

Original citation:

Hooper, K. (2012). Spas, steamships and sardines : Edwardian package tourism and the marketing of Galician regionalism. *Journal of Tourism History*, 4(2), pp. 205-224.

Permanent WRAP url:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/50144/>

Copyright and reuse:

The Warwick Research Archive Portal (WRAP) makes the work of researchers of the University of Warwick available open access under the following conditions. Copyright © and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable the material made available in WRAP has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

Publisher's statement:

This is an Author's Accepted Manuscript of an article published in Hooper, K. (2012). Spas, steamships and sardines : Edwardian package tourism and the marketing of Galician regionalism. *Journal of Tourism History*, 4(2), pp. 205-224 copyright Taylor & Francis, available online at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/1755182X.2012.697490>

A note on versions:

The version presented here may differ from the published version or, version of record, if you wish to cite this item you are advised to consult the publisher's version. Please see the 'permanent WRAP url' above for details on accessing the published version and note that access may require a subscription.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

warwick**publications**wrap
highlight your research

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/lib-publications>

Spas, Steamships, and Sardines:

Edwardian Package Tourism and the Marketing of Galician Regionalism

Kirsty Hooper, University of Liverpool

The rugged, green, Atlantic landscape of Galicia, in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, is probably not the first backdrop to come to mind when we imagine a party of British tourists in Spain. Package tourism to Spain is closely connected in the British imagination with the beaches and tower blocks of Spain's Mediterranean coast, whose impact on the country's development since the 1960s has been widely studied.¹ Nonetheless, while the boom in mass tourism based on sun, sea, sand and other alliterative pleasures both transformed and cemented Spain's place in the late 20th-century British popular imagination, the last two decades have seen a diversification of the destinations and activities marketed at British visitors to the country. Perhaps the most prominent of the new destinations has been 'España Verde' or 'Green Spain', the strip between Spain's Atlantic coast and northern mountains that comprises Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria and the Basque Country.² When the London *Guardian* picked Galicia as one of its 'hot spots' for 2004, highlighting its 'classic rural scenery, green rolling hills

¹ For example, Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella (Eds.), *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008); Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: the spectacle of Spain's tourist boom and the reinvention of difference* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009); Sasha Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

² A 1991 Spanish Tourist Office campaign emphasises the region's mystical qualities, describing 'Green Spain' as 'Spain's Magic Carpet,' and inviting tourists to 'explore the carpet of green spread out before you and let yourself fall under its magic spell.'

and isolated farmhouses',³ its place as a destination for the discerning traveller wishing to enjoy 'hidden delights in a place the tourists ignored' was assured.⁴ The key pillars of the marketing of Galicia for 21st-century travellers are the region's isolation, authenticity and unfamiliarity, making it a destination that according to another *Guardian* journalist, 'feels like it is in a Spanish timewarp, with a culture all of its own'.⁵

Despite the rhetoric of contemporary journalists, this is not the first time that Galicia, its landscape and culture have been 'discovered' and marketed to tourists tired of the overcrowding and over-familiarity of the 'sunny south.' Building on the ongoing recuperation of the early history of tourism in Spain,⁶ this essay pieces together the history of an initiative set in motion almost exactly a century ago by a group of businessmen from Vigo, London, and Liverpool: Enrique Peinador (1880-1940), owner of the spa complex at Mondariz; Oliver T. Gibson (1853-1915), director of the London-based British *La Toja* Company; Alfred Allen Booth (1872-1948), owner of Liverpool's Booth Steamship Company; and Federico Barreras Massó, a prominent Vigo entrepreneur and one of the leading lights of the city's successful sardine-canning industry. During the five years between 1909 and 1914, these men headed a pioneering project to attract British tourists away from the established destinations of Andalusia, the Canaries and Madrid, and into this unfamiliar northern region of the Peninsula. And

³ Tom Hall, 'The 2004 Hot Spots (part two),' *The Guardian*, December 28, 2003 (accessed April 26, 2012).

⁴ Clare Stewart, 'Hidden delights in a place the tourists ignored,' *The Times*, June 28, 2002: 33 (accessed April 26, 2012).

⁵ Natacha Du Pont de Bie, 'Galicia on a plate,' *The Guardian*, February 4 2006 (accessed April 26, 2012).

⁶ For example, John K Walton and Jenny Smith, 'The first century of beach tourism in Spain: San Sebastián and the "playas del norte" from the 1830s to the 1930s', in *Tourism in Spain: critical issues*, ed. J. Towner, M. Barke and M.T. Newton (Wallingford: CAB Publications, 1996), 35-61; John K Walton, 'Planning and seaside tourism: San Sebastián, 1863-1936', *Planning Perspectives* 17 (2002): 1-20; John K Walton, 'Tourism and consumption in urban Spain, 1876-1975', in *Spain is (still) different: tourism and discourse in Spanish identity*, eds. E. Afinoguénova and J. Martí-Olivella (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/ Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), 107-27; Michael Barke, Graham Mowl and Graham Shield, 'Málaga – a failed resort of the early twentieth century?', *Journal of Tourism History* 2.3 (2010): 187-212; Luis Fernández-Cifuentes, 'Southern exposure: early tourism and Spanish national identity,' *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 13.2-3 (2007): 133-148.

of course, it is no coincidence that the principal elements used for marketing the small-scale but successful package tours that carried hundreds of British tourists between Liverpool and Vigo during the five years of the project's existence were the spas, steamships and sardines that formed the chief focus of their business.

If this Anglo-Galician project provides crucial evidence for incorporating Galicia into the early history of tourism in Spain, we should not underestimate its significance for our understanding of Galicia's own history. Peinador and Barreras were active participants in Galicia's proto-nationalist *rexionalista* (regionalist) movement, which emerged during the 1880s as a cultural and political forum for resistance to Castilian centralism. Comprised of three ideological strands associated with the northern Galician cities of Santiago de Compostela (*tradicionalista*), A Coruña (*liberal*), and Lugo (*federalista*), *rexionalismo* laid the foundations for modern Galician cultural and political nationalism.⁷ Because of the prominence of writers and intellectuals from the northern cities, such as the poet Rosalía de Castro (from Santiago) and her husband, historian Manuel Murguía (from Coruña), the symbolic geography that emerged with *rexionalismo* and its literary counterpart the *Rexurdimento* (Renaissance) was, and to a great extent remains, strongly weighted towards the north.⁸ In contrast, the southern city of Vigo was not one of the intellectual centres of *rexionalismo*, and so attracted fewer literary and artistic representations, being seen as a functional industrial centre rather than a site of national significance or aesthetic delight. During the twentieth century, Vigo's rapid development as Galicia's largest urban centre, together with the linguistic predominance of Spanish over Galician, has distanced it further from the rural

⁷*Rexionalismo* is generally seen by Galician historians as a transition period between the *provincialismo* of the 1840s-1880s and the fully-fledged nationalist movement that emerged around 1920. For the definitive account of Galician *rexionalismo*, see Xusto Beramendi, *De provincia a nación. Historia do galeguismo político* (Vigo: Xerais, 2007). For a readable overview of modern Galician history, see Sharif Gemie, *Galicia: A Concise History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006).

⁸ María López Sández, *Paisaxe e nación. A creación discursiva do territorio* (Vigo: Galaxia, 2008).

heartlands of Galician cultural nationalism.⁹ In consequence, this Vigo-centred project and its cultural afterlives have gone largely unnoticed. A central objective of this essay is to recuperate and assess the project's attempt to re-brand early twentieth-century Galicia as a modern, progressive nation with close historical, commercial and cultural connections to the booming Anglo-Saxon world.

Commerce and Culture: Promoting Tourism to Galicia

The international dimension of the project has its roots in two visits made during the summer of 1909. First, in 'un empuje colosal de la industria gallega' ('a colossal push for Galician industry'), Oliver Gibbon of the British La Toja company brought four British doctors to La Toja, landing in Vigo aboard the PSNC's *Aragon* from Southampton on 26th June.¹⁰ Their aim was to examine the composition and health benefits of Galician spa waters, with the intention, Gibbon hoped, of promoting them to British tourists.¹¹ The following month, Alfred Allen Booth, Chairman of Liverpool's Booth Steamship Company, visited Vigo in the company of his wife and various senior company officials, arriving aboard the Booth Line's ultra-modern twin-screw steamship *Anthony* on July 20th to an enthusiastic reception.¹² Booth's aim was to research the possibility of creating tourist links between Galicia and England, on the model of the successful tours

⁹ Gabriel Rei-Doval, *A lingua galega nacidade no século XX: Unha aproximación sociolingüística* (Vigo: Xerais, 2007). Rei-Doval shows that while 94.5% of Vigo residents interviewed during the 1990s claimed to understand Galician (pp.475-76), only 4.4% used it regularly (p.506); Kirsty Hooper, 'Consuming Nationalism? Taste, Language and the Novel in Constitutional Galicia,' *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 44.3 (2010), pp. 641-642.

¹⁰ 'Galicia hacia el turismo. Doctores ingleses en La Toja,' *Vida Gallega* 8 (August 15 1909), p.15.

¹¹ 'The British La Toja Company,' *British Medical Journal Supplement: 78th Annual Meeting of the BMJ* (September 24, 1910), p.306. A brief report from the Exhibition of Food, Drugs, Instruments, Books, and Sanitary Appliances describes how 'this firm has seemingly undertaken the task of attracting attention in this country to the claims of **the Portuguese health resort** from which it derives its name' (emphasis mine; evidently the Galician message had not been transmitted as clearly as its promoters might have hoped!).

¹² 'El turismo en Galicia,' *Vida Gallega* 12 (December 1 1909): 20.

to Portugal and Madeira that his company had been running since 1903.¹³ His visit was widely reported in Galicia, where together with the doctors' expedition, it was celebrated as a crucial step in the opening up of Galician economy and culture to the wider world.¹⁴

Unlike Portugal, the Atlantic community of Galicia was unfamiliar to the British public at the start of the 20th century. If it was known at all, it was either as the place where General Sir John Moore had met his fate and been buried almost exactly a century earlier in 1809, or because of its dangerous coastline where British sailors perished in their hundreds.¹⁵ An important objective of the Galician hosts was to prove that Galicia was a modern, industrial community where their visitors would find none of the stereotypical Spanish behaviours that contemporary British commentators loved to denigrate. A comprehensive article in the illustrated monthly journal *Vida Gallega*, whose proprietor Jaime Solá was a close associate of Peinador and Barreras, records that one of the doctors arrived knowing a single Spanish word: 'mañana' (tomorrow), 'porque tenía la idea, generalizada en Inglaterra, de que nosotros todo lo dejamos para el día siguiente, de que somos los hombres de los aplazamientos' ('for he had the idea, widespread in England, that we leave everything to the next day, that we are the men of constant deferment').¹⁶ In order to disabuse the doctors of this idea, their hosts – in what would become a signature move during the project's lifetime – sent a sixteen-seater motor vehicle to receive them. The visits inspired a great sense of confidence among the Vigo regionalists that British tourism:

¹³ *El Liberal* (Madrid) 21.7.1909.

¹⁴ 'Galicia hacia el turismo': 15

¹⁵ For example, the 170 crewmen of the *Serpent*, wrecked off Cape Boi in 1890 and memorialized by a tablet that still sits alongside Moore's more elaborate memorial in Coruña's Jardines de San Carlos.

¹⁶ 'Galicia hacia el turismo': 16.

ha de influir de modo prodigioso sobre el porvenir de Galicia ... Los buques traerán legiones de buscadores de la salud que después de lograrla ... recorrerán el país en que se han curado. El contacto con nuestro pueblo le hará desterrar perjuicios que corren de generación en generación ... Y la Suiza española, esta preciosa región sin rival en parte alguna del mundo ... verá salir un nuevo sol de felicidades y de progreso.¹⁷

... will have a prodigious influence over Galicia's future ... the boats will bring legions of health-seekers, who after achieving their aim ... will explore the country where they have been cured. The contact with our country will banish prejudices passed through the generations ... And the Spanish Switzerland, this cherished region without equal anywhere in the world ... will see the dawn of a new sun of happiness and of progress.

The project was formalized in October 1909, when Barreras presented a motion to the Vigo Chamber of Commerce calling for the establishment of an *Asociación para el fomento del turismo en Galicia* ('Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Galicia' (AFTG)).¹⁸ The AFTG was part of a wave of similar associations established throughout Spain during the first decade of the twentieth century, beginning with a *Sociedad Propagandística* established in collaboration with the British consul to Málaga in 1897.¹⁹ Within three months, by January 1910, the AFTG had been established, and on March 5th, the *Times* of London announced the establishment of a London committee chaired by the eminent Hispanist Major Martin Hume, a corresponding member of the Real Academia Gallega and author of the Booth-sponsored travel account *Through Portugal*, published four years earlier in 1906.²⁰ The composition of the two branches clearly demonstrates the hybrid nature of the project, in which commercial, political and cultural objectives were firmly intertwined. The board of the Vigo branch included

¹⁷ 'Galicia hacia el turismo': 18.

¹⁸ *El Liberal* (Madrid), October 9, 1909; *Vida Marítima*, October 20, 1909.

¹⁹ Pack: 24-26; Juan Carlos González Morales, 'La comisión nacional de turismo y las primeras iniciativas para el fomento del turismo: La industria de los forasteros (1905-1911),' *Estudios Turísticos* 163-164 (2005), pp.20-24. This included similar state-supported initiatives in San Sebastián (1902), Palma (1906), Barcelona, Zaragoza (both 1908), Tarragona and Cádiz (both 1910), as well as the Marqués de Mariana's Asociación Nacional de Fomento del Turismo, established in Barcelona in March 1910.

²⁰ 'Galicia as a Holiday Resort', *The Times*, March 5, 1910, p.15. Vigo officially received notification of the establishment of the London branch on March 15, as reported in *El Liberal* on March 16, 1910.

Guillermo de Oya (President), writer and journalist Angel Bernárdez (Secretary), the Peinador brothers, former Lord Mayor of Vigo Miguel Fernández Lema, Vigo town clerk and 'well-known author' Manuel Olivie, the newspaper proprietors Eladio de Lema (*El Faro de Vigo*) and Jaime Solá (*Noticiero de Vigo; Vida Gallega*), the President of Vigo's *Asociación de Cultura* Manuel Borrajo, and the medical officer of health for Vigo harbour Dr Ildefonso Zabaleta, with the support of the British vice-consuls Thomas Guyatt (A Coruña) and R Walker (Vilagarcía).²¹

The *AFTG* swiftly moved to gain international recognition, appointing as delegate in London the prominent Vigo banker and shipping agent Estanislao Durán. Durán's task was to 'derivar hacia Galicia una parte de esa enorme masa de viajeros ingleses que todos los años adquieren diez millones de billetes de turismo, y llevan sus libras esterlinas a Suiza, Francia y otras tierras europeas' (to bring to Galicia a part of that enormous mass of English tourists who each year acquire ten thousand tourist tickets, and take their pounds sterling to Switzerland, France and other European countries).²² He was instrumental in the formation of a London branch, governed by two committees, a 'Comité de honor' and a 'Comité ejecutivo,' which together included five Vice Presidents: Hume, the Marqués de Misa, the Spanish Consul-General Señor Torroja, the President of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce Señor Roura, and Alfred's elderly uncle Charles Booth, the prominent philanthropist and co-founder of the Booth Company.²³ Oliver T. Gibson, proprietor of the British *La Toja* Company, was a committee member.²⁴ One of the committee's first acts was to invite the British International Association of Journalists to make its annual excursion to Galicia, an invitation that was quickly

²¹ As listed in Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.39.

²² 'El turismo en Galicia,' *Vida Gallega* 18 (April 15, 1910), p.10.

²³ 'Galicia as a Holiday Resort', p.15.

²⁴ *La Correspondencia de España*, April 8, 1910.

accepted and, as we shall see below, lived up to its promise as ‘un gran triunfo de la Asociación para Fomento del Turismo, que, apenas nacida, da señales de fructuosa vida’ (a great triumph for the *AFTG*, which, scarcely born, gives signs of a fruitful life).²⁵

The Booth Line Holiday Tours

The Booths’ decision to expand their holiday tours to Galicia was the product less of chance than of sound commercial investigation. Their ships had for some years been calling at the port of Vigo, in the south of the country, where they employed Barreras Massó, an established shipping agent and proprietor of some of Galicia’s largest sardine canning factories.²⁶ Established in Liverpool in 1866, the Booth Steamship Company specialized in the North Brazil trade, particularly rubber and leather, and was instrumental in the development of the Amazon port of Manaus. In 1901, the company amalgamated with Singlehurst’s Red Cross Line to form the Booth Steamship Line (1901) Ltd., and it is at this point that they began to diversify into tourism. Although the tourist side of their activity has been of little interest to the maritime and business historians who have studied the company,²⁷ the minutes of the company directors’ books held in the Liverpool Record Office show that the leisure tours to Portugal formed part of the new company’s strategy from its inception in 1901:

²⁵ ‘El turismo en Galicia,’ *Vida Gallega* 18 (April 15, 1910), p.10

²⁶ Liverpool Record Office, 387 BOO 2/1 Directors’ Minutes Book (March 9, 1901 – March 14, 1916). Entry for Board Meeting of September 15, 1910, p.240, contains the only mention of the partnership to be found in these documents: ‘it was agreed to allow to Hijos de J Barreras, Vigo, 5% (instead of 3%) on all freights and passage money collected at Vigo after October 1st 1910.’ This may reflect one positive outcome of the expanded partnership.

²⁷ Duncan Haws, ‘Lamport and Holt and Booth Lines,’ *Merchant Fleets* v. .34 (Hereford: TCL, 1998); Paul Heaton, *Booth Line* (Pontypool: Starling Press, 1987).

Mr George Booth reported his conversation with Mr Everett of T. Cook & Co as to the practicalities of arranging for round trips to Portugal & Madeira under which Messrs Cook would issue a special pamphlet and advertise the business, and it was decided to carry negotiations further with a view to bring the business into practice: it was also decided to make further enquiries as to the practicability of issuing tickets through to London and Paris via Havre.²⁸

Unfortunately, the information to be found in the directors' minute books is frustratingly fragmentary, and the question of the connection with Cook's is never picked up again, although it clearly demonstrates an early commitment to the strategy of forming active partnerships with other cultural and commercial agents that would be so crucial to shaping the Galician tours. Although the holiday tours are only ever mentioned in passing throughout the minute books that cover the period between the company's re-foundation in 1901 and the outbreak of WWI, there is just enough information to give a sense of the small but significant part they played in the company's overall activity. For example, in January 1903 the directors authorised expenditure of £100 for advertising the passenger service 'in various railway stations throughout the country',²⁹ and in January 1903, they awarded 'Miss Cann' £10 for designing the letterpress of the inaugural illustrated guide to Portugal.³⁰ In the directors' report to the company AGM in June, 1906, it was stated that 'The Tourist Service to Portugal and Madeira has continued to be successful, and now forms a not unimportant source of revenue to the Company'.³¹ There are a small number of references in the minute books to publications connected with the Portugal tours, most notably, in October 1906, to the company's sponsorship of the writer Major Martin

²⁸ Liverpool Record Office, 387 BOO 2/1 Directors' Minutes Book (March 9, 1901 – March 14, 1916). Entry for Board Meeting of May 14, 1901, p.15.

²⁹ Liverpool Record Office, 387 BOO 2/1 Directors' Minutes Book (March 9, 1901 – March 14, 1916). Entry for Board Meeting of January 12, 1903, p.72: 'It was agreed to authorise the expenditure of £100 in advertising the passenger service to Havre, Portugal & Madeira in various railway stations throughout the country.'

³⁰ Liverpool Record Office, 387 BOO 2/1 Directors' Minutes Book (March 9, 1901 – March 14, 1916). Entry for Board Meeting of January 22, 1903, p.74. 'Miss Cann' was probably the sister of W.S. Cann of the Passenger Department.

³¹ Liverpool Record Office, 387 BOO 1/1 General Meetings Minute Book, printed report of the AGM held on Tuesday June 12, 1906, pp.19-20.

Hume – the same Major Hume who would become a Vice President of the *AFTG* – to produce a book describing a Booth-financed tour through Portugal.³²

Unfortunately, the minutes books contain not a single reference to the Galician tours, or, indeed, to any aspect of the company's activity in Galicia. Nonetheless, plenty of evidence of this activity is available from indirect or secondary sources. Alfred Booth had clearly been impressed with what he saw on his visit to Galicia that summer. Within a couple of months, he had commissioned the writer Walter Wood and the artist Frank H Mason to produce an illustrated volume aimed at British travellers for whom Galicia would almost certainly be an entirely unknown quantity.³³ In a neat coincidence of history, Wood and Mason left Liverpool for Vigo on October 9th, 1909: the very same day on which Barreras's proposal for the foundation of the Association was reported in the Spanish national press.³⁴

Galicia in the (Booth-sponsored) British Imagination

During the five years between 1909 and 1914, the Booth Company either commissioned or sponsored a range of high-profile illustrated publications on Galicia, which include several of the most prominent English-language works on the region to be published

³² Liverpool Record Office, 387 BOO 2/1 Directors' Minutes Book (March 9, 1901 – March 14, 1916), entry for October 30, 1906, p.173: 'The arrangement with Mr Grant Richards for the publication of a book on Portugal was reported. The Company take 650 copies at £150, and frank the writer, Major M Hume, through Portugal.' Martin Sharp Hume, *Through Portugal* (London: Grant Richard / New York: McClure Phillips, 1907).

³³ Although there is no mention of the commission in the company archive, Jaime Solá's *Vida Gallega* reported on December 1, 1909 that 'Mr Booth concibió el propósito de patrocinar la publicación de una obra destinada a dar a conocer nuestro país y orientar bien al turista ... Con objeto de recoger los datos necesarios para esto [sic] libro vinieron a Galicia el paisajista Mr Mason y el escritor Mr Wood ... La Compañía Booth tomó a su cargo los gastos de este viaje, como ha tomado el cuidado de subvencionar la obra mediante la adquisición de varios millares de ejemplares' ('El turismo en Galicia', p.20: 'Mr Booth conceived the idea of sponsoring the publication of a work destined to make our country known and guide the tourist well With the aim of collecting the necessary information for the book, the landscape painter Mr Mason and the writer Mr Wood came to Galicia ... The Booth Company took care of the travel expenses, just as it has taken care to underwrite the work through the purchase of several thousand copies of the book').

³⁴ *El Liberal*, October 9, 1910.

during the period. These works rarely make their Booth connection explicit, being presented as independent, individual travel accounts; this is the case for Wood and Mason's *A Corner of Spain* (1910), for Catherine Gasquoine Hartley's two works, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia* (1911) and *The Story of Santiago de Compostela* (1912),³⁵ and for Walter Gallichan's *Where Trout Abound: the Fly-Fisher in Galicia* (1911).³⁶ None of these books gives any formal indication of their connection with the Booth Line and the AFTG project, but when we read them alongside the Booth Line's own *Holiday Tours in Spain, Portugal and Madeira*, it is clear that they share not only an aesthetic approach and a Vigo-focused Galician geography, but also, and more prosaically, the same destinations and itineraries and a very similar pool of illustrations.³⁷ Together, the two sets of works –Booth-sponsored and Booth-published – form a substantial and rather eclectic visual and textual archive that reveals how the Booth tours were instrumental not only in framing the Edwardian tourist experience of Galicia, but in creating the first-ever visual and textual repertoire for representing Galicia in the British imagination.

It seems that the impetus for Wood and Mason's tour and the eclectic stable of publications that followed may have come at least in part from Major Hume, whom we already know to have been working with both the Booth Line (for whom he had previously written *Through Portugal*) and the Real Academia Gallega, of which he was a corresponding member.³⁸ In the spring of 1909, Annette Meakin's mammoth *Galicia the*

³⁵ Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, *Spain Revisited: A Summer Holiday in Galicia* (London: Stanley Paul, 1911); Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, *The Story of Santiago de Compostela* (London: JM Dent, 1912).

³⁶ Walter Gallichan, *Where Trout Abound: The Fly-Fisher in Galicia* (London: Everett & Co., 1911). Gallichan was Hartley's husband; they were married from 1901-1915 and travelled together to Galicia on several occasions.

³⁷ The Booth Steamship Company, *Holiday Tours in Portugal and Madeira. Illustrated Guide*. 3rd edition (Liverpool: The Booth Steamship Company, 1904); The Booth Steamship Company, *Holiday Tours in Spain, Portugal and Madeira. Illustrated Guide*. 6th edition (Liverpool & London: The Booth Steamship Company, 1913). The Booth Line's own *Holiday Tours in Portugal and Madeira* (later *Spain, Portugal and Madeira*), went through six editions between 1903 and 1913. The archive of photographs taken for the original edition by W.S. Cann of the passenger department is held in the Liverpool Record Office.

³⁸ Hume's membership was reported in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega* vol.21 (December 20, 1908).

Switzerland of Spain, the first substantial, scholarly English-language overview of Galicia, its history and culture, had appeared in bookshops, to general acclaim.³⁹ Within a couple of weeks, Meakin had received a handwritten letter from Enrique Peinador, proprietor of the Balneario de Mondariz, inviting her to visit the Balneario and even suggesting an appropriate Booth Line sailing for her trip.⁴⁰ The letter is pasted into Meakin's scrapbook alongside a review of her book from the Balneario's in-house magazine, *La Temporada de Mondariz*. The review, which begins by rather erroneously describing Meakin, an intrepid and unmarried explorer, linguist and anthropologist, not to mention a vigorous self-promoter, as 'una ama de casa y un poeta' (a housewife and poet), modestly distances itself from Major Hume's 'extrañeza':

La autora no ha estado en Mondariz, y al hablar del Balneario, por segunda o tercera referencia, comete alguna inexactitud, que no nos causa extrañeza, aunque sí se la haya causado al eminente Martin Hume, tan amante de esta tierra y de sus salutíferos manantiales. El insigne escritor inglés en una crítica del libro de su compatriota le dirige una severa censura: "Miss Meakin no ha hecho justicia al más comfortable y regio entre todos los establecimientos minero-medicinales de Europa. No ha visto seguramente ese encantador Mondariz, que atrae en número cada vez mayor, enfermos y visitantes."⁴¹

The author has not been in Mondariz, and on speaking of the Balneario, at second or third hand, she commits the odd infelicity, which has caused us no great astonishment, although it has astonished the eminent Martin Hume, such a lover of this country and her health-giving springs. The celebrated English writer, reviewing his countrywoman's book, censures her severely: "Miss Meakin has not done justice to the most comfortable and majestic of all the minero-medicinal establishments in Europe. She has surely never seen the enchanting Mondariz, which attracts invalids and visitors in ever greater numbers."

³⁹ Annette M.B. Meakin, *Galicia, the Switzerland of Spain* (London: Methuen, 1909).

⁴⁰ Papers of Miss Annette MB Meakin, Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Eng.Misc.d.509. Letter dated April 15, 1909.

⁴¹ Papers of Miss Annette MB Meakin, Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Eng.Misc.d.509; 'El tributo de los extranjeros,' *La Temporada de Mondariz*, June 27, 1909. Meakin's description of Mondariz, which she had not visited, is barely a paragraph long and can be found on p. 355 of *Galicia, the Switzerland of Spain*.

In the absence of primary data from the Booth Line archive, we might hypothesise that *A Corner of Spain* was conceived at least in part to remedy the perceived deficiency of Meakin's work by providing a means through which to promote the new, Vigo and Mondariz-centred geography of Galicia that would be so central to the *AFTG* project.

Wood and Mason, accompanied by Mrs Mason, left Liverpool on October 11, 1909 and spent a month touring Galicia. Wood returned on the *Antony*, landing in Liverpool on November 12, 1909, while the Masons went on to spend a couple of weeks in Portugal. During their month-long visit, they – like Booth a few months earlier – were feted by their hosts, and their every doing widely reported in the journals and newspapers owned by members of the *AFTG*. Their tour began on arrival at Vigo harbour in the *Ambrose*, one of the Booth Steamship Company's 'powerful and splendid modern vessels', which 'have the reputation of being the most comfortable of all that cross the Bay of Biscay'.⁴² The glory of the approach by sea to 'Vigo, Galicia's Gateway' is promoted as a key innovation in these tours, for two reasons.⁴³ On the one hand, it distinguishes Booth travellers from other British tourists, who would likely arrive by rail following one of the two brief itineraries set out in Baedeker's *Handbook to Spain and Portugal*.⁴⁴ On the other hand, it focuses the traveller's attention on southern Galicia and the Vigo region – that is, the *AFTG*'s area of interest – rather than the better-known northern route through the port of A Coruña south to Santiago de Compostela, as we can see in the map published with the book (**Fig.1**). Wood's account of his stay in Vigo comes across as a peculiar mixture of tourist diary and public relations puff, since the only food he mentions is the delicious platefuls of tinned sardines he enjoyed, while 'one

⁴² Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.47

⁴³ 'Vigo, Galicia's Gateway' is the title given to a watercolour by Mason that faces p.51 of *A Corner of Spain*; it would later appear as the frontispiece to Hartley's *Spain Revisited*, with the title 'Vigo: Bay and Town'.

⁴⁴ Karl Baedeker. *Spain and Portugal: A Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig/London: Baedeker/Dulau, 1898; 1901; 1908; 1913).

of the most popular and interesting sights of Vigo', and the one that 'no visitor to Galicia should fail to inspect,' is 'the sardine factory of Messrs. Barreras, beautifully situated at the edge of the bay'.⁴⁵ He also finds time for a quick puff for the two local publications run by Association members, Eladio de Lema's *El Faro de Vigo* and Jaime Solá's 'admirable illustrated monthly magazine ... the *Vida Gallega*, which gives to the matters of the province that attention which at home is bestowed upon current events by the London and provincial weeklies'.⁴⁶

After the opening chapter on Vigo, the book continues less as an itinerary than as a series of set pieces. There are several chapters of eclectic observations, with titles such as 'Things Seen,' in which the shortcomings of Baedeker in relation to Galicia are firmly pointed out,⁴⁷ or 'Locomotion,' which offers advice on trains, cars and bicycles as well as Galicia's 'national vehicle,' the diligence.⁴⁸ Only three places are awarded a chapter to themselves. Two of them, unsurprisingly, are Santiago de Compostela and A Coruña ('Corunna'). but the third is perhaps more unexpected, for the whole of Chapter VII is devoted to the small town of Mondariz, which as we have seen, merited a scant paragraph in Miss Meakin's vast tome. As Wood observes, pre-empting the language of exclusivity also favoured by 21st-century newspaper journalists, this unfamiliarity is actually an advantage for the discerning traveller, since Mondariz 'has the great merit of being almost untraveled by and unknown to ordinary tourists'.⁴⁹ Wood's account of Mondariz, accompanied by Mason's artwork (**Fig. 2, Fig. 3**), is an outstanding effort of public relations from the very first line, which boldly declares that 'There is one health

⁴⁵ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.63

⁴⁶ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.66

⁴⁷ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.100. Wood writes, 'Baedeker, omnipotent in travel, has missed many things in North-West Spain, or omitted them as being superfluous or unattractive, while details which are published in his masterpieces are at variance with other sources of information. For example, Baedeker states that the population of Pontevedra is 8500, but Murray gives the number as 21,000, a startling and bewildering difference.'

⁴⁸ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.127

⁴⁹ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.151

and pleasure resort in Galicia which is in the nature of an earthly paradise, and that is Mondariz'.⁵⁰ With a nod to his employer Alfred Allen Booth, who had just been appointed Chairman of the Cunard Line of luxury steamships, Wood suggests that the hotel 'is certainly the most remarkable [in the Peninsula] in many ways, and might almost be compared with a *Mauretania* on land, it is so complete and self-contained'.⁵¹ Wood provides a breathlessly enthusiastic description of the resort and its history, as well as such a detailed account of its medicinal properties and future development plans that they can only have come from the frequently-name-checked directors (and Wood's hosts), Ramón and Enrique Peinador, of whom he observes that 'only by the application of a large capital, incessant perseverance, and a far-seeing sagacity could the Mondariz hydropathic establishment be what Messrs. Peinador have made it'.⁵² Furthermore, he is very keen to emphasise that 'a regular [motor car] service is maintained between Mondariz and Vigo for the convenience of tourists by the Booth Line'.⁵³ Clearly with one eye on his mission as an ad-man, Wood also comes up with a slogan for the resort: 'It is no exaggeration,' he says, 'to speak of this great undertaking as Mondariz the marvellous'.⁵⁴

Thanks to the *AFTG*'s efforts, Wood's purple prose and Mason's flashing paintbrushes, Mondariz swiftly became a cornerstone of the Edwardian tourist experience of Galicia. Mason's bold and colourful painting of the hotel not only appeared in *A Corner of Spain*, but was used as the cover illustration for the company's promotional brochure circulated from 1910-1912, and again in the 1913 edition of the Booth Line's *Illustrated Guide to Spain (Galicia), Portugal and Madeira* alongside a series

⁵⁰ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.143

⁵¹ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.143

⁵² Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.144

⁵³ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.147

⁵⁴ Wood, *A Corner of Spain*, p.151

of formal photographs of the resort.⁵⁵ Despite this, aesthetic considerations were inevitably placed at the service of the commercial and ideological demands of the *AFTG* project. As we will now see, the imperative to promote Galicia not simply as a tourist destination, but also as a thriving centre of modern industrial progress, had a substantial influence on the representation of Galicia in the British (Booth-sponsored) imagination.

The 'periodistas ingleses' in Galicia (1910)

The second sally in the promotion of Galicia to British tourists took place in 1910, nine months after Wood and Mason's visit when, in what is still perhaps the most audacious intervention to date into the shaping of Galicia's public image, seventeen British journalists were brought by the *AFTG* on a two-week junket to Galicia, where they were hosted, cosseted, and feted by a network of businessmen, every detail of their tour exhaustively reported by the Galician and Madrid press. The journalists were travelling under the auspices of the British International Association of Journalists, whose Secretary, James Baker of the *Morning Post*, and President Samuel Smith Campion of the *Northampton Mercury*, along with their journalist wives, became the public faces of 'los

⁵⁵ These photos do not match the ones circulated by the Peinadors' own publicity machine, so they may be from the archive of the Booth Line's Portugal specialist W.S. Cann. Mason's bold visual version of Mondariz seems to have become the model, also, for a reinvention of the Booth Line's promotional materials for the Portuguese spa resort of Bussaco, which they had been promoting since 1903 through A.S. Forrest's delicate miniatures. Forrest's work featured in the first edition of Hume's *Through Portugal* and were the basis for the 'Picturesque Portugal' series of postcards circulated in 1906 and 1907. From 1909, however, Forrest's paintings were replaced with Mason's in two new postcard series called 'Sunny South' series 1 and 2. Mason's painting of the spa hotel at Bussaco strongly resembles his familiar and much-reproduced painting of Mondariz, which may suggest that the Mondariz model and Mason's repertoire of Galician images had achieved some success among customers and were now to be used as a model for future advertising campaigns. Again, the absence of any reference to the project in the Booth Company archives frustrates any firm conclusions.

periodistas ingleses' 'the English journalists' in the Spanish and Galician press.⁵⁶ Most of the party travelled to Galicia together, leaving Liverpool aboard the Booth Line's *Hilary* on Tuesday July 19th, and landing in Vigo at 7am on Monday July 25th, where they were loaded into a cavalcade of motor cars and taken straight to Mondariz. Their rather breathless itinerary clearly demonstrates how the organizers intended to promote Galicia's modernity and industry, not only in their choice of the sites and sights to be visited, but also by ensuring that Vigo ('a very go-ahead place') and the South maintained a priority position.⁵⁷ They did make the requisite visits to Santiago and Coruña, but not – despite the vociferous complaints of local journalists – to Lugo and the northern coast.⁵⁸

On arrival, the journalists were whisked the thirteen miles inland to Mondariz, where they spent a whole day inspecting the estates and enjoying the Fiesta of Santa María del Carmen, and then a second day visiting the Castillo de Sobroso and the Puente de Cernadela. This part of the trip is the backdrop to *A Lady of Spain*, a novel published the following year by one of the participants, G.B. Burgin of the *Daily Express*. In the novel, a party of British journalists travels aboard the *Hilary* to 'a place [they call] "Galethia"'.⁵⁹ Their first stop is the spa at Mondariz, where the sardonic hero, Guy Pamphilon, falls passionately in love with a young lady by the name of 'the Señorita Rosita Mercedes Maria Frecia Balbina Isabel Carmen Margarité de Leon de Penaflor

⁵⁶ 'Galicia ante el turismo,' *Vida Gallega* 25 (August 31 1910): 5-16. This, the most substantial account, devotes twelve copiously-illustrated pages to the activities of 'los periodistas ingleses'. Daily updates were printed in Galicia's major newspapers, including *Diario de Galicia* (Santiago); *El Correo de Galicia* (Santiago); *El Eco de Galicia* (La Coruña); *El Diario de Pontevedra*; *El Regional* (Lugo), and *El norte de Galicia* (Lugo). For an idea of the reporting of the visit around Spain, see, among others, *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona, July 18, 1910), p.4; 'Los periodistas ingleses,' *La Correspondencia de España* (Madrid, July 26, 1910), p.3 and subsequent reports on July 30 and 31, August 4, 5, and 6; reports in *La Época* (Madrid) on July 24, 28, 31 and August 2, 3; *Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid, August 11, 1910); *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (August 8, 1910); *El Día de Madrid* on July 27, 28, 29 and August 4; *Siglo Futuro* on August 3, 1910; *La Correspondencia Militar* on August 9, 1910.

⁵⁷ J Harris Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain,' *The English Illustrated Magazine* (November, 1910), p.106.

⁵⁸ 'Lugo y los ingleses,' *El Norte de Galicia: diario político y de información* (July 27, 1910), p.1.

⁵⁹ GB Burgin, *A Lady of Spain* (London: Hutchinson, 1911), p. 30.

[sic]'.⁶⁰ Burgin was a prolific novelist, publishing two or three titles a year, and *A Lady of Spain* is, like his other works, a witty and fairly over-the-top romance. However, it is also most likely a *roman à clef*, its colourful depiction of a party of journalists filled with vividly-drawn characters such as 'the President of the party, a fine-looking, grey-headed old gentleman, with a mania for archaeological detail',⁶¹ Mr Pymount, 'a little shaggy-haired man of about thirty, with twinkling black eyes, prominent nose, and a massive forehead',⁶² and Mrs Jim, 'the woman of action who was prepared to take decisive steps in whatever direction she pleased'.⁶³ Around the love story at the novel's core, Burgin weaves a richly-textured account of the Balneario and its surroundings that complements the one to be found in the journalistic writings he and his colleagues produced after the event.⁶⁴ The novel also includes passages that hint strongly at the propaganda material provided by the party's Galician hosts:

"We're going to Mondariz," said Pamphilon to Sandgate, "a place where they have mineral springs. Fifty years ago, Mondariz was an unknown mountain village with a spring from which the waters had been drunk for centuries. Now, I am told, there is a palatial 'hydro' there. 'Drink the waters of Mondariz, and a plain man becomes handsome.'" He looked at Pymount. "Thank you, I did it last year, as you might have guessed had you carefully studied my classic beauty," said Pymount. "We'll hope that the result may be equally successful when you drink. They say miracles do happen there sometimes."⁶⁵

The journalists are at pains to stress the comfort and cleanliness of the facilities at Mondariz, where 'the whole huge establishment is lighted with electricity and is in

⁶⁰ Burgin, *A Lady of Spain*, p. 110. Burgin wrote a second novel based on the trip, *The Belle of Santiago* (London: Hutchinson, 1911), in which the Englishman Anthony Heron falls in love with Señorita Mercedes 'beneath the castle walls of Cernadela,' just outside Mondariz, but they are parted by her cruel father and tragedy ensues.

⁶¹ Burgin, *A Lady of Spain*, p.47.

⁶² Burgin, *A Lady of Spain*, p.47.

⁶³ Burgin, *A Lady of Spain*, p.32.

⁶⁴ For example, the events fictionalized in *A Lady of Spain* are also chronicled in G.B. Burgin, 'Snapshots in Spain. I. A Fete Day at Mondariz in Galicia,' *Daily Express* (September 6, 1910).

⁶⁵ Burgin, *A Lady of Spain*, pp. 88-89.

every respect most modern and sanitary'.⁶⁶ The need to promote their hosts' commercial interests clearly comes through. For example, J Harris Stone describes how 'The bottling industry is carried on within sight of the visitors, and enormous numbers of bottles in cases are sent yearly all over Spain, Portugal, the West Indies, and South America,' but carefully notes the problem that 'at present [Mondariz water] is scarcely known in England'.⁶⁷ In these writings, the spa at Mondariz emerges as a central co-ordinate in the newly-imagined geography of a modern, Anglo-facing Galicia. Its primary significance, however, is not as a centre for medical excellence, rest and restoration, or even a social hub, but as a complex industrial network, a showcase for the juxtaposition of tradition and modernity, and a shining example of social progressiveness and commercial innovation, making the apparently paradoxical question of Galician modernity a crucial aspect of this innovative marketing of Galicia to Edwardian tourists. We can see this, for example, in Catherine Gasquoine Hartley's recollections of Mondariz, which intertwine leisure and industry, framing the estate's small industrial plant in terms of its visual appeal:

I recall the many visits I made to the bottling-water factory, which was to me one of the most delightful spots in Mondariz ... Here **picturesque men and women** work in batches day and night, filling, corking, and labelling over ten thousand bottles during the 24 hours, A more industrious and **charming scene of labour**, and one more typical of the country, it would not be possible to find ... Wherever we walked, in every direction, we saw a **charming scene of labour**.⁶⁸

After Mondariz, everything else would be compared to those first glorious days. On the third day of their visit, July 28th, the party was driven to Pontevedra, where they enjoyed a banquet and many speeches on the estate of Sr. Palmes at Monte Porreiro and

⁶⁶ J Harris Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain,' p. 112.

⁶⁷ J Harris Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain,' p.111.

⁶⁸ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, pp.72-73. Emphasis mine.

a visit to Museo de Santo Domingo, and then on to the island of La Toja, where several of the visitors noted approvingly how quickly the motor cars chartered by their hosts covered the 23-mile journey.⁶⁹ They would spend two nights at La Toja's Grand Hotel, where they formed part of the jury at the Regatta celebrating the opening of the bridge between the island and the mainland, took a boat trip to Villagarcía and the Isla de Cortegada, which had just been donated by the Galician people to King Alfonso and his English Queen Ena, before leaving by train for Santiago. The distinction in the marketing of the rival spa establishments of Galician-owned Mondariz and British-run La Toja is clearly evident in Hartley's comparison of the two: 'What delighted me,' she writes, 'was that, with all this modern comfort, [Mondariz] is still a Spanish hotel, with that Spanish character that I know not how to describe, but which every one who has felt its charm will know ... La Toja, I think, has lost this; it is the happy spirit of Mondariz'.⁷⁰ Hartley's description of La Toja reveals the essential tension at the heart of the journalists' project, between the celebration of progress and a lament for what is lost in its cause:

The vigorous invasion of modern progress is never quite absent in La Toja... he who loves this gracious land will not find himself so much at home as in the Spanish hotel at Mondariz. It was difficult for me at least not to feel this great modern palace as a parasitic growth. La Toja Hotel is under the management of a British company. This explains the presence here of the English games of tennis and golf. Wherever the Anglo-Saxon resorts he wants to live precisely as he does at home – he has so little imagination! He must have the same food – bacon and eggs for breakfast (you can have these at La Toja!), beefsteak for dinner; the same drinks – his whisky, his tea – and his games.⁷¹

During the two days the journalists spent in Santiago, where they were based at the Hotel Suiza, they followed a fairly unexceptional tourist itinerary, visiting the

⁶⁹ Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain,' p.113: 'The day I went [to La Toja] from Pontevedra, in a fine Hotchkiss car, kindly driven by the owner, the journey [took] only one hour, five minutes'.

⁷⁰ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, p.66.

⁷¹ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, pp. 95-96.

Cathedral, touring the city (especially its convents and churches), seeing the University, San Lorenzo and the Bathhouse, lunching at the Ayuntamiento (City Hall) and, on their last night, enjoying a Fiesta in the Alameda organized by the Anglophile Santiagués journalist Román López. If their time in Santiago was relatively sedate and conventional, however, the Coruña leg of the journey was more breathless and idiosyncratic, and designed specifically to show off two things: Galicia's modern industry, and her close commercial and cultural links with Britain. Accompanied by members of the *Real Club de Automóviles de Galicia* (Royal Galician Automobile Club), the party made a triumphal motorised entrance into Coruña, where they were to stay three nights at the Hotel Francia; the packed itinerary included lunch with the English colony, a gala performance of a play by the younger Echegaray at the Teatro Pardo Bazán, a Sir John Moore-themed tour of the city, a garden party and military horse trials at the Sporting club, a day trip to see the arsenal and warships at Ferrol, 'the Woolwich of Spain',⁷² where the ladies were not terribly impressed by the overwhelming patriotism of their male colleagues on seeing that the dockyards were largely British-run and British financed,⁷³ and then a short cruise around Coruña Bay and, by way of farewell, a Gala Banquet at the Anglo-friendly 'Ideal Room'. The highlight was generally agreed to have been the visit to the tomb of the British General Sir John Moore (the centenary of whose death had been commemorated the previous year), which provided 'the chief interest in Coruña to English people'.⁷⁴ As Hartley writes in her account of the trip: 'we repaired to

⁷²Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain', p.115.

⁷³ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, pp. 203-4: 'I longed to wait in [Betanzos], where there were so many things I wanted to dream of and to see. But progress and patriotism – motor-cars and war-ships – compelled my rushing onwards. Perhaps this explains my mood in the hours we spent at Ferrol, inspecting the efforts of civilisation! ... I know that we walked about for a long time, while much information was admirably given by the English engineers who accompanied us. However, I did not listen.'

⁷⁴ Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain', p. 114.

the historic city, chiefly with the view of accomplishing, as British citizens, a sentimental pilgrimage, which we, in fact, achieved under most agreeable conditions'.⁷⁵

The last leg of the tour saw the journalists return to Vigo for three nights at the Grand Hotel Continental on the waterfront, where their hosts from the *AFTG* rejoined them and organized a packed three days of sightseeing and industry. They toured the city, climbed Monte Castro, met the Mayor at the Ayuntamiento and visited the municipal School of Arts and Industries, took carriages to Baiona and the Castillo de Montereal, and presided over a Banquet with the Junta de Turismo de Vigo. On their final day in Galicia, they kicked off with the inevitable visit to Sr. Barreras's sardine cannery, which Hartley, echoing her previous description of the bottling plant at Mondariz, considered 'a charming scene of labour, one of the pleasantest places in this delightful town, and certainly one of the most interesting'.⁷⁶ According to Hartley, they spent a great deal of time 'seeing the various and complicated processes by which the sardines are prepared', although she herself was more interested in observing the workers, who, she says, 'are in the most favourable position of any town in Galicia; in many respects Vigo has attained a degree of human development under industrial life which other countries are still toiling to achieve'.⁷⁷ After the sardine factory, the group embarked on a second trip to Baiona via Ramallosa, then back to A Guía, a boat trip to the Lazareto de San Simón where they had another banquet, followed by a formal tea at the Vigo Chamber of Commerce. Their last night in Vigo coincided with the *Fiestas de la Reconquista*, where they watched the Paso de la Procesión del Cristo de la Victoria, and utterly failed to note the presence of the socialist leader, Pablo Iglesias, in the city at the same time. No wonder, then, that the novelist and journalist G.B. Burgin, in his *Memoirs*

⁷⁵ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, p. 185.

⁷⁶ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, p. 314.

⁷⁷ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, p. 315.

of a *Clubman* published around a decade later, remembered his trip fondly, if a little blurrily: 'We had a perfectly regal reception everywhere (Spanish hospitality is proverbial),' he said, 'and it was only on our return home that Walter Jerrold became regretful. "I know we're back in England again," he sorrowfully observed, "because I have to pay for my own lunch"'.⁷⁸

On their return home, the journalists kept up their side of the bargain, publishing reams of articles, letters and books, and giving lectures, speeches and slide shows promoting the modern, industrial and Anglophile but paradoxically still very 'primitive', 'untouched' and 'authentic' Galicia they had visited.⁷⁹ A crucial aspect of their activity is its geographical reach, for this was no metropolitan exercise aimed at wealthy London audiences, but designed to reach into all kinds of audiences in the provinces. For example, as well as those affiliated with national periodicals (George Adam of *Truth*, Burgin of the *Daily Express*, Walter Jerrold of the *Telegraph*), the group included Pearl Humphrey of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Arthur Barrett of the *Northern Daily Mail*, the Campions of the *Northampton Mercury*, the Lloyd Evanses of the *Warwick Advertiser*, Joseph Fisher of the *Belfast Northern Whig*, and Arthur Moody of the *Worcester County Express* and *Birmingham Daily Post*, who also wrote a book about his experience called *Vigo's' Golden Gates*.⁸⁰ Special-interest audiences were covered by J. Harris Stone of *Travel & Exploration*, a specialist on cycling, motoring and camping; David Louis of the *Engineer*; Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, a specialist on art;

⁷⁸ G.B. Burgin, *Memoirs of a Clubman* (London: Hutchinson, 1921), p.282.

⁷⁹ Details of the vast majority of these talks and publications remain to be located. Some examples of which we do have knowledge include those reported in 'Galicia en Inglaterra', *Diario de Galicia* (December 8, 1910), p.1: Mr Harris Stone's talks at the 'Bath Literaty and Phical Association [sic]' on November 4, 1910, and the *London Catholic Association* on December 12, 1910, and in 'Galicia en Inglaterra', *Diario de Galicia* (December 31, 1910), p.1: Mr Campion's lecture and slideshow at the New Library in Northampton on December 24, 1910.

⁸⁰ I have not succeeded in locating a copy of Moody's book, which is mentioned in his obituary, published in the *Stourbridge County Express* in 1927.

Miss Strutt Cadell of the *Gentlewoman* and A.S.E. Ackermann of *Times and Engineering Papers*.

Certain key themes emerge from their efforts, including a number of slogans that we find repeated again and again: 'Galicia's Golden Sands'; 'A Corner of Spain'; 'Mondariz the marvellous'; 'Vigo, Galicia's Golden Gateway', or the 'Golden Gate of Galicia'. The paradoxical nature of Galicia's modernity, which was sold to them aggressively during their fortnight in the country, is a constant subject for comment, particularly when compared with the predominant Anglo view of Galicia as one of the most backward regions of one of the most backward countries in Europe. As Hartley, invoking one of the Booth-inspired tourist slogans, observed: 'That is ... the special interest of this corner of Spain – it is a museum of the past preserved and perpetuated in the midst of the new progress of the present'.⁸¹ Like Wood the previous year, Hartley strove to give her readers the impetus to look beyond the false depiction of Galicia contained in the ubiquitous but, as they had learned, not-so-omniscient Baedeker:

I know of nothing more misleading than the idea that Galicia is a dirty country. I would remark also that the Keating's recommended by Baedeker will not be needed; no, not even in the country districts. It is instructive to note that the same admirable authority dismisses Mondariz without any notice of her hotels, while La Toja is not mentioned – a witness, indeed, that Galicia is going ahead rapidly, when the always-correct red guide of the traveller is left out of date.⁸²

Consequences

The relationship between the British journalists and their hosts did not end with their return to London, although its geographical focus shifted. In December 1910, the

⁸¹ Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, p. 281.

⁸² Hartley, *Spain Revisited*, p. 65. Keating's was a

Santiago-based journalists Antonio Tafall and Román López visited their British friends. They boarded the Booth Line steamer *Lanfranc* at Vigo on November 30, arriving in Liverpool at 8am on Sunday December 4th where ‘el manto protector del turismo vigués seguía cobijándonos’ (the protecting veil of Vigo tourism remained over us), as they were greeted by the Booth’s passenger manager W.S. Cann.⁸³ Just like their British counterparts travelling in the opposite direction, they were quick to sing the praises of the ‘cómodos y bonitos vapores de la importante empresa naviera “Booth Line”’ (comfortable and attractive steamships of the important shipping company “Booth Line”),⁸⁴ although they were less impressed by Liverpool, ‘una ciudad abandonada, solitaria, triste’ (an abandoned, solitary, sad city).⁸⁵ After two days in Birmingham, they arrived in London on the evening of December 6th, rising early the following morning to lay a wreath on Wellington’s tomb in St Paul’s Cathedral in the company of Baker, Stone, Louis, Burgin, the Adams, Campion, Hartley, and Hartley’s husband Walter Gallichan.⁸⁶ Tafall left Liverpool aboard the Booth Line’s *Anselm* on December 10th, while López remained a few weeks longer in the UK. Their visit was, again, widely reported in the Galician press, above all in their own newspapers, López’s *Diario de Galicia* and Tafall’s *Gaceta de Galicia*.⁸⁷ They were delighted to confirm, as Tafall wrote on his return, that the *AFTG*’s efforts had paid off:

La constante correspondencia con escritores y periodistas que sostiene [Sr. López], es tan oportuna que en Londres y casi todo el Reino Unido se habla de nuestra región y de nuestra ciudad, porque siendo periodistas y otros

⁸³ Antonio Tafall, ‘A Londres,’ *Gaceta de Galicia* (December 13, 1910), p. 1.

⁸⁴ Antonio Tafall, ‘A Londres (Abordo del “Lanfranc”),’ *Gaceta de Galicia* (December 12, 1910), p. 1.

⁸⁵ Tafall, ‘A Londres’ (December 13, 1910), p. 1.

⁸⁶ Tafall, ‘En Londres’ (December 14, 1910), p. 1; ‘En Londres’ (December 15, 1910), p. 1.

⁸⁷ For example, articles under the rubric ‘Galicia en Inglaterra’ appeared in *Diario de Galicia* (December 8 and 31, 1910); ‘Santiago en Londres’ also appeared in the *Diario de Galicia* (December 11 and 13, 1910); the series ‘A Londres’ appeared in the *Gaceta de Galicia* (December 12 and 13, 1910), followed by ‘En Londres,’ *Gaceta de Galicia* (December 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 1910). López was also Galician correspondent for the Madrid daily newspaper *El Día de Madrid*, which published his account of the trip as ‘Gallegos a Londres,’ *El Día de Madrid* (December 16, 1910).

escritores a donde llegan noticias, ellos en artículos e informaciones curiosos van pregonando las excelencias de nuestra Patria, en la prensa, en los círculos, en los clubs en todas partes, y por eso decimos que es utilísima esa reciprocidad de afecto que no tardará en verse factiblemente demostrada.⁸⁸

The constant correspondence with writers and journalists that [Sr. López] maintains, is so timely that in London and almost the whole United Kingdom they are talking of our region and our city, for being journalists and writers, wherever news is published, they proclaim the excellence of our Homeland in articles and features, in the press, at meetings, in clubs everywhere, and so we can say how exceptionally useful this mutual affection is, which will be practically demonstrated very soon indeed.

The relationship was consolidated two years later in a Spanish publication compiled for Booth Line tourists by prominent Galician writers and intellectuals, including Emilia Pardo Bazán, Manuel Murguía, Celso del Riego, and Enrique Peinador, and whose title, with its apparently hierarchical triad of co-ordinates, is an explicit signal of the new imagined geography the project sought to generate: *Mondariz, Vigo, Santiago: A Guide to the Tourist* (1912).⁸⁹

CONCLUSIONS

From the perspective of British tourism in Galicia, this project was a clear but short-lived success. Booth Line shipping manifests, together with the surviving Mondariz *libros de oro* (visitors' books) and the guest lists featured in *La Temporada* show a steady stream of British visitors to southern Galicia during the five years between 1909 and 1914, the majority of them provincial middle-class professionals – pharmacists, teachers, and engineers, from Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Hull – and many of them visited more than once. The Booth Line must be considered important players

⁸⁸Tafall, 'Los periodistas santiagueses en Londres', *Gaceta de Galicia* (December 21, 1910), p.2.

⁸⁹ The book was published simultaneously in English and Spanish versions: *Mondariz, Vigo, Santiago. A Guide to the Tourist* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1912) and *Mondariz, Vigo, Santiago. Guía del turista* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1912).

in the history of British tourism to Spain, for three key reasons: they visited parts of the Iberian Peninsula that larger operators such as Thomas Cook did not reach; they formed active partnerships with local commercial and cultural agents, thus embedding their operations firmly within local networks that gave their patrons unprecedented access to sought-after 'authentic' experiences; and finally, drawing on advances in printing technology and the rise of the picture postcard, they created an archive of multimedia resources designed to shape the 'tourist gaze' at every stage of the journey. The project of Peinador, Gibbon, Booth and Barreras left an important cultural legacy in both Galicia and the UK, as the dozens of books, articles, photographs and paintings produced by writers and artists in the project's employ contributed to creating a distinctive visual and imaginative identity for a region that until then had played little part in the British cultural imagination. The version of Galicia centred on Vigo and Mondariz that emerges from the complex visual and textual repertoire developed by the Booths and their associates is unfamiliar, innovative, and had vast potential for a future based on the development of cultural and commercial connections with the booming Anglo-Saxon world. Thanks to the outbreak of WWI, however, this potential would remain sadly unrealized, for when European leisure tourism resumed after the first world war, the Booth Line had moved on to the Amazon, and the pendulum of Anglo tourist interest in Galicia had moved back decisively to Santiago and the north.⁹⁰

FIGURE CAPTIONS

Fig. 1: Map of Galicia from Walter Wood, *A Corner of Spain* (1910)

⁹⁰ The National Archives, BT27/802/6. Return of Passengers embarked at the Port of Liverpool. The final Booth-hosted tour to Galicia seems to have been the group of 23 travellers that left Liverpool for Vigo aboard the *Ambrose* on August 11, 1913. The Booth Line ran their famous '1000 Miles up the Amazon' tours from the 1920s until the 1950s.

Fig. 2: 'Mondariz' by FH Mason, as featured in Walter Wood, *A Corner of Spain* (1910), in *Spain, Portugal & Madeira, Illustrated Guide* (1913), and on the cover of the promotional brochure circulated from 1910.

Fig. 3: 'The Hills of Mondariz' by FH Mason, as featured in Walter Wood, *A Corner of Spain* (1910).