

*The Case for English as a Language of Culture
in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The English
Libraries of the Conde de Fernán Núñez and
John Hunter*

*El inglés como lengua de cultura en el siglo
XVIII español: Las bibliotecas inglesas del
conde de Fernán Núñez y John Hunter*

JOHN STONE

Profesor Contratado Doctor. Departament de Filologia Anglesa i Alemanya.
Universitat de Barcelona (Espanya).

ABSTRACT

Histories of English-language print in the eighteenth century look to the British Isles, to areas of colonial and post-colonial Anglophone settlement, and (almost anecdotally) to a few northern European markets. Nonetheless, English print *was* present in an old regime Catholic kingdom such as Spain. Though a linguistic barrier makes the extent of its presence difficult to gauge, it should be of particular interest to book and literary historians, for content expressed in a language unfamiliar to those operating mechanisms of state and ecclesiastic control of print may have circulated more freely. Our history of the reception of, say, Swift, grows richer when we discover that he was read, in English, by an officer in the Spanish army, just as Johnson emerges as a more European figure when discovered in abundance in the collection of a Spanish nobleman, and the profile of Scotland as a reading nation changes on discovering that Robert Burns had a subscriber in Andalusia. This paper makes a case for the historical significance of English as a language of culture in eighteenth-century Spain by examining two English-language print collections assembled in Spain, chiefly in the 1770s in terms of both titles and means of acquisition or transportation.

Key words: Key words: history of the book, British literary history, Spanish literary history, private libraries, John Hunter (1751–1816); Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Ríos y Rohan-Chabot, sixth count of Fernán Núñez (1742–1795)

RESUMEN

La historiografía de los impresos en lengua inglesa en el siglo XVIII se ocupa de las Islas Británicas, de los territorios anglófonos de ultramar (sean coloniales o independientes) y, de manera casi anecdótica, de unos pocos países del norte de Europa. Sin embargo, los impresos en inglés estaban presentes en la España católica del Antiguo Régimen. Aunque la barrera lingüística hace que resulte difícil calcular el volumen que circulaba por España, los impresos ingleses tienen un especial interés tanto para la historia de libro como para la historia literaria en general: unos contenidos expresados en una lengua que solían desconocer los estamentos censores como el Estado o la Iglesia, tal vez podían circular más libremente. Son datos que también inciden en la historia literaria inglesa: la recepción de Swift deviene más rica al descubrir que un oficial de un regimiento español lo leía en inglés, de la misma manera que Johnson nos parece una figura más europea y menos insular cuando encontramos muchas de sus obras en la biblioteca de un aristócrata español. Así mismo, el perfil de Escocia como comunidad de lectores se transforma al comprobar que se encargó un ejemplar de los poemas de Robert Burns desde Andalucía. El presente trabajo defiende la importancia historiográfica del inglés como lengua de cultura en la España del siglo XVIII a través de dos casos de estudio de sendas colecciones de impresos en inglés, formadas principalmente en la década de los 1770, centrados tanto en los títulos presentes en las mismas como en la manera de adquirir y transportar los impresos.

Palabras clave: Palabras clave: historia del libro, historia literaria británica, historia literaria española, bibliotecas particulares, John Hunter (1751–1816); Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Ríos y Rohan-Chabot, VI conde de Fernán Núñez (1742–1795)

1. INTRODUCTION: THE EXTRA-TERRITORIAL DIMENSION OF BOOK HISTORY

This paper addresses what might seem a minor aspect of the history of reading in the second half of the eighteenth century: extra-territoriality, by which I mean the circulation and use of printed matter beyond its native linguistic domain.¹ Specifically, my interest lies with one such case, that of English as a language of culture in late eighteenth-century Spain, and so with Anglophone reading practices there. My

¹ Extraterritorial reading as a category is most easily confined to languages which were not distinctly cosmopolitan, as French was with its archipelago of publishing centres in and beyond predominantly francophone territories.

perspective is that of an Anglicist for whom the frame of reference is British, rather than Spanish, literary history; and though it is my aim to write a diasporic readingship into a British history of the book, and British reception histories, it is my hope that this work will be of interest to scholars active in Spanish literary and intellectual history as well. Accordingly, I propose to link two case studies of readers and importers of English print in late eighteenth-century Spain as a way to bring phenomena requiring further and more systematic study into focus.

Though the last decade has certainly seen great contributions to the study of the production and circulation of books and other printed matter in late eighteenth-century Britain, they have generally been circumscribed by the English linguistic domain. The study of the international dimension of the lives of books as artefacts has centred on production; that of their colonial dimension, on circulation and so readerships, as well as re-production. In *The Enlightenment and the Book*, Richard Sher took up the history of the reprinting of Scottish enlightenment texts in Ireland and America;² William St Clair, in *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, examined the offshore publication of English-language texts in an account centred on two Parisian publishers and their output between 1815 and 1845;³ for his part, James Raven touches on imported paper and technology in the long chronological sweep of *The Business of Books*, but book and other print exports are absent from Raven's index.⁴ Geographers of the book such as Fiona Black,⁵ Deryck Holdsworth,⁶ and Bill Bell⁷ do take up traffic

² Richard SHER, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, Chicago, U of Chicago P, 2006.

³ William ST CLAIR, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2007, pp. 293–306.

⁴ James RAVEN, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850*, New Haven and London, Yale UP, 2007.

⁵ See, for example, Fiona BLACK, «Canada,» Stephen W. BROWN and Warren MCDUGALL (eds.). In *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1701–1800*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh UP, 2012, pp. 283–286. Black's contribution appears as a subsection of a long chapter entitled «Intellectual Exchanges and Scottish Authors Abroad,» alongside treatment of Scottish books in the Netherlands, France, Italy, and Russia, to give a few examples. Spain and the Hispanic world are conspicuously absent from the chapter. For a more detailed presentation of Black's findings on the Scottish book trade and the Scottish diaspora in Canada, see BLACK, «'Advent'rous Merchants and Atlantic Waves: A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Contribution to Book Availability in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1752–1810,» *The Bibliothek*, num. 22 (1997), pp. 34–71.

⁶ Deryck W. HOLDSWORTH, «The Counting-House Library: Creating Mercantile Knowledge in the Age of Sail,» Miles OGBORN and Charles W. J. WITHERS (eds.). In *Geographies of the Book*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, pp. 133–156.

⁷ Bill BELL, «Print Culture in Exile: the Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century,» *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, num. 36 (1998), pp. 87–106. This highly influential study, blending book history with social and economic perspectives, is limited in scope to readers in North America, principally Canada.

in books on vessels sailing from Scottish ports in the period; they examine books as acquisitions for counting houses engaged in overseas business, to give one example, but their work is likewise largely restricted to the Anglophone Atlantic world. Even as authoritative a study as Bernhard Fabian's and Marie-Luise Spieckermann's chapter «The English Book on the Continent» in the long eighteenth-century volume of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* make no mention of English-language print in Spain—English books, it would seem, crossed neither the Pyrenees nor the Alps—though they do remark on translations in Spanish.⁸ Anglophone literary history lacks accounts of Anglophone readerships beyond those the Great Britain, Ireland, and British colonial possessions: diasporic readerships such as Irish Anglophones who settled in Catholic Europe to make careers in the military or in trade; expatriate readerships such as those in British trading houses and factories; and transcultural readerships among non-native speakers arising from specialised training in professions for which English was already a distinct advantage (medicine, military engineering) or the flukes of personal contact and interest.

I want to take up how representatives of two such readerships—Scottish merchants in Spanish port cities, and Spaniards whose professional or educational travels brought them to Great Britain—might be studied, with a particular emphasis on the effectiveness of state control of imported printed matter in late eighteenth-century Spain. Books imported into Spain were subject to compulsory ecclesiastical inspection at customs posts. Booksellers dealing in imported material were likewise obliged to keep records of their stock, as well as a copy of the current index of books banned or ordered expurgated by the Inquisition. Yet as Marcelin Defourneaux noted in his authoritative 1963 study of French books imported into Spain, the indexing of some five hundred French works did not prevent them from finding their way into Spanish collections.⁹ As Rafael Olaechea writes, «se contrabandeaba con ellos [foreign books] brava y pintorescamente.»¹⁰ Of course, a licence to possess indexed book might be granted; the poet Meléndez Valdés received authorisation to have and read

⁸ Bernhard FABIAN and Marie-Luise SPIECKERMANN, «The English Book on the Continent», Michael F. SUAREZ, S.J. and Michael L. TURNER (eds.). In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Vol. V. 1695–1830, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2009, pp. 523–543.

⁹ Marcelin DEFOURNEAUX, *L'Inquisition espagnole et les livres français au siècle XVIII*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1963. Incidentally, the diffusion and influence of the works of Voltaire was great enough for a very considerable book to be written on the subject (Francisco LAFARGA, *Voltaire en España, 1743–1785*, Barcelona, Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 1982) and for the Madrid waxworks to display, however briefly, figures of Voltaire and Rousseau in 1778 (Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, 4–7 April 1778, Madrid, Bedfordshire and Luton Archive and Record Service [henceforth BLA], MS L 30/15/54/18).

¹⁰ Rafael OLAECHEA, «Ignacio de Heredia y su biblioteca,» *Revista de historia moderna*, num. 4 (1984), pp. 211–291, citation on p. 261.

banned books—«excepto los [...] que tratan ex profeso contra nuestra religion»— at the age of 25, in 1779.¹¹ The few works by English authors to fall afoul of the inquisitors are listed in the *Index* in French translations, such as *Remarques sur divers endriots d'Italie* by Addison.

Indeed, a considerable body of scholarship, much of it based on post-mortem inventories of books carried out as part of the settlement of a personal estate, now sheds light on the presence of foreign works in a wide range of Spanish private libraries in the late eighteenth century. While this research is of great value to historians of ideas, sociability, gender, and print, few such studies offer insights to the student of the extra-territorial readerships of English, for they confirm the pre-eminence of francophone culture and the French language as conduits for ideas and aesthetics. In one key case, that of the Conde de Floridablanca, it is impossible to establish the language or edition of the single work which may have been present in English;¹² in one other of particular interest, that of Ali Bey, the absence of English-language works from a partial inventory compiled early in his lifetime must be supplemented by his own published claims to have read works in English.¹³ Aguilar Piñal's 1978 study of an aristocratic library (that of the second Conde del Águila, 1715–1784) turned up only two works in English among more than 4,400 titles and lists only Locke, Newton, and the Renaissance epigrammist John Owen in a partial list of foreign authors.¹⁴ A study of the late eighteenth-century stock in a collection whose core was amassed by Francisco Javier Munibe (1729–1785), Conde de Peñaflorida and founder of the Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País, records six works in English, by Hume, Pope, Thomson, Blair, and Adam Smith.¹⁵ Pedro Caro y Sureda (1761–1811), Marqués de la Romana, seems to have acquired most of the thirteen English works in his library late in his life, when the Peninsular War brought him into regular contact with the British, given the unusual concentration of very recent editions (1804–1809 especially) in his collection.¹⁶

¹¹ Georges DEMERSON, *Don Juan Meléndez Valdés y su tiempo (1754–1817)*, 2 vols., Madrid, Taurus, 1971, vol. I, pp. 103–104; Demerson is quoting a licence issued by Felipe Beltrán, Bishop of Salamanca.

¹² See Cayetano ALCÁZAR, «Floridablanca y su derrumbamiento», *Revista de estudios políticos*, num. 1 (1953), pp. 93–138.

¹³ The author is question is the historian William Robertson (p. 133).

¹⁴ For Ali Bey's library, see Patricia ALMARCEGUI, «La biblioteca de Ali Bey», *Cuadernos de estudios del siglo XVIII*, num. 10–11 (2000–2001), pp. 5–16. For Ali Bey's early familiarity with English, see his claims in a letter published in the *Correo literario de Murcia* for 5 April 1794, p. 185.

¹⁵ FRANCISCO AGUILAR PIÑAL, «Una biblioteca dieciochesca: la sevillana del Conde del Águila», *Cuadernos bibliográficos*, num. 27 (1978), pp. 141–162; the English works are on pp. 148–149.

¹⁶ Luis María ARETA ARMENTIA, *Obra literaria de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País*, Vitoria, Biblioteca Alavesa «Luis de Ajuria», 1976, pp. 468–470.

¹⁶ Azucena PEDRAZ MARCOS, «La biblioteca del marqués de la Romana», *Trieno*, num. 28 (1996), pp. 5–14.

Among senior court officials, the far more cosmopolitan library of the diplomat José Nicolás de Azara (1730–1804) featured considerable holdings of English works on politics, travel, aesthetics, history and philosophy, all in French and/or Italian translation, as well as Pope's *Essays on Man* and *Criticism*, both in French. Azara's career had taken him to Rome, where he resided thirty-two years.¹⁷ Among the 247 books his fellow diplomat Ignacio de Heredia (1728–1797) brought home in 1783 after service in Paris and a four-month stay in London are only eight French translations from English (among them, work by Sterne and Locke) and three in English, of which only Henry Fielding's *Amelia* is noteworthy.¹⁸ A similar pattern may be observed in other libraries of the highest political and administrative echelons. The high-ranking colonial official and minister for the Indies José de Gálvez (1720–1787) owned but two works in English (one, Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, of keen historical interest), along with a scattering of French and Italian translations (de Solano 1981).¹⁹ The incomplete record of the library of Pablo de Olavide (accounting for less than one half of a collection thought to have stood at 1800–2000 volumes) betrays a wider knowledge of English writing (Olavide owned works by Defoe, Fielding, Richardson, Swift, Philip Sydney, and Shadwell), albeit in the context of exclusively French-language stock.²⁰ Ministers such as Ensenada in the 1750s²¹ and Campomanes in the 1780s and 1790s²² relied almost entirely on French mediation for their knowledge of British trade and politics, and though Campomanes's receipt of the gift of an early edition of the *Wealth of Nations* from the author is suggestive, he had been in a position to order translations or glosses of Anglophone material since his appointment as president of the Real Academia de la Historia in 1764. In the collections of lower officials, often professional jurists for whose training English civilian scholarship was of remote and common-law learning of negligible interest, works in English may have been extraordinarily rare. In her study of Pedro José Pérez Valiente's unusually rich library, Quintanilla recorded a single title in English

¹⁷ Gabriel SÁNCHEZ ESPINOSA, *La biblioteca de José Nicolás de Azara*, Madrid, Calcografía Nacional and Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1997.

¹⁸ Rafael OLAECHEA, «Ignacio de Heredia y su biblioteca,» *Revista de historia moderna*, num. 4 (1984), pp. 211–291.

¹⁹ FRANCISCO DE SOLANO, «Reformismo y cultura intelectual: la biblioteca privada de José Gálvez, ministro de Indias,» *Quinto centenario*, num. 2 (1981), pp. 1–100.

²⁰ Marcelin DEFOURNEAUX, *Pablo de Olavide ou l'afrancesado (1725–1803)*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, pp. 476–491.

²¹ José Luis GÓMEZ URDÁNEZ, *El proyecto reformista de Ensenada*, Lleida, Editorial Milenio, 1994, pp. 265–299.

²² Vicent LLOMBART, *Campomanes, economista y político de Carlos III*, Madrid, Alianza, 1992, pp. 325–335. See also Jacques SOUBEYROUX, «La biblioteca de Campomanes: contexto cultural de un ilustrado,» Giuseppe BELLINI (ed.). In *Séptimo congreso de la asociación internacional de hispanistas*, Venice, Buzoni Editore, 1980, vol. 2, pp. 997–1007.

among nearly 1,700,²³ and in no analogous collection is there any English whatsoever. Even the exceptional English library amassed by José de Gálvez's protégé Francisco de Saavedra, a high colonial official and later minister, represents no more than 2.5% of the titles in his collection (Molina Martínez 1991).²⁴ It is of interest, though, that it should betray an attraction exerted by developments in Scottish and English «philosophic» historiography: Saavedra has, in English, four of Robertson's works, Hume's *History of England*, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*.

Bourgeois libraries reveal a similar pattern. A bare 2% of the titles in Cádiz lawyer Vicente Pulciani's library were in English;²⁵ of most of these, García Fernández does not aver an identification, for the amanuensis's transcriptions of English titles vary from bare to cryptic.²⁶ The merchant Sebastian Martínez, a fellow *gaditano*, is not known to have owned a single book in English. Of 824 titles in the latter's library, a mere eighteen were translations from English, six into Spanish (e.g. Addison's *Dialogue on Medals* and Young's *Works*) and twelve into French (among them, *Gulliver's Travels*, Thomson's *The Seasons*, *Clarissa*, and *Tom Jones*).²⁷ In Málaga, Juan Bautista Manescau Morier's library was entirely Spanish and French in both culture and language.²⁸ Exceptionally, the Ferrol merchant José Gazzo possessed twenty-one volumes in English, just under 8% of a quadrilingual collection comprising 269 volumes. Apart from the specification that one volume was a dictionary and another a grammar, Gazzo's English library is unfortunately recorded as a single undifferentiated lot.²⁹

It is only when we turn to the libraries of scientists and scholars that English-language works appear in greater, albeit limited, numbers. At mid-century, interest in natural or applied science seems to have been the key factor; in the last quarter, the thematic scope of acquisition widens. A polymath and polygraph, Martín Sarmiento

²³ Ana Isabel QUINTANILLA, «La biblioteca de Pedro José Pérez Valiente,» *Cuadernos de historia moderna*, num. 24 (2000), pp. 137–166; the English title is on p. 163.

²⁴ Miguel MOLINA MARTÍNEZ, «Ilustración y reforma: la biblioteca de Francisco de Saavedra, segundo intendente de Caracas,» *Estudios de historia social y económica de América*, num. 7 (1991), pp. 1–21.

²⁵ María Nélica GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, *Burguesía y toga en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII. Vicente Pulciani y su biblioteca ilustrada*, Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1999.

²⁶ For example, «STATE Poems by the most eminent hands» (item 636); «WAR poems» (item 667); the serendipitously comic «Travells remote notions» (item 387), which may well be *Gulliver's Travels*; and «Trial Ofhing» (item 905), which may have concerned the trial of Admiral Byng.

²⁷ Antonio GARCÍA-BAQUERO GONZÁLEZ, *Libro y cultura en Cádiz. La biblioteca de Sebastián Martínez*. Historia, [Cádiz], Fundación Municipal de Cultura del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Cádiz, 1988.

²⁸ María Begoña VILLA GARCÍA, «Libros y lectores en la Málaga del siglo XVIII,» *Baetica*, num. 3 (1980), pp. 249–264; see especially pp. 254–257 and 261–263.

²⁹ Fernando GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ, *Mentalidade e cultura en Ferrol durante o século XVIII*, Ferrol, Ateneo Ferrolán, 1997, p. 109.

(1695–1772), writing in 1748, commended six English works which he is thought to have possessed or had access to in his monastic library, among them John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*, a dictionary of technical English, and Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*.³⁰ Nearly 6% of the titles in the library of the French-trained mathematician Benito Bails (1730–1797) are in English; of the 53% in French, there are but sixteen retranslations of English works.³¹ More often than not, then, Bails acquired English science in English. The Valencian geographer, historian and archivist Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799), cosmographer royal to Charles III, possessed more French translations of English works than original editions, yet he had nonetheless acquired English texts by James Beattie, Hume, Cudworth, Thomas Reid, and Robertson's *History of America*, the refutation of which was the axis on which his later career turned.³² Meléndez Valdés (1754–1817), lecturing on classics at the Universidad de Salamanca when his library was catalogued in 1782, possessed between nine and twelve English editions, ranging from reference works (Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*), law (Blackstone's *Commentaries*) and history (Gibbon and Adam Ferguson) to periodical essays (a full set of *Spectators*), poetry (Milton, Thomson, Young) and drama (*Teatro de Sachespel*, thought by Georges Demerson to be Shakespeare).³³ Two men working for the Reales Estudios de San Isidro in the 1790s owned books in English: the principal, Estanislao de Lugo, Meléndez Valdés's exact contemporary, owned thirteen volumes in English (his collection would comprise over 13,000);³⁴ and Cándido María Trigueros (1736–1801), second librarian at the Reales Estudios under Lugo, owned at the very least Addison's *Dialogue upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals* and the volume

³⁰ María Teresa PALASÍ FAS, *De Re Bibliographica: la biblioteca selecta de Fray Martín Sarmiento*, PhD dissertation, Universitat de València, 1996, p. 305.

³¹ Inmaculada ARIAS DE SAAVEDRA ALÍAS, *Ciencia e ilustración en las lecturas de un matemático: la biblioteca de Benito Bails*, Granada, Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2002. This study is based on an undated inventory drawn up, in all likelihood, at Bails's death in 1797.

³² Nicolás BAS MARTÍN, «Una aproximación a la biblioteca del ilustrado valenciano Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799),» *Saitabi*, num. 48 (1998), pp. 113–147.

³³ Georges DEMERSON, *Don Juan Meléndez Valdés y su tiempo (1754–1817)*, 2 vols., Madrid, Taurus, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 103–157. Whatever reading knowledge of English Meléndez Valdés had, it seems to have been attained, in part, through the use of French parallel texts. His copy of Pope's *Works* was English-French bilingual; his English copies of works by Ferguson, Samuel Clarke, and Young were accompanied by French translations; and surviving correspondence concerning an important order for imported books placed by the poet in 1785 shows him to have been pursuing further French translations of Ferguson and Blackstone. Indeed, the library is more French than Spanish. For Blackwood, see pp. 1971, 152–154. Item 25 on the list, «*Commentaire sur les lois angloises, de Baston*» can only be Blackstone's *Commentaries*. Earlier surveys of English law, such as those by Thomas Woods and Edward Coke, had used the more traditional titles *Institutes*.

³⁴ Paula DEMERSON and Jorge DEMERSON. «La biblioteca de Estanislao de Lugo: Presentación,» *Revista de historia moderna*, num.12 (1993), pp. 259–276.

for 1770 of *The Lady's Magazine*,³⁵ from which he translated a text for inclusion in *Mis pasatiempos*,³⁶ a collection of short fictions.

The poet's friend and mentor Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811), whose collection has been the subject of two important studies,³⁷ owned an expensive folio edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* identified by Clément as the first and by Aguilar Piñal as the fourth.³⁸ At over sixty titles (and 4.1% the stock), Jovellanos's English library may have been Spain's finest; his *Diarios* reflect the intensive use he made of it.³⁹ A near contemporary living in exile in Brussels, the Jesuit bibliophile Carlos La Serna Santander (1752–1813), owned a first folio edition of the *Dictionary* which he describes as an «ouvrage très-consideré [...] le plus ample et le plus parfait dictionnaire de la langue Angloise».⁴⁰ In the inventory of books left by the poet Manuel José Quintana (1772–1857) there is a reference to a single volume by «Jonton» [sic], alongside five other works in English, and we know from an 1804 article that Quintana had followed the dispute over the authenticity of *Ossian* and knew the part Johnson had played in it. Derozier speculates that «Jonton» represents some edition of the *Lives of the Poets*,⁴¹ in which *Ossian* is never mentioned. (Remarks on *Ossian* do occupy ten paragraphs of the *Journey to the Western Islands*.) Quintana also owned a two-volume English dictionary which might very well have been Johnson's, though without a date or place of

³⁵ FRANCISCO AGUILAR PIÑAL, *El académico Cándido María Trigueros (1736–1798)*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2001.

³⁶ See AGUILAR PIÑAL, *El académico Cándido María Trigueros*, p. 239, for «*The Lady S. M.* (Londres, 1770), cuento que tradujo [Trigueros] del inglés». This title is either a mistranscription of his own notes or a compositor's mutilation of the text, for in *Mis pasatiempos* the title is given correctly as «Happiness the effect of misfortune», published in *The Lady's Magazine*, London, 1770. See [Cándido María TRIGUEROS], *Mis pasatiempos: almacen de fuslerías agradables, por el ultimo continuador de la Galatea*, Madrid, Viuda de Lopez, 1804, p. 181.

³⁷ Jean-Pierre CLÉMENT, *Las lecturas de Jovellanos: ensayo de reconstitución de su biblioteca*, Oviedo, Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1980, and FRANCISCO AGUILAR PIÑAL, *La biblioteca de Jovellanos (1778)*, Madrid, Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984.

³⁸ See CLÉMENT, *Las lecturas de Jovellanos*, p. 71 and AGUILAR PIÑAL, *La biblioteca de Jovellanos*, p. 87.

³⁹ The figure reflects Clément's study, which is cumulative: a reconstruction of Jovellanos's library over the course of a lifetime. Aguilar Piñal, working with a dated manuscript source, lists 36 works in English, or 4.2%. Of the far larger libraries which may have featured even greater holdings in English, in both absolute and proportional terms, those of the Duque de Osuna, the Duque de Medinaceli, and the Real Particular deserve more detailed research.

⁴⁰ Charles Antoine DE LA SERNA SANTANDER, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, rédigé et mis en ordre par lui-même, avec des notes bibliographiques et littéraires*, nouvelle corr. et augm. ed., Bruxelles, 1803, vol. 2, p. 239.

⁴¹ Albert DÉROZIER, *Manuel José Quintana y el nacimiento del liberalismo en España*, Madrid, Turner, 1978, p. 38.

publication (routinely omitted in inventory entries for lexicons of all kinds) an identification cannot be ventured.

One could continue such a survey at length; one could attempt a quantitative analysis of the presence of English language print in private libraries in Spain over a given span of years in the long eighteenth century; one could do so, indeed, on the same basis, for institutional libraries. But to do so would be to miss two important points. First, the interest of a phenomenon can belie its extent or scope. We may conclude that few English books had entered Spain in the period, but cannot, on the basis of this data alone, make any conclusions as to the uses to which such English books as did enter were put, nor the motives and methods at play in bringing and circulating them. Indeed, phenomena may be of greater interest precisely because they are exceptional: the fewer and the less readily available the channels for acquiring print, the greater on individual's effort, in relative terms, to acquire it. Secondly, the books which are the objects of these studies are static. Each catalogue, each inventory is a snapshot, a reflection of a collection as it stood in a moment of time, the product of collection, inheritance, or both. But the history of books also comprises processes; and in the case of such a small reading public, it may be more instructive to frame research in terms of processes, articulated in networks, allowing the process of acquisition by commission (to give one example) to lead us to the product of a private library.

2. LORD GRANTHAM AND THE CONDE DE FERNÁN NÚÑEZ

My research has accordingly posited individuals likely to transport books, or arrange for their transportation, as a starting point, rather than working backwards from the books themselves. Diplomatic correspondence, along with the private correspondence of diplomats while posted, suggested itself as an avenue of archival research as the former has in most cases been carefully preserved by the state; and the archival record reveals that for those with diplomatic connections, books might be commissioned through the British ambassador or members of his staff, particularly during the tenure of Thomas Robinson, second Baron Grantham, a Cambridge-educated former MP and a privy councillor of some limited experience as a diplomat who took up his post as ambassador to Spain on 25 January 1771. He would remain at the Spanish court until the outbreak of war between Britain and Spain in May 1779. For most of his tenure he was assisted by his brother and secretary Frederick (1746–1792) and his chaplain Robert Darley Waddilove (1736–1828). Together, these three men did more for Anglo-Spanish cultural transfer than had any British diplomat in Spain since Sir Benjamin Keene, to which their correspondence from the period, in the Bedford and Luton Archives's Wrest Park manuscript collection, attests. To give one ins-

tance: Waddilove acted as an intermediary between William Robertson and Gregorio Mayans,⁴² perhaps the leading Spanish scholar of the eighteenth century, while Robertson was working on his *History of America*. Contact between the grammarian Robert Lowth and a number of Spanish scholars was likewise facilitated by Waddilove,⁴³ while Thomas Robinson wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds regarding Spanish painters, in particular Anton Rafael Mengs,⁴⁴ and in 1778 sent him a set of etchings by Goya based on details of paintings by Velazquez,⁴⁵ of whose works Robinson was compiling or meant to compile a catalogue.⁴⁶ I should note in passing that Thomas Robinson's letters may have been enjoyed for their occasional flashes of wit, as when he related that the «Duches of Medina Sidonia died yesterday. [It is] rumoured that [the] Duke occasioned her death by resuming his affection for her».⁴⁷

Grantham's correspondence with his brother Frederick and Waddilove, among others, details a series of commissions and shipments on behalf of a cross-section of Madrid society: bankers and members of the royal family (certainly the heir to the throne, who wanted pistols, and in all likelihood the king himself), aristocrats and cardinals, diplomats and private individuals of whom I have been able to learn no more than their names, such as a Don Manuel Ayola for whom a copy of Lowth's *Grammar* was sent in a very loaded coach in July 1775.⁴⁸ The literary contents of that particular shipment

⁴² See, for example, BLA MS L 30/15/66/32 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 13 May 1779, Aranjuez) and Vicente PESET LLORCA, *Gregori Mayans i la cultura de la il·lustració*, Barcelona, Curial, 1975, pp. 193–196.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁴⁴ See, for example, BLA MS L 30/14/326/2 (letter of Sir Joshua Reynolds to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, 20 July 1773, London), in response to a letter of Grantham's on the state of art in Spain.

⁴⁵ See, for example, BLA MS L 30/15/54/68 (letter Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, 10 August 1778, Madrid)

⁴⁶ For the art-historical importance of the Robinson correspondence, see Nigel GLENDINNING, «Sellers and Dealers,» Nigel GLENDINNING and Helen MACARTNEY (eds.). In *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1920: Studies in Reception in Memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfurt*. Tamesis, Woodbridge, 2010, pp. 64–72, especially p. 65. For its importance to Spanish intellectual history, see Mónica BOLUFER PERUGA, «¿'Conocimiento' o 'desengaño'? El viaje europeo de Antonio Ponz,» Emilio SOLER and Nicolás BAS (eds.). In *Placer e instrucción. Viajeros valencianos por el siglo XVIII*, Alicante, Universidad de Alicante, 2008, pp. 113–140, especially p. 128. For the role the Robinsons played in facilitating contacts between the Scottish historian William Robertson and Spanish scholars, as well as sources, see Jeremy BLACK, «The Enlightenment Historian at Work: The Researches of William Robertson,» *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* vol. 65 num. 3 (1988), pp. 251–260 and Ida PUGLIESE, «Le métier d'historien during the Enlightenment: William Robertson and the Writing of the History of America,» PhD diss., European University Institute, 2010.

⁴⁷ BLA MS L 30/15/454/14 (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson: 28 [March 1778], Madrid).

⁴⁸ BLA MS L 30/14/408/45 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham: 8 July 1775, Newby).

included volumes of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* (for a Joyes, of the Madrid merchant banking house Patricio Joyes e Hijos, or a clerk of his), a «pamphlet of Falkland's island» (in all probability Samuel Johnson's), the first number of the *Literary Review*, volumes speeches by Edmund Burke and Lord Littleton, Thomas's Tyrwhitt's edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, Robert Castell's *The Villas of the Ancients*, the Anglican Book of Common Prayer in German, and (presumably New) Testaments in Spanish and Italian. Among the fourteen works readied for coach shipment five months earlier was Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*; and like all the books with which it was shipped, it is keyed to a non-literary items with or under which it was packed, in this case boots for the ambassador's brother.⁴⁹ A volume of Burke's speeches was «under worsted socks». James Tassie's *Catalogue, of Impressions in Sulphur, of Antique and Modern Gems from which Pastes are Made and Sold*—hardly Inquisition fodder—was packed with Stilton cheese. Letters to Grantham from a number of Spanish correspondents, such as José Antonio de Rojas [Josef Antonio de Roxas],⁵⁰ further attest to the ambassador's willingness to procure books on their behalf; and he acted in a like capacity for the bookseller Ángel Corradi and his widow,⁵¹ who had apparently been instrumental in securing some Spanish titles for the historian William Robertson.⁵² In a number of cases, items from these shipments coincide with items from a manuscript catalogue of the sixth Conde de Fernán Núñez's library, though the identity of the commissioner is not mentioned. Thus, in March 1775, Hester Chapone's *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind*,⁵³ and four months later *The Lady's Travels into Spain*, a translation from the French of Marie Catherine La Mothe.⁵⁴ In two other cases Fernán Núñez is identified as a commissioner: in a letter dated 2 September 1777 from Waddilove Fernán Núñez is reported to have ordered Robertson's *History of America* and Cook's *Voyage Towards the South Pole*,

⁴⁹ BLA MS L 30/14/408/27 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham: 17 February 1775, London).

⁵⁰ BLA MS L 30/14/338 (letter of Josef Antonio de Roxas to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, 19 August 1776, Madrid).

⁵¹ BLA MS L 30/15/54/138a (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, 1779, Madrid). See also BLA MS L 30/15/66/31 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 26 April 1779, Aranjuez).

⁵² BLA MS L 30/14/408/80 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, 28 August 1777, Madrid).

⁵³ BLA MS L 30/15/66/3 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Frederick Robinson, 5 March 1775, Essendon). For the copy in the count's library, see «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), shelfmark MSS/23039, f. 36v. Each leaf of the catalogue is numbered and I have used this enumeration in referring to entries.

⁵⁴ BLA MS L 30/14/408/45 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham: 8 July 1775, Newby). The correspondence does record one reader of the *Lady's Travels*: the ambassador's brother, Frederick, wrote to his sister Anne on 2 October 1775 that the translation was vile (BLA MS L 30/17/2/123). For the copy in the count's library, see «Índice general de los libros », f. 76r.

and *Round the World*, both recent and distinctly expensive publications.⁵⁵ Remarkably, Robinson resumed his procurement of English publications for Spanish acquaintances in January 1783, before the two countries were formally at peace, writing to Dr. Benjamin Kennicott about his Hebrew Old Testament on behalf of Prince Gabriel of Spain and the jurist Francisco Pérez Bayer, who headed the royal library.⁵⁶

Both Fernán Núñez and the catalogue of his library which I have cited deserve further consideration, for they illustrate the overlapping of diasporic readerships with networks of individuals for whom English was neither a native language (as it was for English diplomats and Scottish merchants) nor a heritage language (as in the case of many Spaniards of Irish descent, such as Blanco White),⁵⁷ for whom an interest in English-language printed matter was attendant on specialised, professional knowledge.⁵⁸ Entitled *Índice general de los libros de que se compone la librería del Excelentísimo señor conde de Fernán Núñez*, it is sadly not dated, nor the only catalogue of the count's library to have been compiled. The existence of an early catalogue, dated 1766, was reported by J. Ignacio Díez Fernández in 1997;⁵⁹ it was then

⁵⁵ BLA MS L 30/14/408/82 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, Madrid). For the copies in the count's library, see «Índice general de los libros», f. 87r (for Robertson) and f. [53]v (for Cook).

⁵⁶ BLA MS L 30/14/208/2 (letter of Dr Benjamin Kennicott to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, 25 January 1783, Oxford).

⁵⁷ For the Irish-born military engineer and brigadier Ricardo Ailmer or Aylmer, see Martine GALLAND-SEGUELA, «Las condiciones materiales de la vida privada de los ingenieros militares en España durante el siglo XVIII.» In *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, vol. 8 num. 179 (2004). Accessed 1-09-2005 at the URL: <<http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-179.htm>>. Ailmer's ten-volume English library comprised history, travel accounts, an English dictionary, and Irish subjects, among them *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Jonathan Swift*. In the absence of comparable studies, inferences must be made from surviving copies of English-language print material. For example, in 1753 one Maria Wadding y Asley signed and dated an eight-volume set of *The Spectator* (Tonson's 1753 edition: Biblioteca de la Universidad de La Laguna, shelf marks Fondo Antiguo 4697–4704). The only other book bearing her signature is Pineda's Spanish primer the *Short and Compendious Method for the Learning to Speak, Read, and Write the Spanish Language*, which at the very least suggests that Wadding was an Anglophone emigrée (Biblioteca de la Universidad de La Laguna, shelf mark Fondo Antiguo AS. 3286). A copy of one of the most important English novels of sentiment, Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, was owned by Francisca Butler, presumably of the family of that name established at Málaga. (The edition is Strahan and Cadell's of 1773, Biblioteca Provincial de Cádiz, shelf mark XVIII-8.819.)

⁵⁸ By way of example, a number of English-language works belonging to the distinguished surgeon Antoni or Antonio de Gimbernat (1734–1816), who had studied in both Edinburgh and London in the late 1770s, have come down to the Biblioteca de la Universitat: three volumes of *Essays and Observations Physical and Literary: Read before the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1770–1771; shelf marks 07 M-R-43, 07 M-R-44, and 07 M-R-45; and Thomas Cleghorn's *Observations on the Epidemical Diseases in Minorca from the Year 1744 to 1749*, London, Cadell et. al, 1768; shelf mark 07 M-R-1708).

⁵⁹ J. Ignacio Díez Fernández, «Textos literarios españoles en la Fernán Núñez Collection (Ban-

in private hands and has since been acquired by UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library.⁶⁰ A second catalogue was compiled in 1785 by Juan Bautista Muñoz; it is held by the Spanish Royal Academy of History, and is limited to works acquired by the count from a single source.⁶¹ From the count's correspondence we know that a third catalogue was prepared in the autumn of 1791, during his tenure as Spanish ambassador in Paris.⁶² I hesitate to identify the manuscript catalogue at the National Library with this latter document, chiefly because it lists no English titles published later than 1777 and none in any language later than 1781. Moreover, the catalogue compiled in Paris was most likely lost, with the bulk of the count's papers, during the three years of wandering that followed his departure from France, as ordered by his king, later that same autumn.

To students of the Spanish eighteenth century, Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Ríos y Rohan-Chabot, the sixth Conde de Fernán Núñez, is a striking figure. Born in 1742 and orphaned by age eight, the count was to have been sent to Paris to be schooled, as his French-born mother had stipulated in her will, but King Ferdinand opposed this, appointing the Duque de Béjar as his guardian. Educated in Madrid by Jesuits, Fernán Núñez held a series of military commissions and court posts from 1758 on, was a brigadier at the age of twenty-five, a field marshal at thirty-four, ambassador to Portugal at thirty-six, and to France at forty-four.⁶³ He was also an accomplished amateur musician and composer, poet, author—of biographies, histories, travelogues, as well as works on the principles of musical composition—and a «philanthropist, collector, and bibliophile». Among Hispanists he is best remembered in that last capacity, for he amassed an important collection of manuscripts and fugitive pieces, chiefly Spanish, of which 225 volumes (out of nearly one thousand) are also now housed at the Bancroft.

croft Library. Berkeley),» *Dicenda: Cuadernos de filología hispánica*, vol. 15 (1997), pp. 139–182; citation on p. 148.

⁶⁰ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la librería del Ex.mo Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» Bancroft Library (UC Berkeley), shelfmark BANC MSS 99/274 z.

⁶¹ Díez FERNÁNDEZ, «Textos literarios españoles en la Fernán Núñez Collection,» p. 148, n. 23. Díez Fernández gives the title of this MS work as «Índice de los libros que el Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Fernán Núñez compró a la librería de Béjar» and the shelfmark as Fondo Muñoz, Biblioteca de la RAH, A 120–193, ff. 254–278.

⁶² Carlos Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Conde de FERNÁN NÚÑEZ, *Vida de Carlos III, escrita por el Conde de Fernán-Núñez; publicada con la biografía del autor, apéndices y notas por A. Morel-Fatio y A. Paz y Melia; y un prólogo de Juan Valera*, Madrid, Librería de los Bibliófilos Fernando Fé, 1898, vol. II, pp. 404–405. The «Biografía» is on pp. 331–409.

⁶³ Carlos Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Conde de FERNÁN NÚÑEZ, «Introducción». In *Vida de Carlos III*, vol. I, pp. 2–10. The «Introducción» is on pp. 1–10.

On first inspection, his English connections would seem slim. In the brief autobiographical sketch which he appended to his history of the reign of Charles III Fernán Núñez gives some account of a tour begun in 1772 and completed early in April 1775 which would take him to Italy, Germany, Poland, England, and France.⁶⁴ There is a further, passing mention of this visit in a public letter to his children published in Paris in 1791, from which we learn that the count was awakened by his servants at seven o'clock one morning to observe two men boxing in the street and that he had spent at least eight months in England.⁶⁵ Named ambassador to the court of Saint James in March 1786, he never presented his letter of credence in London, as news of his Versailles appointment reached him en route.

None of the Spanish historiography I have consulted mentions Anglophilia in the same breath as the sixth Conde de Fernán Núñez,⁶⁶ yet he was at some point—the point at which the catalogue was compiled—in possession of over one hundred volumes of English works, a number of which postdate his stay in England. The books owned by one individual, even of one so prominent in his time, may seem a matter of small importance, but it should be remembered that Fernán Nuñez's may have been the largest English library in private hands in the Spain of the 1770s, greater than Jovellanos's, exceeded only by a handful of institutional libraries, such as of English or Scottish Catholic colleges in such cities as Valladolid. Though the books are not classified by language—instead, they fall under eight broad heads such as «Canonicos i Juridicos» and «Historicos i Genealogicos»—the compiler was careful, in one of four paragraphs of a short, entirely practical untitled introductory note, to stress his break in the common treatment of English titles: «los libros que se hallan en esta libreria escritos en Ynglès se ponen en su mismo idioma colocados cada uno en la clase que le corresponde.»⁶⁷ A gloss follows each such title, and a precise shelfmark is given, along with a physical description (number and format of volumes, type of binding) and, in all but a few cases, the place and year of publication, as in the following example:

Johnson (Samuel. A.M.) Dictionary of the english Laguage: in which words are deduced from their originals, explained in their diferent meanings, and authorized bi the Names of

⁶⁴ Carlos Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Conde de FERNÁN NÚÑEZ, «Introducción», pp. 6–7.

⁶⁵ Carlos Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Conde de FERNÁN NÚÑEZ, *Carta de Don Carlos de los Rios, XXII señor y VI conde de Fernán-Núñez, a sus hijos*, Paris, Don Pedro Didot, 1791, pp. 108–111.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Díez FERNÁNDEZ, «Textos literarios españoles en la Fernán Núñez Collection» and Antonio CORTIJO OCAÑA, *La Fernán Núñez Collection de la Bancroft Library, Berkeley: estudio y catálogo de los textos castellanos (parte histórica)*, London, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2000.

⁶⁷ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), shelfmark MSS/23039, f. 1v. Each leaf of the catalogue is numbered and I have used this enumeration in referring to the entries.

the writrs in whose works they are found. 2. tom. 8º. M. Past. London. 1773. Esto es: Diccionario del Ydioma Ingles. Est. Ô. Plnt. II. N. 14 y 15.⁶⁸

Such mistakes as appear in the transcription of English titles—in the example above, the lower-case word-initial «e» in «english»; «whch» for «which», «Laguage» for «Language» and «writrs» for «writers»; «bi» for «by» and «diferent» for «different»—suggest an amanuensis or cataloguer straining to record words in a language of which he had only the rudiments, omitting letters as he went along and falling victim to interference from more familiar spelling systems.

For forty-four of the fifty English works publication dates are listed or can be surmised, and of these twenty-four date from the years 1773, 1774, or 1775, and half of those from 1774; and I will begin with these, as a group. In this respect, the count's is a traveller's library: he owned *The Town and Country Directory, A New and Accurate Description of all the direct and principal Cross Roads in Great Britain*,⁶⁹ guides to the art collections and grounds of a number of noblemen's country seats,⁷⁰ county guides,⁷¹ and Harris's *List of Covent Garden Ladies*, glossed in Spanish by the cataloguer as *Lista de las Damas de Conversacion*.⁷² His interest in politics is evident in collections of parliamentary debates, proceedings, and parliamentary registers,⁷³ along with John Campbell's *Political Survey of Great Britain*, of which Samuel Johnson observed, «That work was his death».⁷⁴ Johnson's most locally topic political pamphlet, the anti-Wilkes *The Patriot*, also features.⁷⁵ All the more striking, though, is the count's interest in English culture, institutions, and intellection life, as represented by Blackstone's

⁶⁸ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez», ff. 157r–157v.

⁶⁹ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez», f. 242r.

⁷⁰ For example, *Stowe: A Description of the Magnificent House and Gardens* (London: Rivington et al., 1773): «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez», f. 91v.

⁷¹ For example, *The Norfolk Tour; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion* (Norwich: R. Beatniffe, 1773): «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez», f. 80v.

⁷² «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez», ff. 229r–229v.

⁷³ See entries on f. 150r, f. 117v, and f. 136r of «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez».

⁷⁴ James BOSWELL, *Life of Johnson*, George BIRKBECK HILL, rev. L. F. POWELL (eds.), 6 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–1950), vol. 2, p. 447.

⁷⁵ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez», f. 144v.

Commentaries,⁷⁶ Hume's *History of England*,⁷⁷ the fourth folio edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*,⁷⁸ his edition of Shakespeare,⁷⁹ *Lord Chesterfield's Letters to His Son*,⁸⁰ and, if we relax the tight focus and take in somewhat earlier editions, Goldsmith's *History of England*,⁸¹ Robertson's histories of Scotland⁸² and of Charles V,⁸³ Hogarth's *Analysis*

⁷⁶ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 28r.

⁷⁷ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. [71]v.

⁷⁸ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» ff. 157r–157v.

⁷⁹ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» ff. 179v–180r. The edition in question is the ten-volume Johnson–Steevens of 1773.

⁸⁰ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 233r.

⁸¹ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 71r. The title is given as *Histori of England*.

⁸² «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 87v. (1761 ed.)

⁸³ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» ff. 87r–87v (1769 ed.). At an unknown date, Fernán Núñez undertook a translation of selections from this work, but he appears to have worked from the French translation by Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard first published in Paris and Amsterdam in 1771. The untitled MS, dated 1777, is to be found in Toledo's Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza (AHN): España, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, FERNÁN NÚÑEZ, C. 2043, D.3. A descriptive header on the first leaf reads «Traducción del prefacio de la Historia de Carlos 5º por Robertson, y las notas correspondientes a ella, por el 6º conde de Fernan Nuñez.» The MS is catalogued at the AHN as being in the count's own hand. The MS comprises clean translations of Robertson's Preface (7 pages); most of the first section of Robertson's «A View of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century» (33 pages), as far as the causes of the crusades, including Robertson's marginal headers and bibliographic footnotes; the first thirteen of Robertson's substantive notes, ranged in the source text under the head «Proofs and Illustrations» (74 pages); and the draft translations of these three texts (116 pages). My identification of Suard's text as Fernán Núñez's source is provisional, based on a cursory examination of the opening paragraphs of «A View of the Progress from the Subversion [...]» for which title Suard uses the plural («Tableau des progrès de la société en Europe depuis la Destruction[...]»), as does Fernán Núñez («Progresos de la Sociedad en Europa desde la destruccion[...]»). Further parallels in Fernán Núñez's word choice and sentence length to Suard's lend credence to this supposition. Consider the following passage: «When the spirit of conquest led the armies of Rome beyond the Alps, they found all the countries which they invaded, inhabited by people whom they denominated barbarians, but who were nevertheless brave and independent. These defended their ancient possessions with obstinate valour» (William Robertson, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*, London, W. Strahan et. al, 1769, vol. 1, pp. 1–2). This Suard renders as «Lorsque l'esprit de conquête conduisit les armées romaines au-delà des Alpes, elles trouverent tous les pays où elles entroient, habités par des peuples qu'elles appellerent barbares, mais que étoient indépendans & braves, & qui défendirent leurs anciennes possessions avec la valeur la plus opiniâtre» ([William] Robertson, *L'histoire du règne de l'empereur Charles-Quint*, Paris, 1771, vol. 1, p.

of *Beauty*,⁸⁴ *The Beggar's Opera*,⁸⁵ and *The Rambler*.⁸⁶ Two more aspects of the collection are, I think, worthy of mention. An understandable interest in how Spain, her cultures and her policies were perceived is reflected in such titles as Twiss's *Travels through Spain and Portugal*;⁸⁷ and a topical interest in the evolving situation of the British colonies in North America manifests itself in, for example, an untraceable *Guide to the English Conquests*,⁸⁸ as well as the highly topical *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings, of the American Continental Congress*,⁸⁹ Paine's *Common Sense*,⁹⁰ and the short-lived pro-American London Weekly *The Crisis*.⁹¹

These acquisitions returned to Spain with the count, whose English library, as noted above, continued to grow after his recall. It's not known whether Fernán Núñez had leave to import books freely; his heir certainly did not inherit such a privilege, for the inquisitors had their way with the count's library when it, or rather what remained of it, reached Madrid in 1796, after his death. It is more pertinent to the present study that this English library grew out of a friendship, and should be seen in a context of sociability that included a widening social circle and, as a shared activity, both the enjoyment and the making of music.

Fernán Núñez must have become acquainted with Robinson and his circle at some point in 1771 or early 1772, before leaving Spain for Italy, for the ambassador furnished him with a letter of introduction to Lord March.⁹² By mid-April 1774 he was in

3), joining together the sentences and adding a superlative to the closing adjective. Fernán Núñez follows suit: «Quando el espíritu de conquista traxo los Exercitos Romanos al otro lado de los Alpes, hallaron estos nuevos payses, habitados por Naciones, que llamaron barbarous, pero que eran independientes, y valerosos, y defendieron sus antiguas posesiones con el mas obstinado esfuerzo.»

⁸⁴ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 204r.

⁸⁵ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 177r. In Spanish the title is glossed as «La vida de los pobres.»

⁸⁶ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 140v, under the heading «Políticos, i militares.»

⁸⁷ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 94r.

⁸⁸ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 228r.

⁸⁹ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 112r.

⁹⁰ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 223r.

⁹¹ «Índice general de los libros de que se compone la Librería del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Fernán Núñez,» f. 108v.

⁹² BLA MS L 30/17/4/74 (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Anne Robinson, 21 March 1774, Madrid).

London in the company of Waddilove, a gregarious man who dined with Johnson, by whom he was «exceedingly entertained» and Sir Joshua Reynolds on or about the 15th of that month.⁹³ Among the effects Waddilove was then shipping to Spain was a printing press, intended for a nobleman, and books; he requested that Robinson secure an order that the case should not be opened. By July Fernán Núñez had met Robinson's sister Anne, probably in Devon where she was then living;⁹⁴ and in December he was arranging for the shipment of furniture from England to Spain, for he had, in Frederick Robinson's words, «learned in England that the only way of living for a man of fashion and fortune is to reside on his own estate.»⁹⁵ Enough trust existed between the ambassador and the count for the former to serve as a go-between for the latter, as in the case of a note of Fernán Núñez's addressed to the Duque de Infantado and enclosed in one of Robinson's letters to his brother, which refers to a small errand to be performed at the English Parliament in February 1775.⁹⁶ Regular social intercourse seems to have begun in 1776 and lasted until the count's departure for Portugal in 1778. Both men were keen amateur musicians and both played and frequented concerts together. Apparently Robinson also thought well of Fernán Núñez's political skills, for in 1778 he confided to his sister his hopes that his friend would be sent to London as the new ambassador.⁹⁷ The count was also on friendly terms with Frederick Robinson, to whom he sent a short get-well note, in English, in April 1778.⁹⁸ Frederick would return to England because of ill health that same year. In January 1785, after the war, Thomas Robinson and Fernán Núñez renewed their correspondence, and the former, residing in London, agreed to acquire a printing press and additional machinery on the count's behalf and have them sent to Lisbon⁹⁹. Robinson surmised that Fernán Núñez aimed to «copy manuscript», in all likelihood to issue private editions of early modern or medieval texts in his collection. Also shipped to Fernán Núñez on 29 January 1785 were «three pairs of Baulkes»

⁹³ BLA MS L 30/14/408/12 (letter of Robert Waddilove to Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, 15 April 1774, London).

⁹⁴ BLA MS L 30/17/2/89 (letter of Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 25 July 1774, Aranjuez).

⁹⁵ BLA MS L 30/17/2/100 (letter of Frederick Robinson to Anne Robinson, 12 December 1774, Madrid).

⁹⁶ BLA MS L 30/15/54/35 (letter of the sixth Conde de Fernán Núñez to the Duque de Infantado, undated, enclosed in letters from Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, May 1778, Aranjuez).

⁹⁷ BLA MS L 30/17/4/183 (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Anne Robinson, 2 February 1778, Madrid).

⁹⁸ BLA MS L 30/15/54/34 (letter of the sixth Conde de Conde de Fernán Núñez to Frederick Robinson, April 1778).

⁹⁹ BLA MS L 30/15/54/260 (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, 26 January 1785, Whitehall).

costing twelve, sixteen, and eighteen guineas each (baulks being rough beams) and glass.¹⁰⁰ The count reciprocated in November of that year, charging a Lieutenant Colonel Macdonald with the delivery of two parcels containing an opera composed by Fernán Núñez himself, two medals, books for Robinson and several members of his circle, and a number of prints.¹⁰¹ They remained in contact until a few months before Robinson's death in July 1786.

3. JOHN HUNTER AND OTHER YOUNG SCOTS

So much for Grantham, who had the advantage of rank and office, and Fernán Núñez, who was fortunate in his friends. What of English-literate readers far from court circles and physically or socially distant from the embassy? Did they expect that the importing of books would be relatively straightforward and painless? Did the experience of importing books match their expectations? Were their reading practices tempered by their residing in Spain? As expectation is largely social, it is easiest to study such individuals through their correspondence, and thus through their personal and professional networks, such as whose hub stood the banker and merchant Sir Robert Herries, born in Dumfriesshire in 1731. Herries is known to economic historians for his partnerships with the Coutts brothers and Sir William Forbes, for his scheme to provide travellers with circular notes (which could be cashed at over 140 agencies in Europe and Asia by the 1790s)¹⁰² and for the hugely lucrative business he did importing Virginia and Maryland tobacco into France via Glasgow under commission from the Farmers General.¹⁰³ His role in Spanish economic history, though significant, is hardly known outside Spain and under-studied in Spain. The foundation of Herries's fortune was a Barcelona trading house established in 1754, concerned chiefly with brandy shipped to the Isle of Man or the Channel Islands. Jacob Price records Herries's interest in trading houses in Montpellier and Valencia; Herries's correspondence with his sometime partners Sir William

¹⁰⁰ BLA MS L 30/15/54/262 (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, 28 January 1785, Whitehall).

¹⁰¹ BLA MS L 30/15/54/282 (letter of Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, to Frederick Robinson, 26 November 1785, Newby Park).

¹⁰² John BOOKER, *Travellers' Money* (Stroud, Allan Sutton Publishing, 1994), 40–70. See also John Booker, «Herries, Sir Robert (c.1731–1815),» H. C. G. MATTHEW and Brian HARRISON (eds.). In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 2004; online ed., Lawrence Goldman (ed.), January 2008. Accessed 15-07-2009 at URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48258>.

¹⁰³ Jacob M. PRICE, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674–1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* (Ann Arbor, U of Michigan P, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 620–647.

Forbes and James Hunter (later James Hunter-Blair) suggest that his interests extended to establishments at Reus, Denia, Alicante, and Benicarló.¹⁰⁴ Availing himself of a Danish consulship,¹⁰⁵ Herries dealt in brandy, wine, silk, woollens, grain, fish, and fruit: his own report of business at Barcelona and Reus alone for 1767 puts his «neat profits» at over five thousand pounds,¹⁰⁶ and «near» seven thousand for January to November 1770,¹⁰⁷ when he was able to place an order for fifty thousand pounds worth of silk with his partners in Valencia. His circle in Barcelona was as Catalan as it was cosmopolitan. In 1777 he was among the founders, and the first director, of a Barcelona merchant banking firm whose impact on the city has been compared by one Spanish economic historian to that of a meteorite.¹⁰⁸ Eight of the original partners were local, Catalan merchants.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the French economic historian Michel Zylberberg claims that Herries was married to a Catalan woman, Teresa Grau, for which purpose Zylberberg claims he converted to Catholicism.¹¹⁰

Though based in London from 1762 (Forbes 1860, 18) and a partner in the Forbes-Hunter Blair bank in Edinburgh until 1775,¹¹¹ Herries retained his Spanish business interests and continued to visit Barcelona into the 1790s (his last recorded visit extended from April to July, 1793).¹¹² For decades, Herries, Forbes, and Hunter made

¹⁰⁴ For the Herries–Forbes correspondence, see Acc4796/2/6 and Acc4796/82/5, Fettercairn Papers, National Library of Scotland (henceforth NLS). For the more extensive extant Herries-Hunter correspondence, see Acc4796/76 in the same collection.

¹⁰⁵ See Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid) ESTADO,643,Exp.11, dated 23 May 1765, regarding Consul Herries's application that Ralph Watson be recognized as the Danish vice-consul in the industrial town of Reus, known for both textiles and distilling.

¹⁰⁶ NLS, Fettercairn Papers Acc4796/76 (letter of Robert Herries to James Hunter, 3 September 1768).

¹⁰⁷ NLS, Fettercairn Papers Acc4796/76 (letter of Robert Herries to James Hunter, 9 November 1770).

¹⁰⁸ Ángel RUIZ Y PABLO, *Historia de la Real Junta Particular de Comercio de Barcelona, 1758 a 1847* (Barcelona, Henrich y Cia, 1919), p. 114.

¹⁰⁹ Yolanda BLASCO and Carles SUDRIÀ, *El Banc de Barcelona, 1844–1874: Història d'un banc d'emissió*, Barcelona, Departament d'Economia i Finances, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ Michel ZYLERBERG, *Une si douce domination: Les milieus d'affaires français et l'Espagne vers 1780–1808*, Paris, Ministère de l'Économie, 1993, p. 109, note. 29. I have not been able to verify Zylberberg's source. Herrie's wife in 1783, Lady Catherine Herries, née Foote, sat for George Romney. See H. WARD and W. ROBERTS, *Romney, A Biographical and Critical Essay, with a Catalogue Raisonné of his Works*, London, Thomas Agnew & Sons, 1904, vol. 2, p. 77. On this Lady Herries and Sir Robert's daughter Nina, see W. S. LEWIS and A. Dayle WALLACE (eds.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry and Barbara Cecilia Seton*, New Haven, Yale University Press, vol. 1, p. 81, n. 31 and n. 32.

¹¹¹ Sir William FORBES, *Memoirs of a Banking-House*, London and Edinburgh, William and Robert Chambers, 1860, p.18.

¹¹² See HAM/1/17/202 and HAM/1/17/203 in the Mary Hope MS Collection, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

arrangements for a number of younger sons—all of them Scots, apparently—to serve as clerks, apprentices, or partners in Spanish businesses, chiefly Herries's. (For example, in May 1768 Herries wrote to James Hunter in Edinburgh to ask for help finding a new clerk for Barcelona, and undertook to find employment for others at Valencia and Alicante.)¹¹³ Those who set off for Spain commonly did so after months of negotiation between their families and Herries, often travelling to their new posts by road and sea in the company of merchants of long peninsular experience. Practical knowledge could be gained en route. Their expectations and behaviour while resident in Spain may very well have been shaped by what they had been told by older hands. For example, one twenty-year-old, in a letter to his brother in Edinburgh, remarks on the need to wash new shirts before bringing them into Spain to prevent their being considered contraband.¹¹⁴

The brother in Edinburgh was James Boswell and his correspondent David Boswell, Alexander Boswell's third son. In an October 1767 letter to the banker James Hunter, under whom David had served his apprenticeship at the Coutts banking house in Edinburgh, their father confirmed David's signing both the articles of copartnery and a bond, by virtue of which David was to take up a post in Valencia.¹¹⁵ One of his partners, with whom he undertook the journey to Valencia, was Charles Herries, Robert Herries's brother.¹¹⁶ The brother of the author of the *Account of Corsica*, known to the foremost English writer of the age, would provide a highly suggestive case study of what I've come to call extraterritorial readerships, if sufficient documentary evidence of his library while in Spain, and the uses to which it was put, were available to scholars. Little pertinent evidence survives; what does was drafted by an inquisitor. By the spring of 1770 David Boswell had petitioned the Inquisition to have four works returned to him: Voltaire's *General History of Europe*, an English Bible, *Etat de la Corse* (the first French translation of James Boswell's *Account of Corsica*), and Boswell's *British Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans*.¹¹⁷ In his report the inquisitorial investigator notes that both the English Bible and the Voltaire's *History* were indexed works in Spain

¹¹³ NLS, Fettercairn Papers Acc4796/76 (letter of Robert Herries to James Hunter, 13 March 1768).

¹¹⁴ Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Gen MSS 89, Box 17, Folder 373, C 499 (letter of David Boswell to James Boswell, 1 January 1767 [1768]).

¹¹⁵ Private collection (letter of Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck, to James Hunter, 24 October 1767).

¹¹⁶ Letter of James Boswell to William Johnson Temple, 28 August 1768, in Thomas CRAWFORD (ed.), *The Correspondence of James Boswell and William Johnson Temple, 1756–1795*, New Haven, Yale UP, 1997–, vol. 1, p. 242.

¹¹⁷ David HOOK, «Mr Boswell's Books and the Inquisition,» *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, series 6 vol. 8 num. 3 (September 1986), pp. 265–268.

Yet Boswell's experience contrasts with that of three other young Scots in 1770s Spain—David Steuart of Dalguise, John Hay, and John Hunter—all of whom were associated in some way with Herries and the Hunter-Forbes bank. Each man's career presents parallels with T. D. Boswell's. Steuart, born in 1747, was a youngest son set to work for merchant bankers (John Coutts & Co. in 1764 and Herries, Cochrane & Co. of London in 1767) before entering into a partnership in Herries's trading house in Barcelona in 1768. (A bond drawn up in consideration of Steuart's partnership, dated in Barcelona, was witnessed by an Inner Temple attorney in October 1768.)¹¹⁸ He would remain in Barcelona until July 1771 and return to Scotland in 1776. His bibliophilia was coloured by his stay, for his library, when catalogued for auction in 1801, featured over two hundred volumes in Spanish or Catalan.¹¹⁹ As for English books, Steuart's correspondence with his family makes no note of any trouble receiving commissions. In fact, as Steuart mentioned to his father in a letter dated 2 June 1770 «Protestants are permitted here to read what books they chuse provided they don't lend them to Roman Catholics.»¹²⁰

John Hay's relationship with Sir William Forbes was more intimate: he was to be Forbes's brother-in-law and would in time be accepted as his partner. Hay was made an apprentice at Herries's Barcelona trading house, where Steuart had lately been a partner, in 1774, and remained there until the spring of 1774.¹²¹ (Incidentally, his Barcelona apprenticeship should be of interest to linguistic historians, as Forbes intended Hay to acquire a good working knowledge of Spanish, only to see his hopes frustrated. Forbes's correspondent in Barcelona, Gregory Keith, reported that Hay was making little progress, as Catalan was the language of the native population and French was used among foreigners.)¹²² Keith noted of his charge that «He reads a good deal & not without reflection. Altho' the introducing of foreign books here is attended with some inconveniences We are at no loss in that respect as the Strangers are in general pretty well provided & willing to lend one another such as may respectively be wanting, for which reason I should think it unnecessary to send me a Collection of Books & that it

¹¹⁸ National Archives of Scotland (henceforth NAS), Papers of the Blair Oliphant Family of Ardblair and Gask GD 38/1/987 (bond for 1200 pounds, 3 October 1768, Barcelona).

¹¹⁹ Gabriel SÁNCHEZ ESPINOSA, «Los libros españoles del comerciante escocés David Steuart», *Revista de Literatura*, vol. LXII num. 123 (2000), pp. 205–236.

¹²⁰ See Steuart's 1770 letters to his father John Steuart, NAS, Papers of the Blair Oliphant Family of Ardblair and Gask GD38/2/13, especially (as noted) 2 June 1770.

¹²¹ See George Keith's letters to Sir William Forbes in 1775, during the period of Hay's apprenticeship, NLS, Fettercairn Papers Acc. 4796/3/1.

¹²² NLS, Fettercairn Papers Acc. 4796/3/1 (letter of George Keith to Sir William Forbes, 18 April 1775).

[illeg.] be sufficient to send such new publications with you as might be found to have particular merit.»¹²³

It is from the third of these Scots that we get the most detailed account of how English- and other foreign-language print materials might be brought or shipped into late eighteenth-century Spain. John Hunter was the second son of James Hunter, architect royal for the Kingdom of Scotland, and in 1771 a clerk in Glasgow, in some respect under Sir William Forbes's authority.¹²⁴ Early June 1773 saw him leave Great Britain for Rotterdam, his first stop on a journey to San Lucar (as it was then known), some 30 km from Cádiz, as arranged by James Hunter, Forbes's partner. Within days of arriving on the Continent, Hunter was dispatching commissions to procure books to his friend Gilbert Innes of Edinburgh—a French Bible, *Gil Blas* in English, and Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*—in the hope that they would reach him before departing Holland for Paris.¹²⁵ Such commissions and inquiries would continue regularly as Hunter progressed to his destination. From Madrid in December 1773 he wrote to Innes to report on receiving a visit from Ambassador Grantham («exceedingly polite & affable, & tho far superior in rank a great deal inferior in point of stiffness & haughtiness»), dining «with Messr. Joyes the most eminent Bankers here,» and requesting a collection of Edinburgh *Mercuries* or *Courants* published since March of that year, a prayer book, Buchan's *Family Physician*, and «Donaldsons or any other catalogues of books that has the prices marked».¹²⁶ In January 1774, having settled in San Lucar and made the acquaintance of British merchants in Cadiz (among them Josiah Hardy), Hunter again wrote to Innes, this time requesting «one of Donaldson's catalogues with the prices marked, some old Edinburgh newspapers, a Scotch almanac, Robertson's [Navy? Mary],¹²⁷ Robertson's Charles V (for both, the octavo Dublin edition), Shakespeare's works, Pope's Homer's Iliad, Hume's History of Great Britain, Dr Buchan's Family Physician, Salmon's [Geog?] grammar, Nugent's Gran Tour 4 vol., Pope's Homer's Iliad—French, Rollins. Hist[oire]. Ancienne or his whole works, Contes Moraux & [Beliscaine?] par Mar, Le siecle de Louis 14, Creech's new ma-

¹²³ NLS, Fettercairn Papers Acc. 4796/3/1 (letter of George Keith to Sir William Forbes, 7 June 1775).

¹²⁴ See Hunter's letters to his Edinburgh friend Gilbert Innes for 1773–1775, NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366.

¹²⁵ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 24 June 1773, The Hague).

¹²⁶ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 17 December 1773, Madrid). Note that the date and place match one sheet in a long sequence dated in several cities, though apparently sent to Innes as a single letter.

¹²⁷ The long title of Robertson's three-volume *History of Scotland* is *The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI, till his Accession to the Crown of England: With a Review of Scottish History*.

gazine [the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*]» and, rather more mysteriously, «the solo concerto».¹²⁸ As arrangements to have Hunter's new books shipped from Leith to San Lucar were slow to materialize, subsequent letters to Innes added to the list, specified second-hand or Dublin editions to keep the cost of the commission down, and offered alternate methods of shipment (such as placing the box on a vessel bound for Gibraltar). In August 1774 Hunter ordered «all the new ballads as they come from London»;¹²⁹ in November, English playing cards, a 1775 Edinburgh almanac, and a London Court Calendar.¹³⁰

Books travelling with Hunter or shipped to him were subject to inspection, but such inspection as could be shaken off or evaded. Writing on 5 December 1773, Hunter reports that «Today my luggage was searched for the first time at a frontier town called Victoria; I sent the servants to the Custom house wt the trunks, & by the help of a trifling douceur they procured a very slight inspection.»¹³¹ Hunter had nothing prohibited in his trunk anyway, but was amused to be given a certificate made out to «Don Juan Hunter—Irlandeses (sic)». When the books and printed matter shipped from Leith by Gilbert Innes finally arrived in June 1775—a shipment which apparently included part of Hunter's library as constituted before his departure from Scotland—playing cards, prayer book, and Bible were smuggled off board, in one case by the captain.¹³² Other materials were retained at the Customs House for several weeks and would be released, in Hunter's words, «after they have been examined by the Commissary of the Inquisition, who understands just as much of their Contents as he does of French—The formality must however be observed, and it shall be warning to me never to bring more books thro (sic) the Custom house, as I can get them ashore wt all ease without it; I only let these pass thro (sic) their hands to try their Civility».¹³³

The balance of evidence favours Hunter's as the more typical experience of Anglophone reading in late eighteenth-century Spain, and Boswell's as the less typical and perhaps exceptional. Each was obliged to return to Scotland after Spain declared war

¹²⁸ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 10 February 1774, San Lucar).

¹²⁹ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 2 August 1774, San Lucar).

¹³⁰ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 4 November 1774, San Lucar).

¹³¹ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 5 December 1773, Miranda).

¹³² NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 25 and 17 June 1775, San Lucar).

¹³³ NAS, Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peebleshire, GD 113/5/366 (letter of John Hunter to Gilbert Innes, 7 July 1775, San Lucar).

on Great Britain in June 1779:¹³⁴ each would muster what influence he could to gain a consulship even before the preliminary peace treaty was signed in January 1783. By February 1783 Hunter had news that he'd been nominated consul at Seville and San Lucar;¹³⁵ his friend Boswell was unsuccessful, and never returned to Spain. Hunter would go on to a General Consulship in Madrid in 1802, which post he held at the time of his death in 1816. The fate of his library is not known, but for seven volumes which are now at the library of the Spanish Royal Academy in Madrid—an abridgement of Ainsworth's *Dictionary*,¹³⁶ Allan Ramsay's *Poems on Several Occasions*,¹³⁷ Thomson's *Works*,¹³⁸ Douglas's Scots translation of Virgil,¹³⁹ and a subscriber's copy of Burns's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*.¹⁴⁰ It is a distinctly north-of-the-border selection: four of these titles are by Scots. Of these titles, Burns is surely of the greatest interest: we know from the memorandum giving a narrative account of Hunter's business that he was in Sanlúcar at the time William Creech issued his proposals for the 1787 Edinburgh edition. By an accident of alphabetical order, Hunter's name is followed in the subscriber's list by that of his old friend and correspondent Gilbert Innes; and it's tempting to think (despite the lack of archival evidence) that Hunter's subscription to the edition simply grew out of his use of his friend as an agent for procuring and shipping books, as in the 1770s.

4. CONCLUSION

Superficially, Fernán Núñez and Hunter make for contrasting, rather than complementary, cases of English libraries assembled in Spain in the 1770s. They shared

¹³⁴ For Boswell, see Marqués de Croix to Conde de Floridablanca, memorandum, 19 October 1779, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección Estado, *000570-Leg; undated memorandum, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección Estado, *000551-Leg; and James BOSWELL, *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle in the Collection of Lt-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham*, vol. 14, *The Journal of James Boswell, 1779–1781*, Geoffrey SCOTT and Frederick A POTTLER (eds.), Mount Vernon, N.Y., W. E. Rudge, 1932, p. 121. Boswell may be the lone Scot on the memorandum's list of thirty foreigners—most of them Irish and presumably Catholic—granted extraordinary permission to return to their places of residence in Spanish coastal cities, composed chiefly of Hiberno-Spaniards, many of whose surnames are hispanicised or francicised. Thus, Valois (Walsh), O'Reille (O'Reilly), Birne (Byrne), O'Rian (O'Ryan).

¹³⁵ NAS, Papers of the Innes family of Stow, Peeblesshire, GD113.4.161.91 (John Hunter, «Narrative for the information of a few very particular friends — by J. H.,» 2 December 1793).

¹³⁶ Shelf mark RAE 40-VII-4.

¹³⁷ Shelf marks RAE 12-XI-2 and RAE 12-XI-3.

¹³⁸ Shelf marks RAE 40-VIII-54 and RAE 40-VIII-55.

¹³⁹ Shelf mark RAE 3-III-12.

¹⁴⁰ Shelf mark RAE 12-VI-17.

neither nationality, religion, rank, status, nor age (the count was nearly nine years older than the commoner), and were subject to different regimes of state control. Yet, as I hope to have demonstrated, for each the task of building an English library in the natural domain of Spanish was inseparable from reliance of social networks and, indeed, from books as objects of sociability. How can these findings be written into existing historiographies? Let us begin with Fernán Núñez's books, and how they might be written into English book history and, indeed, literary history. The presence of Johnson's *Dictionary*, *Rambler*, Shakespeare edition, and one political tract in the count's library speaks to issues in the history of Johnson's readerships, his Continental reception, and indeed that of English print in Spain. In the first instance, it buttresses what Philip Smallwood¹⁴¹ and Howard Weinbrot,¹⁴² among others, have recently taught us about the insularity ascribed to Johnson, as a body of eighteenth-century texts pursuing eighteenth-century readers, by nineteenth-century historiographers, their echoers in the last century and into our own. Grounds for that ascription are weak; Johnson was not the print culture equivalent of Marmite. Indeed, wherever I have found a Spanish collection to have boasted considerable holdings in English in the last third of the eighteenth century,¹⁴³ Johnson is among the best represented writers, very much in line with Weinbrot's assessment of the Continental Johnson as a «widely admired extraordinary man of letters».¹⁴⁴ Either Fernán Núñez or his librarian chose to shelve works by Johnson together, which betrays, to my mind, an interest in the author as author, for the arrangement is otherwise by subject, such that Robertson's histories are not grouped together.

Hunter and his fellow young Scots afford us other conclusions. Though these are case studies rather than quantitative studies of the libraries and reading practices of Scottish residents in late eighteenth-century Spain, I believe two points may be made, touching on the mobility of both individuals and books. The first is that networks

¹⁴¹ Philip SMALLWOOD, *Johnson's Critical Presence: Image, History, Judgement*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004, pp. 117–132: Smallwood highlights the use of Johnson on Shakespeare among French Romantics.

¹⁴² Howard D. WEINBROT, «Johnson Before Boswell in Eighteenth-Century France: Notes towards the Impossible Project of Reclaiming a Man of Letters,» Maximillian E. NOVAK (ed). In *The Age of Projects*, Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008, pp. 185–214.

¹⁴³ See John STONE, «Appendix C: Items from Fleeman's *Bibliography of Samuel Johnson* in Spanish Collections,» in *Samuel Johnson, Literary Historiography and Reception*, PhD dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 2006, pp. 289–249. The two most striking examples to come up in this survey were the Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz library in Valladolid, the old Reales Estudios de San Isidro stock now housed at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, and the old humanities collection at the Real Colegio de Cirugía de la Armada at Cádiz, now housed at the Biblioteca de Ciencias de la Salud de la Universidad de Cádiz (Fondo Antiguo-Humanidades).

¹⁴⁴ STONE, «Appendix C: Items from Fleeman's *Bibliography of Samuel Johnson* in Spanish Collections,» p. 201.

underpinned by kinship and local ties can be plotted geographically in ways that are not local, nor indeed restricted to metropolitan centres in the same national territory (e.g. London, whose Scottish networks in the period are well-known, not least as studied by Boswellians). Ayrshire and Edinburgh networks reached into France, Spain, and the Low Countries. The second is that the culture of cosmopolitans was layered: Hunter, Boswell, Steuart and Hay seem to have been at once distinctly Scottish readers, though resident in Spain, and European readers (through the medium of French), and Spanish readers (indeed, in Steuart's case, a Catalan reader in a period not known for the use of Catalan as a language of print). What remains to be determined is the question of whether the topic is susceptible of quantitative analysis: that is, whether enough Scots (by way of example), and enough of their books, feature in the documentary record—enough to make for a survey from which less speculative conclusions could be drawn.