

MONDARIZ - VIGO - SANTIAGO

A brief history of Galicia's Edwardian tourist boom



Booth Line. R.M.S. Antony

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DRAFT

Prologue to Mondariz, Viço, Santiago.

This delightful book gives a wonderful insight into the Edwardian tourist industry and the early promotion of the treasures of Galicia in Britain. It points not only to the wonderful cultural and natural heritage on offer but emphasises the quality of the experience and in particular the hospitality received by visitors to Mondariz.

Wind the clock forward one hundred years or so and we find the treasures are still extant though the competition for tourism has increased substantially across the globe. From my own experience a recent stay at Balneario de Mondariz perfectly encapsulates all the favourable comments reflected in this book.

The conservation of the cultural and natural heritage is of fundamental importance to the well-being of society. The National Trust in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, a non-governmental organisation founded in 1895, is an exemplar in this respect, having today over 4 million members and employing 6000 staff and over 70,000 volunteers. Its properties receive over 19 million visitors each year.

In Galicia the beginnings of such an organisation, in this case Tesouros de Galicia, is a brilliant and much needed concept and the hope is that, in time, it will spread to the whole of Spain.

The value of a country's heritage is inestimable and provides a perfect example of sustainability. Socially it represents a huge educational resource as well as employment opportunities: economically the exploitation of the tourist potential will help to increase the gross domestic product : and finally the conservation and re-use of existing buildings is far better for the environment than building anew.

It is to be hoped that the pages that follow will encourage individuals, companies, institutions and foundations to support the conservation and protection of all that is best in Galicia for this generation and those to come.

Oliver Maurice
Director, The International
National Trusts Organisation





Un turismo cultural precursor

Mondariz, Vigo y Santiago son tres lugares que muestran sus diferentes tipos de patrimonio cultural, tanto histórico como actual, también con distinto reconocimiento a nivel mundial, en el que Santiago de Compostela y su camino de peregrinación ha conseguido el mayor título y desarrollo del turismo internacional; pero estos tres lugares han aportado históricamente, desde el principio del siglo XX, su carácter especial, representando un patrimonio importante en sus construcciones y elementos más esenciales, ya sean materiales o intangibles.

El texto de este libro nos presenta una idea muy precursora del concepto patrimonial que tenía la sociedad británica hacia 1907, por lo menos en sus niveles más cultos y sensibles para las excelencias turísticas, contando su larga tradición de viajes destacables desde el siglo XVIII; así se reconocía el valor de lo artístico en su más amplio sentido en Santiago, el del mundo portuario con su industria y comercio en Vigo, así como el saludable paisaje y las curativas aguas del Balneario de Mondariz. De esta manera se estaba creando un circuito cultural y turístico con tres estimaciones generales diferentes y todas muy atractivas, coincidiendo con un nuevo criterio de valoración que ya preconizaba científicamente Alois Riegl en Viena y en los mismos años: era el resultado de un análisis de todas las construcciones, consideradas □monumentos□ para el patrimonio cultural, en base a la funcionalidad, los recuerdos históricos y las características constructivas, incluyendo todo su entorno inmaterial. Para la España de aquella época, que apreciaba casi exclusivamente los valores histórico-artísticos y de la iniciación de la arqueología, era toda una novedad, aunque ya apuntaba la iniciativa de algunos preclaros autores y hombres de acción en el ámbito de la actividad económica y cultural, como fueron los creadores del Balneario de Mondariz.

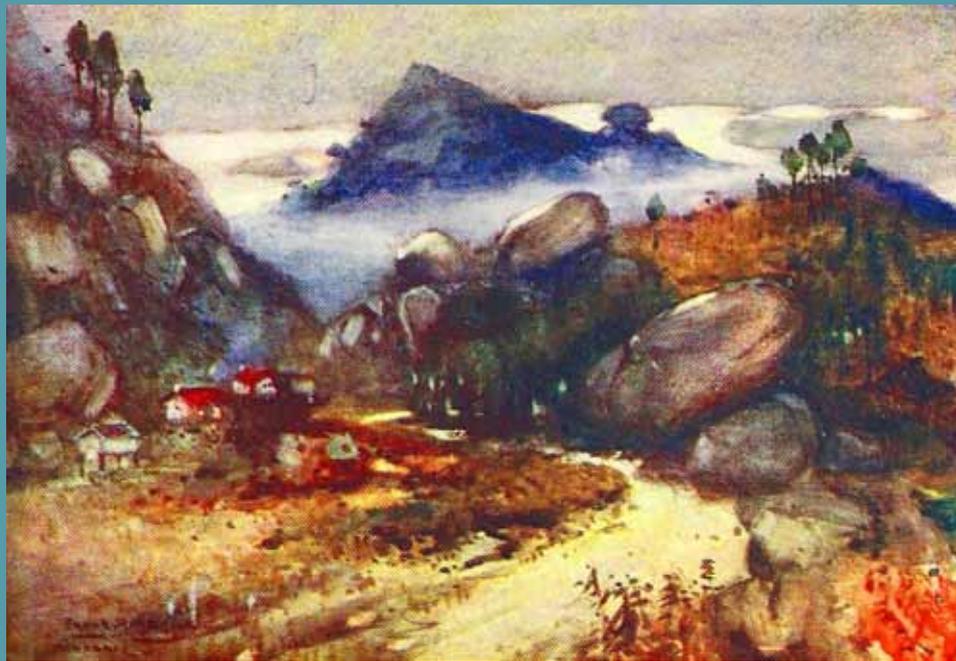
Estamos ante un libro muy interesante en esta historia del patrimonio histórico.

Juan Antonio Rodríguez-Villasante Prieto

Miembro del Consejo Internacional de Monumentos y Sitios (ICOMOS),
órgano asesor de la UNESCO.



International Council on
Monuments and Sites
Conseil International
des Monuments et des Sites



Os primordios do turismo moderno en Galicia

Ramón Villares

El turismo es hoy lo que fueron siglos atrás las famosas peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela

Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago. Guía del turista

Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1912

A experiencia de Galicia na recepción de visitantes foráneos, incluso chegados de forma masiva e sistemática, é moi antiga. O feito de que unha moderna guía turística invoque o fenómeno xacobeo, nun tempo en que tamén aquel se estaba a recuperar dunha longa decadencia, é a mellor constatación daquela experiencia. De feito, as peregrinacións á tumba do Apóstolo Santiago de Compostela, que acadaron unha dimensión propiamente europea desde o século XII, son un exemplo precoz de mobilidade periódica e voluntaria da poboación, na procura dunha satisfacción cultural ou espiritual. Non importa tanto o número de peregrinos que houbese, como a construción dunha práctica cultural que permitiu a construción dun camiño ou itinerario de dimensión europea. Itinerario que, alén dos soportes materiais que se foron construíndo no seu trazado (camiños, pontes, albergues...), tivo tamén o seu texto de referencia no libro quinto do *Codex Calixtinus*, normalmente definido como unha “guía do peregrino”.

Pero estas peregrinacións non eran propiamente unha expresión de turismo de lecer ou de negocios, como hoxe se entende o fenómeno do turismo masivo fundado na enorme capacidade que acadaron os medios de transporte, desde o tren e o barco a vapor até o avión. Agora tampouco actúa a relixiosidade como principal acicate para emprender unha viaxe afastada do lugar habitual de residencia. Os centos de millóns de viaxes aéreas que sucun os ceos do planeta non son todas de carácter turístico. Pero é evidente que, sen estes medios de transporte, o turismo non pasaría de ser a típica viaxe do peregrino ou do escritor que, ao modo de Goethe, Stendhal, Chateaubriand ou Lord Byron, vai á procura das fontes da cultura europea (Italia, Grecia, Palestina, Mesopotamia...) ou a lugares afastados de América e do Oriente asiático.

Foi nos tempos contemporáneos cando o turismo acadou novas funcións e, sobre todo, se converteu nunha práctica social de carácter masivo. Centos de millóns de persoas disláncanse anualmente, en viaxe de ida e retorno, desde a súa morada habitual para outros lugares, na procura de lecer, monumentos singulares ou para coñecer culturas e modos de vida diferentes. O turismo é, na actualidade, un sector económico decisivo para moitos países –entre eles, España. A relevancia do turismo no mundo actual é o resultado de moitos factores, entre os que algúns non menores son aqueles que teñen que ver con políticas de promoción e de divulgación de ofertas e valores que sexan de interese para eventuais turistas. A este obxectivo responde, como xa o fixera no seu día o *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, a edición de guías e de relatos de viaxes que marcan itinerarios selectos. Un exemplo deste tipo de obras é o libro *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago*, editado en 1912 e definido explicitamente como unha “guía del turista”. Trátase da primeira guía turística moderna aparecida en Galicia e ao seu estudo e contextualización histórica está dedicado este orixinal traballo de Krysty Hooper, unha experta na historia do turismo europeo contemporáneo.

Hai tres aspectos deste estudo e do proceso histórico que evoca que son merecentes de ser subliñados e que, dalgún modo, a autora reúne na frase conclusiva: *spas, steamships, sardines*. Son os protagonistas tanto galegos como ingleses, nos que desempeña un papel central o balneario de Mondariz e, como apoio histórico, a cidade de Santiago de Compostela como imán para atraer un turismo de natureza cultural e relixioso, alén de *spas* e lecer corporal. A conxunción de todas estas forzas tivo a súa réplica nun repentino, pero traballado, interese británico por Galicia, definida naquela altura por Annette Meakin como a “Suíza de España”. Aínda que foi unha experiencia breve e moi axiña tronzada polos efectos da guerra do 14, daquela botáronse os primeiros piares institucionais para o fomento do turismo moderno e masivo, como se estaba a facer en moitos outros lugares da Europa mediterránea.

Os protagonistas son varios, todos eles pertencentes ás elites culturais e económicas de Galicia ou do Reino Unido. Dunha banda, a parella formada por Enrique Peinador Lires e Federico Barreras Massó. O primeiro, como responsable do complexo hoteleiro e balneario de Mondariz, que se estaba a converter nun dos *lieu de mémoire* da España da Restauración. O segundo, como representante, con algúns outros como Estanislao Durán, do tecido empresarial forxado na ría de Vigo derredor da industria da conserva de sardiñas e do trafego migratorio de ida e volta de América. A elite conserveira viguesa, formada basicamente no colexio xesuítico de Camposancos, tiña unha clara pegada cultural británica, debida en boa medida á condición exportadora da produción conserveira, e nese contexto enténdese a súa aposta pola promoción de Galicia como un foco turístico atlántico. Era un modo complementario de reforzar a posición do porto de Vigo nas roitas turísticas de base marítima.

E, doutra banda, os protagonistas británicos, os que sosteñen o que a autora denomina o “boom” do turismo eduardiano con destino a Galicia. Aparecen aquí escritoras e xornalistas como Rachel Challice, Martin Hume, Annette B. Meakin ou Catherine G. Hartley, que coas súas coñecidas obras e reportaxes sobre Galicia contribuíron a desmentir as imaxes negativas que os Baedeker do momento deitaron sobre Galicia. Pola contra,

todos eles contribuíron a popularizar nalgúns medios británicos a importancia de Galicia, dos seus atractivos e da súa aínda pobre pero elegante infraestrutura hoteleira, entre a que sobrancea sempre o lugar de Mondariz. Pero nada sería igual sen o concurso dunha empresa de navegación, como a *Booth Line* de Liverpool, que foi a que artellou unha parada no porto de Vigo dos seus barcos con destino a Madeira e, mesmo, ao Brasil.

Parece evidente que Mondariz é o sol que alumea este novo planeta turístico. E que son os *spas* os centros que merecen unha atención especial por parte dos redactores da guía *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago*, pois a carón de Mondariz son gabados os balnearios de Caldas de Reis, Catoira e Cuntis, de Caldelas de Tui e da Toxa, deixando na penumbra moitos outros balnearios que daquela estaban a inzar en Galicia, tanto na provincia de Ourense (Cabreiroá) como na de Lugo (O Incio). E, sobre todo, cómpre subliñar a atención que se lles presta á cidade e ao santuario de Compostela, que daquela estaba a renacer como lugar de peregrinacións, despois de tantos anos de declinio. Os Anos Santos de finais do século XIX foran un asunto case unicamente doméstico da Igrexa compostelá. Foi coa *Exposición Regional Gallega* de 1909 e coa nova política deseñada pola Igrexa e polas autoridades civís de Compostela que as peregrinacións a Santiago comezaron a recobrar unha dimensión turística da que levaban privadas varios séculos. O eixe Vigo-Santiago é tan explícito que mesmo se ignoran outros lugares de potencial turístico e de presenza británica, como eran as cidades da Coruña ou Ferrol ou a incipiente costa norte cantábrica.

Unha das mellores achegas deste estudo de Kirsty Hooper é a reconstrución das viaxes de promoción que xornalistas ingleses fan a Galicia en 1910, con acollida entusiasta tanto en Vigo-Mondariz, como en Monte Porreiro (no establecemento do “indiano” Casimiro Gómez) e, sobre todo, en Santiago de Compostela, onde son recibidos por figuras senlleiras do rexionalismo cultural, como Salvador Cabeza de León, e dos medios eclesiásticos, como o erudito historiador Eladio Oviedo y Arce ou o cóengo de orixes viguesas Leopoldo Eijo Garay, quen actuara de intérprete da primeira gran peregrinaxe da Asociación Católica inglesa á tumba do Apóstolo Santiago no ano 1909. A devolución da visita de xornalistas galegos ao Reino Unido, na que participan Santiago Tafall e Román López, é unha mostra de que a idea de constituír unha Asociación para o Fomento do Turismo, alentada pola “sardinocracia” viguesa, era un proxecto serio e de futuro. O xornalista compostelán Román López, que morara varios anos na Inglaterra, foi autor dunha celebrada guía da cidade (en vigor até os anos setenta) e, durante algún tempo, o único membro do consistorio compostelán que apostaba de forma sistemática por situar a súa cidade no ronsel que estaban a seguir daquela outros focos turísticos como Toledo ou Granada.

Esta experiencia de promoción do turismo británico foi interesante, pero infelizmente breve. O accidente do *Titanic* e o estalido da guerra europea no verán de 1914 fixeron da navegación marítima unha actividade perigosa e, desde logo, pouco apta para viaxes de lecer. Se a neutralidade de España no conflito bélico europeo tivo algunhas vantaxes significativas para a industria téxtil catalá ou para as navieiras vascas, certamente en Galicia a “ventá de oportunidades” aberta pola guerra foi moito máis restrita que naqueles grandes centros industriais. Porque entre nós, alén do bloqueo do trafego migratorio cos países americanos, a guerra europea tivo unha consecuencia moi singular, propia dunha xeada a destempo que leva por diante a froita que está a agromar. Pois nesta sazón estaba un tipo de turismo, de orientación balnearia e de acceso por mar, que tiña en Galicia grandes oportunidades para o seu desenvolvemento. O final da guerra restaurou algunha das liñas de traballo ensaiadas previamente, pero aquel entusiasmo que se percibe nos anos que van de 1909 a 1912 xa non voltaría. E agora, grazas a esta minuciosa investigación, somos máis conscientes da perda que todo aquilo supuxo.

Santiago de Compostela, marzo 2013

Introduction

Mondariz, Vigo, Santiago. These are perhaps not the first names to spring to mind when we think of Spanish tourist destinations. Nonetheless, between 1907 and 1914, the small town of Mondariz and the cities of Vigo and Santiago de Compostela were the cornerstones of a popular set of holiday tours that saw hundreds of British tourists make their way to Galicia, the hitherto little-travelled country in Spain's Atlantic Northwest. These long-forgotten tours were part of a project conceived almost exactly a century ago by a group of Galician and British businessmen. Their leaders were **Enrique Peinador Lines**, owner of the spa complex at Mondariz, **Oliver Thomas Gibbons**, director of the London-based British La Toja Company, **Alfred Allen Booth**, owner of Liverpool's Booth Steamship Company, and the man who brought them all together, **Federico Barreras Massó**, a prominent Vigo entrepreneur and one of the leading lights of the city's successful sardine-canning industry. The group's aim was to develop the close historical ties between Galicia and Great Britain into a modern relationship of mutual economic, social and cultural benefit, and they considered tourism the ideal means by which to achieve this. This book pieces together the history of their pioneering but short-lived project.

The title of this book, *Mondariz, Vigo, Santiago*, is taken from a guidebook the partners produced for their customers in 1912, in which they advocated a triangular tour based – predictably – on the spas, steamships and sardines that formed the chief focus of the partners' business interests. Arriving at the southern port city of Vigo on one of the giant modern steamships of the Liverpool-based Booth Steamship Company, holidaymakers would begin their tour at the brand-new Hotel Continental, perhaps dropping in to visit Barreras's busy sardine cannery on the Vigo waterfront. They could then choose one of two options. They could be driven the forty kilometres inland to the elegant spa town of Mondariz and its thriving Balneario [spa], where they would receive a warm welcome from the Peinador family. Or, they could head north on the British-built West Galicia Railway to the great cathedral city of Santiago de Compostela, perhaps making a detour at Pontevedra to visit Gibbons' La Toja island and its eponymous spa. Whether they opted to stay in the south for pampering and relaxation at one of the spa resorts, or head north for the celebrated cultural attractions of Santiago, tourists would end their holiday by returning to Vigo with its lively fish market and sardine canneries, often visiting these 'charming scenes of industry' as they awaited the steamship that would carry them home.

What was it like to take one of these holiday tours? We can begin to imagine some of the experiences awaiting tourists to ‘The Switzerland of Spain’ thanks to the prominent multimedia advertising campaign funded by the Booth Line and its partners between 1909 and 1914, when their range of colourfully-illustrated guidebooks, brochures and advertisements circulated widely in the UK. Authors, journalists and artists were contracted to visit Galicia, take the tours, and produce a written or artistic record of their experiences. Writers such as **Catherine Gasquoine Hartley**, her husband **Walter Gallichan**, **Walter Wood**, and the artist **Frank Henry Mason** created lively representations of Galicia whose connection with the Booth Line was not always explicitly acknowledged – although, as we will see, the canny reader would surely have been able to read between the lines. While we have to consider their accounts in many cases as thinly-veiled propaganda (did anybody really find the sardine cannery a must-see tourist destination?), their detailed descriptions of the itineraries they followed and their struggles with Galicia’s rapidly-developing infrastructure provide a fascinating insight into the day to day life of an Edwardian tourist.

Of course, the visitors were not only journalists and artists. A fascinating range of responses to the tours can be found in the *libros de ouro* [literally ‘golden books’] or visitors’ books of the Grand Establishment at Mondariz, where British tourists left their thoughts alongside the eminent Spanish, Portuguese and Latin-American visitors who made up the majority of the spa’s clientele. In order to gain a greater understanding of the kinds of people who embarked on these unusual and not particularly cheap holiday tours, I have tried wherever possible to identify the signatories. Using passenger lists, civil records and census returns, I have given a limited biographical sketch wherever I can. Some remain frustratingly elusive, often because of undecipherable handwriting (a rush to put down one’s thoughts while the driver waited outside with his engine chugging?) or because the absence of contextual information, or a very common combination of names, makes identification impossible. Nonetheless, their entries in these elegant albums, some of which have now been in use for over a century, allow us to glimpse something of the response of the ordinary – that is, unsponsored – tourist, albeit often with traces of that blankness that always descends when, pen in hand, one is confronted with a clean page and the expectant faces of one’s hosts.

A note on sources

I used a variety of sources in compiling this history, including published books, newspaper articles, and archival documents. A bibliography of books and articles by named authors appears at the end of the volume; full references for unsigned newspaper articles and archival sources are given in the endnotes. The Mondariz *libros de ouro* and the weekly magazine *La Temporada* can be consulted by appointment with the Fundación Mondariz Balneario.

A note on language.

Galicia has its own language, Galician or *galego*, which is a romance language closely related to both Spanish and Portuguese. Galician is widely spoken throughout the country and in the early twentieth century was the dominant language outside the largest cities. It has been co-official with Spanish since 1981. Where place names exist in both Galician and Spanish forms (e.g. Ourense/Orense; A/La Coruña; Vilagarcía de Arousa/Vilagarcía de Arosa), I have used the Galician forms in my own writing, but kept the Spanish forms in direct quotations from contemporary sources. The only exception is La Toja (Galicia: A Toxa), where I have maintained the Spanish version that has given its name to a global brand of toiletries.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Sonia Montero and Javier Rodríguez-Losada at the Fundación Mondariz Balneario for their hospitality and enthusiasm, and to Professor John K Walton of the Universidad del País Vasco, a pioneer in the history of tourism, for his warm encouragement and support.

Chapter One

The Beginnings (1899-1908)



Santiago de Compostela

The Beginnings (1899–1908)

Despite the two countries' long historical association, the Atlantic community of Galicia was not generally visited by British tourists at the start of the 20th century. This is not to say that the British did not travel to Galicia – far from it. During the nineteenth century, Galicia was a prime target for British investment, with British companies heavily involved in building Galicia's roads, railways, ships and ports. In addition to the resulting armies of contractors, engineers and labourers, Galicia's ports were regular calling points and, in the case of Vilagarcía de Arousa, bases for British naval and merchant vessels. Furthermore, Galicia was familiar to the British public through its long maritime associations, most notably in connection with Drake and the Spanish Armada in the sixteenth century and the Battle of Vigo Bay at the beginning of the eighteenth, and through its role as a crucial battleground in the Peninsular Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The death and burial of General Sir John Moore in A Coruña in 1809 remained an emotive part of British history, and his centenary commemorations in 1909 would become an important attraction for British visitors.

In the decade before 1909, a handful of English-speaking travellers made it to Spain's Atlantic northwest, and some of them left fascinating records of their visits. The majority of these early visitors concentrated their attention on the northern half of Galicia, and above all on the cathedral city of Santiago de Compostela, with occasional excursions to A Coruña or Lugo. During the 1890s, the Cambridge botanists **Hans and Maud Gadow** visited Galicia's north-eastern mountains while searching for specimens (*In Northern Spain*, 1897), while the North American scholar **Archer M Huntington** visited the major sites, including Santiago de Compostela, as part of a cultural tour recorded in *A Notebook in Northern Spain* (1898). Others who recorded brief impressions of Galicia as part of a wider tour of Spain at the turn of the twentieth century include **Elizabeth Burnaby** (*Cities and Sights of Spain*, 1899), **Katherine Lee Bates** (*Spanish Highways and Byways*, 1900); **Albert Frederick Calvert** (*Impressions of Spain*, 1903), **Charles Rudy** (*The Cathedrals of Northern Spain*, 1905), and **Edward Hutton** (*The Cities of Spain*, 1906).

Early British Tourists in Mondariz

Even before the turn of the century, we have evidence that a handful of intrepid Anglophone tourists made it to the Grand Establishment at Mondariz, then almost entirely unknown outside Spain and Portugal, where they enjoyed the personal hospitality of the owners **Enrique Peinador Vela** (1847-1917) and, from 1907, his son **Enrique Peinador Lines** (1880-1940). The earliest Anglophone visitor to appear is **H A Baker**, who left an extensive note in the *libro de ouro* on 31 July 1899 after a month-long residence, recording that:

It gives me great pleasure to leave my testimony to the comfort and good management of this establishment, where, for the first time, my family and I have spent four weeks most pleasantly and to the great benefit of our health. We have found the waters to be as efficacious as they are medically [reputed] to be – the house is well ventilated and so spacious that in the hottest weather one can find repose in these apartments, which, by good management, are kept cool during the sunniest heat of the days.

Mr Peinador has the comfort and pleasure of his guests entirely at heart & is therefore unvarying in his efforts both to maintain these & also to increase both as time & the requirements of his visitors may indicate.

The medical [advisor], Dr Pondal, is both skilful & courteous in his kind care of his patients & it would be impossible to meet with further attention & civility than we have experienced from one & all of the attendants.

I shall therefore not only hope to repeat my visit to this most healthy & picturesque corner of Spain, but shall feel it a pleasure to induce my countrymen to make its acquaintance & there to gratify that desire for novelty & a journey out of the well beaten tracks, which [occurs] in all minds.¹

The next recorded British visitor to Mondariz, in 1906, is **Father James Singleton** (1846 - 1910), a Catholic priest with connections to both the English Martyrs Church in Preston, Lancashire and the English College in Lisbon, who seems to have been a repeat visitor. After a fortnight at the Balneario (having left Liverpool aboard the *Oravia* on 30 August), he wrote enthusiastically in the *libro de ouro* on 18th September that:

I am very happy to add my testimony to the foregoing as to the efficacy of the waters of Mondariz. I have been here only a fortnight and I have derived the greatest benefit from the waters & my stay at the Hotel Peinador.

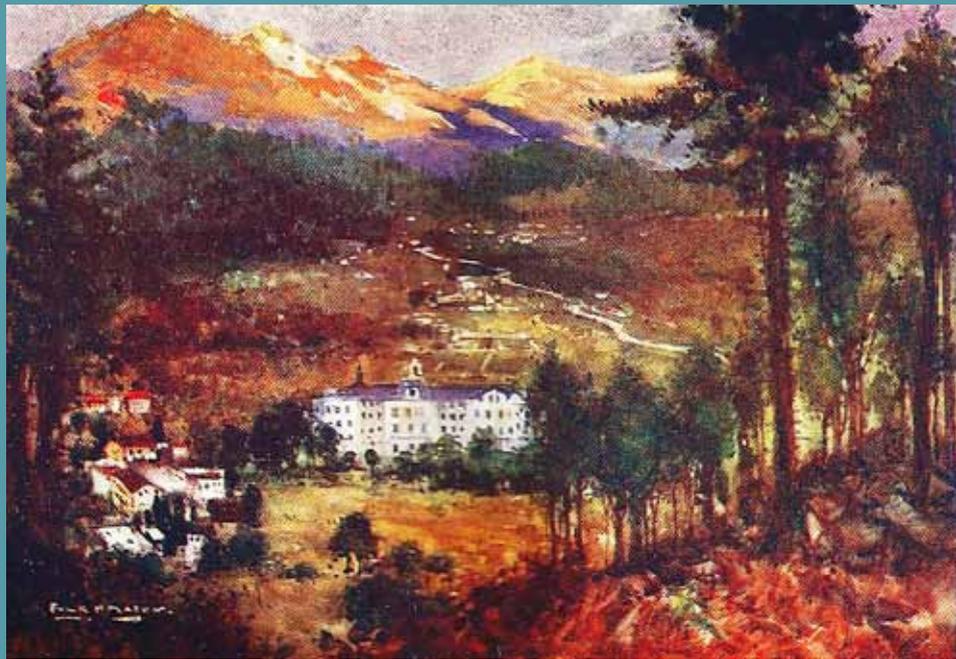
The hotel is really one of the best in Europe both from its situation & its management, & Mr Peinador and his staff do their best for the comfort and happiness of the guests. I shall not fail to recommend my friends to come and spend some time in this Paradise!

Whether or not it was a result of Singleton's promotion, the following summer saw an influx of British visitors to the Balneario, creating a little British colony during June and July. They include **Charles Hugh Maxwell Trayner** (1867-1908), the British Consul at Corunna, who spent June at the resort with his wife **Emmeline Tornquist** (1879-1941) and seven-year-old daughter **Mildred Trayner** (1900-1966);² the writer and publicist **Rachel Challice**, who arrived on 7 June and stayed for the season; **Robert Stewert** [*sic*], who stayed for three weeks in July;³ and **SP Cockerell**, who recorded in the *libro de ouro* on 27 June 1907 that 'The Hotel is certainly one of the best in Spain. It is clean, comfortable, & well managed.'⁴

Rachel Challice

Of all the early British visitors to Mondariz, the one who had the most tangible effect on the Balneario's profile in the UK was the formidable writer and businesswoman **Rachel Challice** (1857-1909). A freelance journalist and publicist from a literary family, Challice had begun her career translating the works of the popular Spanish novelist Armando Palacio Valdés. By 1907, she was writing regularly on Spain for a range of magazines and newspapers as well as running her own organization, the Spanish Information Bureau. She had arrived in Spain in February of 1907, basing herself in Madrid, where she was feted by Spanish authors including Carmen de Burgos and Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, and visiting Barcelona, where she was appointed English correspondent for the weekly magazine *Il·lustració catalana*, which published a biographical sketch of its new collaborator in May 1907.

Challice arrived in Mondariz at the beginning of June 1907, and stayed for almost the entire season, departing in the first week of September.⁵ Her arrival was announced in the 16 June edition of the Balneario's weekly magazine *La Temporada* [The Season], which described her in glowing terms as 'la distinguida escritora inglesa Miss Rachel Challice, del "Lyceum Club" de Londres' [the distinguished English writer Miss Rachel Challice, of London's "Lyceum Club"].⁶ It is during this same summer of 1907 that we find the first evidence in *La Temporada* of the management's efforts to appeal to their growing British clientele, with the appearance of a scattering of English-language articles, several of which suggest Challice's hand. These include Challice's 'English Greeting to the Balneario de Mondariz' and a reprint of Singleton's 1906 entry in the *libro de ouro*, under the title 'En el Album'.⁷ Singleton himself, now under the guise of 'Diego' Singleton (Diego being a Spanish equivalent to James), would return to the Balneario for a month in September 1907, remaining almost until the Establishment closed for the end of the season.⁸



Mondariz

Challice clearly sympathized with the Peinador family's plans for the Balneario and sought to contribute in her capacity both as a writer and a publicist. In 'An English Greeting to the Balneario de Mondariz,' published in *La Temporada* on 16 June 1907, she draws the Balneario into her project of creating closer relations between Spanish and British writers, intellectuals and politicians. This project was shared in spirit if not in practice with other Edwardian writers and intellectuals such as Major Martin Hume, James Fitzmaurice Kelly, Albert Frederick Calvert, and Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, all of whom contributed to the boom in British knowledge about Spain during the first decade of the twentieth century. As Challice notes in her article, this project had been given a welcome boost in 1906 by the marriage of Queen Victoria's favourite grand-daughter, the British Princess Ena of Battenberg, to King Alfonso XIII of Spain:

From the time that the engagement was announced ... there has been a widespread wish for a cordial *entente cordiale* between Spanish and English social circles; and what spot in the Peninsula could be more conducive to the mutual understanding of the two nationalities than the palatial Balneario set in the Paradise like beauties of Mondariz? ... What more congenial setting could be found for the a [*sic*] feast of reason and the flow of soul than the richly clad mountain slopes, the romantic river side, and the pastoral glades of this district of Mondariz? ...⁹

For Challice, the Balneario was an outstanding venue not only for 'free discussion between clever Spaniards and Englishmen in [its] luxurious smoking rooms and lounges,' but also 'as a future meeting place for English and Spanish women'.¹⁰ In short, she concluded, she could confidently assure Señor Peinador that 'not only do the mineral springs promise to be a benefit to my countrymen as well as his own, but as the centre of a true *entente cordiale* between England and Spain they will be a source of international good'.¹¹

The following year, Challice's sympathy with the Peinador family's project would take concrete form with the publication of a sumptuous album aimed at promoting the Balneario to British tourists. *A Monograph of Mondariz, Spain* is a large, landscape album with the Mondariz logo in handsome gold-embossed letters on a cardboard cover, several full-colour, full-page illustrations, and a number of black and white sketches and photographs, some taken by Challice herself. The *Monograph* originated with the Spanish Album sent by the Peinadores to the International Medical Congress held at Lisbon in 1906, now adapted by Challice for a British audience. Part I includes a reprint of Challice's 'Greeting' and a detailed overview of the Balneario and its facilities, while Part II provides translations of essays on the medicinal properties of the water by the Spanish Drs. José R Carracido and Augusto Pi y Suñer.

Challice's contribution to the *Monograph* is a combination of translation, adaptation and original writing designed to inform British visitors about the cultural experiences to be had in Mondariz, and to reassure them about the Hotel's facilities. In a brief afterword, she states that her aim in compiling the Album was to cover 'what English people wish to know when introduced to a new Health resort',¹² and much of the content is designed to allay her countrymen's fears about Spain, where the hospitality industry had never quite managed to shake off the fearsome reputation acquired through the writings of George Borrow and Richard Ford in the 1830s and 1840s. Challice offers various reassurances about the comfort and hygiene of the Balneario's facilities, the dining options, and 'the class of people who frequent the Peinadors' Hotel'.¹³ For those worried about the bathroom facilities, she emphasises that the hotel has been designed with British visitors very much in mind, since 'all the sanitary arrangements show that the proprietors did not go in vain to England to study such systems'.¹⁴ Because 'English people are rather suspicious in Spain about the cleanliness of the cooking arrangements,' Challice visits the kitchen and reports back on 'the five white-capped, white-jacketed *chefs* in the meat and vegetable cooking department,' reassuring her countrymen that 'the gridirons are suggestive of the British steak, and indeed one may say that at Mondariz it is done to perfection'. And one need not worry about the other guests, she adds, since Mondariz 'represents the best society in Spain, both literary, diplomatic, military and social circles'.¹⁵

Beyond the Hotel itself, Challice informs her readers about Mondariz's other attractions, including the Peinadors' ethnographical museum, the villages of Pias, Puentareas [*sic*: today Ponteareas] and San Pedro, the local sights of the Castle of Sobroso and Stone of Arcos, and the bottling-water industry. Challice's promotion of Mondariz bottled water was not entirely altruistic. Hidden away on p.17, we find a sneaky advertisement for a venture of her own:

The waters of Mondariz (Gandara and Troncoso) are sent direct from Galicia to England through the only authorised British agency: Challice's Spanish Information Bureau, 4, Great Winchester Street, EC, to whom wholesale orders should be addressed; and in retail form they can be obtained from all chemists, grocers and wine-merchants. For further particulars apply to Earle's Hotel, 21 and 22 Grosvenor Street, Mayfair W.¹⁶

It is difficult to gauge the impact in Britain of Challice's promotion of Mondariz and its waters, but her work certainly contains the seeds of the project that would begin to develop in earnest the following year. Sadly, Challice herself would never see the Balneario's brief but sensational period as the Anglo-Spanish paradise she had written of in her 'Greeting,' for in April 1909, just a few months after her final visit to Mondariz, she died suddenly at her home in Bognor, Sussex, aged just 51.

Annette Meakin

Paradoxically, and despite Challice's efforts, it seems that another British writer's conspicuous failure to visit the Balneario was to have an equally great impact on the development of British tourism there. **Annette Budgett Meakin** (1867-1959) is perhaps the best known of all early twentieth-century British writers on Galicia. Her monumental *Galicia the Switzerland of Spain*, the first substantial, scholarly, English-language overview of Galicia, its history and culture, appeared in bookshops early in 1909, to general acclaim. Meakin had researched the book during a four-month tour in the winter and spring of 1907, sailing into A Coruña on 12 January aboard the *König Fredrick August* from Southampton. After just a couple of days in the city, Meakin would spend the greatest part of her visit – two and a half months – in Santiago de Compostela, leaving at the end of March to tour first Noia and then Tui, Ourense and the south. Although she made brief visits to Pontevedra and Vigo, Mondariz does not appear to have been part of her itinerary. Nonetheless, the Balneario makes an appearance in her book's final chapter, which is called 'Dives Callaecia,' and is, she says, a brief summary of a longer work she had wanted to include on Galicia's mineral resources. After briefly mentioning the mineral springs at Lugo, Carballo, 'Toja' and Caldas de Reyes, she comes to the Balneario, of which she notes:

The most modern of all the hydropathic establishments in Galicia is that of Mondariz, situated a few miles to the south of Pontevedra in the valley of Mondariz. Patients go there to drink the waters of two widely renowned springs called respectively Gandara and Troncoso; their waters are considered particularly beneficial in cases of dyspepsia (now looked upon rather as a symptom than a disease) and other stomach troubles. The establishment for the reception of guests is very large, and the prices are in proportion to its grandeur. Lady visitors are requested to wear no hats except when attending Mass. The scenery of the surrounding mountains and valleys is very beautiful, and there are some exquisite drives, one being to Castello Mos, the mediaeval castle which I have described in my chapter on Pontevedra (355).

The book's publication in the spring of 1909 inspired a swift response, from the Balneario as from elsewhere in Galicia. In her scrapbooks, now held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Meakin pasted the letters of commendation she received from Galician and Spanish luminaries, including a handwritten letter in delightfully eccentric English from the writer and journalist **Victoriano García Martí** (1881-1966), which begins: 'Miss: I have read your wonderfull book about my fine country, Galicia, and I am proud to be gallego, after to read

all you write in “The Galicia Switzerland of Spain”.¹⁷ Another letter, dated 15 April 1909, came from Enrique Peinador – the proprietor of the Balneario – at his Madrid address:

Lady Annete MB Meakin, Londres.

Muy Sra.mia y de toda mi consideración: El Señor Provisor de esta Diócesis, a quien tengo el honor de tratar, me ofreció el hermoso libro “Galicia” que ha publicado V recientemente.

El conocimiento que de mi país demuestra y el cariño con que le juzga, me inspiran el deseo de significarle mi reconocimiento y admiración.

Esto vale bien poco por que proceden ambos sentimientos de un industrial que no debiera atreverse a distraer su atención ni siquiera el tiempo necesario para leer esta carta deliberadamente breve; pero que como disculpa alega el amor que tiene a la tierra en que nació.

El vapor “Ambrose” de la Booth Line, tiene dispuesto un viaje a Vigo, a donde llegará el 25 del próximo mayo, y el en itinerario para los excursionistas señala el Establecimiento de Aguas minero-medicinales de Mondariz, de que soy propietario.

Grande honor sería para mi que se dignase V visitarlo y pasar en él una temporada, que procurará hacerle agradable en todos conceptos, el que con esta ocasión se ofrece a sus órdenes cómo el más afmo. admirador y S.S.

q.s.p.b.

Enrique Peinador¹⁸

[Dear Madame: The Steward of this Diocese, with whom I have the honour to be acquainted, offered me the fine book “Galicia” that you have recently published. The knowledge you demonstrate of my country and the affection with which you judge it, have inspired in me a desire to communicate to you my acknowledgement and admiration. This is of little worth, since both sentiments are those of an industrialist who should not have ventured to distract you even long enough to read this purposefully brief letter; but who offers as an excuse the love he has for the country where he was born. The Booth Line steamship “Ambrose” has a voyage planned to Vigo, where it will arrive on 25th May next, and the excursionists’ itinerary includes the Mondariz Establishment for Minero-medicinal Waters, of which I am the owner. It would be a great honour for me if you would deign to visit it and spend a period of time there, for all attempts will be made to make it as agreeable as possible to you in every way, by he who is at your service as your greatest admirer and servant.]

The tour to which Peinador refers was one of the earliest of the organized Booth Line tours (see Chapter 2), but it seems that Meakin did not, on this occasion, take her correspondent up on his invitation. Nonetheless, he retained his interest in her work, and visitors to the Balneario in June 1909 would have been able to read the extensive review of *Galicia* published in *La Temporada* on 27 June 1909.¹⁹ 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], devotes almost as much space to discussing Meakin’s description of Mondariz as the author herself had given it in the first place:

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.”²⁰

[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.”]

The ‘eminent Martin Hume’ to whom the article refers is the writer and historian **Major Martin Andrew Sharp Hume** (1847-1910), author of numerous major historical works on Spain and a familiar commentator on Spanish affairs in the UK. Hume’s most recent book publication at this time was a change from his usual scholarly fare. *Through Portugal* (1907) was a history and travelogue commissioned by the Booth Steamship Company and aimed squarely at the growing number of British tourists taking the company’s holiday tours to Portugal. His review and critique of Meakin’s work was published in *The Daily Chronicle* in May 1909 and reprinted in *La Temporada* the same month.²¹ As we will see, Hume is one of the key figures in the project to bring Edwardian tourists to Mondariz and southern Galicia. His role was crucial, for three reasons: he was a well-known expert and promoter of Spain with a wide English-language readership; he had already worked closely with the Booth Line on *Through Portugal*; and he was passionately committed to Galicia, a commitment that had been recognized by his appointment late in 1908 as a corresponding member of the newly-founded *Academia Gallega* [Galician Academy].²²

Chapter Two

The Idea (1909)



Santiago de Compostela

The Idea (1909)

The project to raise Galicia's international profile and develop its economy by bringing British tourists to see the country originated with Federico Barreras and the Peinadors in Vigo and Mondariz. However, it was thanks to Martin Hume's connections with the Liverpool-based Booth Steamship Company, popularly known as the Booth Line, that in 1909, the Galicians were able to make a decisive entry into the fast-growing British holiday tour market.

The Booth Steamship Company (1901) Limited

The Booth Line, which initially specialized in the North Brazil leather and rubber trades, had been founded in 1866 by brothers **Alfred Booth** (1834-1914) and **Charles Booth** (1840-1916). By the first decade of the 20th century, the second generation of Booth men was in charge of the company, including Charles's sons **Thomas Macaulay Booth** (b.1874), **George Macaulay Booth** (b.1877) and **Charles Zachary Macaulay Booth** (b.1886), and Alfred's sons **Charles Booth jr.** (1868-1938) and the man who was to play the decisive role in the firm's Galician investment, **Alfred Allen Booth** (1872-1948). In 1901, the company relaunched, following a merger, as the Booth Steamship Company (1901) Limited. From this point on, tourism became an important secondary strand of the business as the directors sought to make use of the less profitable European leg of their transatlantic routes.

The Directors' minutes for one of the newly-merged company's earliest Board Meetings, on 14th May 1901, report that George Booth had engaged in discussions with representatives of the travel company Thomas Cook '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'.²³ Booth's conversation shows tourism to have been fundamental to the business plan from the very beginning of the 1901 relaunch, and the relationship with Thomas Cook would continue at least until the First World War. A great deal of infrastructure was put in place to ensure the smoothest possible passage between the different legs of the journey. In 1903, a new stop was introduced at La Pallice in northern France to allow

passengers to connect from London, while from 1904, passengers in Portugal were looked after by **Edwin (Ted) Garland**, a representative of the company's Lisbon-based agents, Messrs Garland Laidley & Co. In the spring of 1906, the company put its logistical experience to good use co-ordinating the itinerary of the British medics attending the International Medical Congress at Lisbon, who enjoyed an all-inclusive 26-day trip for £22.²⁴

During this period, the company also began to develop the publishing side of their tourism business, which allowed them to provide their customers with relevant cultural and historical information about the sights and sites they would see on their travels. In 1903, they produced an *Illustrated Guide to Portugal and Madeira*, with contributions by **Miss Cann** (letterpress) and her brother **William (Stan) Cann** of the passenger department (photographs). This guidebook would go through six editions in the ten years between 1903 and 1913. In the autumn of 1906, the Booths commissioned Major Martin Hume to write the history-cum-guidebook that was published the following year as *Through Portugal*. If customers liked its illustrations, which were by **AS (Archibald Stevenson) Forrest** (1869-1963), they could purchase them as two sets of company postcards, badged as 'Picturesque Portugal,' and including images of the spa hotel at Bussaco, which was the centre of the company's Portuguese tourist operations.

By 1907, the Booth Line's tours to Portugal and Madeira were attracting hundreds of passengers a year, supported by a flourishing publishing programme and a useful network of local agents. The possibility of expanding the successful existing tours northwards into Galicia arose when in the spring of 1907 the company agreed to the request of Spanish merchants in Rio de Janeiro to have its vessels call at the southern Galician port of Vigo on their way to and from Brazil and Peru.²⁵ On bringing their business back to Vigo after an absence of several years, the Booths appointed as agent the well-known local firm Sres. Viuda e Hijos de J Barreras. The firm was represented in its relations with the Booth Line primarily by **Federico Barreras Massó** (d. 1929), owner of one of the city's largest sardine canneries and a tireless promoter of Vigo and Galicia. From early in 1908, Booth Line holidaymakers thus had the option of disembarking at Vigo, Leixões (for Porto), Lisbon or Madeira or, if they were intrepid, continuing across the Atlantic to the Brazilian Amazon pots of Pará and Manaus.²⁶

To travel on board one of the company's fleet of large, comfortable steamships, all named after English saints, was to begin one's holiday in style. By 1909, the ships calling at Vigo included the two older vessels *Augustine* (launched 1879; 3498 tons) and *Jerome* (1877; 3056) and the five fast, modern ships *Ambrose* (1902; 4187), *Anselm* (1905; 5442), *Anthony* (1907; 6439), *Lanfranc* (1907; 6275), and *Hilary* (1908; 6325). The launch of the sister ships *Anthony* and *Lanfranc* in 1907 was considered a great forward step in comfort and luxury; the *Anthony* was promoted as 'one of the finest passenger vessels in the South American trade,' with capacity for some two hundred first class and three hundred and fifty steerage passengers.²⁷ In February 1907, a full-column advertisement ran in the *Manchester Courier*, describing the 'Improved Booth Line Service' to be provided by the two new ships, stating that 'with their increased and superior passenger accommodation the company hopes still

further to popularise the Booth series of tours to Portugal, Spain, and Madeira'. The advert went on to give tantalising details of the comfort to be found on board:

On these new steamers there are four amidship decks available for saloon passenger accommodation; namely, the promenade deck, which covers a large music room, smoke room, bar, &c.; shelter deck, which contains forty-two cabins (including cabins de luxe), bathrooms, &c.; upper deck, which covers forty-four cabins, bathrooms, hospitals, nurse's and doctor's rooms, barber's shop, &c.; and the main deck, in which is the dining saloon and the baggage room. The saloon well extends from the centre of the dining room to the shelter deck, and the whole effect is to make a remarkably light and airy saloon. All the cabins look out on the deck, and the ports can be left open in any weather. The furniture of each cabin includes a small wooden bed, a folding upper berth, a comfortable sofa berth, and an electric fan. There are cabins of various sizes to accommodate one to four passengers.²⁸

By the time of the first Galician tours in 1909, a third sister ship – the *Hilary* – had been added to the fleet. As the *Manchester Courier* noted, 'she has been sumptuously fitted and specially designed for the greatly increasing passenger trade between England, Portugal, and South America ... she will be practically, except for her sister ship *Lanfranc*, the fastest steamer on the South American passenger trade'.²⁹

There was clearly great enthusiasm for the project in Spain, and a market certainly existed in the UK. As early as May 1909, the Madrid daily newspaper *El Liberal* ran an article entitled 'Galicia y los ingleses' [Galicia and the English] in response to the news that the Booth Line would be running tours to Galicia during the holiday season (May-October). The article, which bears the hallmarks of the Vigo group, emphasises the modernity of the project, with its 'magníficos' steamships and the 'trenes, coches o automóviles' [trains, coaches and cars] that would carry the tourists around the country. It also records that the Booth Line had sent out a copy of its brochure, which, it notes approvingly, included numerous photographs 'así como un extracto muy bien hecho de las cosas o historia de Galica' [along with a very well put-together extract regarding the character and history of Galicia]. And, in a clear acknowledgment of the importance of personalities to the project, it suggested that Galicia's 'four provinces' had cause to be grateful to Sr. Barreras who, aided by the Peinador brothers, had helped the Booth Line to organize this new initiative.³⁰ As we will see, of the four provinces it would be Pontevedra – home of Vigo and Mondariz – that had the greatest cause

for gratitude to Barreras and the Peinadores over the course of the project, a fact that caused no little resentment elsewhere in the country. Certainly, it was a positive start.

The launch of the Booth Line holiday tours was greeted in Mondariz with a front-page editorial in *La Temporada* under the headline ‘Inglaterra en Galicia’ [England in Galicia]. The article, which offers a Spanish translation of the company’s marketing leaflet, celebrates the move as Galicia’s ‘resurrection.’ In particular, they are delighted that ‘nuestro país ha entrado en contacto directo con Europa’ [our country has entered into direct contact with Europe], recognising the importance for Galicia of a connection unmediated by Madrid.³¹ The same issue of *La Temporada* records in its register of arrivals and departures the visits of the Booth Line’s chief medical officer, **Dr William Melville Davison** (1870-1915) ‘with his distinguished wife [**Flora Hill Melville-Davison**, b. 1869] and delightful daughter [**Margaret Mary Melville-Davison**, b.1901]’ and also a senior employee, **Ernest D Ford**. They were the only four guests in the entire establishment, and *La Temporada* records that their dinner on 16 May comprised nine courses, including hors d’oeuvre, soup, *frito*, fish, entrée, roast, dessert, cheese and seasonal fruit.

The Catholic Association Pilgrimage

The first official Booth Line holiday tour reached Mondariz on 24 May, having left Liverpool aboard the *Ambrose* five days earlier. The party, as announced in *La Temporada* on 23 May, included **Lady Gertrude Hemming** (1852-1952), widow of a former governor of Jamaica, with her daughter **Muriel Hemming** (b.1886), the ‘capitán de cazadores’ [captain of hunters] **WF Rothwell** and his sister **Miss Rothwell**. Also aboard the *Ambrose* was a bespoke tour organized by the Catholic Association of London for group of some fifty British Roman Catholic pilgrims under the leadership of the Archbishop of Westminster. As the *Times* recorded on 20 April, this would be ‘the first English pilgrimage to the famous Shrine of St James the Apostle, to which thousands of pilgrims flock yearly, for over 400 years’.³² The visit was followed enthusiastically in the Spanish press, where it was considered the first step in the recovery of an English pilgrim tradition that had been broken with the English Reformation.³³ Although the headline destination of the pilgrimage was Santiago de Compostela, their visit also took in the south. They landed at Vigo at 1.30pm on Monday 24 May, after five days at sea, to be greeted by local political and ecclesiastical dignitaries, a large crowd, pealing bells and firecrackers. They spent two nights in the city’s newly relaunched Hotel Continental,³⁴ where according to newspaper reports, the Archbishop was given the chambers previously occupied by Spain’s Infanta Isabel.³⁵ After a day of sightseeing, including a motor tour to the coastal town of Baiona, the group left Vigo by train on the morning of Wednesday 26 May, travelling northwards first to the city of Pontevedra and then to Santiago de Compostela. In Pontevedra they were once again greeted by local dignitaries, with more firecrackers, music, and women bedecked in red, white and blue.³⁶ The story was the same on their arrival in Santiago, where as the following night’s *Evening Telegraph* reported, they received another enthusiastic reception:

The party was greeted with extraordinary manifestations of goodwill, immense crowds of people assembling with bands to greet the visitors at each station along the route from Vigo to Santiago. The crowd at the Cathedral was simply immense, beating all previous records.³⁷

On arriving at the Cathedral, the group met with **Cardinal José María Martín Herrera** (1835-1922), the Archbishop of Santiago, who hosted an official reception for them at his palace. The following day, they attended mass in the cathedral, where the *botafumeiro* or great incense-burner was swung in their honour, before a short tour of the city, including visits to the University, the Casa de Beneficencia and, at 6pm, a reception in the town hall.

That weekend, the Archbishop and a small group of pilgrims travelled to Mondariz, together with **Canon Leopoldo Eijo Garay** (1878-1963) of Santiago, who had been their interpreter, and Federico Barreras.³⁸ According to *Nuevo Mundo*, on Sunday morning, the group prayed in the chapel and then toured the establishment, which was decorated with red, white and blue bunting, including three English flags in the Archbishop's rooms. They were treated to a champagne lunch, hosted by the Balneario's proprietor, Enrique Peinador Lines in the grand dining room, where many enthusiastic toasts were exchanged. In the afternoon, the group visited the machine rooms and the Balneario's farm at Pias, where they took tea and went out on the lake in boats bedecked with British and Spanish flags. Before leaving, several of the party recorded their thoughts in the Mondariz *libro de ouro*. **Archbishop Francis Bourne** (1861-1935) recorded on 30 May that: 'The Establishment at Mondariz has surpassed all my expectations. My visit has given me the greatest pleasure, and I desire to express my very hearty thanks for the kindness of the welcome which has been accorded to us all.' **Valentine M Winford**, Honorary Secretary of the Catholic Association, added that 'Accompanying his Grace the archbishop I can only say that I am delighted with Mondariz, which is perfect in every way,' while the only female member of the party, **Hilda M Robinson** agreed that Mondariz was 'One of the best places I have had the privilege of seeing.' **Father John Aspinall** (1876-1957), assistant priest at St John the Baptist in Rochdale wrote on 29 May that: 'Should anyone wish to form an idea of what Galicia is, they have the advantage of doing so here with the greatest possible advantage.' For his older brother **Father William Aspinall** (1873-1954), then assistant priest at Mount Carmel in Blackley, Manchester, the Balneario was 'one of the loveliest spots I've ever visited,' while **Rev JB Clarkson** reported that he was 'Delighted with this beautiful place & longing for the time to come when a return may be possible.' **Father James L Thomson's** comment was brief but evocative: 'An earthly paradise, a foretaste.' After a packed day, the group left the Balneario

on Sunday evening for Vigo where some would board the waiting *SS Lanfranc* for Liverpool, while others – including John Aspinall – would head down to Portugal for a further fortnight’s sight-seeing.

The ‘peregrinación inglesa’ [English pilgrimage], as the tour was called in the Spanish and Galician press, was the first high-profile tour of Galicia organized by the Booth Steamship Company with the support of their Vigo agent Federico Barreras Massó and his circle of friends and fellow businessmen. It proved to the interested parties in both Galicia and England that there was both a market and a great deal of enthusiasm for such tours. As *Vida Gallega*, a new monthly magazine owned and edited by Barreras’s friend Jaime Solá noted in its report on the pilgrimage:

Marcharon encantados de la belleza del país gallego, de la grandiosidad de Santiago y de las atenciones recibidas. Y serán los primeros propagandistas del turismo a Galicia, que tanta falta nos hace y tantos beneficios ha de reportarnos.³⁹

[They left charmed by the beauty of Galicia, the grandeur of Santiago, and the attentions they had received. And they will be the first propagandists for tourism to Galicia, which we are in such need of, and which will bring us such great benefits.]

Official Visitors

The success of the ‘English pilgrimage’ opened the door to a concerted effort by Barreras, Peinador, Solá and their colleagues to promote British tourism to Galicia, and above all to Vigo and the south. During the summer of 1909, several visits were arranged to bring key British supporters out to Galicia and show them the country and its benefits, and not all of them involved the Booth Line. **RL [Robert Lindsay] Forbes** (1861-1919), Secretary of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., visited at the end of May 1909, leaving Southampton on 28 May aboard his company’s *Asturias* and landing at Lisbon, before making his way north into Galicia. He recorded in the Mondariz *libro de ouro* on 1 June that

This is a delightful place and has only to become known to English people to be most highly appreciated by them. Visitors are sure to receive a hearty welcome. I have been most courteously received.

As his comments suggest, Forbes’s visit was probably a professional one, since at this time, the RMSPC and its new associate, the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, were in the process of developing the leisure side of their business. The RMSPC-PSNC would maintain an involvement with the Galician project, and their ves-

sels called regularly at Vigo and Coruña. However, the company never developed the same close relationship with their Galician hosts as the Booth Line, and their itineraries did not so closely reflect the ‘spas, steamships and sardines’ that came to characterise the more prominent Booth Line tours.

Another initiative associated with the Galician tourism project but never entirely central to it was the development of the La Toja spa, on the island of the same name. The British La Toja Company, owned by the Essex businessman **Oliver Thomas Gibbons** (1853-1915), aimed to promote La Toja and its successful bathroom product line to British health tourists and holidaymakers. Just as the centrality of the Booth Line meant the RMSPC-PSNC remained slightly apart, so the importance of the Peinador family’s establishment at Mondariz relegated La Toja to a secondary position within the project’s infrastructure. While the Grand Hotel at La Toja, opened only in 1905,⁴⁰ had a strong British influence, and Gibbons – a road contractor from Essex – certainly collaborated with Barreras and Peinador on occasion, La Toja did not come into the orbit of the Booth Line and was rarely included on Booth Line itineraries.⁴¹

In order to distinguish the La Toja offering from that of Mondariz, Gibbons decided that its marketing should emphasise health and wellbeing. In June 1909, Gibbons and his Spanish banker neighbour **George Sala** (1867-1916) brought four British doctors to examine the waters at La Toja with a view to promoting their health-giving properties to British tourists and marketing the product line to British consumers back at home. The visit, like all developments connected with the emergent Anglo-Galician tourism project, was extensively reported in Solá’s *Vida Gallega*, which called it ‘un empuje colosal de la industria gallega’ [a colossal push for Galician industry].⁴² The party comprised Mr and Mrs Gibbons and their son, Mr and Mrs Sala, and the four British medics: **Dr James Johnston Abraham** (1876-1963); **Dr Matthew Carrington Sykes** (1858-1922); **Dr Maitland Thompson** (1861-1927), and an unidentified **Dr Hancock**. They did not travel with the Booth Line, but with the PSNC, whose *Aragon* landed them at Vigo from Southampton on 26th June 1909. Most of the party would return aboard the same company’s *Orissa* from A Coruña, landing in Southampton on 14 July.⁴³

The Galician hosts’ primary objective 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 *Vida Gallega* 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].⁴⁴ 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:

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 prejuicios 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.⁴⁵

... 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 following month, the group scored an important success when Alfred Allen Booth, Chairman of Liverpool’s Booth Steamship Company, visited Vigo in the company of his wife and various senior company officials. They arrived aboard the Booth Line’s ultra-modern twin-screw steamship *Anthony* on July 20th 1909 to an enthusiastic reception. The 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. The December 1909 issue of *Vida Gallega* in December 1909 wrote the visit up in a lengthy article that places the credit for the development of British interest in Galicia squarely on the shoulders of the 37-year-old Booth, ‘un inglés ilustre y vigoroso, [de] una juventud decidida y entusiasta’ [a distinguished and vigorous Englishman, of determined and enthusiastic youth].⁴⁶ Beneath the benevolent gaze of the man in question, the article describes how Booth came to Galicia to find out whether he might be able to market the country to British tourists with the same success he had enjoyed in Portugal. Thanks to the solicitous ministrations of his company’s agent in Vigo, Federico Barreras, who accompanied the British group all over Galicia, Booth was persuaded that Galicia was indeed a worthwhile investment. As *Vida Gallega* recorded in its October 1909 edition:

Recientemente estuvo en Galicia y la recorrió de extremo a extremo el director de la *Boot Line* [sic]. En su coche automóvil le acompañaron los Sres. Barreras Massó, que habían estado en Inglaterra haciendo patrióticas gestiones para fomentar el turismo. De la excursión del director de la podero-

sa Compañía inglesa nació la organización de los viajes a Galicia en forma que ofrece un porvenir brillante.⁴⁷

[Recently the director of the *Booth Line* was in Galicia and travelled it from end to end. He was accompanied in his motor car by the Barreras Massó family, who had been in England making patriotic arrangements to promote tourism. The excursion enjoyed by the director of the influential English company sparked the organization of the Galician tours, which promise a brilliant future].

As he prepared to depart Galicia on 31 July, Booth – like so many other British tourists – recorded his thoughts in the Mondariz *libro de ouro*. His entry has much in common with those of other tourists, in drawing attention to the luxury and comfort of the hotel and the friendliness of the proprietors, features that English tourists tended to assume would be absent in Spanish hostelries. The reconnaissance mission of his trip can also be glimpsed, however, in his closing classification of the holiday as ‘wonderfully *interesting*’ [my emphasis]:

After a delightful motor tour through Pontevedra, Cuntis, Santiago, Caldas + La Toja, we have spent here the last four days before starting on our homeward journey. The charms of Mondariz, the luxury of the hotel + the kindness shown to us by the Messrs Peinador have been a fitting climax to a wonderfully interesting holiday.

Chapter Three

**The Project
(1909-10)**



Redondela

The Project (1909-10)

While the Booths were away in Galicia, the project advanced swiftly at home. On 24 July 1909, the *Manchester Courier* ran an advert entitled ‘The Switzerland of Spain,’ which announced that:

The Booth Steamship Company has just issued an interesting illustrated programme entitled “The Tourist in Galicia,” the Spanish province which in its physical characteristics and scenic beauties and attractions resembles, and by many judges is thought to be superior to, Switzerland. The Booth Company led the way in opening up Portugal and Madeira to British tourists, and so successful has this enterprise been that the company has been encouraged to extend their combined sea and land tours to Spanish Galicia. Three new tours have been organised, any one of which will take the tourist into a beautiful region heretofore practically unknown outside Spain itself.⁴⁸

A surviving programme of tours from 1911 shows that holidaymakers had a choice of two fortnight-long trips, the Mondariz-centred ‘Tour M: Picturesque Spain’ and the Santiago-focused ‘Tour S: Medieval Spain.’ Both tours cost £14 (roughly £750 today) for between eleven and fifteen days if one departed from Liverpool, or an extra pound if one wished to be booked through from London. Children under 12 travelled for £4 5s and servants accompanying their employers for only £1 15s. Customers on both tours would spend two days in Le Havre en route, as the ship awaited passengers travelling down from London or other ports. Some adventurous passengers could make it as far as Paris (and back!) in that time.

The holiday proper began in Vigo itself. All passengers, regardless of the tour they had chosen, would spend one or two nights in Vigo, at either the recently-refurbished quayside Hotel Continental, or the city-centre Hotel Moderno, which lived up to its name having opened in the brand new ‘Edificio Moderno’ [Modern Building] just four years earlier. Early on the second morning, holidaymakers on the ‘Picturesque Spain’ tour would be collected from the hotel by one of the Balneario’s stable of motor cars and driven the 25 miles ‘through magnificent scenery to the famous Hydro at Mondariz,’ where they would spend four or five

days. At the end of their visit, they would head back to Vigo by either motor car or carriage, ready to embark for home. Throughout their stay, as the *libro de ouro* entries confirm, they would be hosted attentively by the Peinador family and their employees.

While the Mondariz tour was relatively informal and characterised by the Peinador family's warm personal touch, tourists who chose the 'Medieval Spain' tour to Santiago de Compostela appear to have had a more formal service. On landing in Vigo, they were met by 'a representative of the Company who acts as their guide while they are in Spain.' After a couple of nights in Vigo, this group would take an early morning train to Santiago de Compostela. They would stay at the Hotel Suizo in the city's University quarter for two or three days, visiting the Cathedral and the other main sights, before catching the train back to Vigo and their homeward vessel.

Of course, not all passengers wanted to choose between culture and relaxation. Holidaymakers with the time, money or inclination could combine the two tours into the three-week 'Tour MS,' at a cost of £20 for between 21 and 25 days. The company evidently assumed that this group would be wealthy and perhaps more demanding, as the brochure assures them that on landing in Vigo they will be 'conveyed with their baggage to one of the best Hotels in the city.' After a couple of days in Vigo, they would head to Mondariz by motor car, and spend around five days there. Then they would take another motor car for Santiago, where they would stay three or four days. Their return to Vigo by train would be broken by one or two nights at Pontevedra, before heading back to board their homeward steamer.

The 1909 Season at Mondariz

The early publicity efforts bore swift fruit, and 1909 proved the best season so far for British visitors to Galicia. The first British holidaymaker to appear in the Mondariz *libro de ouro* in that year is **John H Rogers**. He travelled independently, leaving Liverpool aboard the *Anthony* on 8 May, and recorded enthusiastically that 'The ... requisite of good quarters, good food & sympathetic attendance this hotel possesses in a very huge degree. When to them are added a pleasant climate & delightful surroundings all the conditions which make for a pleasant holiday resort are found to be present here'.⁴⁹ More visitors arrived in June and July, including **JP Walton**, who had left Liverpool aboard the *Lanfranc* on 19 June. He began his tour in Mondariz before heading south to Lisbon, and returning aboard the *Anthony* on 7 July. Like many British visitors, Walton mentions Enrique Peinador, by name, reinforcing the benefits of the manager's personal contact with his guests:

It would be difficult to find words to express my appreciation of the kindness + attention I have received in this magnificent establishment. Senor Peinador has spared no pains to make his guests feel that Spanish welcome to the English people as a warm reality + I trust that as time goes this feeling of

family between our two nations may sensibly increase and I know no better way of assisting it than to influence my fellow countrymen to visit lovely Mondariz (24 June 1909).

Mr and Mrs Edmonds of West Worthing in Sussex left Liverpool aboard the *Anthony* on 17 July 1909 (the same sailing as the Booths). Mr Edmonds recorded on their departure that:

My wife and I have thoroughly appreciated our stay here, so much so that we fully intend revisiting the Hotel with friends at the earliest opportunity. Apart from the delightful walks and drives we have enjoyed some excellent fishing easily obtainable. The comfort of the hotel and the [kindness] of the employees cannot be too lightly spoken of (26 July 1909).

Reverend Edward Augustus Hadfield (1860-1937), vicar of South Darley in Derbyshire, travelled from Liverpool to Vigo aboard the *Ambrose* on 31 July, writing on his departure from Mondariz, that 'I have never received so much courtesy in any hotel as I have in this.' His shipmate **John R Shadwell** was impressed by the management's willingness to tailor activities to the individual visitor, even when this meant indulging English eccentricities:

I am delighted to have visited beautiful Galicia and I have to thank the Management most heartily for all their painstaking endeavours to make my stay both comfortable and enjoyable. NB: English tourists have fine opportunities for «swimming» at the Pias. It is all the private property of the hotel and the Manager will give particulars (11 August 1909).⁵⁰

In an entirely different vein, **James Rowley** of Liverpool, whose entry is undated but probably made in August 1909, was inspired to lyricism by his experience:

The gods of old walked the milky way of the firmament; we cannot go so far, either by motor or balloon, to enjoy ourselves, but at Mondariz there is to be found a most excellent earthly substitute, & we need not, therefore, envy the happiness of the classic deities of Olympus.

British visitors often travelled late in the European tour season, and the September and October tours were always popular. **Albert CH Young and his wife Elizabeth**, from Cam-

bridge, left Liverpool aboard the *Lanfranc* on 30 August 1909. Before they departed Mondariz to connect with the *Ambrose* at Vigo, they noted in the *libro de ouro* that ‘Thanks to the extreme kindness of Messrs Peinardor [*sic*] - the courtesy of the staff - & the beauties of Nature - we have spent a few delightful days at Mondariz.’ The Walsall solicitor **Carl Duignan** (1874-1936) travelled out on the same sailing as the Edmonds, writing on 10 September that ‘The country is delightful & interesting, the hotel is one of the best we have ever visited, and the management show great anxiety to make their guests comfortable and happy. Our only regretful moment is that of departure.’

The *libros de ouro* are filled with visitors declaring their reluctance to leave Mondariz, along with heartfelt (but generally unrealized) promises of return. Among those disembarking the *Anselm* at Vigo on 14 September 1909 were a group of five who, if they did not know each other on departure from Liverpool, seem to have been firm friends by the time they came to leave Mondariz. **Dr AJ Eades**, **John Marshall Mac Gregor** (1879-1936; Reader in Greek at London University), **AS Walker**, the shipping clerk **Frank Cecil Stirling Milton** (1889-1931), and the bank clerk **Fairfax Goodall** (1866-?),⁵¹ recorded on their departure from Mondariz that ‘We have received every attention from the management + staff during a brief stay here, and leave with regret this charming health resort.’ **Mrs M McCraig**, who had left Liverpool for Leixões aboard the *Lanfranc* on 30 August with a **Miss McLeod**, was also loath to leave the Balneario:

This is an exceedingly well-managed hotel in the midst of the most beautiful scenery - seeming utterly [unspoilt] by tourists & trippers. We came here for three days, stayed seven, and leave now with great reluctance and hopes of a future return to this most charming corner of Spain (25 September 1909).

Mrs McCraig and Miss McLeod disembarked the *Hilary* at Fishguard on 7 October 1909, along with **Herbert Andrew Cromartie Warmington** (1873-1951), a London surveyor, and his wife **Elsie Stuart Warmington**, who had left Liverpool aboard the *Anthony* on 21 September, and who departed Mondariz ‘with regret after a most enjoyable visit made pleasant not only by the scenery but by the excellent management of the Hotel which we hope to revisit next year.’

In September 1909, the *Manchester Courier* advertised a Booth Line Autumn Tour to Spain, Portugal and Madeira, leaving Liverpool aboard the *Ambrose* on 9 October for either 12 or 25 days.⁵² The entries in the Mondariz *libro de ouro*, like those at the end of other seasons, reveal that travelling so late in the season had both advantages and drawbacks. The party of five that included **Wilmot Welch** (1882-1977), a chartered accountant from Crewe, **Mr JA Downes**, **Mr CW Evans** and **Mr and Mrs EA Barker** is a case in point.⁵³ As Evans recorded, they were not disappointed in the Booth Line’s promises: ‘Having been half over the world can endorse the splendid description of the Booth Line as this is an ideal spot.’ His friends were no less enthusiastic, but noted the slow start to their holiday:

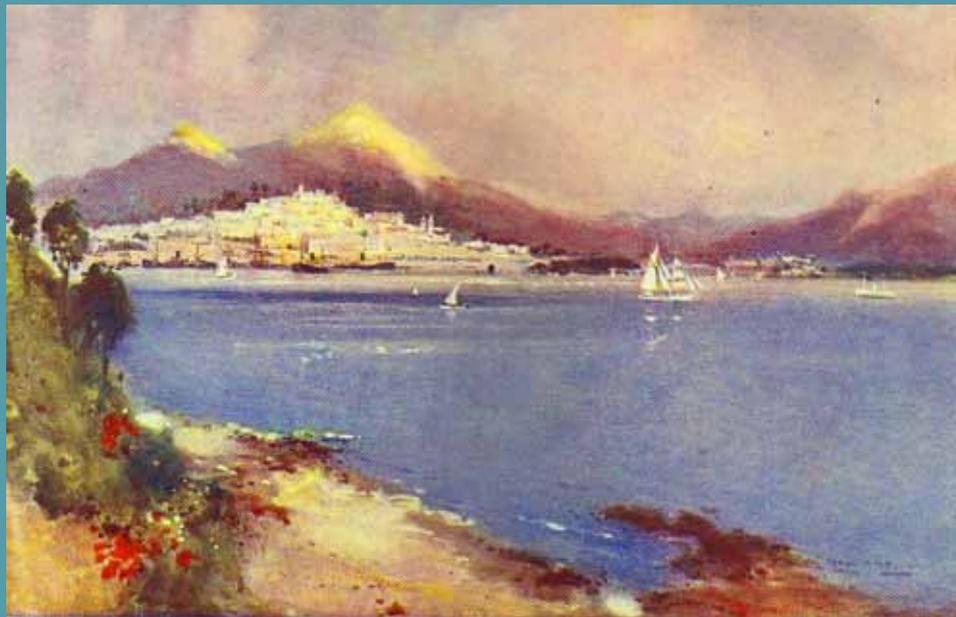
Wilmot Welch: We have enjoyed ourselves very much. Five of us arriving in the evening unknown and not knowing the language & finding no other people staying here were to say the least rather awed, and felt lonely. Not knowing the time was one hour later than English, having to wait in corridors for a further hour until 8pm increased our «loneliness.» Next day the sun shone, & the management exerted themselves to explain the reasons of the evening's delay. The result was, a grand walk accompanied by a hotel guide who explained to us the glories of Mondariz; showed to us many of its beauties. We each resolved to revisit at some earlier month, and renew our acquaintance with the most hospitable of managers, & see again this delightful country.

JA Downes: As one of the before mentioned 'five,' I have enjoyed my short stay here very much, the scenery being beautiful, & its management very good, the only drawback being the want of other guests in the Hotel which is due to lateness of season & not in any way to the management. Hope to come some day again.

EA Barker: Altho' visiting in the most unfavourable circumstances, the genial manager & staff have made me hope to see more of the beautiful neighbourhood at some future time.

A Corner of Spain (1910)

In addition to the late-season tourists, this sailing of the *Ambrose* also carried three Vigo-bound passengers whose visit to Galicia would have a great impact not only on the development of British tourism in Galicia, but also on the way that Galicia was represented in British writing and art during the first half of the twentieth century. The writer **Walter Wood** (1866-1961) and the artist **Frank Henry Mason** (1875-1965), who were accompanied by Mason's wife Edith, had been commissioned by the Booth Line to produce an illustrated volume about Galicia. In the same vein as Martin Hume's *Through Portugal*, it was to be aimed squarely at the burgeoning British tourist market. It was an auspicious moment, for on 9 October 1909, just as the three were making their way to Liverpool to embark, the Madrid newspaper *El Liberal* reported that Federico Barreras had presented a motion to the Vigo Chamber of Commerce, calling for the establishment of an association to promote tourism in Galicia.⁵⁴ Wood and Mason's trip thus coincided with a period of intense preparation in



Vigo, and Wood devotes several passages in the book they produced, *A Corner of Spain*, to the efforts of his new friends. As he explains,

A great change ... is taking place, and some of the richest and most enterprising public men in North-West Spain are devoting themselves with enthusiastic zeal to the task of awakening the people and making them realise the immense possibilities of the province. Energetic measures for development are being taken by the Asociación para el Fomento del Turismo en Galicia ... Mr Frederico [*sic*] Barreras Massó, one of Vigo's most distinguished citizens, is doing much to bring Galicia into closer union with Great Britain.⁵⁵

Wood and the Masons spent a month in Galicia, and like the Booths a few months earlier, their visit was covered with a huge splash in *Vida Gallega* as well as smaller ripples in the Galician and state-wide press. 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'.⁵⁶ They were greeted by members of the Vigo project, who would accompany them throughout their time in Galicia. The business interests of their new friends are evident throughout Wood's account of the tour in *A Corner of Spain*, which comes across as a peculiar mixture of tourist diary and public relations puff. Like later visitors, Wood struggles to reconcile the traces he observes of the 'primitive life of many generations or centuries ago' with the 'thoroughly modern' sights his hosts were keen to show him, such as the technical school,⁵⁷ or Barreras's sardine factory, 'beautifully situated at the edge of the bay,' which is 'one of the most popular and interesting sights of Vigo', and one that 'no visitor to Galicia should fail to inspect'.⁵⁸

Wood devotes an entire chapter of *A Corner of Spain* to Mondariz, presented as a little-known destination for the discerning traveller, since it 'has the great merit of being almost untraveled by and unknown to ordinary tourists'.⁵⁹ Wood's account of Mondariz, accompanied by Mason's artwork, is an outstanding effort of public relations from the very first line, which boldly declares, in language not unlike that we have seen time and again in the *libros de ouro*, that 'There is one health and pleasure resort in Galicia which is in the nature of an earthly paradise, and that is Mondariz'.⁶⁰ 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'.⁶¹

Clearly with one eye on his marketing mission, 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’.⁶²

At the end of the tour, Frank and Edith Mason headed south to Portugal, while Wood remained in Vigo with his new friends to await the *Anthony*. While they waited, Barreras organized a full programme of events for his guest, which were designed to show off further aspects of Vigo’s modern and progressive appeal for tourists. Chief among these was a splendid banquet prepared by the chefs of the Hotel Continental, which was packed up and taken by boat to the Lazareto de San Simón, the former leper hospital on an island in the Ria de Vigo. The group included such eminences as the Mayor of Vigo, the Secretary of the City Council, the Presidents of the Board of Health and the Vigo Cultural Association, and the editors of several Vigo newspapers, including – no surprise here – *Vida Gallega*, which covered the event with enthusiasm and a great many photographs.

The Booth Line’s investment in Wood and Mason’s tour turned out to be a good one. *A Corner of Spain* was published by the popular London house Eveleigh Nash in May 1910, at the cost of 5s (approximately £14 in today’s money). The Company planned to hold an exhibition of Mason’s ‘Scenes in Spain and Portugal’ at a gallery in Liverpool’s elegant Bold Street, to coincide with the book’s launch, but it is not clear whether the event went ahead.⁶³ The company quickly relaunched their full-colour brochure promoting a new set of ‘First-class inclusive tours’ to ‘Galicia, the Switzerland of Spain.’ It comprises seven printed pages and a fold-out poster with nine views by Mason, and its cover is adorned with Mason’s colourful painting of the Balneario de Mondariz, indicating the Balneario’s key role in the project.⁶⁴ The images on the fold-out poster are organized into a three by three grid. The central column is topped with a painting entitled ‘Havre,’ which shows a steamship – presumably the Booth Line’s *Ambrose* or *Anthony* – steaming away from the coast under cover of cloud. Below are two images of Santiago de Compostela, the first a street scene, showing a shaded Rúa do Vilar with a sunlit tower of the Cathedral behind, and the second the familiar view of Santiago’s Cathedral and skyline from the city’s Alameda Park. The other six images (and, of course, the cover) are all of southern Galicia. The images, of Baiona, Tui, La Toja, Marin, Vigo and Pontevedra, share an aesthetic that is very different from that of the better-known Havre and Santiago. Mason’s emphasis on sea, sky, light and reflection, together with his blue-white-gold colour palette, seems designed to appeal to British tourists who might have hankered after something different from the familiar Sunny South, but weren’t quite prepared to give up the blue skies and sunshine that, then as now, characterized a holiday in Spain.

The Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Galicia (AFTG)

By the end of January 1910, just three months after Wood and Mason's visit, Barreras's project had been formalized as the *Asociación para el fomento del turismo en Galicia* [Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Galicia], which anticipated the foundation of its state-wide equivalent, the Barcelona-based *Asociación nacional de fomento del turismo* [National Association for the Promotion of Tourism], by some three months.⁶⁵ The composition of the AFTG's committee clearly demonstrates the project's foundation on a combination of commercial, political and cultural objectives. The Peinador brothers and Federico Barreras were committee members, of course, but they worked hard to get a range of the city's leading lights on board. The Anglophile mining engineer **Guillermo de Oya Lastres** (d. 1924) was elected President, with Barreras as Vice President and the writer and journalist **Ángel Bernárdez** as Secretary. Vigo's civic government was represented by that year's Mayor of Vigo, the journalist **Miguel Fernández Lema**, along with the city clerk, **Manuel Olivié**, and the President of the Vigo *Asociación de Cultura* [Cultural Association] **Manuel Borrajo**. The Mayor of the neighbouring city of Ourense, **Modesto Varela Sotelo**, joined the committee in February 1910.⁶⁶ The team were acutely aware of the importance of facilitating the arrival and departure of the hundreds of tourists who would disembark at the port each year, and so the committee also included **Dr Ildefonso Zabaleta Echevarría**, the medical officer of health for Vigo harbour. **Estanislao Durán David** (1868-1953), a prominent banker and shipping agent, was charged with developing the association's British connections, while Galicia's two British consuls, **Thomas Guyatt** (c.1873-1924) of A Coruña and **Reginald Cameron-Walker** (1868-1923) of Vilagarcía, were not formal members of the committee, but lent their names and their support. Two of the most crucial committee members were the prominent local newspapermen **Eladio de Lema y Martín** (d.1929) and **Jaime Solá Mestre** (1874-1940), whose papers would provide an essential source of publicity for the Association. Lema was the director of the daily newspaper *El Faro de Vigo*, founded by his father in 1876, which is now Galicia's longest-running title. Solá ran another daily newspaper, *Noticiero de Vigo*, but his primary contribution came through *Vida Gallega*, the new, illustrated monthly magazine he had set up in January 1909. We have already seen how *Vida Gallega* closely reported the developments of 1909, and it would remain the project's principal cheerleader, publishing highly-illustrated, multi-page stories about the visitors, their exploits, and the beneficial impact of tourism on Galicia.

The AFTG was characterized from the outset by its internationalizing approach, and it swiftly moved to establish formal overseas contacts. Although the mooted Paris committee

seems never to have materialized, the appointment of Estanislao Durán as the association's delegate in London proved a resounding success. Durán, whose family company had been Vigo agents for the RMSPC since 1878, was tasked 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.⁶⁷

[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.]

Durán was instrumental in the formation of a London branch of the AFTG, a project that had been planned since as long ago as July 1909.⁶⁸ On Saturday 5 March 1910, in an article entitled 'Galicia as a Holiday Resort,' the *Times* of London announced the establishment of a London committee at a meeting chaired by the President of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in London, **José Eduardo Roura i Vilaret** (c.1855-1942). Durán addressed the meeting on behalf of the parent society, speaking of 'the beauty of Galicia, its accessibility from England, the richness of its mineral springs, especially those of Mondariz, La Toja, and Lorez [*sic*], and the earnest desire of Galicians to render their country pleasant to English visitors'.⁶⁹ Major Martin Hume, who had been a strong supporter of the project since visiting Galicia the previous year, also gave a speech praising Galicia's many attractions.

The new branch brought representatives of the Spanish and Galician communities in London together with British businessmen with interests in the Iberian Peninsula. An honorary committee was formed, with the Spanish Ambassador as President and a swathe of vice-presidents. These included Roura, in his capacity as President of the Chamber of Commerce, the prominent London-based sherry shipper **Buenaventura Misa** (1868-1939) the Spanish Consul-General **Joaquín María Torroja y Quinzá**, the chairman of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company **Owen Philipps** (1863-1937) the general manager of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company **Frederick Alcock** (1857-1916) the President of the West Galicia Railway Company **Sir Clarendon Goulding Hyde** (1858-1934), and **Charles Booth** (1840-1916), the well-known philanthropist and co-founder of the Booth Company. A separate Executive Committee was formed, chaired by Major Hume, with Roura as his vice president, **Mr Henry William Birch** (1854-1927) of the Mildred Goyeneche banking house as treasurer, and **Juan Salas Antón** (1866-1931) of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce as secretary. Other committee members included Oliver Gibbons, proprietor of the British La Toja Company,⁷⁰ the Anglo-Spanish writer and intellectual **Ramiro de Maeztu y Whitney** (1875-1936), and the London-based Galician pianist **Carlos Sobrino** (1861-1927). There were also additional representatives of various tour companies, the Booth Line, the Royal Mail Lines, the Pacific Steam

Navigation Company, the West Galicia Railway Company and of a third Galician mineral water company, the Pontevedra-based Aguas del Lárez.⁷¹

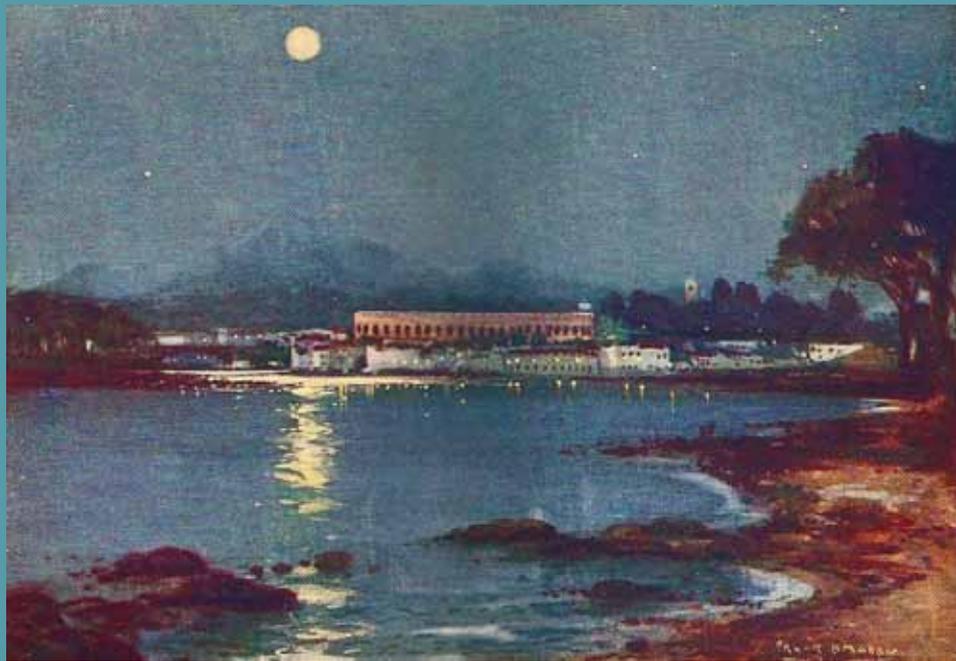
One of the committee's first acts, reported along with the announcement of its inauguration, was to invite the British International Association of Journalists to make a formal excursion to Galicia. The invitation was quickly accepted and, as we shall see below, lived up to its promise as 'un gran triunfo de la Asociación para Fomento del Turismo [a great triumph for the AFTG].⁷² Much of the project's initial success was down to the London Executive Committee's Chairman Major Martin Hume, who had played a crucial role in bringing together British and Galician partners, and bridging their commercial and cultural interests. Sadly, like Rachel Challice, with whom he had shared the project of advancing Anglo-Galician relations, Hume would never see the outcome of his work. He died unexpectedly at his London home on 1 July 1910 at the age of 66. As the Peinadores recalled in the front-page obituary published in *La Temporada*:

Por cierto que tenemos desgracia en nuestros afectos mayores. A distancia apenas de dos años han muerto la eminente escritora y el historiógrafo insigne, a quienes debe en gran parte Mondariz la boga y reputación que hoy alcanza entre las clases distinguidas de Inglaterra. Bien haya la memoria de entreambos.⁷³

[Truly we are unfortunate in our greatest affections. Barely two years apart have we heard of the deaths of the eminent writer and the famous historian, to whom Mondariz owes much of the vogue and reputation it has today among the upper classes of England. Long may both their memories remain.]

Chapter Four

**The PERIODISTAS INGLESES
(1910)**



Pontevedra

The PERIODISTAS INGLESSES (1910)

The project of Anglo-Galician understanding begun by Challice and Hume came to life with the visit of the British International Association of Journalists to Galicia in July 1910. The seventeen journalists in the party captured the Galician public imagination, travelling the country in a flag-bedecked motorcade to a soundtrack of fireworks, choirs and bands.⁷⁴ The group included the BIAJ's principal office-holders: the President, **Samuel Smith Champion** (1846-1938) of the *Northampton Mercury*, the Secretary, **James Baker** (1847-1920) of the *Morning Post*, and Vice President **John Lloyd Evans** (1847-1926) of the *Warwick Advertiser*. These three became the public faces of 'los periodistas ingleses' [the English journalists] in the Spanish and Galician press, along with their female companions: Champion's wife **Kate Kew Champion** (1848-1913), Baker's journalist wife **Agnes Hallett Baker** (b.1855), who wrote for the society magazine *Queen*, and Lloyd Evans's teacher daughter **Annie Lloyd Evans** (1874-1938).

The rest of the group was made up of working journalists from across the country, including well-known representatives of several national publications. **George Jefferys Adam** (1884-1930) wrote for the periodical *Truth* and the Reuters news agency, and would later become French correspondent for the *Times*. His wife, who was born **Helen Pearl Humphrey** (1882-1957) and published under the name **H Pearl Adam**, wrote for both the London-based *Lady's Pictorial* and the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. **George Brown Burgin** (1856-1944), who published as **GB Burgin**, had been editor of *The Idler* until 1899 and was now employed by the *Daily Express*, but was better known as a prolific author of colourful and melodramatic fiction. He published over 90 novels in his lifetime, including two that directly resulted from his visit to Galicia in 1910. **Walter Jerrold** (1865-1929) represented the *Daily Telegraph*, but was also a keen travel writer and, under the pseudonym 'Walter Copeland,' a well-known author of children's literature.⁷⁵

Special-interest audiences were not neglected, as the AFTG sought to expand its reach into the newest areas of the British tourist market. **J[ohn] Harris Stone** (1853-1939) was founding editor of *World of Travel* and a contributor to *Travel and Exploration*, who had particular interests in motoring, cycling, fishing, camping and caravanning.⁷⁶ **David**

A[lexander] Louis (1857-1915) was a mining engineer and former Professor at Leeds University who wrote for the *Times*, the *Engineer* and other scientific periodicals. **Catherine Gasquoine Hartley** (1867-1928), who sometimes wrote as Mrs Walter Gallichan, was best known for her many books on Spanish art and architecture, sometimes written in collaboration with Albert F Calvert, editor of the popular John Lane Spanish Series. Although she did publish some newspaper and magazine articles, Hartley was not primarily a journalist, and as we will see, seems to have considered herself somewhat apart from the main group. Hartley's substantial book, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*, is the most comprehensive account of the journalists' tour.

While many of the delegates were based in London, or at least carried out much of their business there, it is important to understand that this was not simply a metropolitan exercise aimed at wealthy London audiences. The mission to promote Galicia to Edwardian tourists depended on reaching potential customers not only in London, but throughout the provinces. The Booth Line's Liverpool base and good relations with the advertising departments of widely-read regional newspapers such as the *Manchester Courier* meant that many tourists already came from the north west of England. The BIAJ's visit provided an excellent opportunity to spread the word throughout other parts of the country, and like the Campions, who were based in Northampton, a number of the delegates came from the UK's strong regional press. These included the cycling enthusiast **Arthur Barrett** (b.1859) of the *Northern Daily Mail*, along with **Arthur Robert Hill** (1858-1923) of the *Cambridge Chronicle and University Journal* and the *East Anglian Daily Times*, and **Joseph Fisher** (1855-1939) of the *Belfast Northern Whig*. One of the regional journalists, **Arthur Hatfield Moody** (1875-1926) of the *Worcester County Express* and *Birmingham Daily Post*, apparently wrote a book about his experience called *Through Vigo's Golden Gates*.⁷⁷

Most of the party travelled to Galicia together, boarding the Booth Line's stunning new *Hilary* at Liverpool on the afternoon of Tuesday July 19th. Hartley and Stone, travelling from London, joined them at Le Havre three days later, even the majestic *Hilary* having been unable to avoid the delays caused by 'a fog in the channel'.⁷⁸ By what cannot have been pure coincidence, they arrived in Vigo harbour late on Sunday 24 July, the eve of Galicia's national holiday, to find the city's skyline illuminated by fireworks and lanterns. As Hartley, the art specialist, recalled in *A Summer Holiday in Galicia* (1911), 'the scene was as beautiful as a romance. All the elements "composed" in a painter's sense; it was like a breathlessly daring piece of scene-painting; only there is no artist who could paint it'.⁷⁹

The Tour

The tour proper began at 7am the next morning, Monday 25 July, when the journalists disembarked the *Hilary* onto the quayside at Vigo and were loaded immediately into the cavalcade of motor cars that would transport them around the country for the next fortnight. Their first destination was, inevitably, Mondariz, where they spent their first three nights, accompanied by the AFTG's Barreras, Bernárdez and Blanco, and journalists from *El Faro*, *La Concordia* and (of course) *Vida Gallega*, whose head photographer **José Gil y Gil** (1870-1937) recorded their exploits in both photographs and cinefilm.⁸⁰ Burgin recreated their arrival at Mondariz in his novel *A Lady of Spain* (1911), in which a party of British journalists, including the cheerful Pymount and the formidable Mrs Jim, travels aboard the *Hilary* to 'a place [they call] "Galethia"':⁸¹

After three hours of dusty endurance – endurance which quite took away from the enjoyment of the road's rugged grandeur, and made even Pymount moody – they reached Mondariz, and halted outside the town whilst the Alcalde delivered the customary speech of welcome. Then the motors formed into procession, headed by 'Hell-Fire Dick,' with Pymount graciously waving his hand to solemn-eyed children, and swept down the hill and into the courtyard of the Hydropathic Establishment of Mondariz as the band struck up 'Le God Save,' and Mrs Jim hastily cleansed her face with one of those mysterious little soap-papers which women use to mitigate the ravages of travel.⁸²

Burgin's fictional journalists plan 'to "write up" Galicia ... and have a very good time,' and this was exactly the intention of their real-life counterparts.⁸³ Unfortunately, the weather broke two days into their tour, leaving the Galician hosts disconsolate, since it ruined their strategy of marketing Galicia as a bright and sunny tourist destination, rather than the wet and dreary landscape of legend. *Vida Gallega* was particularly horrified as the journalists had all arrived clutching cameras to record the gorgeous countryside they had been promised, which the persistent rain had reduced to a 'pale shadow' of its usual glory.⁸⁴ Despite this setback, the party was tremendously impressed by Mondariz. For Hartley, it was 'one of the most beautiful places in Galicia,' which happily also provided 'every comfort of travel'.⁸⁵ During their three days at the Balneario, they were treated to a welcome reception, a fishing expedition, afternoon tea on the estate at Pías, a banquet, dances and a charity gala where local señoritas acted as barmaids.⁸⁶ They were also taken to the best-known local landmarks, including the Castillo de Sobroso and the Roman bridge at Cernadela, which consequently

feature in Burgin's second Galician novel, *The Belle of Santiago* (1911), where they are conflated into 'the frowning ruins of the old castle of Cernadela' beneath whose walls the young Englishman Anthony Heron falls in love with the enigmatic Señorita Mercedes.⁸⁷

The surviving accounts of Mondariz reveal the journalists' struggles to fulfil their dual mission of marketing Galicia as a beautiful, unspoilt holiday destination, while at the same time promoting the country's modernity and their hosts' commercial interests. We see this in Hartley's description of the Balneario, in which she also takes the opportunity to make a dig at its principal competitor:

I recall its palm-shaded gardens, its pump-room, where women work, bottling the waters and never cease in singing; its broad balcony, looking out towards the hills, and within the building; the salon of concert and dancing; the great dining-hall, with the finely carven ceiling; the bedrooms, which are models of brightness and cleanliness; and, last of all, the staircase, which is the most beautiful stairway I have seen. And [...] what delighted me was that, with all this modern comfort, the hotel 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.⁸⁸

Hartley's recollection also reveals how the Balneario, like the wider AFTG project, interwove its two core activities of leisure and industry, making the industrial side of the estate an essential part of every visitor's stay:

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.⁸⁹

J Harris Stone also describes how in Mondariz, '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.' Stone carefully notes the problem that 'at present [Mondariz water] is scarcely known in England',⁹⁰ perhaps because Rachel Challice's early death the previous year had put an end to the exports arranged through Challice's Spanish Information Bureau.

After Mondariz, the pace picked up dramatically. On the third day of their visit, July 28th, the party was driven in a cavalcade of eight or nine cars to Monte Porreiro, the spa complex outside Pontevedra owned by **Casimiro Gómez Cobas** (1854-1940), whose vast fortune had been made in Buenos Aires. They arrived at

midday, to be greeted by **José Palmés Vives**, Gómez's brother-in-law and administrator of his Aguas de Lérez mineral water bottling company.⁹¹ The party enjoyed a banquet in Monte Porreiro's ballroom, which had been specially decorated for the occasion, and were serenaded by Pontevedra's recently relaunched town band whose programme, *Vida Gallega* reported, had 'a strong regional flavour'.⁹² In the afternoon, they toured Pontevedra in the company of the eminent Galician archaeologists **Castro Sampedro y Folgar** (1848-1937) and **Andrés Martínez Salazar** (1846-1923), who guided them around the church of Santa María el Grande [St Mary the Great] and the archaeological museum set among the ruins of the Santo Domingo monastery. Hartley's lengthy account of the visit emphasises the contrast between the visible traces of Pontevedra's colourful history and the modernity of Monte Porreiro, which 'to me [...] seemed specially characteristic of the new Galicia of to-morrow'.⁹³ Pontevedra might be an ancient town, she observed, but the modern tourist is not to worry, for 'there are shops filled with modern wares, and you may buy Kodak films, and chocolate sells itself in pink ribbons'.⁹⁴

That evening, the caravan continued to the island of La Toja, the visitors noting approvingly how quickly the motor cars covered the 23-mile journey. The group would spend two nights at La Toja's Grand hotel, hosted by the island's owner **José María Riestra y López, Marqués de Riera** (1852-1923), and the wealthy Asturian businessman **Alvaro Ponte**, a long-term resident of the hotel. More than six hundred people attended a banquet in their honour in the great dining hall, serenaded by the local choir *Aires da Terra* and by the Galician tenor **Víctor Cervera Mercadillo**, who had also performed for the group in Mondariz a couple of days earlier. The following day, they presided at a Regatta organized to celebrate the opening of the new bridge connecting the island to the mainland. Hartley, impressed despite herself, noted that 'I am no great admirer of modern innovations in Spain, but this bridge is really a work worthy of the country, for its great size ... and also for the beauty of its appearance.'⁹⁵ Hartley's response to La Toja once again emphasises her ambiguous response, as a visitor, to the modernity and progress the AFTG were so keen to show off. Her description of the Grand Hotel reveals the essential tension between the AFTG's celebration of progress and the tourist's desire for 'authentic' experiences:

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.⁹⁶

One of the great benefits of La Toja for English visitors was its proximity to the island of Cortegada, which had just been donated by the Galicians to King Alfonso and his English Queen Ena. The group were, unsurprisingly, keen to take a look, and so on the morning of Saturday 30 July, they set out in the small steam-yacht *Dolores*, borrowed from the owners of the sardine factory along the coast at O Grove, for the short journey to the island. Since landing on Cortegada was not possible, the party circled the island and then repaired to the small balneario *La Concha de Arosa*, where they were treated to a sumptuous tea hosted by the mayors of Villagarcía, Carril and Villajuán,⁹⁷ and featuring ‘all the choice wines that our hospitable hosts could think of – rare sherry and muscatel, and forty-years’-old port, as well as a bewildering variety of the delicious cakes for which Galicia is famed’.⁹⁸

Still digesting the feast, the group embarked on the hour-long trip to Santiago aboard a special train put on by **John Trulock** (d.1919), British manager of the West Galicia Railway Company.⁹⁹ They arrived late at night, to be greeted at the station by a group of Santiago-based AFTG supporters, including the President of the Santiago delegation **Salvador Cabeza León** and its Secretary **Eladio Oviedo Arce** (1864-1918), the President of the local League of Friends **Manuel Villar Iglesias** (1879-1949), and representatives of the local press. As they must by now have expected, the group was swept into a waiting motorcade – this time lent by the Vigo industrialist **Antonio Sanjurjo Badía** (1837-1919) – and taken to the Booth Line’s usual base at the Hotel Suizo, which Hartley described as ‘the most Spanish we had as yet stayed at in Galicia’.¹⁰⁰ During the two days the journalists spent in Santiago, they were hosted by Eladio Oviedo and Canon Eijo Garay, who had acted as interpreter for the Catholic Association pilgrims the previous year. They followed a fairly unexceptional tourist itinerary that included the Cathedral, various convents and churches, the University (‘a really satisfying modern building’),¹⁰¹ the palace of San Lorenzo and the Bathhouse. More unusually, they also visited the city asylum at Conxo, where they were hosted by the doctor and philanthropist **Timoteo Sánchez Freire** (1838-1912) and where Arthur Hill, an inspector of asylums back in the UK, took copious notes. Once again, Hartley’s response emphasises her struggle between her emotional response to the city and her duty to promote the AFTG’s modernizing project:

The incongruity comes as you pass, at a turn of a street, from this old-world life into a company of students, noisily laughing as a motor-car rushes by scattering them in all directions. Again, with a contrast that is almost painful, you meet English and American tourists ... All that is most essential in Santiago's life must appeal to the soul: the new things here – the changes of progress – must seem out of place. And yet sleep brings death – and Santiago is a living city. Her citizens are filled with the desire for the improvement of their town; and I use the word *improvement* in its best sense.¹⁰²

Harris, too, was struck by Santiago's 'Strange contrasts! Motor-cars, electronic lights, telephones, and other 20th century marvels cheek by jowl with the oldest customs and the most ancient Christian monuments in the world!'.¹⁰³ Burgin's response to 'the City of a Dream' was rather less rapt, being largely concerned with the unsuccessful efforts of 'the youngest member of the party' to woo the attractive young Spanish ladies living in the house opposite the hotel. Moreover, as he recorded, 'there was little sleep for any of us. The cathedral bells chimed every few minutes throughout the night ... And up through the cracks in the pavement arose the "Forty well-defined and separate stinks" of the sewers, "making assewerance doubly sewer," as the punster of the party explained'.¹⁰⁴

If the journalists' time in Santiago was – apart from the exploits of 'the youngest member of the party' – relatively sedate, their visit to its northern neighbour A Coruña was rather more eventful. Where Santiago had, inevitably, focused on Galicia's medieval heritage, the Coruña leg of the trip was designed specifically to show off her modern industry, and her close commercial and cultural links with Britain. Accompanied by members of Galicia's Royal Automobile Club, the party made a triumphal motorised entrance into Coruña, 'a pleasant town with a sea front not unlike Brighton',¹⁰⁵ where they were to stay three nights at the Hotel Francia. They arrived on the morning of Tuesday 2 August and enjoyed lunch with the English colony, followed by a gala performance at the Teatro Pardo Bazán. The following day, the group embarked on a Sir John Moore-themed tour of the city in the morning, with a garden party and military horse trials at the Sporting club, 'the Ascot of Coruña',¹⁰⁶ in the afternoon. Their last full day in the city, Thursday 4 August, was taken up with a day-long visit to the arsenal and warships at Ferrol, which Stone explained to his readers was 'the Woolwich of Spain'.¹⁰⁷ As he went on to say, the shipyards were now under British control, so that 'the apathy and stagnation of the past is being overcome by an influx of English firms, who are aiding the Spaniards in building ships'.¹⁰⁸ Hartley was rather less impressed: 'I know 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'.¹⁰⁹ The day closed with a short cruise around Coruña Bay and, by way of farewell, a Gala Banquet at the Ideal Room Hotel, which continued into the small hours and ended with 'enthusiastic hurrahs and bravos'.¹¹⁰

The last leg of the tour saw the journalists return to Vigo for three nights at the waterfront Hotel Continental: 'Vigo again! Vigo, Galicia's Golden Gateway!'¹¹¹ Here, their AFTG hosts rejoined them for three final action-

packed days. Their hosts were keen to show off the city's progressive credentials, and so as well as leisurely visits to Baiona and Monte Castro, the itinerary also took in the Industrial College, where the visitors admired model locomotives built by the students and were given examples of student work to take away with them. Their final day in Galicia began with a visit to Barreras's sardine cannery on the waterfront. Hartley, echoing her previous description of the bottling plant at Mondariz, considered it 'a charming scene of labour, one of the pleasantest places in this delightful town, and certainly one of the most interesting,' and the group apparently enjoyed 'seeing the various and complicated processes by which the sardines are prepared'.¹¹² The day closed with 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 processions and fireworks, and utterly failed to note the presence of the socialist leader, Pablo Iglesias, in the city at the same time. No wonder, then, that Burgin, in his *Memoirs of a Clubman* published around a decade later, remembered his visit 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"'.¹¹³

The 1910 Season at Mondariz

Of course, the journalists were not the only Booth Line tourists to spend part of the 1910 season at the Balneario de Mondariz. They were preceded, among others, by the Seaton family, who visited at the very beginning of the season. Bank manager **William Scoresby Seaton** (1855-?) and his sons **Geoffrey Scoresby Seaton** (1884-1916) and **Arthur Seaton** (1885-?) left Liverpool for Vigo on 10 May aboard the *Hilary*, returning aboard the *Lanfranc* ten days later. Like the party of five who visited at the tail end of the 1909 season, they found themselves in glorious isolation at the hotel and therefore the recipients of close personal attention from the Peinador family, noting that 'We have received every attention + courtesy and been made most comfortable. As we are the only people in the Hotel, the management have done everything to ... show us all the sights by sending the Majordomo with us on several occasions.'

The following month, **Walter Wood** made a welcome return on a honeymoon trip with his new wife **Edith Berry Wood**, although the brevity of his entry in the *libro de ouro* suggests that his mind was elsewhere. As he recorded on 8 June, 'I have visited Mondariz again,

with my wife, and confirm what I have written above'.¹¹⁴ For others with no experience of Spain, the Balneario was a revelation. **FH Warman**, who sailed from Liverpool on 18 Jun 1910 aboard the *Anthony* and returned to Fishguard on 11 Jul aboard the *Anselm*, emphasised the establishment's resolve to appeal directly to its overseas guests:

This, my first visit to Spain, has commenced under the most favourable auspices. The scenery ... speaks for itself. I have spent 6 days in the hotel and found everything admirable. The arrangements are so excellent that ignorance of the Spanish language constitutes no drawback. I have found the water most beneficial and everyone connected with the Establishment seemed to do his utmost to make my stay enjoyable. I regret leaving, and carry with me an abiding reminiscence of a thoroughly enjoyable time which I hope to renew on future occasions (1 Jul 1910).

The Glasgow jeweller **Angus Stewart** (b.c.1864) who sailed out with Warman but returned to Liverpool on 7 Jul 1910 aboard the *Hilary*, compared Mondariz favourably with his beloved homeland, alluding slyly to his countrymen's famed pecuniary conservatism when he recorded on 8 June that 'Next to that of my own country (Bonnie Scotland) I am greatly charmed with the scenery & people of this place. I shall ever esteem my visit to the Hydro & consider its good qualities quite in excess of the charges made.'

After the journalists' visit in August 1910, a member of the Balneario's staff, Señor Martín, begins to appear frequently in guest comments, suggesting a further investment by the Peinador family in ensuring the personal touch remained at the heart of the visitor experience. For example, **Arthur E Taylor** of Bath, who stayed for 11 days between 17 and 28 August, appreciated 'the kindness and attention of Mr Martin to all,' while Mr **P[eter?]** and Miss **Jean J Ferguson** of Glasgow, who had left Liverpool on 12 August aboard the *Lanfranc*, recorded on 18 August that they were 'Greatly impressed with the country and "Hydro". Our visit has been made particularly pleasant owing to the extreme courtesy of proprietors and Mr Martin. Hope to spend another holiday sometime in the future.' Their shipmates Mr **Edward Gabriel** and Miss **Winifred Gabriel** recorded on the same day that they had had 'A delightful time – all too short.'

The steamship experience was a crucial part of the holiday, but sometimes – especially late in the season – it could prove a trying one. Derby-based **Edwin T Ann**, while enthusiastic about the level of service he found at Mondariz, hinted at a less than pleasurable crossing from Havre in his entry of 27 September: 'This is a splendid country – At the Hotel everything is done for the comfort of the visitors. It will in time be a very favourable place for holiday – especially for the English if the Bay of Biscay is kind.' But then, Ann and his travelling companions HJ and WE Ann had not travelled with the Booth Line, returning home from Vigo aboard the Yeoward Line's cargo steamer *Ardeola* on 2 October. Of course, steamship problems could also provide welcome opportunities, as testified by **FJ Briggs**, who had left Liverpool on 30 September aboard the *Anselm*, and **Rev. Arthur John**

Heelis (1862-1926), the Rector of Brougham in Lancashire. They would eventually return on the *Augustine* from Leixões on 13 October, after an unexpected day in Mondariz, which they jointly described thus:

The delay of RMS «Augustine» has given us the pleasure of fulfilling our earnest wish to visit Mondariz. We came over by motor from Vigo today & can only say [it] far surpasses our expectations. We hope the future will be good to us & allow us a longer stay in this «earthly paradise». The courtesy extended to us today assures us that nothing would be lacking to help us to enjoy the beauty all around.

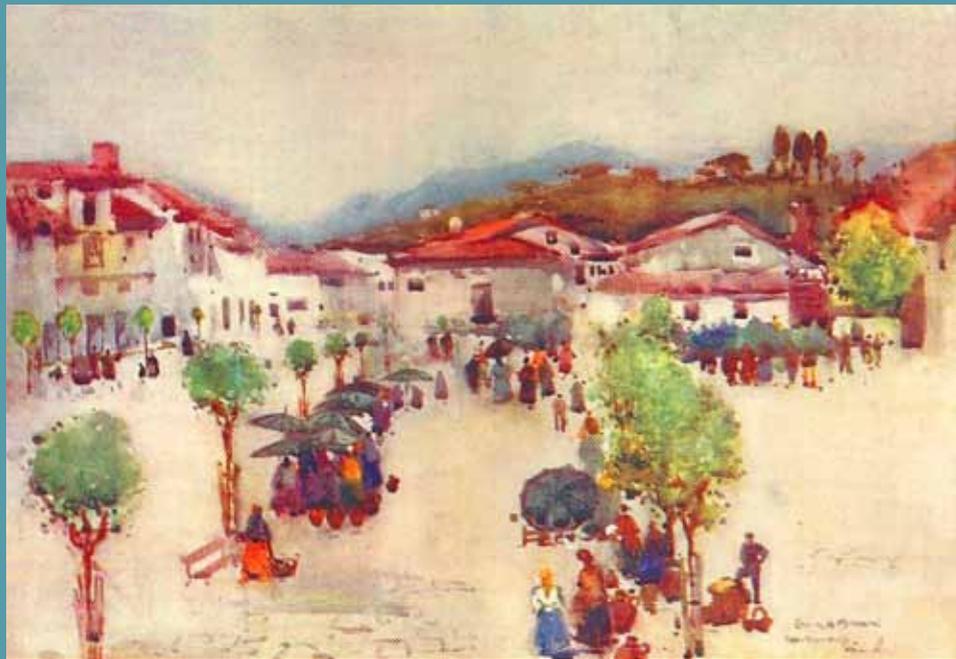
As ever, the Booth Line tours ran all the way to the end of the Balneario's season, which could leave some tourists feeling as if they had missed out on the full experience, as the Liverpool cotton merchant **Richard Randal Ash** (1849-1920) and his wife **Lilian** (b.1861) recalled on 18 October:

A most delightful place, and surrounding country. Hotel, cuisine, attendance do everything to be desired – our only regret being that we arrived after the “season” was over. Hope to to [*sic*] pay another visit at no distant date, when we shall arrange to arrive in the best “season.”

As we will see in the next and final chapter, by the time the 1910 season closed, preparations were well advanced for the next phase in the AFTG's project, in which British tourists would not only be brought to Galicia, but given the opportunity to learn about its history, language, culture and industry.

Chapter Five

**The Aftermath
(1911-1914)**



Chapter Five: The Aftermath (1911-1914)

Galicians in London

The warm relationship between the British journalists and their hosts did not end with the journalists' return to London in August 1910. In December that year, two Santiago-based Galician journalists who had accompanied the group in Galicia made the return journey to London to visit their British friends. **Antonio [Fernández] Tafall** (1869-1936), director of the *Gaceta de Galicia* daily newspaper and **Román López y López** of the *Diario de Galicia* boarded the Booth Line steamer *Lanfranc* at Vigo on November 30, their journey apparently covered by the Booth Line itself. They carried with them a gift for their English friends in the shape of a silver plaque made by the Galician goldsmith Miguel Bruzos in the shape of a rolled parchment and quill, with the first line of the British national anthem and a message commemorating their meetings on 5 August and 6 December 1910. They also carried a laurel and oak wreath to be placed on the Duke of Wellington's tomb in St Paul's Cathedral, with a dedication 'To Lord Wellington [from] the press of Santiago of Compostella,' painted by the Santiago artist **Elvira Santiso García** (1872-1961). López's paper, the *Diario de Galicia*, celebrated the visit as an advance in Anglo-Galician intellectual relations which would, it proposed, stimulate an advance in material collaboration and progress.¹¹⁵

The journey was swift and smooth. Just like their British counterparts travelling in the opposite direction, Tafall and López 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 "Booth Line" shipping company], talking up for their Spanish readers the *Lanfranc*'s 'comfort and luxury,' 'elegant salons,' 'exquisite menu,' and 'modernist style'.¹¹⁶ As Tafall recounted in the second instalment of the detailed travelogue he published in his *Gaceta de Galicia*, they landed in Liverpool at 8am on Sunday December 4th, to find the quay deserted apart from a flock of noisy ducks 'flying against the leaden sky.' Happily, the Barreras family had done their work, and Tafall and López found that 'el manto protector del turismo vigués seguía cobijándonos' [the protecting veil of Vigo tourism remained over us], as they were greeted by the Booth Line's Liverpool passenger manager W.S. 'Stan' Cann. They caught a bus straight to Lime Street station, noting of Liverpool only that it seemed 'una ciudad abandonada, solitaria, triste' [an abandoned, solitary, sad city].¹¹⁷

López had lived in England for four years and had contacts in Birmingham, so the two journalists first headed there via the Peak District, where they were enthralled by the thick snow covering the countryside west of Derby. They arrived in Birmingham ‘the city of iron’ at 6pm, to find another deserted city, whose silence, Tafall told his readers, ‘me anonada’ [overwhelms me].¹¹⁸ Spending two days in a ‘quiet neighbourhood,’ they visited Birmingham city centre and were impressed by the city’s Library. On Tuesday afternoon, they took the train south to London, where they were met by their old friend James Baker of the BIAJ, who had come up specially from his home in Bristol, and another Santiago friend, a Sr. Torres, who was working in London. They were booked into Morley’s Hotel, a grand establishment in Trafalgar Square close to Charing Cross station, but first Baker took them to the Savages Club, a Bohemian literary establishment where they celebrated their reunion until one o’clock in the morning.¹¹⁹

Despite their long journey and late night, the two journalists rose early on the morning of Wednesday 7 December for their solemn expedition to St Paul’s Cathedral. In the company of the BIAJ’s new President **Arthur Spurgeon** (1861-1938), as well as their old friends James Baker, J Harris Stone, David Louis, GB Burgin, George and Pearl Adam, Samuel Campion, Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, and Hartley’s husband Walter Gallichan, they made their way to the crypt, where the ceremony was to be led by **William Sinclair** (1850-1917), the Archdeacon of London. The Spanish consul in London, Sr. Torroja, was also present, along with Sr. Salas Antón, the secretary of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in London.¹²⁰ López gave a speech in English, paying tribute to ‘the fame and valour of the Duke, whose memory, he said, would endure in the hearts of the Spanish people.’ The Archdeacon answered him, and they placed the wreath, ‘a beautiful chaplet of laurel leaves, ornamented with laurel berries and oak apples, in gold’ on Wellington’s great marble tomb, watched by more than fifty British journalists.¹²¹ The ceremony was followed by a banquet at De Keyser’s Royal Hotel on Victoria Embankment, where toasts were made to the Spanish and British royal families, and speeches given by Baker, Campion, and López.¹²²

In López’s address, reprinted in full in Tafall’s write-up of the day’s events, the young Santiago journalist reiterates the driving concerns behind the Anglo-Galician project. He observes that British ideas about Spain, largely based on books written sixty or seventy years earlier, are in general long out of date. Galicia, however, transcends these fossilized views, as the BIAJ journalists, together with Annette Meakin and Walter Wood, have provided a fresh new perspective, their works bringing modern, progressive Galicia ‘into English homes’. The outcome of this project, he predicts, will be a growing number of tourists for whom the pilgrim’s staff will be replaced with a camera and a Baedeker – ‘modern-day pilgrims.’ More importantly, however, he believes that the project will also facilitate commercial exchange between two countries – Galicia and England – with long and close cultural and commercial associations, although this, he notes, will require the English to gain a much greater understanding of Spanish business culture.¹²³ Tafall observed in the following day’s article that his young companion’s speech had perfectly summed up ‘los ideales de nuestra región’ [our region’s ideals].¹²⁴

After the banquet, the group did a little sightseeing and then retired to the ‘Actors’ Club’, where Tafall set to writing his article until he could bear no more, signing off pitifully: ‘No puedo más la fatiga me rinde’ [I can take no more the fatigue defeats me].¹²⁵ That evening, the Spanish Consul in London sent a pithy telegram to the Mayor of Santiago, reporting the day’s success:

Alcalde de Santiago. Londres – Depositada corona acto solemnísimo banquete brillante agasajos representantes hacen honor pueblo discurso López contestados brillantemente. Torroja Cónsul.¹²⁶

[Mayor of Santiago. London – Wreath placed most solemn act brilliant banquet attendees’ tributes great honour city López speech answered brilliantly. Consul Torroja].

The remainder of López and Tafall’s visit was primarily concerned with seeing the sights of London under the guidance of Samuel Champion of the BIAJ. On one day, they visited the theatre, and David Louis invited them to his home for a champagne reception, while on the next, they saw the British Museum and the Tower of London. While he loved the museum and its ancient artefacts, the Tower made a profound impression on Tafall, who declared himself ‘invaded’ by a feeling of sadness and terror on entering the building. Nonetheless, he was cheered to discover that the guide telling him about the Crown Jewels was the same man who had hosted Princess Ena, now Queen of Spain, when she had visited some years earlier.¹²⁷ On Friday 9 December, the day Tafall was scheduled to head north to Liverpool, they visited Westminster Cathedral and attempted to pay a call on the Archbishop of Westminster, who eighteen months earlier had been one of the first Booth Line tourists to visit Galicia, although they were disappointed to discover that he was away in Rome.¹²⁸

Tafall left Liverpool aboard the Booth Line’s *Anselm* on December 10th, loaded down with engravings, albums and postcards of London’s principal sights, especially the Tower of London that had made such an impression on him. Meanwhile, López remained a few weeks longer in the UK, reporting back regularly on the British journalists’ promotional talks and slideshows about Galicia. He departed Liverpool for Vigo on 9 January 1911 aboard the *Anthony*. Both journalists published extensive reports of their visit to England, which was widely considered a tremendous success. As Tafall wrote on his return, the AFTG’s efforts to promote Galicia’s cultural and commercial attractions to British audiences had paid off handsomely:

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 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.¹²⁹

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.

As Tafall observed, the British journalists kept up their side of the bargain on their return home from Galicia. Not only did they publish articles, letters and books, but they also gave lectures, speeches and slide shows promoting the modern, industrial and Anglophile but paradoxically still very ‘primitive’, ‘untouched’ and ‘authentic’ Galicia they had been shown. For example, during December 1910, J Harris Stone gave several talks describing ‘Vigo, El Pueblo Gallego, Bayona, Pontevedra, La Toja, Santiago, Sar, La Coruña, Ferrol’ to organizations such as the Catholic Association – who of course were familiar with Galicia from their own pilgrimage the previous year.¹³⁰ On Christmas Eve 1910, Samuel Champion gave a talk at Northampton’s New Library, chaired by the city’s Spanish Vice-consul **WH Butling**, which attracted a large audience.¹³¹ As López recorded in *Diario de Galicia*, the audience were fascinated by Champion’s slideshow, with more than 150 images of Vigo, Baiona, Mondariz, Redondela, Marín, Pontevedra, Lerez, Cortegada, Santiago, Ferrol and A Coruña.¹³²

Publications

The talks and slideshows given by the British journalists, and the newspaper articles they published, went some way towards introducing audiences throughout England to Galicia and its attractions. A longer-lasting effect was achieved through the books published as a result of their visit, including GB Burgin’s two novels, *The Belle of Santiago* and *A Lady of Spain* (both 1911), Catherine Gasquoine Hartley’s *A Summer Holiday in Galicia* (1911) and *The Story of Santiago de Compostela* (1912), Arthur Moody’s lost travelogue *Through Vigo’s Golden Gates*, and the fishing enthusiasts’ guidebook *Where Trout Abound* (1911), by Hartley’s husband Walter M Gallichan. The Booth Line, too, regularly refreshed their publications, reaching a sixth edition of their *Spain (Galicia), Portugal & Madeira: Illustrated Guide* in 1913.

A key aspect of the promotion of Galicia in these books, as in Walter Wood's *A Corner of Spain* (1910), was the need to make up for the deficiencies of existing publications. The most popular guidebook of the period was Baedeker's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Portugal* (1898, 1901, 1908, 1913), but its coverage of Galicia was very poor. Catherine Gasquoine Hartley related an anecdote in the introduction to *A Summer Holiday in Galicia* that highlighted the problems the project would have to overcome. Speaking of a fellow Briton she had met on her way to join the journalists' tour party at Le Havre in 1910, she recalled:

I marvelled, as I listened to my companion's conversation, why he was visiting Spain. He expected to be cheated, to be exposed to every manner of discomfort, while the most necessary part of his luggage apparently was a large tin of Keating's Insect Powder. However, he gave me the reason: Spain had an English Queen; it was now the right thing for Englishmen to *do* the country ... This Englishman's estimate of this beautiful land of romance was based on the *Hints to Travellers* given in Baedeker's *Handbook on Spain and Portugal*. His faith in that red-backed instructor really was touching. He was setting out on his journey, bent on noting all the defects of Spain, in much the same manner as a police-agent does those of a criminal. I failed utterly to convince him: he had no wish to learn.¹³³

Hartley goes on to despatch these notions in no uncertain terms:

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.¹³⁴

Hartley's indignant defence of Galicia and her point about the limitations of the iconic red Baedeker handbooks evidently hit home with her Galician hosts. Within two years, they had produced a set of English-language publications designed to fill this gap, which were directed explicitly at Booth Line passengers. Two of these, both published in 1911, were by Román López, sometimes writing under his regular pseudonym 'Yorke Wolf.' López's two

volumes focus on Santiago de Compostela, and were probably an attempt to readdress the balance of the AFTG's focus on Vigo and the Galician south. The title of the first, *Through Galicia to Santiago of Compostella* [sic], echoes Martin Hume's Booth-sponsored *Through Portugal* (1906), while the second was a detailed guide to the city itself: *Spain: Guide to Santiago of Compostella* [sic]. Although we have no evidence of whether it reached its intended audience in the UK (where only one library copy exists), López's guide to Santiago would have an enduring legacy for tourism in Galicia. Whether or not it was read by English tourists, the book evidently highlighted a gap in the domestic tourism market, which surged after 1914 as a result of Spain's neutrality in the First World War. In 1915, López produced a Spanish-language version, *Santiago de Compostela: Guía del peregrino y del turista* [Guide to the Pilgrim and the Tourist]. It was adopted as the official guide to the city, and remained in print until at least the 16th edition, which appeared in 1971.¹³⁵

A more widely-circulated publication aimed directly at the Booth Line market was the unsigned *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago. Guide to the Tourist / Guía del turista* (1912), which appeared simultaneously in English- and Spanish-language versions from the Madrid publishing house Rivadeneyra. Although the volume carries no author's or editor's name, we can clearly see the hand of the AFTG in it. The book's opening paragraph clearly aims to position Mondariz at the centre of not only the British tourist market, but the Portuguese, European, transatlantic and domestic markets as well:

For the purposes of the GUIDE [sic], we choose as central point of the excursions the hydropathic establishment of Mondariz because Mondariz is a necessary stage for English travellers, according to the itineraries of the Booth Line. For some years past the steamers of this important navigation Company of Liverpool, in their tourist excursions, have called three times a month at Vigo and return there to pick up passengers after their having visited the province of Pontevedra and part of that of Corunna, even reaching the city of Santiago...

At the port referred to many travellers from America and central Europe disembark with the double object of restoring their health in Mondariz and visiting the beautiful country of Pontevedra.

The same occurs with Portugal of which the railway line of the Miño joins the Spanish lines at Guillarey, when flock yearly to the mineral water establishment innumerable visitors to take the waters. Mondariz is also the centre into which visitors pour from the four provinces of Galicia and the whole of Spain.¹³⁶

That the volume was intended in part as a Galician-centred competitor for the Baedeker guide is clear from its design, which emulates the iconic Baedeker red-and-gold colouring and handy pocket size, down to the twin ribbons, which rather than Baedeker's red and green, are in the national colours of Spain (red and yellow) and of Galicia (blue and white). Interestingly, the Spanish version of the guide contains a direct challenge to Baedeker, which is omitted from the English translation: 'Rectificamos los muchos y garrafales errores que contiene el

Baedeker en las cuatro páginas escasas dedicadas a las cuatro provincias gallegas' [We correct the many monumental errors *Baedeker* contains in the four scant pages it dedicates to the four Galician provinces].¹³⁷

In addition to its evident desire to replace *Baedeker* as the principal guidebook for tourists in Galicia, *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago* is also a valuable snapshot of a particular moment in Galician cultural history. As well as the detailed itineraries and directories typical of a tourist guidebook, *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago* includes a range of essays by prominent Galician writers and intellectuals. Although not all contributions are signed, the book announces the participation of the **Countess de Pardo Bazán** (1851-1921), **Manuel Murguía** (1833-1923), **Celso García de la Riega** (1844-1914), **Castro Sampedro y Folgar** (1848-1937), Enrique Peinador Lines, **Rafael Balsa de la Vega** (d.1913), and **Alfredo Vicenti** (1850-1916).¹³⁸ While these names were unlikely to mean a great deal to the book's intended English readers, the participation of figures such as Murguía and Peinador places the project firmly within the framework of Galicia's *rexionalista* [regionalist] movement, which since the 1880s had been carving out a distinct cultural and political identity for Galicia, and which less than a decade later would be transformed into a fully-fledged nationalist programme.

The volume has three parts. The first is designed to introduce readers to Galician history and culture, with essays on Galicia's relations with Central Europe and with Portugal, and on 'The character of the country and the spirit of the people,' and 'Language, literature, art.' Enclosed in the latter are several fold-out pieces of sheet music with extracts by Galician composers, evidently designed to encourage readers to add some Galician music to their repertoire. They include an 'Alborada' for piano by 'B Veiga' (probably **Pascual Veiga**, 1842-1906), a 'Muiñeira' for voice and piano by **Juan Montes Capón** (1840-1899), a popular 'A la la,' the piano piece 'Negra sombra' [Black shadow], also by Montes, and 'Meus amores' [My loves], a ballad for voice and piano by **Salvador Golpe** (1850-1909) and **Xosé Baldomir Rodríguez** (1867-1947). Interspersed with the essays are sections that function as a mini-itinerary, guiding readers through 'manorial residences' and 'the ancient inscriptions found between La Guardia and Santiago,' although without the explicitly functional tone of the second part. Here, we find sections on Pontevedra and Santiago de Compostela, along with itineraries that cover the journeys from Mondariz to Santiago, from Santagio to Carril, Pontevedra and Vigo, and from Vigo to Tuy via La Guardia. The third part covers 'The Hydropathic Establishments of the Province.' It begins with Mondariz, which is allocated over three times more space than La Toja, which in turn is prioritized over the smaller centres at Cuntis, Caldelas de Tui, Caldas de Reis, and Catoira.

At the end of the guide, an advertising section printed on thick, shiny paper promotes a number of businesses. Some of the names will by now be familiar, including Martín and Durán's General Depot, the Booth Line and their agents Messrs. J. Barreras, the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, the Gran Hotel Continental, the Gran Hotel Moderno, and La Toja soap ('best toilet soap, for its agreeable mild aroma and the abundance of unctuous lather it affords'). Others are less familiar, such as Eudoro Pardo Labarta's mineral water depot, the Lluria Sanatorium ('special treatment of urinal diseases, gout, rheumatism, obesity and neurasthenia'), the Thermal Waters of Cuntis ('Rheumatism, Gout, Syphilis, Paralysis, Traumatism, Herpetism'), and Alfonso Ciarán's photogravure workshop. The 'Villa de Paris' clothing stores, with an office in the grounds of the Mondariz Grand Establishment itself, aimed to provide its customers with protection against all possible eventualities ('Umbrellas, Sunshades, Fans, Eiderdowns, Carpets, Waterproofs'). There are also advertisements for smaller lodgings, presumably aimed at those who could not afford the Grand Hotels. These include Mondariz's Hotel Roma, Hotel La Estrella ('Electric bells in all the rooms') and Gran Hotel Avelino ('the best and most conveniently situated after that of the Grand Establishment'). The book ends with four pages of advertising for the Hydropathic Establishment of Mondariz, with an entire page given over to the rather terrifying programme of health treatments available in the Bathing Department, Douche Bath Room, and Spray Jet Department. *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago* was the last substantial publication to come out of the project, although the following year, in 1913, the AFTG produced an illustrated guide to *Vigo y sus cercanías* [Vigo and its Surroundings], which combined guidance for tourists in Vigo with information about southern Galicia.¹³⁹

The 1911 and 1912 Seasons in Mondariz

The tourists who visited Mondariz in 1911 were the first to have the benefit of the new stable of publications from the Booth Line, and might well have read the journalists' accounts in the national or regional press about Galicia and its delights. The barrister **T[homas] Cyprian Williams** (1854-1932), his wife **Helen Rosalind Campbell Williams** (1857-) and their two unmarried daughters **Gwendolen** (1885-?) and **Joan** (1887-?), of Taynton House near Burford in Oxfordshire, left Liverpool on 8 April aboard the *Hilary*. After a month away, they recorded on 9 May that 'Mrs & Mrs Cyprian Williams & the Misses Williams have enjoyed their stay immensely & the best testimony they can give is that they propose to return to Mondariz later in the summer for a much longer visit.' As we have seen the desire to return is a familiar sentiment in the *libros de ouro*, but like the Williams family, of whom I can find no further trace, most visitors never did manage to make that second visit.

The attractions of Galicia's trout streams, as described by Walter Gallichan in *Where Trout Abound* also brought visitors to Mondariz. These included two British Army chaplains, **AR Thomson** and **JL Findlay**. Both signal the continued presence of Mr Martin, here described as an 'interpreter,' although one wonders about the nature of the 'native customs' mentioned by Thomson:

I have enjoyed my visit here immensely. The charm & grandeur of the scenery cannot be expressed in words. I have especially to thank the Interpreter M. Martin for many a pleasant time. By his aid I managed to get into native customs that few foreigners can attain. AR Thomson, Chaplain HM Forces (17.5.1911)

I have been here for ten days & have not had a dull minute. Primarily I came for the trout fishing & had two very good days both up the river catching 1 ½ doz[en] good big trout each day with a small black fly chiefly. I desire to record my appreciation of the Hotel's staff especially that of Mr Martin the interpreter who was always most obliging. JL Findlay, Chaplain to HM Forces, Aldershot (18.5.1911)

Later that season, **Keith Christie** of Ireland, who left Liverpool on 21 Sep 1911 aboard the *Anselm* along with **Miss A Christie** and **Miss M Protheroe**, returning on 4 October aboard the *Augustine*, had very warm words – and warm encouragement too – for his new friend ‘Mr Martin’:

I enjoyed my stay at the Hydro very much, having spent three months under Mr Martin's care, & do wish that he would get married to some dark-eyed girl of the south, as I consider him an [ideal] man for matrimony, the monsieur le Bishop gave us quite a treat when he entertained the ladies in the music room to his sweet voice. I can't say enough of the beautiful scenery that is to be got all round the Estate + will I hope see Mondaziz [sic] when the Madrid Grandees are all staying here in the summer when I shall bring my wife to hear + see them dance. I shall send at least 10,000 Irishmen next year to stay at the Hydro + enjoy the waters, not to speak of our ... friend M Martin.

During 1912, although the passenger manifests for Booth Line vessels show a steady stream of travellers disembarking at Vigo, we find fewer British entries in the *libros de ouro*. Those who did record their impressions remained uniformly delighted, such as **C Hayward** of Hampstead and **H Bradford** of London, who recorded in May 1912 that ‘Estamos encantados. Delightful place, charming people.’ Five months later, another end-of-season visitor, **John R Procter**, recorded his gratitude to Señor Martin, on behalf of himself and his nieces:

We have passed five happy days in Mondariz enjoying glorious sunshine and the surrounding magnificent scenery. We have met with rare courtesy from our Host Senor Peinador down to the most insignificant employee in the Estab-

ishment. Senor Martin who is at once a kindly gentleman and a perfect guide has contributed immensely to our pleasure (10 Oct 1912).

As far as I can tell, the Procter family were among the last British visitors to record their memories in the Mondariz *libros de ouro*. Booth Line shipping manifests and company correspondence show that take-up of the Galicia tours slowed somewhat after 1912, as it did in the company's much bigger Portugal tours. The Booth Line's Lisbon passenger manager Ted Garland, in a letter to his Liverpool counterpart William 'Stan' Cann, attributed this to the effect of the sinking of the *Titanic* in April that year.¹⁴⁰ The 'Titanic effect' noted by Garland, together with the increasing likelihood of war in Europe, meant that during their final years of operation, the Galicia tours attracted ever smaller audiences. The outbreak of war in 1914 put an end to the Booth Line's European holiday tours for the duration of the war. When peace returned four years later, the Portugal and Madeira tours resumed, but Galicia dropped off the itinerary completely. It would be replaced by the company's heavily marketed and highly successful Brazilian tours, which continued into the 1950s under the slogan *1000 Miles up the Amazon*.

Postscript

There is a brief postscript to this story, which takes place exactly a decade after the end of the Edwardian era proper. Perhaps fittingly, Annette Meakin, whose failure to visit Mondariz while researching her monumental 1909 book *Galicia the Switzerland of Spain* was almost certainly the spark that ignited the Anglo-Galician tourist project, would in 1920 become the last of the Balneario's Edwardian visitors. In fact, Mondariz and the Balneario would come to play an important part in her life and work. From here she published a letter in *The Times Literary Supplement* on the subject of the Conde de Romanones;¹⁴¹ here she met the Spanish Foreign Minister, the Marquis de Lema, with whom she maintained a correspondence;¹⁴² here, on 3 September 1920, she delivered a speech in Spanish before the Real Academia Gallega.¹⁴³ During the Academy's meeting in Mondariz, Meakin became acquainted the eminent Galician historian and widower of Rosalía de Castro, Manuel Murguía, securing his permission to translate Castro's work into English.¹⁴⁴

Inspired perhaps by Castro's example, Meakin – never a poet – composed a sonnet in honour of her time at the Balneario. The sonnet, entitled 'An Evening at Mondariz,' was printed in *La Temporada* on 18 July 1920. In an indication of its prominent place in her recollections, when she came to contemplate her career many years later, Meakin pasted this poem into the inside front cover of the scrapbook she would eventually bequeath to the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It is not an accomplished work of literature. Nonetheless, it captures the traveller's awkward desire to hold on to the holiday sentiment, which as the *libros de ouro* show, seems to have overwhelmed so many of Mondariz's British visitors as their time at the Balneario drew to an end:

AN EVENING AT MONDARIZ

Spain's beauty spot, among Galicia's hills,
Fair Mondariz! thy healing water brings,
From Gándara, and from Troncoso's springs –
Health to wan cheeks, and gentle sleep; it kills
The microbe sadness, and our being fills
With vigour new, and courage; gives us wings
To climb steep heights, endure long sojournings
In cities grim, and bend our stubborn wills
To duty's task. The storm is o'er, and sweet
The nightingale her tender song is pouring
From yonder bush. Once more the moon appears,
And flowers her welcome beams with perfume greet.
I pluck a rose, who sheds her petals, weeping,
And leaves my fingers dripping with her tears.

Annette M.B. Meakin

Julio-1-1920

CONCLUSION

Spas, steamships, and sardines. The history of the pioneering but short-lived Booth Line holiday tours to Galicia certainly brings a new dimension to our knowledge of Britain's on-going fascination with Spain and all things Spanish. Reconstructing the history of the AFTG project to develop the close historical ties between Galicia and Great Britain into a modern relationship of mutual economic, social and cultural benefit also restores a forgotten episode in the emergence of Galicia's distinctive cultural and political identity. The Galician partners, led by Federico Barreras, Estanislao Durán and Enrique Peinador Lines, believed that Galicia's best hope for a modern and progressive future lay in the development of direct cultural and commercial connections with the booming Anglo-Saxon world. However, as they also recognised, in order to be successful, they would need to win over the hearts and minds of British holidaymakers and investors whose knowledge of Galicia was likely to be scanty at best.

Luckily, the Booth Line's substantial multimedia marketing operation, incorporating historians, journalists, travel writers and artists, gave the AFTG direct access to the British popular imagination. The colourfully-illustrated books by Rachel Challice, Walter Wood, and Catherine Gasquoine Hartley sought to reassure nervous British holidaymakers that the vivid accounts of Spain's dilapidated lodgings, inedible stews and crooked landlords publicised by Richard Ford and George Borrow back in the 1830s were no longer relevant. In modern, progressive Galicia, as they could see from Frank Mason's colourful paintings and the Booth Line's own array of guidebooks, brochures and advertisements, they would find only picturesque views, luxurious accommodations, and the warmest of Galician welcomes. By the evidence of the Mondariz *libros de ouro*, this is exactly what they found.

Ambitious as it was, the mission of these early 20th-century intellectuals, journalists and businessmen to attract British tourists away from Spain's sunny south and into its Atlantic north west is now all but forgotten. However, its repercussions have not entirely vanished. Catherine Gasquoine Hartley's account of her summer 1910 tour is warmly remembered in Galicia, and was published in Galician translation by Galicia's most prestigious publishing house as *Un verán en Galicia* (1999). It is now almost exactly a century since the Booth Line holiday tours to Galicia were brought to a premature end by the twin disasters of the 'Titanic effect' and the First World War. Nonetheless, this clever Edwardian combination of culture, heritage, business and leisure provides rich inspiration for introducing new generations of international holidaymakers to the *Tesouros de Galicia* of which today's Galicians are, rightly, so proud.

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(Endnotes)

- 1 A Mr HA Baker left Southampton for Corunna on 31 March 1899, aboard the *Nile*; he was the only passenger disembarking at Corunna.
- 2 *La Temporada* 2.6.1907. The Trayner family may well have visited for health reasons; CHM Trayner died in post in February 1908, of complications relating to diabetes.
- 3 *La Temporada* 30.6.1907.
- 4 Cockerell was probably the financier Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1880-?), who left Southampton aboard the *Aragon* on 5 April 1907 bound for Lisbon, accompanied by a ‘Miss Cockerell.’
- 5 *La Temporada* 8.9.1907.
- 6 ‘Miss Rachel Challice,’ *La Temporada* 16.6.1907: 2.
- 7 *La Temporada* 30.6.1907.
- 8 *La Temporada* 6.10.1907. We find Singleton heading for Galicia again in the autumn of 1909, the sole Vigo-bound passenger embarking the *Orita* at Liverpool on 9 September. He died at the English College in Lisbon on 28 October 1910 at the age of 64.
- 9 Challice, ‘An English Greeting to the Balneario of Mondariz’: 1.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Ibid.*: 2.
- 12 Challice, *A Monograph of Mondariz*: 38.
- 13 *Ibid.*: 14.
- 14 *Ibid.*: 13.
- 15 *Ibid.*: 14.
- 16 *Ibid.*: 17. Emphasis mine. My copy of the Mondariz suggests that there may have been some dispute over Challice’s claim to be ‘the only authorised British agency,’ since those words are stamped across with the legend ‘Spanish Traders Limited, 38-39 Beech Street, Barbican, EC.’ A large sticker for the same business appears on the cover. Given that I have found no further reference to either business, an alternative reading is that ‘Spanish Traders’ took on the commission after Challice’s sudden death in 1909.
- 17 Bodleian Library MS Eng.Misc.d.509. Papers of Miss Annette Meakin. Vol. 1, p.6.
- 18 *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p.56.
- 19 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p.9. Meakin herself pasted the review into her scrapbook alongside other published reviews in both English and Spanish journals.
- 20 *La Temporada* (27 Jun 1909).
- 21 Hume, ‘The Hills of Spain.’
- 22 Founded in 1906, it is now the *Real Academia Galega* or Royal Galician Academy. For an announcement of Hume’s appointment, see *Boletín da Real Academia Galega* 21 (20 Dec 1908).
- 23 LRO 387 BOO 2/1 Directors’ Minutes Book, p.15. Board Meeting 14 May 1901.
- 24 *British Medical Journal* (10 Mar 1906): 568.
- 25 *Vida Marítima* (20 Mar 1907): 10. The Spanish expats in Brazil wanted to avoid Portuguese customs.
- 26 In practice, however, the majority of passengers on the transatlantic leg were either British businessmen and expats, or Portuguese.

- 27 *Manchester Courier* (24 Nov 1906): 9.
- 28 *Manchester Courier* (18 Feb 1907): 8. The comfort level was important, as passengers on the Portuguese Circular Tours would likely be on board ship for about ten days. The typical cost in 1907 of a two-week trip calling at Le Havre, Oporto and Lisbon (which in practice ranged from 13 to 17 days) was £12 from Liverpool or £13 from London, which is roughly equivalent to £700 today.
- 29 *Manchester Courier* (8 Aug 1908): 3. A typical outward voyage to Galicia would involve two days from Liverpool to Le Havre, two days in Le Havre itself, where passengers from London could join the ship, and then two further days to Vigo.
- 30 ‘Galicia y los ingleses.’ *El Liberal* (19 May 1909).
- 31 ‘Inglaterra en Galicia.’ *La Temporada* (16 May 1909): 1.
- 32 ‘Ecclesiastical Intelligence.’ *Times* (20 Apr. 1909): 9. A similar tour had been advertised by the Booth Line a year previously as ‘Pilgrimage to Spain, Visiting Shrine of St James the Great at SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA,’ and scheduled to leave Liverpool aboard the RMS *Anthony* on 9th July 1908 (*Manchester Courier*, 30 Jun 1908: 3). Although a ‘Special Booklet’ promoting the tour was available, no record survives, and the *Anthony’s* passenger manifest for 9th July 1908 shows only four passengers scheduled to land at Vigo.
- 33 See, for example, the coverage of the visit in *Vida Gallega* (Jul 1909): 21.
- 34 According to *Vida Gallega*, the dinner held to inaugurate the hotel’s relaunch under its new owner Señor Magín [*sic*] coincided with the visit of the English pilgrims; grace was said by the Archbishop of Westminster. *Vida Gallega* (July 1909): 10.
- 35 ‘Llegada de los peregrinos,’ *La Correspondencia de España* (25 May 1909): 4.
- 36 ‘La peregrinación inglesa,’ *La Época* (26 May 1909): 1.
- 37 ‘British Pilgrims in Spain Have Enthusiastic Reception at Santiago,’ *Evening Telegraph* (27 May 1909): 2.
- 38 The group are named as the Archbishop; Reverends Dunford, Tombs, Clarkson, Thomson, W and J Aspinall, Roberts, Hodson, Aldham and Miss Robinson. ‘La actualidad en provincias,’ *Nuevo Mundo* (10 Jun 1909): 24.
- 39 *Vida Gallega* (Jul 1909): 21.
- 40 Alonso Álvarez et al: 133.
- 41 The La Toja hotel would also collaborate with P&O on pleasure cruises, such as the one to Madeira, the Canary Island, the Azores and Lisbon advertised in 1911, which ‘will include a call at Arosa Bay, whence passengers may visit Santiago or the newly established resort of La Toja’, *Cheltenham Looker-On* (14 Jan 1911): 12.
- 42 ‘Galicia hacia el turismo. Doctores ingleses en La Toja,’ *Vida Gallega* 8 (15 Aug 1909), p.15.
- 43 Drs Abrahams and Thompson landed in Southampton on 19 July aboard the *Araguaya* from Vigo.
- 44 ‘Galicia hacia el turismo. Doctores ingleses en La Toja,’ *Vida Gallega* 8 (15 Aug 1909), p.15-16.
- 45 ‘Galicia hacia el turismo. Doctores ingleses en La Toja,’ *Vida Gallega* 8 (15 Aug 1909), p.15-16.
- 46 ‘El turismo en Galicia,’ *Vida Gallega* (Dec 1909): 20.
- 47 ‘El turismo en Galicia,’ *Vida Gallega* (Oct 1910): 28.
- 48 ‘The Switzerland of Spain,’ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (24.7.1909): 2. I have not yet been able to locate a copy of the illustrated programme.
- 49 Rogers returned to Liverpool aboard the *Lanfranc*, landing on 3 June 1909.
- 50 Shadwell returned to Liverpool on 21 August 1909 from Vigo, aboard the *Anselm*.
- 51 Also on the sailing out was Liverpool University’s Professor John Ramsay Muir (1872-1941), although he does not appear in the Mondariz guest book. The five arrived back in Liverpool with the Youngs on 21 September aboard the *Ambrose*.
- 52 *Manchester Courier* (1 Oct 1909): 1. The cost was £12 for 12 days and £20 for 25 days, roughly equivalent to between £680 and £1,140 in today’s money
- 53 The party returned home aboard the *Lanfranc* from Vigo, arriving back in Liverpool on 21 October

- 54 *El Liberal* (9 Oct 1909).
- 55 Walter Wood, *A Corner of Spain*: 39.
- 56 *Ibid.*: 47.
- 57 *Ibid.*: 52.
- 58 *Ibid.*: 63.
- 59 *Ibid.*: 151.
- 60 *Ibid.*: 143.
- 61 *Ibid.*: 143.
- 62 *Ibid.*: 151.
- 63 The Merseyside Maritime Museum holds a printed draft of an invitation to the Exhibition, which was scheduled to take place between 25 May and 15 June 1910, at Messrs. Hare & Whitley's Gallery, 35 Bold Street, Liverpool. However these details have been pencilled out, and '140 Northumberland Street, Newcastle on Tyne' pencilled in. I have so far found no evidence that the exhibition eventually went ahead.
- 64 The version of the brochure that has survived can be dated to after 1911, since it includes in its account of the fleet the *Hildebrand*, launched that year.
- 65 The AFTG's constitution was approved by the provincial Governor at the end of January. *Diario de Galicia* (25 Jan 1910): 1.
- 66 *Diario de Galicia* (26 Feb 1910): 2.
- 67 'El turismo en Galicia,' *Vida Gallega* 18 (15 Apr, 1910), p.10.
- 68 'El turismo en Galicia,' *El Liberal* (20 Jul 1909): 2.
- 69 'Galicia as a Holiday Resort,' *The Times* (5 Mar 1910): 15.
- 70 Gibbons continued to promote La Toja and its products, bringing another group of British medics to Galicia in April 1910. The group, which included King Edward VII's personal doctor St Clair Thomson, Dr A Latham, and Dr L Williams, left Southampton for Vigo aboard the PSNC's *Amazon* on 1 April and returned aboard the *Asturias* eight days later.
- 71 'El turismo en Galicia,' *El Globo* (21 Mar 1910): 2; 'Fomento del turismo,' *El Imparcial* (16 Mar 1910): 4.
- 72 'El turismo en Galicia,' *Vida Gallega* 18 (15 Apr, 1910): 10.
- 73 'Martin Hume,' *La Temporada* (10 Jul 1910): 1.
- 74 The visit was not without precedent. Previous BIAJ delegations had visited Portugal (1898), Dalmatia and Bosnia (1907), and Bohemia (1908), and they would return to Portugal in 1913 at the invitation of the Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal, once again travelling under the auspices of the Booth Line.
- 75 Jerrold's trip to Galicia appears to have sparked an interest in travel writing, as from 1910, he would contribute at least eight volumes on south east England to Blackie's 'Beautiful England' series.
- 76 Stone was well acquainted with a very different part of Spain, as his wife Olivia, who did not accompany him on this trip, had written the first English-language guide to the Canary Islands some twenty years earlier.
- 77 The book is mentioned in Moody's obituary in the *Stourbridge County Express*, but no copy appears to have survived and it is not clear whether it was privately published.
- 78 Catherine Gasquoine Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 23.
- 79 *Ibid.*: 28. We must assume that in the excitement of the moment, Hartley had temporarily forgotten about the Booth Line's house artist Frank H Mason, whose paintings of Vigo harbour were not only a central pillar of their marketing strategy, but would also form the frontispiece for *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*.

80 'Galicia ante el turismo,' *Vida Gallega* (Aug 1910): 8.
81 Burgin, *A Lady of Spain*: 30.
82 *Ibid.*: 93.
83 *Ibid.*: 20.
84 'Galicia ante el turismo': 8.
85 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 55.
86 'Galicia ante el turismo': 8.
87 Burgin, *The Belle of Santiago*: 7.
88 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 65-66.
89 *Ibid.*: 72-73.
90 Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain': 111.
91 Palmés may have been the Aguas de Lárez company's representative on the AFTG's London committee.
92 'Galicia ante el turismo': 13.
93 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 87.
94 *Ibid.*: 84.
95 *Ibid.*: 90.
96 *Ibid.*: 95.
97 'Galicia ante el turismo': 15.
98 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 123.
99 Trulock was the grandfather of Spain's most recent Nobel laureate, the novelist Camilo José Cela y Trulock (1916-2002).
100 *Ibid.*: 126.
101 *Ibid.*: 151.
102 *Ibid.*: 155.
103 Stone, 'Santiago of Galicia': 13.
104 Burgin, 'Snapshots in Spain II: At Santiago, the City of a Dream,' *Daily Express* (24 Sep 1910): 4.
105 Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain': 114.
106 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 196.
107 Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain': 115.
108 Stone, 'Galicia, the Garden of Spain': 115.
109 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 203-4.
110 'Los periodistas ingleses,' *La Correspondencia de España* (6 Aug 1910): 5.
111 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 305.
112 *Ibid.*: 314.
113 Burgin, *Memoirs of a Clubman*: 282.
114 The new Mr and Mrs Wood left Liverpool on 1 Jun 1910 aboard the *Lanfranc* and returned on 22 Jun 1910 aboard the *Ambrose* from Leixões.
115 *Diario de Galicia* (30 Nov 1910): 1.

- 116 'A Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (12 Dec 1910): 1.
- 117 *Ibid.*
- 118 *Ibid.*
- 119 'Gallegos é ingleses,' *La voz de la verdad* (12 Dec 1910): 2.
- 120 'Santiago en Londres,' *Diario de Galicia* (13 Dec 1910): 1.
- 121 'At Wellington's Tomb. Spanish Journalists' Tribute,' *The Times* (8 Dec 1910): 5.
- 122 'En Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (14 Dec 1910): 1; 'En Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (15 Dec 1910): 1.
- 123 'En Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (14 Dec 1910): 1.
- 124 'En Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (15 Dec 1910): 1.
- 125 'En Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (14 Dec 1910): 1.
- 126 'Santiago en Londres,' *Diario de Galicia* (11 Dec 1910): 1.
- 127 'En Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (23 Dec 1910): 2.
- 128 *Ibid.*
- 129 'Los periodistas Santiagueses en Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (21 Dec 1910): 2.
- 130 'Gallegos é ingleses,' *La voz de la verdad* (12 Dec 1910): 2.
- 131 'Los periodistas Santiagueses en Londres,' *Gaceta de Galicia* (21 Dec 1910): 2.
- 132 'Galicia en Inglaterra,' *Diario de Galicia* (31 Dec 1910): 1.
- 133 Hartley, *A Summer Holiday in Galicia*: 21.
- 134 *Ibid.*: 65.
- 135 A second English-language version, based on the Spain edition's 9th version, was published in 1955. A French translation, *Saint Jacques de Compostelle*, also appeared in 1959.
- 136 *Mondariz-Vigo-Santiago*: 5.
- 137 *Ibid.*: 7.
- 138 *Ibid.*: 8.
- 139 *El Correo de Galicia* (6 Aug 1913): 2.
- 140 Merseyside Maritime Museum, D/CAN/3/2/7. Letter from Ted Garland in Oporto to WS Cann in Liverpool. 29 May 1912.
- 141 'Portugal y el Hispanismo,' *The Times Literary Supplement* (16.9.1920).
- 142 Bodleian Library MS Eng.Misc.d.509. Papers of Miss Annette Meakin. Vol. 1, p. 2.
- 143 Bodleian Library MS Eng.Misc.d.509. Papers of Miss Annette Meakin. Vol. 1, p.3.
- 144 This translation appears never to have come to fruition, halted perhaps by Murguía's death in 1923.



