JOHN STEVENS (c. 1663-1726):
HISPANIST AND TRANSLATOR

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In a short article published in 1990, Joan Gili expressed regret that the prolific translator John Stevens had not received the attention he deserved: “...[w]ith his translations Stevens introduced many new authors into the English language, thus making an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Spanish history and literature” (Gili 28). There were some exceptions to this general neglect. In 1936 R. H. Williams published the text of a manuscript notebook (British Library: Sloane MS 3093), dating from about 1707, in which Stevens listed the Spanish books in his library, with forthright comments on their literary merit and suitability for published translation. “Few documents can be found”, Williams wrote, “to give such an intimate glimpse at the workshop and methods of a busy foreign reader and scribbler of Spanish subjects during the 18th century” (Williams 166). Later, in his English Interpreters of the Iberian New World, Colin Steele rediscovered Stevens as the first English writer to make his living as a translator, meeting the contemporary demand for books of travel, and introducing English readers for the first time to some of the classics of the conquista (see also Hitchcock). His translations of Antonio Herrera, Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, Manuel de Faria y Sousa and others allowed English readers, previously dependent on partisan accounts of the Iberian world, an insight into the mentality of the conquistadores. Unlike some other critics, Steele praised Stevens for his style, as well as for his profound knowledge of Spanish — a view shared by Richard Hitchcock. More recently, Pedro Serra has drawn attention to Stevens as an interpreter of Portuguese history, literature and culture to a public whose previous knowledge did not go far beyond Camoens (see Serra).

At Stevens’ death, his books and journals passed into the hands of his friend John Warburton, the antiquary, and were sold at auction after Warburton’s death in 1759. In 1953 two of the journals (lots 319 and 321 in the Warburton sale) were bought from a London book-dealer by the collector Dr Brian Lawn. At Dr Lawn’s death they passed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. A third journal (lot 327) turned up in a London sale room in June 2010 and was acquired by the Firestone Library at Princeton (Taylor MSS, no. 17). All three journals are remarkable for their autobiographical and literary content.

John Stevens’ father, Richard, was a Roman Catholic who served for many years as page of the backstairs to Queen Catherine of Braganza. Earlier, in 1649, he had served the 1st Earl of Clarendon in Madrid, and it is likely
that he married in Spain, since his son was later to describe himself as having been “conversant” with Spanish from his infancy (Proposals). The register of Queen Catherine’s chapel in London records the marriage in April 1676 of Mary Anne Stevens, John’s sister, to one Antonio Soltrain (Registers 24). Braganza patronage played an important part in John’s early advancement. The Queen’s first chaplains were supplied by the English Benedictine community of St Gregory’s, Douai, and it was doubtless as a result of this connection that John entered the school at Douai about 1675 (List 4). A page of the backstairs, on an annual salary of £40, would hardly have been able to afford school fees which then amounted to about £25 a year. It is probable that the Queen herself sponsored the boy’s education. His first published work was dedicated to her.

Elsewhere I have attempted to give an account of Stevens’ early career (Murphy 437-54). On leaving school he spent some three years in Lisbon before returning to London to enter the service of the 2nd Earl of Clarendon, Queen Catherine’s Lord Chamberlain. The accession of James II in 1685 opened up the career prospects of Catholics, and when Clarendon was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1686, Stevens accompanied him to Dublin as one of his gentlemen-at-large. Socially this was the high point of his career. Recommended by Clarendon as “an honest, sober young fellow, and a pretty scholar” (Singer 1.653), he entered civil service in 1687 as a Receiver of Excise based at Welshpool. His tenure of office was cut short the following year by the ‘Glorious Revolution’ whereby William of Orange usurped the throne vacated by James II. Stevens followed James to France, “my intention being to follow my sovereign’s fortunes, and by him to live and die” (Stevens 19). He joined the Jacobite army which landed at Bantry Bay in May 1689 to carry on the fight against William in Ireland. His campaign diary, later written up in Portugal, is not only an important and graphic historical document (not published until 1912) but a key to his personality, bearing witness to his earnestness, stamina and passionate devotion to the Jacobite cause. He was present at the Battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick – an experience he would later draw on in his criticism of Lope’s play El Sitio de Breda, which he dismissed as “stark naught, and shows the author knew nothing of martial affairs” (Williams 156). Later he would look back at his part in the campaign as “the most glorious action of my life”, in which he had proved to be “a signal sufferer for my religion, for my king, for justice and loyalty” (Stevens 3). Throughout his life he proudly styled himself Captain Stevens (Williams 156).

The Treaty of Limerick in January 1692 allowed for the evacuation of the defeated Jacobite army to France, but rather than continue his military career in the French service Stevens spent the next two years in Portugal, engaged in what he called “far different imployments”. In 1694 he returned to London with the intention of earning a living independently by his pen. His attitude to the literary craft was characteristically modest and matter-of-fact. “My Talent is so small”, he wrote, “that I had nothing to offer which
might be of publick use unless it were the communicating of as much of the Spanish Tongue as Nature and several years’ reading have made me Master of” (New Spanish-English Dictionary, Preface). Between 1695 and his death in 1726 he published some forty books – a staggering output, given the amount of research involved, the scale of many of his translations, and the breadth of his reading.

His first work was a translation of the Spanish version of Manuel de Faria y Sousa’s Portuguese Asia, dedicated to the Dowager Queen Catherine, who by that time (1695) had retired to Lisbon. This was followed in 1697 by The Government of a Wife, or, Wholsom and Pleasant Advice for Married Men, a translation from the Portuguese of the Guia de Casados (1651) of Francisco Manuel de Mello. Normally he translated without passing judgment, but here he interpolated his own glosses on De Mello’s precepts (Serra, passim). The result is an illuminating comparison between the differing mores of London and Lisbon. The comments reveal much about his own morality: he is more puritanical than de Mello, but more considerate of the rights and needs of women, criticising the Portuguese custom of keeping young women “mewed up” before marriage and debarring them from “the handling and disposing of money”. A censorious puritan, he disapproved of dancing (“I believe that all the devils in hell held a Council to invent it”), dancing schools (“no better than seminaries of Vice”), cosmetics (“I cannot think that Patches add any other beauty than to make a Woman look like a motley Dog; for I am loth to name the Female”). Another of his favourite themes was the bad example given to the lower orders by those of upper rank, “as if the Bed of a King sanctified Lewdness, or the Title of Duchess and Countess would wipe away the name of a Prostitute”. This was the nearest he came to criticising the dissolute morals of Charles II’s court, which he and his family had been able to observe at close quarters.1

These early works are dedicated to influential patrons, most of them veterans of the court of Queen Catherine, but he found this dependence irksome. Only Charles Killigrew, the dedicatee of his Spanish dictionary (1706) stirred him to real warmth: “You alone, Sir, remov’d all my Obstacles; you encouraged me to begin, and you still prompted me to proceed. Whatever is perform’d is due to you; if the Publick receives any benefit, you are the Source it flows from. We live in an Age when Learning and Gentility are almost thought incompatible, and the Difficulty of finding a learned Patron is even greater than that of Writing. It is easy to prefix a great Title before a little Book, but to find those qualifications which are requisite in a Patron, hoc opus, hic labor est”.

Stevens’ only salaried employment was as ‘author’ [editor] of the British Mercury, from July 1712 to July 1715, at an annual salary of £40. This 4-page weekly had been launched in 1710 by the Sun Fire Office, for the benefit of

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1 Pedro Serra. De Mello held that the best books for a young woman were ‘the cushion and the embroidering frame’. See Boxer 100-101.
policy holders. The paper had a circulation of almost 4000, mainly—but not exclusively—in London, where free copies were delivered to the door by the company’s ‘walkers’, thereby saving customers the trouble of having to go to the coffee-house for news. Each number contained a digest of news from domestic and foreign gazettes, as well as articles of a more general literary or historical nature. Since what readers had in common was the fear of fire, rather than allegiance to any party, politics was studiously avoided. As Stevens put it: “Nothing of High or Low, Whig or Tory, is ever to find place in this paper; neither Church man nor Dissenter, nay not so much as the moral Mahometan, Jew or Heathen shall be invidiously pointed at” (British Mercury, 11 June 1715). For literary diversion he began by serialising one of the novelas of María de Zayas, La esclava de su amante (“diverting and full of variety”), aimed perhaps at the wives and daughters of the Sun’s clients. (He may have taken advice from his sister, Catharina Sabina Stevens. The sale of his manuscripts in 1759 included six quarto volumes of original compositions by her “in several languages, but chiefly in Spanish”). However, his preference for facts rather than fiction soon got the better of him, and for a period of eight months readers were subjected to “a chronological account of all the Empires of the World, from the Creation to the present Time”. Forced at last to admit that readers wanted more amusement, he turned again to Spanish fiction, with a version of the Varia fortuna del soldado Píñaro, by Gonzalo Céspedes y Meneses—a work which he described in his journal as “a very entertaining Romantick Account” (Williams 161). But his journalistic career was cut short in July 1715 when, in the wake of rumours about an impending Jacobite invasion, all Roman Catholics living within ten miles of the City were ordered to leave London. The wonder is that as a Catholic and a Jacobite, Stevens should have been appointed editor in the first place.

He was fortunate to coincide with an unprecedented demand for travel narratives. As a contemporary put it, such works were “in our present days, what books of chivalry were in those of our forefathers” (Cooper 344). Many of the earlier published accounts of the Spanish dominions had been written by colonial adventurers, whereas early 18th century readers were interested not just in the conquista itself, but also in the anthropology and natural history of America and the Far East. Stevens was judicious in his choice of authors: Argensola, Herrera and Pedro Cieza de León among them. He was the first to introduce English readers to the published work of Jesuit missionary travellers. Herrera’s Historia General (published in six volumes as The General History of the vast Continent and Islands of America) he regarded as “the most excellent and accomplished work of this nature that was ever made publick. He [Herrera] is just and impartial, fairly representing as well the ill as the good Actions of the Spaniards, without concealing anything out of affection or magnifying things above measure. In short, he is to be rely’d on as to all Matter of Fact, and his Descriptions are much more exact than those of strolling ignorant Bucaniers and injudicious Travellers, who write more things upon false Reports than upon Knowledge” (Williams 148). He entered
a *caveat*, however: “It is not improper to advise the reader not to take notice of some reflections in point of Religion” — a warning he repeated in the preface to his translation of Argensola: *Discovery and Conquest of the Molucco and Philippine Islands*. This last work included an account of the route to the East Indies by way of the Straits of Magellan. Spanish books, he observed, often contained more than was indicated on the title page.

**History**

Stevens’ own natural bent was towards history, to which he brought first-hand experience of the court, the cloister and the battlefield — as well as phenomenally wide reading. His most important contribution to the genre was his translation of Mariana’s History of Spain. He regarded Mariana as a model of impartiality compared with English historians, who were “very well known to carry too much Byass”. In his preface, however, he was careful to add that ‘there is no Spanish history but swarms with Lives of Saints and Miracles … This sort of Legend, tho’ very acceptable to Spaniards, is not at all taking amongst us, nor – to say the truth – any way pertinent to profane History; therefore these things I have much retrench’d” (Preface to Mariana; Preface to *The History of Bavaria* [1706]). Elsewhere he declared his “natural inclination in history to deliver downright Matter of Fact, as I find it, without those embellishments some men are fond of, which are no better than turning of it into Romance, by inserting tedious Speeches for the most part made by the Historian; pretending to discover the secret Councils and even the Thoughts of Princes and Generals … and filling much paper with Politick Reflections” (*History of Bavaria*, preface). It has to be said that his translation of Mariana loses some of the flavour of the original as a result of this approach, and because of the haste of the writing. Fortunately, he retained the speeches in his translation of Argensola. In a lecture some years ago Carlo Ginzburg pointed out that the speech assigned to the King of Tydore before his people’s last stand against the Portuguese is an adaptation of the speech which Tacitus, in the *Agricola*, puts in the mouth of the Caledonian leader Calgacus before the fateful battle against the Romans at Mons Graupius, in the north of Scotland. Stevens translates: “They [the Portuguese] are the great robbers of the world [*raptores orbis*], who usurp it by shrouding their avarice under specious and godly pretences … They think they have no settled peace till they have reduc’d the Provinces into Desarts [*solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*] … What is Life worth without Liberty?” (Argensola, 41). Like Tacitus, Argensola allows his ‘barbarian’ prince to voice a powerful indictment of imperialism. Ginzburg wondered whether this was simply a rhetorical exercise, or an example of the writer’s power of empathy, or a deliberate critique.

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2 His first experience of battle had been at Sedgemoor in 1685 (Princeton, Taylor MS 217).
Drama and entertainment

The adaptation of Spanish plays for performance on the London stage should have been a lucrative undertaking, but Stevens’ only venture in this line was a comedy entitled *A Spanish Play call’d An Evening’s Intrigue*, by "a very modern writer", whom he named as Juan de Avila. Published in 1707, “the scene remov’d out of Spain into England”, it was produced in 1717 at the New Theatre, Lincoln’s Inn Fields. In his journal Stevens had some damning things to say about Golden Age drama. He ruled out most of Calderón’s output, either as “unnatural” (*La vida es sueño*), or “extravagant” (*El purgatorio de San Patricio*), or “all downright folly and madness, without anything tolerable in it” (*La puente del mandible*). The only exception he made was for *Saber del mal y del bien*—"a most excellent play in all respects … incomparable good". Of the twelve other plays he reviewed, seven were dismissed as “stark naught”, four were “good” (among them, Lope’s *Los milagros del desprecio*), and one “indifferent”. The “devout” plays offended him by their “mixing things sacred and ridiculous” (Williams 155-57).

This moralising tendency is also evident in his preface to *The Spanish Libertines*, or, *The Lives of Justina, the Country Jilt; Celestina, the Bawd of Madrid; and Estevanillo González, the most arch and comical of all scoundrels* (1707) —free adaptations of Francisco de Ubeda’s *La pícara Justina, La Celestina*, and *La vida y hechos de Estevanillo González*. The aim of all three, he declared, was “not to teach vile practices, but rather to expose Vice and the base Contrivances of scandalous Persons”. He omitted what he called ‘unsavoury’ passages, and presented the story of *La Celestina* ("the Bawd of Madrid") as “a good caution for the shunning all women of scandalous reputation” (preface to *The Spanish Libertines*). He also introduced English readers to more “modern” literature, such as the *novelas* of María de Zayas, Céspedes y Meneses and Castillo de Solorzano, though they too were bowdlerised. One work he singled out for praise was *The Most Entertaining History of Hipolyto and Aminta*, by Francisco de Quintana: “Here are none of those Indecencies which too frequently occur in Plays and other Books of Wit”, he declared in his preface. “All here is modest, and becoming the chastest Ears”.

Cervantes

The most successful of his translations were his version of *Don Quixote* and its continuation by Avellaneda (the latter translated from the French of Le Sage). His *Quixote* was among the books in Swift’s library (H.Williams no.476), and Pope drew on his translation of Avellaneda for the passage in his *Essay on Criticism* where the Don airs his views on Aristotle’s theory of the Unities (Pope 270-71, 484-86). Like most of his contemporaries, Stevens saw Cervantes as a debunker: “How fortunate the author was in his Undertaking is visible in the wonderful effect that they [his writings] have had in banishing almost out of the World, and particularly out of Spain, that innumerable Multitude of fulsome Romances or Stories of knightly Adventures which serv’d only to debauch Youth and infatuate old Age with their impossible
Impertinences” (Dedication to Sir Thomas Hanmer). He began his preface with a pleasing conceit: “This, I think—to speak in his own language—may very well be Don Quixote’s third Sally amongst us, since he has twice before appear’d in English, and now comes abroad again to seek Adventures, somewhat more refin’d in Language than the first time [in Shelton’s translation], and much more like himself than the second [in Philips’] … Don Quixote has gone through these two courses and yet, not content with all the Bangs and Bruises he has receiv’d, being now new dress’d and furbish’d up, ventures forth again, not without hopes of better Quarters than he found before” (Preface).

Of the two previous translators Stevens regarded Shelton as the more satisfactory, and he set about revising Shelton’s text. He explained his modus operandi in the preface: “Many places there are in which the English was so antiquated or corrupt, and the meaning of the Spanish so entirely lost, that I have been forc’d to translate sometimes half, and sometimes whole pages. But particularly in the first tome, from the beginning of the novel of the Curious Impertinent quite through to the end of the book is all entirely new without any regard had to the old Translation … I have endeavoured to follow the Spanish as close as ever the Spanish would bear, in the very Language and Stile; choosing rather to be blam’d for adhering too servilly to my Author than to alter anything of his Sense. I do not question but some will blame this my strict Translation … but these, I believe, will be only such as love to intrude their own Notions into the Works of others”.

This self-effacing, scrupulous approach to translation is much closer to modern thinking than to the fashion prevalent in the early 18th century—the age of Pope’s Homer. It is certainly at variance with the principles laid down by Dryden: “The qualification of a translator worth reading must be a mastery of the language he translates out of, and that he translates into; but if a deficiency be allowed in either, it is in the original. A translator that would write with any force or spirit of an original must never dwell on the words of an author” (Alden 255, 260). Dwelling on Cervantes’ words was exactly what Stevens did, and in the second edition of his Quixote he revised his revisions, with many careful alterations of detail. It can be argued that though he was clear and accurate where Shelton was inaccurate or unclear, he achieved this at the expense of style.

He was also at pains to differentiate between high and low diction: “As to the Stile, I make everyone speak just the same language that the Author allots him. Where Don Quixote talks like a Knight Errant, there, as the Spanish does, I thrust in many obsolete, bombast expressions such as befit a heroick Madman; where he seems to discourse more rationally, there the Stile runs smooth … So Sancho upon occasion talks like a Clown, makes Blunders, mistakes Words, raps out Proverbs, tells ridiculous Tales, and expresses himself like Himself; but when the Author is pleas’d to allow him a more elevated Fit of Sense, there he talks like one that has been improv’d under so great a Master as Don Quixote”.

His translation broke new ground in other respects. It was published with illustrations in two octavo volumes, “for conveniency of carriage”, thus making it more accessible for everyday use by the general reader, and it was accompanied by footnotes which explained unfamiliar terms. Where possible, Spanish proverbs were rendered by English equivalents. Paradoxically, one of the most attractive features of Stevens’ translation was the rendering of Cervantes’ verse. “The Author of this Translation, being himself unpractis’d in Verse, thought fit to leave the Poetry to two other Persons who desire to have their Names conceal’d”. Though a stickler for literal translation where prose was concerned, he not only tolerated poetic licence but regarded it as essential. The translations in his judgment, were “so good that they will scarcely be outdone”. Just one example (Appendix 2) suggests that the claim was not unjustified.

Quevedo

Of all Spanish writers, it was Quevedo to whom Stevens felt the closest affinity. They were alike in their devotion to the cause of Throne and Altar, in their piety, idealism, stoicism and sense of being out of joint with the times. Stevens particularly admired Quevedo’s devotional works, La cuna y la sepultura, Doctrina para morir, and Acto fervoroso del alma agonizante, but regretfully decided that they were “too religious to bear in English” (Williams 152). It was Stevens who first introduced English readers to Quevedo’s comic genius: his translation of La Hora de Todos (Fortune in her Wits, or, The Hour of All Men) was his first popular success on its publication in 1697. Ten years later he included it in a collection of Quevedo’s Comical Works (1707), under the title “The Life of Paul, the Spanish Sharper”. In the Preface he was once more characteristically self-effacing: “It is impossible that copies should answer to the value of originals, especially in books of wit or humour, nor can I pretend to such a genius as Quevedo to make him speak English with that diverting sweetness as he does Spanish … The works of the great Don Francisco de Quevedo are a real treasure, however obscur’d by my handling of them”.

If Quevedo had been an Englishman, he would surely have been a champion of the Stuart doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, and this is exactly how Stevens presented him in his versions of the Vida de Marco Brutus and Política de Dios. His version of the former, The Controversy about Resistance and Non-Resistance discus’s in Moral and Political Reflections on Marcus Brutus … translated and publish’d in defence of Dr Henry Sacheverell (1710) was directly applied to the contemporary political situation in England. Henry Sacheverell was a Tory clergyman who achieved enormous popularity, or notoriety, by a sermon preached at St Paul’s Cathedral in November 1709, in which he proclaimed the duty of all subjects to ‘absolute and unconditional obedience to the supreme power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of Resistance upon any pretext whatsoever’. It would have been difficult for the English reader of Stevens’ version of the Vida de Marco Brutus to miss the point of such statements as “The commonalty is under a worse subjection to an electi
Senate than a hereditary Prince … Senators are Tyrants in Commonwealths … Do you, Nations, learn to bear with a good, or a bad, Monarch”. In Quevedo’s Caesar Stevens saw King Charles the martyr, and his Brutus prefigured the regicides. The same contemporary messages were evident in Divine Maxims of Government, without Whig or Tory (1715), a version of Part I of the Política de Dios, and Christian Politicks (1720), covering the first eight chapters of Part II (Divine Maxims of Government, 1715).

**Philology**

Stevens’ New Spanish Grammar and New General Spanish and English Dictionary, both published in 1706, quickly became standard works. With professional pride, the author declared in his preface to the dictionary that it was “not written by the commands of great Men”, but because “booksellers have found a demand, and proposed such terms as the Author thought fit to accept of”. It contained, according to the full title, several thousand words more than any other Dictionary; with their Etymology; their Proper, Figurative, Burlesque and Cant significations; the Common Terms of Arts and Sciences; the Proper Names of Men; the Surnames of Families and an Account of them; the Titles of the Nobility of Spain; together with its Geography and that of the West Indies; with the Names of such Provinces, Towns and Rivers in other parts which differ in Spanish from the English. Also about two thousand Proverbs literally translated, with their Equivalents, where any could be found … To which is added a copious English-Spanish Dictionary more complete and easy than any hitherto extant. Though based on the earlier work of Minsheu and Oudin, it broke new ground by introducing terms relating to natural history (many taken from the works of Christoval de Acosta on the flora and fauna of Spanish America). It also included some extraordinarily long-winded glosses on the proverbs. One example may suffice: “La flaca baila en la boda, que no la gorda: The lean one dances at the wedding, and not the fat one. This Proverb is by way of advice to unwieldy Women that they do not go to Places where there must be Dancing, because they will be sham’d by young, tender Girls who are fit for that Sport. In general, it directs all Persons to direct themselves to that they are fit for, and not to aim at that which they can never perform”. That the compiler was not lacking in a sense of humour, however, is suggested by his rendering of Grana no hinche armero, mas ayude a su compañero: “All helps”, as the Wren said, when she piss’d in the Sea”.

During the last decade of his life, Stevens devoted himself increasingly to his antiquarian research, which bore fruit in his 2-volume supplement to Dugdale’s Monasticon Anglicanum, which he had earlier published in an abridged version translated from the original Latin, to make it available to a wider readership. He died in London on 27 October 1726 (Boyer 411), leaving a widow, from whom John Warburton purchased her husband’s library and manuscripts. These were eventually sold at the auction of

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3 The Controversy about Resistance and Non-Resistance discus’d (1710), 94-95. For Stevens’ authorship, see Williams 94-95.
Warburton’s library in November 1759. After her brother’s death, Catherina Sabina Stevens fell on hard times, since she was reduced to offering some curiosities for sale to Sir Hans Sloane, having been given to understand by her late ‘esteemed and dear brother’ that he was a collector of such objects (BL Sloane MS 4048, f.277). Stevens’ widow paid an even heavier price for his unworldliness. Two and a half years after his death a London news-sheet reported that she was “now in the utmost Distress, and in want of almost the bare Necessities of Life”, her husband having left her not quite twenty pounds —“a poor Support for an unhappy Relict. We hope this will be a Warning to others, how they fool away their Time in scribbling for the modern Goths, since ‘tis impossible … to procure enough to keep Life and Soul from falling to Pieces. A good Copist in Painting is well paid for his Work: but a good Translator seldom gets half as much as a good Journeyman Shoemaker” (Flying-Post, 8 February 1729).

The Bodleian copy of her brother’s penultimate book, The Royal Treasury of England (1725), bears a note on the flyleaf in the hand of Francis Douce, the antiquary. It reads: “A very learned and curious work. Adequate justice has not been done to the memory of Captain Stevens”.

**APPENDIX 1**

**Translations by Captain John Stevens from the Spanish and Portuguese**

Manuel de Faria y Sousa. *The Portuguese Asia: or, the History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese, containing all their discoveries from the coast of Africk to the farthest parts of China and Japan.* 3 vols. London: C. Brome, 1695. Translated from the version in Spanish. Dedicated to Catherine, Queen Dowager of England.

Francisco Manuel de Mello. *The Government of a Wife, or, Wholsom and Pleasant Advice for Married Men … with some Additions of the Translator, distinguished from the Translation.* London: Jacob Tonson, 1697. Translated from the Portuguese. Dedicated to Luis da Cunha, Portuguese ambassador in London. Supplemented by Antonio de Guevara, *Touching the Behaviour of a Man towards his Wife (Letra para Mosoñ Puche ...para los reciñ casados).*


Manuel de Faria y Sousa. *A History of Portugal, from the First Ages of the World to the late great revolution under King John IV in the year MDCXL … translated and continued down to … 1698 by Captain John Stevens.* London: W. Rogers and Abel Roper, 1698. Dedicated to Richard Minshull. The continuation,
from 1640, is based on the *Historia de Portugal restaurado*, by the Conde de Ericeira.


Miguel de Cervantes. *The History of the most ingenious Knight, Don Quixote …* formerly made English by Thomas Shelton, now revis’d, corrected, and partly new translated from the original. 2 vols. London: R. Chiswell, 1700 (2nd edition, 1706). Both editions dedicated to Sir Thomas Hanmer,


The *Spanish Libertines*, or, *The Lives of Justina, the Country Jilt* (Francisco López de Ubeda, *La pícara Justina*); *Celestina, the Bawd of Madrid, Estevanillo González, the most arch and comical of all Scoundrels. To which is added a play call’d An Evening’s Adventures*. London: Samuel Bunchley, 1707.

*A Spanish Play call’d An Evening’s Adventures. Translated from the Original, and the Scene remov’d into England*, 1707.

[Pedro Cieza y León]. *The Seventeen Years’ Travels of Peter de Cieza through the mighty Kingdom of Peru*. London: J. Knapton, 1709. Dedicated to Edmund Poley, diplomat, of Badley, Suffolk.


Contents:
- ‘The unhappy Mistakes retrieved by good Fortune’ (J. Pérez de Montalbán, ‘A cabo de los años mil’).
- ‘The fatal Mischiefs of unbounded Lust’ (María de Zayas, ‘Los estragos que causa el vicio’, *Desengaños amorosos*, no.10).
- ‘The inhuman Father and bloody Son’ (María de Zayas, ‘El traidor contra su sangre’, *ibid*, no.8).
- ‘The danger of Back-Doors’ (based on Calderón, ‘Casa con dos puertas: mala es de guardar’).
- ‘The Lewd Wife and Perfidious Gallant’ (María de Zayas, ‘Al fin se paga todo’: *Novelas amorasas y exemplares*, no.7).


‘The Rover’ (Gonzalo Cápedes y Méneses, *Varia fortuna del soldado Pindaro*), *British Mercury*, nos 471-482, 14 July to 29 December 1714.

*The History of Persia … written in Arabick by Mirkond … translated into Spanish by Antony Teixeira … and now translated into English.* London: Jonas Brown, 1715.

*Divine Maxims of Government without Whig or Tory, or, The True Character of a King and of a Tyrant, of a Faithful Minister and of a Favourite Traitor* by Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas. London: James Roberts, 1715. (Part I of the *Política de Dios*). See Williams, 150.


*Christian Politicks, in opposition to the Folly of Matchavellian Tyrants and atheistical Statesmen; for the Conversion or Confusion of those worldly great Men who learn their infamous Maxims in the School of Satan.* London: J. Bettenham, 1720 (The first eight chapters of Part II of Quevedo, *Política de Dios*).


**Original Works**


*A new Spanish Grammar, more perfect than any hitherto publish’d … to which is added a vocabulary of the most necessary words: also a collection of phrases and dialogues adapted to familiar discourse.* London: T. Meighan, 1706 (2nd edition, ‘improved, corrected and amended’ by Sebastian Puchol, 1739).

*The Ancient and Present State of Portugal, containing the description of that Kingdom (taken from M. de Faria y Sousa his Europa Portuguesa) … Also a curious description of the Inquisition (being the substance of a folio written in Latin by Dr Carena), and of all the towns and rivers in the Kingdom … By a gentleman who resided some years in that country.* London: J. Nutt, 1705. Further editions: 1706, 1711 (by J. King), 1713 (by W. Bray). Dedicated to Lewis, Earl of
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APPENDIX 2

‘Versos, no de rústicos ganaderos sino de discretos cortesanos’, Don Quixote, I. 13.

Quién menoscaba mis bienes?  
Desdenes.
Y quién aumenta mis duelos?  
Los celos.
Y quién prueba mi paciencia?  
Ausencia.
De ese modo, en mi dolencia  
ningún remedio se alcanza,  
pues mi matan la esperanza  
desdenes, celos y ausencia.

Quién me causa este dolor?  
Amor.
Y quién mi gloria repugna?  
Fortuna.
Y quién consiente en mi duelo?  
El cielo.
De ese modo, yo recelo  
morir deste mal extraño,  
pues se aumentan en mi daño  
amor, fortuna y el cielo.

Quién mejorará mi suerte?  
La muerte.
Y el bien de amor, quién le alcanza?  
Mudanza.
Y sus males, quién los cura?
Locura.
De ese modo, no es cordura
querer la pasión
cuando los remedios son
muerte, mudanza y locura.

‘Verses not of a rustick, but of an exceeding polite strain’

Speak, Tragick Song, what Fury rends in twain
This wretched Breast? Hard Usage and Disdain.
Say, Muse, what creature can so cruel be
To aggravate my Woes? Dire Jealousie.
Who does my Soul this Injury and Wrong,
To tempt its Patience thus? An Absence long.

If so, alas this Injury and Wrong
(Hard Fate it is!) can look for no Redress;
Barr’d from all Hope and Prospect of Success
By Disdain, Jealousie nd Absence long.

What makes these tort’ring Thoughts and Passions move
Still in my wounded Soul? Discourteous Love.
Who mocks the Tears with which my Eyes importune
Aid to my helpless Love? Base jilting Fortune.
And who derides the moving Plaints and Sighs
Fore’d from my Griefs? Th’inexorable Skies.

If so, foreboding Fears then justly rise
In my mad Heart, that I shall never find
Wish’d Succour; since to ruin me are join’d
Love, Fortune, and th’inexorable Skies.

What then can help me? To resign my Breath.
What close the Wounds of Love? A speedy Death.
Whom will the light, capricious Deity
Most favour with his Smiles? Inconstancy.
What chases Love’s distracting Melancholy
From the distemper’d Soul? Brisk Mirth and Folly.

If this be so, ‘tis wisdom to be jolly:
Or else expect no more, by human Art
To ease the Tortures of a wounded Heart;
Best cur’d by Death, Inconstancy, or Folly.
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