity" (Bassnett, 2002).

The concept of visibility turns out to be fundamental in identity formation. In fact, as stated above, the descriptions of travellers' accounts were relevant in forging European identity. Of course, for a discursive practice such as travel literature to have been effective, it is vital that such a practice be visible; however, women's literature has not had such visibility.

The concept of visibility is complex and does not consist only in the fact of observing and being observed, but also includes the space in which people show themselves, reveal themselves and share information about the world (Purdy, 2016, pp.3-4). Without visibility, not only is there no power, but there is no "possibility" of being; hence the importance of making testimonies of all travellers, men and women, accessible.

Travellers established asymmetrical power dynamics in their travels by being "observers" or scrutinizers over their travellees, collecting and recording information, but, at the same time, women travellers felt especially "observed" when writing. It should be remembered that writers were well aware of the audience they were addressing and what they expected to find in the travellers' writings: "nineteenth-century women travellers were aware that they were exposing themselves to scrutiny and criticism." (Quaireau, 2022). Besides, most Victorian women travellers chose diaries or letters as a form of narrative expression, autobiographical literary genres that exhibited and exposed their privacy to the public, while still maintaining the image of introspection and domesticity. Although these genres were by no means employed only by women, they were used in a very different way from their male counterparts, since this apparent paradox of

"exhibition" and "privacy" distinguished the writings of women travellers: "confessional writings can be seen as genres where women were encouraged to 'reveal' themselves, and where the disciplinary forces of society were most at work" (Mills, 1991, pp. 42).

This binary division between "home/away" and "public/private" competes and coexists in female travellers' writings (Blunt, 1994, pp. 3), for travel in the nineteenth century was gendered as "male activity", which meant that women travellers faced gender barriers; but, although they travelled as men did, they were not expected in their home metropolis to write like men, which, in turn, led them to represent their own "femininity". For this reason, authors such as Quaireau (2022) use a Foucauldian "panopticism" perspective to "reconsider such binary division between home and away, and private and public, and see it rather as a continuum".

Foucault developed the concept of "Panopticism" in *Discipline and Punish* ([1975] 1995), following the model of Jeremy Bentham's "Panopticon", a tower from which an invisible warder continuously observed the always visible inmates. For Foucault, the power of the internalized gaze provokes in those 'observed' a continuous self-correction in an attempt to adapt to the norms, by always feeling that they are being watched, even when they are not. Of course, the forging of identities is not only influenced by the fact of being observed, but also by the power relations that are established, which permeate society, and, relevantly, individuals are always subject to the social norms of gender, which determines a type of behaviour and a normative discourse on the part of women (Butler, 1993). Thus, the construction of the writers' own identities and those of the "travellees" differs in male and female writers.

Taking into account this gender perspective, we want to delve into the vision of the local Spanish and Andalusian identities as provided by female authors, who complemented or even challenged the male travellers' views. It is curious how the vision of women travellers in Andalusia has hardly aroused the deserved interest and very few of their works have been translated into Spanish or other languages. There are only two books written by women travellers which have been translated into Spanish, as is the case with some works closer in time such as *Death's other kingdom* by Gamel Woolsey ([1939] 2004) or *Death in the morning* by Helen J. Nicholson (1937), related to their authors' vision of the Civil War. Most of the female visions of Andalusia, such as that of the Romantic writer Annie Harvey's, have not yet found translation. For this reason, it is our aim to rescue from silence Harvey's vision of Spain in *Cositas españolas, or Every Day Life in Spain* (1875). This work offers a different vision from the informative, fact-filled accounts of eighteenth-century authors or the romantic portraits of her contemporaries.

A SENSITIVE IMAGE OF ANDALUSIA: ANNIE HARVEY'S *COSITAS ESPAÑOLAS*

In contrast to the authors of the 18th century who approached Spain with the erudite eyes of those who wished to transmit knowledge, the Romantic authors, mostly writers, convey a vision guided by feeling and intuition (Serrano-Segura, 1993). These travellers dwell on details that escape the eyes and can be perceived only with "the lenses of feeling and imagination" (Massias ([1798] 1803: vii). Because of this sensitivity towards the spiritual and the natural, one of the main elements in the stories of Romantic travellers is the poetic description of the landscape. In this "sensitive observation" they delight in the landscape, which, for them, is the mirror of the feelings of the one who "observes" and, at the same time, is a clear analogy of the "soul" of the place they are visiting (Amiel, [1884] 2019).

In line with other Romantic authors, Harvey respects and admires nature, a source of inspiration and imagination, and a connection with eternity and the highest feelings. The Romantic writers attached a great importance to the concepts of the beautiful, the picturesque and the

sublime. The Greek philosopher Longinus already explored the idea of the sublime, but it did not penetrate Europe as an aesthetic category for the classification of landscape until essentially the 1700s with Edmund Burke's influential *Philosophical Enquiry* (1757), which conveyed the idea that the sublime, as pain or danger, "produces the strongest emotion that the mind is capable of feeling" (pp. 302). He associated the sublime with "power, grandeur of dimension, infinitude, difficulty, darkness, solitude, roughness", as opposed to the beautiful which is "small, smooth, regular, bright, luminous, showy" (pp. 305-306). Romantic travellers sought to find these extreme sensations of the sublime in the nature of the countries they travelled through, as Spain, when they tried to reach high mountain peaks, rushing torrents, or dark forests (Smith, 2023).

This very intimate way of "observing" of nineteenth-century writers becomes especially relevant when the one who travels to Spain is a woman, for, as Tejera-Osuna (2012) points out, no matter how sensitive the male writers are, they are always more technical than the women writers, who transmit pure feelings.

Harvey had arrived in Spain for health reasons in 1872 during the turbulent period of the reign of Amadeo I of Savoy. Andalusia was undergoing constant revolts and there were the upheavals caused by the unique Andalusian bandits. In this context, she knew how to adapt to the circumstances, and offers an intimate vision that, more than the external aspects, relates what her senses perceive. For her, Andalusia is "the land of myrtle and citrus fruits" (1875, pp. 21), that of the intensely blue sky and the fields of oranges and olives.

Like other romantic travellers, she employs subjective narration in the first person, providing continuous comments on her state of mind. Although the appearance is narrative, rather than a story or narrative, in essence we are dealing with a description (Díaz-Larios, 2016). As Rivas and Calero (2013, pp. 104) point out, "her descriptions are directly addressed to the senses: she 'draws the colours' and 'recreates the sounds' of the sierra, the vega, the river… of its fauna, flora and inhabitants".

HARVEY'S VISION OF THE PEOPLE

Like George Borrow, Samuel Cook, Richard Ford or Sir Arthur Brooke, Harvey does not go as far as to make a profound critique of the social order. The authors make some general criticism of the system, of the precarious balance of finance, industry, or crops (Serrano-Segura, 1993), but they do not delve into the problems derived from the class strata structure of society.

Harvey alludes on several occasions to these difficulties and problems, but, unlike many of her contemporaries, she portrays an optimistic and hopeful image of Spain and the Spanish. Harvey's love and confidence in Spain and her strong belief in the capabilities of its people is best reflected in a beautiful metaphor in which she likens Spain to a young sower who will find weeds in his field difficult to eradicate, but who, with the richness of his land, his nobility of character, his sincerity and his tenacity, will one day succeed in bringing them to fruition:

> Spain is now like a young man on his entrance into life, making his experiences and sowing his wild oats. In these oats are many weeds, and severe will be the suffering ere they can be eradicated, but there is a rich and good soil below, and in the Spanish character there is a nobility of nature, and a sincerity and earnestness of purpose that will bear good fruit some day.
>
> (*CE*, 1875, pp. 75)

Travellers such as Richard Ford and George Borrow frequently compared the Spanish with the English in their writings. As Bolufer-Peruga (2009) pointed out, the stories of these travellers are clear evidence of the obsession of English writers to compare Spanish traditions with

those of England in order to "ensure social order and the observance of moral values in a parliamentary political system and within a commercial and cosmopolitan society". In contrast to them, Harvey frequently compared the English to the Spanish, but with the intention of dignifying and vindicating the positive aspects of Spain, and of combating external prejudices about this country: "*And so it is everywhere in Spain. This poor country puts our rich land to shame in many respects.*" (*CE*, 148).

For example, she is astonished at the scarce exploitation of mineral resources such as coal and points out how Spain has always been the greatest source of mineral wealth for Europe, as Pliny the Elder commented in the first century A.D. (*CE*, 232). Harvey cannot avoid comparing the character of the Spanish and the English, who, she assures, would not leave those coal seams untouched in order to obtain profit.

In her observation of the nature of the Spanish people, Harvey also praises the way in which discourse is employed beyond the purely communicative end. She describes the political discourse in the Spanish Parliament and compares it to the more functional tone of the English parliamentarians, highlighting how the Spanish make use of images and rhetorical figures that embellish the language and "clothe" the message, while the English are sparing even in words:

> We heard several of the best speakers, but, to our great regret, Castelar, the famous popular orator was absent. He is said, by his admirers, to rival Demosthenes in magnificence of language, force of reasoning, and in the power he possesses of moving the feelings of his auditors. Even in Spain, where oratory is so much practised, he has no equal. But *Spanish is such a magnificent language, that the very sound of the words and the turn of the sentence give harmony and grandeur to every phrase*. Even to a foreigner who cannot, of course, fully appreciate the delicacy and beauty of the expressions, *a fine Spanish speech is noble and inspiring.*
>
> The speakers are in general dignified and impressive. To our colder English natures, the fault seems a too abundant use of metaphor. An Englishman's object is generally to convey the greatest amount of meaning in the fewest possible words. A Spaniard rarely confines himself to a simple statement of facts, but clothes them under the guise of powerful and startling imagery.
>
> (CE, pp. 76-77)

Harvey devotes much attention to the character of the Spaniards and is moved by personality traits that characterize them. The hospitality and generosity of the Andalusians deeply attracts Harvey's attention and the passages in which she extols these virtues are reiterated. For example, when she describes her visit to a poor neighbourhood in Granada, she portrays its inhabitants as kind and deeply sensitive, also as tremendously hospitable, and generous despite their poverty. The same happens when she arrives in Cordova and Seville:

> Although *the Spaniards of every class are very sensible to the beauties of Nature*, our enthusiasm fairly amused the good people of the tower, and confirmed them in the idea that there was no sun like a Spanish sun. (…) We paid many visits here … and with *native courtesy* these *kind people* always invited us to share their poor meals, humble and scanty though they were. …this is constantly the case in Spain, *the native kindness and liberality of the people is quite remarkable*, and in striking contrast to the experiences travellers ordinarily have to make in foreign countries.
>
> (*CE,* 40)
>
> At first, our bad Spanish and ignorance of national customs made the negotiations and arrangements somewhat difficult, but perseverance carried us through, and were it only to have learned *how truly kind-hearted and friendly Spaniards can be*, our little difficulties were well endured.
>
> (*CE*, 159)

In contrast to the writings of male travellers, on numerous occasions Harvey dwells on the description of the mothers with their children or observes how the women perform. For instance, when she has to travel in the "ladies' car" on the railroad, she cannot help but compare the friendliness of the Spanish women with women from other countries:

> As children are somewhat over-petted in Spain, we at first rather shrank from these ladies' carriages, but our prejudices were speedily overcome, for *the kindness of Spanish women of all classes to foreigners is a lesson to those of other countries*. Often has a dull and tedious journey been made pleasant by such companion.
>
> (*CE,* 145)

HARVEY'S VISION OF THE LANDSCAPE

However, what most distinguishes Harvey from her male counterparts is the delicacy and sensitivity of her own descriptions. Like other Romantic authors, she employs painting techniques when she portrays landscapes or towns and their inhabitants. These literary works, which served as travel guides of the time, were often accompanied by illustrations that served as modern photographs, and the writers, in their narration, seemed to pay homage to the principle of Horace's *Ars Poetica* of "ut pictura poesis".

For Rivas and Calero (2013), Harvey uses adjectives as brush strokes that turn the description of the landscape into magic. In the light of the dawn, the mountains become a "ghostlike, shadowy, pale *sierra*..." and the meadow dawns as a "golden, rosy, exuberant *vega*"... (*CE*, 36). The Andalusian sun is "scorching, blinding, pitiless...", capable of arousing fierce passions, but unique in its beauty accompanying the sky that is "of the deepest azure, most beautiful and limpid" (*CE*, 25). The brush strokes also draw the creatures that populate the landscape and through the "steep" ascents and descents of the sierra, the "ubiquitous" *mayorales* or coachmen drive the wagons pulled by "sagacious" creatures (*CE*, 25).

If in the 19th century travellers favoured destinations that could satisfy their emotional needs, as Massias ([1798] 1803, pp. 79) pointed out, the country that could most deserve the visit of the sensitive traveller was undoubtedly Spain. And within this, the favourite destination was Andalusia. It combined the oriental reminiscences of the Arab past, so present in the artistic and cultural expressions, in the gastronomy, in the language, etc., with the natural beauty. Andalusia was thus a paradise of sun and exoticism, the home of the blessed and the happy for Anacreonte.

For Harvey, Andalusia is a paradise on earth where one could let their soul relax. As we have already mentioned, the 19th century was the age of Orientalism. Oriental literature was to the Romantics what Greek literature was to the Renaissance. The union between literary Orientalism and Romanticism that took place in Germany was exported to the rest of Europe,. together with their admiration for the "glorious Arab past", as opposed to the unstoppably industrialising West which meant a departure from primitive civilizations and nature. While the German school preferred the purely oriental to the Andalusian Islamic, the French and the English Romantics had a predilection for Andalusian Islam. Hence, Spain was "a kind of paradise", a "fountain of youth", and a "realm of the primitive" (Hoffman, 1961, pp. 64). Indeed, the orientalist vision is present in the romantic travellers, but if the authors are distinguished in anything, it is in the delicacy of their descriptions. For them, Spain is a feminine territory in its aromas, sensuality and exuberance (Colmeiro, 2002: 131).

She is ecstatic in the descriptions of the Andalusian landscape, the beautiful villages or artistic manifestations, and transmits it with a discourse that conveys to the reader the message of "*carpe diem"*, for paradise is here. Regardless of the material riches and the artificial conflicts in

which human beings engage, in this place there is everything necessary to be happy. In essence, the message is "let us make the most of what we have, which we do not always know how to appreciate and value". That is Andalusia for Harvey, as when she stands before the famous Alhambra in Granada:

> But Grenada, and especially the Alhambra, possesses every charm the soul of man can desire. Alas! for poor mortals the earthly paradise is too perfect. The weak human heart needs such constant strain and struggle to keep it in order. Too many good and beautiful things enervate it, and make it unfit to fight the wearing and unending battle of life.
>
> The climate, the charms, and the beauty of Grenada conquered the Moors quite as much as the Christian hosts of Ferdinand and Isabella, and it is to-day as it was then. Few remain long here without feeling *–Let us live and be happy to-day, let to-morrow take care of itself.*
>
> (*CE*, pp. 37-38)

If the adjectives provided the brushstrokes that turned the description into a beautiful pictorial portrait, the alliterations contribute to an audio-visual image that Annie J. Harvey recreates to perfection. The peace and tranquillity transmitted by the Andalusian landscapes is transmitted to the reader through beautiful alliterations of continuous consonants such as the fricative /s/ or the nasal /m, n/: *"...the cool breeze from the Nevada rustled amongst the leaves of the trees...; the ear was soothed by the ceaseless melody of the nightingales, the drowsy humming of the bees and the tickling murmur of a little stream..."*:

> The city was still asleep, no sign of life appeared in the streets: but as we ascended the wooded hill on the summit of which stands the Alhambra, we could hear that *nature, in her sweetest accents, was already singing a morning hymn of praise.*
> *The voice of hundreds of nightingales resounded from the neighbouring thickets, and the murmur of innumerable streamlets added their music to swell the concert*.
>
> (*CE*, 35)

> And we felt the charm most potently ourselves. *Life seemed the perfection of happiness…*, *the cool breeze from the Nevada rustled amongst the leaves of the trees* overhead. *The air was balmy with the sweet perfume of orange-flowers and roses, while the ear was soothed by the ceaseless melody of the nightingales, the drousy humming of the bees, and the tickling murmur of a little stream* as it wandered through the rough grass at our feet.
> *The fragant air, the delicious melody, steeped every sense in content, and existence so passed seemed as a heavenly dream...*
>
> (*CE*, 39)

In the midst of this reverie, when Harvey contemplates the landscape and is enraptured by it, she cannot help but be transported back to other times, remembers the Arab past of Andalusia and still seems to hear the lament of those Moors who had to leave those lands, but the healing and consoling power of nature is able to restore rest and peace to the soul:

> If the day was so enchanting, what words can paint the charm of evening? When darkness gathers around, the *ghosts of the past come drifting across the mind, then these ruins speak with another voice, and around them lingers the pathetic grace of remembrance*. *The tears shed* here have long since been wiped away, *the hearts that suffered* have long since been at rest. *The moon*, as she throws her tender light alike over mountain and ruined palace, *speaks of repose and peace*; *and nature, ever consolatory, takes with gentle touch the harshness from sorrow*, and amid these lovely scenes even grief at length loses its cruel sting.
>
> (*CE*, pp. 39-40)

CONCLUSION

This paper has aimed to rescue and highlight the work of the women travellers who arrived in Spain from the 18th century onwards, and especially in Andalusia, represented in the voice of Annie Harvie and her *Cositas Españolas, or Every Day Life in Spain* (1875). Works such as Harvey's have remained "invisible" since shortly after they were published. The works by women travellers not only provide a new way of contemplating the region, but also, in a very relevant way, question and contradict supposed myths about Spain and the Spanish people, as well as statements, comments and opinions expressed and published by their male compatriots, some of them renowned Hispanophiles such as Richard Ford or George Borrow. Curiously and unfortunately, the vast majority of these travel treatises have not been translated into other languages, not even into Spanish, an issue which is called for in this article, given that their vision serves to balance or, at least, question the traditional vision of Spain and Andalusia drawn by other travellers. As Purdy (2016) or Quaireau (2022) put it, the visibility of a discursive practice is essential for that voice to be heard and to resonate, helping to forge the identity of both the writer herself and those she describes. Many women travelers have hitherto been undervalued, forgotten, unknown or silenced in favour of the male travellers' perspective. Thanks to the consultation of the library of the Instituto Cervantes in London, a chronological list of British women travellers in Andalusia is presented in this paper, together with a list of their main works from the beginning of the 18th century to the present day.

Our work has focused on the sensitive vision of the intimate and daily life of the Spanish as observed by Annie Jane Harvey (1875). This work, not yet translated into Spanish and another language, offers a vision which is in keeping with the orientalist sentiment of the Romantic writers, but which differs from the work of established authors such as Ford or Borrow in the sensitivity and delicacy with which it describes nature and its inhabitants. Harvey makes a defense of the dignity and values of the Spanish, which are revealed not only in her textual, explicit words, but also in the implicit positivity and admiration for the simplest, everyday acts she describes. Her attention to detail and, in particular, to women may well be in keeping with the "femininity" expected of a writer (as a reflection of the panoptic view in which the "observer" feels "observed" by her potential editors and readers); however, this apparent "compliance with the norm" does not hide or detract from the vision it brings about a people like the Spanish. What is more, her "subtlety" in describing her perception manages to be more expressive than the most direct statements.

In line with Mills (1991), Korte (1996), or Bassnett (2002), we agree that this exposition of the "individual" by the female writers is a clear "assertion of their femininity". Female travel narratives record reality, but they also intendedly provide their personal representation of the people and the land they visited, and these female writers deserve the "visibility" their male counterparts have achieved. Bringing to light works that reflect an alternative vision of Spain that is different from the preconceived ideas that influenced the writers who helped forge Spain's identity continues to be a very necessary task. Authors such as Pérez-Gil (2023) have studied the works of British novelists from the second half of the 20th century and have come to the conclusion that for many authors an image of a backward Spain continues to survive. So that this vision does not prevail, we cannot forget the diversity and multiplicity of visions and sensibilities that help compose the image that will determine the "identity" of a people.

REFERENCES

Amiel, H.F. ([1798] 2019) *Diario íntimo*. Renacimiento.
Bacon, F. ([1597] 1884). *Bacon's Essays and Wisdom of the Ancients*. Little, Brown and Company. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/56463/56463-h/56463-h.htm
Barco-Cebrián, L. (2016). "Female travel literature". *European Scientific Journal* 12 (32), pp. 443-472.
Barke, M. (2002) "'Inside' and 'outside' writings on Spain". In Robinson, M. & Andersen, H. C. (eds.) *Literature and tourism*. Continuum, pp.80-104.
Bassnett, S. (2002) 'Travel writing and gender'. In P. Hulme & T. Youngs (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge U.P., pp. 225-241.
Bird, D. (2019) 'Gender'. In Forsdick, C. *et al*. (eds.) *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies.* Anthem Press, pp.99-100.
Blunt, A. (1994). *Travel, Gender and Imperialism*. Guilford Press.
Bolufer-Peruga, M. (2009). "Civilización, costumbres y política en la literatura de viajes a España en el siglo XVIII". Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcx06n5
Burke, E. (1757). *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Dodsley.
Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter.* Routledge.
Buzard, J. (2002). "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)". In Hulme, P. & Youngs, T. (2002) *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 37-52.
Casasole, M.E. (2020). *Penélope sale de casa*. Lektu.
Colmeiro, J. (2002). *Travel Writing and Empire*. Zed Books.
Díaz-Larios, L.F. (2016). *La visión romántica de los viajeros románticos.* Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.
Egea Fernández-Montesinos, A. (2004). *Viajeras románticas en Andalucía.* Junta de Andalucía.
Egea Fernández-Montesinos, A (2007) "British and American women explorers from a postcolonial perspective". *Centro de Estudios Andaluces* 4 (3), pp. 1-14.
Egea Fernández-Montesinos, A. (2008). "Spain is Not different". In Lorenzo Modia, M.J. (ed.) *Proceedings 31st AEDEAN Conference*. Universidade A Coruña, pp. 161-168.
Foucault, M. ([1975] 1995). *Discipline & Punishment.* Vintage Books.
Guerrero-Latorre, A.C. (1990). *Viajeros británicos en la España del siglo XVIII*. Aguilar Maior.
Harvey, A.J. (1875). *Cositas Españolas; or Every Day Life in Spain.* Hurst and Blackett.
Hazard, P. (1971). *The European Mind*. World Pub.
Hilton, R. (1966) "The Significance of Travel Literature". *Hispania,* 49 (4), pp. 836-845.
Hoffman, L.F. (1961). *Romantique Espagne.* Princeton University.
Jiménez Miranda, M. (2022) "The curious look of English women travellers on Spain". Instituto Cervantes of London. https://blogs.cervantes.es/londres/2022/02/28/the-curious-look-of-english-women-travellers-on-spain/
Korte, B. (1996) *English Travel Writing.* Palgrave.
López-Burgos del Barrio, M.A. (1996). *Siete viajeras inglesas en Granada* (1802-1872). Axares.
López-Burgos, M.A. (2007). *Viajeras en la Alhambra.* Junta de Andalucía.
López-Gómez, C. (2021). *Louisa Tenison, escritora, pintora y viajera británica en la Andalucía del XIX*. Patrimonio Artístico.
Marchant-Rivera, A. (2008). "Escritura femenina y viajera". In Gómez-Yebra, A. *Estudios sobre patrimonio literario andaluz*. Junta de Andalucía, pp. 141-158.
Massias, N. ([1798] 1803). *Le prisonnier en œil*. Chez Levrault, Schoell et Comp.
Mills, S. (1991) *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism.* Routledge.
Müllenbrocke, H.J. (1984). "The political implications of the Grand Tour", *Trema*, 9, 7-21.
Nicholson, H. (1937). *Death in the Morning*. Lovat Dickinson.
Nicholson, H. (2006). *Muerte en la madrugada.* Atrio.
Pagden, A. (ed.). (2002). *The Idea of Europe.* Cambridge U.P.
Pérez-Gil, M.M. (2023). "Orientalist images of Spain in British popular literature". *Estudios de literatura* 14, pp. 634-653.
Pratt, M.L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* Routledge.
Purdy, S.R. (2016). *Spaces of Visibility and Identity.* East Tennessee State University.
Quaireau, A. (2022). "The trap of visibility?". *Revue d'études Benthanmiennes* 22. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudes-benthamiennes.10015
Rivas-Carmona, M.M. and Calero-Vaquera, M.L. (2013). "El discurso descriptivo del paisaje agrario andaluz en las viajeras románticas: *Cositas Españolas, or Everyday Life in Spain* (1875)". In López Folgado, V. and Rivas Carmona, M.M. (eds.). *La Andalucía rural vista por viajeros extranjeros*. Peter Lang, pp. 99-117.

Robertson, I. (1992). *The impertinent curiosos. English travellers in Spain,1760-1855*. Vallehermoso.
Said, E.W. (1978) *Orientalism.* Pantheon Books.
Serrano-Segura, M.M. (1993). *Las guías urbanas y los libros de viaje en la España del siglo XIX*. Universitat de Barcelona.
Smith, C.R. (2023). *Romanticism, Rhetoric and the Quest for the Sublime.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Tejera-Osuna, P. (2012). *Viajeras de leyenda: Aventuras asombrosas de trotamundos victorianas.* Casiopea.
Townsend, J. (1791). *A Journey Through Spain*. C. Dilly.
Voltaire, M. de (1756). *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*. https://homepages.uc.edu/~martinj/French/Essai%20sur%20les%20Moeurs.pdf
Wolff, L. (1994). *Inventing Eastern Europe.* Standford U.P.
Woolsey, W. ([1939] 2004). *Death's Other Kingdom.* Eland.
Woolsey, W. (2006). *El otro reino de la muerte.* Ágora.