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# Blanco White and Cernuda, Exile and Anglophilia

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## **Abstract**

This article proposes a brief analysis of the convergences and divergences between the Anglophilia of two exiles from Seville: José María Blanco White (1775–1841) and Luis Cernuda (1902–1963). Blanco White embraced England and to some extent rejected Spain and his Spanishness. Cernuda was also a severe critic of his country, but this did not lead him to any idealization of a foreign culture from which he essentially took what he needed. Despite their diverse experiences of England, there are also some striking similarities in terms of the nature of their Anglophilia and their reasons for at least partially rejecting their own culture. According to Juan Goytisolo, the coincidence between Blanco White and Cernuda is ‘amazing’, and this study seeks to delve deeper and ascertain to what extent Goytisolo’s assertion is justified by what they wrote about England and English literature during their respective exiles.

## **Resumen**

Este artículo se propone un breve análisis de las convergencias y divergencias entre la anglofilia de dos exiliados sevillanos: José María Blanco White (1775–1841) y Luis Cernuda (1902–1963). Blanco White aceptó Inglaterra con entusiasmo y hasta cierto punto rechazó España y su españolidad. Cernuda también fue un crítico muy severo de su patria, pero esto no le llevó a ninguna idealización de una cultura extranjera de la cual aprovechó únicamente lo que necesitaba. Pese a sus experiencias diferentes de Inglaterra, existen algunos parecidos notables en cuanto a la naturaleza de su anglofilia y las razones por las que rechazaron al menos parcialmente su propia cultura. Según Juan Goytisolo, ‘la coincidencia es asombrosa’ entre los dos escritores, y este estudio pretende profundizar en esta cuestión y comprobar hasta qué punto la afirmación de Goytisolo está justificada por lo que ambos escribieron sobre Inglaterra y la literatura inglesa durante sus exilios.

Sevillanos los dos –a quienes las circunstancias de sus épocas respectivas obligaron a expatriarse a Inglaterra–, escogieron vivir y morir lejos de su país nativo y fueron sin duda sus críticos más implacables.  
(Juan Goytisolo, *Obra Inglesa de Blanco White* [1998: 116–17])

This article proposes a brief analysis of the convergences and divergences between the Anglophilia and the asynchronous but parallel English experiences of two exiles from Seville, two heterodox *sevillanos*: José María Blanco White (1775–1841) and Luis Cernuda (1902–1963). Blanco embraced England and quite vociferously rejected Spain and, to some extent, his Spanishness, thus becoming what his most celebrated and ferocious detractor, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, called ‘el renegado de todas las sectas, el leproso de todos los partidos’ (1932: 209).<sup>1</sup> Cernuda was also a severe critic of his country, but unlike in the case of Blanco, this did not lead him to any idealization of a foreign culture, from which he essentially took what he needed. Despite their diverse experiences and visions of England, there are also some striking similarities in the nature and origin of their Anglophilia and their reasons for at least partially rejecting their own culture. According to Goytisolo (1998: 123) the coincidence between Blanco and Cernuda is ‘amazing’ (‘la coincidencia es asombrosa’), and this study seeks to delve a little deeper and ascertain to what extent Goytisolo’s assertion is justified by what the two *sevillanos* wrote about England and English literature during their respective exiles.

Edward Said (2000: 173) considered that ‘modern western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees’, and this observation has been particularly apposite in the case of Spanish culture, which, from the times of the first Jewish, Moorish and Protestant exiles, cannot be understood without these recurrent periods of expulsions and migrations. While some modern Western nations cited by Said, such as England or the USA, have proved to be places of refuge, and propitious scenarios for the intellectual ferment and artistic production of exiles, Spain has historically moved in the opposite direction. Indeed, according to Henry Kamen, ‘Spain is the only European country to have attempted to consolidate itself over the centuries not through offering shelter but through a policy of exclusions [...] In other nations, the people arrive, in Spain they depart’ (Kamen 2008: ix–x).

Both Blanco and Cernuda were forced to depart. The former left for England in February 1810 at the age of 32, and the latter made the same journey in February 1938 at the age of 33. This curious biographical coincidence is just the first of several others which I will highlight in this brief article, along with the concomitant divergences in their experiences and visions of England and exile. The *Cambridge English Dictionary* (2024) defines ‘convergence’ as the fact that two or more things tend to become similar, and ‘divergence’ as the opposite, and in the

1 Despite referring to ‘la venenosa pluma de Blanco’ (1932: 187), Menéndez Pelayo was also capable of seeing beyond the animosity that Blanco caused him and was magnanimous enough to admit grudgingly that it would be ‘notoria injusticia negar que en su alma ardentísima llegó a germinar con el tiempo el estro lírico, que le llegó a inspirar en sus últimos años algunos versos delicados y exquisitos, así ingleses como castellanos’ (1932: 179).

field of biology both terms are used to refer to the tendency of unrelated species to develop superficially similar characteristics under similar environmental conditions. In this sense, after briefly outlining the origins and characteristics of their English exiles, I propose to analyse the salient convergences and divergence in the English exiles of Jose María Blanco White and Luis Cernuda, highlighting the Anglophilia and, in one some cases, the Anglophobia that characterized their writings in exile and their view of English literature and society.

### 1. Anglophilia and Anglophobia

Blanco idealized England and English culture to such an extent that he deliberately set out to become an Englishman.<sup>2</sup> In fact, he quite deliberately proposed and achieved one of the most profound and literarily successful acts of cultural assimilation ever performed by a non-native writer in the English language, to the extent that his poem ‘Night and Death’ (which is also known as ‘To Night’) was considered by no less a luminary than Samuel Taylor Coleridge to be ‘the finest sonnet in the English language’ ([AQ1]).<sup>3</sup> The poem was first published by Coleridge in a London periodical called *Bijou* in 1828, and was subsequently republished in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1835.[AQ2]<sup>4</sup> It has been frequently anthologized and has also been translated on numerous occasions into Spanish by Blanco’s friend Alberto Lista, Miguel de Unamuno and Jorge Guillén, among others.

Blanco’s relationship with England and English literature has no equivalent in any previous or subsequent Spanish exile in the country, and it was certainly notably different from that of other Spanish liberals who followed him to London shortly afterwards in 1823, at the beginning of the ‘ominous decade’. According to Vicente Lloréns,

Cuando los emigrados liberales llegaron a Londres en 1823, Blanco White llevaba residiendo en Inglaterra desde 1810. Estos años que Blanco había dedicado a su reeducación literaria en un deliberado esfuerzo de asimilarse la lengua y el pensamiento ingleses, coinciden no sólo con el florecimiento de la literatura romántica inglesa [...] sino con una nueva era de la crítica literaria [...] y la penetración de las ideas románticas germanas. (Lloréns 1968: 386)

In comparison to other modern Spanish exiles and émigrés in England (Pedro Salinas and Jorge Guillén worked as *lectores de español* at the universities of

- 2 In his posthumously published autobiography, Blanco wrote, ‘it was therefore my most constant and earnest endeavour to re-cast my mind, as much as possible, in an English mould, to re-educate myself as an Englishman’ (Blanco White 1845: 249).
- 3 At the risk of slightly dampening the enthusiasm for what was undoubtedly a notable literary achievement, it should also be pointed out that the sonnet was in fact dedicated to Coleridge, whose fulsome praise was therefore not entirely bereft of an ulterior motive. When the poem was first published in 1828, it was done so without Blanco’s permission and at the behest of Coleridge himself.
- 4 A slightly different version (dated 16 October 1838) is held at the Blanco White Collection at the library of the University of Liverpool as part of the original manuscript of the autobiography.

Cambridge and Oxford respectively, and both learned little or no English), Blanco took a much more proactive attitude to his integration into English cultural life, and came to be a respected literary figure in the England of his day, praised by the doyen of English letters, Coleridge, and cited by future Prime Minister William Gladstone, who in 1845 published a review of Blanco's posthumous autobiography. Blanco chose to become an Englishman, and his Anglophilia led him so far as to write almost exclusively in English and consciously eschew literary creation in Spanish until towards the end of his life, when he composed verses in Spanish again and began an unfinished novel, *Luisa de Bustamante, o la huérfana española en Inglaterra*. In this regard, Goytisolo noted that

Blanco prefirió expresarse en inglés y sus paisanos lamentarlo, ya que su obra es el producto insólito de un intelectual capaz en todo momento de pensar por su cuenta, de escritor que no se somete a ninguno de los clisés y mitos que entorpecen el funcionamiento de la inteligencia nacional. (Goytisolo 1998: 106)

In the case of Cernuda, his literary Anglophilia was tempered by a strong and frequently expressed sense of Anglophobia, and his British experience (which included academic posts at Glasgow, Cambridge and London, in addition to frequent visits to Liverpool, Oxford and Cornwall) was characterized by an immense degree of cognitive dissonance, an almost wholesale rejection of the people and the society,<sup>5</sup> in stark contrast to his simultaneous embracing of the literary tradition.<sup>6</sup> Although Cernuda was deeply aware of his debt to the English literary tradition,<sup>7</sup> he also felt hurt by what he perceived to be rejection from the English literary establishment, most particularly when T. S. Eliot declined to publish the translations by the Hispanist Edward M. Wilson of three of Cernuda's poems ('Lazaro', 'Cementerio en la ciudad' and 'Impresión de destierro') in *The Criterion*. Despite the Eliotian overtones of the title of the first of the three compositions, Eliot was not convinced of the worth of these translations. In a letter sent to Wilson on 1 March 1947, he conceded that Cernuda was an 'interesting poet' but added 'I don't feel that the translations in themselves are very exciting [...] the effect in English is rather pedestrian' (Martínez Nadal 1983: 171).

5 In a poem entitled 'La partida', which he composed when he left England for the USA in 1947, Cernuda wrote: 'Adiós al fin, tierra como tu gente fría / Donde un error me trajo y otro error me lleva. / Gracias por todo y por nada. No volveré a pizarte'. [AQ3]

6 In a 1947 letter from the USA to Edward M. Wilson, Cernuda wrote 'no piense que me olvide de Inglaterra [...] la recuerdo mucho ahora, y comprendo cuanto la debo espiritualmente. Quizás mi estancia allí, de cerca de diez años, ha sido la fase más rica de mi vida hasta ahora' (Martínez Nadal 1983: 15).

7 In 'Historial de un Libro' (1971), Cernuda recognized that 'ese efecto de la lectura de los poetas ingleses acaso fuera más bien uno acumulativo o de conjunto que el aislado o particular de tal poeta determinado. Al decir eso debo añadir cómo Shakespeare me apareció entonces, y así me aparecería siempre, como poeta que no tiene igual en otra literatura moderna [...] Al mismo tiempo que a los poetas leía a los críticos de la poesía, que en Inglaterra son bastantes y de importancia excepcional: las *Vidas de los poetas* del Dr. Johnson, la Biografía literaria, de Coleridge, las cartas de Keats, los ensayos de Arnold y Eliot' (Cernuda 1971: 203).

And perhaps in this sense of rejection lies the key to understanding Cernuda's ambivalence towards English culture and frequent Anglophobia.<sup>8</sup> Although he could hardly complain about his welcome by British Hispanism and fellow Spanish Republican exiles, Cernuda made little or no attempt to engage with English-speaking intellectuals of his own level, as evinced by the painfully awkward encounter with Stephen Spender narrated by Rafael Martínez Nadal (1983: 86–87). His haughty dismissal of other Spanish exiles who had made attempts to integrate into English cultural life further compounded this estrangement. In this sense, we must understand his disparaging comments about 'la gentecilla de la BBC', among whom, as Martínez Nadal clarified, 'figuraban algunos escritores, eruditos, profesores y políticos que ya habían alcanzado o alcanzarían renombre internacional' (Martínez Nadal 1983: 157).

As stated above, Cernuda was most certainly made welcome by British Hispanism in general, and specifically by E. Allison Peers at the University of Liverpool who had founded the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* in 1923, and would regularly and generously invite Cernuda and other Spanish artists to give talks to the University's Hispanic society.<sup>9</sup> The initial contact between Cernuda and the University of Liverpool was made through María Victoria de Lara, an assistant lecturer at the University who, having met Cernuda in London in late 1938,<sup>10</sup> offered to speak to her Head of Department, Allison Peers, to invite Cernuda to give some talks in Liverpool. Cernuda's first visit to the city was in January 1939, on his way to the University of Glasgow to take up his post there. These well-paid talks were more than welcome for the impoverished, debt-ridden Cernuda, who continued to visit Liverpool every year until 1944 and also published several articles in the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*. The *Bulletin* also included the first article in English about Cernuda's work, published in January 1938 by Rica Jones.<sup>11</sup>

8 In a letter to Nieves Matthews dated 12 August 1944, Cernuda wrote, 'detesto Londres y la manera de vivir que parece natural para quienes se han habituado a tal monstruoso ambiente' (Martínez Nadal 1983: 135).

9 According to Martínez Nadal (1983: 76), 'A todo español que tuviera algo que decir, Allison Peers le invitaba a dar dos conferencias en la Universidad de Liverpool [...] Además de halagado, el invitado se sentía agradablemente sorprendido al comprobar la generosa retribución que el profesor ofrecía'.

10 Cernuda had been invited to England to give some talks by Stanley Richardson, an aspiring young English poet to whom he had been introduced by Rafael Martínez Nadal. Martínez Nadal had met Richardson in Madrid in 1934, when Manuel Altolaguirre and Concha Méndez were preparing the publication of the bilingual literary journal *1616 (English and Spanish Poetry)*. Richardson had studied Spanish at Cambridge with J. B. Trend and contributed translations to that journal.

11 The article, entitled 'Two contemporary Spanish poets', was completed by a piece about Pedro Salinas written by E. Allison Peers [AQ4] (*Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 15.60 (1938): 195–206).

## 2. Convergences

Both Blanco and Cernuda were fierce critics of what they perceived to be the stifling nature of their native Spanish culture, and both men formulated extremely harsh references to their origins in Spain. Thus, Blanco White wrote in his autobiography,

I never felt proud of being a Spaniard, for it was [AQ5] ?as a Spaniard that I found myself mentally degraded, doomed to bow before the meanest priest and layman, who might consign me any day to the prisons of the Inquisition. For many years did I feel that a sentence of banishment out of such a country, far from being a punishment, would be a blessing to me. (Blanco White 1845: 141)

And in his autobiographical prose text 'Historial de un Libro' (1971), Cernuda expressed a similar sense of repulsion towards his native land:

España me aparecía como un país decrepito y en descomposición; todo en él me mortificaba e irritaba. No sé si de haber tenido la suerte de haber nacido en otra tierra, ésta me hubiera parecido tan desagradable. (Cernuda 1971: 189)<sup>12</sup>

Both Blanco and Cernuda admired in English poetry the more natural relationship between the written and spoken language, and preferred the clear and demotic poetic style adopted by English literature after the Romantics. Their prose, poetry and criticism were informed by the lessons learned from reading Coleridge and Wordsworth, such as the *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* of 1800, the de facto manifesto of the English Romantic movement which, among other considerations, recommended that 'ordinary life is the best subject for poetry' and that 'everyday language' is best suited to express feelings in verse.

Both men embraced and put into practice the lessons of English poetry, and both translated English literature. In the case of Blanco, this included excerpts from Shakespeare, and Alexander Pope (as well as the Book of Common Prayer), while Cernuda translated into Spanish works by Wordsworth, Shelley, William Blake, Keats, W. B Yeats and, most significantly, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Blanco and Cernuda also displayed both a profound interest in and an impressive knowledge of other languages and literatures (English, French, German and Italian), which was highly unusual among their Spanish literary contemporaries, as was the breadth of their aforementioned translation work. According to Juan Goytisolo:

12 When writing this text in 1958, Cernuda was honest enough to add, 'Hoy reconozco que entonces, al menos, nadie me hubiera impedido decir tal opinión y comprendo que me formé y eduqué en mi tierra cuando aún se respetaban en ella ciertas libertades humanas' (Cernuda 1971: 189).

13 *Troilo y Crésida. Tragedia en cinco actos* (Madrid: Insula, 1955). Regarding this translation, Cernuda wrote that 'También comencé en Londres, creo que hacia 1946, la traducción del Troilus and Cressida de Shakespeare, labor que me iba a enseñar mucho y que emprendí con amor' (Cernuda 1971: 206).



Ambos escribieron versos y asimilaron las lecciones de la poesía inglesa, juzgaron severamente la vida político-literaria de España, manifestaron extrañeza por sus costumbres y admitieron con saludable franqueza un desdén insólito por el patriotismo de sus paisanos. Su pesimismo profético respecto al futuro español era el mismo [...] Uno y otro amaron apasionadamente la música y tradujeron a Shakespeare, se embebieron en la poética de Wordsworth y expresaron su desdén por Lope y su admiración por Garcilaso y Cervantes. (Goytisolo 1998: 117)

And despite his immense cognitive dissonance about his English experience, like Blanco, Cernuda was also capable of rendering a warm and generous tribute to his place of temporary exile. Thus, in 'Historial de un libro', he wrote that 'Inglaterra es el país más civilizado que conozco, aquel donde la palabra civilización alcanzó su sentido pleno' (Cernuda 1971:198).

### 3. Divergences

Blanco's attitude to England was characterized by acceptance, admiration and even affection. In his *Letters from Spain* of 1825, which were popular with English readers increasingly interested in learning about the Romantic exoticism and quintessential orientalism of Spain from the comfort of their own homes, he spoke of England as 'the land where I drew my first breath of liberty' and addressing Lord Holland, stated that the book was intended as 'a token of friendship to you, and of gratitude and love to your country' (Blanco White 1825: 4). Cernuda's attitude was much more complex and contradictory, as evinced by these lines from 'Historial de un Libro':

Llevaba yo no pocos años de vivir en Inglaterra, pero mi actitud acerca del país y del carácter nacional seguía siendo ambivalente, lo cual se echa de ver en todos aquellos poemas míos de fondo o tema inglés. (Cernuda 1971: 204)<sup>14</sup>

Blanco White was deliberately forgotten in Spain for over a century,<sup>15</sup> unlike Cernuda, who was one of those who lost the war but won the literature manuals, to paraphrase Andrés Trapiello's [AQ6] (2011) well-known aphorism regarding the literary aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. Blanco White chose to write in English in order to identify with and be accepted by an intellectual, cultural and political establishment with which he actively engaged.<sup>16</sup> Cernuda did no such thing, despite all of the requisite introductions into English academia and literary life.

- 14 And relating his experience during an air raid in a wartime Liverpool hotel, Cernuda spoke of the 'Ejemplo del valor sin gestos ni palabras, que es el del inglés' and concluded this expression of admiration for what he considered the calm stoicism of the English with the following manifestation of cognitive dissonance: 'No es Inglaterra, ni son los ingleses, gente que atraiga fácilmente el afecto, al menos el mío; pero no conozco tierra ni gente hacia las que sienta igual admiración y respeto' (Cernuda 1971: 204).
- 15 'Los zombis podían cantar victoria pues ni un Cernuda se dignó leerlo. Blanco parecía definitivamente perdido y seguiría en el limbo si Llorens no hubiese empezado a desenterrarlo' (Goytisolo 1998: 118).
- 16 Blanco published in the *Quarterly Review*, *The London Review* and the *New Monthly Magazine*, among other prestigious English literary journals of the day.



He stayed in his Spanish circle and eschewed contact with his English-speaking intellectual equals.

Blanco White was a profoundly religious man, tormented by the theological doubts and dissent that had led him from a life as a Catholic priest in Seville to that of an Anglican clergyman and theologian in Oxford, before ending his days in Liverpool with a further rupture with the hegemonic Protestant Church in his society, when he renounced Anglicanism to join the Unitarians. Although Cernuda was not conventionally religious by any standard, in 'Historial de un Libro' he noted that while in Scotland 'había comenzado todas las noches a leer, por costumbre, una vez acostado, algunos versículos de la Biblia en traducción inglesa' (Cernuda 1971: 203). However, the homoeroticism of many of Cernuda's [AQ7] poems is certainly in sharp contrast with the asexual, conventional Anglican morality of Blanco's work, notwithstanding the allegations of an 'influjo mujeriego' levelled at him by Menéndez Pelayo.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, in his *Letters from Spain*, Blanco was happy to provide English-speaking readers with the requisite ration of Spanish stereotypes, whereas Cernuda offered the following acerbic portrait in his poem 'Ser de Sansueña' of a Spain populated by 'terratenientes y toreros, / Curas y caballistas, vagos y visionarios, / Guapos y guerrilleros. Tú compatriota, / Bien que ello te repugne, de su fauna' [AQ9]).

#### 4. Conclusions

Although there are doubtless certain 'amazing coincidences' between the English exiles of Blanco and Cernuda, such as their innate tendency towards dissent and discomfort in their own culture that was already manifest before they left Spain, and their subsequent assimilation of the English literary tradition, there are also some stark differences between the two émigrés and their 'obra inglesa', which might lead us to conclude that the categorical assertion by Goytisolo which has served as our initial hypothesis was in fact rather reductive, and perhaps even a little self-serving.<sup>18</sup> Blanco White's literary legacy was subjected to officially sanctioned oblivion,<sup>19</sup> along with that of another *sevillano* exile who died in

17 '¡Que siempre han de andar faldas de por medio en este negocio de herejes!' (Menéndez Pelayo 1932: 184). Not content with this malicious insinuation, Menéndez Pelayo would also falsely assert that 'Blanco [AQ8] tenía varios hijos y amando entrañablemente a aquellos frutos de sus pecados, quería a toda costa darles nombre y consideración social. De aquí su resolución de emigrar y hacerse protestante' (1932: 184–85). This was an entirely malevolent fabrication. Blanco had one illegitimate son born in Spain, who he learned about when he was already in England and subsequently had educated there.

18 He freely admitted that in his analysis of Blanco White's English work, and his place in the heterodox Spanish literary canon, 'no he cesado de hablar de mí mismo. Si algún lector me lo echa en cara y me acusa de haber arrimado el ascua a mi sardina, no tendré más remedio que admitir que la he asado por completo' (Goytisolo 1998: 141).

19 Goytisolo made the following withering assessment of the ignorance of Blanco's work in his homeland: 'El que una obra tan rica, compleja y profunda como la de Blanco haya permanecido durante casi siglo y medio sin traducir muestra con aterradora elocuencia el bajísimo índice de curiosidad intelectual que caracteriza desde siempre a los españoles' (1998: 17).

England, Manuel Chaves Nogales (1897–1944), who was erased from the historical memory of Spanish readers both during and after the Franco dictatorship, until his recovery and consolidation at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In contrast, Cernuda's prolonged exile fortunately did not lead to the neglect of his poetry, which was already being reappraised and revindicated in Spain in the early 1960s by Jaime Gil de Biedma (see Gil de Biedma 1980) and his literary status as one of the hegemonic figures of the 1927 Generation now seems unassailable among fellow poets and critics of contemporary Spanish literature.

Curiously and rather frustratingly, Cernuda never mentioned Blanco in his writings, although Juan Goytisolo considered it 'almost impossible' that Cernuda never came across Blanco's work in any of the university libraries which he frequented in Britain. There appears to be only one personal and bibliographical thread that could lead us from Cernuda back to Blanco White, via the University of Liverpool. The lecturer of Spanish at the University, mentioned above in section 2, María Victoria de Lara, who first facilitated Cernuda's visits there, was an early specialist in Blanco's work and in 1943 she published an article entitled 'Notas a unos manuscritos de José María Blanco White' (*BHS* XX.80: 196–214). Could she have mentioned Blanco's English work and presence in Liverpool to Cernuda? This remains an imponderable, as Cernuda never made any written reference to Blanco, but if he had read the *Life of the Reverend Joseph Blanco White* (Blanco White 1845), he would have undoubtedly been deeply moved to have found a *paisano* who had experienced much the same cultural clash over a century before him.

The plaque devoted to Blanco outside the house where he was born in the Santa Cruz neighbourhood of Seville bears the legend 'Una vida dedicada a combatir la intolerancia', whereas the equivalent plaque outside Cernuda's birthplace in the centre of Seville refers to him as 'el poeta del amor, del dolor y del exilio'. Regarding the crucial importance of exile in the life and work of Spanish poets from different liberal diasporas, Cernuda wrote in a poem entitled 'El ruseñor sobre la piedra' that 'mucho enseña el destierro de nuestra propia tierra', and perhaps that was the greatest lesson shared by the two *sevillanos* during their English exiles, that is, what England taught them about Spain.

To conclude this brief analysis and comparison of the different exiles and Anglophiliacs of José María Blanco White and Luis Cernuda, perhaps the words of the author and fellow Spanish émigré who reflected most fruitfully on the striking coincidences between the two banished *sevillanos* can shed some light on the complex symbiosis between Spain's artists and their fractious relationship between their homeland, artistic creation and exile:

Decíamos antes que la obra de creación [...] requiere un mínimo de circunstancias favorables: cuando éstas no se dan, tampoco allí hay patria, y el deber del creador será buscar entonces el clima propicio sin el cual su obra no existiría. La patria no es un trozo de tierra, ni el hombre un árbol condenado a la inmovilidad. Si Picasso, Buñuel o Cernuda llegaron a ser lo que son gracias al estímulo de un clima que no podían hallar en España, en buena hora se establecieron fuera, y sólo los necios podrían reprochárselo. (Goytisolo 1998: 138)

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