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Manuela Moura ˆo

Old Dominion University, mmourao@odu.edu

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“The finest production of the finest country upon earth”: Gender and Nationality in the writings of 19th-Century British Women Travelers to Portugal

Manuela Mourão*

Department of English, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA, USA

Critical attention to the writings of nineteenth-century British women travelers has repeatedly stressed their value as evidence of the writers’ attempts at overcoming the constraints of nineteenth-century ideologies of femininity that constructed women as inferior or ancillary (Frawley; Robinson; Foster; Dolan; Middleton); it has also often emphasized the importance of reading them within contemporary discourses such as imperialism, colonialism, or nationalism (Blunt; Frawley; Foster; Mills; Siegel). This essay focuses on three accounts by nineteenth-century British women travelers to Portugal—Marianne Baillie’s *Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823* (1824); Julia Pardoe’s *Traits and Traditions of Portugal Collected During a Residence in That Country* (1833); and Dorothy Wordsworth Quillinan’s *Journal of a Few Months Residence in Portugal and Glimpses of the South of Spain* (1847)—and similarly situates these travel narratives within the period’s prevailing discourses of gender and nationalism. But in an effort to offer a more nuanced analysis of what, by the nineteenth century, had become the typical representations of Portugal as inferior to England, the essay further contextualizes these depictions of Portuguese culture within what has been termed Europe’s “internal colonialism” (Dainotto 172); in addition, it introduces the notion of “double subjectivity” to argue that in these texts the denigrations of Portugal as an inferior nation are complicated by the authors’ analogously inferior gender position within their culture. For while Portugal was one of the southern countries constructed as “subordinate” by a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-

* mmourao@odu.edu

century Eurocentric discourses that culminated in the idea of the south as Europe's "internal other,"¹ it was also Britain's closest ally and still an empire. Analogously, while the position of British lady travel writers was constructed as "superior" by discourses of nationality, it was concomitantly constructed as "subordinate" within their culture by the prevalent discourses of gender. The writers' unacknowledged recognition of this shared double subjectivity²—of inhabiting a subject position of simultaneous superiority and inferiority—becomes registered in their first-person narratives through a recurrent rhetorical gesture: on the one hand, these writers affirm their own superiority by separating themselves from Portuguese people and Portuguese culture through a set of representations which reiterate aspects of what Dainotto has called "the rhetorical unconscious of Europe" (8)—i.e., the combination of discourses that accumulated "for around three centuries about and around Europe" (8) and which, as Dainotto has shown, by the early nineteenth-century already contained the notion of "a dialectical and self-sufficient Europe" (13) whose heart was France, Britain and Germany, and whose Other was its south. On the other hand, their texts show eruptions of sympathy that signal the precariousness of the binary they seek to sustain and that thus undermine both the overall negative representations and the cultural hierarchy that shores them up.

Lady Elizabeth Eastlake's 1845 *Quarterly Review* essay "Lady Travellers," is an exemplary textual articulation of the notion that the superiority of British women depends on a combination of gender and national traits. In this review of a handful of women's travel narratives, Eastlake initially emphasizes gender, claiming that the genre of travel writing is especially suited to women. Having moved from the third-person, objective narrative typical of Enlightenment-period travel accounts—a mode that Katherine Turner has noted is "overwhelmingly masculine" (26)—to the increasingly prevalent subjective, first-person stance

typical of nineteenth-century ones, travel writing is seen at the time as the ideal discursive field for women writers. According to Eastlake, it can offer an “authentic” display of the lady writer’s subjectivity:

all ease, animation, vivacity, with the tact to dwell upon what you most want to know, and the sense to pass over what she does not know herself; neither suggesting authorial effort, nor requiring any conscious attention, yet leaving many a clear picture traced on the memory (99).

From her perspective, the main attraction of the books under review is that they are rendered through a feminine subjectivity that projects a sense of effortlessness both in the writing and in the reading: because there are “peculiar powers inherent in ladies’ eyes” (98), the genre is “peculiarly favorable to a woman’s feelings” (100).

But to this initial emphasis on the value of a feminine perspective, Eastlake quickly adds nationality: even though she reviews two books by non-British women, she makes very clear that the woman writer’s “own individual character” that these books show especially clearly is the character of the *British* woman:

We see our countrywoman, in these books, unconsciously in the main, but fully portrayed. We see her with her national courage and her national reserve, with her sound heart and her tender heart....We see her nice, scrupulous, delicate, beyond all others of her sex.... we see her the finest production of the finest country upon earth.
(100-01)

In claiming that travel writing is a genre that offers privileged insights into the superior character of the British lady and that the British lady writer is “beyond all others of her sex” (100), “Lady Travellers” is, of course, participating in a prevailing nineteenth-century British

discourse that fomented the notion of the superiority of the British woman to all others. This notion, systematically articulated in works such as Sarah Ellis's *The Women of England* (1839), *The Daughters of England* (1842), *The Mothers of England* (1843), and *The Wives of England* (1843), establishes the connection between gender and nationality as essential and, in the process, privileges nationality: the British lady is "the finest production of the finest country upon earth" (101).³ Indeed, for Eastlake and Ellis, as for many other contemporary writers, the elevation of British women directly depends on a rhetoric of national superiority that simultaneously exercises an ideological pressure on women to accept prescribed gender roles that make them submissive, ancillary, and inferior, thus determining that they will experience a double subjectivity when confronting other national cultures.

Unsurprisingly, then, many of the first-person narratives of British women travelers abroad deploy the discourse of national superiority implicit in Europe's "rhetorical unconscious" in order to construct a subject position of relative superiority.⁴ In the context of writings about Portugal, however, the rhetorical construction of their subject positions is further complicated by Britain's peculiar relationship with the country. For if constructing this ideal typically depended on displaying a specific combination of superior national and gender traits that distinguished them from their "others," in the case of travel writing about Portugal, the eventual process of identification with the "other" typical of identity formation is unusually difficult to overcome since they share with Portugal a double subjectivity.⁵ Thus, in each of the narratives under analysis, there is a tone of "affectionate contempt," to use Dora Quillinan's term (the affection being a sort of textual residue of that moment of identification). And since the rendering of their impressions is inflected by this double subjectivity, it necessarily mirrors the very same "affectionate contempt" the prevailing British discourse of gender reserves for women.

The praise Eastlake's review essay piles onto the narratives of "Lady travelers" is generally not echoed by other contemporary reviewers. Baillie's, Pardoe's, and Quillinan's travel narratives were the object of strong criticism and condescension. For example, the July 1847 *Edinburgh Review*'s essay on Quillinan's *Journal of a Few Months Residency in Portugal* condescendingly judges it of "intermediate quality" and stresses that it does "not show much effort" (177), though it does grant that "it is impossible to confuse... with the cloud of lady travelers who recently darkened the horizon" (Rev. of *Journal of a Few Months Residency* 177-78)—a "cloud" that surely included the authors so highly praised in Eastlake's *Quarterly Review* essay two years earlier. Suggestively, when reviewers praise Baillie, Pardoe, or Quillinan, the praise is most often offered for evidence that their "feminine subjectivity" is manifested in terms of their national character and their show of nationalist pride. Southey's review of Baillie's *Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823* in the *Quarterly Review* of March 1825, for instance, calls it an "agreeable work" and stresses that "the feelings of an English woman are so naturally and livelily portrayed that it authenticates itself" (378-79). Their Englishness shores up their subjectivity, even as their gender undermines it. Close attention to their travel narratives about Portugal reveals that they exhibit similarly mixed messages of contempt and affection for the people and the country as they seek self-affirmation from a position of double subjectivity.

Destination: Portugal

When Mariana Starke published *Travels on the Continent: Written for the Use and Particular Information of Travellers* in 1820, she set the standard for the travel guide industry that developed later in the century.⁶ Even though in the nineteenth century Portugal was less traveled to than the rest of the Continent (visiting Portugal, an out-of-the-way country at the far-western end of the continent, did not have the same cultural currency as visiting Italy, France, or

Switzerland, countries that had been a part of the itinerary of the Grand Tour since the eighteenth century), and even though including Portugal remained unusual even in later, soon-to-be-ubiquitous travel guides, Starke does write a chapter on the country (chapter 9, pages 211-218) for the use of those nineteenth-century visitors who found their way to Portugal—some in an official capacity, some for pleasure, and some for their health.⁷ But where travel guides are scarce, travel records and impressions are more numerous. Besides a number of eighteenth-century accounts by British visitors—Southey's *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (1797) being among the most famous—a long list of letters and memoirs by British soldiers who had fought in the Peninsular War steadily trickled into publication after the end of the conflict, early in the nineteenth century. As Gavin Daly has documented, these soldiers' testimonies offer a wealth of information on "British attitudes to the Peninsula" (12), which, as his book describes, were on the whole extremely negative. As he suggests, because they were written at a time when the country was devastated by war and at its most dependent on British protection, these memoirs offer mainly a scathing indictment of the people and the culture. Their importance in "shaping how the nineteenth-century British public imagined and reimagined ... Spain and Portugal" (Daly 215) cannot be overstated, and inevitably influenced subsequent accounts: a great number of nineteenth-century narratives of travel to Portugal simply repeat these stereotypes of uncivilized, dirty, and lazy people living in a beautiful, but poor country led by ineffective rulers (Nogueira 9-10).⁸ Those of the women writers examined here do so as well, consciously or unconsciously mixing details remembered from reading previous accounts with the narrative of their experiences. In the process, they illuminate how the nineteenth-century British ideological configurations of gender and nationality iterated in these

representations open up spaces of indeterminacy that problematize, even as they seek to affirm, the subaltern version of Portugal that would confirm them.

Notably, the further removed from the time of the Peninsular War, the less ostensibly contemptuous the tone of these narratives, which implies that the nuances of the asymmetry of power between Britain and Portugal inscribed in those works was at its highest earlier in the century, and decreased (if only slightly) as the decades passed. A telling emblem of that slight shift is the subtle difference in emphasis in the way Baillie, Pardoe, and Quillinan refer to the ancient alliance between Britain and Portugal. Ten years after the end of the Peninsular War, Baillie criticizes Portugal for not being sufficiently deferential to England, “its ancient and best ally” (1: xii), squarely elevating England over Portugal. Two decades after the end of the war, Pardoe criticizes the Portuguese for neglecting the comfort of their ““ancient allies”” (271), a choice of words that implies no obvious hierarchical difference between the allies. After thirty-three years, Quillinan speaks of Portugal as England’s “old and faithful ally” (1: viii), unequivocally elevating Portugal to near equality. Slight as this shift may be, it nonetheless suggests that there was a subtle adjustment in British attitudes to Portugal as the century progressed and memories of the accounts of the Peninsular War receded, the continuing cultural asymmetry between the two countries notwithstanding. While a full exploration of the potential reasons for this shift is out of the scope of this essay, it should be noted that the significant decrease of the British military presence in the country after the Peninsular War (1808-1814), and the final removal of that presence after the events of the Portuguese Civil War (1828-1834), in which Britain was involved on the side of the liberal faction, contributed to mitigating the asymmetry of power that had been so apparent while British officers commanded Portuguese troops. The three travel narratives under analysis here suggest as much, spanning as they do a

near-quarter century of this transition and registering as they do their authors' representation of these political events and their perception of Britain's role in them.

Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823

Marianne Baillie's *Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823* (1824) records her two-and-a-half-years' stay in Portugal in a series of letters she wrote to her mother in England. It includes a Preface with her disclaimer that the letters were not originally written for publication, but that friends persuaded her of their value to the public—especially since the country was little known to the British (1: vi). As discussed above, the work was reviewed by Robert Southey in the *Quarterly Review* of March 1825, and by Henry Thomson in the April 1825 issue of *Blackwood's*. The latter's account of Baillie's work is as vehemently negative as her own view of the Portuguese. Thomson skewers Baillie's deprecating attitude towards the country, repeatedly noting that her account is prejudiced and uninformed. Importantly in the context of this argument, the reviewer also laments the lack of historical context of the book, stressing that knowledge of the country before the Peninsular War would have made Baillie's narrative significantly more interesting since she could have contrasted the Lisbon of 1810 with the Lisbon of 1821, when it was "no longer an English colony" (397). Ultimately, Thomson sums up the book as "harmless.... [but] consist[ing] entirely of that idle, uninstrusive kind of gossip which is going fast to bring tour-writing (and tour-publishing) into neglect altogether" (405). His comment hints precisely that it is the subjective mode now predominant in travel writing, as well as the related feminization of the genre, that is leading to its neglect.⁹

At the time of Baillie's stay, 1821 to 1823, the Peninsular War had been over for nearly a decade, but the memory of Portugal's military debt to England was still alive. Besides, given that the political situation remained complicated and the seeds of the civil war that would take place

between 1828 and 1834 were being sown, there remained a British military presence in the country that sought to preserve British commercial interests. When Baillie first arrived in Lisbon, in June of 1821, king João VI and his court were in transit from Brazil, where they had moved for safety during Napoleon's invasion, back to Lisbon (she mentions their arrival in her letter of July 1821 [1: 29]); but the eldest of the king's sons, Pedro, had stayed behind as regent of Brazil and was soon persuaded to embrace the cause of Brazil's independence from Portugal.¹⁰ Between 1822 and 1823, Brazil proclaimed its independence (September 7, 1822); king João VI signed the Constitution (October 1, 1822); and his second son, Miguel, staged two of several failed attempts to overthrow his father and institute an absolutist regime that would abolish the Constitution (the first in May 27-31, 1823 and the second in October 26, 1823).¹¹

While Baillie's letters register all the political turmoil she witnessed first-hand in Portugal, they do so from a personal, subjective perspective and, for the most part, adopt a straightforward documentary mode with focus on personal experiences and on the details of her difficulties in adapting to living in a foreign country. Her disapproval of the people, the place, and the culture is liberally expressed and emphasizes her pride in being a British woman.¹² From the beginning of her stay, she is overwhelmed with disgust. She declares the filth and stench of Lisbon oppressive (1: 2-3), and details its extent:

Where shall I find words strong enough to express the disgust of my feelings when I reflect upon the appearance of the city in the aggregate, taking into account the personal appearance and customs of some of its inhabitants.... Men and women, children and pigs, dogs, cats, goats, diseased poultry, and skeleton hogs, all mingle together in loving fellowship, each equally enjoying what seems to be their mutual element—dirt! (1: 11-12)

She adds that it is impossible to find a good place to walk because the “indolent, abject, listless inhabitants won’t make any effort to beautify gardens” (1: 4), and maintains that everything--from shops to theaters, to street-lighting--is inferior (1: 8-12). As for the food, she declares: “An epicure would certainly commit suicide were he condemned to pass a month in Lisbon” (1: 27-28).

In her first four letters, Baillie quickly affirms British superiority to Portugal in all things through a detailed list of all that is missing--from beautiful views (1: 3), gardens (1: 4), and libraries (1: 8), to hospitality (1: 14), and elegance of dress (1: 25). She then dwells on the dirt and “the armies of fleas, bugs, mosquitoes, and other vermin” (1: 13), the sallow, brown complexions of the population (1: 26), and the oppressive heat (1: 22). Nor does a deeper exposure to the country change her tone. She grants that she likes the peasants— “The peasantry seem remarkably civil in their manner to those above them, without any exhibition of crouching servility” (1: 64-65); “I delight in the peasantry here; they are really a fine race of people” (1: 69)¹³ —but her focus quickly returns to the country’s inferiority to the rest of Europe:

the state of society and the progress of civilization in all classes, are so infinitely below par, so strikingly inferior to the rest of Europe, as to form a sort of disgraceful wonder in the midst of the nineteenth century. What can be the reason of this peculiarity? There are... persons who decidedly account for it upon the score of an extraordinary self-conceit, similar to that of the Chinese nation. (1: 73-74)

Portugal lacks progress, that key term that, as Dainotto demonstrated, anchored eighteenth-century Europe’s efforts—namely, in Montesquieu’s essays—to reorganize the rhetoric of antithesis that defined its identity by shifting from a radical Other (the Orient) to a negative part of itself (its South) (Dainotto 54). Consequently, more than any other deficiency, Portuguese

self-conceit offends Baillie's sense of superiority as a British woman and elicits her strongest disapproval through a comparison to China (i.e., the Orient).

In the next letter, Baillie performs an identical gesture of devaluation of the Portuguese character that reaffirms British superiority. She writes from Sintra, a village situated in the mountains, not far from Lisbon, whose beauty Byron celebrated in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Sintra earned the praise of most British visitors, due not only to the beautiful views and mild climate, but, more than likely, also to the fact that the population had become used to catering to British tastes, since so many visited or established residence partly induced by Byron's praise. Baillie, however, takes the opportunity afforded by a visit to an estate "originally built by a rich Englishman" (1: 75) to contrast the original "elegance of taste" and "refinement" of "the enchanted spot" with its present state of "complete ruin" at the hands "of a Portuguese family [who] have evinced the most deplorable want of taste and feeling in regard to it" (1: 75-76). To Portugal's lack of progress, then, she adds lack of "taste," another crucial marker of difference stressed in Montesquieu's *Essay on Taste* which contributed to establishing the south as Europe's internal Other (Dainotto 97). And as was to be expected given the country's geographic position—for according to Montesquieu the south was "determined by nature" and "away from morality itself" (qtd. in Dainotto 69)—Baillie finds that "nothing can be more deplorable than the state of morality, civil polity, and religion (generally considered), in which [the Portuguese] have hitherto remained" (1: 78).

Yet, on closer reading, the instability of this discursive construction becomes apparent. An authorial note added to the letter quoted above suggests that some ambivalence lingers: Baillie's "censure melts into regret" (1: 78), as she concludes that it is the government, not the people, who are the cause of the country's backwardness. "It is a thousand pities that the

quickness and brilliancy of intellect which nature has bestowed upon the Portugueze [sic] of both sexes, should be countered, or rendered of little avail, by the peculiarities of their government” (1: 78), she writes. Southern despotism—“freedom ‘is never to be seen in the southern climates’ of Europe itself” (qtd. in Dainotto 64)—is to blame. A female subject in “free” but patriarchal Britain, Baillie here subtly registers an intimation of her shared double subjectivity with the Portuguese, since her acknowledgement of a “quickness and brilliancy of intellect” in the Portuguese of “both sexes” destabilizes the binary in the discursive construction of her superiority.¹⁴

It should be noted that this attitude, so obvious in the passage quoted above, has been presaged in the Preface, where Baillie offers a generalization about the country and its people fully in keeping with the antithesis between north and south that sustained early nineteenth-century definitions of Europe: We found [the Portuguese] generally speaking, by no means social, or encouraging towards foreigners, and I fear their usual character is not distinguished by frankness or urbanity” (1: vii). The merit of the few families she met who she finds exceptions to this rule she considers “the more striking, from their having been born and educated in [a country] which, it must be allowed, is somewhat behind the rest of Europe in civilization and refinement” (1: ix).

In claiming, in the Preface, that Portugal is the least civilized country in Europe, Baillie frames her entire volume by a cultural premise that, by this time, is firmly anchored by Europe’s “rhetorical unconscious.” Thus, even the passages where she offers a very different account only very partially qualify the overall tenor of the negative evaluation. None of the instances when she grants that she is having pleasant social interactions, receiving courteous treatment, enjoying beautiful views, and appreciating the frank, openly affectionate character of the natives, fully

overturns the dominant impression in the readers' minds that these were exceptional moments amidst a time of general misery. In the letter of April 24, 1822 she actually writes: "If I stay here much longer, I believe I shall *lose every valuable faculty of mind and body*, and *sink* into one of the very characters I have been so unmercifully condemning" (2: 94 emphasis added). She may grant she is being "unmerciful," and thus record her ambivalence; too often, however—and in what reads as a sustained, if at times precarious, attempt at differentiation—the volume is less an account of her personal experiences and more an echo of contemporary discourses that constructed Europe as split between a progressive north (of which Britain is the paragon) and a south that has sunk to stagnation.

Baillie's vehement condemnation of the Portuguese may be partially explained by her resentment, also registered in the Preface, at what she perceives as the country's lack of gratitude and proper deference towards Britain:

It is to be hoped too, that ere long, Portugal may open her eyes to the necessity of keeping in good terms with Great Britain, her ancient and best ally; should gratitude for past services, for the blood of its brave sons freely shed in her defense, cease to animate the mind of her rulers, let her look at the published list of her wine exports, even during the last two years, and self-interest alone would prompt her to remain steady to her friend. (1: xii-xiii)

In this passage, Baillie's view of the relationship between Portugal and Britain continues to reinscribe the dialectical perspective of Europe prevalent at the time, fomented in part by Montesquieu's climatology theory: Britain (part of the cold north) has a "moral and political significance (courage)," whereas Portugal (as part of the heated south) embodies cowardice (Dainotto 20). So Portugal is indebted to Britain first and foremost for its courageous help

against the invasions of the Napoleonic armies, and since the memory of the Portuguese dependence on British troops during the Peninsular War is still very fresh, Baillie's outrage is unsurprising. As for her tendentious representation of the two countries' commercial relations as wholly advantageous to Portugal,¹⁵ it too depends on reiterating Montesquieu's north/south European split:

In Europe there is a kind of balance between the southern and the northern nations. The first have every riches of life, and few wants; the second have many wants, and few riches....The equilibrium is maintained by the laziness of the southern nations, and by the industry and activity which Nature has given to those in the north. (qtd. in Dainotto 67-68)

Britain pays well for the wines that Portugal produces supposedly with little or no effort given its southern climate with all of life's riches. So Portugal's lack of proper gratitude and deference, just like its "self-conceit" discussed earlier, compel Baillie to use the strongest condemnatory terms. And just as Montesquieu had asserted that the bounty of Nature had "naturalized slavery for the people of the south: as they can easily dispense with riches, they can even more easily dispense with liberty" (qtd. in Dainotto 68), Baillie implies that the Portuguese ultimately deserved French rule—or, at least, could benefit from it—when she calls the French invaders "salutary task-masters" (1: 218) who forced the Portuguese to improve the cleanliness of the streets.

Baillie's systematic articulation of disdain and disgust is a rhetorical move that emphasizes Britain's antithesis to Portugal, and is thus analogous to the rhetorical efforts that, Dainotto pointed out, ultimately defined Europe through an internal binary of identity and otherness. This helps her construct a subject position of superiority to Portugal (her "other") and

thus destabilize the gender discourses that would construct *her* as the “other” instead. However, she implicitly acknowledges its precariousness when she grants that many of the things she is reporting were told her and “may or may not be true” (1: 90). A passage where she contrasts Portuguese and English female friendship and outward manifestation of affection further underscores the unresolved tensions in her rhetorical move:

The affectionate fervour of manner towards those they esteem, peculiar to the females of Portugal in every rank of life, is to me highly agreeable and engaging...; self is unremembered in the pleasure of meeting another.... An Englishwoman must appear to a foreigner pre-eminently egotistical, for she never loses sight of her own effect; perpetually watching the eyes of all, she is forever afraid of “committing herself” by following the genuine impulse of her heart.... I love my country, and its inhabitants; I am even more proud than ever in feeling myself an Englishwoman; and it is therefore that I regret that unamiable and unnatural frigidity of manner, which time and a continued intercourse with the rest of the world, will one day, it is to be hoped, subdue. (1: 228-29)

Here, Baillie goes so far as to register her hope that Britain will improve by the example of other nations. Given that it is the underlying conviction of British superiority that anchors her sense of her own superiority, this is an especially striking example of a lingering vestige of identification with the “other.”

This rhetorical knot is particularly strong at the closing of the narrative. The ambivalence registered in the final letter is brought to a peak in the last paragraph, the description of her farewell to Lisbon:

‘I shall never see another sun rise upon this romantic land’ was my silent thought, and I looked back upon Lisbon almost with regret! Such is the impression which an eternal

farewell leaves upon the spirits, that even though I am returning to the country of my first and best affections, I cannot as yet shake my dejection, nor tune my soul to joy.' Fair Portugal, adieu! Whatever may be thine imperfections, peace be with thee! Nor shall I cease to remember thee in the spirit of a thousand *saudades!* (2: 250)

Her predominant feelings are dejection and regret, even though she is about to return to England; moreover, while she reiterates her love for the country of her “first and best affections,” she closes with an emphasis on how she will always remember Portugal with deep longing, or *saudades*.

It is impossible to miss the tension between the two sections that frame Baillie's narrative: the deprecating Preface, written once she has been back in Britain for a while and has had time to reconnect with “the finest country upon earth” (Eastlake 101), and the emotional concluding lines, presumably written to the moment, as she leaves “fair Portugal,” the “romantic land” she now claims to love “whatever [its] imperfections may be” (2: 250). The representation of her last moments in Portugal reveals Baillie's irrepressible affection—a sign of her difficulty in fully rejecting her identification with this “other” she has repeatedly sought to distance herself from in her correspondence. The Preface's strong indictment of Portugal and its culture reads then, as her final attempt at re-asserting a measure of contempt—a studied, deliberate gesture of differentiation through which she attempts to balance (or even overcome) her undeniable affection.

Traits and Traditions of Portugal Collected During a Residence in that Country

Julia Pardoe's *Traits and Traditions of Portugal Collected During a Residence in that Country* (1833) reverses the rhetorical set up of Baillie's narrative, but ultimately suggests a similar ambivalence that resists resolution. The narrative offers an account of Pardoe's personal

experiences, but unlike Baillie's, Quillinan's, and other more traditional nineteenth-century travel narratives, it includes a significant number of stories and legends connected to the places she visited throughout the country. By weaving the literary mode with the documentary one, Pardoe adds a novel flavor to the work and offers an original take on the genre of travel narrative. Not all reviewers appreciated the innovation, though. While the work was fairly positively reviewed by the *Athenaeum* of November 2, 1833 as "entertaining," its "lively pictures always skilful, though sometimes overcharged" (Rev of *Traits* 733), the review in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of November 1833 systematically corrected those very representations and scathingly dismissed them as "utterly without foundation," lacking "faithful delineation," and as being rendered instead "according to the imagination of Miss Pardoe" (Rev. of *Traits* 433-34). *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* of January 1834 echoes this criticism as the reviewer claims that the work "raises a frequent doubt, whether the page we are perusing has been drawn from the memory or the imagination of the fair writer" (Johnstone 421). As was the case with Baillie, it is the (feminine) subjective mode that draws the critics' strongest barbs against Pardoe.¹⁶

The narrative is thoroughly steeped in Romantic aesthetics: the descriptions of her excursions privilege almost exclusively the picturesque, while the traditional tales highlight wild, passionate characters. The overall effect contributes to creating the impression that while Portugal is interestingly picturesque, it is so because the people are overly emotional and uncivilized. In other words, the tone of Pardoe's account is positive, but only in so far as it is shored up by the particular aspect of Romantic aesthetics that valorizes these elements.¹⁷ And that aesthetic is subtly undermined as Pardoe repeatedly performs a gesture of differentiation between herself and this "other" culture that affirms the hierarchal superiority of her subject position. That a positive tone remains in Pardoe's narrative despite the often-reiterated negative

comments signals the unacknowledged double subjectivity she shares with this “other,” and foregrounds the peculiar ambiguity exhibited by her representation.

Unlike Baillie, Pardoe begins with a Preface that strikes a positive tone. She writes that her account is meant as a corrective to what, she informs the reader, is a generally negative view of the country in Britain: “The generosity and high feeling of the Portuguese character are not, I think, sufficiently appreciated in this country,” she writes (1: vi-vii). She professes her hope to change this negative perception by offering all her impressions “faithfully” through “immediate transcription” (1: vi). Yet, a more ambivalent perspective surfaces in the opening lines of the narrative. In the first chapter, “First Impressions,” Pardoe begins by stressing that the “delightful memories” of her visit “are an unceasing enjoyment” (1: 1), and by praising the “kind-hearted and friendly peasantry” she encountered everywhere (1: 1). But her tone becomes patronizing almost immediately, as she explains that she won them over by having learned the language quickly “for, with all their faults, they are never insensible to any effort to please or to conciliate them” (1: 2). Once the general statements give way to specifics, the narrative becomes a rhetorically complicated attempt at maintaining a positive representation of Britain’s “ancient allies” (1: 271) while repeatedly foregrounding all the faults of the culture, and thus emphasizing its distance from Britain’s.¹⁸

The narration of the scene of her arrival in Lisbon exemplifies this rhetorical practice. First, the text registers her disgust with the people as she describes how, as soon as the harbor pilot met the ship, “his companions began, according to custom, to beg: it signified not what—beef, rum, in fact anything” (1: 5). But then, partially undermining the disgust, she stresses her admiration for the natural scenery and dwells on the great beauty that surrounds her: sailing up the Tagus “ought to have made me a poet” (1: 6), she writes.¹⁹ Finally, from this mixture of

disgust with the native people and awe of the foreign landscape, she turns to nationalist pride: “as our vessel sailed slowly along, my eye turned with a proud and English feeling from the ‘golden shores,’ to contemplate the little fleet of British craft of different descriptions which were then borne upon the breast of the Imperial Tagus” (1: 8). It is but a short passage, yet it crystallizes the rhetorical strategies that indicate her double subjectivity, and that are repeatedly used in the work: a mixture of contempt and admiration for the “other,” followed by a gesture of differentiation facilitated by the elevation of Englishness, all the while refusing to completely let go of the overall positive evaluation.

The Romantic legends that compose the greater part of the narrative are essential for achieving this rhetorical effect. In exploiting the anti-catholic stereotype of monastic isolation as expiation of a crime of passion (“Two Brothers—A Legend of St. Jeronimo” [1: 47-79]) or in detailing the intensity of a doomed passion between siblings who do not know their relationship (“Donna Reta: A Legend of Lisbon” [1: 81-104]); in describing the poignancy of the love of a lower-class woman for a nobleman, intensified by a bullfighting episode where life and honor are at stake (“The Maid and the Marquis—A Legend of Villa Nova” [1: 129-166]), or in sharing a tale of a nobleman of Moorish descent whose irrationality and tyranny leads to religious fanaticism and the near-doom of his family (“The Fidalgo’s Daughter—A Legend of Rio Mayor” [1: 193-236]), Pardoe’s narrative dramatizes some of the most popular stereotypes of southern passion and violent emotion. In the process, it emphasizes the purported hierarchical difference between Portugal and Britain, for even as the Romantic aesthetic that anchors the narrative ostensibly permits a positive reading of the tales, one of the crucial discourses that are, at this time, part of the “rhetorical unconscious” of Europe, explicitly devalues southern literature (Dainotto 144-147). Specifically, in *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les*

institutions (1800), Mme. De Staël offers what Dainotto reads as an influential “theory of Europe” that places literature “in a dialectics with society”: “The spirit of Europe became for Staël a dialectic of north and south” (144-47). Quoting De Staël, he writes, “[t]here exist, I believe, two completely distinct literatures: those that come from the south and those that descend from the north” (qtd. in Dainotto 147). And for Staël,

The progress of literature... coinciding with the progress of Europe, was a movement from the ancient south—Greece, Italy and the Iberian peninsula—to a modern north. As the idea of progress implied the inferiority of origin.... “[she] had given [her] preference to the literature of the North over that of the South” (qtd. in Dainotto 147)

In recording Portuguese traditional legends, and in emphasizing their reiteration of traditional—i.e., ancient—southern stereotypes, Pardoe’s work participates in the on-going construction of a discourse of southernness as failure to develop, and as inferiority, and rhetorically distances herself from this “other.”

The way Pardoe frames these tales by her own introductory or concluding commentaries adds to this effect. For example, she introduces “Two Brothers—A Legend of St. Jeronymo” by narrating her attempt to learn more about the protagonists. After she visits Father Antonio, a monk who furnishes her with a letter of introduction to someone who knew the fratricide-turned-monk, she describes him as “a fine specimen of animal beauty” (1: 51), and comments that she “never met a man who had passed through life in such a dreamy state of contented idleness” (1: 52). Both comments construct the monk as an example of a primitive, stagnant culture and emphasize the hierarchical distance between herself and this “other,” undeveloped culture. In addition, in her account of how she had to wait all day to be told the story, she exploits Romantic aesthetic elements from an ironic distance: “It was not until the moon was rising majestically in

the cloudless heavens, and silvering the sweet river and the quivering foliage with her lovely beams” (1: 55), she writes, that her host shared the tale. In the framing narrative, the Romantic aesthetic is being subtly qualified as quaint and outmoded by being exclusively associated with this “other,” less developed culture where she is a listener and spectator—and thus an outsider. But as commentator, she signals the double subjectivity she shares with it, since she remains reluctant to directly indict it.

Importantly, the shorter episodes that record Pardoe’s personal experiences—and which, as in the example above, almost invariably serve as frames for the Romantic tales—also record gestures of differentiation through which the narrator distances herself from the characters she writes about. In “A Royal Quinta and its Governor” (1: 107-129) she registers her horror at the attempt by the son of her hostess to amuse her by bringing indoors a rabbit and a weasel and by letting the weasel chase and kill the rabbit (1: 114-15). In “A Day at Rio Maior” (1: 167-192), she introduces Alcoentre, their next stop, as “one of the most romantically-situated and filthiest towns in Portugal: well known among the English during the Peninsular war by the *soubriquet* of the ‘city of Fleas’” (1: 167). When they meet an officer who refuses to sell his exceptionally fine horse, she registers her surprise by claiming that “a Portuguese will usually sell everything he possesses, if he sees the prospect of a lucrative barter” (1: 172). Nor does the warmth of their reception at Rio Maior, where the British were popular because a regiment had been quartered there during the Peninsular War, keep her from patronizing her hosts for their “overbearing hospitality” (1: 186). But the account of the visit to the town that follows once again shifts the emphasis to the natural beauty of the surroundings and the section ends on a high note of praise for the picturesque, Romantic setting (1: 186-192).

It is particularly when direct commentary is added that Pardoe's ambiguity towards this "other" culture seems unresolvable. On the one hand, there is an emphasis on what the legends already had implied—i.e., that the main Portuguese traits are excess of emotion and lack of civilization; on the other hand, she characterizes these traits as child-like and amusing, thus managing to construct her British perspective as superior, but affectionately so. In a long section early in volume two, this rhetorical gesture is obvious:

I should think that few people in the world are more susceptible of kindness than the Portuguese;—appear to take an interest in their welfare, bear with their peculiarities, and indulge them in their harmless and amusing vanity, and in return they will do you every service in their power. I met with frequent instances of this. (2: 19)

The passage offers an ambiguous characterization of the Portuguese: peculiar and vain, but ready to please and help, if indulged in their harmless whims. Ultimately, Pardoe's narrative always stops short of a thorough indictment of the culture. If she describes what she perceives as the Portuguese "tenacious recollection of injury" and "unforgiveness"—"Listen to a Portuguese when he is telling you of an insult offered to him: look at his flashing eye, and hear the grinding of his clenched teeth, and you will feel at once that he is an enemy to be feared" (2: 20), she writes—she is ready to offer mitigation immediately after:

There is a natural joyousness in the Portuguese character which requires but slight excitement to call it forth—a word—a gesture—if they see that it is intended to promote mirth, will make their laugh ring out merrily, and their hearts warm to you at once. And then many of their expressions are so naïve and original, that where you are not predetermined to dislike them, you are sure to find some amusement in their conversation (2: 20-21)

The text also provides evidence of the unresolved tensions in her rhetorical construction of British superiority. For example, in a passage where she offers profuse admiration for a particular instance of Portuguese architecture—the Monastery of Batalha—she also registers her shame that the marks of vandalism are the work of British visitors:

I was ashamed to find that the two [carved figures of the apostles] which were missing had very unhandsomely been carried away by some English visitors, whose ‘collections’ were more important than their consciences.... I cannot enter into the feeling which could make such a return for the courteous hospitality of the community (1: 260)

The unresolved ambivalence registered throughout Pardoe’s narrative suggests that, just as was the case in Baillie’s, there remains a textual residue of her unacknowledged identification with this “other” with whom she shares a double subjectivity.

The last chapter of *Traits and Traditions of Portugal* offers an especially striking instance of the ultimate ambiguity of the representation because of the contrast between the vehemence of her distaste for a group of vintners stomping grapes that she describes at the opening of the chapter and the strong note of fondness with which she closes the book. Describing the grape-stomping scene, she writes: “The rabble of the province; many of them half naked, all of them filthy, and most of them ruffianly in appearance to the most extreme degree. And the women worthy of their associates—disgusting, dirty, and drunken!” (2: 322-23). Confronted with a completely unfamiliar scene, Pardoe cannot read the dirt of the vintners as inherent in stomping grapes (an endeavor that requires jumping into a vat full of grapes and crushing them with the feet) nor their near-dishabillé state as precautionary (traditionally, grape-stompers pull their skirts or pants as far up as possible to keep them from getting sodden with grape juice). Here, her revulsion, expressed with such vehemence, performs one of the most decisive gestures of

differentiation from this “other” culture in the whole narrative. But the very last lines of her travel narrative, taken from Canto 4 of *Childe Harold*--“... she to me /Was a fairy city of the heart,/Rising like water-columns from the sea,/Of joy the soujourn”²⁰ (2: 338)—displace the impression of disgust left by that scene, leaving the reader instead with poetry and reiterating her unresolved ambivalence. Tellingly, the tone with which she closes the narrative is very similar to Baillie’s:

Pleasant Portugal, on these pages I have seemed in some sort, to live over again the happy hours which I spent under your bright skies—among a people where I made many friends, and I love to think, left not a single enemy; —where, if I sighed one moment for home, I smiled the next at the bright scene around me; and whence I derive memories on which I love to linger, as the heart ever clings to summer and to sunshine.... I wave my adieu over the vessel’s side... as the tear rushes to my eye. (2: 337-38)

The emotion of the farewell may be no more than conventionally Romantic; nonetheless, the summary of her impressions of the country, which emphasizes “happy hours” and “memories on which [she] love[s] to linger,” will linger also in the reader’s mind.

Journal of a Few Months Residence in Portugal

Of the works analyzed here, Dora Wordsworth Quillinan’s *Journal of a Few Months Residence in Portugal* (1847) offers the most compelling evidence of the impact that the double subjectivity they shared with Portugal had on the British women who wrote about the country. Her account is simultaneously the most sympathetic and the most colonialist, revealing that despite being aware—and condemning—of the British tendency to patronize Portugal, she nonetheless reiterates Britain’s superiority as part of her construction of a subject position that

affirms her own. The narrative dramatizes her ambivalence and highlights how strongly the affirmation of her personal superiority directly rests on British ideologies of national superiority.

As had happened with Baillie's and Pardoe's, the reviews of Quillinan's work were somewhat condescending, echoing her condescending representation of Portugal: the *Edinburgh Review* of July 1847, discussed above, offered tepid praise, while the *Literary Gazette: a weekly journal of literature, science, and the fine arts* of May 1, 1847 called it "A lady-like and dilettante publication, easy in manner, slight in matter, and just the kind of book to while away a dull hour or two with gentle satisfaction unplagued by mental effort" ("Portugal" 332).

While Quillinan's *Journal* is firmly anchored in the documentary mode, it also sounds a more reflective note than Baillie's or Pardoe's narratives, which suggests she was concerned with claiming a greater measure of cultural authority. In the Preface, she states that she seeks to promote an interest in Portugal as a tourist destination for the British because of the historical relationship between the two countries: "after all the fightings and writings in and on Portugal, there is, I believe, no country in Europe that is less thoroughly familiar to us, none indeed which has been more imperfectly explored by tourists" (1: vii), she writes. She is concerned, moreover, with changing the British supercilious attitude towards the country by offering her personal experiences as evidence of the positive aspects of country: "As I found the Portuguese, so I have characterized them. My main inducement, indeed, to the publication of this desultory Journal is the wish to assist in removing prejudices which make Portugal an avoided land by so many of my roving countrymen and countrywomen" (1: xi). Therefore, while arguing that a good travel book on the country would be "precious" (1: viii), she stresses that it would be *especially so* if written in a spirit of courtesy, which we too often dispense with in our comments on the Portuguese, but to which they are nevertheless entitled.... 'Our old and faithful ally,'

Lusitania, revolts at the airs of affectionate contempt with which she is patronized by England, and if we would reclaim any particle of her good-will, we should learn to repress our superciliousness, and ‘Be to her faults a little blind,/Be to her virtues very kind.’ (1: viii)

Sympathetic as the passage is, hinting at a level of identification with this “other” culture (“it does not deserve the reproach of being merely a land of unwashed fiery barbarians and over-branded port wine” (1: xii), she writes) “repress” is the key word. For what Quillinan’s subsequent narrative reveals at every turn is that while she is committed to steer clear of habitual contemporary British belittling of Portugal and the Portuguese (“Childe Harold’s rash and unlordly sneer has become vulgar in the mouth of Echo” (1: viii), she chides), her writing betrays a sense of nationalist superiority she cannot quite repress.

Indeed, Quillinan’s narrative of the different episodes of her stay reveals what can only be called a colonialist dimension to the British presence in Portugal in general, and to her own in particular: for example, when her party arrives at Porto, porters and donkeys are ready for them and they proceed to their destination “leaving all the luggage in a heap on this wild coast, surrounded by a crowd of people, wild looking as savages, with their bare necks, bare arms, bare legs and feet...” (1: 5). Her description of the Portuguese natives as “wild looking as savages” emphasizes a difference in levels of civilization between the British visitors and the Portuguese, and reiterates the hierarchy implicit in Europe’s “internal colonialism.” A strong “othering” gesture, it represents the power relation between the two people as deeply asymmetrical—just as is traditional in a colonial relationship, where degree of civilization is the touchstone that determines perception of power. Furthermore, after having spent some more time in the country and describing anything that strikes her as picturesque, such as fish girls, fruit girls, or groups of

fishermen spreading out their nets to dry (1: 23), Quillinan's perspective on the native people has become dangerously close to being every bit as colonially patronizing as the one she denounced in her Preface. She writes: "The Portuguese and the Gallegos are a little given to petty larceny. Untold gold is perfectly safe upon your table, but you must keep watch over your sideboard and your store-room keys" (1: 27); "The Portuguese are certainly an industrious people" (1: 27); "the wages of the poor... are small, it is true; but happily their wants too are small; and so far as I could gather, there is no such thing as absolute starving poverty, as in England" (1: 33). In other words, she characterizes the Portuguese as a people of small vices, small virtues, and small needs or wants, which suggests that her perspective is as much colored by an ideologically-determined sense of British national greatness as that of those Britons she criticizes in her Preface.

As was the case in Baillie's and Pardoe's narratives, such gestures of differentiation between the British and the Portuguese are often reiterated in Quillinan's narrative and reveal the essential role of the ideology of British superiority in the construction of the author's subjectivity. But a subtler, pervasive tone of entitlement suggests that the colonialist tone of her *Journal* may go beyond a self-affirming strategy: because her group are British, they expect to be received courteously—even deferentially—everywhere. They are given letters of introduction to a number of highly-positioned people throughout the country and call on them for help navigating the inconveniences of travel, from poor lodgings to intractable guides. Always, the Portuguese they call on hasten to smooth over their difficulties and entertain them with special attentions that Quillinan remarks on but seems not especially surprised at. For example, the meal served them by one of their hosts who "had been in England" was "in fact, something very like a good, plain English dinner" (1: 56); when they arrive at night at the town of Caminha and find the Inn quite wretched, they send a letter of introduction from their previous host to one of his

friends who immediately comes to receive them, accompanied by the Governor (1: 78); and when they return to the town of Valença from an excursion into Spain, “the Brigadier-General commanding there, to whose attention [they] had been recommended by letter, sent an Aide-de-Camp to explain that he had been absent on [their] arrival... and would come to [them] presently” (1: 86-7). She acknowledges “the invariable respect paid by the Portuguese gentlemen to letters of introduction” (1: 87), but does not appear to find such treatment unexpected. Nor does she expect anything but that their needs will be attended to when they arrive in the town of Braga “an hour after midnight” (1: 106). Her party “rattled up the people of the inn, got supper, and were in bed by half-past two” (1: 106).

Significantly, and indicative of her conflicted position of double subjectivity, Quillinan also offers self-conscious critiques of British attitudes and entitlement. Early on, for example, when she quotes a passage from a story entitled “The Belle” to explain, about a particular sea-bathing area, that ““Few Englishmen bathe there. They prefer another and certainly a better bathing-place... which they call The Huts, about half a mile away where we landed” (1: 12), she includes the final lines: ““In this they are right; but the English here, as all the world over, are too exclusively English in their tastes”” (1: 12). Towards the end of the narrative, that critique is reiterated when she comments on the unfavorable opinion British ladies have regarding Portuguese ones because they never invite them. The reason, she states, is the difference in receiving habits and in dinner time, along with the British expectation that all be done as they do it (1: 232-33).²¹ Further defending Portuguese ladies for their possible reluctance to receive their British neighbors, Quillinan criticizes British women’s lack of sensitivity to the degree of awkwardness caused by the language difference and cautions them to make their calls brief to minimize the discomfort of lack of conversation (1: 233-35). While in these and similar passages

Quillinan displays an “affection” for Portugal that signals her lingering identification with this “other,” on the whole, her narrative registers an ambivalence about Portugal that is as unresolved as Baillie’s or Pardoe’s. However, given her avowed intention to avoid the “affectionate contempt” she denounces in her Preface, the textual evidence of her identification with this “other” with whom she shares a double subjectivity might have been stronger and tipped the scales of the ambivalence. That it did not, and that the ambivalence remains, makes Quillinan’s text an even more striking example of the extent to which her subject position (like that of British women travel writers in general) depended on constructing a position of superiority to those in the culture she visited.

Conclusion: Europe’s rhetorical unconscious, travel narrative, and gender ideologies

The centrality of travel writing to both the formation and the problematization of national identity has been well documented, with critics noting that the genre is often shaped by a dialectic of “consensus and dissidence” (Turner 11) that marks it as a powerful cultural and political force (Turner 8). As this essay has argued, the first-person narratives of nineteenth-century British women travelers to Portugal are especially suggestive because constructing a position of superiority to those in the cultures they visited remained a central imperative that inevitably inflected their work, but one that was complicated because they shared with the Portuguese what I have called a double subjectivity. Moving from the strongly documentary (Baillie) to the more literary (Pardoe), to the reflective (Quillinan), these authors embrace the subjective mode increasingly prevalent in the genre of travel narrative in order to forge their particular version of cultural power. But whether they ostensibly seek to denounce the culture—as Baillie does—or rescue it from British detractors—as Pardoe and Quillinan profess to want to

do—time and again, their narratives betray an ambiguity in their construction of Portugal and the Portuguese that points to an irresolvable rhetorical knot: because challenges to culturally-constructed perceptions of women’s gender limitations remain dependant not only on distancing themselves from an inferior “other,” but also on claiming their national superiority, both reluctantly identifying with the Portuguese (as Baillie does), or not quite managing to avoid patronizing the culture despite their avowed intention to not do so (as is the case with Pardoe and Quillinan), results in narratives that subtly destabilize both British national superiority and its patriarchal norms. Baillie starts out by indicting the country, but her indictment becomes increasingly less stable and is finally overturned by her emotional farewell to the country at the end of the narrative; Pardoe’s ostensible wish to challenge her British audience’s negative impression of the culture remains in tension with the deployment of a rhetoric of British national superiority and so the text’s rhetorical ambivalence remains unresolved; and Quillinan’s attempt to counter the British “affectionate contempt” for Portugal is ultimately undermined by her narrative’s irrepressible colonialist tone. Granted, the further removed they are from the time of the Peninsular War and the intense asymmetry of power that resulted from Portuguese troops being under direct British command, the less overtly contemptuous these narratives become; nonetheless, because their authors’ attempts at upholding a subject position of superiority to Portugal remained as constant throughout the decades as it remained preempted by the constraints of a double subjectivity that tethered them to a simultaneous position of inferiority and superiority, they are fascinating examples of the power of this intercultural contact to expose the instability of the ideologies of European southernism, British nationalism, and gender.

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NOTES

¹ In *Europe (in Theory)*, Roberto Dainotto provides a fascinating genealogy of Eurocentrism, which he traces to a number of theories about Europe that developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (especially Montesquieu's climatology, Mme. de Staël's theories on the development of literature, and Hegel's dialectics), and which culminated in a concept of the

south as Europe's "sufficient and indispensable *internal* Other: Europe, but also the negative part of it" (4).

² In using the expression "double subjectivity" I am borrowing the American sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois's concept of "double consciousness" as expressed in his *The Souls of Black Folk* and adapting it to discuss the (conflicted) subject position of simultaneous inferiority and superiority.

³ John Ruskin's "Of Queen's Gardens" (1865) would famously reiterate these ideals two decades later.

⁴ In *Mothers of the Nation*, Anne Mellor argues that between 1780 and 1830 British women writers successfully promoted the concept of female superior virtue that allowed them to have public (and political) influence. But, as she also points out, "by the mid-nineteenth century, in a period of anti-feminist backlash... the figure of the Mother of the Nation... was re-written as the Angel in the House... [which] confined the cultural influence of the virtuous Christian woman entirely within the bonds of the patriarchal private family" (144). Indeed, in these later decades, women's access to cultural power necessitated new strategies which, as this essay maintains, depended on anchoring the discourse of gender on the rhetoric of British national superiority.

⁵ Studies of identity formation typically emphasize the importance of the role played by the other in that process. Iver B. Neumann in particular has argued that since the existence of the self is tied to the existence of an other, the other is constitutive of the self; moreover, the role of other can be filled by different entities at different moments (41). In the narratives of nineteenth-century British women travelers to Portugal, the affirmation of difference from the other that is always involved in the fashioning of self-identity proves to be a moment of textual ambiguity as the gesture of identification lingers, being more difficult to reject than is typical of these processes. Interestingly, Mellor stresses that "Romantic-era women writers' early formulations of the concept of Mother of the Nation often displayed a tolerance and even appreciation of cultural and racial difference far greater than the manifested by most of the male writers of this period" (145). This sympathy for the "other" Mellor claims for British women writers of the Romantic period may well be due to an analogous awareness of their own gender "otherness."

⁶ Indeed, before Murray's—and later Baedeker's, Bradshaw's, and Cook's—there were Starke's travel guides, and they made this woman author "a minor celebrity" (Mullen and Munson 112). Consisting of twelve chapters of detailed information on what a traveler would need in any one of several European countries—from prices of everything, including meals and lodgings, to schedules of post-offices and ship departures, to sights, monuments, and climate variations—Starke's guide became indispensable for serious travelers. It was reissued repeatedly, sometimes pirated, and, after 1836, Starke's publisher, John Murray, came out with his own famous travel guides modeled on hers (Robinson 194-95).

⁷ According to the NSTC, the only other travel guides to Portugal were John Murray's *Portugal. Hints to travelers to Portugal, in search of the beautiful and the grand. With an itinerary of some of the most interesting parts of that*

remarkable country (1852), and *Handbook for Travellers in Portugal. With a travelling map* (1852). The publication record for this title attributes it to John Mason Neale, but it is probably essentially the same book, since Murray published both titles in 1852. The NSTC lists no other guides exclusively dedicated to Portugal, but it includes two combining Portugal and Spain: Henry O'Shea's *Guide to Spain and Portugal including the Balearic Islands* (first published in 1868, it had thirteen editions until 1905), and Karl Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal; handbook for travelers*, which did not appear until much later in the century (1898). WorldCat shows that as early as 1836 Murray had published a combined guide to Portugal and Galicia: *Portugal and Gallicia: with a review of the social and political state of the Basque Provinces and a few remarks on recent events in Spain*, by Henry John George Hubert, Earl of Carnarvon.

⁸ In the General Introduction to *Women's Travel Writing in Iberia*, Eroulla Demetriou and her co-authors stress that “after the Peninsular War, the turbulent pre-railway years (1820-50) both in Spain and in Portugal marked a high point in Peninsular travel writing which has never been equaled” (1: x), and they offer a comprehensive list of nineteenth-century accounts of visits to the Iberian Peninsula by both male and female British travelers.

⁹ Baillie's work was also reviewed by two other less prominent periodicals: the *Literary Magnet of the Belles Letters, Science, and the Fine Arts* for July 1825 notes that the “pretty little volumes” show Baillie as “by far too bigoted an English woman to give an impartial account of the habits of a foreign people,” and her feelings as having “led [her] into considerable exaggerations” (“Mrs. Baillie's Lisbon” 54-55); the *Eclectic Review* of January 1826 described it as “two very lively, sensible, and well-written volumes” demonstrating “true love of dear, old England... unmixed as that patriotic passion is with any illiberal prejudice against the natives of other lands” (Conder 93). The work is also mentioned in passing by the *Monthly Review* in June 1826 (in the context of a review of the 1826 *Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, Customs, and Character*), which qualifies her descriptions of Lisbon as “lively and entertaining... [but] still b[earing] a feminine character of slightness and insufficiency, which... must altogether fail to satisfy the less scrupulous curiosity of the male enquirer” (*Sketches* 168).

¹⁰ Maria Dundas Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There During Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (1824), offers a first-hand account of these same political events from a Brazilian vantage point. Her perspectives on the culture and the people living in Brazil at this time of transition—Portuguese colonialists, Luso-Brazilian independentists, English traders, African slaves (that, she points out, the English also own), and Amerindians—offer a fascinating counterpart to Baillie's strictly European experience of Portuguese culture. Both Baillie's letters and Graham's *Journal* cover roughly the same time-period and both point out that the British attempted, not always successfully, to keep the appearance of neutrality.

¹¹ Baillie's letter of June 1, 1823 narrates the events of this first attempt (2: 169-179). Her last letter, dated September 30, 1823, was written less than a month before the second attempt (2: 249).

¹² In *Wayward Women*, Robinson pointed out Baillie's dislike of foreign ways: "Even in Lisbon, where she lived with her husband for two and a half years, she never settled down to the foreign routine" (275).

¹³ It is not uncommon for British travelers to offer a positive, if often patronizing, opinion on the Portuguese lower classes—sometimes favorably contrasting their physical appearance with that of those of the higher classes, sometimes appreciating their temperament and disposition. This willingness to admire the peasantry in stark contrast to the higher orders is of course an oblique way to further debase the status of the country.

¹⁴ A few months later, Baillie seeks to re-affirm her intellectual superiority in a passage where she mentions that the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review* are beyond the reach of Portuguese intellect (1: 158). Ironically, as we saw above, both magazines would review her work rather patronizingly.

¹⁵ The treaties of alliance between them that were periodically reiterated had, at this time, been renewed in February 28, 1809 and again in February 1810. Arguably, sending troops to Portugal to help keep its ports open to British commerce at the time of Napoleon's Continental blockade against Britain in 1807 was very much in the interests of Britain.

¹⁶ Two other reviews—in the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (November 30, 1833) and in the *Literary Gazette* (November 2, 1833)—hardly go beyond transcribing passages from the work. But a very short note in the *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée* (January 1834) is curious: it hardly mentions Pardoe's work; instead, referring to her father, who was with the British troops, it laments the withdrawal of those troops, who had been sent to Portugal "for the support of the Constitution and the Regency [and] to protect liberty," and who "when there was no liberty to protect or attack were quietly withdrawn" (Rev. of *Traits* 42). The word "quietly" is significant here, for it underscores that the British military presence in Portugal was considerably less prominent now than it had been during the Peninsular war. Accordingly, even though Pardoe was in Portugal to accompany her father, she hardly mentions the British military's role in the Portuguese civil war.

¹⁷ Pardoe traveled extensively and published several accounts of her travels, as well as several compilations of legends and popular tales she heard during those travels. Suggestively, though, and as Maria Luísa Fernandez Alves has noted, it is only in the volume about Portugal that she combines the travel narrative with the compilation of popular legends (Alves 24). As will become clear, I read this combination precisely as registering the ambiguity of her representations.

¹⁸ Some of these aspects are seemingly selected for their shock value, as when Pardoe dwells on the description of a funeral procession that caused her disgust and horror because the corpse was carried on a wooden plank "far too short for the body; and the head, the arms, and the legs were hanging over it"

(1: 14). Moreover, even though she did not see the actual burial, she reports being told by someone who did that

the corpse not being more than three inches lower than the surface of the earth[,] into this misshapen grave he was flung without ceremony, a slight covering of soil was scattered over him, and then came the last horror of this revolting, this humiliating mode of interment—the sexton jumped upon the body, and with a heavy wooden rammer literally reduced it to a jelly! (1: 14-15)

The description is so outlandish that it is mentioned in every review.

¹⁹ The beauty of Lisbon seen from the river Tagus, an echo of Byron's praise for it in *Childe Harold*--"What beauties does Lisboa first unfold!/Her image floating on that noble tide" (1.16.1-2)-- is often noted in these narratives.

²⁰ In this passage (4.18.1-4) Byron praises Venice, not Lisbon. But both cities rise from the sea and Pardoe may have found the lines appropriate to her feelings. It is possible, of course, that she meant to imply a comparison, or that she simply misremembered what city the passage referred to.

²¹ The expectation of finding British tastes indulged recurs in narratives of travel to Portugal. Quillinan, for example, mentions that in March 1846, when they moved to the Foz neighborhood outside Porto, they lodged at "a tolerable Summer Inn, kept by an Irish woman, in the Rua Direita, and only open during Winter for the accommodation of the English steamboat passengers" (2:1).

