

Spain and Portugal, 1790-1900

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Version 1.2 (August 2003).

1. Relations with the Iberian Peninsula

In 1817 the London economist David Ricardo found the classical case of symbiotic trade in relations between Britain and Portugal. If Portugal specialised in wine, and Britain in cloth, both would benefit by exchanging those commodities. Would the same mutual benefits ensue from cultural exchange? There the definition of the two sides is not quite as neat. The Portuguese wine trade was effectively run by a British commercial colony in Portugal, providing an intercultural presence was the basis for some of the translators working from Portuguese, including Southey. More important, relations with the Iberian Peninsula were intensified by military conflict. Spain and Britain found themselves first on opposing sides and then as allies during the wars against the Napoleonic regime, and Portugal was brought into their alliance. What became known as the Peninsular Wars provided a second intercultural basis for translations into English, this time marked by exchanges that were anything but symmetrical.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Trafalgar (1805) gave Atlantic sea power to the British and effectively undid the Spanish monopoly on trade with Spanish America. Spain then began its six-year War of Independence (1808-1813) against the regime of King José I, Napoleon's brother. The war of attrition waged by the Spanish guerrillas and the Spanish-Portuguese-British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, who for three years used Portugal as his defensive base, eventually drove the French army out of the Iberian Peninsula. However, it left the Spanish and Portuguese states in disarray. The exemplary liberal reforms embodied in the Spanish constitution of 1812 were annulled on the return of the absolutist Bourbon monarchy under Fernando VII, and in both Spain and Portugal there ensued a long period of political instability as successive attempts at liberal reform were frustrated. Britain and France continued to meddle in Spanish and Portuguese internal affairs throughout the century, supporting rival political factions in their struggles for power.

The sustained military presence on Iberian soil undoubtedly raised British awareness of contemporary Spain and Portugal. English letters began to see the Iberian Peninsula as a part of the European landscape, worthy of greater attention. Byron spent time in the Peninsula in 1809; Southey engaged Wordsworth and his circle in the cause. The very positive values projected on Portuguese and Spanish cultures were, however, very much those of a by-gone heroic age. Here, for example, is Southey in a letter on the Peninsular Wars:

This is something like the days of old as we poets and romancers represent them – something like the best part of chivalry: old honours, old generosity, old heroism are reviving... (1855: 239)

Not surprisingly, the translations that responded in some way to the Peninsular Wars were mostly of medieval or sixteenth-century texts, selected and mixed with considerable literary liberty. Abundant archaisms projected a noble other from the past. These features could be seen as an operation of *translatio imperii*, whereby the cultural virtues of the Portuguese and Spanish empires should now be inherited by the British (see Robinson 1997). To translate from the Iberian past would be in some way to take over the mantle of empire.

The *translatio imperii* in some senses projected a simplified other. Thanks in part to the common opposition to Napoleon, British eyes were disposed to see the Spanish and Portuguese cultures as the one general Iberian space, at a time when, as now, the cultures themselves would insist quite emphatically on their differences. There was little interest in Iberian languages other than Portuguese and Spanish; there was scant translational awareness of those parts of Iberian cultures that were politically liberal and usually francophile (often exiled in France). Similarly concealed were the cultural activities of the Iberians exiled on British soil. All these complications were removed by translating from a distant Iberian past.

At the same time, however, Portugal and Spain continued to appeal to the English imagination as an exotic Near East, providing suitable content for Romantic creation and aesthetic experience. The nineteenth century offers a fair crop of travel writing and letters, including Wordsworth's daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Quillinan's *Journal of a few months' residence in Portugal and glimpses of the south of Spain* (1847) and Joseph Oldknow's *A Month in Portugal* (1855). The attraction that the Iberian Peninsula continued to exert over the English imagination is suggested by the anonymous author of *Hints to Travellers in Portugal, in search of the beautiful and the grand. With an itinerary of some of the most interesting parts of that remarkable country* (1852).

The Peninsular Wars certainly aroused interest in Iberian cultures; there was trade; there was an interest in travel. Strangely, none of that seems to have opened the floodgates of cultural exchange. As the nineteenth century progressed, the remains of the Portuguese and Spanish empires moved into terminal decline, ending with the loss of Spain's last major colony, Cuba, in 1898. The cultural correlatives of that decline would seem to have produced remarkably little to entice translators.

2. Translation flows

Lists of translations from Spanish into English can be found in Pane (1944) and Rudder (1975), with Hills (1920) and O'Brien (1963) providing more specific data on translations of drama. There seems to be no comparable catalogue for translations from Portuguese, although a very solid survey of translations of Camões is available (ed. Sousa 1992). At the time of writing, a research group based at the University of Birmingham has announced the Sir Henry Thomas Project, which has promised a history of Portuguese literature in English translation, volume two of which will cover the nineteenth century to the present day (Kelsh 2001).

Based on these sources, our own working corpus comprises first translations of books and plays from Portuguese and Spanish (excluding re-editions, publications in journals, pamphlets and odd handfuls of poems published in wider-ranging anthologies). The meagre total of entries for the whole of our period is just 186 items. This contrasts with the relatively strong role that English literary movements played in the development of Iberian literary cultures in the nineteenth century. Although we are aware of no complete catalogue of translations from English into Iberian languages, it

would appear that far more texts went from English than were translated into it, as indeed would be normal given the larger size of English-language literary cultures.

These contacts were often indirect. At the beginning of the century, the central language for European translation flows was still French. Many of the English texts reaching Portuguese and Spanish came via French, with the mediation only diminishing as exiled communities established themselves in Britain and English studies developed in the peninsula (Benot Rodríguez’s manual for translation from Spanish into English was published in Madrid in 1895). On the other hand, comparison with the Van Bragt catalogue of translations into French (1995) gives little evidence for significant French mediation in the reverse direction. Two early English versions of *The Lusíads* did indeed come after French publications but would appear to have been rendered straight from the original; some drama translations in *The Theatrical Recorder* of 1805 and 1806 were probably via French: an 1847 Portuguese *History of Ceylon* certainly reached English through French; but there appears to be little more. The movement from English into Portuguese and Spanish worked from strong French mediation; the reverse movement did not. This should perhaps not be surprising, given the role of anti-French sentiment in uniting the political ambitions of the British and many of the Iberians in the Romantic period. Those same anti-French politics stood at the base of the thin mediating communities.

The chronological distribution of our corpus is as follows, with the “mean delay” figures indicating the average age of the works translated in each decade:

Decade	Translations	Mean Delay
1790	3	194
1800	18	198
1810	9	210
1820	14	177
1830	3	282
1840	11	236
1850	13	196
1860	14	146
1870	20	278
1880	40	202
1890	41	47

Our table shows an expected but slight increase in translations following the Peninsular Wars. This inflection is all the more pronounced if we factor in a number of re-editions. Mickle’s 1775 version of *Os Lusíadas*, for example, reached its seventh edition in 1807, and its eighth and ninth in 1809. The number of translations then sinks to a point of relative indifference in the 1830s. The return to a substantial translation flow only reappears in the 1870s, with the participation of Portugal and Spain in European Naturalism.

Perhaps the most unexpected result lies in the second set of figures, the mean delay of the works translated. The age of the works does not decline significantly until the 1890s, when the impact of Naturalism is clear. The overall mean of just under 200 years puts us at around the time of Camões, Cervantes and Calderón, who are indeed the authors that dominate the corpus. The more distant medieval texts were rendered sporadically throughout the century, often as *exercices de style*. For example, there were seven versions of the anonymous epic *El Cid*, although the first full rendition in verse was not until 1897 and the most popular remained Southey’s *Chronicle of the Cid*, compiled from various sources and running through editions in 1808 (reviewed by

Walter Scott in 1809), 1846, 1883 and 1894. On the other hand, texts less than 50 years old were only consistently translated from the 1880s onwards. There is almost nothing in between those three chronological bands. The extended translation culture that may be called Romantic (translation cultures tend to last longer than their corresponding literary movements) only wanted the medieval or heroic Iberia; the Modernist translation culture of the 1880s and 1890s was happy to import novels full of local colour; but no one sought much from the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, and very little attention was paid to the Romantic developments of nineteenth-century Iberian cultures.

We should also insist on the virtual absence of translations from languages other than Portuguese or Spanish. A linguistic description of Basque was translated from Spanish (Erro y Azpiroz 1829), and there was a collection of song and poetry of the “Gypsies of Spain”, together with a dictionary of “their language” (Borrow 1841), but there was no attempt to present a diversified source culture for contemporary literary consumption. Catalan, for example, was part of the medieval inheritance and had a growing literary culture in the late nineteenth century. The first translations from Catalan into English would nevertheless seem to have been in the early twentieth century (Ángel Guimerá’s *Terra baixa* of 1896 was published in English translation in 1914, and even then it was rendered from a Spanish version by José Echegaray).

The most translated author in our corpus is Cervantes with 27 translations, followed by Camões with 19, Calderón with 17 and Galdós with 14. The remarkable thing is that none of the nineteenth-century Cervantes translations overshadowed the previous renditions. The full versions of *Don Quijote* by Mary Smirke (whose revision of the main previous translations was published in 1818 and ran to 17 editions), Alexander J. Duffield (1881, no second edition), and John Ormsby (1885, 10 editions) all proved less popular than the previous translations by Jarvis (1742, with 79 editions in the nineteenth century) and Smollett (1755, with 20). The high number of Cervantes translations in the nineteenth century was not because of any one great translator; it would seem to have more to do with *Don Quijote* entering a colourful popular culture. Pane (1944: 72) names some ten “unidentified” nineteenth-century translations in addition to those counted above, then gives a long list of adaptations like *The Spirit of Cervantes, or Don Quixote Abridged* (1820), *Stories and Chapters from Don Quixote, versified* (c. 1830), *The Story of the Don, Rewritten for our Young Folks* (1870), *The Wonderful Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha* by Sir Marvelous Crackjoke (1872), *Don Quixote de la Mancha* as a three-act opera (1876), *Alonso Quixano, Otherwise Don Quixote. A Dramatization of the Novel of Cervantes, and Especially of those parts which he Left Unwritten* (1895), *The Don Quixote Birthday Book* (1896), not forgetting *The Child’s Don Quixote* (1901), innocent enough had it not been “abridged and adapted for Japanese students by the ‘English student’, 28th edition” (Tokyo 1903). One suspects that few of these adaptations required recourse to the Spanish original; this was popular culture reworking a universalized theme.

A rather more substantial purpose lay behind work on the second most translated author, Camões. The classic epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (1592) sings the heroism of Vasco da Gama and the Portuguese colonies in India. The text most clearly served the British tendency to place Iberian virtues in the distant past. That is no doubt why, as we have remarked, there were re-editions of Mickle’s translation in the years of the Peninsular Wars. Yet there were significant re-translations throughout the century. Musgrave in 1826, Quillinan in 1853, Mitchell in 1854, Aubertin in 1878, Burton in 1880, Duff in 1880, and two cantos by Hewitt in 1883. This particular epic no doubt enjoyed a special

status in view of its subject matter, since the Portuguese colonialization of India was a heroic precedent for Britain's own imperialism in the sub-continent.

In a systematic comparison of these translations, Ramos and Lousada (1992) reveal shifts on numerous levels. The earlier translations tended to highlight commercial aspects and the racial superiority of Europe. Following Fanshawe's initial translation in 1655, Mickle's long-standing version in rhyming verse, published in 1776, manipulated the principle that 'None but a Poet can translate a Poet' (Intro, cl) in order to justify significant changes to the poem. Frequent omissions and amplifications focus on exotic details, eroticism, and a wholly pre-Romantic Nature, moving with the hero in constant capital letters. This was the vision of heroic Portugal that would serve the period of the Peninsular Wars. Musgrave, on the other hand, translating in 1826, chose blank verse and used omission in order to avoid apparently licentious details. This was followed in 1853 by Edward Quillinan's version in *ottava rima*, published posthumously with notes by the scholar and translator John Adamson. This translation differs from the previous renditions, particularly Mickle's, in choosing to highlight the central role not of Vasco da Gama but of the Portuguese people. The following year, in 1854, Mitchell published a closer literal version, albeit toning down erotic details and using the occasional Gallicism or archaism in order to give the text an erudite tone. In 1878 Aubertin was the first translator to have his version published alongside an edition of the original. His translation follows the original closely, imitating the syntactic inversions of the Portuguese. Quite a different intention was at work, however, in Richard Francis Burton's translation of 1880, where numerous archaisms, in both syntax and lexis, are used to give the text a markedly distant heroism, amplifying purple passages. The same year (1880 marked the third centenary of Camões' death), saw a translation of *Os Lusíadas* by Robert French Duff, using prosodic expansion (a ninth line is added to the *ottava rima*) for the purposes of highlighting lyrical detail.

Why so many different translations of this text? Ramos and Lousada (1992, 45ff.) find that the earlier translations (Fanshawe, Mickle and Musgrave) highlight the heroic role of the individual hero, Vasco da Gama (Mickle changed the end of Canto 8 and the beginning of Canto 9 in order to raise the stature of the navigator). From Quillinan onwards, however, the translations tend to highlight the heroic role of the Portuguese *people*. Ramos and Lousada cite the following renditions of the line 'Que eu canto o peito ilustre Lusitano' (I.3,v.5), literally "That I sing the illustrious Lusitanian breast". The variations reveal a shift of narrative focus:

Fanshawe (1655):	For to a Man recorded in this Peece
Mickle (1776):	A nobler Hero's deeds demand my lays [...] Illustrious GAMA, whom the waves obey'd
Musgrave (1826):	I sing th'illustrious Lusitanian Chief
Quillinan (1853):	I sing the illustrious Lusian heart so bold
Mitchell (1854):	I sing the illustrious valour Lusitanian
Aubertin (1878):	I sing a daring Lusitanian name
Burton (1880):	The noble Lusian's stouter breast sing I
Duff (1880):	I will chant the praise / of Lusian chiefs
Hewitt (1883):	Since I rehearse the noble Lusian breast
Bacon (1950):	I sing the Lusian spirit bright and bold
Atkinson (1952):	My theme is the daring and renown of the Portuguese
Finn (1972):	Let me sing a different fame – The daring and renown of the Portuguese

The earlier translators apparently needed a great individual hero, whereas the collective focus gained currency with time.

These few lines also illustrate something of the development of translational discourse. There is a growing tendency to respect the source, although strong criteria of philological accuracy that would mostly have to wait for the twentieth century. At the same time, an archaising translationese persists right through to the end of the nineteenth century. This was certainly a marked strategy in Burton's *Lusiads* (1880) as well as John Ormsby's *Cid* (1879) and *Quijote* (1885), but virtually all the translations in verse and many of those in prose are full of 'thou' and 'thine'; few resist erudite inversion or abundant purple prose. This discourse might be seen as being in keeping with the norms of pre-Raphaelite writing and Victorian literary discourse, and thus perhaps part of a domesticating translation strategy. Its ultimate effect, however, was to ensure that Iberian values were projected back onto the past, protecting the target culture from having to come to terms with a contemporary foreign culture.

This regime of the past was only really broken with the advent of European Naturalism, operative in the novel and the theatre. (The European Symbolist current did find its echo in Latin American *Modernismo*, but without English translations until well into the twentieth century.) Iberian Naturalism built on *costumbrista* traditions, absorbing the international movement led by Zola into a moment of national soul searching, a turning inwards after the virtual loss of empire. On the foreign market, this provided exotic colour for the growing lending libraries in industrialised countries, which were generating a new demand for literature. Publishers found European novels in translation to be the most economical way of meeting that demand (see Tebbel 1975). Among the novelists whose works were taken up in this way in the 1880s and 1890s were Galdós, Valdés, Echegaray and Pardo Bazán from Spanish, and Eça de Queirós and Júlio Dinis (pseudonym of Joaquim Gomes Coelho) from Portuguese. Our corpus indicates that most of these translations were actually first published in the United States (usually in New York or Boston), whereas in the previous decades American editions had usually followed publication in Britain. There are also signs of competition between publishers. In 1895 Echegaray's *The Son of Don Juan* and *Mariana* were published in two different translations by two different translators by two different publishers, both in Boston. Such active translations would suggest a strong local demand relatively unregulated by the payment of translation rights.

As might be expected in this situation, many Iberian novels were translated into English only a relatively short time after the publication of the original. This changed the translation regime significantly. Although the source cultures were still certainly seen as distant, now more in terms of exotic or rustic values than in chronology, the novel form required a new relationship with a new class of readers, particularly women. Translational discourse, especially dialogue, was brought closer to vernacular norms, and text length could be adjusted to meet publishers' specifications.

There is little evidence to suggest that the translations of contemporary novels and theatre aroused significant interest in other genres. Exceptions would include Edgar Prestage's 1894 translation of Antero de Quental's sonnets (of 1881), possibly carried out on a suggestion from Richard Burton, and his 1909 translation of Almeida Garrett's *Frei Luis de Sousa* (see Kelsh 2001: 70). These, however, were part of one individual's efforts to bring Portuguese literature to the attention of the English-speaking world. They owe more to the identity of the mediator than to the demands of the target culture.

3. Mediating communities

There are so few items in our corpus that a few translators leave deceptively large footprints. In the 1860s and 1870s, for instance, there was a sudden wave of Calderón translations (20 individual plays, as against just three for all other Spanish playwrights). The significance of the fact is to be sought in the enthusiasm of two translators (Edward Fitzgerald and D. F. McCarthy), both of whom brought out collections of plays, rather than in any general cultural trend.

Causation for many of the translations can thus be sought not so much in the global functioning of the British cultural system as in the various intercultural communities to which the translators belonged. For the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, we mainly find middle and upper class writers variously engaged in the business of empire, with only an amateur involvement in translation. For instance, John Hookham Frere (1769-1846) was British Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs at the time of the Peninsular Wars (he ignominiously advised the British army against retreat in La Coruña) but found time to translate from Spanish classics including *El Cid*, Gonzalo de Berceo, Jorge de Montemayor and Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. Frere also translated from Italian (ostensibly introducing *ottava rima* into English), and a general knowledge of Romance languages is not uncommon among the nineteenth-century translators. The list of languages can be considerably extended in the case of writers like Henry Longfellow, whose *Poets and Poetry of Europe* of 1845 included translations from many languages as well as Spanish and Portuguese, Edward Fitzgerald (1809-1883), who translated Calderón as well as Omar Khayyám, and Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), who rendered Camões in addition to the *Thousand and One Nights*. Few of the nineteenth-century translators were professionally limited to just one source language.

Of the figures associated with English Romanticism, Robert Southey (1774-1843) was by far the most receptive to Iberian culture. Southey's connection with the peninsula was established through his uncle and patron, the Rev. Herbert Hill, the chaplain of the British trading community in Lisbon. Mr Hill called his nephew to Lisbon in 1795, a visit reflected in Southey's *Letters written during a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (1797). Southey again sailed for Portugal in 1800 with the intention of collecting material with which to write his history of that country, returning to England in 1801 and moving up north to Keswick at Coleridge's invitation and into the Wordsworth circle, where his 14,000 volume library at Keswick Hall was said to contain a collection of Portuguese authorities probably unique in England. Southey translated poems by Camões (1803), abridged Anthony Munday's early-seventeenth-century version of the medieval epic *Amadis de Gaula* (also 1803), translated the sixteenth-century *Palmerin of England* by Francisco de Moraes (1807) and compiled his *Chronicle of the Cid* (1808), as well as producing his *The History of the Peninsular War* (1823-1832). Despite Southey's currently rather dubious reputation as a poet within the canon, his efforts on behalf of the Iberian cultures be acknowledged as first-rate.

More specific communities developed through combinations of commercial and military engagement. For example, the translators of Camões (studied by Ferreira 1992) include very few people entirely operating within Britain. Thomas Moore Musgrave (1775-1854) was in Lisbon in 1819-1820 as an agent for a shipping company. Richard Harris was a member of the British community in Porto and published his translations in the community's journal *The Lusitanian*. Edward Quillinan (1791-1851) was brought up in the Porto colony and fought in the Peninsular Wars, in addition to being

Wordsworth's son-in-law. Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell (1792-1855) fought in the Peninsular Wars then went to Australia, translating Camões during a return voyage. John James Aubertin (1818-1900) was a railway engineer who had worked in Brazil before living in Portugal for several years; the second edition of his bilingual *Lusiads* was dedicated to Luís I of Portugal and was well received by the Portuguese critics. Robert Ffrench Duff, from an English family that had resided in Portugal for many generations, was responsible for a paper factory, only turning to translation when approaching his seventieth year. His version of *The Lusiads* (1880) was dedicated to King Fernando II of Portugal and printed at the National Printing Office in Lisbon. Richard Francis Burton probably started translating *The Lusiads* while in Goa in 1846, although he completed much of his version during his time as British Consul in Brazil. In the preface he states that one of his principle qualifications for the task was his itinerant status: "None but a traveller can do justice to a traveller" (1880: ix). The phrase might apply to a good many other translators as well. Burton, however, was paraphrasing the more traditional precept Mickle had used when prefacing his 1776 version of Camões: "None but a Poet can translate a Poet". Both traveller and poet used their personas to justify considerable liberties with the text; they presumed to occupy much the same intercultural space.

That particular alterity allowed exoticising switches. For example, Southey, in addition to translating from Spanish and Portuguese, produced his *Letters from England by Don Manuel Espriella* (1807), which purported to be a Spaniard's impressions of England. Of course, Barrett Browning was similarly exoticised as "the Portuguese" (justifying the "Sonnets from the Portuguese"). Lady Jane Wilde (mother of Oscar) used the Hispanic pseudonym "Speranza" in her *Poems* (1871), which included half a dozen pieces of Iberian origin. Such plays with identity were nevertheless within the mediating community; they did not involve awareness of a truly contemporary other.

Intercultural communities can also be found the other way, among the Portuguese and Spaniards who took refuge in Britain. For obvious reasons, Britain received few of the 10,000 or so Spanish *afrancesados* who went into exile after they had supported Napoleon's invasion of their country, but sizeable communities were formed by the political Liberals who arrived in waves between 1814 and 1823. For some years this meant that Spanish intellectual life was probably most active in the London of the Liberals or the France of the *afrancesados*. Indeed, in the late 1820s London was a centre for Spanish literature. This was partly thanks to the German publisher Rudolph Ackermann, who distributed original works and translations throughout Spanish America. Just as there were English-language journals in Portugal, there were Portuguese and Spanish newspapers in Britain, and both communities gave rise to marginal translations.

The Portuguese cultural exile might be represented by the dramatist Almeida Garrett, who returned to England in 1828, along with almost 2,500 compatriots, all supporters of the Liberal claimant of the Portuguese throne. Garrett soon moved from Falmouth to Portuguese *émigré* circles in London, where in an ambassadorial role for his cause he was eventually invited to Holland House and introduced into London society. Early during this stay, Garrett's play *Catão* (1821) received four successful performances in the original in Plymouth in 1828 (until then it had only been performed three times in Portugal). The highly enthusiastic audience for these performances was comprised principally of the large number of Portuguese still living in the squalid conditions of the local refugee camps (see de Sousa 2001: 36-7). Although the work's second edition was printed with a new preface by its author in London in 1830, it was not translated into English within our period. However, one of Garrett's most popular

romances, *Adosinda*, written during his exile in England and admired by London Lusophiles including Southey, was translated by John Adamson in 1828, being a rare example of virtually contemporaneous transfer in that period. Perhaps part of the explanation why *Adosinda* and not *Catão* was the first Garrett work to be translated also resides in its affinity with the host culture, as it was modelled on Walter Scott's *Minstrelsies* in the first place.

On the Spanish side of exile, the most exemplary intercultural figure was no doubt the itinerant clergyman José María Blanco y Crespo, who spent approximately half of his life in Britain and wrote in both Spanish and English. As a self-translator and translator of the self, Blanco White marked his transition to English (and from Catholicism to Anglicanism to Unitarianism) by dropping the family name of his mother and replacing it with the name of his Irish grandfather (White), who had emigrated to Andalusia. Thus whiter than white, Blanco White signed his *Letters from Spain* as "Leucadio Doblado"; he wrote in the London newspaper *El Español* as "Juan sin tierra" (John without Land); he was well positioned to operate as a translation critic, if nothing else (see Blanco White 1824).

The exiled communities nevertheless had marginal influence on their hosts. Generally pessimistic about their homelands, they did little to challenge the translation culture that sought solid values in the distant past. As we have mentioned, that translation regime would not really change until the rise of international Naturalism in the 1880s, when the Iberian cultures were allowed a fresh narrative voice with which to speak about their contemporary realities. This change marked a radical shift not only in the age of the works translated but also in the cultural identity of the translators. As the publishing houses became the main drive behind the importation of literature, translators steadily lost much of their independence and personal input, assuming an industrial status well removed from the gentlemanly amateur work of previous generations. There was also a pronounced shift in sexual identity. The percentage of women translators in our corpus is only just above 20% for the period through to 1880; the figure for the period after 1880 rises to 83%.

The most prolific translator of the later decades was no doubt the American Mary Jane Serrano (d. 1923), whose work was published in New York and Boston. Between 1889 and 1900, she rendered some 13 novels from Spanish and Portuguese (Eça de Queirós, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Alarcón, Galdós, Valera), in addition to work from French (see Hartman 1999). Productive at an industrial rate (seven of her translated novels are listed as being published in 1891 alone), Serrano's work was criticised for inaccuracies and abridgements. She did however publish "A Plea for the Translator" (1897) in which she claimed that the translator should be "absolutely selfless, content to live a reflected intellectual life" (168). This was a claim that few of the translators prior to 1880 would have made, given their degrees of personal engagement with the source cultures. Serrano's wilful abnegation looked forward to the greater philological accuracy of the twentieth century.

The authors would like to thank Isabel Lousada of the Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa for her kind help with our research.

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Figure 1. Translations of Books and Plays, by Five-Year Periods

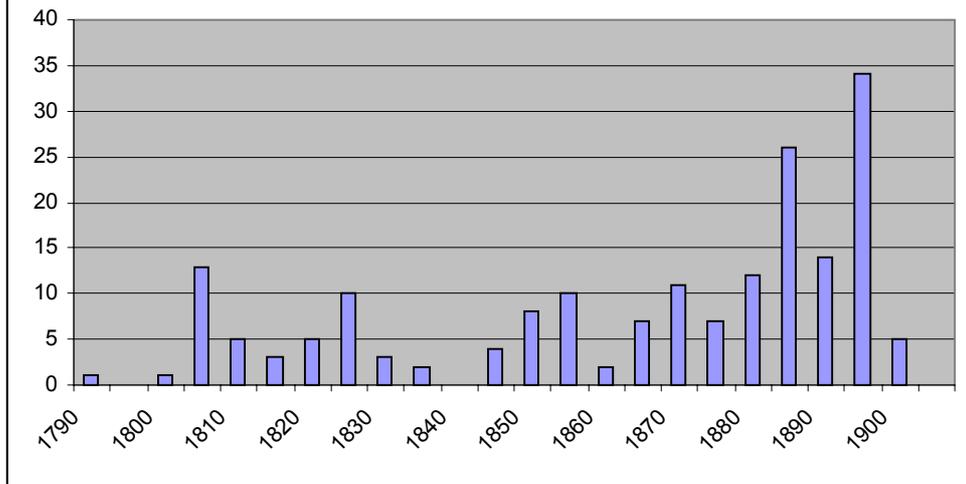


Figure 1. Translations of Books and Plays, by Decade

