# How **former travellers** contributed to portray a **country's image**

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**Abstract** | This study aims to contribute to depict Portugal's image as a touristic destination and tries to describe Portugal as it was seen by former travellers. It analyses written documents brought to us by English speaking travellers during the third quarter of the 19th century. Specifically, it analyses books written over the timespan 1850-1875. A mixed approach is performed to conduct the analysis, systematic literature review, content analysis and science mapping technics are employed. Findings show references to multiple important aspects related to Portugal's image, such as landscapes, food, accommodation, and infrastructures.

**Keywords** | Traveller, country image, text analysis, tourism

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## 1. Introduction

United Kingdom (UK), and specifically England, was the source and the starting point for the industrial revolution. In 1850s England was a country influenced by the Industrial Revolution that marked a major turning point in history. Almost every aspect of daily life was influenced in some way, particularly the average income and the population wealth that began to exhibit unprecedented, sustained growth. The standard of living for the general population began to increase consistently for the first time in history. Travel became usual, enabled by the railway, steam navigation's expansion and by the increased population wealth. Consequently, routes through the south of Europe appeared and Lisbon was many times the starting point of a voyage throughout the continent. It was also at this time that many English-speaking travel writers decided to undertake a journey to Portugal. Their visions would later help to create an image of the country.

Thus, it is an interesting starting point to study some of the writers that visited Portugal between 1850 and 1875 and analyse their manuscripts about their journeys. The purpose is to understand and show the image they depicted from Portugal during these twenty-five years and also to study the impact it may had in the contemporary portrait of the country. William Edward Baxter, John Murray, Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley, Reverend Joseph Oldknow, Charles Wainwright March, J. H. Siddons, Sophia Dunbar, Henry O'Shea, John Richard Digby Beste, Reverend Alfred Charles Smith, and Catherine Hannah Charlotte Jackson were some of these travellers.

The image these writers have of Portugal was probably made with comments and opinions they heard from someone, statements, or books they have read, contacts with the nationals or even small trips inside the country. It is possible to consider that one of the main influences in the construction of an image of a country are the books published about it. Those books have references to the country and its nationals' character, culture, food, lodging, landscapes, among others. Undoubtedly, the authors approached in this article and the expansion period it is referring to influence the image foreigners have nowadays of Portugal, its land, and people.

A person usually knows his own culture and others by reputation only. Furthermore, when someone thinks about a country and its people usually has an "image" of them, even though he/ she only knows a small group of individuals (Leerssen, 2000).

Image represents the sum of beliefs, attitudes, and impressions that a person or group has of an object, that can be a company, product, brand, places, or person, that right or wrong guide a shape behaviour (Barich & Kotler, 1991).

On the other hand, a country image can be understood as the sum of impressions and beliefs people have about places (Kotler & Gertner, 2002) and is formed through a mental process based on the consumers perceptions about countries products and brands (Han, 1989). Nevertheless, the country's image also affects consumers perceptions about products and brands (Han, 1989; Kotler & Gertner, 2002).

The image destination formation process is known to be established through a process based on a person-determined (organic) and a destination-determined (induced) image (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997). The first one, based on information sources not related to tourism, and the second, induced through tourism related sources.

Organic image, working previously to induce image, plays a significant role in settling a person's destiny image. In this sense, the role of organic agents of image formation process, such as former travellers through a specific place (Gartner, 1993), are the catalyst for a person's image formation and for a destiny choice.

Countries launch campaigns to promote and to create an image of the country as a tourist

destination (Mossberg & Kleppe, 2005), spending resources to improve present and future tourists' image about their main strengths. Although, customers make choices according to a set of aspects, namely: internal variables like attitudes, values, lifestyles, images, motivation; external variables such as pull factors of a destination, marketing mix, influences of family and references; the nature of the intended trip such as distance, time, duration of trip; and trip experiences. Yet, the ultimate choice of a destination depends on the interaction among these variables (Sirakaya & Woodside, 2005), thus, throughout the interaction of the organic and the induced image.

Therefore, this paper's main objectives are to explore how English-speaking travellers portray Portugal in the third quarter of the 19th century and to provide a set of the main characteristics that contributed to build the image of Portugal as a touristic destination. Hence, exploring how these travellers work as organic agents of Portugal's image as a travel destiny.

As far as the authors knowledge, this research is unique, and the methods and sources used to conduct the research have not been used before in depicting the research topic about Portugal. Thus, this study seeks to further enhance readers about how the image of Portugal as a touristic destination has evolved.

## 2. Literature Review

Image results from a complex process and it is developed by the consumer, based on selected impressions gathered among a stream on information obtained from several sources. It is based on a creative process, in which these selected impressions are organized in a mental construct (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Reynolds, 1965). On the other hand, from the point of view of destination, image can be defined as a set of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has of a destination (Crompton, 1979).

Moreover, image destination formation process can be linked to imagology, or image studies. It involves research about national-images in literary works where can be found descriptions and thoughts depicting countries (Świderska, 2006).

According to Leerssen (2007), imagology focuses primarily on literary representations retained on imaginary and poetical literature where national stereotypes are most effectively formulated, perpetuated and disseminated. Furthermore, literary records show that national characters are a matter of commonplaces rather than empirical observations. They represent a long stand source of national characters description and are a privileged genre for the dissemination of stereotypes. Thus, the image studies ultimate perspective is a theory of cultural or national stereotypes, and its aim is to understand a discourse of representation.

Furthermore, travel decision depends on people motivation. Specifically, a person decides to travel whenever he/she feels that its home is not fulfilling its needs and its decisions are based on destination images, typically formed through three different but related components: cognitive, affective, and conative (Gartner, 1993). According to this author, the cognitive component is based knowledge gathered from facts, as the sum of external stimuli received in forming a cognitive image; the affective component is based on the motives a person has for a destination selection; and the conative component refers to the behavioural aspect of the decision making, further related to the cognitive and affective components of the decision process.

The process of travel decision making is based on the destiny image and the image formation process is typical based person-determined or destination-determined. The former is also known as organic image and the later as induced image (Crompton, 1979; Gunn, 1972; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997).

Organic image results from general information sources (not related with tourism), and evolves into an induced image, as the image influenced by tourist organizations (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991; Gunn, 1972). Therefore, organic images are formerly settled through cognitive information assimilation, from external sources, related to people's way of life. On the other hand, induced image forms a person's destination image through systematized sources targeted to influence that person's perception about a destination.

Gartner (1993) follows a similar approach about the image destination formation process. This author introduced the figure of the "agent", as the underlying source that influences a specific result. In this case, a person's image destination.

According to Gartner (1993) the image formation process is viewed as a set of separated agents working together or independently to form a destination image to a person. Gartner proposes eight agents in forming the image destination: *Overt Induced I*, defined as agents consisting of traditional forms of advertising; *Overt Induced II*, defined as image formation agents consisting of information gathered from entities having an interest on the travel decision process, but not directly involved with any particular area; *Covert Induced I*, which refers to the use of a recognizable spokesperson, such as a celebrity, in an attempt to influence the image formation process; *Covert Induced II*, which refers to the influence on a person, which is not aware that the destination promoters are involved in the projected image; *Autonomous* agents, such as independently produced reports, documentaries, movies, and news articles; *Unsolicited Organic* agents, which refers to unrequested information received from people that travelled into a specific area; *Solicited Organic* agents, such as individuals providing information with no vested interest in the decision process; and *Organic agents*, consisting in the information provided from previous travellers in a specific area.

Therefore, the organic agent's role in the im-

age destination formation process is critical. They initially work in the creation of the destiny stereotypes, potentially leading a person in the process of decision making, or in narrowing down the available options, that led to the later induced destination image formation process, through available sources, with a vested, or not vested, interest in a specific travel destination projected destiny image.

Due the above framework, the following section seeks to describe the research methodological aspects.

## 3. Methodology

As stated in the introduction section, this study seeks to explore and depict Portugal through the eyes of former travellers. In this sense, it uses a literature review approach to analyse the course and nature of travel literature and to assess how it contributed to form Portugal's image as a touristic destination. It uses mixed methods, including systematic literature review methods (SLR), content analysis and science mapping analysis.

The authors use a similar approach to the SLR methodology to answer specific questions about relevant topics that, from the tourist's eyes, characterize Portugal and the Portuguese. SLR differing from other types of literature analysis seeks to answer and show how specific aspects depicted in literature contribute to develop a specific topic. Conversely, and differing from narrative reviews, SLR adopts a replicable, scientific and more transparent and specific process that seeks to avoid bias through a comprehensive literature search, providing therefore means to audit procedures and conclusions (Cook, Mulrow, & Haynes, 1997; Parris & Peachey, 2013; Petticrew & Roberts, 2008).

To produce a clear not biased image of the contribution of travel literature in forming Portugal's image, this study follows guidelines provided in literature, with several adaptations, on how

to conduct the research agenda (Harris, Quatman, Manring, Siston, & Flanigan, 2013; Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, Altman, & Prisma Group, 2009; Tranfield, Denyer, & Smart, 2003).

Further analysis is produced through a quantitative content analysis using NVIVO software (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2020) and VOSViewer software (Van Eck & Waltman, 2010). The later sought to produce a co-word analysis (Callon, Courtial, & Laville, 1991) through the analysis of the word co-occurrence network. This technique is based on the analysis of the co-occurrence frequency of pairs of words to analyse the texts in order to identify topics and ideas related to a subject (He, 1999), and is based on the premise that if words frequently co-occur, the concepts are closely related (Zupic & Čater, 2015).

Accordingly, following the research objectives, the study analyses travel literature to depict the image of Portugal, through the eyes of 19th century travellers. Specifically, the authors searched online for travel literature about Portugal, written by English speaking travellers during a timespan from 1850-1875.

Conversely to the academic and scientific literature produced more recently, usually deployed in scientific databases as Scopus or Web of Science (WoS), which are usually regarded as among the most relevant databases in academic research (Harzing & Alakangas, 2016), this study uses source documents that are usually physically located in public or universities libraries with a strong research body on English and/or on imagology and travel literature, spread around the world.

Nevertheless, several books and documents have been digitalized and transformed in text documents, available on the internet, in several less structured databases, than Scopus and WoS, such as the "Internet Archive", available on https://archive.org/ which is a non-profit library that makes available millions of free books, among other source documents, and provided the source documents used in this research.

Therefore, a search was conducted in the Internet Archive for travel literature books written over the timespan from 1850-1875, by English speaking travellers and with the underlying topic Portugal and the Portuguese.

Several documents extended the analysis to Spain and other European countries. Nevertheless, to avoid excluding relevant information, books describing Portugal jointly with other countries were included in the analysed sample. Yet, parts of text focusing on other country than Portugal were excluded from the analysis. The search provided 11 books reported over the analysed period and are presented in table 1.

The analysis was conducted through a step-by-step analysis. Firstly, documents were read and evaluated to find the most relevant topics for travellers visiting Portugal and to produce a brief description of them. Secondly, books were once again analysed to find about the travellers' feelings, assumptions and views about Portugal and the Portuguese. Third, the documents were analysed using VOSViewer software (Van Eck & Waltman, 2010) to map the co-word occurrence frequency. Finally, a word cloud of the most relevant terms was produced using the NVIVO software (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2020).

**Table 1** | List of analysed documents

| Title | Reference |
|---|---|
| A Family Tour Round the Coasts of Spain and Portugal | (Lady Dunbar, 1862) |
| A Handbook for Travellers in Portugal | (Murray, 1864) |
| A Month in Portugal | (Oldknow, 1855) |
| A Visit to Portugal and Madeira | (Wortley, 1854) |
| Fair Lusitania | (Jackson, 1874) |
| Guide to Spain and Portugal | (O'Shea, 1869) |
| Hints to Travellers in Portugal-In Search of the Beautiful and the Grand | (Murray, 1853) |
| Narrative of a Spring Tour in Portugal | (Smith, 1870) |
| Nowadays; Or, Courts, Courtiers, Churchmen, Garibaldians, Lawyers and Brigands, at Home and Abroad | (Beste, 1870) |
| Sketches and adventures in Madeira, Portugal, and the Andalusias of Spain | (March, 1856) |
| The tagus and the tiber; or, notes of travel in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, in 1950-1 | (Baxter, 1852) |

Source: Own elaboration

## 4. Results

The first stage of the analysis included SLR and content analysis procedures. During this phase four main variables, described by travellers, were found to be most relevant. Among them, *visited places*, *food*, *accommodation*, *landscapes*. Next, the texts were read and the most relevant descriptions about the variables were aggregated.

Table 2 provides information about the most visited places by travellers in Portugal in the analysed documents.

Results (table 2) show that travellers visited mostly Lisbon's region and the cities and villages in the north of Portugal. Nevertheless, some places in the south, like Évora and Setúbal, were also source of the traveller's attention when visiting Portugal.

Few references are made to Portuguese beaches, mostly to the sandy beaches at the mouth of the river Tagus (Lady Dunbar, 1862), the "praia das maçãs" in Colares and the beaches in Madeira island (March, 1856) and Porto Santo island (Wortley, 1854). Further references are made to beaches in Lisbon region (Jackson, 1874; O'Shea, 1869) and near Oporto ("Mindelo Beach") (Jackson, 1874).

Table 3 resumes the main findings about the thoughts of the English-speaking travellers, about the Portuguese food, in the third quarter of the 19th century.

**Table 2** | Visited places in Portugal

| Source | Referenced places |
|---|---|
| (Lady Dunbar, 1862) | Mostly Lisbon and Sintra. |
| (Murray, 1853, 1864) | Visited a great part of the country. |
| (Oldknow, 1855) | Visited a great part of the country, including Oporto, Serra da Estrela, Seia, Sertã, Batalha, Santarém. |
| (Wortley, 1854) | Lisbon, Sintra, Mafra, Batalha and Madeira. |
| (Jackson, 1874) | Lisbon, Oporto, Barcelos, Braga, Coimbra, Setúbal, Vila do Conde. |
| (O'Shea, 1869) | Mostly Lisbon, although Coimbra and Oporto and several other regions. |
| (Smith, 1870) | Lisbon, Sintra, Évora, Setúbal, Alcobaça, Batalha, Coimbra, Caldas da Rainha, Porto, Braga and Viana do Castelo. |
| (Beste, 1870) | Mafra, Caldas da Rainha, Batalha, Alcobaça. |
| (March, 1856) | Madeira, Lisbon, Sintra, Torres Vedras, Coimbra and Oporto. |
| (Baxter, 1852) | Lisbon, Torres Vedras, Mafra, Sintra and Colares. |

Source: Own elaboration

**Table 3** | Portuguese food seen by English-speaking travellers

| Source | Relevant description |
|---|---|
| (Lady Dunbar, 1862) | Inferior to the English food, nevertheless it was also possible to find excellent food. |
| (Murray, 1853, 1864) | Not available. |
| (Oldknow, 1855) | Mainly negative references to the Portuguese food. |
| (Wortley, 1854) | Reference to a meal in Sertã village including soup made of rice and vegetables, roasted rabbit, some eggs, bread and cheese and some very good wine. |
| | Mainly negative. Excessive use of oil and garlic that made it unpleasant for British tourists and the reason many Portuguese people had a weakness of digestion. |
| | Coarse maize or barley, black bread, some dried fish, a little garlic and goat's cheese are among the healthier food. |
| | Extraordinary variety of dishes. |
| | At breakfast, fish, beef steaks, and other solid items were eaten complemented by tea and coffee. |
| | The supper, was the favourite and most important meal of the day. |
| (Jackson, 1874) | Abundant and excellent food, fruits and wine. It can also be considered not adequate to the English flavour, but very decent. |
| (O' Shea, 1869) | Food was very acceptable in the larger towns but not so good in countryside: there the tourist must be prepared to carry his own food with him. |
| (Smith, 1870) | Not pleasant for the English taste. Nevertheless, abundant. Does not like the Portuguese typical dishes very much. Although it was possible to find delicious fruits, bread, and good wine. |
| (Beste, 1870) | Not available. |
| (March, 1856) | Not available. |
| (Baxter, 1852) | Not available. |

Source: Own elaboration

A traveller usually thinks and writes about lodging because it has a great impact on the tourist's opinions and thoughts about the place he is visiting. The fact that travellers are able to rest and sleep well will keep them happier and more open to observe things carefully and pleasantly. These aspects clearly influence these travellers and what they write about is, most of the times, the reflexion of their feelings and expectations.

Table 4 shows the main findings about the travellers' thoughts on the Portuguese hotels and inns in the third quarter of the 19th century.

**Table 4** | Quality of the Portuguese hotels and inns

| Source | Relevant references |
|---|---|
| (Lady Dunbar, 1862) | Good standards in major cities. |
| (Murray, 1853, 1864) | Inferior to British, Lisbon offered better accommodation for tourists, but several references are made to uncomfortable inns. |
| (Oldknow, 1855) | Portuguese accommodation needed to be improved. The author made very negative references to the Portuguese inns, especially outside the major cities. |
| (Wortley, 1854) | Overall, the author found that the accommodation had good standards, was very pleasant, spacious and amazing views. |
| (Jackson, 1874) | Clean, decent, although could be also not very comfortable. |
| (O' Shea, 1869) | Major cities had good hotels, nevertheless, in the rest of the country there were only small inns, usually called "estalagens" not pleasant. |
| (Smith, 1870) | Comfortable and clean. Cheap, when compared with the German, Swiss and Norwegian establishments. |
| (Beste, 1870) | Inns were poor but they had clean rooms and beds. When compared with the French and Italian accommodations, the author considered the Portuguese ones better. |
| (March, 1856) | Not available. |
| (Baxter, 1852) | Not available. |

Source: Own elaboration

According to these writers' travel diaries and memories, between 1850 and 1875, good accommodation in Portugal could only be found in big cities such as Oporto and Lisbon, but especially in Lisbon. In the rest of the country, they could find clean and decent inns but most of the time the "*estalagens*" or "*hospedarias*" were dirty, uncomfortable and they experienced the most surprising and unexpected situations. For this reason, Portugal was seen as a country with deficient accom-

modation and where comfort was difficult to find.

Two different types of landscapes can be observed (table 5): rural and urban. The former is mainly related to countryside references and mostly occurs when the traveller moves from one place to another. The second generally occurs when the tourist is visiting a city or village and is related to the place itself and what can be witnessed there.

**Table 5** | Portuguese landscapes

| Source | Relevant references |
|---|---|
| (Lady Dunbar, 1862) | The author indicates that Lisbon was clean, paved, and macadamised. |
| (Murray, 1853, 1864) | The author states that Portugal was a wonderful country where the tourist could admire beautiful landscapes, places. |
| | The author proposed 42 itineraries to visit Portugal, from North to South. |
| | Several references are made to the bad roads. |
| (Oldknow, 1855) | Very beautiful landscapes. Oporto was an adequate, impressive city as well as the rest of the country. |
| (Wortley, 1854) | Describes Lisbon as a beautiful city with a wonderful and delightful position, considering that few capitals in Europe had such a favourable natural situation. The city itself presented a multitude of palaces and an outstanding aqueduct over the Alcantara Valley. |
| | Sintra was described as very beautiful, with stony peaks with crags ending up with the woods at its bottom. Pena Palace was an amazing building with a magnificent location. |
| (Jackson, 1874) | Not available. |
| (O' Shea, 1869) | Portugal described as a hilly country but with very flat districts in the south, especially in Alentejo region. The author considered that landscapes were diverse and rich. |
| | Several interesting monuments like, *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos,* were splendidly decorate and impressive. |
| (Smith, 1870) | Not available. |
| (Beste, 1870) | Not available. |
| (March, 1856) | Very beautiful and extraordinary. |
| (Baxter, 1852) | Lisbon was defined as one of the capitals with the most magnificent panoramic views in the world and with fine views. Sintra was considered a lovely place with a magnificent view. |
| | Several references to the remarkable Convent of Mafra, to the "narrow and dirty streets" of Torres Vedras, the Pena Palace and the Moorish castle, Monserrat and the Garden of Eden in Sintra. |
| | Bad Roads and the impressing Lisbon's aqueduct. |

Source: Own elaboration

Results show (table 5) that Portugal was considered, by most of the travellers, a very beautiful country. Magnificent landscapes could be observed and appreciated. In general, they had positive opinions about rural prospects and not so good about urban sights. Portuguese cities were seen as very unclean and many of them containing such narrow and steep streets that made it hard to walk and vehicles to move.

Further description was made about relevant topics for travellers visiting Portugal. Some referred to the difficulties in getting food in several parts of the country. Nevertheless, difficulties would be repaid because travellers would find a combination of the beautiful and the grand (Murray, 1864).

Among the main points of interest referenced, the number of churches in Portugal was remarkable, once there were so many to contrast with the British deficiency of such buildings (Oldknow, 1855).

Roads were usually seen as a major flaw in Portugal, they were usually described as bad (Murray, 1853, 1864; Oldknow, 1855), abominable (March, 1856), often narrow, covered with mud or paved with huge stones which made the horses slip and stumble (Oldknow, 1855). Furthermore, travellers would find very difficult to travel from one place to another and would be surprised by the fact that, when travelling in Portugal, it was so difficult to associate its present state with its glorious past (March, 1856).
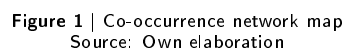
Corruption was also found to be a major drawback for the Portuguese development once the state of the country was entirely due to politics corruption. Despite having a wonderful climate, good rivers, fertile soils, and abundance of timber, the country faced several problems due to the

lack of enterprising and ruled honest men (Baxter, 1852).

Furthermore, Portuguese nation would offer every tourist whatever they pursued since every domain of nature could surely be found. Many beautiful objects would be found when rambling in Portugal. The country was seen as small and beautiful, with fabulous diversity of colours composed of trees, plants, and flowers in every corner, enhancing the journey of the tourist. It was also a very rich land for the botanist, chemist and geologist who had plenty of objects to investigate and analyse. The mountains of Portugal were endless and afforded pleasant views and experiences (Murray, 1864; Wortley, 1854).

Yet, several annoying particularities were also found. For instance, in Lisbon the Customhouse had a bad name, but deserved, because it was a cruel institution. On the other hand, there was a regulation in Lisbon that forbade anything from being thrown from the windows until evening, but after this hour (and also during the day) the tourists had to be careful while walking in the streets (Wortley, 1854).

## Co-word analysis

Co-word analysis is a content analysis technic based on the analysis of co-occurrence frequency of pairs of words that explores the corpus of texts to identify the relationships between ideas and the main underlying topics related to a subject (He, 1999). This technic is employed to evaluate all sources of technical, scientific, and political inscriptions. The main underlying assumption about the co-word analysis is based on the premise that it is possible to identify networks and study the evolution of a theme through it (Callon, Courtial, Turner, & Bauin, 1983). Therefore, if words frequently co-occur, the underlying themes are strongly connected (Zupic & Čater, 2015).

To perform the analysis, documents were joined in a text file and computed using VOSViewer Software (Van Eck & Waltman, 2010). Results (figure 1) show seven clusters.



**Figure 1** | Co-occurrence network map
Source: Own elaboration

Figure 1 informs about the most relevant co-words and seeks to show the relations between the most relevant words, identifying groups of words closely related, that correspond to centres of interest to the research topic (Callon et al., 1991) and are organized in a map. Each node is represented by a word and its size is proportional to the number of times the word appears in text.

Thus, the bigger vertices represent the most relevant words in texts. On the other hand, the line thickness between words varies according to the co-occurrences of the two elements. Moreover, the close two nodes are, the more highly related they are, therefore, showing the sum and strength of the clusters (Chen, Chen, Wu, Xie, & Li, 2016).

Results show seven clusters representing the most relevant themes. Some clearly focused on an underlying topic, as cluster 1. The word "church" is the most relevant word in this cluster and its relationships are mostly linked to aspects related to architectonics, religious buildings and Christian symbols (e.g., *church, chapel, priest, bishop, altar, virgin, saint, fountain, tomb, gallery, square, picture,* etc.). It denotes an emphasis on cultural aspects, mostly religious, of the Portuguese culture during that period. This cluster is closely related to a smaller cluster, represented by cluster 4 that aggregates terms like *convent, castle, ruin* and *site*.

Cluster 2 is represented by the bigger word Portugal, and is mostly related to aspects of the Portuguese nation, people and culture, by words such as *king, queen, duke, woman, wife, face, family, bull, carriage, horse,* etc.. This cluster is highly related to cluster 5, represented by words such as *power, object, life, god, nature, history, and length*.

Cluster 3 shows aspects related to trips and transportation (*day, morning, night, journey, steamer, port, distance, train, and rail*) as well as landscapes (*mountain, hill, sea, river, tagus, rock, valley, and Oporto*). This cluster is highly interrelated to clusters 6 and cluster 7, the former represented by words such as *summer, spring, madeira, sun, wine, fruit, flower, tree* and *ground* and the later represented by words like *province* and *capital*.

Bellow, figure 2 complements the co-word analyses by portraying a word cloud of the most relevant words in the analyzed texts. It shows that some of the most relevant words in documents are also the most common co-words, interestingly, oth-

ers, like the word *Lisbon*, despite representing the capital city of Portugal, and recurrently referred as point of passage in the writers' journey, is not among the most relevant word in the co-word analysis.



**Figure 2** | Word cloud of the most relevant words
Source: Own elaboration

## 5. Conclusion

This study deals with important questions about the creation of a country's image. It uses uncommon source documents to find how travellers depict the image of a country, that is formed by sum of impressions and beliefs people have about places they visit (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). These documents are a highly credible source of information about Portugal and the Portuguese and a critical organic image agent that helps to form Portugal's image as a travel destination.

The analysis found several important topics about how Portugal was seen by former travellers and, despite the multitude of aspects that account for a touristic destination choice, such attitudes, values, lifestyles, images, motivation influences of family and references, the nature of the intended trip such as distance, time, duration of trip and ex-

periences (Sirakaya & Woodside, 2005), provided important information about the image, based on the consumers perception, about countries and products (Han, 1989; Kotler & Gertner, 2002). In this sense, writers travelling through Portugal, depicting the country in their writing, undoubtedly contributed to the formation of Portugal's image to foreign tourists as well as to Portuguese travellers.

The analysed data show that travellers through Portugal in the third quarter of the 19th century found a country with bad infrastructures, in particular very bad roads, and low standard accommodation, particularly the inns outside the major cities.

On the other hand, the magnificent landscapes, impressive monuments and the abundant food, dishes, fruits, and good wine are also mentioned. Yet, despite abundant, dishes were mostly referred as unpleasant for the English taste, mostly due the excessively use of garlic and oil.

Furthermore, corruption among politics was also pointed as a major drawback for the Portuguese development.

This study sought to provide insights and to contribute to theoretical background about the development of the image of Portugal as touristic destination, and shows, in some extent, how the country's image evolved.

The role of the analysed books in creating a country's image is undoubtedly relevant, since their memories are backed by recent research. For instance, the reminiscences of these views can be noticed in nowadays travellers. Agapito, Pinto and Mendes (2017) found that, among the main sensory expressions reported by tourists in southwest Portugal were aspects related to sense of sight such as landscape, natural light, diversity of colours, and the architectural details, or aspects related to food, such as seafood, fruit, cheese, and bread. Moreover, tourism pulling factors in northern Portugal are related to the region's cultural heritage, gastronomy, culture and natural resources (Mar-

tins & Ribeiro, 2021).

On the other hand, Guedes and Jiménez (2015), in an analysis to the spatial patterns that characterize package holidays in Portugal mainland found that these package holidays are mostly organized around Portugal´s major cities, like Lisbon and Oporto, with links to the countryside. Furthermore, urban centres have become increasingly relevant as touristic destines and associated with the places' cultural heritage (Leão, 2021), which is also mostly in line with this study's findings, which is also mostly in line with this study's findings.

Despite the enlighten it brought out, also has some limitations, mostly related to the source documents. Documents from the studied timespan are mostly printed in books, mainly available in universities' libraries around the world that are extremely hard to access due to physical distance. Nevertheless, some can be found deployed in web pages publicly available. Therefore, a major limitation to be pointed to this research is the number of studied documents, although part of the analysis, could not be performed without text format electronic documents.

Despite the pointed flaws, this study provides important information for future research, that should be conducted by comparing the studied texts with nowadays tourists' perceptions about Portugal.

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