



Universidad de Valladolid

FACULTAD de FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS
DEPARTAMENTO de FILOLOGÍA INGLESA
Grado en Estudios Ingleses

TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

English Works in Spanish Libraries through the Inventories

Carlota Lera Gómez

Tutora: Ana Sáez Hidalgo

2020-2021

ABSTRACT

The aim of this undergraduate dissertation is to analyze the presence of English works in the private libraries of Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos, Benito Bails and Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes. The backwardness of Spain compared to Europe was reflected in the society, the politics, and the culture of the country. Different events occurring between Spain and England affected the exchange and the free circulation of the literary works between both countries, the lack of English works in Spain could be justified and explained because of that. Nevertheless, English works can be found in these private libraries. A data-oriented analysis based on the inventories of these libraries, is going to show what works have been found, the topics, the authors and the language. In addition, the circumstances of the arrivals of these titles into the country is going to be exposed.

Key words: Eighteenth Century, Anglo-Spanish relations, Private Libraries, English literature, Book dissemination, Reception

RESUMEN

El principal objetivo de este trabajo de fin de grado es analizar la presencia de libros ingleses en las bibliotecas privadas de Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos, Benito Bails y Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes. El atraso de España en comparación con Europa se reflejó en la sociedad, la política y la cultura del país. Diferentes hechos ocurridos entre España e Inglaterra afectaron el intercambio y la libre circulación de las obras literarias entre ambos países, por eso la falta de obras inglesas en España podría justificarse y explicarse. No obstante, se pueden encontrar obras en inglés en estas bibliotecas privadas. Un análisis basado en los datos obtenidos de los inventarios de estas bibliotecas va a mostrar qué trabajos se han encontrado, los temas, los autores y el idioma. Además, se van a exponer las circunstancias de la llegada de estos títulos al país.

Palabras clave: Siglo XVIII, Relaciones Anglo-españolas, Bibliotecas Privadas, Literatura Inglesa, Difusión de libros, Recepción

Table of contents

1	Justification and objectives.....	3
2	Methodology.....	3
3	Historical Context: England and Spain	
	3.1 Historical, political and social context.....	5
	3.2 Culture in Spain and England during the eighteenth century.....	7
	3.3 Enlightenment in England and Spain.....	8
4	Reception of English works in Spain.....	11
5	Libraries in Spain during the eighteenth century.....	13
	5.1 Public libraries.....	14
	5.2 Private libraries.....	15
	5.3 Analysis of inventory of the presence of English works in private libraries.....	16
	5.3.1 The private library of Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes....	17
	5.3.2 The private library of Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos.....	20
	5.3.3 The private library of Benito Bails.....	23
	5.4 Private libraries without inventory.....	27
6	Presence of English works in the private libraries of Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos, Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes y Benito Bails.....	28
	6.1 Works.....	30
	6.2 English works written in English and the presence of translations in the private libraries.....	31
7	Conclusion.....	32
8	Bibliography.....	34

1. Justification and objectives

During the eighteenth century, Spain experienced a development and a rise in the cultural level of the population, this fact along with the opened and accessibility of the public libraries and the proliferation of the private libraries, increased the number of works written in different languages besides Spanish such as Latin and French, which were the dominant languages in that period. Moreover, English is the only one relevant for this undergraduate dissertation. The increase of the number of private libraries under the ownership of different personalities of the eighteenth century, made that most of these English works, among other literary writings from English authors of this same period of time, were included on them. Also, many translations and adaptations of many different works can be found in these private libraries. Moreover, these works were translated by the owners of the libraries in some cases due to their knowledge of a foreign language, taking into account its own personal interest in the changes and news coming from many different countries in order to contribute or adapt this imported knowledge to Spain. Throughout this undergraduate dissertation, the presence of English works in private library collections present in Spain during the eighteenth century will be analyzed in order to establish what could be the preferences and interests on foreign writings thorough this century for the owners of these titles among a previous analysis about the reception of English works in Spain during this period.

2. Methodology

In order to delimitate and to make an accurate classification of the different sources considered for this undergraduate dissertation, this paper is divided into four sections. The first section of this work deals with the historical context in the main countries included in this study: England and Spain. In order to achieve an accurate knowledge of the political, cultural and social characteristics of both countries during the eighteenth century, this section also explains Enlightenment as a philosophical and intellectual movement happened during the eighteenth century in Europe, which is one of the most important concepts needed to understand the aim of this undergraduate dissertation. The following parts will refer to some of the many features that shape the reception of English works in Spain.

In the second section, this dissertation explains the reception of English works in Spain and how they are going to be acquired by different personalities and institutions. This is going to be developed where the libraries in Spain during 1700-1800 are going to be investigated, excluding the religious ones, focusing on the private libraries of different enlightened figures of that period. The reason for this is that religious libraries do not make a complete and detailed picture of a specific owner and these kinds of libraries stored works from many different periods of time, with many different topics due to the fact that, culture and knowledge were under the censorship of the church in previous times. As a part of the selection process for the corpus of this dissertation a division between private libraries with inventory and private libraries without inventory will be done in order to start with the investigation. Only private libraries which have an available inventory, will be able to be taken into account for the purpose of this dissertation because it is required to know the titles or at least the languages of the works in the libraries to elaborate a whole picture of them and their owners of that period.

The following section deals with the analysis of the foreign works written in English present on these libraries and distinguishing between those works in English language and those translated into Spanish. Moreover, translations into Spanish will be considered for the final analysis. This analysis is going to establish if the owners of the private libraries acquired works in their original language or, furthermore, they preferred a translated version of these and, what could be the main reasons for that, analyzing the relationships between Spain and England through this century and mainly focused on the relations between the owners of the library and the English culture. Moreover, it will be taken into account the politic, economic and social circumstances and also the relationships between both countries through this period in order to clarify and to find an explanation for the presence of English works in the private libraries in Spain during the eighteenth century. What will be also studied is the relevance of these works that made them important for the owners of these libraries.

The final section provides the conclusions obtained from the data analysed throughout this undergraduate dissertation. It is important to make clear that in order to be more accurate and academically correct in the information that is going to be given, the present dissertation is going to be based on the available inventories present in previous works.

3. Historical context in Spain and England

3.1 Historical, political, and social context

During the eighteenth century there were many political and social changes in England and also in Spain which defined the relationships between both countries through the entire century. Whereas in Spain the country experienced a crisis on many different levels due to different events as, riots in Barcelona (1773) and Portugal (1762) and a royal dynasty change; in England the social consequences of the Nine Years War (1688-1697), the Treaty of Union (1707), the Hanoverian Accession (1714) and the incipient development of the First Industrial Revolution (1760-1840) positioned the country on a different social, economic, politic and cultural level compared with Spain. The eighteenth century brought religious, social, and economic upheavals not only in these countries but also around the whole continent. “The country gentlemen ruled Eighteenth century England, but they ruled it largely in the interest of commerce and empire” (Trevelyan 310).

The first relevant fact, which affected both countries, took place during the eighteenth century in Spain, and it was the incoming of a new dynasty. In 1700, Charles II died and named as his heir Philip, Duke of Anjou (later known as Philip V) who was the younger son of Louis XIII of France and his wife, Anne of Austria. The decease of Charles II saw the end of the rule of the Hapsburgs in Spain and heralded a new dynasty, the royal house of the French Bourbons as Fred James Hill exposes in *Spain: An illustrated history*. This accession provoked the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714), which also involved England in a Continental warfare as it had not been involved since the Elizabethan struggle with Spain (Morgan 402). The War of the Spanish Succession finished with the sign of the Peace of Utrecht (1713-15) This not only meant political changes, but it also brought culture and made great changes in the balance of power in the western Mediterranean.

The governmental situation in Spain developed as a consequence of the change from one dynasty to another after the decease of Charles II. Charles II belonged to the Habsburg dynasty and named Philip, Duke of Anjou, who belonged to the Bourbons dynasty as his heir to the throne. This meant several changes on the way they ruled. Charles II (1661-1700) belonged to the Habsburg dynasty and from a cultural point of view, this dynasty was mainly

characterized because they used culture as a resource to exalt the monarchy, to defend the position of the church in the government of the country and to distinguish between social classes. On the contrary, his successor, Philip V (1700-1746) belonged to the Bourbon dynasty which came from France a country where the King was the head of the government. Meanwhile, in England, the crown was clearly in favor of the Habsburg dynasty and opposing the Bourbon dynasty due to the conflicts between France and England from this period, which increase the political and cultural differences between England and Spain.

James Casey explains in *Early modern Spain: A social history* that during this century, Spain progressed from a very restrictive sociopolitical and religious ambient to a sociopolitical and cultural opening as a consequence of different events as the change of dynasty previously mentioned, the Succession War (1701-1713), the Esquilache Riot (1766), the influence of the French Revolution (1789), the importance of sciences and the rise of the middle-class (bourgeoise) on a very strict society. Furthermore, in England the conflicts between Catholics and Anglicans reflected in disputes between the crown and the church, and the society moved towards the imminent Industrial Revolution encouraging a society of changes; distinctions between the social classes were much evident than before, and the appearance of a middle-class with more access to education. According to Kenneth O. Morgan in *The Oxford History of Britain* “Change not was restricted to cities and towns” (430).

Meanwhile, during this period it can be observed a growth of the middle class. According to Richard Herr in *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, this social group who emerged from craftsmen and merchants transformed the pre-existing society into a thriving economy of expanding urban centers, international commercial exchange, and handicraft manufacture. This middle class is going to be relevant for the development of culture in Spain and England through the entire century (7).

In addition, it must be considered the relevance of the correspondence exchanged between English and Spanish enlightened personalities, especially on the second half of the eighteenth century (Bolufer Peruga 302). This correspondence was very helpful because it used to be employed not only as a way of communication, also as an exchange of knowledge and writings. An example of that is the correspondence between figures as Gregorio Mayans and Robert Waddilove where Waddilove provides a translation of the *History of America* to

Walans (Bolufer Peruga 330). This exchange of works is an important factor to be taken into account in order to understand how the English works appeared in Spain during the eighteenth century. Apart from this, the fact that the French language was a more far-reaching language than the English language in Spain during the eighteenth century meant that some of the English works were firstly translated into French and later into Spanish.

3.2 Culture in Spain and England during the eighteenth century

First of all, it is necessary to understand the evolution of culture in Spain and England through the previous centuries. Richard Herr in *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* explains it as follows:

After the culture of The Middle Ages passed its zenith, there began a gradual development in the intellectual spirit of Europe that was to culminate in the eighteenth century. Religion, which was the medieval basic for men's thinking on the problems of life, was slowly driven from its prominent position by knowledge of a more secular kind. At the same time, freedom to express unorthodox ideas advanced (3).

According to this author, along the eighteenth century, culture and knowledge became more accessible to everyone, just in part because the church lost most of its power. This fact triggered on the cultured circles new ways of thinking and also the development of the intellect and new achievements in Europe became a fascination for them. Many enlightened personalities as Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos and Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes spent their own resources creating and storing in his private libraries different titles and works, not only from Spain. We can find titles and works in many different languages coming from different European countries. Works written in Italian, French, Portuguese and English could be found in their private libraries.

The expansion of private libraries in Spain during the eighteenth century could not be possible if it had not also produced a significant advance in publishing and marketing of the books which gradually became into consumer objects (Arias de Saavedra 15-16). Some of

these private libraries will become public libraries in the future so consequently, these writings and works that enlightened personalities got in the past remain in them.

3.3 Enlightenment in England and Spain

Enlightenment was a philosophical and intellectual movement in Europe around the eighteenth century. In the case of Spain, it constituted the intellectual base for all the changes considered for the first Bourbons, especially for Charles III. By contrast, England was living a different type of enlightenment due to the social, politic, and economical changes that the country was experiencing through that period. The Industrial Revolution happened by the end of the eighteenth century and the early beginnings of nineteenth century, was one of the factors related with the development of this movement. Kenneth O. Morgan in *The Oxford History of Britain* described the situation as follows:

The gathering pace of material growth has an inevitable impact on the character of English society. To some extent the results were in line with the trends suggested by commercial diversification and the general advance of capitalism in preceding periods. In terms of social structure, therefore, the principal effect was, so to speak, to stretch the social hierarchy. Because wealth was distributed so unevenly, and because the levels and nature taxation did so little to redistribute that wealth, real living standards rose much more dramatically in the middle and at the top of the social scale than at the bottom. [...] it certainly speeds up during the eighteenth century, and, most importantly, had a close counterpart in the development of industrial and urban society (431).

Back in Spain, for the enlightened personalities, the monarchy and the state should be the force for the modernization of the country separate from the church. Richard Herr in *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* described the situation as follows:

The great enemy the philosophers and scientists faced, especially in their early years, was the Catholic Church. Their proposal to re-examine all knowledge clashed with the assertion of the church that, as a divinely instituted body, it was the guardian of the truth that God had given through revelation. The Catholic Church had not abandoned its medieval claim to teach the only true religion. It called upon the temporal monarchs to aid in suppressing other religious beliefs and in silencing writers who questioned its truths. In France works of the philosophers were prohibited by the government, and in

Rome they were put on the Index, a formal list of books whose reading was forbidden to Catholics on pain of excommunication. [...] Another historical phenomenon that coincided with this development of thought was the growth in the power of the state. The eclipse of the Christian church as a rival governing power and the expansion of the economy beyond the control of local institutions has combined with other factors to give kings more direct control over the lives of their subjects than they had ever had before. With control came enlarged responsibility for the welfare of their subjects (7).

It is also important to consider and to understand the presence of foreign literature in the private libraries of Spain during the eighteenth century and the vision that the rest of Europe had of Spain as a country. There were remarkable differences between Enlightenment in Spain and in Europe, and these differences must be considered in order to comprehend why the different enlightened personalities were interested in works coming from other countries. Some topics and subjects were more developed and studied in countries like France, England or Germany than in Spain, and they were very important for the enlightened personalities from Spain: philosophical thoughts, political theories or scientific findings developed without the intromission of external factors, as the Catholic Church in the case of Spain. They considered foreign works more advanced and significant than those from their own country. Ana Hontanilla firmly believes that:

A disseminated perception of Spain as an uncivilized and barbaric country, ruling out as a member of “Enlightened Europe”. Spaniards religious practices were generally tied in with ancient paganism and therefore the population was commonly perceived by foreign visitors as pagan and primitive. In addition, the Spanish Inquisition provided the travelers with a dangerous, threatening ethos that promptly resolved any doubts of whether or not Spain was an enlightened civilized country (119-120).

By contrast. it has to be taken into account, the vision that English people had about Spain along the eighteenth century. As Mónica Bolufer Peruga claims: “The knowledge of the Spanish culture in Great Britain was relatively limited during the eighteenth century. [...] a few English bibliophiles owned Spanish books [...] due to the limited offer existent in England more than the lack of demand. [...] Spain strives to overcome its secular cultural

backwardness joining the new intellectual waves”¹ (Bolufer Peruga 302). Besides that, in England “The eighteenth century was more sensitive to social problems than it has sometimes seemed, though it had no easy or comprehensive answers ” (Morgan 432),

In this period, enlightened people came from many different areas of knowledge with many different and diverse interests in both countries. They were people with a high level of knowledge and expertise in many different areas and most of them were related with politics, economics, sciences, and religion. In the case of Spain, the sources of their knowledge came from other countries in Europe: France, England, and Switzerland were the main references for them. Also, classics’ authors like Ovid, Socrates and Descartes were relevant for them and could be found in their private libraries as we can appreciate down below in table 1.

Author	Title	Subject	Country
Diderot and d’Alembert	<i>Encyclopedia, or a Systematic Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Crafts</i>	General Knowledge	France
John Locke	<i>Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i>	Philosophy	England
David Hume	<i>A Treatise of Human Nature</i>	Philosophy	England
Voltaire	<i>Essay on the Customs and the Spirit of the Nations</i>	History	France
Francis Hutcheson	<i>A System of Moral Philosophy</i>	Philosophy	Ireland
Jean-Jacques Rousseau	<i>Discourse on Inequality</i>	Politics	Switzerland
Bernard de Fontenelle	<i>Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds</i>	Science	France

¹ “El conocimiento de la cultura española en Gran Bretaña fue relativamente escaso en el siglo XVIII. [...] pocos bibliófilos ingleses poseían libros españoles [...] la escasa oferta existente en Inglaterra más que de la ausencia de demanda. [...] España pugnaba por superar su atraso cultural secular incorporándose a las nuevas corrientes intelectuales”.

Voltaire	<i>The Elements of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy</i>	Science	France
John Milton	<i>Paradise Lost</i>	Poem	England
Francis Bacon	<i>Novum Organum</i>	Philosophy and Science	England
Ovid	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	Epic genre	Italy

Table 1. Authors, works, subjects and countries that became a reference for the enlightened personalities in Europe. Mestre y Perez García 2004.

As it has been explained before, during the previous centuries, the culture was mainly controlled by the church and the government in the case of Spain, and sometimes under the censorship of The Inquisition. This fact was very important for the British visitors during that century as Mónica Bolufer Peruga explains in “Los intelectuales valencianos y la cultura Británica del siglo XVIII”:

The stories of the visitors through the Spain of the eighteenth century constitute, in good measure, the inventory of a cultural backwardness. The ignorance, the lack of general education and knowledge of the Spanish [...] as a product of the lack of liberties, the royal absolutism, the immense power of the church and, in particular the inquisitorial control of culture [...] condemn the intellectual poverty and the backwardness of the universities² (304).

4 Reception of English works in Spain

The next part of this research paper will introduce the reception of English works in Spain in order to establish a whole picture of the situation during the eighteenth century in Spain. Likewise, as stated before, it will briefly comment the reception of English works in Spain

² “Los relatos de los viajeros por la España del siglo XVIII constituyen, en buena medida, el inventario de un atraso cultural. La ignorancia, la “falta de educación general y conocimientos” de los españoles [...] como producto de la falta de libertades, el absolutismo regio, el inmenso poder de la iglesia y, en particular, el control inquisitorial de la cultura [...] denuncian la pobreza intelectual y el atraso de las Universidades”.

before the eighteenth century because within this scope can be made through a comparison throughout different centuries.

Before the eighteenth century, the reception of English works in Spain was very limited for several reasons. After the eighteenth century, reasons like the political events, the control from the Catholic Church or the low cultural level of the population will no longer be an impediment for the reception of English works in Spain. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Spain counted with several prolific authors like Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra, Lope de Vega, Francisco de Quevedo, Luis de Góngora...and at the same time, in England there were authors like William Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, Thomas More, John Milton... who were very prolific. The reception of English works in previous centuries was minimum compared to the eighteenth century.

The reception of English works in Spain through the eighteenth century has been studied from a variety of perspectives, but less so has been done from the point of view of the English works in the private libraries of Spanish' enlightened personalities. Many theories have been done in order to understand how the English works appear in Spain, one of the main theories establishes that the different relations between individuals from both countries were the beginning of the cultural exchange between England and Spain.

At this point, this undergraduate dissertation is going to be focused on the reasons exposed by Nigel Glendinning who claims that most of the contacts between both cultures were between scientists, politics, and merchants from both countries and that these relationships endured through the years. He claims that:

Above all, the contacts of men of science abound. A dozen Spaniards were members of the English Royal Society in the eighteenth century [...] a few more who went there to study [...] stationed there as diplomats [...] It should be added to the scientific and diplomatic contacts of the Spanish in England another equally important type of contact: the merchants. (55-59)³.

³ “Abundan sobre todo los contactos de hombres de ciencia. Una docena de españoles fueron socios de la Royal Society inglesa en el siglo XVIII [...] algunos pocos más que fueron allí a estudiar [...] destinados allí como diplomáticos [...] Debe añadirse a los contactos científicos y diplomáticos de los españoles en Inglaterra otro tipo de contacto igualmente importante: el de los comerciantes”.

According to Glendinning, there are several proves which demonstrate the existence of contact between individuals, as the case of Campomanes and Jovellanos who were in contact with William Robertson and Bernardo del Campo respectively with letters. Glendinning claims that “Spanish people seemed to have a preference for contacts with English people”⁴. The growing relationships between scientists, diplomatic and merchants from both countries demanded simultaneously and advanced knowledge of the language. Moreover, Glendinning argues that this fact increased the number of grammars and travel writings presence in this period which were written in English and in Spanish, as an example of that was the work *Gramática inglesa y castellana* by Juan Steffan (1784) which proves the existence of a market for these kinds of works. Apart from this, it has to be taken into account the religious beliefs of the English authors have to be taken into account as Glendinning explains in “Influencia de la Literatura inglesa en el S.XVIII”:

The traces of English literature, on the other hand, are more difficult to find: in the first place because most of the authors were Protestants (Pope is an exception), whose works could not run as easily in Spain in the eighteenth century than those of Catholic authors, and secondly, because there were not so many people who could understand works in English (69)⁵.

5 Libraries in Spain during the eighteenth century

The next part of this undergraduate dissertation will introduce two different types of libraries according to their ownership: public libraries and private libraries. Both types of libraries were present in Spain during the eighteenth century, and the differences between them are going to be established down below in this study.

⁴ “los españoles parecían tener una preferencia por los contactos con ingleses”.

⁵ “Las huellas de la literatura inglesa, en cambio, son más difíciles de encontrar: en primer lugar, porque la mayoría de los autores eran protestantes (Pope es una excepción), cuyas obras no podían correr con la misma facilidad en España en el siglo XVIII que las de autores católicos, y en segundo lugar, porque no había tanta gente que pudiese entender obras en inglés”.

5.1 Public libraries

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, a public library is “a building where people can read or borrow books without having to pay”⁶. On this basis, this section of the dissertation is going to establish this definition in order to understand the concept of public libraries and to distinguish them from the private libraries. José Gómez Hernández describes the appearance of the public libraries in Spain in “La preocupación por la lectura pública en España: las bibliotecas «populares». De las Cortes de Cádiz al plan de bibliotecas de María Moliner” as follows:

The public library would be a consequence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, spread by the French Revolution, that would have produced the awareness - especially in the liberal and progressive groups - of a need to democratize access to education and culture, and, therefore, to the book [...] Until the eighteenth century you cannot speak of public reading. There are private collections or associations to which the general public did not usually have access Then Royal Library, created by Felipe V in 1711, still showing an interest in public reading, is only really accessible to a small group of highly intelligent people of the time. (56-58)⁷.

The author explains that the situation of public libraries before the eighteenth century in Spain was something innovative, and how the different enlightened personalities like Campomanes and Sarmiento along the eighteenth century, stated the necessity of the existence of these places in order to facilitate the population the access to knowledge and readings. Public libraries were an innovative concept in Spain, and he refers to a report written by Campomanes in 1788 titled *Noticia abreviada de las bibliotecas y monetarios de España*, where Campomanes explains the situation of Spanish libraries, and how the idea of public reading was not evolved yet with statements like: “Public libraries were more precise

⁶ “Public Library, *N.*” *Cambridge Dictionary*, Cambridge, 2021. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/es-LA/dictionary/english/public-library>. Accessed June 6, 2021.

⁷ My own translation. “La biblioteca pública sería una consecuencia de las ideas de la Ilustración, difundidas por la Revolución Francesa, que habrían producido la conciencia, especialmente en los grupos liberales y progresistas, de la necesidad de democratizar el acceso a la educación y la cultura y, por lo tanto, al libro [...] Hasta el siglo XVIII no se puede hablar de lectura pública. Hay colecciones privadas o asociaciones a las que el público en general no tenía acceso. La Biblioteca Real de entonces, creada por Felipe V en 1711, que todavía muestra interés en la lectura pública, solo es realmente accesible para un pequeño grupo de personas altamente inteligentes de hora”.

in the times prior to the invention of the printing press because it was very expensive to transport handwritten books correctly” (Campomanes 1778:59). During the eighteenth century, public libraries became more popular and common in other countries of Europe like France or Italy, and enlightened personalities as Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (politic and writer), José Gálvez (Marquis of Sonora), Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (politic, economist and jurist), Francisco Xavier Represa y Salas (rural nobleman) knew that.

By contrast, an important number of enlightened personalities from Spain started their own compilations of books, texts, and manuscripts for their personal use, starting in that way creating their own private libraries. Their interests and curiosities started to be reflected on the different collections we can find nowadays. Meanwhile, The Royal Library was one of the first public libraries in Spain and was created by Philip V with a two-fold purpose: to encourage his subjects to study, and to bring together the libraries of nobles who fled the country after fighting on the side of Charles I.⁸

5.2 Private libraries

In broad terms, the previous section has provided an overview of the concept of public library. Now, the following part will refer to the concept of private library as a library owned by private individuals as a means of contrasting both types of libraries taking into account the ownership, and also commenting on other influential factors.

Private libraries increased their presence through the entire territory of the country from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Throughout this century, the individual acquisition and collection of books were under permanent development, especially for people with certain level of knowledge, culture, and expertise. Lawyers, economists, writers, monks, politicians, kings...showed their personal interest in the acquisition of different publications, not only with an educational purpose, but also to preserve and collect different works.

As we are going to observe throughout this undergraduate dissertation through analyzing the inventory of the private libraries of Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails, the percentage of

⁸ Data extracted from the National Library of Spain (BNE). <http://www.bne.es/es/LaBNE/Historia/Cronologia/index.html>.

English works in them is relatively low if we compare it with the percentage of works in other languages like French, Latin or Italian probably, because all of them had full competences in French, Italian and Latin due to their previous studies. Nevertheless, we can find an example of this fascination about the works coming from different European countries, in the number of them found in the private libraries of Campomanes and Jovellanos. Reinert and Røge expose this fascination as follows:

The admiration of Britain by Spanish political writers should not obscure the critical dimension of their treatment of foreign practices. Far from a passive derivative process, Spanish engagement with British texts and practices was highly selective. Some political writers even disagreed that emulation was a path to national regeneration. [...] Spanish writers furnished adequate resources, making recourse to foreigners superfluous (13).

As a result of this compilation of works performed during the eighteenth century, private libraries became a repository of knowledge composed by a huge variety of works, which deal with a number of different subjects and topics like politics, sciences and laws. As we are going to expose in the next point, it should be pointed out the presence of English works in these libraries, taking into account the different factors previously mentioned after having determined the numerous political, social, educational and personal circumstances around these three enlightened personalities. For that purpose, we are using the information available of their private libraries and the inventory of their works.

5.3 Analysis of the presence of English works in private libraries

In order to get an accurate idea about the English works present in the private libraries of the eighteenth century in Spain, this undergraduate dissertation is going to be focused on some different private libraries which nowadays count with an inventory of their works: the libraries of Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos, Benito Bails and a brief mention to Francisco Xavier Represa y Salas. They have been chosen to be analyzed for this undergraduate dissertation, because of their socio-political roles, their

international relationships during the eighteenth century in Spain, and for their relevant role as books collectors during the eighteenth century.

5.3.1 The private library of Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes

Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes y Pérez (1723–1802) was a writer, politician and economist and also Minister during the kingdom of Charles III. He was a very important supporter of the idea that the state must be over the church and a faithful believer of the wide circulation of the economic knowledge, regardless of its provenance and contended that imitation and adaptation were potentially creative acts (Reinert and Røge, 2013). Also, it has to be taken into account the correspondence between Campomanes and the historiographer Robertson mentioned by Glendinning (60) which proves that Campomanes had relationships with English people.

The inventory of the library provides the following result to be taken into account for the analysis: a total of 4995 volumes of different works. It has to be mentioned that those works which were prohibited by the Inquisition are out of this undergraduate dissertation, as well as 137 unidentified volumes which leaves a total of 4858 volumes of different works. Taking this into account, Soubeyroux realizes a three-way classification: subject, language and date of publication (1980). Consequently, this three-way classification provides an accurate information about the private library.

Subjects

In the case of Campomanes, it is not surprising the presence of works related with laws due to his thirty years as prosecutor. According to this subject classification, it is easy to establish a solid relation between the area of expertise of Campomanes and the topics of the works present in his private library. To start with, it must be appreciated that Law (26%), Sciences and Arts (24%) and History and Geography (23.75%) are the main subjects present in this library. Also, inside the Law category there are more works about civil laws than religious laws as we can see in Table 2. Due to the personal interest of Campomanes in foreign publications dealing with politics and economics, there are titles from English authors as Adam Smith, Hume, Thomas More or the philosophical works from Hobbes. In the case of

Adam Smith, he is considered as “The father of Capitalism”, his area of expertise was the same as Campomanes and his theories about economy and philosophy, where Smith claimed about the power of the individual but with the oversight of the State, were a powerful motive for which Campomanes commissioned John Geddes to translate a copy of *The Wealth of Nations* for his private library. In the same way, *Utopia* by Thomas More or *Political Discourses* by Hume, are present in the library because Campomanes coincided with the main ideas raised by the authors. The political philosophy disclosed by Thomas Hobbes in his writings and the social contract model that he defended, concurred with the idea of Campomanes about the role of the State in the economy of a country, both of them promulgated the theory of a State which has to be an authority over the individual. (Ruiza et al. 2004).

In view of these considerations, the reception of English works was closely related with his area of expertise. As it was mentioned before, enlightened personalities in Spain, mainly had direct contact with some of those English personalities related with science, philosophy, politics and merchants, which made that the English works which arrived to Spain dealt with these topics.

Subject Classification

Law	1261	26%
Sciences and Arts	1169	24%
History and Geography	1154	23.75%
Humanities	908	18.69%
Religion	366	7.5%

Table 2: Subject Classification. Data by Jacques Soubeyroux 1980.

Languages

According to this classification, books written in Spanish are the most common with 2503 of them (almost 40%), and if we have into account translations from other languages it barely represents a half of the library. Also, there are 1582 in Latin (34.67%) and very variable according to the subject they belong to. As a curiosity, there is only one book in Greek.

Analyzing the data, French is the second language with more presence in the library with 587 books (11.75%), followed by Italian with 217 (4.34%), Portuguese with 74 (1.48%), Catalan with 14 (0.28%) and finally English with 12 (0.24%).

The books written in English present in this library have different subjects and authors. In the case of the private library of Campomanes we can find four different authors and their most relevant works: *The wealth of nations* by Adam Smith (1 book), *Utopia* by Thomas More (2 books), Hobbes' most important publications (8 books) and *Political Discourses* by Hume (1 book). It is clarifying that those works appear in English language. Probably, Campomanes preferred the original version of these instead of a translation due to the topics these authors were dealing with. As it can be appreciated, works from English authors written in English have less presence in this library than other works from foreign languages. Even though, the topics are closely related between them; Philosophy, Politics and Economy. We cannot be completely sure about how these books ended in the library of Campomanes, it can be ventured to say that his personal connections inside the church, his relationships with other politicians and writers and his belonging to different societies as the Royal History Academy of Spain or the Royal Spanish Academy, made easier the access to these writings.

Date of publication

The date of publication is also relevant for this undergraduate dissertation because it points that Campomanes had a marked interest on works which were written and published in the eighteenth century, probably because his own interest in Europe politics and humanities. Based on the available data about the library, we can appreciate that writings from eighteenth century have more presence than others. Also, we have to take into account that 648 books do not have any data which provide a clue about their date of publication⁹. In the case of the works written in English included in the private library of Campomanes, it has to be noticed that authors like Hobbes and Thomas More belong to previous centuries (seventeenth and fifteenth respectively), meanwhile Adam Smith and David Hume were contemporary of Campomanes.

⁹ Table 3: Date of publication classification. Data by Jacques Soubeyroux.

Date of publication classification

No date	648	13%
XVI century	627	14%
XVII century	1200	27%
XVIII century	2506	57%

Table 3: Date of publication classification. Data by Jacques Soubeyroux.

When analyzing these results, especially remarkable is the differentiation found in the number of works which belongs to previous centuries and those belonging to the eighteenth century. There are only twelve volumes written in English in this library and as it was previously mentioned in this undergraduate dissertation along the subject classification in detail, that leaves as a result that most of the English volumes present in the private library of Campomanes belong to previous centuries. The only contemporary authors found in the library are Hume and Smith with a copy of their works: *Political Discourses* and *The Wealth of Nations* respectively, this last one on a translated version of 1748. Probably, the main reason for this fact is that Campomanes studied under the supervision of his uncle Pedro Pérez de Sorriba, canon of the Collegiate Church of Santillana del Mar, a person who protected and ensured a formal education for him based on the study of the ancient authors and the domain of Latin.

5.3.2 The private library of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos

Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811) was an enlightened, writer, politician and lawyer. A lawyer in Seville and then moved to Madrid with the help of the Duque of Alba. In 1784 he was promoted to director of the Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País (The Economic Society of Madrid) and also a valuable member of the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History), the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando) and of the Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy). He was the Minister of Grace and Justice during the reign of Charles IV in Spain and tried to control the power of the Inquisition with no success. According to Glendinning, the figure of Bernardo del Campo, ambassador in Paris and London who knew

the English language, was a provider of English works to Jovellanos, among Alexander Jardine who also borrowed books to Jovellanos, these facts could explain the existence of English works in his private library (59).

The inventory of this library has 55 pages and it is dated on the 28th of September of 1778, and it is available on the archives of the National Library in Madrid. According to the inventory edited by Francisco Aguilar Piñal in *La biblioteca de Jovellanos (1778)*, Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos' library was composed of 857 works composed by 1300 volumes and 20 manuscripts among other different unspecified documents. One of the most curious issues about this library is the fact that Jovellanos possessed 8 *incunabula*¹⁰ written in Latin, Spanish and Italian. This fact confirms that Jovellanos started his library looking for many different titles and subjects, trying to complete his library with works from the fifteenth century to works from the eighteenth century. For this reason, we are following the previous classification of the works placed in this library provided by Francisco Aguilar Piñal in *La Biblioteca de Jovellanos* according to the date of publication of the works.

	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	TOTAL
SPANISH	3	67	92	173	335
LATIN	4	136	57	112	309
FRENCH	-	3	19	144	166
ITALIAN	1	9	2	7	19
ENGLISH	-	-	1	17	18
PORTUGUESE	-	2	1	7	10
	8	217	172	460	857

Source: AGUILAR PIÑAL, F. (1984) *La biblioteca de Jovellanos (1778)*. Number of books written in Spanish, Latin, French, Italian, English and Portuguese and their century of publication.

According to the main aim of this dissertation, the analysis of the data shows a total of 18 works in English language, 1 of them dated on the seventeenth century and the other 17

¹⁰ Book printed before the XVI century. These works are not going to be included in the posterior analysis because they are writing in Latin, not in English which is the final object of this study.

during the eighteenth century. The first volume found in this library in English language belongs to the seventeenth century and it is a version of classic *Metamorphoses* by Ovid. Moreover, during the eighteenth century, we find 17 different titles from many different authors like Bacon, Hume, Milton, Thomson, Dryden, Pope, Addison and Young. It must be considered that Jovellanos had English works because he used to read in English language (Aguilar Piñal 17) it could be the reason why there is not a single translation from English language into Spanish language has been found in the library. It is remarkable that Jovellanos had an English Dicitonary by Samuel Jonsom *A dictionary of the English language* written in London in 1773 as a proof of his own interest in readings from English instead of traslations.

AUTHOR	TITLE
Francis Bacon	<i>Novum Organum</i>
David Hume	<i>A treatise of Human Nature</i>
John Milton	<i>Paradise Lost</i>
Thomson	<i>The seasons... With Britannia.</i>
Dryden	<i>Alexander's Feast, on the power of musick</i>
Alexander Pope	<i>I. Ode on St. Cecilia's Doy</i>
Joseph Addison	<i>The Spectator</i>

Source: AGUILAR PIÑAL, FRANCISCO. *La biblioteca de Jovellanos (1778)*. Authors and titles.

5.3.3 The private library of Benito Bails

Benito Bails (1731-1797)¹¹ was a mathematician who studied theology and mathematics at the University of Toulouse. Later he continued his studies in Paris under the protection of the Spanish Ambassador at that time. During this period in Paris, he met different enlightenment figures as d'Alambert and Condorcet. He knew several languages as Italian, Latin, English, German and French. Furthermore, Benito Bails belonged to the Royal Spanish Academy (chair U) and to the Royal Academy of History. Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra claims that:

¹¹ Bibliography extracted and translated from the website <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/12643/benito-bails>.

The inventory of his library, kept in the Saavedra Fund of the Granada Theology Faculty, comprises two booklets of twenty pages each. The date of accomplishment does not appear in it, but everything seems to indicate that it is an inventory made on the occasion of his death, probably related to the transmission of their assets, as the value of each of the books is carefully appraised (128)¹².

According to the inventory provided by Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra this library had 571 works comprised in 840 volumes, most of these volumes are printed but 3 of them are manuscripts.

Subjects

In order to start with this, it must be appreciated that even most of the works dealt with physics (15.94%) and mathematics (24.34%). This library had plenty of subjects and authors and most of these authors were not from Spain. As it can be appreciated in table 4, the subjects of the works of the library shows that the presence of works related with physics and mathematics is higher than the presence of works related with other subjects like chemistry or politics. This data shows the existence of a close relation between the main area of expertise of Benito Bails and the presence of these works, showing a preference for subjects previously known and studied by the owner of the library.

Subjects classification

	WORKS	%
Agriculture	25	4.38
Architecture	44	7.70
Astronomy	54	9.46
Natural science	14	2.45
Law	16	2.80

¹² “El inventario de su biblioteca, guardado en el Fondo Saavedra de la Facultad de Teología de Granada, comprende dos cuadernillos de veinte folios cada uno. La fecha de realización no aparece en él, pero todo parece indicar que se trata de un inventario realizado con motivo de su muerte, relacionado probablemente con la transmisión de sus bienes, pues el valor de cada uno de los libros está cuidadosamente tasado”.

Economy	22	3.85
Physics	91	15.94
Geography and travel	11	1.93
History	20	3.50
Civil Engineering	19	3.33
Literature	21	3.67
Mathematics	139	24.34
Medicine and health	13	2.28
Music	20	3.50
Nautica	20	3.50
Politics	7	1.23
Journals	16	2.80
Chemistry	8	1.40
Miscellaneous	8	1.4
Unclassified	3	0.53
TOTAL	571	

Source: Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra in *Libros extranjeros en la biblioteca del Matemático Benito Bails*.

Languages

Previously, the data of Benito Bails library demonstrate that most of the works were from foreign authors. Analyzing the data, we can find in the library 72 Spanish authors, 191 French, 43 Italian, 40 English and 28 from other countries. The main reason why authors from France (51,06%) are the most frequent in the library could be because Benito Bails studied in France; nevertheless, Italian authors (11,49%) and English authors (10,69%) are equally present. It is especially interesting for this essay, what English authors are present in the library. According to Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra, the English authors found in the library were Isaac Newton, Colin Maclaurin, Thomas Simpson, Isaac Barrow, James Stirling, Edmund Halley, John Keill, Winston Gee, John Pringle, William Bowles and Thomas Pennant. All of these English authors deal with subjects like physics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, economics or natural sciences, that were the main areas of expertise of

Benito Bails (36). These results coincide with the results previously exposed in the subject classification.

In the case of Isaac Newton and Edmund Halley, it is *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, which is one of the most important writings found in the library due to its relevance, and because it is closely related with the area of expertise of Bails. Both of them, Newton and Bails, were mathematicians and also, they were interested in theology and astronomy which could explain the presence of this book in the library.

In the case of William Bowles and Thomas Pennant, both of them were naturalists and they wrote several works about nature, botany and wilderness of the countries they had visited. The fact that they studied traveling through different countries including Spain is the data to be taken into account in order to understand the interest of Bails for their works. According to Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra, Bails cultivated his mind as a humanist, so he owned works related with many different areas and auxiliary knowledges as it can be observed in the case of Bowles and Pennant (46).

It has to be taken into account that there is not an available and detailed inventory of this library apart from the one published by Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra so it is impossible to know the specific titles of the works written in English but it is possible to have an approximate idea of what were the most interesting titles for Bails analyzing the authors previously mentioned.

According to this classification, books written in French are the most common with 304 works (53,24%), and if we have into account translations from other languages it represents a half of the library. Also, there are 97 works in Spanish (16,99%), 33 works in English (5,78%), 47 works in Italian (8,23%) and 85 works in Latin (14,89%).

LANGUAGE	WORKS	%
Spanish	97	16,99
French	304	53,24
English	33	5,78
Italian	47	8,23

Latin	85	14,89
Other	3	0,54
Unknown	2	0,36
TOTAL	571	

Source: Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra in *Libros extranjeros en la biblioteca del Matemático Benito Bails (1731-1797)*135.

It has to be taken into account that the presence of English works in this private library which are written in English language could be a consequence of the new waves of thinking presence in Europe related with economics and mathematics, due to the most important figures of those areas through the eighteenth century came from countries like France and England. The reception of the English works in the case of Bails could be more complex than in the case of Campomanes and Jovellanos. Unlike Campomanes, Bails had studied in France and knew different languages, which made that his connections and relationships with enlightened personalities from other countries were easier and clearer. This facility, with the fact that Bails was able to read and understand writings in other languages including English, made that his library was more assorted than other ones. As Jovellanos, Bails exchanged letters with different enlightened personalities from other countries, it might be reasonable to think that they exchanged also different works in their original language, especially if both interlocutors were able to understand each other as it was the case of Bails. Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra concludes as follows:

Benito Bails Library catalogue highlights the cultural exchanges between an enlightened elite and the European scientific production of the moment. At least a minority was aware of the scientific advances produced in Europe. Bails was undoubtedly one of the clearest examples of this minority. (137)¹³.

Whether explicitly compared with the results obtained by Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra or analyzing the background of the different authors found in the library of Bails, the results of

¹³“El catálogo de la Biblioteca Benito Bails destaca los intercambios culturales entre una élite ilustrada y la producción científica europea del momento. Al menos una minoría estaba al tanto de los avances científicos producidos en Europa. Bails fue sin duda uno de los ejemplos más claros de esta minoría”.

the analysis clearly indicate that the private library of Bails was full of scientific works, demonstrating in that way that he was very interested in the new theories and advances that were happening in Europe during the eighteenth century.

Taking into account the results of the analysis of the private library of Benito Bails, an example of the interest that he had in the new theories and advances happening not only in Europe, but particularly in Britain, is the work *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* by the scientist Issac Newton. It is considered one of the most important scientific works in history. Newton gathered all his knowledge about mathematical physics and mathematical calculation along with other findings related with astronomy and physics.

New technologies and machines appeared in the factories during the eighteenth century in Europe and the social upheaval caused by the Industrial Revolution developed a humane philosophy for giving back to others.

In the field of economics, new theories were set out, as it was the case of Adam Smith in *The wealth of nations* or François Quesnay in *Tableau economique*. These authors achieved a global spread of their theories reaching all the countries in Europe, including Spain as we had seen finding these works in the private libraries of Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails.

5.4 Private libraries without inventory

The previous points of this undergraduate dissertation have dealt with three different private libraries from three different personalities in Spain during the eighteenth century: Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails. These three enlightened personalities have been chosen because nowadays there is an available and detailed inventory of their private libraries. This fact does not mean that they were the only owners of a private library in Spain during the eighteenth century, moreover, other enlightened personalities had a private library but, there is not an available, public and detailed inventory of these private libraries. That is the case of Francisco Xavier Represa y Salas, an enlightened personality whose private library was not inventoried. Still, he is going to be included in this undergraduate dissertation because indirect information can provide some indications of the possible ownership of English books.

Francisco Xavier Represa y Salas (1729-1781) was a nobleman who had studied at the University of Valladolid with Fray José Suárez. He was a lawyer and a scholar, and accordingly, his library had 114 works distributed in 200 volumes, most of them were legal titles but there were also titles dealing with religion, science, linguistics and philosophy as Luis Miguel Enciso Recio exposed. There is not a detailed inventory of the library of this author, but it is known that he kept works in English language because he used to translate them into Spanish and for that reason he has been included in this undergraduate dissertation, he is an example of enlightened personality who owned a private library which we have no data due to the lack of a detailed inventory of his private library.

Considering what is known about this library, if there were more detailed and public inventories of the private libraries in Spain during the eighteenth century, it would be surely discovered that in this century there were many more English books in private hands than is believed.

6 Presence of English works in the private libraries of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes and Benito Bails

The presence of works written in English language in the private libraries of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes and Benito Bails is quite significant. Moreover, most of the works found in these private libraries were significantly related with the interests of the owners of the library as it has been previously pointed out in this dissertation.

Therefore, in the private library of Campomanes there is a copy of *The wealth of nations* by Adam Smith, a copy of *Utopia* by Thomas More and a copy of *Political Discourses* by David Hume among other relevant authors.

At the same time the private library of Jovellanos reflects that his own interests close related with his areas of expertise, as it has been previously exposed in this undergraduate dissertation, there are a copy of *Alexander's Feast, on the power of musick* a poem written by John Dryden, a copy of *Paradise lost* by John Milton, a copy of *A treatise of Human Nature*

by David Hume and a copy of *Novum Organum* by Francis Bacon (where the philosopher conceived science as a technique contrasting Aristotle's theories).

In the case of the private library of Benito Bails, the most relevant copy which shows this relation between the writings found in the private library and the area of expertise of the owner is *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* by Isaac Newton and Edmund Halley due to its relation with the area of expertise of Benito Bails: mathematics.

Therefore, the fact that these specific authors and works had been found in the private libraries of Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails reinforces one of the main theories of this undergraduate dissertation: the presence of English works in the private libraries of the enlightened personalities from the eighteenth century in Spain are directly related with the area of expertise of the owners of the libraries and with their personal interests.

Certainly, there were several coincidences among the interests of the owners in foreign literature, including authors and genres as we can observe in the private libraries of Campomanes, Bails and Jovellanos. Also, Glendinning exposes that "The growing interest in philosophical poetry in Spain in the decades of the seventies and eighties would lead both to the study of Young's *Nights* and to the poems of Pope and Milton" (78-79)¹⁴. Furthermore, personalities like Jovellanos and Campomanes could have access to those works due to their labor relationships, their personal interests and their social connections and status. In addition, it has to be taken into account that the English language was not so studied and developed in Spain during the eighteenth century, and this is reflected even in private libraries, whose owners had a considerable knowledge and level of expertise of the English language and even though, there are a limited number of works written in English. Glendinning explains this fact as follows:

English was studied very little in Spain compared to French [...] other Spaniards who knew English seem to have learned or perfected it on their journeys [...] or they had only studied it through grammars, dictionaries or with the help of merchants, failing to write or speak correctly [...] the wars with England

¹⁴. "El creciente interés por la poesía filosófica en España en las décadas de los setenta y ochenta conduciría tanto al estudio de las *Noches* de Young como al de los poemas de Pope y de Milton".

and especially the siege of Gibraltar, seem to have given new impetus to the study of English in Spain. (6-67)¹⁵.

Analyzing the data obtained from the available inventories of the different private libraries studied in this undergraduate dissertation, then there is a classification and detailed explanation from the data obtained with the inventories of the libraries of Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails.

6.1 Works

According to the data obtained from the inventories of the private libraries of Jovellanos, Bails and Campomanes we can assume that works in English language aroused their interest but not at the same level than other languages as French (except from Bails), Latin or Italian. This could be observed in table 4. Also, the knowledge they had about the English language and the authors could be one of the reasons the English works were not so common in the private libraries of Spain during the eighteenth century as the French or Latin works due to these two languages were much more common an object of study in Spain than the English language. However, enlightened personalities like Jovellanos studied the English grammar and he was capable of read and translate into Spanish, English works and texts.

	JOVELLANOS	CAMPOMANES	BAILS
ENGLISH	18	12	33
FRENCH	166	587	304
LATIN	309	1582	85
ITALIAN	19	217	47

Table 4. Results obtained from the investigation. Amount of works written in English, French, Latin and Italian in the private libraries of Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails.

¹⁵ “El inglés se estudiaba muy poco en España en comparación con el francés [...] otros españoles que sabían inglés parecen haberlo aprendido o perfeccionado en sus viajes [...] o lo habían estudiado sólo a través de gramáticas, diccionarios o con la ayuda de comerciantes, no llegando a escribir ni hablar correctamente [...] las guerras con Inglaterra y sobre todo el sitio de Gibraltar, parecen haber dado nuevos impulsos al estudio del inglés en España”.

As it has been mentioned before, according to the data obtained from the inventories of the private libraries of Jovellanos, Bails and Campomanes, we can assume that, they chose the titles due to their personal interests and areas of knowledge. Meanwhile Campomanes and Jovellanos were interested in how economy and policy were developing not also in Spain if not in Europe, Bails was more interested in science, mathematics, and economics. As enlightened personalities, they were interested in these new movements arising in Europe, and the different scientific advances in the case of Bails, because these movements could be transported into Spain and adapted to the country they belong to, in order to improve it. These personalities were aware of the backwardness situation of Spain compare to Europe and, due to that, they tried to increase their own knowledge and capacities reading foreign authors, in order to adapt the knowledge and teachings of these European authors for Spain. The relationships between Jovellanos, Campomanes and Bails with English scientists and their diplomatic ties with England are also another explanation for the fact that most of the works written in English language present in their libraries deal with science, philosophy and politics instead of contemporary English literature.

6.2 English works written in English and the presence of translations in private libraries

As I claim before in this dissertation, the relationships between England and Spain were marked by different struggles, conflicts, and disagreements on both countries. Also, the image of England projected in Spain in that period, was specially promising describing the cultural level of the society, the scientific advances and the new waves of thinking coming in Europe. Furthermore, enlightened personalities ignored the international conflicts and tensions between countries and Spain and developed an Anglophilia. Mónica Bolufer Peruga explains this as follows including a reference to Sánchez-Blanco:

It is recognized as well, the importance of the links that in the fields of waves of thinking, sciences, arts, habits and customs held the Spanish enlightenment with Italy, the German world or England [...]
It is not an exaggeration to affirm that, towards the middle of the century, Anglophilia invades Spain,

despite the tensions that may exist in the field of international politics¹⁶ [...] The testimonies of English travelers who visit our country in the eighteenth century are indicative of the degree of knowledge that English society had of Spanish culture [...] they underlined the intellectual and scientific backwardness of the country (299-304)¹⁷.

Based on that, it could be established that one of the main characteristics of enlightened figures like Campomanes, Bails and Jovellanos was their high cultural level and knowledge as it has been mentioned along this undergraduate dissertation. They could read and understand writings in other languages due to their educational level and expertise. Furthermore, it is one of the reasons why we can find works in French, Latin, English and Italian. But apart from that, it has to be taken into account that Jovellanos translated some works into the Spanish language as in the case of *Paradise Lost* by John Milton. On the other side, Campomanes had an unfinished translation from English to Spanish of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith from 1784 that he commissioned John Geddes in 1777. Furthermore, we can find works in their original language from authors like Hobbes and Sir Thomas More and the *Political Discourses* by the philosopher David Hume. It is also remarkable that in the case of Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos and Benito Bails, we cannot find a translated version of any work because they used to read the titles directly from their original language.

7 Conclusion

With this dissertation it has been provided a data-oriented idea about the presence of English works in Spain through the eighteenth century, mainly oriented to the analysis of the private libraries of three important figures of that century: Campomanes, Jovellanos and Benito Bails. The resources are limited due to the century this dissertation is dealing with, and in

¹⁶ Francisco Sánchez-Blanco Parody, *Europa y el pensamiento español del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, 1991, p.2.

¹⁷ “También se reconoce la importancia de los vínculos que en los campos de las ondas de pensamiento, ciencias, artes, hábitos y costumbres mantuvieron la iluminación española con Italia, el mundo alemán o Inglaterra [...] No es una exageración afirmar que , a mediados de siglo, la anglophilia invade España, a pesar de las tensiones que puedan existir en el campo de la política internacional [...] Los testimonios de los viajeros ingleses que visitan nuestro país en el siglo XVIII son indicativos del grado de conocimiento que la sociedad inglesa tiene. de la cultura española [...] subrayaron el atraso intelectual y científico del país”.

some way, due to the fact that there is not enough registered information from eighteenth century, the results could be more accurate if it deals with contemporary data. Secondly, private libraries in Spain were mostly something reserved for people who belonged to a specific social class. The owners of these private libraries concur in aspects like a high level of cultural knowledge, resources and relationships which facilitate the acquisition of foreign works for their libraries. Moreover, it has to be taken into account the characteristics of the relationships between England and Spain throughout the eighteenth century and the social circumstances in both countries, since these facts clearly affected the free circulation, and the exchange of written works between them. The diplomatic ties, the military events, and the merchants played a relevant role in the exchange of written works in this period due to their travels through the whole continent. However, the importance of the pre-existent relations and the correspondence between English and Spanish enlightened personalities, as it has been registered previously in the dissertation, has been demonstrated when analyzing the presence of English works in their private libraries directly acquired from English personalities. In this context, I have found how the owners of eighteenth-century private libraries in Spain had a preference guided by authors who dealt with mathematics, economics and politics. The presence of literature it is also remarkable as in the case of the private library of Jovellanos where a copy of *Paradise Lost* by John Milton can be found in its original language.

This dissertation has analyzed the inventory of three private libraries from the eighteenth century in Spain with the background of their owners. Many factors have been taken into account for the analysis of the enlightened figures included in this undergraduate dissertation such as their personal interests, their area of expertise and the socio-political circumstances of the country during the eighteenth century. Taking this into account, this undergraduate dissertation shows that there is a demonstrable relationship between the personality, the cultural level and the professional area of expertise of these owners of private libraries in Spain, with the acquisition and conservation of works written in other languages present in Europe such as French, Italian and, more relevant to our purpose, English.

8 Bibliography

- Aguilar Piñal, Francisco. *La biblioteca de Jovellanos (1778)*, Consejo Superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto Miguel de Cervantes. 1984.
- Anderson, Matthew Smith. *General History of Europe. Europe in the Eighteenth Century 1713-1783*, Longmans. 1962.
- Arias de Saavedra, Inmaculada. "Libros, lectores y bibliotecas privadas en la España del siglo XVIII." *Chronica Nova*. No 35, 2009. pp.15-61.
- Arias de Saavedra, Inmaculada. "Libros extranjeros en la biblioteca del matemático Benito Bails (1731-1797)" *I Coloquio Internacional "Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna"*, Málaga 2003, Tomo II, pp. 125 - 137.
- "Biografías" Real Academia de Historia. 2020. Gobierno de España. 20-05-2020
<http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/12643/benito-bails>
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. "Los intelectuales valencianos y la cultura británica del siglo XVIII." *Revista de historia moderna*, vol. 27, 2001, pp.299-348. *Dialnet*,
<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=233092>
- Casey, James. *Early modern Spain: A Social History*, Routledge. 1999.
- Cohnen, Fernando, ed. "Las revoluciones del siglo XVIII: nace la economía liberal." *Revista Antena*, vol 175, marzo 2009, pp. 60-64. https://www2.coitt.es/res/revistas/08_Ciencia_LP5.pdf. 23 June 2021
- "Cronología". Biblioteca Nacional de España. 2020. Gobierno de España. 5-05-2020
<http://www.bne.es/es/LaBNE/Historia/Cronologia/index.html>

- Enciso Recio, Luis Miguel. *Barroco e ilustración en las bibliotecas privadas españolas del siglo XVIII*, Real Academia de la Historia, 2002.
- Fernández, L., Mestre, A., Gonzalo, J., Pérez, P. y Gómez, L. *La cultura en el siglo XVIII español*. AKAL. 2004.
- García Cárcel, Ricardo. *Historia de España del siglo XVIII. La España de los Borbones*, Cátedra, 2002.
- Glendinning, Nigel. “Influencia de la literatura inglesa en el siglo XVIII” *Conferencias pronunciadas en la “Primera Reunión de Lengua y Literatura española del siglo XVIII”*, Universidad de Oviedo, 1968, pp.47-93.
- Gómez Hernández, José A. “La preocupación por la lectura pública en España: las bibliotecas «populares». de las cortes de Cádiz al plan de bibliotecas de María Moliner.” *Revista General De Información y Documentación.*, 2011, pp. 55–94.
- Herr, Richard. *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Hill, Fred James. *Spain: An Illustrated History*, Hippocrene Books, 2001.
- Hontanilla, Ana. “Images of Barbaric Spain in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Writing.” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2008, pp. 119–143., doi:10.1353/sec.0.0029.
- Morgan, Kenneth O. *Oxford History of Britain*, Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Reinert, Sophus A. and Pernille Røge, eds. *The Political Economy of Empire in the Early Modern World*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Ruiza, M., Fernández, T. y Tamaro, E. *Biografía de Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes en Biografías y Vidas. La enciclopedia biográfica en línea*. Barcelona. 2004.

Recuperado de <https://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/c/campomanes.htm> 24

June 2021.

Santoyo, Julio-César. "Bibliografía tentativa de traducciones inglés-español 1577-1800".

Bells: Barcelona English language and literature studies, [en línea], 1989, Vol. 1, p. 161-87, <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/Bells/article/view/98184>

Soubeyroux, Jacques. *La biblioteca de Campomanes: contexto cultural de un ilustrado.*

Actas del séptimo Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: celebrado en Venecia del 25 al 30 de agosto de 1980, Roma, Bulzoni, 1982, pp.

997-1006

Trevelyan, George Macaulay. *English Social History: A Survey to Six Centuries:*

Chaucer to Queen Victoria, Longmans, Green and Co., 1944