

“A fin de que no se proponen”: Tourism and Women’s Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Barcelona Guidebooks

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In *Scripted Geographies*, Gayle Nunley argued that nineteenth-century Spanish travel writing has received only the scantest of critical attention (16), with the particular question of women and travel remaining at the outermost reaches of such inquiries, since, “in nineteenth-century Spain, perhaps even more than in some other European nations, international travel remained a predominantly male domain” (21). Historian Eric J. Leed has described the constitutive masculine nature of travel from the earliest epic literary productions to the present era of global tourism, while also acknowledging that the concept of sessility, or a fixed and planted nature, has been so fundamentally woven into our understanding of femininity as to render unimaginable the idea of women and travel (220, 286). Yet, as Sidonie Smith has suggested, in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries,

women’s move to motion gained momentum [...] when increasing numbers of Western women participated in the cultural logic of the individualizing journey. Through this participation they could gain a modicum of enabling independence and a form of education outside of official institutions closed to them, as well as exercise some measure of social and socializing influence and authority. (X-XI)

For Nunley, only two Spanish women in this period could be said to have carried out this type of agency through travel: Carolina Coronado, whose voyages through northern Spain, France, Germany, and England became the material for a series of travel letters, “Un paseo desde el Tajo al Rhin,” published in *La Ilustración* in 1851; and, more significantly, Emilia Pardo Bazán, who chronicled her European travels in the final years of the century in such tomes as *Mi romería* (1888), *Cuarenta días en la Exposición* (1901), and *Por la Europa católica* (1902). Yet, the increasing popularity of city guides and touristic guidebooks in nineteenth-century Spain speaks to the growth of a different kind of female independence in movement in this period—that offered by mass tourism, as opposed to the freeform journey which was often carried out and written about by upper-class women of letters. The Spanish city guidebooks produced in the period from 1840 to 1890 offer an excellent context for gauging the frontiers being opened to largely middle-class

women through city tourism, and for measuring the continued control exerted over them as they interacted with new urban landscapes.

Discussing female mobility through travel in the context of nineteenth-century Germany, Helga Schutte Watt posits that “travel itself was a liberating experience for normally housebound women” (339). In the Spain of the same era, Pardo Bazán’s travelogue, *Al pie de la torre Eiffel* (1889), boasted as much, highlighting the power of travel to provoke a woman’s departure from her socially conditioned self. In *Al pie de la torre Eiffel*, the writer remembers her visit to the 1888 Barcelona Exhibition as “un viaje de pereza y descuido, en que fuese enteramente dueña de mis acciones y de mis impresiones” and, ironically, as such an unstructured experience that she hoped it would never be marred by any obligation to narrate it (69). But Pardo Bazán’s carefree attitude as a woman traveler corresponds to her privileged position as an aristocrat and her unique status as an unusually accomplished literary figure, more than anything else. In fact, as Elizabeth Ordóñez has noted, “throughout her series of chronicles from Spain and abroad, Doña Emilia sprinkles comments designed to differentiate herself from the tourist masses” in an attempt to “make a point of diverging from the mediocrity of modernity’s dubious tourism; in short [...] to be a traveler rather than a tourist” (18). One such comment can be found in Pardo Bazán’s 1896 *Por la España pintoresca*, where she adamantly declared “yo no escribo guías; voy a donde me lleva mi capricho, a lo que excita mi fantasía” (122). María Isabel Jiménez Morales sums up the distinction that Pardo Bazán sought in her travel writing with the following: “la imagen que solía mostrarnos de las ciudades que visitaba no se encontraba en las guías al uso” (519). Thus, in her innumerable travel accounts—the most emblematic travelogues from a nineteenth-century female Spanish writer in the opinion of most contemporary scholars—what shines through is Pardo Bazán’s novelty as a traveling woman, distinct from the tourists who surround her, and the ways in which her freedom of exploration set her apart from the majority of women who moved through and engaged with new spaces and cultures as tourists.

This discursive distinction between traveler and tourist was imagined and policed throughout the nineteenth-century, by travel writers, poets, and politicians alike. According to James Buzard, travel only “acquired its special value by virtue of its differential relationship with ‘tourism’” (18). For Buzard, the traveler was thought to possess “an originality and self-sufficiency in judgment,” while “tourists came to be regarded as depending unquestioningly on the conventions that guided their tours,” the “unwitting harbingers of unwelcome modernization” (27-28). The shallowness of the response tourists had to the landscapes they encountered was regularly remarked upon. As Buzard argues, tourists were seen to pass “‘superficially’ through districts they little knew nor long remembered” (28), and they offered clichéd responses to the sites they visited. Women who engaged in the earliest form of urban mass tourism do indeed demonstrate some of these more superficial responses to the cities they visit. As we will see in guidebooks of the era, the discourse of early tourism suggested a readily recognizable city that met preformed expectations, and even replicated many of the public spaces, such as balls, charitable organizations, churches, and boutiques, that marked the itinerary of middle-class women in particular in their hometown environments. Public behaviors required of women in their native contexts—deportments such as the exercise of good

taste, frugality in shopping, and bodily decorum—continued to be conducts expected of women tourists as they explored novel environments far from home.

Unlike the untethered experience of travel described by Pardo Bazán in her travelogues, Carolina Coronado's dedicatory introduction to her earlier itinerant reports in *La Ilustración* seems a somewhat more representative example of the travel experiences of nineteenth-century women in general. From the outset, Coronado frames her travels as simply another structured and supervised experience among the repertoire of possible public sallies available to women. Writing to her brother, Coronado remarked that she was embarking on “un viaje al que llamo paseo, porque en una época de movimiento como la nuestra, en que se va a San Petersburgo, como antes se iba a Carabanchel para tomar el fresco, [...] sería pomposo el título de viaje, aún cuando me propusiera recorrer toda la Europa” (310). While of course Coronado was most conspicuously making a comment about the incredible mobility afforded in this era by modern forms of transportation and the accompanying shifts in the perception of time and space, her designation of her voyage as a “paseo” also reminds the reader that like the promenade, women's travel was a public and yet “domesticated” experience; a regimented and monitored realm where women were to be accompanied at all times, and a space that created the expectation of feminine display and social performance indicative of class status. Indeed, in her biography of Coronado, Isabel María Pérez González notes that the young poet's trip was planned with the knowledge that her father “no podía negarle a su hija un viaje que amén de instruirla, habría de distraerle el ánimo deprimido” (136). Inherent in this framing of Coronado's departure from the Peninsula is the idea that, while travel for women might promise diversion and delight, it was meant to occur under the strict guidance of a male figure of authority: a father or a husband, who often saw the cultural and social education of the woman as the primary goal of any voyage. In fact, as Jennifer Jenkins Wood tells us, Coronado's father, Don Nicolás, was the first to propose that Carolina travel south to fight off her bouts of sadness (72), and he would go on to accompany her on her first trip to Andalusia and all subsequent European travels (77).

As interesting as the accounts of Coronado and Pardo Bazán may be, the travel experiences of an upper-class pair of female cultural icons can only carry us so far in understanding the realities of women's travel practices in nineteenth-century Spain. According to Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, feminist studies of leisure have identified social control and heterosexist regulation of public space as a major shaper of female leisure, and yet, research on travel and tourism continues to fall into the trap of suggesting that an individual's vacation experience is unfettered by social norms (116). This has most certainly been the case of the study of women's travel in the Iberian context. Bearing this critique in mind, what follows will constitute not an examination of the privileged female travel writer who engaged in luxurious international travel, but rather a look at the programmed and observed female tourist, consumer of guidebooks, in nineteenth-century Spain. Guidebooks, though rote in their prose and structure and at times stereotypical, were written to appeal to a mass audience, specifically one of middling means, and thus they offer us a broader vision of the social norms surrounding women's tourism than any individual travel account may. As previously noted, nineteenth-century tourists in general were often seen negatively, “when the privileged travelers/tourists of a previous generation were upset by what they perceived to be an

intrusion of middle-class tourists” (Yu et al. 2). Instead of placing any judgment on the worth of the nineteenth-century female tourist as compared to the female traveler, as numerous writers of that era did, this study will examine the tourist as she is presented to us in guidebooks of the era, as both a figure of newfound freedoms and mobility, but also as a person whose body is contained and whose ideology is circumscribed by the discourse of these guides. Whereas Buzard notes that writers of the era saw in tourists “dupe[s] of fashion,” who followed blindly where adventurous and free-spirited travelers had gone before (1), this study aims to show how the trend-following nature of the growing number of middle-class tourists makes them much more demonstrative of the everyday female travel experience in the nineteenth century.

A critical reading of these guidebooks might serve as a much-needed counterpoint to the prevailing understanding of nineteenth-century’s travel that has been produced by the narrow optic of the few “literary” travel narratives produced by female authors in this era. Although Spanish guidebooks of this period only occasionally address women as potential users of the guides directly, the female tourist’s engagement is regularly implied indirectly in the types of itineraries outlined by the guides, their discussion of female literacy, the series of regulations they contain on female behavior, and in the advertisements that line these tomes’ end pages. And despite the fact that female touristic interests are literally and figuratively at the margins of these nineteenth-century Spanish guidebooks, an examination of the relationship between the master narrative of these texts and this peripheral discourse offers a new perspective on the evolution of female mobility in modern Spain.

The guidebook genre originated in Germany with the Baedeker guidebooks, first published in 1832, but was soon followed in England with the publication of the Murray Handbook for Travellers series, and quickly became all the vogue in European publishing at large.¹ In Spain, the guidebook industry began somewhat later, in the 1840s. It reached its apex of production, at least for the nineteenth century, during the late 1880s, largely due to Barcelona’s hosting of the Universal Exposition in 1888. The birth and growth of the Spanish travel guide industry also parallels that of Spain’s railroad system, from the relatively late construction of the first train line from Barcelona to Mataró in 1848 to the completion of a main-line network by the 1880s. I’ll focus on four representative Barcelona guidebooks from this period: the collectively written *El manual del viajero en Barcelona*, Manuel Angelón i Broquetas’s *Guía Satírica de Barcelona*, D. Cayetano Cornet y Mas’s *Guía completa del viajero en Barcelona*, and Josep Roca i Roca’s *Barcelona en la mano*. Since guidebooks were considered ephemera and were largely ignored by libraries and private collectors in the nineteenth century, it remains challenging to establish a canon of guidebooks for any given city. Nonetheless, I consider these four nineteenth-century Barcelona guidebooks to be a representative sampling based on the following criteria: 1) They are today held by major library collections within Spain; 2) Most of them form part of significant collections outside of Spain, namely the Hispanic Society of America, a collection created by noted American Hispanophile Archer Huntington at the last turn of the century; 3) In the case of the earlier guidebooks, they are regularly cited in later guidebooks from the 1880s and beyond.

Barcelona, more than any other city in Spain, was ripe for tourism during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Trains came to *la ciudad condal* sooner than any other point in the peninsula, and the city's status as a port and its proximity to the rest of Europe made it a natural destination for national and international tourists. The tearing down of Barcelona's medieval walls at mid-century; the construction of the Eixample, and the creation of what Joan Ramón Resina has referred to as a "boundless city" where the "conditions of visibility [...] changed with the city's expansion" all contributed to its touristic appeal (21). By 1854, French traveler Mademoiselle Vervel would declare in her *Souvenirs de voyages aux Pyrénées, en Italie et en Espagne*, that Barcelona is a city that takes in many foreigners and where, because it is by the sea, residents are accustomed to seeing people from all parts (157). Most importantly, the growth and optimism that accompanied the city's preparations for the Universal Exposition all contributed to building Barcelona's reputation as an unparalleled tourist destination in the Spain of that time. According to Gary McDonogh, more than two million people from Spain, Europe, and other international points would visit the 1888 Universal Exposition, the first of its kind anywhere in Spain (94). While Antònia Casellas recognizes that Mayor Francesc Rius i Taulet, principal organizer of the Exposition, sought to use this event as a "tool for civic boosterism and international promotion for the city" (820), she notes that most Exposition visitors were in fact Spanish (821), suggesting that the fair mostly raised the profile of the city nationally, inviting the touristic gaze of hundreds of thousands of *peninsulares*.

Published almost 50 years before Barcelona's first Exposition moment and its grand entrance onto the international touristic circuit, *El manual del viajero en Barcelona*, from 1840, speaks to a clearly earlier touristic interest in the city. The guide's title page states that it was "redactado y recopilado en vista de los mejores documentos y datos estadísticos por una reunión de amigos colaboradores" (np). That many Spanish guidebooks from the 1840s and 1850s regularly highlighted multifarious claims to expertise shows how in this era the genre of travel writing was still carving a space for itself in the canon of bourgeois letters. Additionally, in the case of *El manual del viajero*, the importance placed on the collective spirit of the authorial "amigos colaboradores" reveals an interest in proving a broad base of expertise in order for the guide to speak to a wide spectrum of travelers: a guide that was both a product of numerous voices and that sought to connect with a multiplicity of users.

The tentative nature of the early-guidebook genre is however most noticeable in *El manual's* incohesive attempts to engage with female readers. On the one hand, the guide clearly wants to seduce a largely masculine audience, as it describes Barcelona in terms of its womanly charms and failings. The city is first introduced with her

ninfas agraciadas, lindísimas, que seducen con sus atractivos, con sus encantos, y también sus viejas arrugadas, flores que pasaron ya y que el tiempo va deshojando; sus mujeres honradas, virtuosas, dignas de respeto debido a su sexo, y sus cortesanas encenagadas en el vicio: así es Barcelona. (3-4)

However, in describing what tourists might expect of Barcelona life on a Sunday, the authors acknowledge the plurality of genders in the city's public life, using terms such as "gente" and "conurrencia" to describe those to be found in Barcelona's markets, churches, theaters, promenades, and port on this purported day of rest. This stands in contrast to the use of the singular "el viajero" for the interlocutor the authors most often invoke when outlining the city's sights of interest. More notably, this guide also repeatedly and specifically highlights women's educational training and affirms their social capital within Barcelona. It does so by commenting on the numerous private "colegios para jóvenes y señoritas" in the Catalan capital, but also by comparing statistics on schools and literacy along gendered lines, thus appealing to a Spanish petit bourgeoisie that in the 1840s was only beginning to push for the reform of the state's educational system that would culminate in the Moyano Law of 1857. The chapter titled "Instrucción pública" notes that there are 7 public schools for girls in Barcelona, compared to the 59 for boys. A quoted 1835 study that states that there are 11,463 women and girls in the city who can read and write compared to 18,649 boys who can do the same seems a point of pride and takes a highlighted position early on in this guide (64).

The multifaceted nature of composition of the guidebook likewise seeps into the authors' conceptualization of the city itself. For the collaborative friends behind this project, Barcelona reveals itself always to be different, depending on the way the tourist enters the city: "Entra el viajero, y según por qué puerta lo practica, la perspectiva que se le presenta es varia, y las ideas que se le ofrecen son distintas" (1). And although *El manual* regularly indicates what a potentially masculine but perhaps neutral "forastero" might encounter in the city, the breadth and variability indicated in the initial pages of this guidebook point to a multiplicity of audiences for this work. That this audience includes women will soon be confirmed both by occasional forays into women's social spaces within the text, particularly the theater and the promenade, as well as by the multiple references to matters related to the education of children, a question that by the mid-nineteenth century was increasingly women's work.

Furthermore, *El manual* suggests from the outset that the city encountered by the tourist is a theatrical space that requires performative displays and ritualistic undertakings. For the guide's writers, even the geographical proportions of the city evoke "el semicírculo de un anfiteatro" (1). But the sense that tourism demands a rigid set of behaviors is most apparent in the lengthy sections of the work that carry the title of "precauciones," or preventative measures. Here, the guidebook engages in the creation of boundaries and the policing of conduct within Barcelona along clearly gendered lines. In a section on "Precauciones para evitar daños y riñas," tourists are warned that tavern owners will be fined for every girl or woman found in their establishment, with an exception made only for women to briefly enter such establishments to make purchases and immediately exit (90). More notably, this section of the guidebook dedicates multiple warnings to the question of women and bathing, with the guidebook establishing that women "solo podrán bañarse en el trecho que se ha acostumbrado debajo la muralla de Sta. Madrona, guardando el decoro y decencia que siempre ha sido prevenido, bajo las penas á [sic] que se hiciesen acreedoras las que cometiesen algun [sic] escándalo" (93). *El manual* is here and elsewhere (in its discussion of hospital care, for example) concerned with demarcating masculine and feminine spaces within the urban environment, and it dictates clear

punishments for the transgression of those frontiers. By emphasizing that these boundaries and punishments exist as they always have, this guidebook reminds readers that tourism carries with it expected comportments as do all other facets of public life, and that tourists, particularly female ones, are being watched for transgressions. The tone of such advisements could not be further from the ideal of a mobile and liberated feminine experience of travel outlined by travel writers such as Emilia Pardo Bazán.

The *Guía Satírica de Barcelona* was published in 1854, the very year in which Barcelona tore down the walls that had surrounded the city since the fourteenth century and began an era in which the city doubled in size and population. The author of this guidebook, Manuel Angelón i Broquetas, is known as one of the fathers of modern Catalan theater as well as a Romantic novelist and satirical writer for *El Àncora* newspaper. His guide to Barcelona, which carries the subtitle of “Bromazo-Topográfico-Urbano-Típico-Burlesco,” is, in terms of genre, obviously at a great distance from the early standards of composition set forth in *El manual del viajero en Barcelona*, in that it could be seen as a series of *costumbrista* sketches amalgamated with what the editor of the 1946 edition of the guide has described as a “serie de consejos” (9) related to the city’s “calles, sus monumentos, su vida pública, su vida privada, sus diversiones, su urbanismo, su cultura” (11). Unlike *El manual*, which is at times matter-of-fact and at others chastising, the *Guía Satírica*, as its title suggests, adopts a comical point of view, and draws out the most exaggerated examples of codes of conduct in the Catalan capital. As a guide from the first twenty years of Spanish guidebook history, Angelón’s tome represents the still-hybrid and tentative period of this genre’s development. Although the *Guía Satírica*’s verbal discourse is only sporadically directed pointedly at a female readership—for example, when it scolds young Barcelonan women for their exuberance in flirting and conversing with gentlemen for hours on end (40), or warns of the comic exchanges to be encountered at the Boquería Market’s fountain, a “verdadero parlamento de las fregonas” (35)—the guide’s visual discourse, in the form of the numerous engravings by Moliné i Ferrán that accompany the text, frequently depicts middle-class feminine interests, offering representations of women strolling the city, participating in carnival, attending balls, shopping, and modeling current fashions. These engravings consistently illustrate women as principle participants in the public sphere of Barcelona life, thereby subtly disarming the commonplace literary and journalistic framing of Spanish women as “angels of the hearth” in the *folletines* and women’s press of the 1840s and 1850s. The visuals in the *Guía Satírica* show Spanish ladies on the move and in command of urban life, be it dashing through the city streets, singing dynamically on the stage of the Liceo, or overseeing their naïve young daughters at a festive ball.

In addition to any connection that the *Guía Satírica*’s illustrations might suggest with a female tourist, Angelón’s guidebook delves precisely into questions of style in Barcelona that would have been of interest to women tourists and residents alike. The guidebook most obviously does this in an entry titled “Modas Barcelonesas Para Señoras,” in which the author not only prescribes the appropriate feminine attire for daytime and evening occasions in Barcelona—prescriptions which would only apply to the growing number of middle-class women with the capital necessary to acquire multiple dresses—but also lists the French fashion magazines that have currently captured the attention of Barcelonan women, all the while lamenting the epidemic obsession with fashion that appears to have

taken root among the city's female population. Sinéad Furlong, discussing the fashion mandates of 1860s Parisian tourist guidebooks, notes that "strict etiquette was necessary in terms of dress if one was not to be mistaken for a prostitute. In all this, the attitude was that men had roving eyes and that it was the woman's job to take care to deflect this gaze" with the symbolic language of dress (245). And while the tone of Angelón's chapter, in which he argues that "las modas femeninas van tomando un sabor masculino muy pronunciado" and that "todavía no son de uso entre las señoras botas de montar, pero no hemos de pasar mucho tiempo sin conseguirlo" (69), is ironic and biting, these critiques nevertheless reveal women's increasing movement into more masculine terrains, and the way in which the blurring of masculine and feminine demeanors provoked a re-inscription of traditional gender divisions in this era.



Figure 1: Women unsettling the gender divide through street fashion. (*Guía Satírica*).

Beyond this more direct advice that seems aimed at instructing women on how to blend in with the local population and chastise those who are pushing the boundaries of feminine attire, Angelón's guidebook more subtly suggests an "appropriate" circuit of public spaces for women in Barcelona—a touristic route of artistic and consuming venues in the city, such as theaters, the opera, boutiques and bazaars, markets, promenades, and balls. While each of these aforementioned public spaces has their own detailed section in the *Guía Satírica*, in which the best markets or shops are listed, the types of plays performed or balls scheduled are outlined, or the amenities of the various strolling avenues are described in detail, even sections devoted to domestic spaces serve to reinforce the designation of certain public domains in Barcelona as feminine realms. For

example, in the guidebook's section on "Quintas," Angelón ridicules Barcelonan families that keep summer homes outside of the city, when the women of such families "a la mañana tempranito vienen a Barcelona para comprar algo, aunque sea no más que un cuarto de alfileres" and the male head of such a household has to work in the city, only to "llega[r] por fin a su adorable casa de recreo, donde encuentra a las damas que le esperan para hacerle saber que van a Barcelona con motivo de asistir a la función del teatro" (51). Within this more indirect discussion of the urban landscape, the author implies that the home, the notions shop, and the theater are the safe spaces that ground the passage of women, native inhabitants and visitors alike, through the city environment.

The role of guidebooks in reflecting but also openly prescribing the gendering of the public sphere of the metropolis is most apparent in the *Guía Satírica*'s treatment of Barcelona's commercial spaces. For Angelón, capitalism is the heart and soul of Barcelona, and middle-class women have a very specific and valuable role to play in this system as consumers. In a section titled "Tiendas y bazares," the author declares, "aunque en nuestra ciudad, no existen letras ni ciencias ni todas las demás garambainas con que se honran otros pueblos, sin embargo, hay dinero largo" and, in his usual darkly comical fashion, goes on to discuss how in Barcelona, "hay gran número de capitalistas. Estos tienen señora e hijos, y tanto éstos como aquella rumían de continuo de qué modo gastarán la plata. He aquí el origen de las tiendas" (65-66). But not just any type of shopping venue can be frequented by women; of the three types of shops cited by the author—"los bazares, [...] las tiendas de varios géneros y [...] las llamadas quincallerías" (66), he assigns the first "al servicio del sexo masculino, las segundas al del sexo femenino y al género común de dos las terceras" (66). Even in those realms such as the dry goods store that are designated for women, the text highlights the control exerted on the women who approach or enter them. While Angelón describes the bazaars or masculine shops as "almacenes misteriosos" (66), according to him, "las tiendas femeninas [...] son [...] tiesas y remilgadas como las mujeres que las sostienen, [y] jamás bajan el precio de sus géneros" (67). They are places that incite horror in husbands, "que al pasar por frente de ellas, ponen mano al bolsillo ni más ni menos que si atravesaran por Sierra Morena" (67). The strict limits, thus far economic, that are placed on shopping women by both rigid shop owners and husbands and their wallets is mirrored in some way in almost every other public context of Barcelona that the *Guía Satírica* designates as appropriate for women. Women are encouraged to attend balls, but their seating arrangements are dictated, and their mothers must sit nearby with the charge that "cada una retiene a sus hijas por medio de una cadenita, a fin de que no se propasen" (73). The guidebook clearly denotes a space for women on the promenades of the city center, and the attention placed on their presence in this forum highlights the increasing circulation of women in the public sphere in Barcelona at mid-century. However, here too the guide makes clear that while on the new Passeig de Sant Joan working class "nodrizas con sus niños chupa que chupa, y criadas con asistente charla que charla" may stroll with a certain freedom, that the old established promenade of Las Ramblas is a "verdadero salón de baile de mascarar" (33). In this manner, the author indicates that this is a middle- and upper-class space where performances are required, and women especially have a role to play in displaying themselves and garnering the attention of the gentlemen that gaze upon them there, attempting to decipher their identities from the façade they have constructed. For Angelón, the women on the Ramblas are "rosas, desde el capullo hasta la rosa plena,"

and the men, “con alas y aguijón de mariposa, [siempre están] zumbando en torno a las niñas” (33). Ultimately, in Angelón’s guidebook, any discussion of women tourists in the public sphere—in shops, at balls, or on the promenades of Barcelona—although reveling in the increasing number of rituals and enterprises outside of the home in which women must perform a role, forcefully reminds readers of the importance of parental or male surveillance and even outright physical restriction in controlling the feminine touristic experience.



Figure 2: Chains for young women at the ball, “less they overstep the bounds of propriety.”
(*Guía Satírica*)

By 1866, the year in which D. Cayetano Cornet y Mas’s *Guía completa del viajero en Barcelona* was published, the Plan Cerdà, a blueprint for expanding Barcelona and creating a more hygienic, mobile, and beautiful cityscape, had begun to be slowly implemented. Cornet y Mas himself exemplified this interest in urban transformation, as he labored as both an industrial engineer and a guidebook author, writing at least two other guides focused on the Catalan region: one dedicated to the religious-touristic site of Montserrat, and another to the spa town of Caldas de Montbuy, whose hot springs, though known since Roman times, became a touristic draw in the second half of the nineteenth century, along with the waterfall and Benedictine monastery in San Miguel del Fay.

However, 1866 was also a year of economic crisis in the Catalan capital, bankrupting all of the Catalan railway companies and causing the first modern crash of the Barcelona stock market. The *Guía completa* offers no commentary on these stark events, instead honoring the great advances made in motion technology since the era of travel guides such as *El manual* and *Guía Satírica*. The guide’s title page highlights the inclusion of “las tarifas de los ferro-carriles de toda España y del extranjero [sic]” (3). The relatively recent accessibility of train transportation in Catalonia is also apparent in the fact that, although this guide is dedicated to the “viajero en Barcelona,” unlike the guides that predate it, the

Guía completa will encompass “las principales poblaciones y maravillas de Cataluña, establecimientos de baños y aguas minerales, etc.” (3). However, what most sets this guidebook apart from those we have previously discussed is the tone of this work, which eschews colorful or folkloric anecdotes in its descriptions of Barcelona in favor of offering reliable and practical information for navigating the city and its surrounding areas. Cornet y Mas declares that he is “convencido de que las personas que consulten esta Guía lo harán, no con el objeto de estudiar sublimes rasgos de literatura, sino con la avidez de adquirir exactas noticias acerca de los objetos que tengan á [sic] la vista” (5). This distinction between guides from the first half of the nineteenth century and those produced in the century’s second half, as we will see in both the *Guía completa* and Josep Roca i Roca’s 1884 *Barcelona en la mano*, had important ramifications for the ways in which these guidebooks sought to connect with female readers and, thus, for the gendered touristic consumption of space that can be discerned in these texts.

First, it should be noted that Cornet y Mas, instead of only addressing the masculine “viajero” or “forastero,” also regularly addresses “las personas” who might consult his guidebook. Just as this guide aims for a more neutral tone in its descriptive approach to describing the Catalan capital, the author imagines a more wide-ranging audience for his guidebook. This broader conception of his readership will include “muy particularmente á [sic] los vecinos mismos de Barcelona” (6), since he insists that the city’s citizens are surely ignorant of the majority of information highlighted in this guide. While no attention is given to any gendered experience of the city’s cathedrals and churches, the description of which takes up almost a third of Cornet’s guide, matters of gender are foregrounded as related to questions of hygiene and health, just as in *El manual*. In a section titled “Hospitales y establecimientos de beneficencia,” much attention is paid to the historical mixing of genders that occurred in the Hospital Provincial de Santa Cruz, and the relatively recent demarcation of distinct wings of the hospital for the exclusive use of men or women. Cornet also heralds the creation in 1853 of the Casa Provincial de Maternidad y Expósitos, remarking on the cleanliness and efficiency of this organization and, while this information would have been essential for Barcelonan readers of the guidebook, he also reminds readers that they may visit this center by asking for an appointment with its administrator. In this way, he marks charitable organizations as yet one more potential stop on a visitor’s touristic circuit through the city. However, though this home, dedicated to the care of unwed mothers and abandoned or orphaned children, would have been of great interest to women readers of the middle and upper classes engaged in charitable acts and concerned with the public good, taken together with the reference to the strict division of space along gender lines in the most important hospital in Barcelona at the time, it is telling that any mentions of a feminine experience of the spaces in the city are limited to questions of maternity and other bodily concerns. Here we observe the privileging of hygiene associated with the growing middle class, which Michel Foucault viewed as one of the new instances of social control of urban spaces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (282-83).

With the consolidation of the middle class in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century, a broader segment of the population began to possess leisure time in which to travel. Touristic forays became another consumable good, and the consumption of new spaces had the ability to confer cultural and social capital on the bourgeois tourist just as

much as theatergoing, promenading, grandiose oratory, or the proper decoration of a home might. This significant shift in the demography of travel is palpable in the way in which guidebooks such as the *Guía completa* link tourism and consumerism in their layouts. New to the guides of this era are the dozens of pages of advertisements that bookend the travel itineraries, or that mark the end of the guide's descriptions of points of interest. Often taking up a fifth of the total volume of any given guidebook, these advertisements are discursively framed as an extension of the lengthy recommendations of the monuments and cultural landmarks that occupy the majority of these tomes. The dozens of shops and cafés advertised in the *Guía completa* thus become other stops on the tourist trail that must be enjoyed in order to have a "complete" experience of the city. Women, as these advertisements demonstrate, were the key interlocutors for these retail and gastronomic "attractions."

Rachel Bowlby has argued that modern consumption was a matter of "visual fascination and remarkable sights of things not found at home" (1). Touristic discourse, of course, also cultivated this language of visual spectacle, exotic novelty, and the collecting of sites and sights. According to Lori Merish, in the nineteenth century, selecting and arranging the material elements of the home had increasingly become women's work (90). For Erika Diane Rappaport, in order to grow the economy, the middle classes "needed the domestic angel to venture into the city's commercial culture" (6). Thus, on the one hand, the more than 150 pages of advertisements at the end of the *Guía completa*, the majority of them dedicated to women's clothing or bodily care, and to adornments for the home, point to a significant female readership for this guide. However, both the peripheral placement of the only statements in this guidebook openly directed to feminine interests, and the nature of many of these ads remind us of the confining interests still expected of women in the era of a burgeoning mass tourism. Although nothing in the guidebook's sections on "Objetos Monumentales" or "Paseos y Jardines Públicos" is tailored for the experience of women, various advertisements in this peripheral commercial section make clear that they carry a "surtido para señoras" (n.p.) and one ad from the Cestería de Narciso Casas y Grau highlights that they have for sale "redicules [sic] de viaje para señora" (n.p.). Of perhaps the most importance is an advertisement for the Set Portes, then a café that had been in existence since 1836, and since 1929 a restaurant that is still open in the Catalan capital to this day. While in the guidebook's "Cafés" section the listing for the "Café Cuyas de las Siete Puertas" references a female audience by noting that "llama la atención de las personas de gusto el retrete de señoras adornado con espejos y mármoles," again connecting the public touristic experience of women with a preoccupation with bodily care and traditionally domestic intimacies, the café's ad in Spanish, French, and English suggests a different connection with the female tourist. Over almost 10 pages at the back of the guide, this ad, perhaps due to its attempt to cultivate a multicultural clientele, imagines the café as a space connected to feminine artistic pursuits in the public arena, such as the theater, and other more domestic areas of feminine interest, including the culinary world and the decorative arts. Yet, because it must appeal to foreign as well as national tourists, the Siete Puertas notice offers a vision of women's leisure that breaks with many of the restrictions and tropes often surrounding such touristic discourse in Barcelona guidebooks of the nineteenth century.

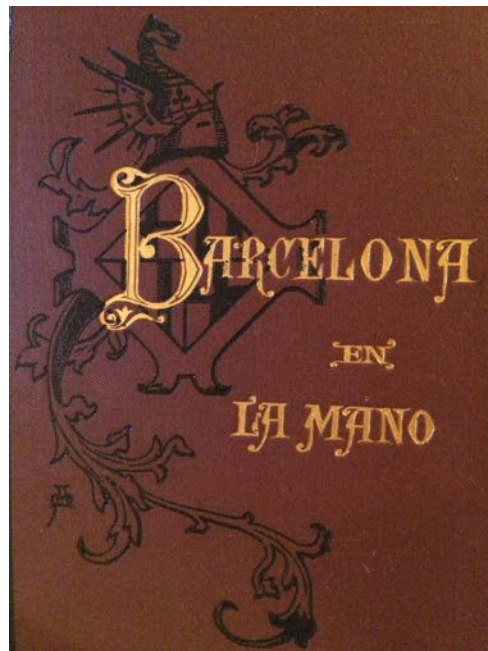
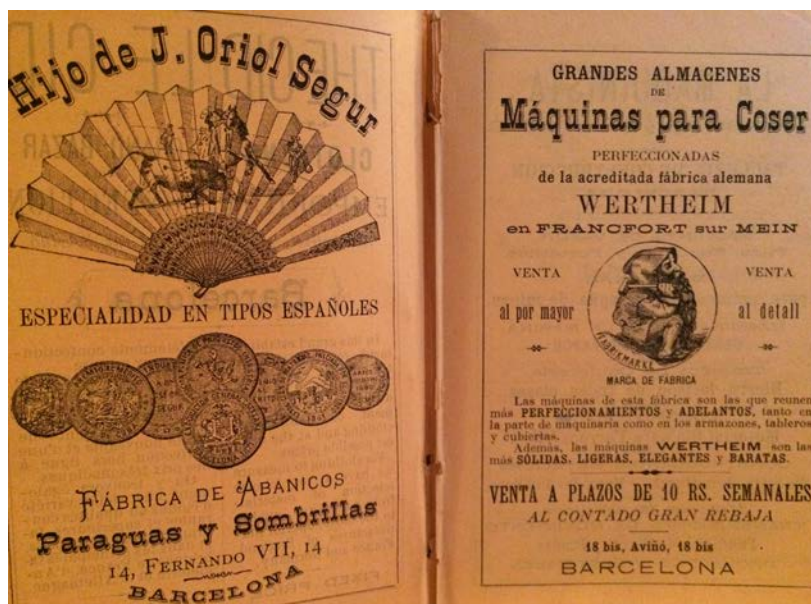


Figure 3: Josep Roca i Roca's "Murray Handbook" a la española. (*Barcelona en la mano*)

By 1884, only four years prior to Barcelona's first Universal Exposition and more than a decade after the creation of the city's first park, the Parc de la Ciutadella, where the Exposition would eventually be staged, guidebook writing had become much more commonplace, and the style and tone of *Barcelona en la mano* is quite similar to that of more contemporary examples of the guidebook genre. *Barcelona en la mano*'s author, Roca i Roca, primarily a journalist heavily involved in the Catalanista movement and a political figure, seriously cultivated the genre of the urban "libro-guía," ultimately writing about five different guides, all of them on Barcelona. According to Roca i Roca, he hoped *Barcelona en la mano* would be a "libro de utilidad, no sólo para los forasteros [...], sino también para muchas personas que residiendo en esta ciudad no la conocen bien" (v). Unlike the *Guía Satírica*, but very much like the *Guía completa*, *Barcelona en la mano* clearly shows the influence of the Murray handbooks in its succinct and dry discourse. Additionally, even the aesthetics of Roca i Roca's book cover, with its deep red color and gold lettering, recall the look of the British guides. According to Antoni Maczak, the new style of the Murray guidebooks "inherited traditional descriptions of countries, but adapted them to new demands; instead of colourful political or philosophical comments and stereotypes they brought rather matter-of-fact information" (347). Gone is the satire of Angelón's guidebook, or the chastisement of *El manual*. Moreover, *Barcelona en la mano* is more obviously directed at the woman reader, as demonstrated by the almost 100 pages of advertisements for parasols and fans, lace, sewing machines, shawls, tulle fabric, corsets, jewelry, and perfumes, skin creams, furniture and artistic objects for the home, as well as various shops selling "novedades para Señora" that are found at the front and back of the guidebook. Women are depicted in the advertisements themselves, more expectedly in ads selling supplies for lactating mothers and wet nurses, but also in an advert for a store selling iron beds and mattresses, thus speaking to the way in which

home management and decoration had become a labor that defined middle class Spanish women in this era.



Figures 4 and 5: Appealing to the female tourist through advertising.
(*Barcelona en la mano*)



More importantly, Roca i Roca begins his statistical analysis of the city by not only enumerating male and female population figures, quickly registering that there are more than 8,000 more women than men currently residing in Barcelona (25), but also by highlighting that at that time more than 40% of the female population knows how to read. This is a remarkable data point, given that Lou Charnon Deutsch has established that in the second half of the nineteenth century, female literacy in Spain generally fluctuated between 9 and 20 percent (7) and Linda Clark argues that only 25% of Spanish women were literate by the 1890s (41). While in the 1840 *El manual* such statistics were used to highlight a space for women in the new public education system that had been

founded in the Catalan capital, in *Barcelona en la mano* this exemplary and unusual figure's inclusion stands out as an indirect suggestion of a strong female readership for this guidebook. Though women's literacy rates in Barcelona, Spain's most industrialized city and one of the more socially progressive urban centers, were likely higher than in the rest of Spain, it is more likely that Roca i Roca inflated these statistics to appeal to and flatter his women readers.

But as much as Roca i Roca's guide works at the outset to draw women into the text, the touristic options ultimately offered to them could be likened to a series of gilded cages. Whereas an early section in the guidebook on the characteristics of the city's inhabitants emphasizes the particularly masculine qualities of the population, focusing on questions of pridefulness, temperance, and industriousness that define Barcelonans, the discussion of "Costumbres" that follows shows the city to be a space of leisure, festivity and conspicuous consumption for women in particular. Indeed, they are the implied interlocutors for descriptions of how to celebrate Epiphany with small children, with mandatory purchases in toy and sweets shops, the importance of masked balls during carnival season, and the preparation of the *Castañada* meal and celebration on All Saint's Day. Tourism, of course, had gone from being, in the late-eighteenth century, a finishing school for young men, to a century later becoming, according to Dennis Kennedy, a consumerist quest for, not merchandise, but experiences, sensations, and renewal (175). Thus, it is interesting that in *Barcelona en la mano*, Roca i Roca's initial series of "informes prácticos" on population and readership gives way to a section focusing on the urban changes since 1854 that, "harán de Barcelona la primera ciudad de la Península" (24). It is to the locations of this urban progress—the refurbishment of the old city center with new broad avenues and gaslight, and "las pasmosas edificaciones del Ensanche" (24)—where Roca i Roca most wants to convey the bourgeois tourists and residents who purchased his guide. The Plaza Real, a nineteenth-century urbanistic intervention in the Old Gothic Quarter, is, for Roca i Roca, the most important area of the formerly walled city, not because of its monuments, but rather "por su movimiento comercial, por sus suntuosos establecimientos" (41).

What looks like a promising start, with its suggestion of a remodeled city filled with new structures and vistas ripe for experiencing, quickly turns to a discourse that promotes tourism as something literally indistinguishable from a traditional materialistic consumerism that is cultivated in taste and yet restrained, and that did little to suspend the domestic realities known by Spanish bourgeois women of the era. In the longest and most prominent section of the guidebook, simply titled "La ciudad," Barcelona is described as a laundry list of promenades, of which nothing is more important than the fact that they contain "buenas tiendas" and a "profusa iluminación que resplandece en todos los escaparates" (39). Shopping is so much at the center of the touristic gaze imagined in this book as to mark a certain street, la Calle de Fernando, as the most renowned of Barcelona solely because of "sus soberbias tiendas, muchas de las cuales tienen fachada de preciosos mármoles y compiten en lujo, elegancia y gusto artístico" (38-9). More telling is the fact that the section of *Barcelona en la mano* dedicated to outlining the city's shops is placed within a chapter titled "Actividad productiva," and not in chapters such as "Recreo" or "Servicios," the shortest two in the entire guide. Shopping is not a flight of fancy, but an expected behavior through which mostly female tourists might

contribute to the local economy; it is a sphere for the exhibition of taste, as is exemplified in the description of one *tienda de objetos de arte* as a place where “el buen gusto más exigente no puede pedir más” (290). In this entry on “Tiendas,” Roca i Roca even divulges his fear that the topic of shopping will overstep his regular terse treatment of Barcelonean city life, since “las tiendas [...] son tantas en número y despliegan sus dueños un esmero tal en su disposición, que ante el temor de dar desmedida extensión al presente artículo [...] nos imponemos la parquedad por norma” (290). In this way, the author ultimately mirrors the great anxiety that female consumerism generated in this era and the male desire to constrain, and yet exploit, this energy. As Rappaport has argued,

during a period in which a family’s respectability and social position depended upon the idea that the middle-class wife and daughter remain apart from the market, politics, and public space, the female shopper was an especially disruptive figure. Perhaps nothing was more revolting than the spectacle of a middle-class woman immersed in the filthy, fraudulent, and dangerous world of the urban marketplace. (6)

Roca i Roca’s concern that his textual treatment of shopping might slip beyond the otherwise rigid discursive control he exerts elsewhere in the guide is remarkably similar to the social worries in this era that women in their new economic role as consumers might escape and thus threaten male authority. For though women’s spending was a newfound driving force of the economy, the fear of spendthrift ladies, whose exaggerated consumption might jeopardize family budgets, and by extension the national economy, was ever present.

Ultimately, beyond the melding of tourism with consumerism proposed throughout the guide, Roca i Roca’s section on “La ciudad” presents a clear tension between a Barcelona that is a space of mixing, and one divided along lines of gender and class. These pages offer more typically touristic routes, at least by a more contemporary understanding of tourism as an engagement with the monuments and vistas of a locale. Although they highlight the increasing anonymity and mobility to be found in the Barcelona of the 1880s, the routes they outline continually imbed city spaces with expected performances of gender and class. Thus, while the Llano de la Boquería on the Ramblas is an avenue “por la cual discurre a todas horas numeroso gentío” and “carruajes de todas clases” (35), the Plaza de la Constitución is best known as the site of “conmociones populares” (39). Likewise, Roca i Roca’s guidebook describes the elegant shops representing the best taste in the city and lively restaurants on the ground floor of the Plaza Real, locales that might occupy one gender, while noting that around the plaza “en algunos pisos primeros hay instalados casinos políticos y de recreo” (41), set apart here both literally and figuratively for men only.

The examination of four of the most widely read tourist guidebooks on nineteenth-century Barcelona suggests that critics would do well to use caution in considering women’s tourism as a completely liberated sphere, beyond the codes of conduct generally prescribed for women in this era. *El manual del viajero*, the *Guía Satírica de Barcelona*, the *Guía completa del viajero en Barcelona*, and *Barcelona en la mano* reveal that, for the vast majority of Spanish women, tourism was always prescriptive, and urban visits often quite limiting, as

well as regularly filled with admonishment. While tourism certainly held the promise of greater mobility for women of this era, the stipulations of nineteenth-century guidebooks made it clear that the novel touristic encounters of Barcelona's promenades, boutiques, and theaters would mirror their quotidian experience of such hometown spaces, in that they were all arenas in which women had to perform good taste, mind their manners, and decorously display their bodies in order to be seen as conforming to the standards of their class and expectations of their gender, or risk marginalization.

Ultimately, for scholars of modern Spanish culture, this critical journey through the guidebooks of nineteenth-century Barcelona reminds us that our reliance on a few accepted canonical texts to conceptualize the genre of travel writing and of women's touristic experience in particular, has limited our view of the field and obstructed a clearer understanding of it. Guidebooks, as ephemera made for popular consumption and generally lacking the literary quality of single-authored travel narratives, have for too long been maligned as stereotypical and rote, or simply ignored. Their inclusion in the archive of travel writing on Spain offers us a broader insight and much needed mass-cultural perspective on the evolving spatial and gender hierarchies that sustained the urban social order in nineteenth-century Spain.

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Notes

¹ John Murray was, of course, most famous for being the publishing house of Jane Austen, Sir Walter Scott, and Lord Byron, among others.

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