Centro de Estudios de Postgrado
Online Master in English Studies

Universidad de Jaén
Centro de Estudios de Postgrado

Master's Dissertation/
Trabajo de Fin de Máster

20th Century Málaga as Seen by English-speaking Travel Writers: A Comparison of Selected Works

Student: Puerto Cabeza, José Manuel

Tutora: Dr. Eroulla Demetriou Demetriou
Dpt.: Filología Inglesa

Noviembre, 2020

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the study of five travel literature works written by English-speaking authors who lived in the region of Málaga during the 20th century: Gamel Woolsey, Gerald Brenan, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, Marjorie Grice Hutchinson and Alastair Boyd. These authors' most notable works have been analysed in terms of their references to famous places in the city of Málaga, as well as its surrounding coastal and rural areas. The main objective of this study is to analyse how different travel authors portrayed this particular Spanish region over a similar period of time to an English-speaking community of readers, with an emphasis on the characteristics that these works shared with later travel guides of the 1960s. Similarly, common themes that have appeared in these books have also been compared among the selected works; these include sociocultural issues such as religion, economy or gastronomy. Finally, the results of this study show that the analysed travel works of Marjorie Grice Hutchinson and Alastair Boyd could be considered as forefathers of later travel guides in a more practical sense, whereas the rest of the works coincide with more conventional, literary purposes.

Key Words: English travel literature, travel writers, travel guides, sociocultural issues, Málaga.

Resumen

Este Trabajo de Fin de Máster se centra en el estudio de cinco obras de literatura de viajes escritas por autores angloparlantes que vivieron en la provincia de Málaga durante el siglo XX: Gamel Woolsey, Gerald Brenan, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, Marjorie Grice Hutchinson y Alastair Boyd. Sus obras principales se han analizado en cuanto a las referencias a lugares conocidos de la ciudad de Málaga, así como de pueblos colindantes tanto de la zona costera como rural. El principal objetivo de este estudio es analizar cómo diferentes escritores de viaje han descrito esta comunidad española en particular durante el mismo periodo de tiempo a la comunidad de lectores angloparlante, haciendo énfasis en las características que estas obras comparten con posteriores guías de viaje a partir de 1960. De manera similar, se han comparado temas recurrentes que aparecen en estos libros: estos incluyen cuestiones socioculturales tales como religión, economía o gastronomía. Finalmente, los resultados de este estudio muestran que las obras de viaje analizadas de Marjorie Grice Hutchinson y Alastair Boyd se considerarían precedentes de las posteriores guías de viaje en un sentido más práctico, mientras que el resto de las obras estudiadas comparten características que coinciden más con un uso literario.

Palabras Clave: literatura de viajes en lengua inglesa, escritores de relatos de viaje, guías de viaje, cuestiones socioculturales, Málaga.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION **4**

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK **7**

2.1 TRAVEL LITERATURE IN THE WORLD 7
2.2 TRAVEL LITERATURE IN SPAIN 9
2.2.1 Travel literature in Málaga *12*

3. SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLISH-SPEAKING TRAVEL WRITERS IN MÁLAGA **17**

3.1 MÁLAGA CITY 18
3.1.1 The cathedral *18*
3.1.2 Gibralfaro castle and the Alcazaba *21*
3.1.3 Alameda and Calle Marqués de Larios *24*
3.1.4 Torremolinos *28*
3.1.5 Churriana *31*
3.1.6 Ronda and the Serranía de Málaga *34*
3.1.6.1 Alastair Boyd and The Road from Ronda 36
3.1.6.1.1 Alastair Boyd's depiction of rural life 39

4. CONCLUSION **40**

5. REFERENCES **43**

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on the genre of travel writing, including any literary work that narrates personal (presumably autobiographical) experiences, adventures and memoirs during a period of travel. In particular, the analysed aspects in this selection of works are related to descriptions of streets, monuments, landscapes or food, along with sociocultural issues such as traditions, education, social classes or quality of life. In turn, the selected works will also serve to analyse the existing stereotypes of Andalusia abroad, as well as the role that some English-speaking writers fulfilled as expats and travellers in Málaga.

Firstly, the chronology chosen for this dissertation is the 20th century, particularly the central fifty decades of the century, from the 1930s up to the 1970s. This decision was taken on account of the publication dates of the selected works, together with the notorious historical events that occurred during those years in Spain, e.g. the Spanish Civil War and the post-war period and Franco's dictatorship.

Secondly, the selection of authors was made according to their mutual interest in the province of Málaga and its sociocultural characteristics during the time span suggested. Furthermore, these authors held close connections between them and even mentioned one another in their works, such as Gerald Brenan and his wife Gamel Woolsey; or their friend Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell. Another similar experience shared by some of them was their need to abandon Spain upon the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

The first travel writer to be analyzed is Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell (Dunfermline, United Kingdom 1864 – London, United Kingdom 1954), a well-known Scottish zoologist who settled in Málaga, wrote his memoirs on his Spanish experience and translated fiction, mostly Ramón J. Sender's novels. The book that has been selected is *My House in Málaga* (1938),[1] which narrates his time while he was living in Villa Santa Lucía, in the upper-class district of El Limonar, where he lived in his retirement until the Civil War.

The second travel writer is Gamel Woolsey (Aiken, South Carolina, 1985 – Málaga, Spain 1968), an Anglo-American poet and novelist who lived in New York and Dorset (England) before eventually marrying Gerald Brenan and settling in the Spanish village of Churriana (Málaga). Among others, her poetry works include *Middle Earth* (1931) and *Spanish Fairy Stories* (1944). The travel account that has been analyzed is *Death's Other*

[1] A later version of 2019 of this work has been used throughout this dissertation.

Kingdom (1939)[2], which describes Woolsey and Brenan's life in Málaga and the impact that the Civil War had on the English community and the local population in Churriana.

Thirdly, Gerald Brenan (Sliema, Malta 1894 – Alhaurín el Grande, Spain 1987) is also included. He was a British writer and hispanist who spent a large part of his life in Andalusia. His most notable travel books are *The Face of Spain* (1950)[3] and *South from Granada* (1957). More attention will be given to *The Face of Spain,* which narrates a trip around Spain with his wife in the post-civil war period.

Fourthly, a second female travel writer analysed is Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson (Eastbourne, England 1908 – Málaga, Spain 2003), a scholar specialized in Economics who lived half of her life with her father in Andalusia, on a farm called San Julián. Just like Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, she was friends with the Brenans; she also collaborated in philanthropic activities in the village of Churriana, such as the maintenance of medical help and a school.

Her most remarkable work that relates to Málaga and that will be discussed in this dissertation is *Málaga Farm* (1956), where she analyses the Andalusian way of life and customs although she wrote two more works on Málaga*, Children of the Vega: Growing up on a Farm in Spain* (1963) and *The English Cemetery at Málaga* (2001), but these are not widely considered to be travel accounts.

Finally, the selection concludes with Alastair Boyd (1927 – Ronda, Spain 2009), 7th Baron Kilmarnock, a Scottish writer and hispanist who set up a Language School in Ronda with his wife, with whom he explored Andalusian towns on horseback. The selected publication is *The Road from Ronda* (1969), which narrates his travels in the area, focusing on the peculiarities of rural Andalusian life. A sequel of *The Road from Ronda* was *The Sierras of the South* (1992).

All in all, the analysis of Málaga in the central decades of the 20th century will begin with first-hand experiences of the Spanish Civil War in *My House in Málaga* and *Death's Other Kingdom*; either from a journalistic or poetical approach. These two works will set the basis of the atmosphere lived in the streets of Málaga, as well as the social roles that English expats undertook during the Spanish Civil War.

[2] A more recent version of this work has been used throughout this dissertation (2004).
[3] A more recent version of this work has been used throughout this dissertation (1987).

At the same time, the aftermath and the social consequences of the war will be discussed in *The Face of Spain*, together with a more organised and traveller-oriented account of the province of Málaga with *Málaga Farm.* Finally, it will be interesting to make a comparison with sociocultural aspects in rural areas during the 1960s, which will be done through an analysis of *The Road from Ronda*.

After establishing the main corpus of books analysed for this Master's Dissertation, the main objectives and hypotheses need to be underlined. As hinted above, the main objective of this dissertation will require an analysis of the descriptions of the province of Málaga in the selected works and timeframe (1930-1970), which will be done through a geographical classification of the city of Málaga, its surrounding towns in the Costa del Sol, and also the rural area of Ronda and the Serranía de Málaga.

When it comes to the method used, the different depictions of monuments and places will be compared amongst the selection of works, analysing information such as the details provided of physical places, as well as the degree to which these authors described these monuments in a similar way that a future travel guide would have done. Indeed, here is the main objective of this Master's Dissertation: to try to prove whether these works were conceived as precursors of travel guides or rather as more anecdotical accounts of Spanish history or biographical memoirs of these authors.

Once the descriptions of places have been studied in a more objective way, attention will be given to the miscellaneous sociocultural issues that appear intermittently, and how each author has dealt with these topics. Similarly, the analysis of the issues mentioned will also provide significant evidence to discuss the ways in which these authors portrayed Andalusia and the Málaga region to the English-speaking community.

In order to eventually agree or disagree with their claims, justifications will be extracted from the theoretical framework, where the hypotheses have been established. Other new sources will also be used as this dissertation develops, which depend on the different sociocultural issues that concerned these travel authors as they described a certain place.

Ultimately, it should also be remembered that the scope of analysis is not only broad in the number of works selected, but also in content, given the miscellaneous sociocultural issues. Hence, the limits of this study depend on the restriction of words in the dissertation, as well as the lack of bibliography concerning some fewer-known authors, such as Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell or women writers of that time.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Travel literature in the world

Travels have been a crucial part of human civilization since the beginning of time. In a general way, the concept of travel according to Thomson (2011: 9) can be defined as "the negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space". While the travels of pilgrims, conquistadors, explorers and modern-day tourists may have been triggered by different historical reasons, there has always existed a tendency to put the experiences that travellers have had into writing and that information can be labelled as travel literature or travel writing, which in turn has become a literary genre in itself.

Hence, travel literature, travel writing or travel narratives have represented travellers' personal perspectives of a foreign country for centuries. In a contemporary context, travel literature could be defined as the personal publications of travellers during their visits to a country, comparing issues such as the history, culture, language, religion or gastronomy.

While travel studies only became consolidated as a research field in the 1990s (Culbert, 2018: 345), some initial background information on the concept of travel in literature throughout history should be highlighted first. In order to do that, summarized chronological information on travel writing will be extracted from Hulme and Youngs' *The Travel Companion to Travel Literature* (2002).

First of all, biblical and classical traditions already narrated travels for religious or heroic reasons (e.g. *The Bible*'s "Book of Exodus", Virgil's *Aeneid,* Homer's *Odyssey,* etc.). Similarly, the Christian tradition gave rise to the phenomenon of pilgrimages to holy sites, the pilgrims being considered "ancestors of modern tourists" (Hulme and Youngs, 2002: 2). These narratives gave way to Marco Polo and John Mandeville's new forms of travelling, which began to appeal to travellers out of sheer curiosity.

In the sixteenth century, writing became gradually what Hulme and Youngs call "an essential part of traveling: documentation an integral aspect of the activity" (3). In the colonial era, colonies started to use travel writing as a means of attracting public interest and investment from other settlers, with publications from authors such as Richard Hakluyt (*Divers Voyages Concerning the Discovery of America,* 1589) and Samuel

Purchas (*Purchas, His Pilgrimage*, 1613) becoming a foundation for subsequent travel writing.

In terms of prose fiction, there were works whose authors were not travellers *per se*, but their setting and protagonists featured adventures in a travel form, such as *Jack of Newberry* by Thomas Deloney (1597), *Lazarillo de Tormes* (unknown author, 1554), *Don Quixote* (Miguel de Cervantes, 1605) or *Robinson Crusoe* (Daniel Defoe, 1719). In the nineteenth century, "literary writers were also beginning to travel and to write about their travels: Dickens, Trollope, Stendhal and Flaubert" (Hulme and Youngs, 2002: 7). On a greater scale of travelling, other English-speaking travel writers included Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), Henry James (1843-1916), Edith Wharton (1862-1937) and D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930).

In the twentieth century, one year after the publication of Bruce Chatwin's *In Patagonia* (1977), the scholar Edward Said created the seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978), which represented "the first work of contemporary criticism to take travel writing as a major part of its corpus, seeing it as a body of work which offered particular insight into the operation of colonial discourses" (Hulme and Youngs, 2002: 8). In summary, *Orientalism* criticizes the prejudiced Eurocentric view of Asia and the Middle East as a justification of the ambitious colonial and imperialistic power of Europe and the United States.

With the publication of *Orientalism,* several other perspectives started to be analysed in travel writing, such as colonial studies or women's studies. In addition to these disciplines, we can also highlight the contribution of anthropology, history, geography, tourism and translation studies in travel writing. In fact, this interdisciplinarity is commented by Jonathan Raban in the following way:

> Travel writing is a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed. It accommodates the private diary, the essay, the short story, the prose poem, the rough note and the polished table talk with indiscriminate hospitality. (Raban, 1988: 253-54)

In conclusion, travel writing as a literary genre has been recently added to academic studies, although the concept of travel itself dates back to antiquity. Indeed, from traditional pilgrimages to contemporary tourism, travellers have produced travel writing

that has collected information on new places in many different ways. It has also been observed that the heterogeneity of the disciplines included in the study of travel writing accounts for a complex and confusing analysis of the genre.

2.2 Travel literature in Spain

When it comes to travel literature in Spain, it is important to summarize the most iconic English-speaking writers and authors who paved the way and encouraged potential travellers and tourists to visit this country. While Spain could be considered a safe and captivating place to live or spend a holiday for English-speaking tourists in the twentieth century, some historical events such as the Civil War or the establishment of Franco's darker years of his dictatorship (up to the 1950s) challenged travellers and affected both travel literature and tourism in a negative way.

To start with, a quote from Lean et al. in *Travel and Imagination* (2016) proposes the term *Spanish Imaginary* when referring to the idealized picture of Spain that English travellers have usually created while visiting the country, and which they have subsequently spread overseas:

> This is a separate place, mythic, timeless and exotic, the source of endless explorations and discoveries that bring us no closer to understanding the Spain that *is,* but which nevertheless through cultural and institutional means construct, sustain and reproduce a Spain as *made* in the northern imagination. (Lean et al., 2016: 119)

In this sense, this author discusses Spain as a country which has fascinated foreign nations, on the one hand, because of the sensuality, captivation and fascination expressed by travel writers. On the other hand, Lean et al. encounter a contrast of these qualities with the barbaric experiences of bullfighting, the aftermath of the Civil War or the "unknowable or threatening aspects of its orientalism" (120). Hence, the complex historical past of Spain, and particularly Andalusia's connection with Islam and Arabic culture and art has certainly made foreign writers associate Spain with Edward Said's aforementioned expression *Orientalism*.

Similarly, another association made by foreign travellers in Spain is related to the Black Legend, a movement started in the sixteenth century which consisted of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propaganda in order to disparage the Spanish Empire and its colonial power. According to Noya (2002: 62), the protestant discourse of this legend flowered again with some English expats in Spain supporting the republican side during the Spanish Civil War, who expressed their criticism with issues such as intolerance, repression or the injustice of Catholicism.

Secondly, some insight should be provided in relation to the most important English-speaking writers in Spain. In the nineteenth century, Richard Ford (1796-1858), Washington Irving (1783-1859) and George Borrow (1803-1881) should first be mentioned; Ford's A *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1844) and *Gatherings from Spain* (1846) gave useful advice to travellers, "with tips about dealing with avaricious inn-keepers, how to provide for a horse and how to avoid the depredations of bandits" (Lean et al., 2016: 122).

In turn, Washington Irving spent a few months in Granada, where he wrote *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832), a complete depiction of the legends and stories associated with the Alhambra Palace which brought "to the North Atlantic audience for the first time a romantic account of mystery and imagination to match Ford's rather superior and dismissive practicalities" (Watson, 2014: 122).

When it comes to the Spanish clichés discussed up to the nineteenth century by English-speaking travel writers, they included characters such as bandits, *guerrilleros, carlistas* or smugglers (Medina Casado and Ruiz Mas, 2004: 26). After the publication of the two last travel writing classics in the 1850s (*Gazpacho; or Summer Months in Spain* by William George Clark and *Castile and Andalucía* by Lady Louisa Tenison), the thematic evolution of the travel writing genre gradually came to a halt in Spain. From the 1850s, post-romantic travel writers "repeated clichés and images from past glorious epochs to an irritable extent" (26).

In the twentieth century, the image of travellers underwent noticeable changes due to the political instability and wars that occurred. During the 20s and 30s, Matoses Jaén (2015) affirms that the typology of traveller was a "humbler type of English-speaking visitor in economic and social terms, often under the literary or the real disguise of "tramps", low-budget pilgrim or gypsy" (Matoses Jaén, 2015: 126), such as Laurie Lee, Walter Starkie, etc. This category of "tramp" traveller contrasts with some British residents (e.g. Gerald

Brenan, Juliette de Baïracli Levy or Christ Stewart, to name but a representative few) who settled in picturesque rural areas so that they could inform about the situation of the country or simply write about their personal experiences as foreign residents.

During the Spanish Civil War, the international image of Spain did not change but there was an increase of public interest in Spain's contemporary history, since it was believed that such a matter "was a key part to the great European fight against fascism and communism, or in turn, between fascism and democracy" (128). During the conflict, two major authors who wrote about the war and their experiences were Ernest Hemingway and George Orwell, the latter even fighting for the Republican side.

Additionally, other personalities writing before and during the war included Somerset Maugham (*Don Fernando, Or, Variations On Some Spanish Themes*, 1935); Gertrude Bone, who toured Spain with her "artist husband by car as the war began, and produced a handsome illustrated account of their journey" titled *Days in Old Spain* (1938) (Lean et al., 2016: 122); and two journalists, the Chicago travel journalist Clara Laughlin with *So You're Going to Spain!* (1931) and Australian journalist Nina Murdoch and her work *She Travelled Alone in Spain* (1935).

When the war finished, and with the establishment of Franco's regime and the outbreak of the Second World War, tourism in Spain decreased. Gradually, tourism started to increase again from 1950 onwards and travel literature readers were still interested in the same traditional, romantic Spain. As for the writers themselves, "simplicity and innocence combined with something elemental, violence and exoticism are common themes, often reflecting the pre-war influence of Ernest Hemingway and his obsession with bull fighting as famously portrayed in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932)" (Lean et al., 2016: 122).

In turn, Spain was also described following Gerald Brenan's view in his novel *South From Granada* that "south of the Pyrenees one finds a society which puts the deeper needs of human nature before the technical organization that is required to provide a higher standard of living" (Brenan, 1957: 10); in other words, Spain was still seen by some English writers like Brenan as a country which was behind the rest of the countries in Europe.

Finally, it is relevant to highlight the change in literary form that travel literature experienced from the 1960s. Whereas travel books and journals had been the norm before,

the first tourist guidebooks began to attract travellers to Spain. Some of the most notable ones which Lean et al. (123) underline were *Williamson's Green Guide* (1950), Cooper's *Your Holiday in Spain and Portugal* (1952), Bransby's *A Fortnight in Spain* (1953) or John Way's *Good Companion Guide* (1956). These guides did not have the form of travel literature, but they also played an important role in analysing the imaginary and otherness of Spain in comparison with other countries in the same continent. Evidence of this can be found in John Way's travel guide:

> In no other European country do you feel so thoroughly that you are abroad. Spain is 'different'. It belongs, one feels, almost to another continent, and in some respects to another age. Much of this land and its way of life still remains in the eighteenth century – and where the twentieth century intrudes it does so uncertainly, as though it were unwanted. (Way 1956 p. 10, in Lean et al. p. 124)

To conclude, Spain has historically been described by travel writers both as a romantic, exotic country, which has developed in a slower way compared to English-speaking authors' countries. While its most characteristic clichés were already established by romantic travel writers such as Richard Ford or Washington Irving, later authors have continued to draw from these stereotypes in more unrealistic ways.

2.2.1 Travel literature in Málaga

First of all, the province and the city of Málaga in southern Spain have not always been considered by travellers as appealing as other Andalusian provinces. In fact, a number of British travel authors such as William Jacob or Captain Rochfort-Scott during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century described Málaga as a dirty, poorly paved city with narrow streets (Krauel Heredia, 1988: 17).

According to Krauel Heredia (1988), Richard Ford recommended visitors not to spend more than two days in Málaga. As for Joseph Townsend, a British medical doctor, geologist and vicar who wrote *A Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787* (1792), delinquency and begging were frequent in Málaga by day and by night, and as a result, "the lazy can have no inducement to employ themselves in labour" (Townsend,

1792: 17). He depicted the Málaga as a city filled with "filth, nastiness, immorality and vice", which were "the inevitable consequences of undistinguishing benevolence" (17).

Despite these negative opinions about the city, Krauel Heredia (1988: 18-38) analyses the monuments that most attracted British travellers. This author affirms that eighteenth-century British travellers such as Francis Carter, Robert Semple, Martin Haverty or George Dennis shared the same *method* when it came to describing the city from the highest possible *watchtower* (e.g. the Gibralfaro castle); subsequently, they would analyse the urban particularities (18).

Nonetheless, the castle of Gibralfaro and the Alcazaba did not attract these travellers as much: the former was still a military enclosure which only offered a panoramic view of the city; the latter included humble houses belonging to the lower classes which did not allow for a clear tracing of the landmark (31). Additionally, some other monuments described by British travellers were the cathedral (Henry Swinburne, Joseph Townsend, Martin Haverty) and the British Cemetery (George Dennis, Elizabeth Grosvenor, Samuel Edward Widdrington-Cook and Martin Haverty).

As for sociocultural issues, some facts regarding religion or cultural stereotypes are usually analysed by these authors. Some of them criticize religious places and rituals such as churches or the Holy Week in a humoristic way; for instance, John Carr assumes his heresy when describing the confessional booth: "a sort of cupboard" where priests "listening to the party confessing through a little thin board or plate perforated with holes" (Carr, 1811: 141).

Henry D. Inglis, in turn, described religious ceremonies using certain negative words such as "spectacle" or "hoax" when observing the celebrations of Holy Week. Another example of his general view on religion is when he states that "it is impossible to turn the eye in any direction, without finding proofs of the superstition" (Inglis, 1830: 63).

Additionally, criticism from these authors also targeted Catholic Spaniards, who were often questioned in terms of their practices. John Carr, for instance, observed that "female devotion" was an external feature of Catholicism, to the extent that romantic courtship would happen during mass: "nothing is more common than to see, in the shady part of a church, men kneeling by the side of women and making violent love to them in whispers, without omitting a single ceremony prescribed by the Catholic religion" (Carr, 1811: 140).

Some other eighteenth-century writers who made similar remarks in relation with women in mass were William Jacob or Sir Arthur de Capel Brooke. Nevertheless, the writer Lady Louisa Tenison shifted her attention to the equitable role of mass when visiting a church in Málaga in 1850, where there were no benches and women had to stand or kneel: "the religious impression it produces, that there, there is no exclusiveness – the rich and the poor, the humble and the great, find themselves all placed upon the same equality" (Teninson, 1853: 12).

In addition, Krauel Heredia eventually analyses how some of these authors interacted between Spanish locals. She suggests the term *visitante fugaz* (fleeting visitor) for those who pried everywhere and, sometimes, came across as impertinent. As a matter of fact, the English writer Samuel Edward Cook-Widdrington warned future British visitors in Spain that few English writers were properly educated about the Spanish language and culture, and therefore, some of their assertions were frowned upon by Spaniards:

> Nothing can be more harmless than this mode of making a livelihood (travel writing), provided their effusions are kept within the bounds of moderation and charity, as well as confined to such views as a rapid transit enables any one unacquainted with the language and the people to make during a few hours sojourn in a place. This rule however has been broken in upon, and as it unluckily happens that the females are generally a favourite subject for the tirades of that class of writers, their random assertions on subjects they had no means of investigating and most assuredly did not speak from their own knowledge or experience, have made both the Gaditanas and Malagueñas and their relations and countrymen extremely irate. (Cook-Widdrington, 1844: 309)

With regard to the twentieth century, the three major historical events that would shape travel writing in Spain were the Spanish Civil War, Franco's regime and the arrival of mass tourism in the Costa del Sol in the 1960s. As for the city of Málaga, earlier descriptions of the city were similar to the first negative impressions of eighteenth-century travel writers.

For instance, the English novelist and traveller Evelyn Waugh observed in the 1920s that there was little to see or do in Málaga and that it smelled strongly of olive oil and

excrement. He believed that the cathedral held "only a riotous troop of begging choir boys, and paralysed old women, and a dull verger" (Waugh, 1974: 192). Similarly, his culinary experiences where not successful as he tasted Malaga wine, which he "has drunk and disliked in England", and hoping that it would be better, he "found it very nasty" (192).

As for the Civil War, the most representative literary works were produced before and after the conflict. In this section we can include *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) by George Orwell; the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) by Ernest Hemingway; *Death's Other Kingdom* (1939) by Gamel Woolsey; the autobiographical *The Forging of the Rebel* (1941) by Arturo Barea, as well as propagandistic and war-related poetry authors, e.g. W. H. Auden, Roy Campbell or Stephen Spender, to name but a few (Medina Casado and Ruiz Mas, 2004: 28).

As far as travel literature is concerned, travel writers were interested in returning to Spain after the war in order to see the effect that it had had on the country and the Spanish character, for example Gerald Brenan and Gamel Woolsey. According to Medina Casado and Ruiz Mas, these travel writers came to the conclusion that not even the war nor the postwar had sensitively changed the Spanish character (2004: 28).

With regard to the way in which travel writers lived the conflict personally, but specially women writers, it is interesting to highlight a possible hypothesis from which to depart in relationship to the level of understanding of the conflict by women writers:

> They tended to idealize the country and the people, ignore some of the less-than-comfortable facts that did not fit with their preconceptions, limit their political critique to a simplistic view of the reasons for the war, and ultimately use the conflict as an exotic backdrop for their own individual concerns and desires. (Mulligan, 2018: 72)

When the Civil War was over and Franco's regime was established in 1939, only a few expatriates returned to Spain, such as Walter Starkie, Lady Sheppard or Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, who in turn felt moderate loyalty towards the regimen. Other returning expatriates did not show any political interest, i.e. Robert Graves or Marguerite Steen (Ruiz Mas, 2004: 261).

Conversely, those who were against the dictator postponed their return. It was not until 1949 that Brenan and Woolsey ventured to come back and settle down in their house of Churriana again, where Gerald Brenan would write *The Face of Spain* (1950). Brenan's work showed an open criticism towards the regime, targeting the Falange, the *Guardia Civil* or the Army, but it did not directly address the dictator's role (Ruiz Mas, 2004: 262).

Nevertheless, Ruiz Mas also affirms that all expatriate writers of the time shared the characteristic of discretion towards the regime and its authorities, partly because of the fear of losing their economic interests and their properties that they owned in Spain. In fact, a case in point was Australian expatriate in Nerja Shirley Deane, who was banished from Spain after her publication of *Tomorrow is Mañana* (1957), where she openly criticized the dictatorship and its main pillars (Ruiz Mas, 2004: 276).

Additionally, a secondary aspect that has been analyzed is the superior role of the expatriates or travel writers during Francoism, which contrasts with the faithfulness of their Andalusian employees. The privileged position of English-speaking writers in Spain was criticized by Honor Tracy, who observed that "the foreigner seems to be sailing comfortably in a private craft through oceans of misery" (Mitchell, 1988: 276).

Similarly, this idea of privilege by foreign residents in Spain was also analyzed by writers such as Gerald Brenan, who affirmed that the general impression for the English in the leisure hours in Málaga city was the following one:

> The Englishman, fresh from the dull hurry of London Streets and from their sea of pudding faces – faces which often seem to have known no greater grief than that of having arrived too late in the chocolate or cake queue – feels recharged and revitalized when he bathes himself in this river. (Brenan, 1987: 82)

In the 1960s, the first official travel guide, *Everybody's Travel Guide to Spain* (1954), started to offer trips to Spain and included the Costa Brava and the Costa del sol in their initial packages. They were aimed at those who sought "new and rewarding experiences" and had decided to "give Spain a trial" (Mitchell, 1998: 156). However, some travel writers were critical with mass tourism.

These included Penelope Chetwode, who completed a six-week trek in 1961 through the Sierra de Cazorla on a mare, observing that "the remoter corners of the peninsula are still not to be enjoyed by the over-fastidious in the fleshly comforts" (Mitchell, 1988: 162). Gerald Brenan, who was the head of a community of intellectuals in the town of Churriana, had been perhaps expected to "react unfavourably to the Coca-Coladom so near to their domain" (Mitchell, 1988: 162), but he nonetheless insisted on the "benefits, however raw, had brought to penurious peasants" (162).

During the period of 1976-1994, travel literature readers started to decrease and the form of travel books gradually took over. This can explain the fact that some later travel books of that period included information that could be found in travel guides, such as tourist attractions, phrase books, or lists with information on hotels and restaurants. Some representative examples included *Travel Adventure in Southern Spain* (1988) by David Bairn and *A Guide to Andalusia* (1990) by Michael Jacobs (Ruiz Mas, 1998: 781-782).

To conclude, the depiction of eighteenth-century Málaga by British travellers showed the image of a city which initially had little appeal to foreigners, where street crime was feared and customs such as religion or food were often frowned upon. In the first half of the twentieth century, major historical issues such as the Civil War or Francoism saw the creation of travel works with similar concerns and characteristics, but some other issues differed from their works: their political involvement and knowledge of Spanish culture, their role as expatriates in Spain or their interests in urban or rural settings.

3. SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLISH-SPEAKING TRAVEL WRITERS IN MÁLAGA

After establishing the necessary theoretical framework for this dissertation, the following sections will concentrate exclusively on the subject of Málaga in the literary corpus chosen. This will help to ascertain how the different travel accounts present similar elements and will aid in the main objective outlined in the Introduction.

In that sense, the theoretical framework has shown a general overview of travel writing in Spain, together with the necessary facts for this analysis from the period between the 1930s and the 1970s. At the same time, these facts will help us compare how these authors

described the region of Málaga to English speakers towards the final conclusion, together with the similarities that their works may have had with posterior travel guides.

Thus, the following section becomes the most significant of this dissertation because it includes a systematic, geographical classification about the selected works, along with a sociocultural analysis of issues that most concerned these authors. This classification includes Málaga city, Churriana, Torremolinos and the rural area of Ronda.

3.1 Málaga city

Traditionally, the capital of the Andalusian region of Málaga in travel writing has included important monuments such as the cathedral, the Gibralfaro castle, the Alcazaba, and major streets, e.g. Alameda and Calle Larios. In fact, these were the landmarks that were given most attention by the selected English-speaking travel authors.

3.1.1 The cathedral

The first general depiction of the city of Málaga worth quoting was given by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell in the 1930s in the form of a visual map:

> Malaga lies in the shallow pocket of a wide bay. An arc of mountains encloses it, one end of which reaches the sea in a curve of low hills, three or four miles from the centre of the town, some way short of Torremolinos on the Gibraltar road. Just to the east of the cathedral, which is opposite the harbour, a long rocky hill rises almost straight from the sea, leaving in front of it a space, at its narrowest just giving room for the main street with trams running towards the Caleta with a row of villas on either side, and in its widest part finding room for the post office, the *Gobierno Civil,* the new bank of Spain, the bullring, big hotels and a few streets of workmen's houses. (Mitchell, 2019: 174)

Thus, by quoting other towns, neighbourhoods and even cardinal points, it is noticeable that the author uses the cathedral as a reference point to help readers situate mountains and main roads, enabling them to have a lifelike image of the landscape by using the

location and the height of the cathedral. Nonetheless, no further descriptions of the monument can be found in the author's work, *My House in Málaga.*

From the 1950s onwards, two authors describe the cathedral in more specific ways. First published in 1950, Gerald Brenan's *The Face of Spain* narrates Gerald Brenan and his wife Gamel Woolsey's return to Spain after the Civil War; and the Málaga cathedral is one of the first places that they stop by as they return to their house in nearby Churriana.

In Brenan's words, the cathedral is *monumental* and *impressive* which, "as in only the very largest Catholic cathedrals – St. Peter's or Seville – one gets the feeling of being in a sort of factory or market in which the whole life and business of a religion is carried on" (Brenan, 1987: 74). However, the hispanist dedicates only one paragraph to describing the cathedral, focusing more on the atmosphere in a more sensorial way:

> A Low Mass attended by some hundreds of people was being conducted in an undertone […] In the great aisles circulated a slowly moving stream of men and women who were so small in comparison to the height of the columns and the width of the vaulting that they looked like mice, while all round flowed the space and air in their different gradations of light and colour. (75)

In that way, one can perfectly travel back to that day and actually *listen to the sermon* like Brenan and Woolsey did that day. Nonetheless, it was Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson and her *Málaga Farm,* first published in 1956, which provided a complete interior and exterior description of the religious landmark. Thus, the author offered a detailed and easy-to-understand explanation on the choir, statues (St. Ambrose, St. Christopher or St. Francis), wood-carvers and sculptors (Pedro de Mena) and materials (freestone, mahogany, cedarwood, red ebony).

Furthermore, she also describes the style of the church: "it was begun in the style of the Renaissance and finished in that of the Baroque, yet the general result is harmonious", as well as some key biographical facts about sculptors: "Mena (…) spent the most fruitful years of his life in Malaga, devoting himself to his art and to acts of piety, and declining the many flattering offers that were made to him to go to other parts of Spain" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 158-159).

Conversely, Grice-Hutchinson's optimistic depiction of the church contrasts with the peculiar explanation of the saints and statues' emotions: "the phrase 'a wooden image' evokes a picture of a stiff, expressionless doll, but these images seem to live and breathe. They must have been the faithful portraits of real men and women" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 158). These descriptions are aimed at readers who are not familiar with the catholic religion and, as a result, develop mixed-feelings when contemplating religious imagery.

When it comes to the exterior part, it seems that both Grice-Hutchinson and Gerald Brenan thought appropriate to briefly explain the history of why the second tower of the cathedral was not built. Grice-Hutchinson provides the reader with the fact and a translation of the term into English:

> The city is dominated by the great pile of the cathedral, whose high tower dwarfs the many lesser church-towers that rise above the rood-tops. The original plan of the cathedral included a second tower, and, since this has never been completed, the building is affectionately called by the *malagueños,* 'the little one-armed woman', *la manquita*. (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 158)

Brenan, on the other hand, stipulates that Málaga's size and poverty level during its construction were the reasons why the tower was not completed: "When this building was erected, Málaga had a smaller population than Swindon has today, nearly all of them very poor: no wonder that it took a hundred years to build and that one of its twin towers was never finished" (Brenan, 1987: 75).

Ultimately, the use of the cathedral as a reference point for Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell is also used by both Grice-Hutchinson and Woolsey in a similar way. Coincidentally, these two female authors mention the cathedral together with landmarks while they describe the last mental, aerial image of the landscape in the reader's mind. For instance, Woolsey's last paragraph as she and her husband leave Spain by boat develops as follows:

> And we felt strange and out of place on it; for we could not leave behind our troubled thoughts about Spain – although Malaga looking lovely in the distance with its great cathedral and the Moorish castle on the hill, grew small and smaller

> [sic] until the destroyer, gathering speed, drew rapidly out to sea and they were gone. (Woolsey, 2004: 135)

In turn, Grice-Hutchinson mentions the cathedral twice on her last page. For her, among the different noises of the city, "the cathedral seems to sail along in the mist, and its tower is like the mast of yet another ship" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 165). Situated on the highest viewpoint of the city, the Gibralfaro castle, she describes the breathtaking views and concludes *Málaga Farm* in the following way: "the face of the cathedral clock shines forth bravely, but Santa Isabel has vanished in the mist" (165).

All things considered, the cathedral of Málaga has been depicted as a reference point in the city; Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell used it to provide an aerial image of the city in an objective way, whereas Gamel Woolsey and Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson used it with a more aesthetic aim. In that regard, a certain similarity can be appreciated with eighteenth-century British writers who shared the same *method* of describing the city from the highest possible *watchtower* (Krauel Heredia, 1988: 18). Ultimately, the most complete and useful depiction of the religious monument and its interior images is doubtlessly made by Grice-Hutchinson, although Brenan also provided some details on the religious atmosphere during the celebration of a mass.

3.1.2 Gibralfaro castle and the Alcazaba

The next iconic landmark that is often mentioned by the authors in this Master's Dissertation is the Gibralfaro castle, built in the 14th century to house troops and to protect the Alcazaba, a fortress palace built between 1057 and 1063. As stated in the theoretical framework, nineteenth-century British travel writers were not very interested in these monuments as the Gibralfaro castle was still in use by the military and the Alcazaba had actual houses built around it.

In fact, Corrales Aguilar (2007: 57) affirms that the Alcazaba was in ruins since the eighteenth century, but there were neglected semi-detached houses inside and outside its walls since 1584. Additionally, hundreds of emigrants from regions such as Montes de Málaga, Axarquía or the coasts of Granada and Almería established in that area from the nineteenth century onwards, forming an additional neighbourhood in a bad hygienic

condition (57). It is understandable, then, that despite the importance of these monuments, some travel writers were reluctant to write about them or had poor opinions about them.

When it comes to the opinions of British travellers, eighteenth century British explorer George Dennis describes Gibralfaro in a very detailed way in *A Summer in Andalucia* (1839), but his feelings describe a negative atmosphere as he recalled an anecdote by Henry David Inglis, who climbed the castle through a less known way and ran into two individuals who were blocking his way, therefore running downwards as he believed that he was going to be robbed:

> The silence, the solitude, the desolation, all tended to excite melancholy in my mind as I wandered along among the ruins, for, though Inglis's adventure is this castle was fresh in my memory, I had ventured to explore it unattended. But though gloom reigns within the Gibralfaro, all is bright and joyous without. (Dennis, 1839: 262)

During the twentieth century, only Grice-Hutchinson and Gerald Brenan briefly analyse these two landmarks out of the five selected works. In the case of Grice-Hutchinson, in a similar way as with the cathedral, she carries out a general to a more detailed description of the two monuments as she strolls around them. Firstly, she compares them with other regional monuments, emphasizing the historical importance of the Alcazaba over other Alcazabas in Andalusia:

> The Alcazaba dates from the second half of the eleventh century and is of great artistic and historical importance, for it is the only considerable example left in Spain of the Moorish domestic architecture of that period, the Alcazaba of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada being both creations of the fourteenth century. (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 163)

Secondly, the author describes the monuments in detail, particularly the walls, vegetation, archways, two gardens, a watch-tower, a terrace and the Roman amphitheatre, while also adding sensorial characteristics. In order to do that, she manages to portray smells (e.g. "the last crimson roses of the summer mingle their scent with that of thyme and box"),

views (i.e. “from the terrace we look out over the harbour and city, revelling the cool breeze that blows in from the sea) and also sounds (e.g. “the child holds out our tickets to us explaining ‘¡*Agua*!’ ‘Water!’ as if assuring us of the pleasures to come”).

In line with George Dennis’ aforementioned experience, Grice-Hutchinson was also expecting to encounter feelings of *melancholy* in the Alcazaba, “as do so many palaces of the bygone days” (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 163). Nevertheless, she felt that the Alcazaba “rather does […] strike us alert and expectant, like a captive sultana who ever holds herself in readiness for the return of her rightful lord” (163). In addition to that, one of the Alcazaba gardens inspired her to reference a full tenth-century poem from Aben Said, inspired by the Islamic past of Spain.

When it comes to Gerald Brenan’s description of Gibralfaro, his contribution only comes down to a brief update of the improvements made subsequent to the Civil War:

> We started to climb it. Before the war this hill was an ugly lump of rock and shale without vegetation. Now it has been planted with stone pines and a garden laid out on the summit. The work was done by Republican prisoners and it has been done well. The crumbling walls have been tactfully restored, the area enclosed by the outer circumvallation has been set with flowering shrubs and cypresses, and a restaurant built for those who can afford its prices. (Brenan, 1987: 75)

In consequence, Brenan refers to the changes of the monument that he and his wife observed as opposed to the years of the Civil War, when they had to abandon Spain. As for the details of the description, perhaps more information regarding dates or names would have been appreciated, and no references at all are made on the Alcazaba. Still, he coincides with Grice-Hutchinson in the beautiful views to the sea, but this time he is referring to the Gibralfaro castle: “A violent wind got up as we reached the summit and a grey veil of dust rose between us and the sky. The sea below broke into white waves” (Brenan, 1987: 75).

Finally, the Roman amphitheatre receives a quick mention by Grice-Hutchinson as she went for a walk in the Alcazaba: “we look down upon the ruins of the Roman amphitheatre. Roman, too, are parts of the lower walls, reminding us that the Moors were comparatively latecomers here” (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 163). However, The Roman

remains had only been discovered in 1951, a year when a major project to remodel the Alcazaba had reached its end.

In addition to the discovery and restoration of the remains, it should be taken into account the subsequent demolition of the Casa de la Cultura in 1995, located just in front of the amphitheatre (Corrales Aguilar, 2007: 58). With such a recent discovery, no wonder Grice-Hutchinson only described it briefly and, in the case of Gerald Brenan, he would have needed to stroll around Málaga just a few years later in order to describe it.

All things considered, Grice-Hutchinson's promenade in Gibralfaro made her think of Islamic Spain with a similar melancholic feeling that romantic travel writers such as George Dennis experienced. Gerald Brenan, in turn, opted for a brief and objective comparison of the state of the monument before and after the Civil War. Finally, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell and Gamel Woolsey did not mention these landmarks at all.

3.1.3 Alameda and Calle Marqués de Larios

The Alameda Principal and Calle Marqués de Larios are two major streets in Málaga which appear in most of the selected works. Historically, there are a few facts about these streets that are interesting to highlight: the Alameda initially provided high-status accommodation for the wealthy, to be later overtaken by Calle Larios which was a residential as well as commercial street.

According to Barke et al. (1996), "these streets remained high-status residential areas until well into the twentieth century but, at the turn of the century, the high-status focus shifted to the eastern suburb of La Caleta, later to be followed by Limonar then Miramar" (Candau et al., 2005 in Barke et al., 1996: 201). In fact, some authors such as Grice-Hutchinson noticed this and stated in the 1950s that the offices of the Alameda were once the mansions of the rich merchants, and therefore, "the glory has gone from the Alameda now" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 151).

To start with, all travel writers under study lived at a time when the Alameda and Calle Larios hosted shops and hotels, many of which they visited with friends, in particular, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell. However, this author and Gamel Woolsey in her works describe the Alameda and Calle Larios during challenging times, i.e. the Spanish Civil War.

On the one hand, Mitchell needed to go to the *Cruz Roja* located in the Alameda after unsuccessfully trying to solve some issues related to his employees in the *Casa de Pueblo*.

In terms of the description of the streets, he simply refers to the Alameda as "the chief tree-lined boulevard in Málaga" and "one of the principal thoroughfares of central Málaga" (Mitchell, 2019: 125). The rest of his story revolves around the fact that he and the secretary of the *Cruz Roja* were asked by some soldiers to sit with them and drink "beer and munched slices of sausage in great content", which they accepted (125).

As a result, he thought that he was going to be judged by the English community because of this event when he admitted that "it must also have been the basis of the story sent home from Gibraltar later on that I was accustomed to sit drinking in low company in the Alameda whilst people were being burnt alive in the street in front of us" (125).

In the case of Woolsey, the description of the streets is made just a few days after the start of the Civil War in Málaga in 1936; in comparison with Chalmers' brief and personal remark, Woolsey dedicates almost a whole chapter to portraying the atmosphere of the Alameda and Calle Marqués de Larios when the war broke out.

After taking a bus from her villa in Churriana, her husband and herself took a stroll around downtown streets which had been bombed. For her, the Alameda "looked just the same except for the unusual emptiness". From there they walked up to Calle Marqués de Larios, where half of the buildings had been burnt, and it was there where they started "to walk warily like cats sensing danger", since "the rope-off sidewalks were still blocked with rubble and twisted iron from the window bars", and Calle Larios "was smoking and full of rubbish too" (Woolsey, 2004: 33).

Similarly, Woolsey immortalized the atmosphere by describing people around the area. They found an old drunk workman who "was a rough powerful-looking man, but had a twisted, crippled hand, in the other carrying a great bar of rusty iron" (33), which contrasted with "groups of calm, intelligent-looking young workmen who were going about quietly repairing the damage as far as they were able" (34). This changing atmosphere of danger eventually led her to a metaphorical quote which makes reference to the former title and American edition of *Death's Other Kingdom,* i.e. *Málaga Burning*:

> I looked at the other faces around us and all looked queer and wild. The burning of the houses had been an orgy, and they were still completing their satiation among the ashes. Arson, I am sure, is a vice of the nature of an erotic crime: it is rape on the grand scale. The mad faces in the streets of Malaga seemed drugged with the

> lust of burning; and all the queer creatures of the gutter and the cellar, the twisted, the perverse, and the maimed had crawled up into the light of flames. (Woolsey, 2004: 33)

With regard to the postwar period, the Alameda and Calle Larios were described with an emphasis on social issues, such as street poverty, smuggling or prostitution. Firstly, Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson's *Málaga Farm* references a visit of Danish writer and poet Hans Christian Andersen to Málaga in 1862:

> One characteristic that charmed Hans Andersen has survived in the descendants of the *malagueños* who strolled in the Alameda on that evening long ago. They all look, as he says, in the best of humours. Even the very poor – the beggars, the blind sellers of lottery-tickets, the remarkably large number of people who have somehow managed to shed an arm or leg and who live by hawking matches and other trifles – wear an expression of contentment ill-suited to their lot. (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 151)

Therefore, the first image of the Alameda that Grice-Hutchinson builds upon is, on the one hand, street poverty and, on the other hand, the feelings of jubilation of the beggars and street sellers. The same topic is analysed by Brenan when walking through the "narrower streets leading westward off the Calle Larios" (Brenan, 1987: 81), but the ambience and the social issues that he criticizes come across in a more negative way.

As a case in point, Brenan makes reference to the "continual scream" and "vociferation" of black-market sellers of bread and American cigarettes, criticizing how the police turn a blind eye to smuggling: "the police stand by and look on, for why should they interfere with a traffic which provides so much employment and besides is necessary to maintain the standard of living of the middle classes?" (81).

Brenan's criticism continues as he comments on the taverns located "a few yards farther" Calle Larios, which "have greatly helped to spread extra-marital relations between the sexes, since all a young woman has to do is to step sideways into an open doorway, where she will find her lover awaiting her and a bedroom at their disposal for a trifling sum"

(81). At the same time, the author attacks bawds who act as go-betweens, arguing that "the poverty and straitened circumstances to be found among almost all classes had weakened female morality and increased the number of persons who prey on it" (81).

As it can be seen, Brenan was deeply concerned with these social issues and used a rhetorical question as well as detailed explanations on the causes of prostitution; he managed to present problematic situation in the main streets, while also offering the necessary cultural explanations for the foreign reader to understand why these issues occurred. Conversely, he eventually analyzes the positive side of the city despite the "vice", concluding that "the general impression made by this city in its hours of leisure is one of expansiveness and vitality" (82).

All in all, Brenan's pejorative assertions about the atmosphere of these streets outnumber the positive ones. In fact, Walsh (2016: 812) believes that Brenan was actually a hispanophobe since he insists "upon an almost animalistic intensity in the behaviour of Spaniards" after having witnessed the intense poverty in Spain (812). Likewise, similar evidence supporting this hypothesis is the fact that Brenan's depictions of extreme poverty "could equally well be directed at any other Western European culture and instead serves as a pretext to reinforce deeply ingrained prejudices and support extreme stereotypical value judgments" (812).

As for Grice-Hutchinson, she dedicates a whole chapter named "Malaga today" to describing life in the centre of Malaga, but her descriptions of the streets and culture offer a very different atmosphere to Brenan's. Firstly, she is charmed with Calle Larios, which "presents a picture that for elegance as well as beauty the combined art of Bond Street and the rue de la Paix would find it hard to surpass" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 153).

As opposed to Brenan, Grice-Hutchinson's negative comments only relate to a certain feeling of disorientation when walking through other streets, which in turn, remind her of "labyrinths" of "Moorish times": "a wrong turning, and we lose all sense of direction and hurry anxiously along until at last an opening between the houses affords us a glimpse of some familiar landmark (155). Unlike Brenan, she admits that her feeling of unsafety is "irrational" and that any passer-by in the street would nicely show them the right way.

When it comes to other places that Grice-Hutchinson described in the area, these included the Café Cosmopolita and the Café Nuevo. The former was frequented by locals, tourists, and sometimes women, but she admits that most cafés featured "an unwritten law,

apparent to even the most absent-minded female tourist, keeps them away from these strongholds of masculinity" (155). The latter was exclusive to farmers, since "no one who is not in some way connected with farming ever dreams of going to them" (155).

From her table at the Café Cosmopolita, she explains how "the walk and bearing of the Andalusian woman is justly celebrated" (153), which usually results in compliments by men; she also encourages readers to walk through Calle Larios on Maundy Thursday, if they want to see the *malagueña* at her best, i.e. "a high comb and black lace mantilla over a dress of black silk" (153). Additionally, she appraises the international importance of Málaga in Calle Larios: the "mingling of native and foreign blood and cultures is a part of the peculiar charm and atmosphere of the place" (153).

All things considered, the Alameda and Calle Larios have inspired twentieth-century British travel writers in two different ways: during the Civil War, the emphasis was on the damage that these streets suffered. In the postwar period, travel writers analysed the atmosphere of these streets, explaining cultural and social characteristics to English-speaking readers or tourists. In conclusion, despite being written only a few years apart, Grice-Hutchinson's work praises the area with an eloquence and similar tone that a future travel guide could adopt, whereas Brenan's depiction of smuggling, Málaga's nightlife and people's unpleasant noises do not portray the author's enthusiasm for the city, but rather the opposite.

3.1.4 Torremolinos

During the second half of the twentieth-century, the Costa del Sol underwent important changes in terms of social and economic issues. The two first decades of the twentieth century, Torremolinos was a small fishing town, westwards from Málaga, with extensive beaches which were empty for most of the year, except for some sporadic visitors.

While the tourist boom did not start until the 1960s, the first half of the twentieth century also saw some minor changes in the Costa del Sol with regard to tourism. In 1897, the "Sociedad Propagandística del Clima y Embellecimiento de Málaga" was created with the objective of "boosting health-related tourist visits" (Barke et al., 1996: 266). The Costa del Sol then became a destination for a selective higher-class group of people with health problems who could benefit from the warm climate throughout the year.

Still, according to Lacuey (1990, in Barke et al., 1996: 266) "the first provision of accommodation on the Costa del Sol with the objective of attracting foreign tourists may be dated to 1930, when part of the Castillo Santa Clara on the Roca Headland in Torremolinos was rented out". Even in the 1940s, British writer Rose Macaulay described the town as a "pretty country place" (Macaulay, 1950 in Barke et al., 1996: 266).

When the Civil War broke out, British travel writers such as Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell or Gamel Woolsey briefly alluded to Torremolinos in their books. In the case of *My House in Málaga*, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell only mentions the town together with other cities in order to create a real image of air traffic during the war:

> Aeroplanes began to circle between us and the hills from the point on the west where the ridge in front of Torremolinos stretched down to the sea, right round to the north and north-east to the Granada road, planes in twos and threes, not dropping bombs, but scouting, in undisputed mastery of the air. (Mitchell, 2019: 174)

As for Gamel Woolsey, she used to travel regularly to Torremolinos to pay visits to friends, but the emphasis in *Death's Other Kingdom* is on the trip and not on the town itself. In the first place, she describes Torremolinos as "a village by the sea where there is a large English colony eked out with foreigners and other nationalities" (Woolsey, 2004: 22), as well as a town which was "small and white on the edge of the sea" (23).

The way from Churriana to Torremolinos is depicted as an entertaining and relaxing experience for Woolsey. While they rested and ate a true Spanish *merienda*, composed of "cold potato omelette, a little goat's milk cheese, half a loaf of bread, early muscatels and a small bottle of wine" (23), she felt "an air of everlasting peace, of classical peace rising from the deep past brooded over the Mediterranean" (23). However, this tranquility contrasts with the moment when they arrive at Torremolinos when she states: "Torremolinos at last. Longing for coffee we stopped at the first café – locked and shut. 'All the cafés are shut', said an onlooker. 'Order of the governor. No place that sells liquor is allowed to serve anyone with anything'" (24). These were the first effects of the war.

After that, they reached their American friend's house, Gray, and had a conversation about the outbreak of the war, as their friend told them that his maid María was overprotective of him because of his condition as a *foreigner*: "she thinks these awful

robbers of Torremolinos would fleece me if she weren't here to protect me" (25). Since the Brenans also had close connections with their workers, this behaviour coincides with Demetriou's assertion that "all Spanish servants working for expatriates seem to have one characteristic in common: they are proud to work for the English, who pay well (according to Spanish standards) and treat them in an affectionate and familiar way" (Demetriou, 2002: 52).

After the war, Brenan and Woolsey returned to their villa in Churriana in 1953, feeling as though they had been miraculously born again thanks to the bustling energy of the Costa del Sol (Pranger, 2017: 45). In the case of Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, her German husband Ulrich and herself started a new life in the villa of Santa Isabel in 1951, although Ulrich had been working as a dairy-farmer in Malaga since 1932.

As opposed to British travel writers in the 1930s, Grice-Hutchinson offered a more complete description of the town of Torremolinos and its customs in the 1950s. She pictures Torremolinos as a village that "lies about twelve miles to the west of Malaga along the coastal road. It is a picturesque place, a maze of narrow cobbled streets and whitewashed houses perched high up on a cliff" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 109). Furthermore, her most interesting reference is the following one, where she underlines the important role of a group of English-speaking intellectuals in the town:

> When I first came to Malaga, Torremolinos was a peaceful fishing-village. It had, nevertheless, already been discovered by the outside world, and, more especially, by a group of English and American painters and writers. Fortunately, they enjoyed living in the old houses without 'improving' them, and did little to spoil the atmosphere of the place. (110)

Similarly, her interest in Andalusian traditions led her to attend a *romería* in Torremolinos, i.e. "a procession of pilgrims who make their way to a shrine, ostensibly in order to pray for rain or give thanks for a good harvest" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 43). While she successfully describes the whole tradition to the readers, she does not provide significant details on the location, but rather on the event and the locals.

Grice-Hutchinson was amazed at the "beautiful Hispano-Arab horses", the "classical gypsy style" of the girls (43) or the traditional dances such as *sevillanas, malagueñas* or

fandangos. On the other hand, she seemed critical of the women's poses riding horses (i.e. "each girl rested one arm arrogantly on the hip") or the actual religious value of the *romería*, which is added as a conclusion:

> Rather did it seem the echo of a pagan festival, a homage paid since the beginning of time to some old water-god who dwelt within the stream. And even so it may have been, for the Church in her wisdom took over and turned to her own account many of the ancient feasts of pre-Christian days. (44)

All things considered, Torremolinos was a special place described in terms of the initial effects of the outbreak of the Civil War by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell or Gamel Woolsey, as well as a town to visit frequently where some of these authors' friends lived. From the 1950s, the only references to Torremolinos in the selected works are found in *Málaga Farm*, where Grice-Hutchinson describes a traditional *romería* in detail to English readers, but the author eventually observes that the custom's main objective was more social than religious.

3.1.5 Churriana

The development of the village of Churriana, situated between Torremolinos and Málaga, differed from Torremolinos in many ways. First, the village did not provide easy access to the beach, probably being "too near the airport to be considered a suitable location, due to noise pollution, for some of the earlier higher-class hotels, but also Málaga was a military airport in the 1960s and security considerations prevented development in close proximity" (Barke et al, 1996: 275). Additionally, the first attempts to attract tourists to Churriana did not come until 1995, when there was a publication of "a promotional brochure on the village and its environs, and placing particular emphasis on the 'green tourism' attractions of El Retiro and La Cónsula, two former large country houses" (275).

When it comes to some of the travel writers who lived in Churriana (i.e. the Brenans or Grice-Hutchinson), they particularly wrote about life in their villas as well as Andalusian rural life in general. Gamel Woolsey and Gerald Brenan's works included numerous descriptions of their garden, meals, workers and atmosphere of their villa. However, Grice-Hutchinson's *Málaga Farm* depicts her villa Santa Isabel using impersonal

narrative style and organized categories depending on the chapter (gastronomy, customs, history, etc.) whereas the Brenans' works include more personal anecdotes and references to friends' meetings and events.

As for the town of Churriana per se, the only description found in the book is made by Grice-Hutchinson as follows, but it certainly does not invite readers to visit:

> Looking westward towards Gibraltar we can see the little towns of Churriana and Alhaurín. They are communities of agricultural workers. In the daytime their narrow, twisting, cobbled streets are deserted except for a few old women who stand gossiping together wrapped in their black shawls, silhouetted against the dazzlingly white walls of their houses. (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 4)

In the case of Brenan, he pictures Churriana (but particularly their villa) as an idyllic place where he and Woolsey have always felt at home, even spending time with their workers: "every day we pace round it a dozen times with Antonio or Rosario, touching, smelling, admiring, commenting: breathing in the calm and happiness that only southern gardens, bathed in perpetual sunlight, can give" (Brenan, 1987: 109).

Similarly, when they leave, they certainly feel as if they are banished from paradise: "for the last time we walked round our garden, as Adam and Eve might have walked round theirs, before deserting it for the impersonal world" (118), they remark. That same garden, too, reminded Gamel Woolsey of her childhood in her South Carolina cotton plantation, "where the black slaves cared for their master and children with devotion, and were granted love and protection by their employers in return" (Demetriou, 2002: 52).

As a matter of fact, their impact on the village was significant in many ways. Firstly, they were known around the village and were seen as neutral *protectors* of the Churriana locals during the civil war: "'Can it be true? Don Gerardo home again! My protector returned! Are these eyes of mine really seeing him in person?'" (Brenan, 1956: 97) exclaims *Frascillo*, a neighbour who was filled with excitement when he realized that the English couple had returned to Churriana.

Moreover, both Brenan and Woolsey were fond of their employees and held life-long relationships with them before and after the war: "yet Antonio and Rosario had quietly

continued to carry out their role of trustees of our interests and to expect our return" (79). Also, Woolsey in particular is said to have offered "protection and help to those in trouble, regardless of these labels and of possible negative consequences" (Mulligan, 2018: 85).

For instance, she affectionally recalls her maid Pilar leaning on the back of her chair as they were talking (Woolsey, 2004: 13) or the torments that she experienced after knowing that their worker Juan had died (125). Hence, it is not surprising that Woolsey was seen as a "sentimental discursive figure who foregrounds the narrator" (Mulligan, 2018: 85). Nonetheless, Gamel Woolsey felt that after having saved a fascist, the couple were not seen in the same way: "people watched us doubtfully. They were not so sure about the innocence and simplicity of the English as they had been" (Woolsey, 2004: 132).

Secondly, the literary and social value of their house and the intellectual connections that they made must also be highlighted. Among others, Cyril Connolly, Paul Bowles, Ernest Hemingway or E. E. Cummings considered Brenan's house the best place to discover the secrets of Torremolinos, whereas other places such as La Cónsula or Cortijo Buenavista formed a key cultural triangle which, along with the Brenan's house, welcomed foreign visitors on the Costa del Sol in the search of beauty (Pranger, 2017: 46).

Thirdly, Brenan had a personal interest in the issues that affected his community. For instance, in the 1950s he analyzed the "acute" housing problem in Churriana, where "twenty working-class families are living in a barn divided up by cane partitions" (Brenan, 1987: 47). Moreover, Brenan was also able to explain some controversial topics in a way that were properly understood and not misjudged by the English speakers: "one cannot be long in this country without realizing that the sole thriving industry is the *estraperlo* or black market" (102).

However, this negative emphasis on social issues and their generalization at a national level denotes the same concept of Brenan's hispanophobia discussed in the descriptions of the streets of Málaga. In fact, Walsh sees that these racial generalizations were, in turn, "a legacy of the hegemonic tendency of nineteenth-century Romanticism and Nationalism to attempt to establish the principles of national identity" (Walsh, 2016: 816).

Lastly, the most thorough depictions of rural life in Churriana were perhaps made by Grice-Hutchinson, who explains the different types of housing and agriculture techniques to English speakers in a very didactic way. Additionally, her criticism towards religion

takes a comical approach when she describes Andalusian *cortijos* or farms and highlights the presence of a Madonna in the archway above the entrance: "one almost expects to see a group of monks crossing the yard and feels mildly shocked at being met instead by a procession of gobbling turkeys" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 5).

In conclusion, the tranquility of the villas in Churriana as well as the connection with other intellectuals made that area a *locus amoenus* for both Grice-Hutchinson and the Brenans. In addition, the Brenan's villa and their English nationality provided them and their social circle with a certain sense of safety and neutrality during the war, although only temporarily. Finally, Grice-Hutchinson used Churriana to discuss the daily life of the rural community in Andalusia (i.e. agriculture and farming techniques, characteristics of farms or the usual food), while her observations on religion remained skeptical.

3.1.6 Ronda and the *Serranía de Málaga*

The town of Ronda and the other rural villages northwards of Málaga were also studied by most British travel writers that have been referenced previously, but the most significant contribution was made by Alastair Boyd in his *Road from Ronda* (1969), where he describes rural life in remote villages travelling on horseback. The rest of the authors under study also mentioned Ronda, although to a lesser extent.

When it comes to the appeal of Ronda as a tourist town, in the late nineteenth century there were already Gibraltarian and English officers stationed on the Rock who began to explore the Spanish mainland more widely, spending brief periods of leave in Gaucín or Ronda. Additionally, the "opening of the railway from Algeciras to Ronda stimulated such exploration, and luxury hotels were built at Algeciras in 1873 (the Reina Cristina) and Ronda at the end of the nineteenth century (the Reina Victoria)" (Jacobs, 1990 in Barke et al., 1995: 267).

In the 1930s, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell mentions Ronda together with other Andalusian towns and cities of reference in order to portray an aerial image of the inland region of Málaga, and particularly its roads. However, he was not interested in discussing life beyond the city of Málaga where he lived, even though he took trips to towns such as Ronda, Marbella, Granada, Antequera or Córdoba:

> The high roads to Ronda and to Antequera pass through this valley, but a few miles from the town plunge into the hills, and after curving and twisting through them rise into the mountains, magnificently engineered between deep gorges and high peaks. (Chalmers Mitchell, 2019: 62)

In the 1950s, Grice-Hutchinson and Brenan do not forget to describe Ronda in their travel writings; the former focuses on the depiction of the town and its surroundings, whereas the latter is more interested in analysing social issues, such as *bandoleros*. For instance, Grice-Hutchinson provides a general-to-detailed description by highlighting the particularities of banditry and smuggling of the Serranía de Ronda, a place where "reigns the romantic atmosphere of the lawless freedom that ever distinguishes the highlands of the earth" (Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 94).

Generally, Grice-Hutchinson moves on to the depiction of the town as "a favourite holiday-place for the officers stationed at Gibraltar" when the "English preferred to walk on mountains rather than lie on beaches" (94), or as "the most dramatic town in Spain" when she was walking up to the brink of the Ronda bridge. She eventually describes Ronda as the "the capital of the bullfighting world", whose bullring "is the oldest in Spain and it was here that the present rules of bullfighting were laid down" (96).

More particularly, it is interesting the way in which she describes in detail the oldest hotel in Ronda, Hotel Victoria, and compares its decoration to the English towns of Bournemouth or Stratford-on-Avon. The author also immerses herself in characteristics of the bridge, the atmosphere and history of the streets (i.e. nobility in Ronda), as well as the depiction of the caves of La Pileta (96).

In less than two pages, it seemed that the English reader of *Málaga Farm* had the necessary information to take a trip to Ronda, as if he or she had read a travel guide of Ronda. Grice-Hutchinson even offers advice on the best time of the day to observe the ravine: "it is particularly beautiful by moonlight, when the black shadows of the iron balconies and window-bars throw fantastic patterns on the white walls, and the lighted windows and doorways stand open to reveal the life within" (95).

In the case of Brenan, Ronda only comes up in an anecdotical way in *The Face of Spain*. He mentioned Ronda and its bandits when he was discussing smuggling and prostitution

in the centre of Málaga city, but he fails to provide any background information about Ronda to English readers:

> During the last few days we have heard a good deal about the bandits in the Sierra de Ronda. From their caves and mountain fastnesses they dominate large areas, including many villages. The whole *serranía* is cordoned off by police, who, however, show little anxiety to risk their lives by attacking them. And the bandits, for their part, remain quiet and give few signs of their existence. Only from time to time they kidnap a wealthy man and hold him to ransom, and with the money they obtain in this way replenish their supplies. (Brenan, 1987: 82)

Thus, the hispanist pinpoints the excess of control of the *Guardia Civil*, a Spanish authority which he also criticizes numerous times in *The Face of Spain.* On the one hand, Ruiz Mas (1998) affirmed that Gerald Brenan was the travel writer of the 1950s who had a clearer reject against Franco's regime, establishing corruption and blackmail as key characteristics of the time in Spain (Ruiz Mas, 1998: 603). Furthermore, following Brenan, he explained to their English-speaking readers that bandits were appraised by Spaniards and even by the police: "the country people protect them and even their official enemies often have a sneaking affection for them. No Spaniard can help respecting a man who is brave and who successfully defies authority" (Brenan, 1987: 83).

However, Ruiz Mas also stated that expatriates during the regime shared the characteristic of maintaining a clear attitude of discretion towards Francoism and its authorities (2004: 276). Perhaps, the explanation of these contrasting ideas can be clarified according to Di Febo, who affirmed that Brenan's connotation of bandits, adopted multiple times during his work, did not originate from political propaganda, but rather from the dreamy stories of guerrilleros and bandits from eighteenth-century writers, such as Richard Ford (Di Febo, 1994: 606).

3.1.6.1 Alastair Boyd and The Road from Ronda

One of the most significant studies of the Serranía de Ronda was made by Alastair Boyd, a British man who settled in Ronda with his wife and wrote the travel book *The Road from Ronda: Travels with a Horse through Southern Spain* (1969). This author is

compared to other travel writers such as Juliette de Baïracli Levy (*Spanish Mountain Life: The Sierra Nevada*, 1955) or Penelope Chetwode (*Two Middle-Aged Ladies in Andalusia*, 1963); all of these writers are categorized as *rural writers* by Ruiz Mas (1998: 678). Indeed, these authors followed the examples of Richard Ford or George Borrow and travelled on horseback through Andalusian villages far away from the areas affected by mass tourism.

When it comes to Boyd's description of Ronda and other towns, his approach is similar to Grice-Hutchinson's in the sense that he goes from a general to a detailed view, provides explanations of historical or cultural issues as well as anecdotic expressions in Spanish. Nevertheless, his decision to travel on horseback made him appreciate much more the scenery and find "valuable informants on local life" (Boyd, 1969: 37). Therefore, his multiple conversations and amusing anecdotes with locals differ greatly from the relaxed strolls and introspective experience of Grice-Hutchinson in Málaga city.

Alastair Boyd begins with a comparison between the Costa del Sol and the Serranía de Ronda, showing a clear inclination for the mountainous landscape: "the beaches are not up to much and the best views are certainly obtained by lying on your back in the water and gazing inland towards the mountains" (13); in turn, he makes a similar reference to Grice-Hutchinson ("when the English preferred to walk on mountains rather than lie on beaches" Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 94), when he highlights the importance of Ronda before mass tourism: "before the seaside was discovered or considered anything but a damp menace to health, Ronda was a hill station of renown" (Boyd, 1969: 14).

Secondly, the description of the most iconic places begins. The Alameda "admirably sums up the pure physical magic of the capital of the Andalusian highland" (12), whereas the Hotel Reina Victoria is described as a "green-tiled gabled monument to an age when Gibraltar officers rode up for the week-end and people with weak chests came for the whole winter" (13). Likewise, Boyd briefly mentions several other monuments (i.e. Church of Santa María la Mayor, Church of the Holy Spirit, the bridges or the roman baths), as well as the old city (*La Ciudad)* and the new city (*El Mercadillo)* (13).

Thirdly, Boyd describes the bullring and the *maestrantes* [4] tradition in Ronda. Aside from explaining its history, he qualifies the bullring as "architecturally the most pleasing of all

[4] *Maestrantes* are members of the body of a *Maestranza,* i.e. a chivalric Brotherhood whose object was to train and encourage a decadent nobility in horsemanship and the pursuit of arms (Boyd, 1969: 24).

temples of tauromachy" (18). As for the *maestrantes*, he provides the most known examples of them as well as characteristics of their life and other *maestranzas* in Andalusia. Connecting *maestrantes* to nobility in the town, he elaborates on the different social classes and the different neighbourhoods where they live (13).

Intermittently, his criticism towards social issues such as religion or education comes up during his descriptions of Ronda and its inhabitants in the following way:

> Most of these people are practising Catholics. They practise in a way that is automatic without being exactly superficial, for the Church is as much woven into the texture of their lives as the office or eating or personal hygiene. They are, on the whole, highly conventional. (Boyd, 1969: 24)

Therefore, the author's opinion on the cultural level of the area in comparison with the UK reveals the weaknesses of the Spanish society as seen by British eyes: Spaniards have deeper religious values and are "very extreme and ritualistic Catholics indeed" (90). However, he also suggests that in the smaller villages of the countryside "religion cuts very little ice" and "it is resorted to mainly for births, marriages and deaths" (90).

As a matter of fact, Boyd's assertion coincides with Brenan's, who also observed that religious services (in the city of Málaga) were "a luxury which only those in good employment can afford" (Brenan, 1987: 90). Gerald Brenan himself interviewed a begging woman who had a sick husband and three children and when he asked her if she ever went to mass, she replied that the clothes that they had were not appropriate (90).

In summary, Boyd successfully describes the main attractions in Ronda for English speakers, but he does not show a positive opinion towards mass tourism on the coast nor some Spanish traditions. Regarding the Catholic religion, his attitude as a travel writer was not very different to other writers such as Brenan or Grice-Hutchinson: Spaniards had deep religious roots, some of their ceremonies were confusing to English eyes and all social classes did not have an equal access to religion.

3.1.6.1.1 Alastair Boyd's depiction of rural life

When it comes to the towns and villages outside of the area of Ronda, these are portrayed by Boyd as places where "the flies buzz, the old men drowse in the sun, the afternoons are punctuated by gigantic yawns and monumental sighs" (Boyd, 1969: 34). This description suggests a similar rural atmosphere to Grice-Hutchinson's description of Churriana and Alhaurín ("deserted except for a few old women who stand together wrapped in their black shawls", Grice-Hutchinson, 1956: 4).

As for the method that Boyd uses to discuss these villages, he proceeds to contrast the locals' information with his own sensations of the place. In the case of the town of Arriate, he was told by Ronda locals that its inhabitants were "ignorant bumpkins who pronounce and spell everything wrong" (38), but his eventual opinion of the place after his visit changes to that of "a tidy place in a gentle populous valley and seems simply to suffer from an unjust and invidious comparison with the big city" (38).

Another town included is Cañete la Real, whose inhabitants were said to be "brutes who would not so much as give you good morning" (73) according to the neighbours of Alcalá del Valle. In a similar way, after his visit and the different observations about the town's main buildings, Boyd came to the conclusion that Cañete was "not quite disagreeable as made out by the people of Alcalá" (73).

Likewise, there are other towns which are portrayed in a more inviting way for the traveller. For instance, Olvera's twin-towered ochre church "almost defies belief" (53); Ardales, on the other hand, is "gay and it must be a stimulus to good spirits to have orange trees lining your streets" (138); Teba is "notably well-kept and tidy", and "possibly the satisfying vista of its own beans and grain that sustains its inhabitants in the belief that they have a self-respecting role to play in the modern world" (79).

Nevertheless, there were certain towns which *The Road from Ronda* certainly did not invite the foreign reader to go. Boyd was able to compare these towns with Ronda, as he was told by a carpenter from Ronda who was temporarily working in Alcalá that "the people in the pueblos drink much" and that "they are beasts" (48). Another local assured him that in the town of Igualeja there was a father and son "who fought all day with axes over the ownership of one olive tree" (51), the son murdering the father in the end.

While these experiences may have led Boyd to label rural Spaniards as "old-fashioned" or "Spartan" (188), he also highlights their positive characteristics: "the stoicism,

simplicity and anti-materialism of rural Spaniards were not to be undermined" (119). However, on the issue of violence, Boyd recalled an episode of police brutality in a very detailed way, which consisted of a hunter who died after being obliged to eat a raw partridge that he had hunted in a private preserve (150-151). Still, Ruiz Mas (1998: 718) affirms that travel writers from 1952 to1975 in Spain tended to exaggerate the abusive image of the *Guardia Civil* that had characterized prior travel writing accounts.

In summary, the towns and villages that Alastair explored provided his readers with interesting descriptions of Ronda for travellers, as well as picturesque experiences of remote areas from a sociological point of view, which are enriching due to his close contact with locals. However, the author disapproved with some issues such as religious traditions, lifestyle of rural workers as well as the violent attitude of the police.

4. CONCLUSION

The main objective of this dissertation was to analyze to what extent the selected works were similar to posterior travel guides in the 1970s, as well as to analyze the overall image of Málaga portrayed to English-speaking readers. Hence, despite their main geographical interest, the works under study have seen the province of Málaga between the 1930s and the 1970s with different approaches and interests.

Out of all of the selected works, *Málaga Farm* succeeds in depicting places, monuments, personal anecdotes or traditions in a very detailed way for the English reader and it may as well be used as an accurate travel guide for the time, for example, in order to tour the cathedral or walk around the streets of Ronda. Grice-Hutchinson shows a clear geographical classification of the places and her descriptions allow readers to picture these famous places while providing the necessary sociocultural information in the end. However, the author often draws on the Spanish Imaginary by praising the Islamic past of Spain and its exoticism with nostalgia, while holding frequent observations against some Catholic traditions.

As for *The Face of Spain,* only a small number of chapters are dedicated to Málaga. While the outline of the book is laid out in the form of a trip from Madrid to Andalusia, Gerald Brenan's emphasis on social issues (smuggling, poverty, prostitution or blackmailing) are more representative of this work. As a result, several authors have questioned whether the source of these concerns is the political situation of Spain or rather an insistence on

reusing the eighteenth-century clichés by other major travel writers. Other authors have even suggested that Brenan's work should be restudied given the hatred component that it contains towards the Spanish society; this would be an interesting topic for further research.

Thirdly, *My House in Málaga* could not be regarded as a reference travel book in any practical sense, given that the descriptions of monuments or social situations are very scarce and do not follow any geographical order. Sir Peter Chalmers briefly describes many of the places studied and, to some extent, he uses interesting bird's eye descriptions to make the English reader picture the Málaga region in a more authentic way.

Nevertheless, his concerns shift towards his personal anecdotes and image in the British community, as well as the political sphere during the Civil War. Altogether, a close reading of *My House in Málaga* reveals a clear autobiographical tone, which, as a consequence, does not provide any practical information to the English-speaking tourist of the time.

Fourthly, *Death's Other Kingdom* shares similar characteristics with *My House in Málaga* when it comes to the devastating atmosphere depicted in the streets of Málaga city and neighbouring towns during the Civil War, but Gamel Woolsey's work was the one out of the travel writings under study which has pictured the atmosphere is a more poetical and thought-provoking way. Her appreciation for her rural community in Churriana, her garden or her workers is undeniable and made her book pleasant reading.

However, her work is presented as a set of diary entries ordered chronologically, where her description of places is not as comprehensive as the rest of the studied authors. Additionally, her work focuses on human relations and the descriptions of her routine, so it greatly differs from the insistence on social problems by Gerald Brenan or the objective descriptions of placed made by Grice-Hutchinson.

Finally, Alastair Boyd's study on rural areas in *The Road from Ronda* manages to surpass the detailed descriptions of Grice-Hutchinson, but any of these works would have been helpful enough for the average tourist to discover Ronda. In conclusion, Boyd's contribution could be regarded as a sociological account on life in the Serranía de Ronda, its surrounding villages and their traditions. From the analysis of his work, it was also observed that Boyd included negative observations on certain social issues (e.g. religion or police violence) in a similar way to Brenan or Grice-Hutchinson.

All things considered, these English-speaking travel writers shared the same interest in the region of Málaga, but the ways in which they approached their works would have certainly appealed different types of English-speaking readers. For practical purposes, we can conclude that *Málaga Farm* could be considered a suitable precursor of a travel guide of the Málaga region, while *The Road from Ronda* could be regarded as an off-the-beaten-track guide to rural Málaga.

5. REFERENCES

Barke M. et al. (ed.) (1996). *Tourism in Spain: Critical Issues*. Wallingford, UK: CAB International.

Boyd, A. (1969). *The Road from Ronda.* Travels with a Horse through Southern Andalusia. London: Collins.

Brenan, G. (1957). *South from Granada.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brenan, G. (1987). *The Face of Spain.* The Acclaimed Record of Travels in Spain under Franco. Reading: Penguin Books.

Carr, J. (1811). *Descriptive Travels in Spain and the Balearic Isles*. London: J. Gillet, Charles Street Hatton-Garden.

Cook-Widdrington, S. E. (1844). *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843.* London: T. & W. Boone.

Corrales Aguilar, M. (2007). "El teatro romano de Málaga: evolución de un espacio". *Mainake*, *19*, 53-76. Retrieved from: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/2582343.pdf. Last accessed: 28th October 2020.

Culbert, J. (2018). "Theory and the Limits of Travel*", Studies in Travel Writing*, *22*(4), 343-352. DOI: 10.1080/13645145.2019.1624072

Demetriou, E. (2002). "Gamel Woolsey's *Death's Other Kingdom*: the Psychological View on the Spanish Civil War of an Anglo-American Expatriate in Málaga", *The Grove: Working Papers on English Studies*, *9*, 47-58. Retrieved from: https://revistaselectronicas.ujaen.es/index.php/grove/article/view/1243/1032 Last accessed: 28th October 2020.

Dennis, G. (1839). *A Summer in Andalucia.* London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street.

Di Febo, G. (1994). "Imagen de la España de la Postguerra en un Viaje de Gerald Brenan*"*. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie V, H. Contemporánea, *7* (599-611).

Grice-Hutchinson, M. (1956). *Málaga Farm*. London: Hollis & Carter.

Hulme P. & Youngs, T. (2002) *The Travel Companion to Travel Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglis, H. D. (1831). *Spain in 1830*. London: Whittaker, Treacher and Co.

Krauel Heredia, B. (1988). *Viajeros británicos en Málaga (1760-1855)*. Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación Provincial de Málaga.

Lean, G., Staiff, R. & Waterton, E. (ed) (2016). *Travel and Imagination.* London and New York: Routledge.

Matoses Jaén, S. M. (2015). *Viajeros británicos por la España democrática (1978-2012): los españoles en los libros de viaje*. Alfara del Patriarca (Valencia): Universidad CEU Cardenal Herrera, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Comunicación, Departamento de Humanidades.

Medina Casado, C. and Ruiz Mas, J. (eds.) (2004). *El bisturí inglés. Literatura de viajes e hispanismo en lengua inglesa.* Jaén*:* Universidad de Jaén y UNED.

Mitchell, D. (1988). *Here in Spain: Spain through the Eyes of Famous Travellers, from Borrow to Hemingway.* Fuengirola, Málaga: Lookout Publications.

Mitchell, P. C. (2019). *My House in Málaga.* London: The Clapton Press.

Mulligan, M. (2018). "The Spanish Civil War Described by Two Women Travelers". *Journeys* (New York, N. Y.), *19* (1), 67–87.

Noya, J. (2002). *La imagen de España en el exterior. Estado de la cuestión.* Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos.

Pranger, C. (2007). "Brenan: crepúsculo dorado en Churriana". In *Torremolinos: de pueblo a mito* (45-49). Málaga: Revista Litoral S.A.

Raban, J. (1988). *For Love and Money: Writing, Reading, Travelling 1968-1987*. London: Picador.

Romer, I. F. (1843). *The Rhone, the Darro, and the Guadalquivir; a Summer Ramble in 1842.* London: Richard Bentley.

Ruiz Mas, J. (1998). *La Guardia Civil en los libros de viajes en lengua inglesa.* (Tesis Doctoral, Universidad de Málaga, Málaga). Retrieved from: http://www.biblioteca.uma.es/bbldoc/tesisuma/16788539.pdf. Last Accessed: 28th October 2020.

Ruiz Mas, J. (2004). "A la búsqueda del Dorado: Expatriates en España (1940-2002) según sus relatos viajeros", in Medina Casado, C. and Ruiz Mas, J. (eds.). *El bisturí inglés. Literatura de viajes e hispanismo en lengua inglesa* (pp. 261-301). Jaén*:* Universidad de Jaén y UNED.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism.* New York: Random House.

Tenison, Lady L. (1853). *Castile and Andalucia.* London: Richard Bentley.

Thompson, C. (2011). *Travel Writing*. London and New York: Routledge.

Townsend, J. (1792). *A Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787: with particular attention to the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, population, taxes and revenue of that country and remarks in passing through a part of France.* Dublin: J. Stockdale.

Walsh, A. (2016). "Gerald Brenan: Hispanophile or Hispanophobe? A Critical Re-reading of *The Face of Spain*". *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, *93*(5), 807–821. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2014.985142. Last accessed: 28th October 2020.

Watson, S. (2014). *Making Spain: The Spanish Imaginary in Travel Writing since the Second World War.* In Lean, G., Staiff, R. & Waterton, E. (ed). *Travel and Imagination* (pp. 119-138). London and New York: Routledge.

Waugh, E. (1974). *Labels: a Mediterranean Journal.* London: Duckworth.

Woolsey, G. (2004). *Death's Other Kingdom.* A Spanish Village on the Eve of the Civil War. London: Eland.