

Cesáreo de Nava Palacio: English Sources, Censorship, and Strategies of Professional Enhancement in an Old-Regime Literary System*

JOHN STONE
Universitat de Barcelona

The role of English culture in old-regime Spain has been explored in histories of English teaching (Martin-Gamero, 1961) and of translation (García Hurtado, 1999; Lafarga and Pegenaute, 2004; Santoyo, 2008), as well as more specific accounts of the reception of the English novel in Spain (Deacon, Lasa-Álvarez, Pajares Infante) which emphasise the scarcity of English-knowing readers and translators, along with the mediation of the French literary system in Spain's encounter with English texts. These studies are substantiated by Aguilar Piñal's ten-volume short-title catalogue (1981-2001) for both print and catalogued manuscript production in Spanish over the whole of the long eighteenth century, the *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*. Yet it might be best to distinguish the medium from the usually mediated message. By speaking to English as a language of culture, I mean uses of the language in conversation, in private reading, in reading communities, in direct translation for both private use and intended publication, and in producing printed texts¹; and this might be taken to include speakers of Spanish travelling in Anglophone lands. By a mediated message, I mean especially translations, glosses, and rewritings via another medium, usually French, or indeed Spaniards reading English content, whether Adam Smith or Shakespeare, in the mediating language. With this distinction in mind, the importance of the study of the censorship regime and process to historians of English

* This research is part of the projet *Censura gubernamental en la España del siglo XVIII (1769-1808)*, financed by the Agencia Estatal de Investigación, Ministerio de Ciencia e Investigación (PID2019-104560RB-I00/AEI/10.13039/501100011033).

¹ Under Rector Alexander Cameron, the Scots College in Valladolid commissioned the private printing of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew exercises, which features occasional English paratext. See *Exercitationes latinae graecae et hebraicae in Regio Vallisoletano Collegio An. Dom MDCCLXXXV, Die Augusti 4 P. M.* (Apud Viduam Santander), Royal Scots College Archive 41/17. One page in the pamphlet extends words of congratulation from Sabino Rodríguez Campomanes, the son of the economist and political figure. One of the exercises was by a younger member of the Campomanes family: Joaquin de Nava, the son of Manuela Susana Rodríguez de Campomanes and Florentino de Nava, who studied with the Scots, as did his brother Pedro.

as a language of culture in eighteenth-century Spain should be patent. Title pages are a kind of self-reporting. Where Aguilar Piñal and Santoyo record a text translated from an English source, the title page and paratext may indicate no more than a *supposed* English source; and the relation of the source to the target text may go without explicit clarification. Thus, in Santoyo's 1989 handlist, many entries are followed by "[¿Del inglés?]" As the censorship regime entailed identification of an immediate source and, on the censor's part, assessment of the translation *qua* translation (however perfunctory), it should provide a more accurate index of advanced English language skills, as well as the stance which state and ecclesiastical institutions adopted when the censorship process entailed some knowledge of English.

This issue might seem trivial in isolation, but it is best understood as part of the networks of people and activity constituting the history of English as a language of culture in eighteenth-century Spain—a history which has yet to be written. Consider the reading communities created by Anglophone diasporic communities in old-regime Spain, as well as the diasporic institutions (the Colegio de los escoceses or Royal Scots College, initially in Madrid, latterly in Valladolid (Stone, 2020; Taylor 1971); the Real Colegio de San Albano or Royal English College, in Valladolid from its foundation (Williams, 1986); the Colegio de San Patricio de nobles irlandeses or Irish College, in Salamanca (Henchy, 1981)). It was the latter who imported the most English books into the country, especially from 1770 onwards, as their roles changed in the wake of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and of increasingly political support or Catholic relief in Great Britain and Ireland. And the diaspora produced a number of translators—think of Pedro Alonso O'Crouly (Rabadán, 1992), Pedro or Peter Sinnot (Velasco Moreno, 2000), and Juan María Fleming;² or (in manuscript) the Scottish rector John Geddes himself—but they are usually the acquaintances, or friends, of translators of English texts, and even of censors. That is to say, a Geddes's or a Shepherd's (the rector at the English College during his tenure) network of cosmopolitan sociability extended not only to compatriots, but also to Spaniards who were learning or had mastered the English language: Spaniards who perhaps cultivated a knowledge of English, then distinctly little known, to advance professionally. And these networks show the diaspora interacting with censors. The Scotsman Geddes, rector from 1770 to 1780, corresponded with the academic and censor Isidoro Bosarte,³ with the aca-

² While there are no studies of Fleming per se, he is mentioned in connection to the poet María Gertrudis de la Cruz Hore (Morand, 2007: 260). For his request for a licence to publish his translation of John Howard's *State of Prisons in England and Wales* (1777), see AHN ESTADO, 3238/18.

³ See Bosarte's 24 August 1775 letter to Geddes, dated at Paris, Royal Scots College Archive (hereinafter, RSCA) 53/8/47; and his 1 December 1775 letter to Geddes, dated Turin, RSCA 53/8/48. Bosarte was the author of an unflattering censor's report on Nava Palacio's joint translation of Millot's *Éléments d'histoire générale ancienne et modern* (RAH 11/8024(15)).

demician, royal librarian, and censor Francisco Cerdá,⁴ with the inquisitor and censor Nicolás Rodríguez Laso,⁵ with the prosecutor and censor Pedro García Montenegro,⁶ and with the translator and censor Ramón de Guevara.⁷ Alonso Ortiz, the translator of *The Wealth of Nations*, also studied English with the Scots of the Royal College during the time of Geddes's successor, Alexander Cameron. (Alonso Ortiz's first translations are strongly suggestive of a British recusant ethos.)

And so we come to the second question that concerns me: if we discount these diasporic populations, who knew English? How did they learn it? What reasons did they have for learning it? But also, how is it that some libraries of singular importance, such as that of the house of Osuna, incorporated hundreds of editions in English in the last quarter of a century of the eighteenth century without there being any evidence that the owners knew how to read them? (Their longtime chaplain, the Irishman Patrick Curtis, certainly did.) And as for censorship: if English was as little known as is often thought, what did the Council or the academies do to find censors capable of formulating a judgment not only on the ideological or doctrinal fit of a translated text, but of the translation as such? Will there be reports of the stature of the *Exámen de la tragedia intitulada Hamlet*, in which Cladera boasts of "la misma edición de Shakespeare por Johnson y Steevens que tengo sobre la mesa" (1800: XXI), accusing Moratín of ignoring English and relying on Le Tourneur? We would do well to recall the quantification of direct and indirect translations of English texts in the eighteenth century by Aguilar Piñal in the ten volumes of the *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*. English is the fourth language in terms of volume of translated works, with a notable increase from 1750 onwards: there are already thirty-four titles in second-last decade and seventy in the last, a period in which there were already more direct translations than re-translations from the based on the French translator, a practice that involves the mediation not only of French-speaking culture but also of the French censorship regime. But this change is mainly due to the direct translation of scientific texts: in the 1790s, for example, 85% of translations

⁴ Most of the extant letters from Cerdá to Geddes are kept at the University of Aberdeen as custodian of the Scottish Catholic Archives. See SCA CA 4/55 and SCA CA 4/56, which feature twenty-three letters dated between 8 May 1775 and 5 December 1776.

⁵ Nineteen letters from Rodríguez Laso survive in the RSCA, most of them undated, i.e. 51/2/24 and 53/7/15-53/7/32. His fondness for the Scotsman was so evident that he signed one letter (53/7/30) "tuus ille, Nicolaus Geddes", as though entertaining the fantasy of civil union or a fraternal bond. Having read all of the correspondence, I favour the former hypothesis.

⁶ See García Montenegro to John Geddes, dated Valladolid, 22 February 1778, RSCA 51/2/56.

⁷ De Guevara is best remembered as the translator charged with undertaking a Spanish version of William Robertson's *History of America*. For his correspondence with Geddes, see RSCA 57/2/64 (24 March 1779), 51/2/68 (19 June 1779), and 51/2/89 (8 July 1780). De Guevara was the brother of the academic José de Guevara Vasconcelos, censor of one of the translations by Cesáreo de Nava Palacio.

of English scientific and technical works were direct. Still, Aguilar lists but forty translators from English in the entire bibliography.

Cesáreo de Nava Palacio was one of the forty; and as such he was singularly prolific for his period. According to Alba de la Cruz Redondo, in her article on the eighteenth-century production of the Imprenta Real or royal printing house, “No sabemos nada de Cesáreo Nava Palacio, a excepción de que publicó íntegramente su obra en la Imprenta Real y que, por la temática recurrente de sus textos, debió estar relacionado con el mundo marítimo naval” (2017: 135). But we do know something. He was born in Gijón, in the Casona de Nava in the current Plazoleta de Agustín José Antuña Alonso (Somoza, 1884: 47). He died in Madrid on October 6, 1800: he appears in the register of the deceased of the parish of San Martín as a native of Gijón and official of the royal library (Fernández García, 2004: 135). A son of Pedro José de Nava Palacio, a merchant, and Micaela Menéndez Valdés (Caveda y Nava, 1978: xiv), he married Rosa Funcia; his maternal grandparents were Miguel Menéndez Valdés Cornellana and Bernarda García Sala Arguelles, also from Asturias (Menéndez Valdés, 1774: 164). His record as an officer of the royal library is short (BNE-A, CTD 0351/01): he was appointed in March 1799, less than twenty months before his death, with a salary of 600 ducats a year. His contemporaries seem to have stumbled on his surname, to which an “s” was added in this source, but it is true that the extra letter also appears in Godoy’s *Memoirs* (Godoy, 1836, II: 267). Little else is known about his family. His sister Florencia, who years later would become the mother of the historian José Caveda y Nava, appears on the list of subscribers to the translation of the work *Éléments d’histoire générale ancienne et moderne*, by Abbé Claude-François-Xavier Millot, published in 1790 (xii), as does Ana María de Nava Palacio, perhaps another sister. The names of the translators appear in censorship files for the first four volumes of this work at the AHN: Cesáreo Nava, José de Merás,⁸ and Bartolomé Campo (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5555, exp. 47); and Nava’s name is in the more extensive file corresponding to the third volume, from the archive of the RAH (RAH 11/8024(15)). It seems likely, then, that Nava Palacio’s work as a translator dates back to 1789, when Nava and his collaborators petitioned for a licence to issue the first volume of the *Elementos de historia universal antigua y moderna*.

Lucienne Domergue states that Cesáreo is “un gijonés que fréquente Don Gaspar” (1971: 99); this is given without a source, but the friendship between de Jovellanos and Florencia de Nava Palacio and her husband, Francisco de Paula Caveda y Solares, is well documented (González López, 2011: 230). Aguilar Piñal records eight titles by Nava Palacio as a translator: three manuscripts and five print editions, all dated

⁸ The blind writer, translator and erstwhile periodical editor José María de Merás Alfono (1765-1831) was also Asturian.

between 1790 and 1796, five from English originals; two from works in French, and one from an Italian work. There is another file for a translation by Nava Palacio in the RAH, which lacks an entry in Aguilar Pinal's *Bibliografía*. It is from 1797 and the original is in French: Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy's *Tablettes chronologiques de l'histoire universelle* (RAH 11/8024/54). We are, therefore, facing a short but intense career: *La cutura del entendimiento* (Watts's *Improvement of the Mind*, via the French; licence requested, 1790; published, 1792); *Derecho marítimo y naval* (Molloy's *De iure maritimo*, or, *A treatise of affairs maritime and of commerce*; licence requested, 1792; published, 1793); vol. 3 of the *Elementos de la historia* (Abbé Millot's *Éléments d'histoire générale ancienne et modern*; licence requested, 1792; published, 1794; prohibited in its entirety by the Holy Office, 1795); *Defensa de los milagros del Pentateuco* (George Campbell's *Dissertation on Miracles*; licence requested and refused, 1793); *Relación de las Islas Pelew* (Henry Wilson's and George Keate's *Account of the Pelew Islands*; licence requested and granted, 1793; advertised to subscribers, November 1793; never published); *Avisos politicos históricos y canónicos, legales a los príncipes cristianos acerca del uso de su potestad sobre las cosas eclesiásticas y sagrades* (unidentified source language and text; licence requested, 1793; licence denied, 1794; see AHN, Consejos, leg. 5559, exp. 56); *El camino más corto para quitar disputas en materia de religión* (Robert Manning's *The Shortest Way to end Disputes About Religion*; licence requested, 1793; published, 1795); *Historia de la vida y los Viajes del Capitán Jaime Cook* (Andrew Kippis's *Life of Captain James Cooke*; licence requested and granted, 1794; published, 1795); and *Historia cronológica universal* (Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy's *Tablettes chronologiques de l'histoire universelle*; licences for volumes one and two requested under different titles, 1797 and 1798). This paper will take up that part of Nava Palacio's output originally written in English as it moved through the state censorship apparatus.

The first of these texts, *The Improvement of the Mind* by Isaac Watts, is a general study guide (and, latterly, textbook) touching on logic and rhetoric as well as praxis in critical literacy, as translated by Daniel de Superville le Fils, a Calvinist minister with a Francophone congregation in Rotterdam. As such it is of interest not as an instance of direct translation, but of the censorship regime's response to a text by a British clergyman outside the Anglican tradition, albeit one of some prestige. Superville's front matter inscribed the work in a specifically Calvinist ethos: "L'Ouvrage, dont on présente ici la Traduction au Public, a pour Auteur un des Ecclésiastiques les plus estimables, dont le Corps des Presbytériens an Angleterre se puisse glorifier" (1762: 2) The translation was sent to the RAH for censorship on 5 January 1790 and a favourable report returned by Benito Montejo, a Benedictine and supernumery academician of the RAH, on 22 March 1790 (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5556, exp. 27; RAH 11/8022 (9)). The report, which makes a mess of the author's surname (rendered as Watt, Watts, and most frequently Vvasst), focuses on the Calvinist militancy of Watts:

“he encontrado no pocas manchas,” he says, “Lo temí yo desde que a la entrada del libro leé que su Autor habia sido Ministro de la Iglesia Presbiteriana de Londres [...] pues con saber que se llaman presbiterianos, son una secta de Calvinistas rígidos, puritanos o no conformistas” (AHN Consejos, leg. 5556, exp. 27). The censor asked for changes, and though the RAH’s board judged the work “un perfecto tratado de lógica, escrito con buen método, y de mucha instrucción, con oportunas reglas,” it likewise accorded that “será menester limpiar esta traducción” (in the same file, Capmany, 4 May 1790). There followed a nearly four-year process under the aegis of the Vicar General for the diocese of Madrid, Lorenzo Igual de Soria. On 9 June 1790 Cayetano de la Peña inquired whether the work whose English title could be glossed in Spanish as “La cultura del Espiritu” was indexed, listing the French translator by name, though the Spanish translator appears in the query as “un anónimo” (AHDH 9180, 6-VI-90: further quotes from the censorship process are from this source unless otherwise noted). De la Peña’s query was answered two days later by Joaquin Castellón, who confirmed that although the work was not indexed, “por otra parte no parece que si obra de Religion (que en tal caso por ser de Autor herege, estaría prohibida) aunque por este lado no hay tropiezo que p^a la liz^{cia}”. At least two censors took part in the subsequent assessment of Nava Palacio’s translation: Francisco Fernando de Flores, then a royal chaplain at the Visitidine sisters’ convent in Madrid (that is, the *Convento de las Salesas Reales*); and Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad, a Mercedarian and future superior of his order then residing at the Convent of Saint Barbara in Madrid.

De Flores’s report, dated 27 August 1790, found three chief faults with the translation, two of them doctrinal. First of all, both Watts and Superville (despite a rather politic emendation) encourage young students to practice Biblical exegesis and add to a steadily improving understanding of Scripture. Watts frames this as a Protestant endeavour: “Every Age since the Reformation hath thrown some further Light on difficult Texts and Paragraphs of the Bible, which have long been obscured by the early Rise of Antichrist” (1742: 15). This break with Watts’ generally mild manner is not reflected in Superville, who writes, “Chaque Siècle a répandu quelque nouvelles Lumieres sur les Textes difficiles, & sur des Endroit demeurés Longtemps obscurs” (1762: 19). In the French source text sent to the censors, then, improvement is ascribed to time rather than Reformers. But de Flores objects here to an absence: the apprentice reader should not be directed to Scripture without being alerted to the “Tradición Eclesiástica”. Secondly, de Flores objects to an axiom used in the interpretation of Scripture, “l’Ecriture est le plus sûr Interprète de l’Ecriture” (1762: 135), itself an aside in a chapter on hermeneutics and historical philology. Though Watts’s point is commonplace and commonsensical, de Flores chooses to see past a generic argument about reading to a specific one about reading and interpreting the Bible. This de Flores sees as “una Máxima fundamental, tomada de las Sectarias Luteranas,

Calvinistas, y otras de este jaéz". There follow almost five pages on points of exegesis and authority. Lastly, de Flores faults the translation while praising the work: "la traducción, en lo general, es muy desaliñada y fría" while "Apenas hay cosa mas fácil, que encontrar lunares y defectos en un Libro, se de la especie que quiera, y por muy bien escrito que esté (como le sucede á éste)". De Flores remarks on the work of another censor throughout his report and the attendant correspondence: he had clearly read or read of Montejo's work.

One month later, at the end of August 1790, Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad produced his own assessment of Nava Palacio's work and of Superville's original. If de Flores suffered from an intolerance of all things Protestant, de la Santísima Trinidad had developed a severe allergy: "la facilidad con que los Protestantes introducen en sus obras el veneno herético de sus ideas" meant that *Improvement* could only be issued with corrections beyond the scope of the translator's skills, for "tengo por imposible, que el traductor segun los pocos alcances que manifiesta, la haga perfectamente" That is, Nava Palacio knew too little in matters of religion to understand the offence that he had caused. The Vicar General, Lorenzo Igual de Soria, wrote to the Council on 27 February 1791 to recommend that the licence be denied (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5556, exp. 27).

By February 1792 Nava Palacio had submitted a corrected translation to the Council; and this was referred to the Vicar General and again evaluated by Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad. His report was, again, damning: "en la confusión o mezcla de unos y otros conocimientos y de las reglas generales para adquirirlos, está toda la malicia herética del original" (19 February 1792) and singles out Superville for "extrema capcidad". He concludes that "por ahora [...] no se puede conceder la Licencia". Escolano de Arrieta then wrote to the RAH to ask for a report on the corrected translation (24 March 1792), which was filed by Montejo on 26 May 1792. Montejo rather dramatically reviews his findings of 1790—"fui hallando hasta quince o más lugares dignos de censura Theologica"—and is careful to cite grounds for his objections ("la regla octava del Índice de Libros Prohibidos"). But he was satisfied with the changes Nava Palacio had made: "[the offending passages] los ha omitido, como ya lo previene en su Prologo"; and "Así la obra ... está limpia a los lugares que lo afeaba." He also found the revised work superior in style, praising the translator for a "lenguaje castellano castizo, natural, con una construccion harmoniosa", as well as for turning to Tomás de Iriarte for illustrative examples in verse. Though in this final report Montejo gave the work another title ("La cultura del ingenio"), it was published later that year by the Imprenta Real as *La cultura del entendimiento* and advertised in the *Gaceta de Madrid* on Christmas Day, 1792 (915-916).

In his "Prólogo" to the published work, Nava Palacio relates a back story that suggests his first exposure to the text, in English, in an educational setting. He writes that

“Desde que por primera vez ha venido á mis manos esta Obra, he tenido impulso de traducirla [...] mas no pudiendo pasar á executar esta empresa por no ser mia la dicha Obra, hice las mil diligencias por encontrar otro exemplar del Mismo original Ingles” (Watts, 1795: 1). Clearly, his first exposure to the text had taken place away from Madrid, whether in his native Asturias or abroad. Nava Palacio then admits that he had worked from Superville’s French edition, as the nearest thing to the original which he could obtain; and his “Prólogo” is often a crib of the “Preface du Traducteur”: for example, the substance of the long closing footnotes is identical.

His first direct translation from English was that of the treatise *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, written by the Irish-born London lawyer Charles Molloy and first published in 1676. Molloy’s work enjoyed great authority until the end of the eighteenth century, passing through many augmented editions. Nava Palacio’s representative applied for a licence in January 1792; and censorship was initially entrusted to Josef Ferrer, Professor of Natural Law at the Reales Estudios, in February of the year (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5560, exp. 68). But Ferrer died without having written the report. Next in line was a high-ranking naval officer and author, José de Mazarredo. De Mazarredo claimed (or complained) in August that “las materias tratadas por aquel jurista” were “agenas a mi profesion”; and the file subsequently passed into the hands of Joaquín Cano y Calvo, also a specialist in natural law. His report is quite technical and says nothing about the translation as such: indeed, there is no evidence that he referred to the source text. Cano y Calvo limits himself to asking for a warning from the translator to refute one of Molloy’s postulates, which Nava Palacio duly supplied in the “Advertencia” when Molloy’s treatise was issued by the Imprenta Real in 1793.

In February 1793 Nava Palacio tried his luck, for the second time, with the work of a Calvinist minister when he applied for a licence to publish his translation—direct, according to the request—of *A Dissertation on Miracles*, published in Scotland in 1762, by George Campbell, then rector of Marshal College, Aberdeen. Campbell, a moderate Calvinist, was part of the circle of Scottish “common sense” philosophers, along with Thomas Reid and James Beattie, both of whom were particularly well represented in the library of the Colegio de los Escoceses in Valladolid.⁹ A 1766 Kincaid and Bell edition of the *Dissertation* survives in the college library. The long title of

⁹ The RSC boasts a second (1771), third (1771), and fifth edition (1774) of James Beattie’s *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism* as well as a two-volume set of his *Elements of Moral Science* (1790); both the first (1778) and third editions (1779) of his *Essays on Poetry and Music*, and both volumes of the first edition of *Evidences of the Christian Religion Briefly and Plainly Stated* (1786). Such a concentration would be remarkable even in Scotland: only one other eighteenth-century edition of a work by Beattie is known in the whole of Spain. Beattie, like Campbell and Reid, held a professorship at Aberdeen; and the links between Campomanes’s circle and the Scottish Enlightenment go back to Aberdeen, for Campomanes himself used Geddes’s good offices to send a set of his *Apéndice a la educación popular* to William Ogilvy, professor at King’s College, with matching English and Spanish inscriptions.

the English work specifies that it should be construed as a response to and refutation of Hume's brisk, sceptical essay "On Miracles"; and this is stressed by Nava Palacio's representative, Juan de Anamayona, in his February petition to the Council (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5559, exp. 30).

In response to Hume, Campbell defends collective testimony as proof of a miracle. In other words, the more witnesses, the more reasons to believe in the miracle. Both the original English title and the title given in the dossier make explicit mention of Hume. The file was sent to the Vicar General of Madrid; and the censor's report sent to Lorenzo Igual de Soria (and to the Council) is dated but not signed. Igual de Soria himself says nothing about the translation as such, nor does he claim to have read the work. "Haciendo presente," declares the censor "que habiendo sido vista, y reconocida por Personas de mi satisfacción, me la han dirigido con la censura que a la letra dice así". But the people he trusts to censure Campbell's work and Nava Palacio's translation didn't know English either: "rescidiendo assi de su fidelidad en la Traduccion [...] por que como ignorantes del Idioma Ynglés, ninguna Censura podemos dar en esta parte". They rejected the translation on finding the work useless for "fieles ignorantes" and dangerous for "Catholicos no mui arraigados" since "esta obra les da, o puede dar, motivos para poner duda en la verdad de los milagros". If the work had its risks, the translator was nonetheless to be commended, as the censors held that Nava Palacio's preliminary note "es una pieza de mucho merito y en la que desde luego se manifiesta la erudición, catolicismo, y piadoso zelo del Autor". Nava Palacio asked for the return of the work and a copy of the censorship report, in order to amend and correct the translation, but there is no record that he ever attempted to do so, and the *Defensa* went unpublished.

Nava Palacio was luckier when he filed his second petition that same year, this one for George Keate's *Account of the Pelew Islands*, based on the logbooks and letters of Captain Henry Wilson, of the East India Company navy ship the *Antelope*. Apart from its interest to ethnographers, Keate's book enjoyed some notoriety by association after Wilson returned to London with a young prince, Lebu, the son of the king of the island of Koror. Though less well known than Omai, the Pacific islander who knew Cook, Joseph Banks, and Joshua Reynolds, Lebu became something of a London celebrity before succumbing to smallpox five months after his arrival in England.

Nava Palacio's petition was made in 1793 (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5559, exp. 41): on 13 August both translation and original were sent to the RAH. The censor, the geographer Tomás López,¹⁰ recommended the granting of the license, but of the translation he limits himself to saying that it is "bastante regular" (RAH 11/8023(68)), a phrase that Capmany repeats in the opinion that the Academy sent to the Council. Nava Palacio and

¹⁰ See López Gómez and Manso Porto (2006: 150-152) for a full list of his RAH censor's reports.

his printer then advertised for subscribers in the *Gaceta* (26 November 1793: 1255); but there was no edition, at least until eleven years later, when the Madrid printer Gómez Fuentenebro in 1805 brought out a translation made from the French translation, “with the presence of the English original.” It cannot be compared to Nava Palacio’s translation, which is not preserved with López’s report in the RAH Library and Archive.

1793 was Nava Palacio’s *annus translationis*: how many licenses can be requested in a single year? In November 1793 Nava Palacio requested a license for another work translated from English, by the Catholic apologist Robert Manning, a professor at the English College of Douai who published early in the eighteenth century. *The Shortest Way to End Disputes about Religion* (1716) responds in the main to debates about the granting of freedom of the press to the Catholics of England, a topic of keen interest to exiled recusants. In this case, we know that the censor—Casimiro Gómez de Ortega—knew English well:¹¹ and the report does not shy away from the quality of the translation as such (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5559, exp. 8). In his 11 December 1793 report Gómez de Ortega found it “exacta y fiel”, although he confuses the Manning of the work with another, the Irishman Robert Manning.¹² However, Gómez de Ortega knew and recommended translating another work by the same author, the “Cotejo del Origen del Catolicismo y de la Reforma”, his gloss of *England’s Conversion and Reformation Compared. Or, The Young Gentleman Directed in the Choice of His Religion* (1725). *El camino mas corto para quitar disputas en materia de religion* was duly issued in two volumes by the Imprenta Real in 1795.

The following year Nava Palacio fortunately ran into the same censor when he asked for permission to print his best-known work, the translation of *The Life of James Cook* by Andrew Kippis, yet another Calvinist minister. From the RAH Capmany rejected the commission to censor the work, as it was “una obra de asunto general”. Another candidate for censor, de Mazarredo, declared himself unfit in a letter dated 17 June 1794, as “mi conocimiento en el inglés apenas me alcanza para mi aprovechamiento en la lectura de materias de mi profesión” (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5560, exp. 68). It was finally Gómez de Ortega who signed the report in July 1794, stating that “He advertido en [la traducción] algunas licencias que se toma el traductor, no se oponen esas al objeto principal de la obra [...] ni deben a mi entender impedir la publicación en Castellano.” The licence was granted that same month and renewed two years later when the second volume appeared.

¹¹ Gómez de Ortega was a FRS and himself a translator from the English, from the *Viage del Comandante Byron al rededor del mundo* (1769) to the *Farmacopéa quirúrgica de Londres* (1797). As a censor of English works, he is best known for his reports on the Alonso Ortiz translation of Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (RAH 11/8023(62)).

¹² I suspect this other Manning to be the benefactor after whom the Pati Manning is named at Barcelona’s Casa de la Caritat.

This is not Nava Palacio's last translation, but it is the last direct translation from English. The very last, from a French historiographical work—the Abbé Lenglet de Fresnoy's *Tablettes chronologiques de l'histoire universelle [...]* *After the création du monde, jusqu'à l'an 1762 : avec des réflexions sur l'ordre qu'on doit tenir, & sur les ouvrages nécessaires pour l'étude de l'histoire*—came into the hands of José de Guevara, who says of Nava Palacio in his report “No le falta merito al traductor, ya conocido” (RAH 11/8024/(54)). Indeed, de Guevara then reviews almost the whole of Nava Palacio's output as a translator, including the licenced but unpublished *Relación de las Islas Pelew*, before declaring of the translation that “Poco o nada hay que notar.” Nothing is known of the fate of the translation: the censorship file points to approval, yet the work was never printed.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the censorship of Nava Palacio's work are simple, but not poor. The mechanisms and procedures of censorship in the last decade of the eighteenth century did not respond quickly to an English text. It was difficult to find anyone who could take on the reading of both the translation and the original. Often, by delegation, this task passed to unnamed third parties naming: such is the case of the censor of Ramsay's *New Cyropedia*, in 1802, who affirms that the translation has been “vista y reconocida por personas de mi satisfaccion” (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5565, exp. 30) but also of José Pérez García, who asked the opinion of a “persona de mi confianza” before preparing his report on the translation of the *Thoughts Concerning Education* by Locke in 1797 (AHN, Consejos, leg. 5561, exp. 25). Among Nava Palacio's censorship files, there are no linguistic corrections or censors who boast of their polyglot erudition in the manner of Cladera. As for the translator, it is not so much his interest in maritime subjects that is striking, but the choice of three Calvinist—Kippis, Watts, and Campbell—out of six English-speaking authors. Yet the choices of Campbell, the Catholic Manning, and Watts point to some sort of contact with Anglophone recusancy, whether in Great Britain or via the recusant diaspora in Spain. He seems to have given up translation from the beginning of 1797; but he was not appointed to the titular staff of the royal library until two years later. What did he live on in the years 1797 and 1798? Did he have a job other than translating? Whatever the case may be, I consider him a man of letters who sought prestige with his translations; I believe that he aspired to formal promotion in the Spanish literary system thanks to the prestige he obtained with his works. I would venture that he translated with his eyes fixed on a sinecure, which he obtained after publishing six works, five under his name or initials alone. Once his post was secured, he might well have dabbled in translation for as long as he was able, or not: but as his career was cut short by his premature death, we shall never know.

Bibliography

- Aguilar Piñal, Francisco (1981-2001), *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, 10 vols., Madrid: Instituto Miguel de Cervantes.
- [Cladera, Cristóbal] (1800), *Examen de la tragedia intitulada Hamlet, escrita en ingles por Guillermo Shakespeare, y traducida al castellano por Inarco Celenio*, Madrid, Imprenta de la viuda de Ibarra.
- Campbell, George (1762), *A Dissertation on Miracles: containing an Examination of the Principles Advanced by David Hume, Esq; in an Essay on Miracles*, Edinburgh, Kincaid & Bell.
- Caveda y Nava, José (1978), *Historia de Oviedo*, ed. Elviro Martínez, Gijón, Auseva.
- Cruz Redondo, Alba de la (2017), “La producción de la Imprenta Real a finales del siglo XVIII,” *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo*, 23, págs. 125-143.
- Deacon, Philip (1998), “La novela inglesa en la España del siglo XVIII fortuna y adversidades,” en *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Novela del Siglo XVIII*, Almería, Universidad de Almería, págs. 123-140.
- Domergue, Lucienne (1971), *Les démêlés de Jovellanos avec l’Inquisition et la Bibliothèque de l’Instituto*, Oviedo, Universidad de Oviedo / Cátedra Feijoo.
- Fernández García, Matías (2004), *Parroquias madrileñas de San Martín y San Pedro el Real: algunos personajes de su archivo*, Madrid, Caparrós Editores.
- García Hurtado, Manuel-Reyes (1999), “La traducción en España, 1750-1808: cuantificación y lenguas en contacto,” in Francisco Lafarga (ed.), *La traducción en España (1750-1830): lengua, literatura, cultura*, Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, págs. 35-44.
- Godoy Álvarez de Faria Rios, Manuel (1836), *Cuenta dada de su vida política por Don Manuel Godoy, príncipe de la Paz*, Madrid, I. Sancha, 2 vols..
- González López, Etelvino (2011), “Jovellanos y Villaviciosa,” *Boletín Jovellanista*, 11, págs. 229-230.
- Henchy, Monica (1981), “The Irish College at Salamanca,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 70, no. 278/279, págs. 220-227.
- Keate, George (1788), *An Account of the Pelew Islands, Situated in the Western Part of the Pacific Ocean*, Dublin, Luke White.
- Kippis, Andrew (1788), *The Life of Captain James Cook*, London, G. Nicol and G. G. J. Robinson and J. Robinson.
- (1795), *Historia de la vida y viajes del capitán Jaime Cook*, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 2 vols.
- Lafarga, Francisco and Luis Pegenaute (2004) (eds.), *Historia de la traducción en España*, Salamanca, Editorial Ambos Mundos.
- Lasa Alvarez, Begoña (2009), “Recepción en España de la novela inglesa del s. XVIII escrita por mujeres,” PhD dissertation, A Coruña, Universidade da Coruña.

- Lenglet du Fresnoy, Nicolas (1742-1744), *Tablettes chronologiques de l'histoire universelle, sacrée et profane*, Paris, Chez De Bure, 2 vols.
- López Gómez, Antonio and Carmen Manso Porto (2006), *Cartografía del siglo XVIII: Tomás López en la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.
- Manning, Robert (1716), *The Shortest Way to end Disputes About Religion*, Brussels, 2 vols.
- (1795), *El camino más corto para quitar disputas en materia religión*, trad. Cesáreo de Nava Palacio, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 2 vols.
- Martin Gamero, Sofia (1961), *La enseñanza del inglés en España*, Madrid, Gredos.
- Menéndez Valdés, Gregorio (1774), *Avisos históricos y políticos de el capitán D. Gregorio Menéndez Valdés*, Madrid, Viuda de Manuel Fernández.
- Millot, Claude-Grainçois-Xavier (1772-1789), *Éléments d'histoire générale ancienne et moderne*, 9 vols. Paris.
- (1790-1795), *Elementos de historia universal antigua y moderna: en que se describe el origen, gobierno, leyes, religión, ciencias, costumbres, y los sucesos mas notables de todas las naciones del mundo*, 8 vols., Madrid, Imprenta Real.
- Morand, Frédérique (2007), “La biblioteca de la poetisa gaditana sórora María Gertrudis de la Cruz Hore (1742-1801)”, *Cuadernos de Estudios del Siglo XVIII*, 17, págs. 249-274.
- Molloy, Charles (1677), *De Iure Maritimo et Navale or, A Treatise of Affaires Maritime and of Commerce*, 2nd ed., London, John Bellinger.
- (1793), *Derecho marítimo y naval, o tratado de los negocios marítimos y del comercio, obra escrita en inglés por el señor Carlos Moloy (sic)*, trad. Cesáreo de Nava Palacio, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 4 vols.
- Rabadán, Rosa (1992), “De la Ilustración al Romanticismo: los O’Crowley”, *Livius*, vol. 1, págs. 243-256.
- Santoyo, Julio-César (1989), “Bibliografía tentativa de traducciones inglés-español 1577-1800”, *Bells: Barcelona English language and literature studies*, vol. 1, págs. 161-187.
- (2008), *Historia de la traducción: viejos y nuevos apuntes*, León, Universidad de León.
- Somoza y García Sala, Julio (1884), *Cosquines de la mió quintana*, Oviedo, Vicente Brid.
- Stone, John (2020), “The Two Noble Kinsmen and Eighteen Other Newly Discovered Early Modern English Quartos in an Hispano-Scottish Collection”, *Notes & Queries*, vol. 67, no. 3, págs. 367-374.
- Velsaco Moreno, Eva (2000), “Pedro Sinnot: La obra intelectual de un clérigo irlandés en España”, in M.^a B. Villar García (ed.), *La emigración irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, Málaga, Universidad, págs. 231-243.
- Watts, Isaac (1743), *The Improvement of the Mind, of a Supplement to the Art of Logick*, London, Brackstone and Longman.
- (1762), *La culture de l'esprit ou directions pour faciliter l'acquisition des connaissances utiles*, trad. Daniel de Superville, Amsterdam, aux Depens de la Compagnie.

- (1792), *La cultura del entendimiento, o Medios para facilitar la adquisición de los conocimientos útiles*, trad. D.C.N.P, Madrid, Imprenta Real.
- William, Michael (1986), *St Alban's College, Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain*, London, Hurst.