

Nineteenth Century Images of Englishness: Spanish Translators and the Will to Change

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Abstract: This article sets out to demonstrate that the various institutional discourses of the Spanish nineteenth century, related to the representation of an English image, differ essentially in the degree of influence that they receive from translations. More specifically, the monograph aims to identify and categorise the translations on the history of England that were published in Spain during the nineteenth century, according to the data extracted from the National Library of Madrid; assess the significance of these translations in proportion to the total amount of publications on the subject and analyse the influence they might have exerted on a corpus of authors and works of different ideologies that is twofold in nature: it includes history textbooks, officially used at various educational levels, as well as admission speeches at the Spanish Royal Academy of Language. In our opinion, the influence of the translations published in Spain is essentially reflected on the following two aspects: a) the deliberate reproduction of stereotypes launched by the English themselves in the Victorian Era, in line with a liberal idea of history and, b) the use of new narrative and historiographic techniques. In the most heterodox representations, England will be set up as a model of behaviour and an explicit preoccupation and comparison with Spain will be clearly revealed, while at the same time a critical stance toward the Catholic Church as an institution will be introduced.²

Key words: Englishness; Identity; Language; History and Ideology; Spanish Nineteenth Century

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² Due to the extensive material used, the present description will confine itself to presenting the overall figures and the general lines that are necessary for the argumentation. Except for specific cases, details and excerpts from the original texts will be omitted.

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1. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

As it was already pointed out in a previous work (Tejada 2006: 155), “in recent times, the notion of alterity has been elevated to a fundamental category of experience, as an essential perspective to reflect on human thought, culture and the relationship between the individual and society. The dialectics between the *own* and the *alien*, the way in which individuals and groups are perceived and represented, or the degree to which certain communities comprehend the *other* is gradually gaining more attention³”. On the other hand, the critical analysis of the notions of identity and alterity that derives from the aforementioned statement shows a concern for the relation established between epistemology and ideology. The intercultural representation of the *other* forms part of ongoing research – which remains inconclusive to date – on the networks that interweave the images of the *alien* and the dynamics of power. In this sense, the analysis of the English image as produced by various authors of the Spanish nineteenth century falls within this framework of ideology and linguistic science, which has yet more fruit to bear. Although the importance of theoretical argumentation is certainly acknowledged, we will not enter into details, thus giving prominence to the specific data of the study, which is circumscribed to the Spanish nineteenth century⁴.

To claim that the nineteenth century constitutes a crucial period for the forging of national identities would be a rather trite cliché, which only acquires meaning if we analyse its subtleties and delve into less trodden fields of inquiry. In this respect, it is in order to mention that, to date, research on images of identity from the foreigner’s point of view has been scarce, and even scarcer has been the attention paid to the image of England during the Spanish nineteenth century from an intercultural perspective⁵. Moreover, it is worth noting that a great amount of the stereotypes with which the popular imagery in modern Spain describes England and the English correspond to those created in the nineteenth century, due to the characteristics of our national history. In other words, this century is responsible for the English image that still persists in Spain. Hence the interest and the necessity of contributions like the present.

In order to better understand the point made, it might be useful to outline the main features of the nineteenth century in Spain. As it is well-known, this period is characterised by a constant political, social and intellectual instability and, more importantly, by a striking isolation with respect to the industrial and cultural enrichment in the rest of Europe. To be more specific, it is possible to divide this period into various stages. Until the 1840s, Spain goes through a difficult period of controversy between absolutism and liberalism, two mutually exclusive movements. During the decades of the 1840s and 1850s we witness a period of a more consolidated liberalism, during which the so-called *bourgeois revolution*⁶ reaches its peak. Spain is hopeful, strong and in a process of change, despite the fact that the remnants of the past keep holding back the necessary socio-economical reforms. As we shall see, it is at this time that we observe the greatest influence by the foreign thought, introduced through translations. From the late 1860s to the mid-1870s, thanks to the new constitution, which emerged from the revolution of 1868, the country enjoys greater religious and conscientious freedom, while a greater adherence to the

³ We know that, ever since Renaissance, the notions that relate to the characterisation of groups are the main form of discursive rationalisation of cultural difference. Nowadays, the concept of identity is a fundamental category of investigation and it is approached by different fields and perspectives: anthropology, history, sociology, psychology, cultural studies, feminism, philosophy, visual image studies, literary criticism, comparative literature, etc. And although the dialectics between alterity and identity still focus on the dominance relations that the West has established with other communities (nationalism, imperialism, racism, decolonization, exoticism, minority culture) or the power relations towards society’s weakest members (immigrants, children, women, the illiterate, natives, proletarians, blacks, homosexuals, the demented), much remains to be said about other contexts. [cf. Corbey & Leerssen (1991: viii), Nederveen (1991) & Grew (1986), del Giudice & Porter (2001), Bailey (1992), Crowley (1996), Watts & Trudgill, eds. (2002), Minkova & Stockwell, eds. (2003)].

⁴ These issues are treated in Grew (1986); Zijderfeld (1987), Leerssen (1991); Voestermans (1991), Nederveen (1991); Engler (2000), del Giudice & Porter (2001), Leerssen (1997^a) or Porter (2001), among others.

⁵ Leith (1996), Grabes (2001), Uhlig (2001); Ackroyd (2002), Nünnig (2004) or Fjaldall (2005), call attention to the subject. Cf. Tejada (2005), (2006), (2008), (2009), regarding images of Englishness in Spain.

⁶ Cruz (2000) treats the social basis of the Bourgeois Revolution

European trends on the part of the intellectuals is observed. Finally, from 1875 onwards, Spain sinks into a new era of censorship and restrictions that affects all aspects of life⁷.

As far as the cultural level is concerned, Spain is plunged into ignorance. The official culture revolves around monarchy and Catholicism, which caused a notable mediocrity and an enormous resistance to change. However, within this dominant frame we can identify various groups of dissidents, to a greater or lesser extent: radical catholics or “traditionalists”; liberals, many of whom had been exiled in France and England during the 1820s and whose presence was made noticeable in the country mainly after the 1840s, which is when they begin to manifest their progressive views on social organisation and their demands and initiatives of institutional reform (García Puchol 1993). Lastly, regionalists and other more radical groups of anticlericals, anarchists or socialists, whose number increased during the last quarter of the century, although in most of the cases they remained outside the political scene.

Regarding the knowledge of English, even though French retained its traditionally privileged status, among some restricted circles in urban and commercial regions a gradual interest in the British thought, literature and culture is observed (Vilar 2004: 19). These heterodox elites rejected the academism of the Graeco-Latin antiquity as insufficient and dated, and saw England as the bastion of all freedoms, prosperity, progress and democracy. Something we should not forget.

Under these circumstances, the average Spaniard starts to get in touch with England. In fact, we must undoubtedly acknowledge that, from the second half of the century on, England becomes the topic in many of the intellectual and institutional discourses, albeit in a restricted realm. Hence the following questions arise: What narratives regarding England may be found in Spain? What do they respond to? To what extent do they replicate what others say? Who are these *others*?

2. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PRODUCTION ON ENGLAND

According to the data provided by the National Library, the nineteenth century displays a special interest in issues related to Great Britain, seen in both domestic production and translations. If we take into account the data presented in a previous study (Tejada, 2011a), the bibliographical catalogues offer a list of approximately 100 entries for the period from 1800 to 1900⁸. In the aforementioned study, the conclusion was reached that, in the bibliographical production referring to England, two important decades stand out, namely 1840 and 1870. More specifically, most of the translations, which altogether correspond to the 36% of the overall production, are edited during the first of these periods and it is from 1870 onwards that the relevant production abounds (cf. Tables I-IV). All this seems to attest that the acquaintance of England in Spain takes place primarily through translations. Hence the interest these

⁷ Llorens (1968); Artola (1973), Carr (1969).

⁸ The entries are the results of a search defined by the following criteria: “History”, “England”, “English language” and “English literature” 1800-1900, although the data that correspond to the period 1800-1831 only include books from old catalogues. The analysis of the data confirms the wide interest in Modern England. Most of the references are monographs on legal, political, social, educational and institutional issues, pertaining to the historical period in question. García Puchol (1993: 61). Titles such as the following provide evidence for the claims made here: Alcalá Galiano y Valencia, Emilio, Conde de Casa Valenci (1834). *Consideraciones sobre La organización social de Francia e Inglaterra ...* Madrid : Miguel de Burgos; *El Libro del Pueblo, ó nociones de Derecho político, con una noticia exacta de las Constituciones de Inglaterra y Francia*, traducido del francés por D. Pedro Respeau y Molano. Madrid : Alvarez (1848); López y González de Cano, Ramón (1859). *Antecedentes y exámen de la Carta Magna*: Madrid, Imp. y Est. de M. Rivadeneyra; Carvajal Fernández de Córdoba, Angel. (1865). *Establecimiento definitivo de las instituciones inglesas...* Tesis de la Universidad Central (Madrid), Facultad de Derecho; Alcalá Galiano y Valencia Emilio. (1871-1875). *De la libertad política en Inglaterra desde 1485 hasta 1689*. Madrid : [s.n.], (T. Fortanet); Azcárate, Gumersindo. (1877). *El poder del Jefe del Estado en Francia, Inglaterra y los Estados Unidos*: Madrid : [s.n.], (J. C. Conde y Cia.); González Nandín, Sebastián. (1877). *Reflexiones sobre la legislación penal, el jurado y las costumbres judiciales de Inglaterra* Publicación: [S.l.] : s.n., ([Madrid] : Imp. de la Revista de Legislación; Azcárate, Gumersindo. (1878). *La constitución inglesa y la política del continente*. Madrid; Labra, Rafael M. (1880). *Discurso sobre la abolición de la esclavitud en Inglaterra*. Madrid : Alfonso Bolero; Buisson, Ferdinand 1899. *La educación popular de los adultos en Inglaterra : noticias sobre las principales instituciones*. Madrid: [s.n.] La España moderna; Establecimiento tipográfico de Idamor Moreno.

translations bear. And, if we take a closer look at these publications, we will concur on that the acquaintance in question is produced in a more tangible manner initially through history books.

This is by no means a coincidence. According to Peiró and Pasamar (2002: 11), from 1840 onwards history went on to become a scientific field and a compulsory subject in educational programmes. This means that history acquired considerable political and social significance, while becoming an indispensable component of the future citizens' socialisation and national identification⁹. Considering the state of political and ideological confrontation the country was in, history became the ideal venue for the legitimisation of ideologies (Valls 1999: 99). Since the mid century, there emerge various discourses, in which a catholic or radical traditionalist majority confronts the liberal minority that was trying to act upon the Spanish socio-political structures, availing themselves of the open breaches of the institutional system (Cruz 1999). Probably some of the translations were introduced in an attempt to fill in such gaps.

3. SPANISH TRANSLATIONS

Table I shows the translations which, according to the catalogues of the National Library of Spain, appear in the nineteenth century in relation to England¹⁰. From a superficial point of view, we observe that 50% of them belong to French authors, versus a 25% that originates in English sources (Tables II-IV)¹¹. Nevertheless, as we have already mentioned, the most significant information probably lies in the dates of publication of these translations. Virtually half of the translations date from the 1840s (42.8%), while the bulk of the prominent works on the same subject (60%) are published between 1870 and 1890. This means that the ideas about England were initially diffused through translations. And the dates become even more significant, if we observe the content of the translations. The decades from 1840 to 1870 turn out to be essential, in particular the first one. Until 1840 we only come across translations of general, rather insignificant works (in the Encyclopaedias of general interest, education only receives passing mentions; Anquetil's history – a compilation of various sources, commissioned by Napoleon, biased in its basic premises and thus severely criticised – can hardly be valued with respect to authorship; and Gonzalez's history constitutes a sort of tract for child audiences, with no particular importance). However, from the 1840s onwards, the interest in England increases significantly, concerning both general and more specific aspects of the country, such as its history or concrete historical periods, as becomes evident in the titles. From the 1880s onwards, if we examine the overall body of the publications, we discover works that are more eclectic in nature.

⁹ Also cf. Pasamar & Peiró (1987), Peiró (1990), (1993); García Puchol (1993); Valls (1999); Peiró & Pasamar (2002).

¹⁰ The present list does not include the different editions of the same work, an essay by Chateaubriand on English literature (*Ensayo sobre la literatura inglesa* / por F.A. de Chateaubriand. Traducida por D. Francisco Medina-Veytia Publicación: Madrid : Imp. de Gaspar y Roig, Edit., (1857), as well as the following works : el Atlas histórico de Dufour (*El Globo : Atlas histórico universal de Geografía antigua de la edad media y moderna* / por los S.S.A.H. Dufour y T. Duvotenay grabado... por don Ramón Alabern Publicación: Madrid : Gaspar y Roig, 1852), and the monograph "*Consideraciones sobre La organización social de Francia e Inglaterra, Escritas en Frances por N... Traducidas, comentadas y explicadas al estado actual de España por M. Malo*" Publicación: Madrid : Miguel de Burgos, (1834). This omission does not affect at all the interpretation of the result.

¹¹ The remaining 25% might increase these figures, since we do not know the original source of the translation, although, in some cases, French could be acting as an intermediate language.

Table 1: Nineteenth Century Translations on England. Spanish National Library

Year	Title	author	English source	French source	Undetermined foreign source	Translator	Place of publication
1801-32	Compendio hº universal	Anquetil		Y		Fco. Vázquez	Madrid
1825	Enciclopedia de la Juventud	na			Y	Zaragoza Godínez	Madrid
1826	Enciclopedia juventud	Beaufort D'HautPoul		Y			Burdeos
1831	Historia de Inglaterra		Y			González Vara	Madrid
1837	La Inglaterra y los ingleses	Lytton Bulwer	Y			Gervasio Gironella	Madrid
1839	Historia de la economía política en Europa	Blanqui		Y		José Carasa	Madrid
1840	Obras escogidas de William Robertson	Robertson	Y			JM González de la Peña	Barcelona
1841	Hª revolución Ingl	Guizot, M. Hume	Y	Y		R. Campuzano	Madrid
1842	Enciclopedia moderna ó Biblioteca universal	Andral, Constant		Y			Madrid
1842	Historia de la conquista de Ing	Thierry		Y			Cádiz
1843	Historia de Inglaterra	Gil de Zárate			Y	A.Rosales	Madrid
1842-43	Historia de Inglaterra	Saint-Prosper Augusto + Guizot		Y		Juan Cortada	Barcelona
1842-44	Historia de Inglaterra	Hume	Y			Eugenio Ochoa	Barcelona
1844	Historia de Inglaterra	Galibert		Y		Literature Society	Barcelona
1844	Historia de la EM				Y	Rosales, Antonio	Madrid
1845	Diccionario político	n.a		Y		Arts and Literature Society J. Martínez?	Cádiz
1846	Manual de historia universal	Ott, Auguste		Y		Baltasar Anduaga y Espinosa	Madrid
1846-47	Historia del reinado de	Robertson	Y			Félix Alvarado y Velaústegui	Madrid
1847	Historia general de la civilización en Europa	Guizot		Y			Madrid/
1848	El Libro del Pueblo,	n.a.		Y		Pedro Respeau	Madrid
1857	Historia de Inglaterra	Fleury		Y		Manuel Angelon	Madrid/
1858	Historia de la República de Inglaterra	Guizot		Y		D.M.F.	Madrid
1873	Inglaterra por dentro :	Taine			Y		Valencia
1890	Historia Universal	Oncken			Y	Nemesio Fdz Cuesta	Barcelona
1899	La educación popular de los adultos	Buisson		Y		Adolfo Posada	Madrid
188?	Historia del pueblo inglés	Green	Y			Edmundo González Blanco	Madrid

Table 2: Translations Per Five-Year Period

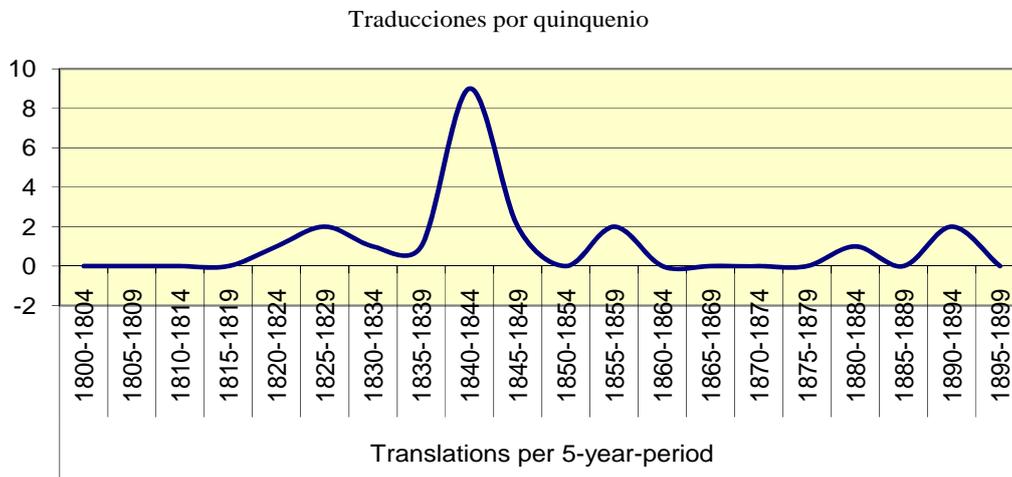


Table 3: Spanish Sources Per Five-Year Period

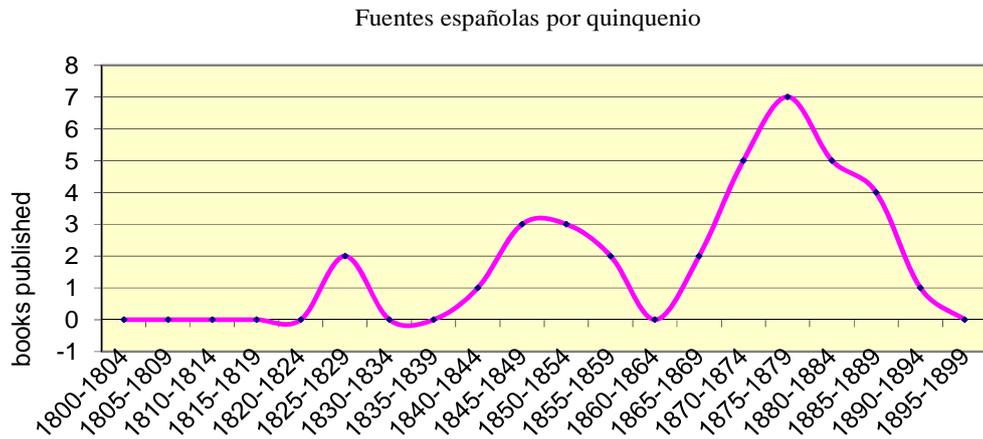
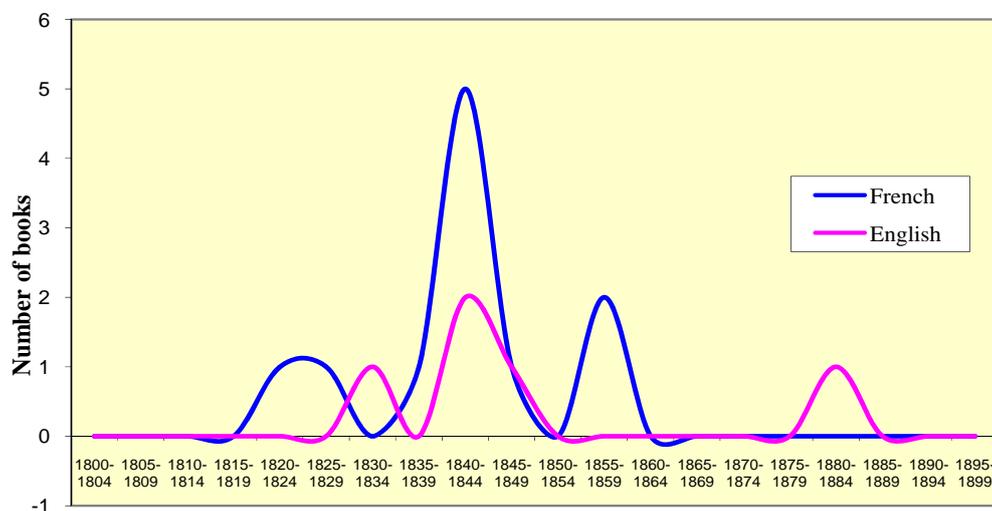


Table 4: French vs English Translations

Traducciones francesas frente a inglesas



In view of the point already made and in order for a more thorough analysis of the data to be carried out, we should focus on those works whose translation appears in Spain from 1840 onwards. This way we will see how the translated works show considerable consistency with respect to their content and ideological orientation. If we analyse the profile of the authors that are translated in Spain (Blanqui, Robertson, Gizot, Hume, Thierry, Galibert, Ott, Fleury, Taine (and Green), Lytton Bulwer, Constant, Buisson), we may well conclude that they are well-educated intellectuals, in many cases active politicians and all of them potentially classifiable as liberals. That is to say they are authors who defend the triumph of the bourgeoisie over monarchy and the *ancien régime*. Under the influence of the French Revolution, they all aspire to gradually establishing free governments and parliamentary institutions among the nations. Freedom, interpreted as the possession and exercise of civil rights, in the wide sense of the term, is their maxim. Though adopting radical stands to a different extent, the cited authors could be assigned to the imaginary group of socio-political reformers. That is, the translated authors in Spain are those we might call the “European anti-aristocratic aristocrats”: authors who overtly oppose exploitation, militarism, catholicism; who aim at abolishing both capitalism and the proletariat, show a certain sympathy for the working class, share antiwar, pacifist positions and fend for commerce as a way of expanding and interacting with third-party countries. Being close to the English Protestants or the French Huguenots, these authors pursue the perfection of culture and the educational system and advocate free and secular education. And, despite their nationality, the French authors often openly demonstrate their admiration for the English model, an issue to which we will return in due course.

A second characteristic of the analysed translations is their popular appeal: the works of Hume, Green, Blanqui, Thierry, Lytton or Oncken were widely disseminated in their home countries. Finally, it is worth noting that, in many cases, we are dealing with pioneer works from a historiographic point of view. Blanqui, Thierry, Lytton and Taine are authors who retrace the original sources, introduce a kind of sociological positivism, uncover the social facet of history, and, ultimately, their intention is to present an intelligible history that would stimulate interest in this type of studies.

Along with its original authors, every translation has its secondary authors, a denomination proper to those who worked as translators in nineteenth century Spain. To them we will dedicate a few lines, inasmuch as our knowledge of them permits. The main feature that people like Carasa, Zárata, Angelón, etc. have in common is that they belong to a minority of erudites or knowledgeable professionals and

progressives. They are writers, lexicographers or journalists for whom translating is a side activity. Some of them are Krausists, exiled for being frenchified – or for other reasons – and all of these eminent people become famous for severely criticising education and the economic backwardness in Spain, the corrupted regime of the end of the century, as well as for their anticlerical, pro-secular attitudes. Among these translators, one may also find catalanists and, in some cases, liberals linked to Cadiz, a landmark of liberalism since 1812.

Thus, we may say that the translation of texts that are related to England in the Spanish nineteenth century is a restricted phenomenon, consciously guided by a particular group of people who wish to promote the familiarisation with the Anglo-Saxon community in Spain. It seems to be all about introducing the thought of English, or, rather, Anglophile French liberal authors, through heterodox Spanish authors. This means that people who did not belong to those circles would not be influenced by the ideas that were put forward in the texts in question, or they would even fight against their propagation.

But which are these ideas? What exactly is being diffused? Both general and specialised histories of England that are translated into Spanish fall within what is known as liberal historiography or *Whig*. From this version of the English history, we will highlight two characteristics, one referring to the content and the other to the method.

As far as the content is concerned, the *Whig* interpretation of history purposes to defend the unique nature of the English, on the grounds that the glory and grandeur are intrinsic British qualities, dating back to the very origins of the people. England owes its supremacy to the primitive Anglo-Saxons, among the virtues of whom we should single out individual freedom and contractual monarchy. These works offer an idealised vision of the Germanic past, which becomes a praiseworthy and desired model, for the isolation and singularity it preserved in opposition to the (Graeco-) Roman world. From this point, a conclusion that is very important for our study may be drawn: the Middle Ages become a forum of a nineteenth century debate between European conservatives and progressives (García Puchol 1993: 160). For the former, the Middle Ages represent a period of Christian ascent, whereas the latter see them as an era of transition from old times to modernity, always taking into account that modernity was essentially typified by England.

With respect to the methodological approach adapted in the *Whig* narratives, suffice it to say that their supporters try to question and assess the sources, that the explanatory and causal accounts are favoured and that there is a tendency to include the socio-economical aspects that underlie the notion of civilisation.

We may therefore conclude that in the nineteenth century Great Britain is presented to the world as a model of civilisation through the myths of its own identity, which refer mainly to the uniqueness of its cultural history¹². These myths permeate the European interculturalism and are passed on to Spain during the 1840s, where a minority group of heterodox thinkers eagerly receives them, as tools which would allow them to legitimise their yearning for political and social reform. Thus, England is transformed into an exemplar of the Spanish regeneration.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE TRANSLATIONS IN SPAIN

How can we verify the influence of the translations in Spain? We know that the translations that were edited in Spain had a primarily historical content and that they recounted an uninterrupted historical course of the English glory, starting from the Anglo-Saxon times. Bearing this fact in mind, a good starting point for the analysis would be to examine history textbooks that were published in Spain and analyse the ways in which they treat the origins of the English community.

¹² The English myths on identity are treated in various studies. See, for instance, Horsman (1976); Clark (1985); Jones (1998); Davies (2000); Todd; Grabes (2001); Ühlig (2001); Wolf (2001); Kumar (2003); Wilson (2003), among others.

In Tejada (2011a), an analysis was carried out of various academic representations of the Anglo-Saxon England¹³. The analysis led to the conclusion that the Spanish narratives reflected the existing tension between opposed ideologies, each of which intended to control the popularisation of the English past according to their own national interests. And it was in this pragmatic function that the accounts analysed seem to differ, with respect to the degree of influence they received from the translations. The more conservative versions, like the ones by Gaité or Góngora, remained almost unaffected by the foreign thought, whereas Castro and Salas largely reproduced the representations of the barbarian Anglo-Saxons made by the English and the French.

More specifically, the study confirmed the existence of alternative discourses: those which aimed at reinforcing the radical catholic values clearly dissociated from the Anglo-Saxon and Germanic world, which was dismissed as primitive and pagan and they presented this historical period as contemptible and not worthy of attention. By associating Christianity and civilisation, authors like Gaité or Góngora outline the barbarians' profile as devastating agents of a superior culture, destructors of the political and religious continuity of the continent. Their accounts put across the idea that the Anglo-Saxon England forms part of Christian Europe; bring the biblical ancestors of the Germanic people to the fore and attribute the political and cultural development to Christianity. Along with them we find other narrations, like the one by Basté – and, probably, that of Gómez Ranera – which in order to justify the official culture intend to perpetuate a prudish system of religious values, insisting on general moral principles. Finally, we come across discourses that call for progressive politics, like those of Salas and Castro. These authors use transformation strategies in order to change the image of the Anglo-Saxon barbarism; they destroy the conventional catholic myths and criticise harshly the religious and political leaders, displaying a clear interest in Spain by means of implicit or explicit allusions. The Anglo-Saxons are portrayed as an exceptional people, of unique nature and cultural background.

The greater or smaller influence of the translations may be observed not only in the content of these textbooks, but also in the historiographical techniques and strategies employed by the authors, in an attempt to legitimise their authority. The ubiquity of the author as narrator and annotator, the absence of sources, the lack of explanations resulting from the use of simple sentences, etc. is probably more frequent in the catholic or official discourses. On the contrary, in Castro or Salas a notable effort is made to explain and assess the events and the historical processes. In their narratives, the facts are presented as processes in progress having a multiple temporality; the sources are mentioned and reviewed and the use of linguistic elements for qualifying judgements and opinions is quite frequent.

A more thorough examination of the history textbooks that were edited in Spain during the nineteenth century reveals the influence of the translations in specific topics, culturally delicate at that time, such as “the women issue”. In this respect, it suffices to mention that, in the mid nineteenth century, a fervent debate arises among scientists, philosophers and intellectuals over the rights women should have and their role in society. The moralist vision of the Catholics and the conservatives contend with the ideal of liberation and independence, pursued by individual feminists through a political struggle. In between the two extremes, a few liberal intellectuals raise their voice calling for changes in the dominant ideology and defending women as individuals with a right to education. Needless to say that defending women's rights in Spain involves a direct confrontation with the Church. Therefore, if we turn to the references regarding the Germanic woman that appear in Spanish books on English history (like the ones previously cited, or Moreno 1881, Mingote 1880 and Puente Villanua 1875), we realise once more (Tejada, 2011b: 114) that those who tend to promote change from a political and social centre benefit from the European ideas that are rife in the published translations, mainly during the 1840s and 1850s.

Clearly, in a world of opposed ideologies, the choice of the issue of the Germanic woman in English history books is not innocent. The historians with a radically conservative, catholic ideological orientation do not include any references to women at all in their texts (Góngora, Gaité). However, those

¹³ The selection included history textbooks aimed for different levels of formal education: primary (Basté, 1888), secondary (Gaité 1874 and Gómez Ranera 1871) and higher education (Góngora 1882 and Castro 1863-72); Salas (1846), a unique history of England for well-educated audiences, was also included.

who do choose to talk about women (Puente, Moreno, Castro, Mingote) acknowledge the importance of the woman and foreground, to a greater or lesser extent, her active and vivid presence in society, her equality with men and the recognition of her sexual and family rights. In addition to this, there is a noticeable criticism of the Church's intervention in the public life, as showed by the discrediting of the idea held by some historians that it was Catholicism that impelled monogamy and sexual abstinence, rejecting adultery. The historians clearly state that the Germanic woman enjoyed social consideration long before the Roman or Christian influence. And by deprecating the established order, they insinuate that the woman's role in nineteenth century Spain has deteriorated in comparison to the supposedly savage society. The highlighted features of the image, far from representing amazement at the "exotic", reflect the desire for social regeneration that the historians themselves feel. And as far as the preponderance of the foreign ideas is concerned, it should be pointed out that the references only appear in Spanish texts that were written from 1860 onwards.

Despite the major importance of history books during the second half of the nineteenth century, the influence of the analysed translations extends far beyond that time. And this fact proves to be of special interest for validating the claim that the debates over alterity usually come from closed texts¹⁴ and are based less on the direct observation of the depicted community and more on the reputation the community in question has acquired. Standing close to clichés and stereotypes, such products seem to involve a high degree of intertextuality. In order to confirm this hypothesis, we will briefly expose the data provided by the analysis of a different type of institutional discourse, produced in Spain during the same period: the admission speeches at the inaugural ceremonies at the Spanish Royal Academy of Language (RAE).

After the exhaustive study of 155 discourses delivered between 1847 and 1885 by members of the Academy, most of which were anchored to the Graeco-Latin world and the moral and aesthetic norms of the Spanish classicism, we see that the most extensive references to the English identity are all situated around the period 1860-1877, that is, after the publication of the translations that concern our study. To this regard, the scarce fifteen authors that dedicate complex reflections to England belong to a group that is ideologically similar to that of the translated historians; they reproduce similar clichés and they, too, are seen to put English themes at the service of a regenerationist cause. In these texts, we are repeatedly told that English is a unique language, which reflects the prestige of a homogeneous, tolerant, prosperous and dynamic people. This community owes its prestige to its civilised character, manifested in its high cultural standard, the freedom, the power of its institutions, the pragmatic character of its people and the continuity of its history, which originates in a glorious past. The change in Spain must come from education, the secularisation of culture, tolerance and economic initiatives, so we are told. England is the model of the individual freedom and the moral perfection, as opposed to the ruins that the confessional dogmatism of the education system has left behind in Spain. In short, England appears once more in the dream of modernity. Once more and against all odds, as regards the English image, the Academy, instead of serving the interests of the ultra-conservatives, echoes the voices of those who support in a moderate or radical manner the Bourgeois Revolution of the 1870s. Authors like Alcalá Galiano, Monlau, Cueto, Escosura, de Mora, Cutanda, Valera, Saavedra, Canalejas, Fernández, Olózaga, la Puente, Pascual, Núñez de Arce or Alarcón match this sociological profile and belong to the same discursive community as the rest of the liberal Europeans, with which they share interests, goals and stereotypes of identity, like those we saw in the translations that were selected for the analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Despite the intellectual isolation of Spain during the nineteenth century, there is a discrete yet noticeable presence of English and French authors that convey their ideas through translations published during the 1840s thus propagating the myths of the English identity across the country.

¹⁴ See Voestermans (1991: 220) for a discussion on the issue.

2. Both authors and translators belong to a discursive community that is homogeneous, consisting exclusively of heterodox liberals, who consider England to be a model of political and social regeneration, as well as of new techniques for approaching the image of the alien identity.
3. The influence of translations in Spain is manifest during the decades of 1860 and 1870 in various types of institutional discourse, although the degree of the impact that the European ideas have varies substantially, depending on the ideology of the Spanish authors and the objective pursued when it comes to outlining an English image.
4. In an ideologically divided country, the image of the alien identity is controlled and utilised; the European perspectives serve the heterodox progressives, whereas the more conservative sectors keep a distance from their contents and narrative methods.
5. The influence of the European ideas and the desire for reform inextricably linked to them only affect a minority that falls through by the end of the nineteenth century and likewise fails to revive during the twentieth century. Therefore, the Spanish imagery of Englishness remains bound to the nineteenth century, being subject to the same clichés. But as it is aptly stated in Irma la Douce, "That's another story".

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