SPAIN AND THE ENGLISH ROMANTICISTS

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A Study in Comparative Literature.

Submitted as a thesis to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

McGill University,
Montreal, P. Q.
April 29, 1936.

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C O N T E N T S.

PREFACE

This Thesis endeavours to determine: first, the English conception of Spain and Spanish literature at the end of the Eighteenth Century; second, the extent to which these opinions prevailed throughout the English Romantic Period; third, what influence these conceptions had upon English literature during this period; and, fourth, how, if at all, these conceptions were modified.

The first two chapters give an historical background, in an endeavour to show why Spain united with Great Britain against Napoleon. This approach leads directly to a presentation of the English conception of Spain and of Spanish literature at this time. In succeeding chapters, the British opinion of Spain and things Spanish, during the first part of the Nineteenth Century, is illustrated from the writings of the military, of travellers and of men of letters including historians. But British opinion of Spain did not come solely from such sources, nor were the sources of Spanish influence upon English literature during the Romantic period confined within this narrow compass. There were the Spanish ballads, which had come direct to the British Isles from Spain, and indirectly through France and other European countries. There was an increase in the study of the Spanish language, stimulated, to no small extent, by the Peninsular Wars. Last, but not least, there were the Spanish Emigrados in England, who helped to acquaint writers and the general public with all things Spanish. All of these factors and sources are discussed.

The greatest single influence seems to have come from the accounts of Spain given by the literary historians. By 1845, the publications of both Ford and Borrow had done much to enlighten English writers as well as English readers concerning the Spanish people and Spanish literature. A considerable amount of space has been devoted to the examination of the works of these two authors.

The English Romanticists had their influence upon the Spanish Romantic Revival, but this subject, along with many others, is commented upon but briefly. While many biographies have been consulted only a few of them have been given any prominence, and these are of writers not well known. It was felt that the lives of the outstanding poets of the time, to give but one example, might be passed by with only brief mention.

Despite the many ramifications of the subject that have been passed by unnoticed, or only briefly mentioned, it is the writer's hope that those who read the following pages will be induced to turn to the original sources, and trace down for themselves the many fascinating subjects that she was obliged to leave untouched. Those who have the inclination, and can find the time for such studies will discover Spanish gold between the covers of every volume. At least, that was the writer's experience throughout this short voyage of discovery.

SPAIN AND THE ENGLISH ROMANTICISTS

Chap. 1.

The Historical Background.

Development in England to the end of the eighteenth century -- Spain under the Hapsburgs -- Spain under the Bourbons -- England and Spain during the Napoleonic Wars -- Summary.

With perhaps the single exception of the sixteenth century, England had never been so much influenced by or interested in things Spanish, as she was during the rise and confirmation of the Romantic elements in the realms of literature, during the early nineteenth century. When properly fixed in its historic background, the reason for this phenomenon is self-evident. England and Spain, apart from the normal progress of literary development which would have manifested influences of the one country upon the other were, during this period, brought into contact by the swift flow of events which had enveloped all Europe in a maelstrom of political ferment.

A cursory examination of the political happenings, which then occupied the attention of the world and threw the European countries into a state of unrest and disorder, reveals the underlying cause to be the French Revolution and its accompanying developments, which culminated in a more or less cohesive union of the European nations, in an effort to contest the predatory advances of Napoleon, at the head of a regenerated French people. In the two countries, under discussion, the effects of these circumstances were momentous in all phases and aspects of life; political, economic, social and cultural.

In England, the period immediately preceding the French Revolution was one of intense preoccupation with the bitter struggle for political and economic reform which made great progress during the reign of George III, 1760-1820. Throughout this period there was no respite from European embroilments or internal disruption. It was an era of great movements and great men and, for the most part, of men and movements connected with the field of letters.

At the termination of the American struggle for Independence, much reform had been instituted in the English Parliament, but rebellious uprisings continued to take place among the people. Reform did not keep pace with necessity and when the suffering people appealed to or rose against the established government they were often suppressed with cruel severity; but they continued to insist upon their rights, such as the necessity for annual parliaments, universal suffrage and the freedom of the press. Lawlessness and crime continued to thrive, though brutal punishments were meted out.

After the first of the eighteenth century, there were great economic changes. Population increased from about five millions, in 1700, to about nine millions, in 1800. As the period advanced, a great transition took place, as the result of new inventions, and the effects of the American and French Revolutions. The middle classes became more wealthy, while the lower classes were faced with the difficult problem of readjusting their lives to the new order of things. With the growth and spread of the manufacturing industry, came the rapid rise of large urban centres. England became the centre of industry and commerce; London replaced Amsterdam as the money market of the world.

In general, intellectual activity became more aroused and

widespread. The upper and middle classes, in London, who were accustomed to living rather futile lives, drinking, gambling, and dressing very extravagantly, came to realize that the new industrial order was gradually changing all this. As this new order gained in power, it imperceptibly undermined the position of the landed aristocracy. In every phase of life, England was on the threshold of the modern world.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, it seemed that Pitt's tenure of office would continue to be distinguished by a long series of gradual reforms, which would be carried out just as far as he could induce the nation to follow him. He was a man who stood for the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the nation, as against the personal ascendancy claims of George III. This democratic, or "Rights of Man," attitude was in general sympathy with the earlier and less extreme changes in France; but, later events in that country horrified the English nation and produced a sentiment hostile to reform, which endured for a generation.

For centuries, the trend in Spain had been in the opposite direction, and in the seventeenth century, decadence became pronounced. This state of decline was due to many factors, among the most important of which were, crippling European wars, favoritism, maladministration, and social disorders, all leading to bankruptcy and oppression in Spain. Her economic life became stifled, as the population decreased, with the exodus of soldiers and colonists, and the expulsion of the farming and industrial Moriscos.[1] Agriculture and industry were at a standstill and foreign trade was almost non-existent. Fishing gave little em-

1. The Jews were expelled in 1492, chiefly for religious purposes, and this furthered depopulation and economic decadence, since these people were the richest and most active traders of Spain. Romera-Navarro p.104.
2. The Moriscos were expelled from 1609-1614. Ibid. p.106.

ployment since the boats were commandeered for warfare.

The people remained fairly indifferent to all this for some time. An excess of luxury and general religious hypocrisy, in the upper classes, contrasted strongly with miserable poverty, ignorance, and superstition in the lower classes. All classes had such a contempt for work[1] that, by 1655, foreigners controlled what economic life remained in Spain,- the French in agriculture and the Italians in commerce and industry,- and the wealth of the country flowed out to other peoples and countries.

There was never the unity in Spain that there was in England or France, owing to the country's being a collection of kingdoms or duchies, with one link, they belonged to the same monarch. Thus, when the absolutist government of the Hapsburgs too much limited the liberty and independence of Spaniards, it was obstructed by local authorities, the aristocracy, and provincial communities. When, under Philip IV and Charles II, the last of the Hapsburgs in Spain, the increased cost of living caused greater poverty; when misrule, new and ruinous wars and other factors demoralized manners and customs; then the spirit of liberty seemed apparently extinguished. But riots not only expressed the economic sufferings of the people but revealed their indomitable spirit. Neither the horrors of the Inquisition, the weakness of monarchs, nor the general decline, could destroy their energy. It was also extraordinary that neither military reverses nor poverty influenced the literature and art of Spain which, may it be said to their credit,

1. Historia de España por M. Romera-Navarro,
p. 108. Heath's Modern Language Series,
New York, etc. 1923
"Ellos eran la flor y nata de la tierra, nacidos para darse aires de gran señor aunque fuesen cubiertos de harapos, y para combatir en los campos de batalla, escribir versos en los salones e ir a la iglesia, al paseo y al teatro."

was encouraged by Philip III and Philip IV, and the seventeenth century may justly be described as the Golden Age of Spanish civilization.[1]

The long period, during which the Hapsburgs occupied the throne, was one of ostentation and false security not only in Madrid but throughout Spain.[2] Under Philip IV, Spanish control in Portugal was overthrown and France broke the military strength of Spain. The last of the Hapsburg rulers in Spain, Charles II, an epileptic youth, was forced to bequeath his kingdom to Philip, Duke of Anjou, nephew of Louis XIV of France. A Grand Alliance was signed by England and other countries, in 1701, in opposition to the accession of the young Bourbon Duke in Spain. For that reason Philip V was not firmly established in his position, on the throne of Spain, until after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. By the treaties of 1713-14, Philip was recognized as King of Spain and the Indies, but he had to waive his rights of succession to the French throne. Great Britain obtained the monopoly of the slave trade and certain commercial privileges in America, as well as the important possessions, Gibraltar and Minorca. The Emperor, Charles VI, gained possession of most of the Spanish Netherlands and some of the Italian kingdoms of Spain.

Philip V, by preserving the neutrality of Spain in international affairs, had an opportunity to encourage industry and, gradually, a measure of social and economic reforms at home. In this he was so successful that, by 1722, Spain was restored to her place in the councils of Europe. This improvement was continued by Ferdinand VI and, by the time of his death, in 1759, Spain was once more a

1. The History of Spain by Louis Bertrand and Sir Charles Petrie, p. 380. London, 1934, pub. Eyre and Spottiswoode
2. The Spanish Pageant by Arthur S. Riggs. Indianapolis, p. 198. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Pubs.

prosperous nation, with a powerful fleet and three millions sterling in the treasury.

Charles III, the best and most intelligent of the Bourbon kings of Spain, was an excellent example of those "enlightened despots."[1] During his reign, the Treaty of Paris, 1763, was signed and by it Great Britain received certain rights and possessions in the West Indies, though the rivalry between Spain and Great Britain, in America, continued. By 1779, a few years after the American Declaration of Independence, Spain was never so well prepared for war, but by the end of the century the Spanish-American Colonies were about ready to follow the example of the United States of America.

The internal policy of Philip V, Ferdinand VI, and Charles III, reveals a Spanish monarchy like the French type, wherein centralization tended to restrict local privileges; regular ministers replaced favorites; juntas (councils of government) disappeared giving place to regular departmental ministries; nobles and clergy were placed under central authority. But Charles did not hesitate to oppose the Inquisition; to expell the Jesuits, and to secularize education. In 1754 a Concordat was signed whereby ecclesiastical nominations depended almost entirely upon the king.[2]

"Of all Spain's royal failures, Charles IV was the most tragic in relation to his country's possibilities."[3] This weak character was under the influence of his wife, Maria Luisa of Parma, and his favorite, Godoy, who was also the Queen's lover. Such a state of affairs not only caused dissension in the royal family, but distrust among the people. After the French Revolution, Spain became a play-

1. Romera-Navarro: Op. Cit. p. 159 "El más inteligente, activo y patriota de cuantos monarcas hemos tenido."
2. Bertrand and Petrie: Op.Cit. p. 432.
3. Peers, E. Allison .....Spain, pub. Methuen & Co., Ch. 3, Span. Hist. London, 1929. 1492 to 1898.

thing in the strife of France and the Powers. This prevented any further definite progress in Spain. In the intellectual, literary, and artistic spheres there was, in spite of the efforts of successive monarchs, a decline in comparison with the great preceding age, namely that "Golden Century" which, in reality, embraced a period of nearly two hundred years. Literature was less original, although in certain aspects of it, particularly in the drama, there was still a very widespread activity. But, French influence prevailed and foreign ideas began to have their effect upon the national genius.

Before long, a turn of events brought Spain and England into a closer union than they had ever before experienced. For a time, the Revolution and Terror in France did not seriously affect either England or Spain. In fact, the English generally approved of the French Revolution at first, while the Spanish, though disapproving of it and also of France's offers of an alliance, were able to remain practically neutral until the beginning of 1793. Then, sentiment and conditions in these respective countries changed. In England, various democratic societies were in communication with the Jacobins in Paris but the majority of the English people became alarmed lest revolution break out at home. Their fears were increased when Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution" was published and, with the uprising of democratic radicals in France, who declared that they would "break all the Cabinets in Europe,"[1] public sentiment towards the French became quite hostile. Upon the execution of Louis XVI, in 1793, Spanish feeling was so aroused that Spain joined the first Coalition against France. Considerable enthusiasm was shown by Spaniards for the alliance, but the campaigns were sorely mismanaged and it was a servile populace in Madrid that welcomed the

1. Arthur L. Cross, Ph.D. in a "History of England and Greater Britain," p. 792. New York and The Macmillan Co. 1917.

conclusion of the War, in 1795, by bestowing upon Godoy his well-known title of "Prince of Peace." By the Treaty of San Ildefonso, 1796, the two countries, France and Spain, became allies again, but on terms by no means advantageous to Spain, who found herself pledged to join France in any war against Britain.

When, in 1792, the French Assembly declared war against Francis of Austria and his allies, the Coalition against France, Burke was vehement in his contention that England should ally herself with Austria and Prussia for the purpose of crushing French revolutionary principles. Pitt, nevertheless, refused to depart from his policy of peace, but the September massacres in France were such a shock to English public opinion that this, and subsequent proceedings of the French Revolutionists, with their régime of the guillotine and treaty violations, drove Pitt at last into a policy of war. When Louis XVI was executed, the English were horror stricken and, in reaction, the mass was inclined to follow Pitt, determined to protect their king and country by supporting the Tories and Church against the aristocratic Whigs and dissenting reformers. On February 1, the Convention, knowing that peace could not be maintained and being resolved to pursue its attack on the Dutch Republic, took the initiative in declaring war, not only against the Dutch but also against England, in order to destroy British trade.

In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte, "the autocrat of France and the terror of Europe," returned to Paris after gaining victories in the East, overthrew the French Directory and became First Consul. Soon it was evident that, under Napoleon, France would dominate Spain still further. The general dislike of the Spanish for Godoy, who was then not only Prime Minister but Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish army and navy, gave Napoleon an opportunity to encourage the

growth of a party which centred its hopes on Cha_rles' young son Ferdinand. Having this weapon at hand, he made increasing use of Spain, leading her at last into a war against England, of which the chief event was the greatest naval battle of the war, when the combined French and Spanish fleets were destroyed at Trafalgar (1805) and British sea-power was definitely established.

By that time, the supporters of the young and popular prince Ferdinand had become so numerous that Napoleon saw no real obstacle to the dethronement of the Bourbons in Spain, and the setting up in their place of a puppet, under his orders. Charles then lost all discretion and, on March 19, 1808, abdicated in favor of his son, who succeeded to the throne as Ferdinand VII. His reign had an unfortunate beginning. Napoleon, by announcing a visit to Madrid, enticed the young king as far as Bayonne to meet him, had him arrested forthwith and forced him, by threats, to restore the Spanish crown to his father who, having arrived at Bayonne also, thereupon handed it to Napoleon. Four days earlier, the famous 'Dos de Mayo' insurrection had taken place, when the inhabitants, although undisciplined and generally incapable, defied Napoleon by rising in a body against Murat and the French garrison. After much bloodshed on both sides, the Spanish were put down by superior force, but the news of their courage flashed through Spain and even before Napoleon had nominated his brother Joseph as king, the people in general were in arms in defence of Spain and Ferdinand. Napoleon, accustomed to dealing with kings and emperors, found that, in Spain, it was the people themselves whom he had to face and conquer.

By 1804, when the Napoleonic Empire was firmly established, there was scarcely an Englishman living who did not regard the French

Emperor as a wicked and unprincipled villain. Loyalist associations influenced the government to suppress reforms at home and to offer stern resistance to French pretensions to 'liberate' Europe by the sword. In order to keep the balance of power in Europe and to secure her own mercantile and colonial future overseas, British subsidies were applied, all along the coast and in half the treasuries of Europe, against Napoleon.[1] Thus, when Spain, in 1808, definitely rose in a national insurrection against the French, their action was approved and acclaimed by Englishmen, on all sides. Joseph Bonaparte[2] became king of Spain in June, 1808, but in the winter preceding that date a French army, under Junot, invaded Portugal and captured Lisbon. Portugal and England were old allies and, not only to deliver Portugal but also to assist Spain against France, the British ministry sent an army in charge of Sir Arthur Wellesley, to resist Junot.

That was the real beginning of the Peninsular War, known in Spain as La Guerra de la Independencia. By 1813, with the aid of the British, Joseph Bonaparte was driven out of Spain and the last battle of the war was fought in 1814, leaving Spain, once more, her own mistress. The feeble but autocratic Ferdinand VI was restored to the throne, which he had formerly surrendered without a protest. The first move of this obstinate and narrow-minded monarch was to sweep aside all semblance of constitutional reform, recall the Jesuits, re-establish the Inquisition, imprison liberal leaders, and frighten others into exile. In short, he restored the <u>ancien régime</u>, with its corruption and tyranny, for which he was condemned

1. Trevelyan, George Macaulay History of England, 1926. p. 571.
2. Joseph Bonaparte was called "El rey intruso" by the Spaniards. Bertrand and Petrie: Op. Cit. p. 441.

both in England and in France, while the hope of national and popular self-expression, which had partly inspired the patriotic uprising against the French, was crushed to earth.

Thus, in England, during the eighteenth century, progress and reform were outstanding characteristics. In Spain, the Bourbons had helped to restore some of the prosperity lost under the Hapsburgs, but even moderate reforms were opposed by the church or the aristocracy. The rise of a prosperous middle class, in England, with greater political freedom, had no parallel in Spain, at that time. Towards the end of the century, the interests of England were safeguarded by the unity of her people, by her prosperity and by the supremacy of her navy. In striking contrast to this, Spain suffered under a weak king; she was torn by clashing interests and, later, her navy was defeated by the English. (1805) But, when the forces of Napoleon invaded Spain, then it was seen that the spirit of freedom, though suppressed, was not destroyed. This spirit tended to unite Spain, England and other countries against Napoleon. By 1815, freed of the menace of Napoleon, no single nation could dispute the supremacy of England. Spain, on the other hand, was left torn by the Peninsular War and her freedom was definitely suppressed when Ferdinand VII returned. Many liberal thinkers, exiled by Ferdinand, found their way to England and became important literary figures there. This led to a better understanding between the two peoples and gave the Spanish a keener appreciation of the political institutions of Great Britain.

Chap. II.

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH-SPANISH RELATIONS PRIOR TO THE ROMANTIC PERIOD.

Interdependence of the Literatures of the world.

The literatures of all nations and of all ages are more or less inextricably interwoven. Not one has grown up spontaneously and independently from the soil of the national genius.[1] For this reason, the attempt to definitely fix the presence of Spanish elements in the body of English literature presents difficulties owing to infiltrations through circuitous routes. Also, many almost imperceptible elements have passed through the assimilating crucible of the cultures of the countries situated between Spain and England. When these elements finally reached the latter country they were attired in the guise of the cultures through which they had passed. An exact study would necessitate a close scrutiny of the two literatures and would also demand the very great effort of tracing the paths along which these various characteristics have travelled from Spain to England. The correct execution of such a task lies beyond the confines of the present work.

Before attempting to point out traces of Spanish influence upon English literature, it will be necessary to discuss briefly, characteristics of the Spaniards as reflected in their own literature.

Spanish characteristics reflected in Spanish literature.

Since the Iberian peninsula has undergone perhaps greater racial change than any other country in Europe,[2] it is not surpris-

1. "The Foreign Debt of English Literature " by T.G.Tucker, Litt.D. p.1. London, - George Bell and Sons, 1907.
2. Martin Hume: "Spanish Influence on English Literature" Ch. 1. London, 1905.

ing that the Spanish genius takes on different aspects according to the epoch and region,[1] though general traits may be detected which are also common to other nations. In England, one general type might be chosen much more readily.

The peninsular situation of Spain, no doubt, caused a somewhat isolated development in the initial stage of its culture, and this was also true of the still more isolated region of Britain. Later, foreign elements were assimilated but Spain's most predominant influence came from the south; England's from the north of Europe.[2]

Havelock Ellis regards Spain as a connecting link between Europe and the African continent, to which it was once attached and still so nearly adjoins.[3] To this cause, he attributes many savage characteristics to be found in a Spaniard, such as: an intensity of feeling and a great love of independence; a childlike simplicity and disdain for the superfluous; an austerity and indifference to persons and interests outside the circle of his own life; a love of idleness, tempered by the aptitude for violent action.

The importance of the peninsular situation of Spain is also stressed by Professor Northup. The influences of the literatures of Italy, France and England have been relatively weak, having coincided usually with contacting political events between the nations. Thus, remoteness created in Spaniards a characteristic which is known as <u>españolismo</u>, a complete satisfaction with everything Spanish and a disdain for everything foreign. For generations, this characteristic, occasioned an intellectual aloofness which de-

1. Ernest Mérimée: "A History of Spanish Literature" P.6. London, 1931.
2. Salvador de Madariaga: "Shelley, Calderon and other Essays" p.47. London, Constable and Co. 1920.
3. Havelock Ellis: "The Soul of Spain", London Constable &Co. p.1, Ch.2. 1920.

prived Spanish literature of many fecundizing ideas. However, a self-sufficient literature, while it loses in cosmopolitan spirit gains individuality.[1]

The same writer remarks that españolismo, regionalism, particularism, and individualism are all very Spanish in tendency. In literature, the patria chica has often loomed larger in a writer's imagination than the patria grande. The very configuration of the land renders it difficult for a Spanish writer to envisage his country as a whole.

A heterogeneous type of character was finally produced in Spain after "wave after wave of human inundation" had swept into and over it. The last three invaders were the Romans, the Goths and the Moriscos. According to Northup, the greatest gift of Rome to Spain was her language, and the influence of Germanic laws and customs may be noticed in Spanish medieval literature. The Moors brought with them an Arabic civilization, which enriched the language and life of Spain in many ways, but direct literary influences were slight.[2]

Many Spanish literary characteristics have been determined by history. The records of the crusaders, men of religious faith and knightly ideals, served as an inspiration for the great epic and ballad literature which arose in Spain.[3] At the same time, the religion of Spain made her literature strongly Roman Catholic.

Havelock Ellis places stoicism as foremost among Spanish traits. According to him, this instinctive philosophy of the savage everywhere is the fundamental philosophy and almost religion of Spain, and even when most a Christian the Spaniard has been a stoic almost

1. George Tyler Northup: "An Introduction to Spanish Literature" p.3. The Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago.
2. Ibid. p.12.
3. Ibid. p.15.

more than an ascetic. This attitude of mind is associated with the Spanish emphasis on character, on morals, on practice. Although these people seem less moved by the sight of suffering and death than other civilized peoples, it is not so much from cruelty as from stoical indifference.[1]

Madariaga rests the point of similarity between English and Spanish literature on the element of realism. "Reality. The word is as much at home in England as in Spain. In current English these two words, Realism and Spain, do not seem willingly to mix in one sentence. The word Spain evokes romance, chivalry, gorgeous pageantry, high deeds, pennants and standards, lances and swords, moving in the golden hue of legendary atmosphere; a glory and a beauty luminous and unreal like those illusions which the English significantly call 'castles in Spain.' But this golden light, hovering upon her English name, does not irradiate from Spain. It falls on her from the eyes of dreaming Englishmen. It is the glow of remembrance that beautifiesand not so much idealizes as unrealizes the past. Spain, for all that, is very real and very realistic. Realism, freedom from ethical prejudice, and dramatic genius are the three main qualities which assert themselves in Spanish epics." "Realism and mysticism are the two poles of the Spanish mind; a realism which has something mystic in the intensity of its contemplation, and a mysticism which is in love with the reality as only those who see God in all things can be." "Eager realism is the key-faculty of the race, the cause both of the main quality and of the main defect of its literature."[2]

Ellis also believes that the Spaniard's talent for realism grows out of stoicism. He is indifferent in imagination but has a gift for observation. Realism is the typical form of Spanish art, but it

1. Ibid. pp. 16-17.
2. Salvador de Madariaga: Op. Cit. p.51.

is always tempered with cheerfulness, since the race is too simple and sound to have acquired a philosophy of despair.[1]

The dignity of the Spaniard is shown in his high sense of personal worth. Dignity, another quality closely related to stoicism, is shown in the Spaniard's high sense of personal worth and honor, a quality shared by all classes, even the peasant and the beggar. Thus, the literature is dignified and full of gracious formulas of courtesy, with a tendency towards ceremoniousness, magniloquence, and grandiloquence.[2]

The so-called laziness of the Spaniard has a philosophical as well as a reprehensible aspect. He often prefers to limit his wants rather than to increase his labor, and he is incapable of accepting the delusion that the best things in life may be bought by money. The second tendency, procrastination, leads to improvisation and careless writing, with an aversion to sustained labor, and none of the world's great literary masterpieces show so many careless flaws in the matter of detail as Don Quixote.[3]

Individualism, which has been previously mentioned, is often accompanied by a spirit of insubordination. Spaniards have always been guerrilla fighters, brave, defending their native soil with tenacity, but relying upon individual effort. This same trait is noticeable in the administration of law and justice. In literature, individualism is not less evident. Each writer tends to be a law unto himself. Literary schools are not so clearly defined as elsewhere and criticism has not played the important role in Spanish literature as in others. This tendency makes for variety and color, but often leads to chaos.[4]

1. G.T.Northup. Op. Cit. p.18.
2. " " " " " " "
3. Havelock Ellis: Op. Cit. p.4.
4. " " " " p. 20-21.

For Northup, Spanish literature is the most democratic of all literatures, and though it had a few powerful patrons such encouragement was rarer by far than in Italy and France. This weakness of aristocratic influence is one reason for the ineffectiveness of criticism in Spain. Centuries of fighting an alien race and creed made all Spaniards, of sangre limpia, brothers. Thus, there was scarcely any middle class and a noticeable tendency towards extravagance may be observed, which is less under the control of common sense than is the case with most literatures. In the main, then, Spanish literature, though tinged with aristocratic traits, has been left to the people;and the great types of that literature, the epic, ballad, drama, novel and literature of mystic devotion, are democratic. Spain is richer in ballads than any other nation and the large number of these, found in nearly all Spanish writings, shows the close contact between author and people.[1]

Humor, an almost universal characteristic of the Spanish race, is possessed even by the illiterate peasant, as is shown in his numerous funny proverbs and the clever application of them. Indeed, Spanish humor is closely akin to that of the English. Cynical wit is rare. The literature is weak in philosophy, criticism and works of daring speculation, since pure intellectual curiosity has never flourished in Spain.[2]

As Mérimée has stated, it is difficult to define the character of a people made up of such dissimilar elements.[3] The generalizations of Ellis, refer more definitely to the Central and Southern Spaniards, though even among them exceptions must be made. Thus the Spanish genius takes on different aspects, according to the epoch and the region.

1. G.T.Northup; Op. Cit. p. 21.
2. " " " " " p.15-22.
2. Ernest Mérimée " " p. 6.

Martin Hume concludes that the native spontaneous character of Spanish literature, derived from the sturdy root-races of pre-historic times, has always retained certain qualities which have distinguished it from all others. "These qualities may be summed up as being a vivid, exuberant invention, florid verbosity, mocking satire; and, above all, the keynote of the racial character, that overpowering sense of individuality that leads each man to look upon himself as the center of the universe."[1.]

Literary evidences of England's interest in Spain, to the end of the eighteenth century.

Although England's most predominating cultural influence came from the north while that of Spain came from the south, the background of every Western European literature is a singularly complex one.[2] English literature has been immensely assisted by influences and ideas flowing in from other sources - from the Greeks, Romans, French, Spaniards, Germans, as well as from the Hebrews and other Orientals.[3]

In the fifteenth century there were few, if any, points of contact between the literatures of Spain and England. In the sixteenth century these two countries drew nearer to one another. The achievement of political unity had greatly increased the importance of Spain in the Councils of Europe, and the discovery of the New World had added still more to her prestige.[4]

In England, feudalism had been defeated and the middle class was rising in importance. The Saxon racial characteristics were greatly in evidence, especially that of realism. But, when the chivalric romances became popular in Spain, an incident in English

1. Martin Hume. Op. Cit. p. 1.
2. H.J.C.Grierson: "The Background of English Literature" and other collected essays and addresses. Chatto and Windus, London, 1925. p.12.
3. T.G.Tucker: Op. Cit. p.1.
4. James Fitzmaurice Kelly: "The Relations between Spanish and English Literature." Univ. Press,Liverpool, 1910. p.1.

history made an opportunity for Spanish influence to creep in. Henry VII, a king of Welsh blood, whose hereditary rights to the Crown were weak or non-existent, became king of England. Elaborate genealogies were constructed for him, and to strengthen his hold upon the imagination of the people he did his best to revive ancient British traditions; above all, the stories of the heroic King Arthur, from whom he claimed descent. Then it was that Spanish books of chivalry became known in England and the English continued to read them long after Spaniards had tired of them.[1] For instance, Burke and Johnson read them in the eighteenth century; but they had first arrived too late to carry all before them in England, as they had done in France, and they were not introduced to the English under such favorable circumstances.

Another type of romance came from Spain to England in the form of the pastoral novel and, artificial though it was, it had considerable influence on English literature. It is not difficult to understand why the Diana of Jorge de Montemayor, the Portuguese-Spaniard, appealed to the English. Knights in search of adventure were quite out of date in Elizabethan England and some quite fanciful vehicle was required to convey works of imagination. Radical political and religious changes affected the literary relations of the two countries. Thus, any English readers interested in Spain, turned their attention to imaginative literature.[2] The first edition of the Diana (Valencia) is thought to be of about 1559, and Bartholomew Young wrote an English translation of it in 1583, which was not published until 1598. Shakespeare must have seen Young's manuscript or have heard the tale told since he used the plot of Diana for his Two Gentlemen of Verona (1595?).[3] Throughout the latter part of the sixteenth

1. J.F.Kelly. Op. Cit: p. 16.
2. Ibid. p. 13.
3. Ernest Mérimée. Op. Cit: p.219.

and all of the seventeenth century, in England and France, the pastoral form of romance and poetry continued to be popular.

When the public wearied of romances, the picaresque novel came into being. This, like the romance of chivalry and the pastoral romance, was an international genre but Spain furnished the model. As a realistic novel, it ridiculed the absurdities of idealistic fiction, and became the most characteristic form of writing, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were picaresque memoirs, plays, ballads, and poems of various sorts, but the novel was its best medium of expression.[1]

This new type was initiated by a justly famous book, the Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidadés. It was printed in Burgos in 1554 and started a school of fiction which is still viable. The first English version appeared anonymously in 1568, as The Marvelus Dedes and Lyf of Lazaro de Tormes; another edition was produced in 1576, but the one that is best known is that of David Rowland, of Anglesey, published in London, in 1586.

When the great literary genius, Cervantes, sought a vehicle for his abounding wit, it was natural that he should tentatively choose the form which seemed, at the moment, that most in favor among readers who prided themselves upon their culture. Although it is commonly said that the ridicule of Miguel Cervantes destroyed the vogue of the chivalric romances,[2] in reality he is rather the embodiment of his epoch, dealing the coup de grâce to that which was already dying. The literary glory of the Renaissance, in Spain, was the glory of Cervantes. There, as in Italy and France, as well as in England, the golden age of the awakening saw the quickening of an essentially national life which found expression in a definitely

1. G.T.Northup: Op. Cit. p.167.
2. T.G.Tucker: Op. Cit. p.224.

n.b. **The pastoral influence may be seen in poetry, from Spenser to Milton, inclusive.**

national art and literature.[1]

The first of Cervantes' short novels was probably written between 1592 and 1600, and the other eleven or twelve were written at various times up to 1613, when they were published under the name of Exemplary Novels. These moral and instructive tales were the nearest approach which Spain could then show to a novel of actuality.[2] Dramatists and story-tellers of England and France seized upon the substance of these stories, while in Spain the same process was even more conspicuous. Not only did the great dramatists of Spain's Golden Age, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Calderón, copy and adapt them for the stage but innumerable writers imitated them in the form of novels. In his Elizabethan version of six of these novels, James Mabbe used the title Delight in Several Shapes.[3] Long afterwards Goethe called them "a very treasure of delight" and Sir Walter Scott told Lockhart that it was by reading them that he was first led to write fiction. But the popularity of the short story, modelled on the lines of the Exemplary Novels, the title of which was the last surviving tradition of the Spanish-Oriental didactic apologue, was surpassed and overwhelmed by the triumph of Don Quixote and the continued story of peripatetic adventure, which was a new development of them.[4]

Don Quixote, a satire on Spanish social life, is the only record which depicts customs and manners in that period. It first appeared in Spain in 1605, and an English translation of the first part, by Shelton, was published in London in 1612. Even then, Shelton remarked that he wrote it "long ago" and that it was knocked off in forty days, which is difficult to believe.

2. T.G.Tucker: Op. Cit. p. 224.
1. "The Outline of Literature" edited by John Drinkwater, p.260. London: George Newnes, Limited.
3. H.J.C.Grierson: Op.Cit. p.38.
4. Martin Hume: Op. Cit. p.48.

The collection of jesters' jokes, Skogggins Jests, attributed to Andrew Boorde,[1] 1565, may be regarded as the first manifestation in England of the picaresque taste in fiction, which had a few years before appeared in Spain in the form of Lazarillo. The first real national peripatetic novel in English, however, evidently inspired by Lazarillo and its school, was Jack Wilton by Thomas Nash, 1594. It is not only the earliest English fiction of pretension, in the picaresque genre, but it is also the last of literary merit for more than a century. It is one of the few long Elizabethan tales of value, and it foreshadows the realistic development of the English novel.[2] Nash, a brilliant young satirist, was a friend and follower of Robert Greene, who had brought the anatomy of roguery to perfection in his conny-catching pamphlets. No doubt Nash had ample opportunity for reading David Rowland's translation of Lazarillo, which was then popular in England. Both Greene and Nash were well acquainted with Spanish. But there is a difference between the English and the Spanish picaresque novel. Nash made a concession to contemporary English tastes and interests by choosing a picaroon higher up in the scale than Lazarillo.[3] Jack Wilton was not a ragamuffin, like all Spanish picaros; he was shown to be a light-hearted, adventurous page; he was keen-witted and smart, but amidst scenes which were not sordid or squalid. The picaresque tradition of the story is kept up by its spirit, good-humor, and contempt for the conventional code,[4] but this and other similar novels in English approximate more to Gil Blas than to Lazarillo, because both in France and England the violent reactions against the romances of chivalry were

1. Frank W. Chandler: "The Literature of Roguery" Boston and New York, Houghton,Mifflin and Company, 1907. 2 vol. vol. 1. p.60ff."The original Jests are attributed to Andrew Boorde, physician to Henry VIII, and the original Merry Andrew."
2. Ibid. p. 193.
3. T.G.Tucker: Op. Cit. p. 224.
4. James Fitzmaurice Kelly. Op. Cit. p.20.

not felt, and the sordidness of the anti-hero and of his surroundings was not needed.[1]

Another Spanish picaresque novel, Guzmán de Alfarache, became perhaps more famous in England than even Lazarillo. It was written by Mateo Alemán and was first published in Madrid, in 1599. James Mabbe, the Tudor translator, published his book in London, in 1622, as The Rogue, or the life of Guzmán de Alfarache.

It is, therefore, clearly evident that, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, a great amount of this class of fiction passed from Spain to England. Lazarillo, El Pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache, Don Quixote, Marcos de Obregón, La Pícara Justina, Estevanillo González, Gil Blas, and La Vida del Buscón, became part of the reading of an English household. "It was inevitable that the form which satirized society, by exhibiting types encountered on a journey, should be naturalized in England. It was a simple and flexible form which lent itself to infinite variations, and to compression or extension as might be desired. Thus, we are led from the chronologically consecutive smart tricks of famous buffoons like Skoggin, through Jack Wilton, at the end of the sixteenth century to the many translations and adaptations of the Spanish novels that amused English readers, during the seventeenth century. But until quite the end of the seventeenth century, little or no influence is seen to have been exerted by these stories upon native English novels, partly owing, no doubt, to the continued fashion for the pastoral form of romance."[2]

As a rule, English roguery refused to run in the channels of satire.[3] Thus, Butler's Hudibras, a satire on the extravagances of the Puritans, was little concerned with roguery. This satire, written

1. Martin Hume: Op. Cit. p. 67.
2. Ibid. p. 81.
3. F.W.Chandler: Op. Cit. v.1, p. 77.

in macaronic verse, was the greatest English imitation of Don Quixote, in the seventeenth century.[1] But in this, as well as in the other imitations of that period, there was no sign that the work[1A] was regarded as more than an amusing exaggeration. In fact, T. G. Tucker regards Hudibras as a vulgar, if often amusing, travesty of Don Quixote, rather than an imitation. Another writer[2] states that, excepting the knight and squire characters, the connection between Don Quixote and Hudibras is slight, "the virulent party-spirit of the English book differing as widely from the universal irony of the Spanish, as Cervantes' kingly, patrician humour differs from Butler's vehement and robustious wit."

The romance of roguery was revived in the second decade of the eighteenth century by the naturalism and character-drawing of Defoe and the literary inspiration of Le Sage.[3] Defoe, the political pamphleteer, first saw the full possibilities of the Spanish form as a satirical vehicle in prose. In all, he wrote six novels, three of them picaresque stories of crime, in each case with well-emphasized morals, the tediousness of which does not take away from the interest in the stories as vivid pictures of English life in the reign of Queen Anne.

But it was through Fielding, indeed, that satire entered the English romance of roguery, which before his day had been peculiarly devoid of it. His satire, Joseph Andrews, is picaresque and peripatetic in form and substance, and he, himself, states that it is written in imitation of the manner of Cervantes.'[4] In Jonathan Wild the Great the picaresque novel attains the highest level of ironical portraiture.

1. H.J.C.Grierson: Op. Cit. p. 57.
2. J.F.Kelly: Op. Cit. p. 26.
3. F.W.Chandler: Op. Cit. p. 229, v.i.
4. J.F.Kelly: Op.Cit. p. 27.

Also T. G. Tucker: Op. Cit. p. 226. (1A)

It appears that Fielding was well versed in Spanish fiction.

Smollett was a Spanish scholar and admirably translated Don Quixote into English. Before translating Don Quixote, he wrote Roderick Random, a novel that was derived from Spanish models and was very picaresque. Humphrey Clinker and Peregrine Pickle were inspired by the same tradition, and presented types encountered in travel. In Ferdinand Count Fathom, he reproduced the picaresque verve, if not the judicial temper of his Spanish examples.[1]

Carlyle has compared Sterne to Cervantes. In Tristram Shandy and in the Sentimental Journey, Sterne gives evidence of Spanish picaresque influence, although these works are deeply tinged with the peculiar genius of the author.

English novelists have been interested rather in the rogue and his adventures, while early Spanish novelists and others have depicted his social environment. It was Dickens, who, inheriting the tradition of Smollett and Egan and profiting by the reformative purpose of Godwin and Bulwer, first combined the two tendencies, studying rogues as individuals and also as social phenomena.[2]

Spain contributed also to other prose writings of Renaissance England. Soon after the marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine of Aragon, Englishmen became more interested in the intellectual side of Spanish life and this interest was, no doubt, stimulated by the arrival of such scholars as Sir Thomas More's friend, Luis Vives, who lectured at Oxford. Spain's prestige had increased enormously, in all directions. Still, she was chiefly admired in England, not as a centre of culture, but as a country that had done great things, in a practical way. Some of those material exploits, commemorated by

1. John Drinkwater: "The Outline of Literature." Op. Cit. p. 418.
2. F. W. Chandler: Op. Cit. p. 411, v.ii.

Ávila y Zúñiga, in his Comentarios, were translated by John Wilkinson.

Numerous letters and pamphlets, giving accounts of the discoveries and conquests of Columbus and his successors, were translated into English as soon as they appeared in other languages; but, it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century, about sixty years after Columbus' first voyage, that public curiosity in England was satisfied by a full account of the explorations, so far as they had, up to that time, been published in Spain.

Richard Eden, an English scholar, was appointed to the household of King Philip, when Mary Tudor became his queen in 1554. This scholar translated from the Latin, in which it was written, a history of the early Spanish explorations, written by the famous Peter Martyr Angleria, who had known the great explorer,Columbus,personally. Martyr, or Pedro Mártir, was a humanist from Italy who became an invaluable chronicler, in Spain, and his Decades de orbe nova were first published there, unabridged, in 1516. Eden published his The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, in 1555, utilizing not only Mártir's book but works of subsequent historians of the conquest.

Eden's book was read with avidity by a public thirsting to have their share in the vast regions of the new world, which Spaniards were claiming for their own. From the time that Elizabeth came to the throne, there was such a demand for information about the route to the west that authors had trouble to keep pace with it. The London press issued a shoal of books, reproduced from the Spanish, that might stir the English and help them to the knowledge needed[1] for traversing the Atlantic to find the golden west for themselves.

Richard Hakluyt also made a study of maritime enterprises and, finding that the English were reputed for their 'sluggish security', he decided to collect and publish accou nts of English explorations.

1. Martin Hume: Op. Cit. p. 138.

By so doing he revealed the hitherto obscure achievements of English navigators, and gave a great impetus to discovery and colonization. Many of his narratives are direct and acknowledged translations from the Spanish texts, and others relate to experiences gained with Spaniards in Spanish countries. In 1587, he published a revised edition in Paris, of the De orbe novo of Peter Martyr, which was translated into English by Michael Lok. There is no town, port or river of importance, in the West Indies, of which good descriptions are not given from Spanish sources, several of which he mentions. "Thus, it is clear that to Spanish literary works the first idea of a scientific school of English seamanship is largely owing, and that the first literary apostle of an extended English empire beyond the seas was inspired to undertake his propaganda through the influence of Spanish books."[1]

It now remains to remark upon that form of literature which, apart from the work of Cervantes, is the chief boast of Spain. The drama was definitely established by the time of Lope de Vega but he moulded it to suit his own gifts, (1562-1635) and Calderón polished it, a generation later. Spanish plays had begun in the usual manner with the performance of "Mysteries" and "Miracles," of which the latter, when connected with the sacrament, were called autos. Spain, like England, and unlike Italy or France, developed an entirely native species of drama from the Mystery and Miracle plays, by breaking away from classical tradition and adopting a modern and more colloquial presentation. In most other points they were dissimilar because of divergences in the national character.

Spain's "Golden Age" in literature was at its height from 1555 to the time of Lope de Vega's death in 1635, but Spanish political power was already seriously undermined. In England, literature swiftly

1. Martin Hume: Op. Cit. p.138.

reached its prime under Elizabeth and James I, but notwithstanding this brilliant development, interrelations between English and Spanish literatures were fewer than might be anticipated. The two nations were then enemies. Spain knew little or nothing of what was being written in England, while in the latter nation Italian influence was dominant, despite the number of translations of Spanish works being published there. These were often made indirectly from French or Italian versions.

Perhaps of all the great English dramatists of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, Shakespeare borrowed the least, directly from the Spaniards. In two instances he took his plots from Spanish sources: The Taming of the Shrew, from one of the tales of Count Lucanor, and The Two Gentlemen of Verona, from the Felismena incident, in the Diana of Montemayor. But he often introduced personages of Spanish name, and with Spanish characteristics, in his plays, which at least shows the influence of Spanish upon literary production generally.

There seems to be little question that other playwrights of Shakespeare's time depended largely upon Spain for their plots. It is not difficult to find in Fletcher and Ben Jonson resemblances to the comedias de capa y espada of Spain. Jonson constantly referred to Quixote before Shelton's translation was published in 1612. Fletcher was greatly indebted to Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares for plots and his Fair Maid of the Inn is from La ilustre fregona. He also knew of Don Quixote as soon as anyone and burlesqued it in his play, The Knight of the Burning Pestle, (1611). Fletcher borrowed also from Lope de Vega, Mateo Alemán, and Gonzalo de Céspedes. It is said that of fifty-two plays, attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher,

seventeen show traces in their plots of Spanish sources, and there is a possibility of six more of those fifty-two being of Spanish origin.[1] J. F. Kelly thinks that it is doubtful whether Fletcher knew Spanish and he believes that Jonson was no better equipped in this respect.

George Wilkins was also indebted to Cervantes and he produced a play, in London, 1607, called the Miseries of Infant Marriage, in which the fighting of a windmill is mentioned. Middleton's Five Gallants, of the same year, refers to the same incident, and his Spanish Gipsy derives its plot from Cervantes' La gitanilla.

Marlowe wrote Tamburlaine, showing Spanish contact with Mejia's Silva de varia lección, but the debt of all English dramatists, in this period, was mainly for stories and plots, or pieces of intrigue, for characterization was much stronger in English plays than in the Spanish originals. The Elizabethan drama, as an independent movement, was earlier than that of Spain, but English writers, seeking picturesque coloring and romantic episodes, went to Spanish sources, and in so doing drew material rather from non-dramatic than from dramatic literature.[2]

In Spain, at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, there was both political and literary bankruptcy. Calderón, the last of the great writers of that age, died in 1681 and with his death the Spanish drama passed into a state of abeyance. It was one hundred and fifty years before another really vital movement manifested itself, in Spanish literature.

In striking contrast, England reckons many glorious names during the same period. Elizabethan vigor gave way to more chastened forms, whether in courtly lyric or in the other extreme of Puritan austerity. After the Restoration, the theatre, which had been banned during the

1. J.F.Kelly: Op.Cit. p.22. 2.G.H.Nettleton: Eng.Drama of the Restoration, etc. p.45-47.

Puritan rule, came back to its own, but what Restoration dramatists did not borrow from France was directly inspired by the Court of Charles II, of England,[1] and thus the drama seemed to have lost in part its national character.[2]

Some playwrights, in search of exciting plots and thrilling incidents, began to look for such in the collections of Spanish comedias which were then appearing, mostly through French channels. Among the few writers, who may have gone directly to Spanish material, was Sir Samuel Tuke, whose Adventures of Five Hours, 1663, is so like the Spanish comedy of intrigue, the Empenos de seis horas, by Calderón; but it may have been taken from Coello's (?) Lo que pasa en una noche.[3]

Dryden's Evening's Love, 1668, was evidently taken from Calderon's Astrólogo fingido, but through the medium of Thomas Corneille. "To please the licentious court of Charles II, Dryden produced plays on the Spanish lines, in which the bombastic and impossible heroism of the principle personages, the valour and prowess, the high-faluting grandiloquence of the characters, outdid the originals, and became supremely ridiculous; whilst the coarseness was quite bereft of the satirical fun that gilded suggestiveness, both in Spanish and in French. But badly or well written, the framework of these comedies of Dryden and his followers is purely Spanish."[4]

The slender thread of Spanish weave, which is thus apparent in the fibre of early Restoration drama, is discernible from time to time in the texture of later English drama.[5] Wycherley, the satirist, as well as Shadwell and others, may have gone direct to Spain for patterns but evidence is lacking that many English writers, of this time, knew Spanish literature at first hand or were influenced by any Span-

1. "The Outline of Literature" Op.Cit.p.368.
2. F.W.Chandler: Op. Cit. v.i, p.259.
3. Ernest Mérimée: Op. Citp. p.370.
4. Martin Hume: Op.Cit. p. 234. 5.G.H.Nettleton:Op.Cit. p.45-47.

ish modes of thought. Nor were Spaniards more acquainted with English literature.[4] English playwrights contrived a few effective acting plays by utilizing Spanish comedias but this method produced no dramatic masterpieces.[1]

1. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly: Op. Cit. p.26.

2. F.W.Chandler: Op. Cit. p.263, v.i. "The rivalry of fiction more and more diverted interest from the drama of the eighteenth century and with the nineteenth century, the dependence of the drama upon the novel was fully established.p.270. Every fictional success found dramatization, and that romances of roguery should have been adapted for the boards was only natural. The "Waverley Novels," for example, were frequently arranged for presentation. Most of Dickens's novels underwent the process also."

3. F.W.Chandler: Op. Cit. p. 230, v.i. "Martin A.S.Hume's Spanish Influence in English Literature (London,1905) is inadequate and untrustworthy in its treatment of picaresque fiction and Spanish inspiration. It owes, moreover, an unacknowledged debt for most that is not inaccurate to John Garrett Underhill's authoritative Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors (N. Y., 1899)

4. Mérimée, Ernest: Op. Cit. Milton's Paradise Lost did not become known to the intellectuals of the Peninsula till the 18th century, and then was more admired than assimilated. (From E.A.Peers, Milton in Spain, in Studies in Philology, XXIII, 1926, 169-183).

SPAIN AND THE ENGLISH HISTORIANS OF ROMANTIC ENGLAND

Cha.p. 3.

Watson--Sherer--Napier.

The works of English historians, during the Romantic period, give ample proof of the renewed and general interest in Spain, at that time. England, unlike Spain, had not been stifled by two centuries of the Inquisition, and the work of historical reconstruction, undertaken in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was more seriously continued in the new period. Although there were no immediate successors of Gibbon, Hume and Robertson, historical work flourished and a taste for specialization led to the writing of a large number of special histories, French, Spanish and others; while the historical events which brought England and Spain together affected this type of writing. Moreover, the same revolutionary impulse, which permeated all forms of imaginative literature, was perceptible in treatises of graver import, shaping at once mental conception and rhetorical expression. Some writers were historical by profession; others mainly antiquarians; others eminent in many fields besides history, and the chief imaginative writers themselves made excursions into this field. The general appetite for history among readers, and the readiness to gratify that appetite among writers, may be judged from the fact that the poets Scott, Moore and Campbell, the critic Hazlitt and other men, whose vocation did not place them under the invocation of Clio, composed extensive books of this kind.

There were not only the academic historians, who dealt with a specific period of Spanish history or with certain institutions or personages, but also men who treated current events, such as the Peninsular War, either in its entirety or through certain phases of its

1. T. S. Omond, M.A.: "The Romantic Triumph" -- New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. p. 132.
2. George Saintsbury: "A Short History of English Literature" Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1929. p. 708.

progress, in the form of reminiscences. Of the former type, a history of the reign of Philip III[1] is a representative work. A few remarks upon this publication will suffice, since it does not treat of the period here under discussion.

Watson presents a picture of Spain under Philip III, a weakling, who invested the Marquis of Lerma, an incapable favorite, with the reins of government. As might be expected, Spain, the seat of Philip II's huge empire, became greatly exhausted when some of the principal sources of her opulence and prosperity dried up. The population was lessened by wars and also by migrations to the New World. Agriculture and industry were neglected, because occupation in such was considered as mean and despicable, not only by the indolent, but also by the enterprising or adventurous, and because church and military orders had, for centuries, received the highest honors that could be bestowed. This contempt for and the consequent neglect of the more useful arts was heightened by the frequent instances of enormous fortunes rapidly acquired by adventurers in America, but whatever revenue was received by the sovereign, as his share of the riches, was dissipated in prosecuting wars or in the purchase of national armaments.

Spaniards, in general, remained indifferent to many matters of grave concern. They seemed unable to realize that peace was their only salvation. Thus, they further endangered a monarchy already exposed by its debility, and their sovereign was incapable of discerning this danger or of providing against it. Instead, Philip III created numerous and unnecessary offices and spent his remaining resources in pursuing a series of wars, in different parts of Europe, chiefly to the advantage of the Pope and the Catholic Church. One of these wars was a ferocious conflict with the Netherlands. Another was an attempt

1. Robert Watson, LL.D., "The History of the Reign of Philip III, King of Spain," London, 1808.

to destroy the power of Elizabeth of England, by supporting rebels and Catholics in England and Ireland, with the hope of adding Ireland to his dominions.

Watson thought that the Court of Spain ought to have been sensible to the folly of expecting discipline to be maintained among troops, especially foreign ones, who were disinterested in the issue of the war, and had their pay withheld from them; that they should have recognized the absurdity of keeping an army on foot which they were unable to support; that they should have reduced the number of troops and have kept to defensive war only; that they should have economized at home, to better enable themselves to make more liberal remittances to the Archduke; or, that they should have ended war by making peace with the United Provinces by empowering the Archduke to accept their terms. But, instead of adopting these prudent measures, they resolved to reduce the mutineers by force and to this end gave orders for levying new regiments immediately.[1]

This constitutes the gist of Watson's history which, in its almost purely, scholarly objectivity, may be said to lack the interest inherent in first-hand observations, treated subjectively. As for its influence on the creative endeavours of Englishmen, the only place it can be said to fill is that of an informative volume to be resorted to for unequivocal data.

A military man,who felt that justice was not being done to English written and oral accounts of the Peninsular War, wrote his Recollections[2], which were published in 1823. In his subjective treatof the matter, he deprecates the tendency of the English to ignore

1. Ibid. p. 141.
2. Colonel Joseph Moyle Sherer: "Recollections of the Peninsula" by the author of "Sketches in India," London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1823. p. 50.

the bravery of the Spanish, and he does not wish the British army to be held responsible for such injustice. The Colonel, a traveller and a soldier, has related what he saw, thought and felt, during five years of service in the Peninsula. He wrote to amuse and to instruct, laying emphasis upon Spanish prowess; the generous and fearless ardour with which they first rushed to arms; their intrepidity before Napoleon; their heroic perseverance and their undying resolution. Though daily routed, they repeatedly confronted the enemy and retired from one field only to offer themselves as willing victims on another.

He looks upon the Spaniards as a distinguished race, a people of the most primitive and uncorrupted singleness of heart, a people whose national character was ill understood and who had been very often and very cruelly misrepresented. Though they had often been charged with indolence and ignorance, "Spaniards are not half so indolent as prejudiced travellers would pretend."[1]

The Colonel was much affected by the simplicity of manners and religious devotions of the poor in Spain, those peaceful citizens and laborious peasants. He found the mass of the people hospitable and generous, patriotic and brave, temperate and honest, although there were many examples of degeneracy among the wealthy.

The Spaniards had not progressed in science but they were well versed in moral ethics. Though unpractised in schools and having little acquaintance with books, experience and observation formed them with solid characters and sound judgments. They were superstitious but superstition does not always foster crime. Though the Inquisition originated in the wicked policy of cruel rulers and crafty ecclesiastics, the nation did not accept it willingly. He believes

1. Ibid. p.50.

that the invasion of Spain, by the French, was a blow from which the Church in Spain and Portugal would never fully recover. There were fewer atrocious crimes in Spain than in the British Isles; more manslaughter, but less murder and fewer deliberate assassinations.

The guerilla system of warfare had certainly a most powerful and material influence in the salvation of Spain. Their surprise attacks kept the French on the alert and was proof of the resistance of the Spanish nation and of their hatred of the invader. They might subsist on plunder but it was the plunder of their enemies. They were not paid and could not live without support. Their free and haughty spirits rejected the idea of serving in ranks as soldiers.

Sherer continues to eulogize the courage and constancy of Spanish character. It was not surprising that their armies met with great misfortunes when they were but half organized and ill-commanded. Though their leaders generally lacked skill or were treacherous, Spain, that is the country, the people, still resisted. Had it not been for them, it is vain to suppose "that even the ability and genius of a Wellington or the discipline and intrepidity of a British army (which, however excellent in composition, was numerically feeble) could have long resisted the combinations of eight marshals of France and the efforts of two hundred thousand soldiers."[1]

While skirting the heights, in the pass of Maya, a body of English and Spanish soldiers were surrounded by the French and Sherer was taken prisoner. But the only criticism that he has for the Spanish is that they had no government, no ministers and no generals. He speaks of the silly pride of Ballesteros who had courage and ability, but would not take orders from Wellington and thus injured the cause in a critical moment, making it impossible for them to remain in the heart of Spain or to defend Madrid.

1. Ibid. p.183.

At the time of writing, Sherer grieves at the wretchedness and degradation that has befallen the Spanish people but he is of the firm belief that they will soon convince the monarch of the misrule of his advisers; or will, by one mighty effort, free themselves and place another ruler on the throne.

Finally, Colonel Sherer considers that "it is a great misfortune for the British army, which served in the Peninsula, and for Wellington himself, that no man possessed of the necessary information and ability to work upon his materials, has been found to give a correct and valuable history of our campaigns. "[1]

This need was instantly filled by an English military officer who was among the few historians born from 1780 to 1790, in England. Sir William Francis Patrick Napier (1785-1860) made the subject of the Peninsular Wars his special field of study. He was a member of a band of soldier-brothers, who served in Sir John Moore's campaign in Spain (1808) and in the subsequent war in the Peninsula. His final promotions were granted in 1841 and 1859, as Major-General and General. Besides other works, he published the immortal History of the Peninsular War, which threw even Southey's into the shade. He recounted events of which he had been in part an eye-witness. The work was translated into many languages. "This masterly book moves as if to the tap of drums and flash of bayonets, and the 'majesty with which the British soldier' fought in the days of Brown Bess and the Iron Duke has not missed worthy chronicle."[2]

In the preface of this work, Sir William states that "The Spaniards have boldly asserted, and the world has believed, that the deliverance of the Peninsula was the work of their hands; this assertion, so contrary to the truth, I combat: it is unjust to the fame of the

1. Ibid. p. 92.
2. T. S. Omond: Op. Cit. p. 135.
ff. In his History of the Peninsular War, Southey suffered from the proximity of Napier whose great work eclipsed his.--Oliver Elton, "A Survey of English Literature"

British General, and injurious to the glory of the British arms."

In the first place, he considers that the calamities that overwhelmed Spain were due to: the imbecility of Charles IV, the vileness of Ferdinand, and the corruption of Godoy, "but the primary cause, that which belongs to history, was the despotism arising from the union of a superstitious court with a sanguinary priesthood."[1] Such despotism repressed knowledge, sapped military and civil virtues and prepared the way for invasion. Spain was deceived and fettered because the public voice was stifled; she was scourged and torn because her military institutions were decayed. This statement seems in agreement with those of Sherer.

His opinions with respect to Spanish prowess, during the insurrection in Spain, are not so favorable as those of Sherer. Sir William declares that the self-sufficient, proud and superstitious Spaniards were roused to fanatic fury by an all-powerful clergy; but that, after the first burst of indignation, the cause of independence created little enthusiasm. Ths Spanish insurrection presented a strange spectacle: patriotism supported a vile government; a popular assembly worked to restore a despotic monarch; the higher classes sought a foreign master; the lower were armed in the cause of bigotry and misrule. The leaders of the uprising governed in the name of freedom but trembled at the democratic activity they had themselves excited; they called forth all the bad passions of the multitude, and repressed the patriotism that would regenerate as well as save. A corrupt administration of the resources extinguished patriotism and neglected the ruined armies. The peasant-soldier, usually flying at the first onset, threw away his arms and returned to his home; or, attracted by the license

1. Napier: "History of the Peninsular War" London, 1828-40. Preface, p. 3. 5 vols.

of the partidas, joined the banners of men who, for the most part, originally robbers, were as oppressive to the people as to the enemy. These guerilla chiefs would have been quickly exterminated, had not the French, pressed by Lord Wellington's battalions, been obliged to keep in large masses. "This was the secret of Spanish constancy. It was the copious supplies from England and the valor of the Anglo-Portuguese troops that supported the war, and it was the gigantic vigor with which the Duke of Wellington resisted the fierceness of France and sustained the weakness of the inefficient cabinets, that delivered the Peninsula."[1]

While domestic quarrels and favoritism characterized the royal family, Sir William has praise for the gallantry and devotion of a populace that could dare to assail the force commanded by Murat, rather than abandon one of their princes. "Such, however, was the character of the Spaniards throughout this war,- they were prone to sudden and rash actions, and though weak in military execution, fierce and confident individually, and they had always an intuitive perception of what was great and noble."[2] The Spaniard is proud and haughty, procrastinating, stoical in enduring privations and physical suffering, affectionate in friendship and bitter in his rage. "His promise is lofty, but as he invariably permits his passions to get the mastery of his reason, his performance is mean."

This writer realizes that the clergy filled the credulous peasantry with excessive and mistaken enthusiasm, whereas, had they been better informed, they might have joined the French, so suited for a rebellion was the state of civilization in Spain. It was not difficult for any energetic man to assemble large masses of such peasants, where the climate rendered it no inconvenience to sleep in the open

1. Ibid. p. 6.
2. Ibid. p.34.

air, for the greater part of the year; where the universal custom was to go armed; and, where the poor peasants possessed of little furniture and hoarding what gold they could get, were less concerned for the loss of their homes than the inhabitants of any other country. The effort that "he makes in relinquishing his abode must not be measured by the scale of an Englishman's exertion in a like case;" "once engaged in an adventure, the lightness of his spirit and the brilliancy of his sky make it a matter of indifference to the angry peasant whither he wanders."

Sir William comments upon the deceptive nature of certain Spanish characteristics. "It is, however, not surprising that great expectations were at first formed of the heroism of the Spaniards, and those expectations were greatly augmented by their agreeable qualities. There is not upon the face of the earth a people so attractive in the friendly intercourse of society."[1] They have a majestic language, fine persons, women of inexpressible beauty, becoming dress, lively imaginations; an air of romance which they throw over every action and infuse into every feeling: all of which combine to delude the senses and impose upon the judgment. They are the most agreeable of companions, but danger and disappointment attend the man who, confiding in their promises and energy, ventures upon a difficult enterprise. 'Never do today what you can put off until tomorrow' is the favorite proverb of Spain, and it is rigidly followed.

The Juntas, or governing bodies, in general, were composed of persons, cowardly and mean, who thought only of individual gain. Anti-party strife was imminent; localism hindered the progress of the provinces; and selfish ambition was the rule rather than that which makes for the welfare of a nation. The corruption of the Juntas was well demonstrated in that of Seville, which was so terrified after a

1. Ibid. p. 43.

disaster that it was only prevented from retiring to Cadiz by its dread of the populace; -"they even thought of flying to South America."

"The helplessness of a Spanish commander is nowhere more clearly exhibited than when he is opposed by the power of a selfish Junta." "Castaños wished to adopt a defensive plan, to make Cadiz his place of arms, and to form an entrenched camp, where he hoped to be joined by ten or twelve thousand British troops, and in security to organize and discipline a large army; but, in reality, he had merely the name and the troubles of a commander-in-chief, without the power. Morla was his enemy, and the Junta, containing men determined to use their authority for their own emolument and the gratification of private enmity, were jealous lest Castaños should control their proceedings. They thwarted him, humoured the caprice and insolence of the populace, and meddled with affairs foreign to the matter in hand."[1]

Napier firmly believes that the unwise prodigality of England encouraged the improvidence of Spain. Supplies were demanded incessantly by the Spaniards and supplied profusely by the English, but arms and clothing were left unused or fell into the hands of the enemy; money was misapplied; and, from the beginning to the end of the war, an English musket was rarely to be seen in the hands of a Spanish soldier.

The English conception of affairs in Spain was entirely erroneous. "The vigour, the courage, the unmatched spring of Spanish patriotism, was in every man's mouth." Nothing could be more unsound and fallacious. At a distance, the insurrection appeared of towering proportions and mighty strength, when in truth it was a fantastic object, stained with blood, and tottering from weakness. "The mass of the Spanish nation, blinded by personal hatred, thought only of re-

1. Ibid. p. 194.

venge." The leaders were arrogant and incapable, without unity of design, and their military efforts were abortive. A rude, unscientific warfare disclosed the barbarous violence of the Spanish character, and the utter decay of Spanish institutions.

The Juntas of León, of the Asturias, and of Galicia, were at open discord, and those provinces were again split into parties, hating each other with as much virulence as if they had been of a hundred years' growth. The Junta of one province would not assist another with arms when there was a surplus, nor permit their troops to march against the enemy beyond the precincts of the particular province in which they were first organized. The ruling power was in the hands of the provincial nobility and gentry, men of narrow, contracted views, unaccustomed to business; proud, arrogant, and generally disposed to employ their newly acquired power in providing for their relations and dependants, at the expense of the common cause.

Sir William evidently felt that he had done injustice to the Spanish, as a whole, and therefore somewhat toned down his condemnation by paying free tribute to the resistance of the Spaniards. "But to expose the errors is not to undervalue the fortitude of a noble people." The stoicism of a suffering people was a distinctive mark of the national character. Although great numbers were famishing and dying, they evinced a calm resignation..."not many begged, none complained; there was no violence, no reproaches, very few thefts."

It cannot be denied that, as he continues his account, the virulence becomes more marked. Though he has written with some passion and prejudice, he has shown a most intimate knowledge of his subject, and a command of vivid literary representation excessively rare, if not almost unknown, in a professional historian.[1] He, himself, asserts

1. George Saintsbury: Op. Cit. p. 708.

in his history that he has been accused of prejudice. But, as a patriotic Britisher, it would seem that he resented Spanish boastfulness and considered that British efforts in freeing Spain from Napoleon had been underrated. His History earned a handsome commendation from the Duke of Wellington, in spite of the author's radical outlook, and placed him high among historical writers.[1]

Among modern writers who appear to agree with Colonel Sherer, rather than with Sir William Napier, regarding Spanish resistance to Napoleon, may be mentioned Charles E. Chapman.[2] After remarking that "English historians make it appear that success in the Peninsula was a British feat of arms" under the Duke of Wellington, and that the campaigns were brilliant, Chapman writes that the Duke's victories would have been impossible but for the indirect aid of Spanish soldiers.[3] He then quotes from Sir Charles Oman's History to support his views: "The movement was spontaneous, unselfish and reckless; in its wounded pride, the nation challenged Napoleon to combat, without any thought of the consequences, without counting up its own resources or those of the enemy!..."Enormous as was the force, over three hundred thousand men, which the Emperor had thrown into Spain, it was still not strong enough to hold down the conquered provinces and, at the same time, to attack Portugal, where the British army was stationed. For this fact, the Spaniards must receive due credit.. No sooner had the French concentrated and abandoned a district, than there sprang up in it a local Junta and a ragged apology for an army. Even where the invaders lay thickest along the route from Bayonne to

1. "The Oxford Companion to English Literature" edited by Sir Paul Harvey, Oxford, 1932. p. 543.
2. Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D., "History of Spain" founded on the "History" of Altamira, New York, 1931. p. 489, 491.
3. Sir Charles William Chadwick Oman, British historian, born in (1860) India, educated in England. He had a brilliant academic career in England and was awarded honorary degrees from numerous foreign universities.and learned societies. His most important work was done in military history. The "History of the Peninsular War 1807-1813" was published, in 6 vols., 1902-22. ----- Encycl. Britannica, and Nelson's Encyl.

Madrid, guerilla bands maintained themselves in the mountains, cut off couriers and escourts and often isolated one French army from another for weeks at a time....Often beaten, they were never destroyed and always reappeared to strike some daring blow, at the point where they were least expected...This explains the fact that, with three hundred thousand men in arms, the invaders could never concentrate more than seventy thousand to deal with Wellington."

Chap. IV.

SPAIN AND THE TRAVELLERS OF ROMANTIC ENGLAND.

Graham--Bowring--Beckford--Irving--Ford--Borrow.

It appears that few Englishmen were well informed concerning Spain, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but when England went to the aid of Spain, in the Peninsular War, public attention became focused on that country. As the war progressed, English soldiers and officers, in the Peninsula, sent letters and despatches home, relating how the Spanish countryside organized to resist French invasion; describing something of the topography, the customs, the juntas, and of other interesting topics; but more enthusiastically reporting the bravery of the Spanish who, under Wellington, assisted the English to recapture Badajoz and other places, in Spain, from the French. However, these reports were not sufficient to satisfy English curiosity. To meet this need, English traveller writers appeared, who made it their business to procure the information necessary to satisfy English readers.

In a list of publications for the year 1803, there appeared one of the early books of travel in Spain: A Tour through the principal provinces of Spain and Portugal, performed in the year 1803, with cursory observations on the manners of the inhabitants[1]. This book contains a description of the main features of Spain, its principal cities, its industries, conditions in the provinces, through which the traveller toured, and a brief account of the people and the institutions under which they lived.

1. Printed for Richard Phillips, 6, Bridge-Street, Blackfriars, By Barnard & Sultzer, Water Lane, Fleet Street, 1803, London. There is nothing to indicate, definitely, either the name of the author of the Tour or why he undertook the trip. Neither is there anything in the Dictionary of National Biography to show that Sir Richard Phillips (1767-1840) was the tourist. Sir Richard was an author, bookseller and publisher, and he often wrote anonymously. In 1796, he established the Monthly Magazine, in London; became sheriff in 1807 and was knighted by George III, in 1808; published his Memoirs in the same year.

The traveller reports that it was dangerous to move about in a country infested with bandits, and described the means of protection used by those who took trips. Accommodations for travellers were poor and most people rode on horseback, because of the deplorable condition of the roads. The insecurity of the country was such that it was extremely hazardous to travel unless accompanied by a formidable guard. There was a general prevalence of poverty and the entire country seemed to be plagued by beggars, while the cities were simply thronged with them. The peasants, generally, were clean and industrious.

He found that the Spaniards, especially of the middle and lower classes, were intensely religious. There appeared to be more priests and monks than laymen, and the country "swarmed" with monasteries, hermitages and convents. He observed the national sport of Spain, the bullfight, and comments on its cruelty, having seen the suffering of thirteen horses grievously mangled, while five men were hurt and one milled, all within two hours. Art and literature were dominated by the Inquisition, as was also the education of the people. He had seen lists of prohibited books pasted against church doors, throughout the country. The grandees of Spain were filled with apathy and unenterprising genius.

This is not a glamorous but a matter of fact account. After visiting many places of worship, the writer states his own sensations in regard to hermits. He has a feeling of pity rather than any romantic ideas about them. It is the triumph of modern knowledge over ancient prejudice.[1]

The next travel account to be considered was written under far different conditions. From 1803 to 1820 England and Spain changed their policies and became allies instead of enemies. During the

1. Ibid. p. 16.

Peninsular War, Mr. William Graham, who was connected with the Commissariat, attached to the British army, wrote an original work on Portugal and Spain, which was published in 1820.[1] In the "Advertisement," preceding this publication, the editor states that "After a slumber of ages, and abject submission to a yoke of priestcraft which degraded the Spanish name below the standard of the human character, Spain has assumed an imposing attitude, which renders every fact connected with that country deeply interesting to the whole civilized world." He also remarks that this travel diary was not written for the public eye but is more valuable on that account; because it often happens that Travels written for publication, are accommodated to public prejudices, and assume a formality of style and manner incompatible with the pleasure afforded by this species of composition, when it results from the unsophisticated feelings of the writer, derived from local circumstances.

Graham was in the Peninsula from 1812-14. On June 22, 1813, after viewing the havoc near Vittoria, seeing French artillery upset in the ditches; heaps of dead,and confusion all about, he wrote: "Here let me consider the many suffering for the few; men slaughtering men, who never saw each other before, and a merciful God looking down on the destroying of lives which he himself had given. My military friends may smile at this grave morality; but, on the honour of a British officer, I give my sentiments, that the principle of warfare is not natural to man!"[2]

Many descriptions of the country, its scenery, towns, villages, with their mud huts; as well as of the marches, skirmishes, and battles with which he had personal experience, are interestingly given in this diary.

1. "Travels through Portugal and Spain, during the Peninsular War," by William Graham, Esq., printed for Richard Phillips, in "Modern Voyages and Travels," 9 vols., London, 1820. v. 3.
2. Ibid. p. 51.

Graham writes that "the Spaniards are in a manner rude to strangers or foreigners; they seem very selfish, and have not the way of hiding it like the Portuguese." Also, they have a very high opinion of themselves and think they are the most enlightened people under the sun; that they have produced more learned men than all the rest of the world; and they will boldly tell you that "were it not for us, you would have been all a set of savages." Graham's opinion is that they never had but one truly learned and great writer, Cervantes, and he ridiculed his own people; but Spain, doubtless, had produced many moderately learned men, though not of transcendant genius.

"The Spaniards, through the whole of the country we passed, were, in general, dirty." After a brief description of their dress, Graham remarks that some of the natives appeared to be friendly, others reserved and morose. "Altogether, I found them a most affectionate people, if you can insinuate yourself into their favor, which, however, it was very difficult to do, they kept themselves so retired." Such remarks applied chiefly to the "stay-at-homes;" those who "travel are imperious and overbearing to strangers, and are seldom known to unite in the bonds of a strict friendship, even among themselves."[1]

Although the manners and customs of the Portuguese and Spanish form a pretty exact counterpart, there are some interesting contrasts. The Spanish would raise prices fifty per cent. for the English, and their impudence could only be explained by their hatred of heretics. A successive intercourse with England for ages" has proved the fact that the Portuguege have a more favorable cast of character than their neighbors." It is Graham's opinion that, in the general results and good effects of an improved and refined civilization, the Spaniards were behind the nations of France and England over five

1. Ibid. p.54.

hundred years. However, "to speak accurately we must draw a line between the superior and lower classes of society, to whom only the remark appertains."[1]

He found the Spaniards, in general, very poor, but that was also true of every country he had visited. In Spain, the rich never helped their poorer brethren; but they would gamble away thousands. "I have seen the father of a family gamble away his vineyards, wines, houses, goods, even the coat off his back, and leave the room almost naked....When they pursue it hotly, no consideration for themselves or their family can check them; all is forgotten in the raging delirium for play."[2] Even the peculiarities of the sacerdotal character did not hinder them from engaging in such scenes. Graham's opinion of their honesty, in gambling, is low.

The country was tolerably well cultivated, though it did not cost them half the labor that it did in England. Had Spain been cultivated in the manner of English farming, he felt that it could supply one half of Europe with grain. Lack of cultivation in Spain and Portugal obliged the British to move their troops often.

It is a cause of wonder, to Graham, how Spaniards could take such pains to ornament their churches, with their fine architecture, for he never had a faint idea of what laziness was until he entered the Peninsula. The Portuguese were culpable enough, in that respect, but were positively laborious, compared to the Spaniards. He ascribes the superfluous number of monks and nuns to this laziness and to superstition. "How any government, with pretensions to common sense, can mildly look on at such despicable drones, of not the least use to society, surprises me; but religion in this country is the supreme authority,"[3] and the king himself must be subservient, and not

1. Ibid. p. 86.
2. Ibid. p. 56.
2. Ibid. p. 54.

offend it. Also, there seemed to be few large land-holders in Spain, excepting those in religious orders. Neither in Spain nor in Portugal had he seen one solitary instance of a nobleman's or gentleman's residence, separate from a town or village, and only one instance occurred of a convent, the "country being in fact, at the best of times overrun with brigands."

Graham asserts that, during the whole time he was in Spain, he scarcely ever saw one truly handsome female; they were all either too fat, or complete skeletons, neither of which could exhibit fine proportions. He observed the modesty and high spirits of young women who, during the war, were forced to flee from their homes, heavily laden with personal belongings. He felt a great pity for them, in their grief and humiliation at being subjected to such necessities and exposed to the rude stare of the soldiers.

Nor does the writer fail to praise the Spanish patriot, General Mina, who knew every pass in the mountains and took up such favorable positions that any supplies brought from France "were certain of capture, if they fell into his hands." But, even at that, some Spaniards did not like the destruction among the French, on account of their religion. "After all, neither the French nor the English armies would aspire to be sainted on the score of religion.....It is generally thought that more French soldiers fell in this manner of petty warfare, than in all Lord Wellington's general actions added together."[1] This is, indeed, high testimony, from an Englishman, concerning the activity of the Spaniards, during the Peninsular War.

While he was on duty, it was reported that Spanish sentries were bribed by the French, and Graham states that he had every reason to believe it was true, although the Spanish general either would not or could not find it out. After that, "We were suspicious of the Spaniards."

1. Ibid. p. 62.

He also describes a definite instance of Spanish insubordination. A brigade of Spanish artillery had fired a few rounds on a French column, which charged the Spaniards in return, but British infantry intercepted the charge. Thereupon the Spanish brigade became panic-struck, set fire to their ammunition,which blew up, and left the field."They came rushing up, at a rapid rate, with horrible accounts." Soon after that, a Spanish brigade-major, arrived in a dreadful passion, calling and upbraiding the officers and men, as a pack of cowards; but they bore it with much seeming indifference. "However, they brought their guns along with them, which preserved some remains of their credit." The Spanish major exerted himself to get them to return, "as we could supply them with ammunition;" but it was in vain and they stopped until the news came of the retreat of the French, when they set out after them.

Then follows a vivid and highly amusing picture of the confusion of muleteers, upon hearing the shout: "Fly! the French are coming." This cry alarmed all the baggage train but Graham managed to keep his own supplies intact, by controlling the muleteers sufficiently to keep them at their places. Before the alarm came, the muleteers were lazy enough and grumbled about going so fast; but afterwards, they turned round and "such galloping and racing I never witnessed...Such a scene of confusion and dismay an unconcerned spectator might have thought burlesque. Such whipping and spurring and lashing, and thumping the poor horses, mules and asses;...such a strain of puffing and blowing, cursing the slowness of their horses, and those mounted on mules out of all temper! For in treating their mules so unmercifully, the creatures would not go forward a step; but moved round and round like a wheel, upsetting all the baggage they came near,"[1] and upsetting many of the mule riders from giddiness, who immediately fled to the nearby mountains, on foot.

1. Ibid. p. 49.

In closing, he vows that he has recorded nothing but actual occurrences and surveys, "which I was an ocular evidence of," and that he has scrupulously avoided everything that has even the semblance of fiction. Thus, the traveller of 1803, and Graham, the army man of 1812-14 both wrote realistic accounts of Spain and the Spaniards.

English scholars and dilettanti who visited Spain, in the English Romantic period.

A number of English writers, with literary interest, visited Spain and gathered material for their accounts. One of these, Sir John Bowring, (1792-1872), was a linguist, translator and student of popular folk-songs.[1] In 1811, a London business firm sent him to the Peninsula, in their interests. He subsequently entered into business on his own account and, in 1819-20, he travelled abroad for commercial purposes, visiting Spain, France and other countries.[2] Evidently his business affairs did not preclude literary research and he later published many works, on various subjects. Among these may be found his observations on the religion and literature of Spain,[3] published in 1820, after his journey through the Peninsula.

1. T. S. Omond: Op. Cit. p. 100.
2. Dictionary of National Biography: ed. by Sidney Lee, London, pub. by Smith, Elder & Co., 15 Waterloo Place, 1896,

Sir John Bowring's people, for generations, were engaged in the woollen trade of Devon. He could either read or write 15 languages and could translate about 65-70. Jeremy Bentham was his friend and adviser. He was associated with the Westminster Review. In various countries of southern Europe, he gathered together extensive materials for a literary scheme so large that he found it impossible to fulfil it, in his lifetime. He was a F.R.C. and received knightly orders from at least 7 European countries. He was an honorary member of many learned societies, of Europe. While in Madrid, he published, in Spanish, his Contestación á las Observaciónes de Don Juan B. Ogavan sobre la esclavitud de los negros, an exposition of the arguments in favor of African slavery in Cuba. He published in the Pamphleteer, 1813, Some account of the state of the Prisons in Spain and Portugal. In 1824, Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain.

3. Observations on the State of Religion and Literature in Spain, pub. in the series of New Voyages and Travels, 1820.

He first mentions that "there are two hundred thousand ecclesiastics" in Spain, possessing immense revenues and an incalculable influence over the mass of the people, "although that influence is diminishing, notwithstanding the countenance and co-operation of a government deeply interested in preserving their authority."[1] But he considers that it would be a great injustice to the regular clergy of Spain to class them with the immense hordes of monks and friars. The former, though too numerous, were, for the most part, intelligent and humane; friendly, in many instances, to liberty, and devoted to literature. The latter, with few but striking exceptions, were unmanageable masses of ignorance and indolence. Like Graham, he believes that "no society in which the sound principles of policy are at all understood, would consent to maintain a numerous body of idle, unproductive, useless members in opulence and luxury, at the expense of the active and the laborious,"[2] merely because they had chosen that profession. Though civilization had retrograded under "the present system of despotism" yet that great advance had been made "since the beginning of the late revolution, is happily too obvious to be denied." The British military companions of the Spanish cared little for "all the trumpery of friars white, black, or grey" and if the contagion of their contempt did not reach their Catholic friends, it lessened, at least, the respect with which the inmates of the monastery had been so long regarded.

But "in anticipating a period in which the Spaniard shall be released from monkish influence, it must not be forgotten how interwoven is that influence with his most delightful recollections and associations."[3] A stronger impression still was created on his mind by the enthusiastic love of song, so universal in Spain. The Spaniard lived and breath-

1. Ibid. p.3.
2. Ibid. p.3.
3. Ibid. p.5.

in a land of poetry and fiction; he felt himself the most privil-eged among the faithful. "This is indeed the ignorance of bliss. Is it not folly to wish him wise?" The Inquisition, though greatly humanized, still existed, and its influence on literature was "per-haps greater than ever; for though Spain possesses, at the present moment, a great number of admirable writers, the press was never so in
-active." He contrasted the difficulty of publishing any valuable work to the facility with which ridiculous trash was issued daily from the Spanish press.

He states that often the most cruel and intolerant persecutors have been men devoid of religious principle; such men were generally the prime movers of the gagging engine of religious intolerance; and they were to be found too abundantly in Spain. A larger class, which would include the majority of the learned clergy of Spain, were those whose honest opinions were made up of heresy and infidelity and whose worldly interests were definitely inwrought with the existing system. Witness the once-renowned city of Seville, the very shrine of ignorance. How many a town and city, once illustrious, has sunk into nothingness. Quoting from a Spanish writer, Bowring continues: "And ignorance has been the parent, not of superstition alone, but of incredulity and infidelity."

Like Colonel Sherer, he believes that the fetters of Spaniards will soon be broken. "Let those illustrious exiles, the martyrs of truth and freedom, who have been driven by an ungrateful and cruel tyrant from their homes and their country, and doomed to 'wander through this miserable world' take heart, for a brighter and better day is about to dawn upon Spain...If there is a strength in virtue or in liberty, the intolerable fetters must be broken." In conclusion, Bowring remarks that ultra-royalism and bigotry may receive from "the present wretchedness of Spain a salutary and corrective lesson."[1]

1. Ibid. p.14.

The work next to be considered is that of William Beckford,[1] (1759-1844), whose father had been alderman and twice Lord Mayor of London, in the days of Wilkes. Beckford himself was a Member of Parliament successively for Wells and Hindon. He spent large sums of money in collecting works of art and curios, and in the building and decorating of his mansion of Fonthill, where he lived in almost complete seclusion. He is remembered chiefly as the author of the fantastic oriental tale Vathek. This romantic novel, written in 1782, was the first of such attempts in that generation, but its merits were not acknowledged until the age of Byron.

Many readers may derive more pleasure from his two books of travel, Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents (1783, revised 1834), and Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha (1835).[2] Although decidedly more expressive, he agrees[3] with the statements of the traveller of 1803 regarding the profusion of beggars, in the Peninsula, and the prevalence of poverty. In a letter written in 1787, Beckford writes: "Beggars innumerable, blind, dumb, and scabby, followed me almost into the water. No beggars equal those of Portugal for strength of lungs, luxuriance of sores, profusion of vermin, variety and arrangement of tatters, and dauntless perseverance." Following this he remarks upon the extreme poverty in Spain: "It was on a bright morning that we left a wretched place called villatoba, falling into ruins like almost all the towns and villages I have seen in Spain." It seemed to Beckford that universal indifference and apathy to everything pervaded the whole Iberian peninsula. "If not caring what you eat or what you drink is a virtue, so far the evangelical precept is obeyed." This

1. The Oxford Companion to English Literature; Op. Cit.
2. "The Travel Diaries of William Beckford of Fonthill:" Edited with a memoir and notes by Guy Chapman: Printed at the University Press, Cambridge, 1928.

was true of both Portugal and Spain and seemed likely to continue so. But if those countries would rouse themselves to industry, he believed they would soon surpass their neighbours in wealth and population.[1] Graham was also positive that Spain could be prosperous if industry were pursued. Unlike Beckford, the traveller of 1803 had found apathy among the higher classes only. Among the lower he had found industry and cleanliness, but Graham had found the Spaniards, in general, dirty.

Beckford, with wealth and time at his disposal,[2] had an excellent opportunity of seeing upper-class society, in Madrid. As a result of this experience, he gives a realistic picture of the hidalgos of Spain, as well as his own conclusions. "If the race of grandees could, by judicious crossing, be sustained as successfully, Spain would not have to lament her present scurvy, ill-favoured generation of nobility. Should they be suffered to dwindle much longer, and accumulate estates and diseases, by eternal intermarriage in the same family, I expect to see them on all-fours before the next century is much advanced in its course."[3] "These little men," as he calls them, still show some sparks of lofty, resolute spirit in not bowing the knee to the image which the King has set up. They treat his dependants, picked from inferior and foreign classes, with silent contempt and passive indifference.

The splendor and modernity of Madrid greatly impressed Beckford. The streets were neatly paved, houses were stately in appearance, the shops had a cheerful, showy aspect, all which surpassed his expectations. The Calle d'Alcala, a noble street, was much wider than

1. Ibid. p. 245.
2. Dict. of Nat. Biog.: Op.Cit. Beckford was an only child and when 9 years old, fell heir to one million dollars and 100,000£ a year.
3. "The Travel Diaries of William Beckford" Op. Cit. p. 248.

any in London, which surprised him. On both sides of it were several magnificent palaces and convents. In the Prado, he was much struck by the spaciousness of the principal walk, the length of the avenues, and the stateliness of the fountains. The evening was damp and gloomy but a great many people rambled about, and a long line of carriages was on parade. "The dress of the ladies, the cut of their servants' liveries, the bags of the coachmen, and the painting of the coaches, were so perfectly Parisian, that I fancied myself on the Boulevards, and looked in vain for those ponderous equipages surrounded by pages and escuderos, one reads of in Spanish romances." Thus, he found that a total change had taken place, and the original national customs were almost obliterated, with the exception of devotion. In the Prado, at the ringing of the Ave-Maria bell, the coaches stopped, the servants took off their hats, the ladies crossed themselves, and the foot passengers stood motionless, muttering their orisons.[1]

Although these references to Spain, in the Diaries of Beckford, are interesting, they are not altogether satisfying. They do not present a very extensive view of Spain and they neglect Spanish literature. But he more frequently visited Portugal than any of the other continental countries, through which he journeyed from 1777 to 1794, and his letters from that country are the most valuable he ever wrote. This interest in Portugal, more so than in Spain, and the fact that he travelled and wrote before the Peninsular War attracted English attention to the Peninsula, no doubt partly accounts for the brevity of his Spanish reports. Another reason may be that though Beckford had the distinction of being the most brilliant amateur in English literature, the curse of wealth and idleness converted this true son of the muses into an eccentric dilettante.[2]

1. Ibid. p. 203.
2. Dictionary of National Biography: Op. Cit.

The next important writer, though the son of an Englishman, was a native of New York. Washington Irving was attached to the American Legation in Spain, 1826, was Secretary of Legation in London, 1829, and Minister in Spain in 1842.[1] Pidal, in his El Romancero Español, states that Irving, in his youth, pored over the Historia de las guerras civiles de Granada, written by Ginés Pérez de Hita. Hita's book is a cross between history and novel, in which the color is heightened still more by the inclusion of admirable frontier ballads.[2] This story so fascinated young Irving that he used to imagine that he was walking through the courtyards of the Alhambra when, in reality, he was resting on a shore of the Hudson River. According to Pidal, this novel inspired notable imitations, such as those of Chateaubriand and Washington Irving; and also aroused Walter Scott and others to know the Spanish people.

In the spring of 1829, Irving made a rambling expedition from Seville to Granada, and in 1832 the Legends of the Alhambra were published in London.[3] According to Sedgwick, he seems to have been particularly impressed by shabby hidalgos, shabby houses, and armorial devices over the doors. This is borne out in the preface to Irving's Legends. There he states that Spain is a land of poetry and romance and that to discard the wild and marvellous in this portion of Spanish history, is to discard some of its most beautiful, instructive, and national features; it is to judge Spain by the standard of probability suited to tamer and more prosaic countries.[4] Though he is aware of the braggart spirit of the Spaniards, pompous in word, valiant though vainglorious in deed, which was noted by Graham, earlier

1. "El Romancero Espanol," by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, pub. by The Hispanic Society of America, 1910. p. 49.
2. Mérimée: Op. Cit. p. 294.
3. "Short History of Spain" by Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1925. p. 314.
4. "The Alhambra" by Washington Irving, London, George Bell & Sons, 1890. Preface.

in the century, he has an excuse for it. "Since the time, too, of the conquest and occupation of their country by the Arabs, a strong infusion of oriental magnificence has entered into the national character, and rendered the Spaniard distinct from every other nation of Europe."

Irving likens the country to its peoples. It is a country greatly deficient in groves and forests and the softer charms of ornamental cultivation, yet its scenery makes up for this in its high and lofty character. "It partakes something of the attributes of its people, and I think that I better understand the proud, hardy, frugal, and abstemious Spaniard, his manly defiance of hardships, and contempt of effeminate indulgences, since I have seen the country he inhabits."[1] Thus Irving sees the interplay of the ideal and the real.

In 1812, Graham had found that there were many robbers and brigands in Spain. Irving, in 1826, noted that the general insecurity of the country was evinced in the universal use of weapons. "Whether herdsmen or shepherd, each had his musket and his knife...The wealthy villager rarely ventures to the market-town without his trabuco and, perhaps, a servant on foot with a blunderbuss on his shoulder; and the most petty journey is undertaken with the preparation of a warlike enterprise. Bands of marauders, as well as the solitary bandolero, shadowed every traveller's train, like pirate ships hovering about a merchant convoy." All this seems to hold a fascination for Irving.

Bowring has spoken of the universal love of song, in Spain. Irving, after mentioning that the talent for singing and improvising was frequent, referred to the inexhaustible stock of songs and ballads possessed by the Spanish muleteer. The airs might be rude and

1. Ibid. p. 12.

simple but the songs were Moorish romances, saintly legends, or love-ditties. Still more frequent were the ballads about bold contrabandistas, or hardy bandoleros, for the smugglers and robbers were poetical heroes among the common people of Spain.

In the most mountainous region of Spain, Granada, were wild passes, and walled towns and villages "built like eagles' nests among the cliffs, and surrounded by Moorish battlements, or of ruined watch-towers perched on lofty peaks, carrying the mind back to the chivalric days of Christian and Moslem warfare, and to the romantic struggle for the conquest of Granada...While ever and anon, the ominous cross, the monument of robbery and murder, erected on a mound of stones at some lonely part of the road, admonishes the traveller that he is among the haunts of banditti, perhaps at that very moment under the eye of some lurking bandolero."

Graham had found Spanish travellers overbearing to strangers, but to Irving the people, the lower classes especially, were all like his servant and guide; faithful, cheery, kind-hearted creatures, full of saws and proverbs; and though he treated his guide with companionable familiarity, he never for a moment, in his utmost hilarity, overstepped the bounds of respectful decorum.

Neither Graham nor Beckford had been favorably impressed with the accommodations to be found in Spanish inns, but to a romantic traveller like Irving, interested in picturesque detail, Spain was a wonderful country. The most miserable inn was as full of adventure as an enchanted castle and every meal was, in itself, an achievement; giving such a true game flavor to romantic Spain. While supping, he heard the notes of a guitar, the click of castanets, and a chorus of voices singing a popular air, while the courtyard of the inn presented a scene of true Spanish festivity. Irving thought the scene was a study for a painter; the picturesque group of dancers, the troopers

in their half-military dresses, the peasantry wrapped in their brown cloaks.

Unlike Graham, Irving found Spanish women beautiful. He lamented that the gallant custom of former days, when the youthful cavalier serenaded his lady's window, was sadly on the decline and he regretted still more that the patriarchal spirit which characterized the Spanish nobility, in the days of their opulence, had sadly declined with their fortunes.

The previous writers whose works have been examined in this chapter found a state of general poverty in Spain, which they considered deplorable. Although Irving is aware of conditions generally he does not choose to take them so seriously. "Here are two classes of people, to whom life seems one long holiday, the very rich and the very poor; one because they need do nothing, the other because they have nothing to do; but there are none who understand the art of doing nothing and living upon nothing better than the poor classes in Spain. Climate does one half, and temperament does the rest. Give a Spaniard the shade in summer, and the sun in winter; a little bread, garlic, oil, and garbanzos, an old brown cloak and a guitar, and let the world roll on as it pleases. Talk of poverty! With him it had no disgrace. It sits upon him with a grandiose style, like his ragged cloak. He is an hidalgo, even when in rags."

These excerpts give some evidence of Irving's activities and literary research in Spain.[1] In London, his literary repute was beyond

1. Encycl. Britann.: W.Irving: In Madrid,1824,Irving used the Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos of Martín Fernández de Navarrete (Madrid 1823-37) for material and supplemented it by independent researches in the Spanish archives, for his Hist. of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus (London, 4 vols., 1828) and The Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus (Phil. 1831). A prolonged residence in southern Spain gave Irving materials for two highly picturesque books, A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada and The Alhambra, a series of tales and sketches of the Moors and Spaniards. (1829, 1832) But, during ± years in that country, following his appointment as Ambassador to Spain (1842) he did not turn his residence to literary account.

question[1] and, in the United States, he was universally honored as the first American to win for his country recognition, on equal terms, in the literary republic.[2] Irving (1783-1859) was one of a school of quite remarkable American historians (1783-1865) which numbered Prescott, Ticknor, Motley and others among its members. Many of these men travelled or studied in Europe, where they sought the picturesque traditions which their own country did not afford. They wrote with a vigor and seductive charm which still commands admiration.[3] One of this group, George Ticknor, a friend of Irving, was particularly interested in Spanish literature. After studying literature, in various European cities, 1815-19, he travelled through a large part of Spain and spent several months in Madrid, for the purpose of increasing his knowledge of the language and literature of the country. His History of Spanish Literature[4], which appeared much later, shows that he was fully aware of many deplorable conditions in Spain, but for the people, in general, he has nothing but praise. "The Spaniards are the most

1. Encycl. Brit.: W. Irving: Previous to the appearance of his two books, The Conquest of Granada and The Alhambra, he had been appointed secretary to the embassy at London, an office as purely complimentary to his literary ability as the legal degree which he, about the same time, received from the Univ. of Oxford. Campbell, Jeffrey, Moore, and Scott were counted among his friends and the last named zealously recommended him to the publisher, Murray. In England, everything encouraged his natural fastidiousness and he gained in depth and richness, becoming a refined writer.
2. Encycl. Brit.: W. Irving: His biographies bear the stamp of genuine artistic intelligence, equally remote from compilation and disquisition. He applied himself to representing the picturesque features of the age, as embodied in the actions and utterances of its most famous characters. He was without ostentation or affectation.
3. Nelson's Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encycl., N.Y., London, etc. 1909.
4. Ibid. Ticknor:(1791-1871) Hiatorians: Ticknor, etc.
George Ticknor was a native of Boston, where he studied law. Later, he studied literature in Europe, particularly in Spain and Portugal. On his return to America, bringing with him a valuable library, especially strong in the Spanish department, he assumed the Chair of Modern Lit. at Harvard, to which he was appointed in his absence, and which he held till 1835. His History of Spanish Literature first appeared in 1849 (6th edn. 1888). As a whole it is stronger on the scholarly than on the critical side but it had a remarkably popular sale for such a work, and was highly praised by Humboldt and other foreign scholars. He left his valuable Spanish library to the Boston Public Library.

remarkable people in the world...Genuine faithful kindness is the rule."[1] Among others who assisted him in collecting the books he needed, was Irving "equally honored on both sides of the Atlantic, but especially cherished by Spaniards for the enduring monument he has erected to the history of their early adventures, and for the charming fictions, scenes laid in their romantic country."[2]

Both Ticknor and Irving had visited in Spain, during a period of so-called peace, after the Peninsular Wars, and before the Carlist Wars began. In 1833 Fernando VII, of Spain, died and Isabel II was proclaimed Queen, which was the signal for the outbreak of the first Carlist War (1833-40).

Richard Ford. (1796-1858)

Towards the close of Fernando's reign, an English traveller of importance, visited Spain. This was Richard Ford, who was educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Oxford; a contributor to the 'Quarterly,' 'Edinburgh,' and 'Westminster' Reviews. The last named Review, which had been founded by Bentham in 1824, had had as its first editor, John Bowring, the third writer and traveller to Spain, mentioned in this chapter. Ford's father was Sir Richard Ford, the friend of Pitt, and sometime Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. His home had expressed an atmosphere of art and literature and the younger Ford was also fortunate in being the son of an excellent amateur painter, for such was his mother, Lady Ford. He also possessed considerable skill in drawing. Besides this, he had a quick ear and ready apprehension of languages and dialects; a firm yet gentle spirit; great patience in enduring hardship and fatigue; and an even temperament. Thus, he became an ideal traveller.[3]

1. H. D. Sedgwick: Op. Cit. p. 312.
2. George Ticknor: Op. Cit. preface.
3. Richard Ford: "Gatherings from Spain," Everyman's Library. Introduction by Thomas Okey, 1906. pp. vii-viii.

During the three years he spent in Spain, 1830-33, he made expeditions on horseback, along highway and by-way, both alone and in company. On one occasion he made a pilgrimage from Seville to Santiago, through Estremadura and Galicia, returning by the Asturias, Biscay, León, and the Castiles; thus riding nearly two thousand miles, on the same horse,[1] and only accompanied by one Andalusian servant, who had never before gone out of his native province. He also took an extended tour, of many months, through Granada, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon, to say nothing of repeated excursions through every nook and corner of Andalusia.

After his return to England, he began to write down his Spanish experiences. In 1838, an article in the 'Quarterly Review' on Spanish Bull-feasts and Bull-fights, brought Ford prominently before the literary world. The following year he met John Murray, the publisher, who suggested that he write a Handbook about Spain. In 1845, the first edition was off the press and was highly successful, whether judged by the number of copies sold or by the eulogies of literary critics.

Ford considered that Spain was in a transition stage and that progress was the order of the day in that country. But it was a country lacking, or at best deficient in that sense of unity common to most nations. Although all the kingdoms were united by marriage, inheritance, conquest, and other circumstances, under one crown, the original distinctions, geographical as well as social, remained almost unaltered. Differences were perpetuated by ancient jealousies, which petty and contiguous states kept up with tenacious memory. The general term 'Spain' might be convenient for geographers and politicians but it was very misleading for a traveller. Thus localism was a salient feature in Iberian character. "They would never

1. Ibid. Ch. 8, p. 92. Introdn. p.xi."He rode on the back of his favorite Haca Cordovese."--Okey.

amalgamate, never sacrifice their own local, private interest for the general good."

Although the lower classes in Spain were generally avaricious, like the Orientals, Ford found an excuse for this in the fact that safety and power lay in the possession of wealth, in all countries where insecurity was predominant. For that reason, the only safe form of investment was that which was small in bulk and easily concealed, like gold or jewels. The idea of searching for hidden treasure, so prevalent in Spain, came from the great addiction of those people to hoarding, and Ford believed that the mistrust which they entertained for each other, often extended, when cash was involved even to the nearest relations, to wife and children.

For the suspicion or jealousy with which strangers were regarded, who went about making drawings or writing down notes in books, the Spanish might well be condoned. The lower classes attached a vague, mysterious notion to such actions, for all Europeans were suspected of being emissaries of their governments. Spaniards could not understand why people should incur trouble and expense to increase their knowledge of foreign countries, for their personal enlightenment or amusement. Again, among the higher and better classes of Spain, nothing gave them more pain, "than seeing volume after volume published on themselves and their country, by hasty foreigners who have only rapidly glanced at one half of the subject, and that half the one of which the natives are the most ashamed, and which they consider the least worth noticing. This continual prying into the nakedness of the land and exposing it afterwards, has increased the dislike which the Spaniards entertain towards the <u>impertinente curioso</u> tribe. They well know and deeply feel their country's decline; and like poor gentlefolks who have nothing but the past to be proud of, they are anx-

1. Ibid. Ch. 20, p. 288.

ious to keep these family secrets concealed, even from themselves, and still more from the insulting observations of those who happen to be their superiors, not in blood but in better fortune. This dread of being shown up sharpens their inherent suspicions."[1]

To the political economist, Ford thought that Spain would stand out as a splendid example of the decline of the wealth of nations, and would offer a wide topic on errors to be avoided. Spaniards had, for four centuries, neglected to take advantage of the bounties which nature had bestowed upon the country. Yet for those who aspired to the romantic, the poetical, the sentimental, the artistical, the antiquarian, or the classical, Spain would prove a veritable treasure-house. There one would escape from the dull uniformity and polished monotony of the rest of Europe, to the "racy freshness of an original, unchanged country, where antiquity treads on the heels of today, where Paganism disputes the very altar with Christianity, where indulgence and luxury contend with privation and poverty, where a want of all that is generous or merciful is blended with the most devoted heroic virtues, where the most cold-blooded cruelty is linked with the fiery passions of Africa, where ignorance and erudition stand in violent and striking contrast."[2]

Ford looked upon Spanish, of all modern languages, as the most fitting medium for solemn, lofty devotion, for grave disquisitions, for elevated, moral, and for theological subjects. In addition, he maintained that it was a perfect exponent of the national character, for it partook of the virtues and vices of the Spaniards. "It is noble, manly, grandiloquent, sententious, and imposing. The pompous, fine-sounding expressions and professions convey to plain English understandings promises which are seldom realized by Spaniards. The

1. Richard Ford: "A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home," John Murray, Albermarle St., London, 1845. p.9.
2. Ibid. p. 76,

words are so fine in themselves that they appear to be the result of thought and talent...The ear is bewildered and the judgment carried away by the mistakes we make in translating all these fine words... less is meant than meets the ear...Language follows, does not precede, social advancement...Spaniards have never hammered their tongue on the anvil of everyday concerns. It is poor in technical terms of art or modern inventions and the expression of homely, useful, and every-day knowledge...It is, from its very structure, unfitted for rapid, concise descriptions, and as time is of no value in Spain, they have endeavoured to lengthen words as much as we have to abbreviate them."[1]

Even to Ford, who placed the native character in a truer light than most writers of Spanish travel, Spain was a land of glamour, romance and the natural abode of chivalry. "Here let the antiquarian pore over the stirring memorials of many thousands of years, the vestiges of Phoenician enterprise, of Roman magnificence, of Moorish elegance, in that storehouse of ancient customs, that repository of all elsewhere long forgotten and passed by; here let him gaze upon those classical monuments, unequalled almost in Greece or Italy, and on those fairy Aladdin palaces, the creatures of Oriental gorgeousness and imagination, with which Spain alone can enchant the dull European; here let the man of feeling dwell on the poetry of her envy-disarming decay, fallen from her high estate, the dignity of a dethroned monarch, borne with unrepining self-respect, the last consolation of the innately noble, which no adversity can take away; here let the lover of art feed his eyes with the mighty masterpieces of Italian art... or with the living nature of Velasquez and Murillo, whose paintings are truly to be seen in Spain alone; here let the artist sketch the lowly mesque of the Moor, the lofty cathedral of the Christian, in

1. Ibid. p. 78.

which God is worshipped in a manner as nearly befitting his glory as the power and wealth of finite man can reach; art and nature here offer subjects, from the feudal castle, the vasty Escorial, the rock-built alcazar of imperial Toledo, the sunny towers of stately Seville, to the eternal snows and lovely vega of Granada;...Let all, learned or unlearned, listen to the song, the guitar, the castanet; let all mingle with the gay, good-humoured, temperate, peasantry, the finest in the world, free, manly, and independent, yet courteous and respectful; let all live with the noble, dignified, high-bred, self-respecting Spaniard; let all share in their easy, courteous society; let all admire their dark-eyed women, so frank and natural, to whom the voice of all ages and nations has conceded the palm of attraction, the girdle of grace and fascination."[1] In these conclusions, Ford agreed with Washington Irving and others.

Ford described, in more or less detail, the country, as well as the character and customs of the people of each of the provinces, which made up the Spanish peninsula. His description of Andalusia is particularly interesting. He found the Andalusians the most elegant, refined and sensual of the Peninsular peoples; although the greatest boasters in Spain. They were ignorant, credulous, superstitious, and tempered by a religious resignation to providence, and incapable of sustained sobriety of conduct. Their perpetual calling on gods and men to do their work for them caused their intellect, energy, and industry to wither. In contrast to this, their redeeming qualities were: good and kindly manners; a lively, social turn; ready wit and sparkle.

The education of a Spanish gentleman, according to Ford, consisted of training in manners and behaviour, rather than in reading, writing, and arithmetic, to say nothing of literary subjects. To be uned-

1. Ibid. p. 76.

ucated meant "not ill-read but ill-bred." The lines of the demarcation of society were rigid, the line of caste was seldom passed; and a breach of conventional rules of fashion and good breeding entailed more disgrace on the offender than did the breaking of the laws of God. Spanish women, with few exceptions, were not highly educated, and their primary object was to be admired and adored. As few people read much in Spain, except monks and clergymen, the ladies were not inconvenienced by their lack of education, and their little intrigues supplied sufficient topics of conversation.

Religion, in Spain, was a real binding power, and one of the few, in that land of non-amalgamation and disunion. There were no rival creeds and the Spaniard's crowning pride was that he was the original Christian of Christendom, and that his religion, the faith, was the only pure and unadulterated one. There was no tolerance, or in other words, indifference; intolerance was the only point on which king and Cortes, liberal and servile, were agreed. In Ford's opinion, bigotry had long, in the eyes of Spain, been her glory; in the eyes of Europe, her disgrace; there every possible dissent prevailed except the religious.[1]

The Spanish drama was at a low ebb during the period of Ford's sojourn in the Peninsula. Few towns, except the largest, could afford the expense of maintaining a theatre, and those theatres were, for the most part, small, badly lighted, and meagerly supplied with scenery and properties. The standard plays of Lope de Vega and Calderon had given way to translations from the French. "Thus Spain, as in many other things, is now reduced to borrow from the very nation, whose Corneilles she first instructed, those very articles which she once taught." Ford also complained that good music was seldom heard in Spain, notwithstanding the eternal strumming that was going on.

Smuggling was so general and highly developed that Ford referred

1. Ibid. p.167.

to it as the only real, active, and well organized system of the Peninsula. Custom-house anomalies; absurd, complicated and vexatious, fiscal regulations; and misgovernment: all of these hampered legitimate trade and encouraged smuggling. This illicit trade was far more profitable than most branches of legitimate business, with the result that many were tempted from honest occupations into this predatory life. Smuggling was the curse of Spain and the Spaniards, as it fostered a body of reckless, active, armed men, who knew the country well, and were ready for any outbreak. They emerged, elements of disturbance, from their lairs, whenever the political horizon darkened.[1] Although smuggling entailed disastrous social consequences, nevertheless, the Spanish people looked upon the smuggler as a daring and romantic character. He was the model of the popular sculptor and artist, and was the hero of the stage.

Ford attributes the valor of Spanish fighters to a fatalistic philosophy. They felt that the moment of death was predetermined, and that nothing they could do would either hasten or retard it. For them, war assumed a personal character, and became one of petty hatred and revenge, rather than a general contest for great principles. This goes far to explain why the Spaniard was such an intrepid fighter in single combat, or in guerilla warfare, but comparatively ineffectual in collective action. Some writers have stressed the savage and revengeful spirit of the Spaniards towards their enemies, but Ford points out that mercy to a foe, when defeated, was thought to be imbecility or treachery, and to sue for or grant pardon would degrade both petitioner and sparer. In Spain, power was used without scruple, and submitted to even though it was unjust, for every Spaniard felt that he, in similar circumstances, would have done the same.

1. Ibid. p. 322.

Ford's writings constitute a veritable storehouse of information concerning Spain as he knew it, immediately before the first Carlist War.[1] It is a discursive though comprehensive study which leaves the reader with a coherent picture of the country as a whole, its people, religion, and institutions.

George Borrow. (1803-81).

While Ford was writing down his Spanish experiences at home, a fellow Englishman was travelling on the continent, and though he visited Portugal and Morocco, during 1835-40, the most of these five years were spent in Spain. Both Ford and Borrow went to Spain partly in a spirit of adventure but Ford was obliged to take his wife to the south because of her ill-health; Borrow went as an agent of the British Bible Society and was unmarried until his return to England in 1840.

Borrow, who came of a middle-class family, was the son of a Sergeant-Major in the W. Norfolk Militia. His childhood was spent in following his father's regiment as it moved up and down the kingdom col-

1. Dict. Nat. Biog.--Richard Ford.--The only fault of the Handbook was that it gave too much information for the convenience of a traveller. After cutting it down, it was produced as Gatherings from Spain (1846). In 1855 the Handbook was restored to its original form and is now a possession that book lovers covet. It imparts an infectious spirit of enjoyment to the ordinary reader, but neither the critical faculty nor the artist's eye fail to make themselves felt, though Ford was a kindly critic. An article in the Times, on his death (1858), attributed to Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, said that 'so great a literary achievement had never before been performed under so humble a title,' and a sale of 2000 copies, within a few months, proved the public estimate of its merits. Ford also wrote: (in pamphlet form,) "Historical Enquiry into the Unchangeable Character of a War in Spain," in reply to The Policy of England in Spain, a pamphlet in support of Lord Palmerston; explanatory letter press for various works, including Tauromachia, or the Bull Fights of Spain, illustrated, 1852 (ff. Times 4 Sept., 1858; Fraser's Oct. 1858); wrote also for the British and Foreign Bible Quarterly; an admirable article on Velázquez, for the Penny Cyclopaedia. Many of his Spanish sketches served as the originals of his friend David Robert's illustrations of Spanish architecture and scenery. Ford collected pictures, etchings, drawings, and printings, and in all matters of connoisseurship there was no higher authority. He may be said to have been the first to make Velázquez known to English readers, for in Madrid alone Velázquez is to be seen, as he says, 'in all his protean variety of power.'

lecting recruits to fight Napoleon. Voluntary studies in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as the lore of boxers, horse-coupers, and gipsies, supplemented a scanty education picked up at the High School in Edinburgh, at Norwich Grammar School, and elsewhere.[1] After his father's death, in 1824, he tried to earn a living by literary hack-work in London,[2] but the very next year his adventurous spirit led him to ramble through England. Then, for several years there seems to be no definite trace of his movements. In 1832, a clergyman introduced him, as a linguist,[3] to the officials of the British and Foreign Bible Society. After two years in Russia, 1832-35, Borrow was sent to Spain by the Bible Society. Here was a traveller, full of courage, who could ride and box, and talk strange dialects, as well as fulfil his missionary duties conscientiously. In his work of preaching the gospel and distributing bibles, he was brought into close contact with all classes of people and he picked up a knowledge of many languages and dialects. He rode through nearly all of the western half of Spain, either on a horse or burra, accompanied by a guide or assistant, leading a baggage-mule. He visited towns and villages from Lisbon to Madrid, up through Segovia, Leon, to Coruña, Vigo, Santander, and other northern points. When he finally left Spain, he set sail from Cadiz and after a visit to Gibraltar, went over to Tangier.

1. Nelson's Perpet. Loose-leaf Encycl.-Op.Cit.--George Borrow.--He acquired a knowledge of about twenty tongues.
1. Dict. Nat. Biog.-Op.Cit.--George Borrow.--William Taylor, who was a friend of Southey, encouraged and aided Borrow in the pursuit of philology. Taylor was a clever but dissolute man of letters. Borrow must have gone far in these studies, for in 1826, a book containing some of the fruits of his industry appeared: Romantic Ballads from the Danish. There is no doubt that Taylor led Borrow's thoughts in the direction of literature as a profession.
2. Dict. of Nat. Biog.--Op.Cit.--Borrow.--His humorous account of his dealings with the publishers is based on his experiences with Sir Richard Phillips, (as related in Lavengro) in whose employ he acted as compiler and hack.
3. The Outline of Lit. by Drinkwater.--Op.Cit. p.809. The problem for the Bible Society was to produce the Manchu New Testament. They set Borrow to study this Tartar tongue. Then they sent him to Russia to rescue and cleanse the damaged set of type of St.Matthew's Gospel, in St. Petersburg.

After his return to England, he published a number of books, based in part on his own life, experiences, and travels, the first being The Zincali (1841) which was accepted by the publisher, John Murray, upon the recommendation of Richard Ford. Before The Zincali appeared, Borrow was planning The Bible in Spain,[1] which was published in 1843, and made him suddenly famous.

In the Preface to The Bible in Spain, Borrow states that when[2] he was called suddenly and unexpectedly'to undertake the adventure of Spain' he was not altogether unprepared for such an enterprise. In his boyhood, Spain always bore a considerable share of his day-dreams, and he took a particular interest in her, without any presentiment that he should later be called upon to take a part,however humble, in her strange dramas; which interest, at a very early period led him to acquire her noble language, and to make himself acquainted with her literature (scarcely worthy of the language), her history, and traditions, so that when he entered Spain for the first time he felt more at home than he should otherwise have done.

To him, Spain was the most magnificent country in the world; probably the most fertile, and certainly with the finest climate, but whether her children were worthy of their mother was another question. Although Borrow formally declined to answer this question, his writings reveal that he really held a negative conclusion. He observed that among much that was lamentable and reprehensible, he had found much that was noble and admirable; much stern heroic virtue; much savage and horrible crime; of low, vulgar vice very little, at least among the great body of the Spanish nation. "Yes, notwithstanding the misrule...the spiritual tyranny of the court of Rome...there is still valor in Asturia; generosity in Aragon; probity in old Castile; and the peasant women of La Mancha can still afford to place a silver fork

1. The Bible in Spain: by George Borrow: London & Glasgow, Collins' Clear-type Press,
2. Ibid. Preface, p.4.

and a snowy napkin beside the plate of their guest."[1]

Readers of The Bible in Spain are warned in the preface that Borrow advanced no immediate claim to an intimate acquaintance with the Spanish nobility, from whom he kept as remote as circumstances would permit him. He did, however, live on familiar terms with the peasants, shepherds, and muleteers of Spain. His opinion of the higher classes may be somewhat judged by the following quotation: "And the higher orders - the ladies and gentlemen, the cavaliers and señoras; shall I pass them by in silence? The truth is I have little to say about them; I mingled but little in their society, and what I saw of them by no means tended to exalt them in my imagination...I would sooner talk of the lower classes...The Spaniard of the lower class has much more interest for me, whether manolo, laborer, or muleteer. He is not a common being; he is an extraordinary man...He possesses a spirit of proud independence which it is impossible but to admire. He is ignorant, of course; but it is singular, that I have invariably found amongst the low and slightly educated classes far more liberality of sentiment than amongst the upper. It has long been the fashion to talk of the bigotry of the Spaniards, and their mean jealousy of foreigners. This is true to a certain extent; but it chiefly holds good with respect to the upper classes."[2]

Throughout this work, Borrow shows familiarity with and a sympathetic understanding of peasants, shepherds, hunters, muleteers, soldiers, beggars, water-carriers, priests and monks, robbers and smugglers, and the gypsies of Spain, for all of whom he had affection, admiration, and respect. Wherever he went, in Spain, he found a simple and agreeable kind of hospitality, among the lower classes. In contrast to this: "The higher class of the Andalusians are probably upon the whole the most vain and foolish of human beings, with

1. Ibid. Preface. 2. Ibid. p.128.

a taste for nothing but sensual amusements, foppery in dress, and ribald discourse. Their insolence is only equalled by their meanness, and their prodigality by their avarice."[1] Slightly inconsistent with these latter remarks is his statement that Spanish courtesy and politeness are universal, prevailing among all classes.

Spain was one of the few countries in Europe where poverty, though general, was never insulted nor looked upon with contempt, and where the wealthy were not blindly idolized. "In Spain the very beggar does not feel himself a degraded being, for he kisses no one's feet, and knows not what it is to be cuffed or spitten upon; and in Spain the duke or the marquis can scarcely entertain a very overweening opinion of his own consequence, as he finds no one, with perhaps the exception of his French valet, to fawn upon or flatter him."[2]

Poverty was especially evident in the countryside sections of Spain, where misery and filth abounded. Some villages were mostly assemblages of wretched cabins, the roofs thatched, dank and moist, and frequently covered with rank vegetation. The interiors of the cabins, as a rule, corresponded with their external appearance; they were filled with filth and misery. "Sadness came upon me as soon as I entered this place. Grass was growing in the streets, and misery and distress faced me on every side...The misery and degradation of modern Spain are nowhere so strikingly manifested as at Ferrol."

With respect to politics in Spain, he found that intrigue was rife, that chaos prevailed everywhere, and that the prisons were constantly filled with political prisoners, while exiles from Spain thronged every country in Europe. Party fought against party and there was general disorder. Liberals, Royalists, Carlists, Nationalists, Moderados; all had their adherents and all manifested great bitterness against each other.

1. Ibid. p.458.
2. Ibid. p.197.

It would appear that Borrow was well constituted and trained not only to endure the hardships of travel but to face the opposition of government officials in Spain. These officials not only refused, through the Duke of Rivas[1], Minister of the Interior, to allow him to print the bible, in the Castilian language, at Madrid, but burned a consignment of his bibles, excepting those in the Git language. They then sold the Git bibles for their own profit and became, as Borrow humorously remarks, agents for the very Society which he represented.[2] They accused him of sorcery and imprisoned him, but he refused to be released, through the assistance of the British Minister, for three weeks. This alarmed the Spanish Government, who feared that he was writing more heretical propaganda, and they were no doubt aware that Borrow was also in a position to note prison conditions in their country. Moreover, Borrow's imprisonment placed Spanish officials in a very uncomfortable position with the British Government, and when he did leave the prison the Spanish Government sent an acknowledgement to Sir George Villiers that Borrow had been imprisoned on insufficient grounds. They also agreed to defray all the expenses to which Borrow had been subjected throughout the progress of the affair.[3] Borrow apparently remained cool-headed during all these experiences and he states that he bore no rancour against the party who consigned him to durance. His writings show that he was aware of the power of the Church in Spain and also of the very insecure position of the government, at that time.

But, in his picaresque and unconventional writings, Borrow is most unreliable as an historian, and it is difficult to discriminate between what is fictional and what is strictly narrative.[4] However, it

1. Ibid. p. 133.
2. Ibid. p. 374.
3. Ibid. p. 396.
4. F.W.Chandler: The Literature of Roguery--Vol. 2. p.450, "Among the makers of the literature of roguery he is the most romantic realist."

is in this natural, romantic gift that Borrow's greatest charm lies. One might say with Saintsbury, "I do not know whether it is really true to Spain and Spanish life, and to tell the truth I do not in the least care. If it is not Spanish, it is remarkably human and remarkably literary, and those are the chief and principal things." [1][2]

Ford and Borrow.

The writings of both Ford and Borrow describe Spain during the fourth decade of last century. For this reason, the works of one supplement those of the other. Ford travelled through Spain, as a scholar and, while portraying much of detail, saw the country more as a whole and his generalizations are well founded and reasonably sound, if the limitations of all writers, of this period, are taken into account. Borrow, on the other hand, not only travelled through Spain but he was brought into intimate contact with the people. He knew their problems, as they were encountered in daily life, and observed the strength and weakness of the people, as revealed by the manner in which they coped with these problems. So, with Borrow, one mingles with the Spaniards about their hearth-fires whereas, with Ford, one must be content with a less intimate contact but is rewarded, perhaps, by a broader view.

Most English writers on Spain, during this period, were handicapped by religious prejudices and these are not absent in either Ford or Borrow. However, Ford gives the traditional description and interpretation of the Catholic clergy in Spain, whereas Borrow, who might be expected to be more prejudiced, finds in his contacts with them much to commend and even to praise. On the other hand, Borrow, for the most part, left the upper classes strictly alone and what contacts he had with them were not to his satisfaction. Therefore, he finds little to commend among the upper classes of Spain. Had he known these

1. George Saintsbury: "Essays in English Literature,1780-1860" (Borrow.) Percival & Co., London, 1890.
2. George Saintsbury: "A Hist. of 19th cent.Lit,1780-1900." p.163."Borrow's style,with its brilliant,fantastic hues, is inimitable."

people as intimately as he did those of the lower classes, and had it not been that the nature of his work[1] was such as to arouse a certain amount of opposition, if not hostility, among officials, he might have found, as did Ford, that the upper classes also possessed many redeeming features.[2] But, both Ford and Borrow are at one in laying the ghost invoked by other writers, of the extreme hazard of travel in Spain.

1. Mario Praz: "Unromantic Spain" revised and translated from the Italian. Pub.- Alfred A. Knopf, London and New York, 1929. p. 214.

"What Borrow propagated in Spain was not the bible, but atheism... Borrow could turn Spaniards into iconoclasts, but hardly into Protestants....It is easy to destroy in one hour the work of centuries, but is there not a monstrous simplicity in attempting to build in one day what it has required a thousand years to produce?"

2. 'Edinburgh Review" See Vol. 77, 1843. Longman & Co., London.
An article on Borrow.--"The peasantry still represent the time-honored name of the country, blotted, almost, by the misdeeds of their rulers, from the map of Europe." p. 110, re Spain.
"The true key to understand this country and its anomalies is the oriental test." p. 131.
"Borrow found the women of Spain his best allies." p. 133.
"Borrow lingers among the Moors and masters their character and language; sketches their fanaticism, pride, boasting and ignorance, gentlemanlike manner and resignation.---He is patronized by the Consul, and is at last at peace." p. 134.

Chap. V.

SPAIN AND THE POETRY OF ROMANTIC ENGLAND.

Heber--Mrs. Hemans--Samuel Rogers--Anna L. Barbauld--Campbell--Bowles--Southey--Scott--Byron--Shelley.

The second half of the eighteenth century, in Europe, was a time of changing standards in church, state and literature. The two principal forces behind the great social changes, affecting all Europe, at that time, were (1) the Romantic Movement, resulting in changed literary ideals and, (2) the spirit of the French Revolution, emphasizing the close kinship of all ranks of humanity. The new attitude was Romantic above all because, directed against Frenchified 'Reason,' it extolled those qualities which Reason held in check: imagination and sentiment. Philosophies may be rigged up in defence of Romanticism, but its one legitimate source is intuition. And national feeling followed the same rule--or the same contempt for rules--as poetic feeling.[1] As Victor Hugo stated, Romanticism is 'liberalism in literature.'[2] In England, literary writers made a conscious and successful attempt to break away from the traditions of the eighteenth century but the progress was neither uniform nor constant. This was chiefly a period of preparation for the glorious romantic outburst at the end of the century.[3] In 1798, the triumph of English Romanticism was established with the anonymous publication, by Wordsworth and Coleridge, of the Lyrical Ballads. These Ballads were inspired by ideas from Germany, while their revolutionary ardour was, in part, a re-

1. Albert Guérard: "Herder's Spiritual Heritage: Nationalism, Romanticism, Democracy." Pt.3, "Romanticism the Ally of Nationalism." From the Annals, of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July 1934, Concord, New Hampshire. p.7.
   See also, p.7, "Romantic Nationalism Essentially Democratic."
2. William J. Long: "English Literature," Ginn& Co.,Boston, New York, etc. 1919. p.304.
3. Reuben Post Hallec, M.A.,LL.D., "History of English Literature," American Book Co., New York, Chicago,Boston,etc. 1900. p.300.

flection of the French Revolution.[1] The English Romantic movement, which reached its zenith about 1810 and waned about 1830-37, was further influenced by the Wars of the Consulate and Empire (1810-15).

As usual, it was only in certain departments of literature that the age excelled. In England, poetry, chiefly lyric, was preëminent, its glory being surpassed only by that of the Elizabethan period.[2] But miscellaneous prose, including criticism and the essay, were next in importance, triumphing over fiction and the drama.[3] The themes, which were as numerous as the interests of the writers were varied, treated of the worship of humanity, of liberty, of nature and of the revival of mediaevalism.[4] There were new and strange beauties of thought and vision, of language and harmony. But, above all, it was an age unusually rich in men of letters who were also fascinating personages.

While France was passing through a period of Anglomania, at this time, English writers were drawing on all sorts of sources for materials. Though the important thing is the new value and new treatment given to these sources, it is true that the literature of Germany, especially, as well as that of the mystic East, Egypt, Russia, Scandinavia, Italy, France, and Spain, contributed, directly or indirectly, to the common stock. Spain had long been considered as a land of adventure and romance; and it was only natural that Spanish literature, with its wealth of romances, borne of the long struggle against the Moors, should have been searched for source material.

1. R. D. Jameson, "A Comparison of Literatures,"
National Tsing Hua University, Peiping, China.
London: Kegal Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.,Ltd.,
Ch.16,p.319. Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, E.C.,1935.
2. R.P.Hallec: Op. Cit. 379.
3. Encyclopaedia Brit. 14th edn. vol. 11, p. 595-6, 1929.
Romanticism.
4. H.J.C.Grierson: Op. Cit. p. 277.

In 1765, when Thomas Percy[1] published his collection of ballads, sonnets, historical songs, and metrical romances, under the title of Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, he included the translations of two Spanish ballads which, in the words of the editor, "very much resemble that of our English bards and minstrels." Thus, English interest in Spanish literature was aroused and, from that time on, Spanish literature was read with increasing eagerness by English men of letters, though more than half a century elapsed before John Gibson Lockhart published his translation of Ancient Spanish Ballads (1823).

The Spain, of which the writers during the early part of the Romantic Period wrote, was the Spain depicted in her romances, and not the Spain which joined with Britain to resist Napoleon's armies. As shown in preceding chapters, it took time and much writing to convey to the English mind a more accurate picture of the changes that had taken place in this land of Lope de Vega and Calderón. This growth in understanding is revealed in the poetry of the English Romanticists.

Reginald Heber[2], in his poem, Europe: Lines on the Present War, (1809)[3], manifested the influence of earlier Spanish literature and the general ignorance of the true condition of Spain.

> They bless the call who dar'd the first withstand
> The Moslem wasters of their bleeding land,
> When firm in faith, and red with slaughter'd foes,
> Thy spear-encircled crown, Asturia, rose;
> Nor these alone; as loud the war-notes swell,
> La Mancha's shepherd quits his cork-built cell;
> Alhama's strength is there, and those who till
> (A hardy race) Morena's scorched hill;
> And in rude arms through wide Galicia's reign,
> The swarthy vintage pours her vigorous train.
> .....

1. The Oxford Companion to English Literature: Op. Cit. Thomas Percy (1729-1811) Bishop of Dromore in 1782. His 'Reliques' did much to promote the revival of interest in the older English poetry.
2. Ibid. (1783-1826) Educated at Oxford. In 1822 became Bishop of Calcutta. He wrote some well-known hymns and other verses.
2. Dict. Nat. Biog.: Op. Cit. Reginald Heber: His verse is wanting in the 'divine afflatus'. His boyish poem on Palestine, although the most popular work of its kind, is not a great poem.
3. Reginald Heber: "Palestine and other Poems," Carey, Lea and Carey, Philadelphia, 1828.

Each martial chant they know, each manly rhyme,
Rude, ancient lays of Spain's heroic time.

The works of Mrs.Hemans (Felicia Dorothea Browne) reveal the influence of Spanish literature, the prominence which Spain had achieved during the Napoleonic Wars, and a fuller understanding of both Spain and her literature. When she was but fourteen years of age she was inspired, by the engagement of her two brothers in the Peninsular War,[1] to write a poem: England and Spain: or, Valour and Patriotism.[2]

Iberian bands! whose noble ardor glows,
To pour confusion on oppressive foes;
Intrepid spirits hail! 'tis yours to feel
The hero's fire, the freeman's godlike zeal!
.....
Genius of chivalry! whose early days
Tradition still recounts in artless lays;
Whose faded splendors fancy oft recalls,
The floating banners, and the lofty halls;
The gallant feats thy festivals display'd,
The tilt, the tournament, the long crusade;
Whose ancient pride Romance delights to hail,
In fabled numbers, or heroic tale;
Those times are fled, when stern thy castles frown'd,
Their stately towers with feudal grandeur crown'd;
Those times are fled, when fair Iberia's clime
Beheld thy Gothic reign, thy pomp sublime;
And all thy glories, all thy deeds of yore,
Live but in legends wild, and poet's lore.
.....
Yet though thy transient pageantries are gone,
Like fairy visions, bright, yet swiftly flown;
Genius of chivalry! thy noble train,
Thy firm, exalted virtues yet remain!
.....
And lo! her heroes, warm with kindred flame,
Still proudly emulate their father's fame!
Still with the soul of patriot-valour glow,
Still rush impetuous to repel the foe;
Wave thy bright falchion, lift the beamy spear,
And bid oppressive Gallia learn to fear!

1. Dict. Nat. Biog.: Op.Cit. Mrs. Hemans: (1793-1835). In 1812 she was married to Captain Alfred Hemans, an Irish gentleman who had served with his regiment (the 4th foot--the king's own) in Spain. She contributed prose essays on foreign literature to the Edinburgh Monthly Magazine. She also contributed to Blackwood's, Colburn's Magazine, and other periodicals. Blanco White, Spanish Emigrado, was one of her friends, (1831).
2. The Complete Works of Mrs. Hemans: edited by her sister, in two volumes: New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1884.

Mrs. Hemans was an ardent and well-versed student of Spanish traditions, romances, and history. In her version of the romance of The Abencerrage[1], made famous by Chateaubriand, she reveals outstanding scholarship in the accuracy with which she followed original sources. Romance and the days of chivalry were her inspirations, as these lines from The Abencerrage signify[2]:

> Lonely and still are now thy marble halls
> Thou fair Alhambra! there the feast is o'er.
> .....
> Far other tones have swelled those courts along,
> In days romance yet fondly loves to trace;
> The clash of arms, the voice of choral song,
> The revels, combats, of a vanished race.
> .....
> And yet awhile, at Fancy's potent call
> Shall rise that race, the chivalrous, the bold;
> Peopling once more each fair, forsaken hall,
> With stately forms, the knights and chiefs of old.
> .....
> How oft those rocks have echoed to the tale
> Of knights who fell in Roncesvalles' vale;
> .....
> Spain hath sent forth her flower of chivalry,
> Fired with that ardor which, in days of yore,
> To Syrian plains the bold crusaders bore;
> Elate with lofty hope, with martial zeal,
> They come the gallant children of Castile;
> The proud, the calmly dignified: - and there
> Ebro's dark sons with haughty mien repair,
> And those who guide the fiery steed of war
> From yon rich provinces of the western star.

This poetess made translations from the works of various Spanish poets, including some by Lope de Vega, Francisco Manuel, Quevedo, Garcilasso de la Vega, and others. The following is taken from her translation of the Song of the Spanish Wanderer.

> Many were they that have died for thee,
> And brave, my Spain! though thou art not free;
> But I call them blest - they have rent their chain -
> They sleep in thy valleys, my sunny Spain!

1. The Poetical Works of Mrs. Hemans; (reprinted) London, Frederick Warne & Co., Bedford St., Covent Garden. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong. Date of Prefatory Memoir, Nov. 1835.
2. Ibid. p.65. The Abencerrage, 1819, one of her poems listed under Tales and Historic Scenes. A note by Mrs. Hemans states that "The events with which the following tale is interwoven are related in the 'Historia de las Guerras Civiles de Granada.'...Many of the most interesting old Spanish ballads relate to the events of this chivalrous and romantic period."

In The Song of Mina's Soldiers, from which the next quotation is taken, Mrs. Hemans pays tribute to the guerillas of Spain who fought so bravely against the French:

> We hear thy name, O Mina!
> Far through our hills it rang;
> A sound more strong than tempests,
> More keen than armor's clang.
>
> The peasant left his vintage,
> The shepherd grasp'd the spear -
> We heard thy name, O Mina!
> The mountain bands are here.

Throughout her poetry, there is a reiterated summons to the Spaniards to maintain the chivalry, honour and valour of ancient Spain. Nor did Mrs. Hemans neglect the romances centering about the traditions of the Cid. Some of her poems, on that topic, were direct translations from the Spanish, but many of them were creative works inspired by the originals.[1]

Mrs. Hemans was the favorite poetess of her day, not only among readers but among critics. Lord Jeffrey bore strong testimony to her powers in an admirable critique on her poems in the 'Edinburgh Review' after the publication of the Records of Women.[2] A contributor[3] to 'Blackwood's' wrote: "It is evident that new stores of thought were latterly opened up to her, in a more extended acquaintance with the literature of Spain."[4] A lady reviewer sang her praises: "Mistress of both German and Spanish, the latter country appears to have peculiarly captivated her imagination. At that period when fancy is peculiarly alive to impressions - when girlhood is so new, that the eagerness of childhood is still in its delights - Spain was of all others the country on which public attention was fixed - victory after

1. Ibid. p.183. A note prefixed to "Songs of the Cid:"("The following ballads are not translations from the Spanish, but are founded upon some of the 'wild and wonderful' traditions preserved in the romances of that language, and the ancient poem of the Cid.)
2. Ibid. p.xix. Prefatory Memoir.
3. Blackwood's Magazine: 'Delta,' July 1835. 'Delta' was the penname of David MacBeth Moir (1798-1851) a physician, who wrote, for Blackwood's, an amusing study of life & character, in a small Scottish town
4. New Monthly Magazine: Letitia E. Landon, Aug. 1835, poetess and) (1828). novelist.

victory carried the British flag from the ocean to the Pyrenees; but, with that craving for the ideal which is so great a feature in her writings, the present was insufficient, and she went back upon the past; the romantic history of the Moors was like a storehouse, with treasures gorgeous like those of its own Alhambra..." The 'Athenaeum' advertised her accomplishments: "...and when, subsequently, she opened for herself the treasuries of German and Spanish legend and literature, how thoroughly she had imbued herself with their spirit, may be seen in her Siege of Valencia[1], in her glorious and chivalresque Songs of the Cid.

The Poetical Works of Mrs. Felicia Hemans were also edited by Moxon[2], with a critical memoir by William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919), a man of letters and art-critic.[3] In this prefatory notice, Rossetti states that her accomplishments were considerable, and not merely superficial. "She knew French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and in mature life German, and was not unacquainted with Latin. She had some taste and facility not only in music but like-wise in drawing; and some of her sketches of localities have served for vignettes in the copyright edition of her complete works."

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, Spanish influence upon English poets was beginning to show itself even among the minor writers.[4] Samuel Rogers wrote a long poem, The Voyage of Columbus, 1812, derived from an original written in the Castilian language. This was followed by other poems, of a similar nature, in all of which he adheres closely to his sources and displays much knowledge of Spanish history.

1. Athenaeum: H.F.Chorley, No.395. Chorley also wrote Memorials, 2 vols., containing a good deal of Mrs. Hemans's correspondence, and mostly bearing on her literary career rather than the circumstances of her private life.
2. E. Moxon, Son, & Company, 1 Amen Corner, Paternoster Row, London.
3. In this notice, Rossetti gave an account of Mrs. Hemans' life, as well as an appreciation of her works and literary ability.
4. Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), the son of a wealthy man. Attained a high position among men of letters, at a time when the poetical standards were not high. Published his verse in 1792, also 1810-28. Declined the laureateship in 1850. His Recollections pub.1856-9. (Oxf.Comp. to Eng. Lit.:Op.Cit.)

Anna Letitia Barbauld[1] also wrote a number of poems, based upon Spanish legends, the best known of which is The Wake of the King of Spain[2], founded upon the tradition that the kings of Spain, for nine days after death, were placed in a sitting position, attired in their robes of state, surrounded by their attendants, and solemnly summoned, by the proper officers, to their meals and to their amusements, as if living.

Thomas Campbell was, primarily, a classical poet but when he was only seventeen years of age he attended a trial for high treason, which deeply impressed him and helped to form his characteristic, decisive[3], views on liberty. Among his poems are some which reveal his interest in the Spanish struggle for political freedom. In treating of Sir John Moore's death, he linked together the destiny of Spain and England.

> How oft, if beats in subjugated Spain
> One patriot heart, in secret shall it mourn
> For him! how oft on far Corunna's plain
> Shall British exiles weep upon his urn! [4]

Campbell was among the first to point out conditions in Spain. In his poem, Stanzas: To the memory of the Spanish patriots latest killed in resisting the regency and the Duke of Angoulême[5], he dealt with the prevalence of religious persecutions there, during his time.

1. Dict. Nat. Biog.:Op.Cit.--Mrs.A.L.Barbauld,1743-1825,poet and miscellaneous writer; daughter of John Aikin,D.D. She studied French, Italian,Latin and Greek. In 1785-6 she visited on the continent. She made many friends and acquaintances,including Scott,Wordsworth, S. Rogers, and others.

2. The Works of Anna Letitia Barbauld, London, 1825.

3. Dict. Nat. Biog.--Thomas Campbell,1777-1844, of Glasgow. His mother, by her songs and legends, gave him a taste for literature. He visited Edinburgh,1794; attended the trial of Muir,Gerald,et al, for high treason. He read Hebrew,etc. After a trip to Germany,he came to know Lord Holland and to mingle in the best literary society of London. From 1803 on,he did literary work in London. He met the elder Schlegel in Paris,and visited him in Germany. He contributed to the New Monthly Magazine; wrote Specimens of the British Poets,7 vols.,pub.1819.)He wrote the immortal odes"The Battle of the Baltic" and"Ye Mariners of England."See also"The Book of Gems",London,1845, for a short biography of Campbell,and selections from his poems.

4.The Complete Works of Thos.Campbell,London, Henry Frowde. including a poem "Lines to commemorate the 21st of Mch., the day of victory in Egypt,1809." (5(Ibid. First printed in"The New Monthly"1823.

And short your orgies of revenge shall be
Cowled Demons of the Inquisitorial cell!
Earth shudders at your victory, - for ye
Are worse than common fiends from Heaven that fell,
The baser, ranker sprung Autochthones of Hell!
Go, to your bloody rites again! bring back
The hall of horrors, and the assessor's pen
Recording answers shrieked upon the rack;
.....
Glory to them that die in this great cause!
Kings, Bigots, can inflict no brand of shame
Or shape of death to shroud them from applause.
No! manglers of the martyr's earthly frame!
Your hangman fingers cannot touch his fame.
Still in your prostrate land there shall be some
Proud hearts, the shrines of Freedom's vestal flame;
Long trains of ill may pass unheeded, dumb,
But vengeance is behind, and justice is to come.

William Lisle Bowles,[1] whose chief claim to distinction was that he considerably influenced Coleridge,[2] also followed the trend of his time by writing of Spain. In his poem, The Battle of Coruña,[3] he invokes the spirit of antiquity:

Land of illustrious heroes, who, of yore
Drenched the same plains with the invader's gore.

However, it was not only the past, in the life of Spain, that influenced him, as may be seen in the following lines:

Yes, pause, and ask, is not thy awful hand
Stretched out, O God, o'er a devoted land,
Whose vales of beauty Nature spread in vain,
Where misery moaned on the uncultured plain,
Where Bigotry went by with jealous scowl,
Where Superstition muttered in his cowl;
Whilst o'er the Inquisition's dismal holds,
Its horrid banner waved in bleeding folds!

Of all the English Romantic writers who dealt with Spain, at this time, probably the most voluminous was Robert Southey. The reasons for this seem to be made fairly clear in his biographies.

1. Dict. National Biog.:Op.Cit. Wm.Lisle Bowles: 1762-1850, divine, poet, antiquary; descended from old and much respected families. A classical scholar at first but became the propagandist of the revolt against the classical school.He was opposed by Byron and Campbell, in his evaluation of Pope's poetry.(Qr.Rev.-May-July,1820;June-Oct.1825). He toured Eng.,Scot.and some parts of the continent.His Sonnets 1789 met with extraordinary success.
2. Ibid. Coleridge read Bowles' Sonnets and was delighted in the restoration of a natural school of poetry.
3. The Poetical Works of William Lisle Bowles, Edinburgh, 1855.

He entered Oxford with his head full of Rousseau and the Revolution.[1] While there (1788-92) he neglected the regular curriculum and nourished his mind with out-of-the way reading, some of which gave him the idea of writing a series of heroic poems.[2] He made the acquaintance of Coleridge and joined in his scheme of Pantisocracy[3] but, on the collapse of this plan, Southey paid visits to Spain and Portugal, 1795-1800, where he laid the foundation of his knowledge of the literature and history of the Peninsula.[4]

His early interest in Spanish history is shown in such poems[5] as The Spanish Armada:

> On come her gallant mariners!
> What now avail Rome's boasted charms?
> Where are the Spaniard's vaunts of eager wrath?
> His hopes of conquest now?
>
> Howling around his palace towers
> The Spanish despot hears the storm;
> He thinks upon his navies far away,
> And boding doubts arise.

In his Recollections of a Day's Journey in Spain, written in 1797, Southey fondly recalled the romantic aspects of a country in which he had previously sojourned.

> Not less delighted do I call to mind,
> Land of Romance, thy wild and lovely scenes,
> Than I beheld them first...,

He pays tribute to the Spaniard's bravery and love of liberty in, For a Monument at Tordesillas (1796):

1. John Buchan: "History of English Literature,"1929.--Southey, like Wordsworth and Coleridge, was a Revolutionist but ended a Tory, though even in his Tory days, he was a zealous social reformer.
2. Dict.National Biog.:Op.Cit. Robert Southey: 1774-1843, poet, historian, and miscellaneous writer. He read Picart's Religious Ceremonies. Later, he partly carried out his plan to write a series of heroic poems (planned after reading Picart) on the principal mythologies of the world. (see'Thalaba' and the 'Curse of Kehama.')
3. J.R.MacGillivray: "The Pantisocracy Scheme and Its Immediate Background," Ch. 3, pp.162-169 of "Studies in English" by members of University College, Toronto; collected by Principal Wallace,-The Univ. of Toronto Press,1931.
4. John Buchan: Op.Cit. p.440.
5. The Poetical Works of Robert Southey: Longman, Brown,Green and Longmans, London, 1853.

> Spaniard! if thou art one who bows the knee
> Before a despot's footstool, hie thee hence!
> This ground is holy! here Padilla died,
> Martyr of freedom. But if thou dost love
> Her cause, stand then as at an altar here,
> And thank the Almighty that thine honest heart,
> Full of a brother's feelings for mankind,
> Revolts against oppression. ---

Besides these, Southey has written many other poems, on varied subjects, based on Spanish history and legend, as well as on the events of his own day. On the whole, his 'Spanish' poems are deeply tinged with romantic hues[1] but he does, occasionally, deal with facts well known in his lifetime, especially when referring to conditions in Spain, during the Peninsular War,[2] as in [3] For the Lines of Torres Vedras:

> But when Spain's feeble counsels, in delay
> As erring, as in action premature,

Southey has been called the ancestor of Lockhart's Spanish Ballads[4] and of the Ingoldsby Legends. He derived Queen Orraca from a Spanish chronicle and its verse, excellently fitted for quick narrative, is one of the first examples of the kind. In writing The Lover's Rock from an ancient Spanish legend, he further popularized the old romances and balladry of that country. Garci Ferrández was evolved

1. John Buchan: Op.Cit. p.440. Southey sympathized with Wordsworth's naturalism and Coleridge's Romanticism, with qualifications re the latter. His minor poems, more admirable lyrics, and a number of ballads, connect themselves with the Romantic movement by the free use of the supernatural.

2. Dict. Nat. Biog.:Op.Cit. Robert Southey: "Letters from Spain and Portugal"1797. Southey also corresponded with Wiffen, an English scholar who was familiar with many languages, including Spanish.--Southey knew Blanco White, Spanish Emigrado in England, before 1817.--R. S. also wrote Letters from England, by Don Manuel A.Espriella, 1807, purporting to be a foreigner's surprised impressions of England.

3. Ibid. R.S. wrote a History of Brazil, 1810-19; History of the Peninsular War, 1822-32, which was eclipsed by Napier's.

4. Oliver Elton, Hon.D.Litt., Manchester: A Survey of English Literature: p.4-10. Southey was a competent translator. He had a library of 14,000 volumes, and he translated the prose romances, Amadís of Gaul, 1803, Palmerín of England, 1807, and The Cid, 1808.
Elton's Survey of English Lit., 4 vols., 1780-1880. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920.

from a story found in the Chronica general de Espana. Being well acquainted with the great legendary cycles of Spain, he chose for versification the most famous of them all, Roderick, the last of the Goths.

Among his extensive, miscellaneous, prose writings,[1] which helped to popularize Spain, her history and literature, there were many letters.[2] In one of these,[3] written to Richard Duppa, Esq., July 11,1808, Southey praised the Spaniards for their patriotism, pride in the past, and public virtue. He prophesied that Napoleon's interference with Spain would be his ruin. Although this statement was received with wonder and even incredulity, in England, it proved to be a sagacious prediction. In Aug. 16, 1808, Southey expressed his delight, in a letter to Grosvenor C. Bedford, at seeing his friends, the Spaniards and Portuguese, prove themselves to the eyes of the world to be what he had long said they were. In the same letter he mentioned that Bedford would receive 'The Cid' soon, the translations in the appendix of which, by Frere, were the most masterly he had seen.

Writing from Greta Hall, October 13, 1808, to Lieutenant Southey, H.M.S. Dreadnought, he expressed his disappointment that the Lieutenant had not the 'Cid' to show the Spaniards. Southey was sure they would be pleased to see that the Campeador was beginning to have his fame in England, seven hundred years after his death. He considered the Chronicle one of the finest things in the world and mentioned that, while Coleridge was delighted with it, Frere,who passionately admired the poem, had never seen the Chronicle. "The Chronicle is sometimes

1. See ff. p. 89,this thesis. Southey also wrote essays on Spanish and Portuguese poetry for the 'Monthly Magazine;' articles for the 'Critical Review;" was a regular contributor to the 'Quarterly Review'from 1808-39, 95 articles altogether; 2nd editions of his 'Letters from Spain and Portugal;" 2 volumes of his 'Poems',1808.(Introduction,to 'The Life of Nelson', written by Henry Morley,--George Routledge & Sons, London, 1888).

2."Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey" ed. by his son, The Rev.Chas.Cuthbert Southey,M.A., pub.by Harper & Bros.,N.Y. 1855.

3. Ibid. Written from Keswick.

the[1] more poetical of the two. I think seriously of translating the works of Fernan Lopez, as soon as my history is completed. I should like to do it for the pleasure of it."

From Keswick, November 6, 1808, he wrote to Sir Walter Scott: "I have sometimes thought of publishing translations from the Spanish and Portuguese, with the originals annexed, but there was no prospect of profit to tempt me; and,as certainly, if I live, it is my intention to enter fully into the literary history of both countries. Very very few of the Spanish ballads are good; they were made in general upon one recipe, and that, a most artificial one, - they begin by describing the situation of somebody who makes a speech, which is the end. Nothing like the mildness or the character of our ballads is to be found among them." "It is curious and at present inexplicable how their prose should be so exquisitely poetical as it is in the Cid, and their poetry so completely prosaical as it is in their narrative poems. There are some high toned odes in the Spanish and a good many beautiful sonnets. Many of their epics would afford good extracts; and I am competent to give critical sketches of biographies, formed not at second hand but from full perusal of the authors themselves."

To John Rickman, November 20, 1808, Southey wrote: "My Cid is the finest specimen of chivalrous history and I am brimful of that kind of knowledge and two other subjects, savage manner and monastic history." Rickman declared that Robert Southey knew two out-of-the way things better than any other man, and they were Eastern fable and European chivalry and romance.

It seems that Southey's generous enthusiasm colored his estimate of his friends and of his own poems, while Francis Jeffrey, Byron, Canning, and even Frere came to criticize him as an author or as a Tory; but he had a great influence in his early Jacobin days and he

1.Dict.Nat.Biog.: J.H.Frere 1769- diplomatist and author. Envoy from Britain to Madrid, 1802-4.

holds his place as a Lake Poet,[1] though more by personal association[2] than by the quality of his poetry. His works are proof of his amazing industry and of his romantic interest in Spanish literature.[3]

Sir Walter Scott,[4] in his depiction of the chivalric ages, also turned to Spain for additional inspiration. As a child he had lived in a district fertile in legendary lore.[5] There he had learned many songs and legends of the old moss-troopers and of his border ancestry,, and when he was sent to Edinburgh High School he had already acquired an unusual knowledge of the folklore and traditions of his native land. He did not distinguish himself at High School but he read Ossian, Tasso and, above all, was fascinated by Percy's Reliques. At College, he neglected Greek and Latin, in his search for ballads and legends; but he studied Italian, acquired some Spanish, and read French. He also dabbled in Anglo-Saxon and Norse Sagas. Apparently, he wrote and burnt a boyish poem on the Conquest of Granada,[6] about 1786. In his later years he, as well as Irving, Southey and Chateaubriand, fell under the spell of Hita's novel, The Civil Wars of Granada, and Scott regretted that he had not known it earlier so that he might have made Spain the scene of one of his Waverley novels.[7]

1. T.S.Omond: Op.Cit. p.17. "Southey was counted as a leader in the Lake School of Poets."
2. Moody and Lovett: "A History of English Literature, from Beowulf to 1926," pub. by Chas. Scribners' Sons, New York, etc. 1926. (Southey, p. 309.)
3. Francis Jeffrey: "Contributions to the 'Edinburgh Review' by F.Jeffrey,4 vols. complete in one, Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1856.-----Roderick, the Last of the Goths, by R.Southey,Esq.,Poet-Laureate and Member of the Royal Spanish Academy,4 to.pp.477,London, 1814. p.424 Modern British Essayists.-----"The subject,however, was selected, we suppose, during that period when a zeal for Spanish liberty and a belief in Spanish virtue, spirit and talent, were extremely fashionable in this country.....by the paltry superstitions and sanguinary fanaticisms which he is pleased to ascribe to them."
4. The French Revolution affected Scott chiefly by way of repulsion and by stimulating his patriotism.(Dict.Nat.Biog.) He married the daughter of a French refugee,1799.--A strong political Toryism reveals the tone and bias of his mind. He idealized the old order widely shaken by the Revolution.His taste in poetry is Catholic but in his own poetry, he produced what he described as Romantic tales.(Buchan:Op.Cit.p.428.
5. The Book of Gems: ed. by S.C.Hall,London, 1845, p. 106.
6. Dict.Nat.Biog.: Op.Cit. Walter Scott.
7. G.T.Northup: Op.Cit. p.157.

In 1811, one of Scott's most famous poems, [1] The Vision of Don Roderick, was published. In his argument preceding the poem, he explains the purpose and method of dealing with his subject. "The following poem is founded upon a Spanish Tradition...I have presumed to prolong the Vision of the Revolutions of Spain down to the present eventful crisis of the Peninsula; and to divide it, by a supposed change of scene, into Three Periods. The First of these represents the Invasion of the Moors, the Defeat and Death of Roderick, and closes with the peaceful occupation of the country by the Victors. The Second Period embraces the state of the Peninsula, when the Conquests of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in the East and West Indies, had raised to the highest pitch the renown of their arms; sullied, however, by superstition and cruelty. The Last Part of the Poem opens with the state of Spain, previous to the unparalleled treachery of Bonaparte; gives a sketch of the usurpation attempted upon that unsuspicious and friendly kingdom, and terminates with the arrival of the British succours. It may be further proper to mention that the object of the Poem is less to commemorate or detail particular incidents, than to exhibit a general and impressive picture of the several periods brought upon the stage."

Although on a slightly lower plane than the most outstanding poetry of his day, the work reveals that Scott was treating his subject in the same heroic manner, when dealing with Spanish legends. [2] This is not surprising since, in the evolution of English poetry, he was the first great popular exponent of the revival of the romantic past. [3] [4] [5]

1. The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott.
2. "The Death of Don Pedro," in Lockhart's "Spanish Ballads," was translated by Sir Walter Scott. p. 117, of the 1842 edn.
3. John Buchan: Op.Cit. p. 430.
4. Dict.Nat.Biog.: Op.Cit. W.Scott was visited at Abbotsford by innumerable admirers of all ranks, including W.Irving, G.Ticknor and other American tourists.
5. The Oxford Companion to Eng.Lit; Op.Cit. Scott contributed to the 'Edinburgh Review' but later seceded from it and in 1809 promoted the foundation of the Tory 'Quarterly Review.'

There of Numantian fire a swarthy spark
Still lightens in the sunburnt native's eye;
The stately port, slow step, and visage dark,
Still mark enduring pride and constancy.
And, if the glow of feudal chivalry
Beam not, as once, thy nobles' dearest pride,
Iberia! oft thy crestless peasantry
Have seen the plumed Hidalgo quit their side,
Have seen, yet dauntless stood - 'gainst fortune fought
and died.

.....

Haughty of heart and brow the Warrior came,
In look and language proud as proud might be,
Vaunting his lordship, lineage, fights and fame,

.....

For he was fierce as brave, and pitiless as strong.

.....

But on the Natives of that Land misused,
Not long the silence of amazement hung,
Nor brooked they long their friendly faith abused;
For with a common shriek, the general tongue
Exclaimed, 'To arms!' and fast to arms they sprung.
And Valour woke, that Genius of the Land!
Pleasure, and ease, and sloth, aside he flung,

.....

By day the Invaders ravaged hill and dale,
But, with the darkness, the Guerilla band
Came like night's tempest, and avenged the land,

.....

Then Zaragoza - blighted be the tongue
That names thy name without the honour due!
For never hath the harp of minstrel rung,
Of faith so fully proved, so firmly true! (1)

2 3

Byron, who in the words of Elton, "has affected the spirit of poetry more than any modern man, except Shakespeare and Goethe," spent some time in Spain and employed Spanish settings, in many parts of his writings. Feeling a desire to escape from what he considered a hypo-

4

critical society, Byron set sail for the Peninsula, accompanied by his friend Hobhouse, on July 2, 1808. In his letters to friends at

2. Oxford Comp.to Eng.Lit.:Op.Cit.-Geo.Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron, (1788-1824) son of Capt.John Byron, was born in London. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College,Cambridge.(M.A.1808).He never became a tolerable scholar.--Dict.Nat.Biog.--But he was familiar with scripture and a devourer of poetry. He read voraciously by fits, and shone in declamation.

1. Dict.Nat.Biog.--While serving in Portugal, Scott's friend,Adam Ferguson, read The Vision of Don Roderick to his comrades, as they lay under fire at the lines of Torres Vedras.

3. O.Elton: Op.Cit. p.181.

4. Oxf.Comp.to Eng.Lit.:Op.Cit.--From 1809-11,Byron travelled abroad. Dict.Nat.Biog.--Byron went to Lisbon, rode across Spain to Seville and Cadiz,and thence sailed to Gibraltar. He visited Malta, Athens,Malta again,and went to England 1811.--Oxf.Comp.:-In 1816 he left Eng. never to return; travelled in Switzerland and Italy;died in Greece 1824.

home, he described the sights and characteristics of Spain as he found them in his travels. In 1809, while at Gibraltar, he wrote to Francis Hodgson[1] some of his impressions of Seville and Cádiz:"Seville if a fine town,--but damn description, it is always disgusting. Cádiz, sweet Cádiz! - it is the first spot in the creation. The beauty of its streets and mansions is only excelled by the loveliness of its inhabitants. For, with all national prejudice, I must confess that the women of Cádiz are as far superior to the English women in beauty as the Spaniards are inferior to the English, in every quality that dignifies the name of man."

"Cádiz is a complete Cythera. Many of the grandees who have left Madrid during the trouble reside there, and I do believe it is the prettiest and cleanest town in Europe. London is filthy in the comparison. The Spanish women are all alike, their education the same. The wife of a duke is, in information, as the wife of a peasant,- the wife of a peasant, in manner, equal to a duchess. Certainly they are fascinating; but their minds have only one idea, and their business is intrigue....I shall return to Spain before I see England, for I am enamoured of the country."[2]

In his poetry, Byron discusses Spain in mocking and ironical terms, although, in a few instances, he adopts the customary heroic and chivalric manner of the other English poets.[3] An example of this heroic strain is revealed in the following lines, taken from The Age of Bronze:[4]

1. Lord Byron's Correspondence: ed. by John Murray, in 2 vols., F.D.Goodchild Co.,Toronto, 1922.
2. The Poetical Works of Lord Byron: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1921.
3. Dict.Nat.Biog.:Op.Cit. Byron had a talent for satire.
John Buchan: Op.Cit. p. 432. Byron is one of our great poetic interpreters of the mood of disillusion, cynicism, and unrest,which all over Europe accompanied the reaction vs the Revolution. An aristocrat by birth but a revolutionist,detesting all existing governments. He had a contempt for feudalism, for George III, and for the restored Bourbons.--He proclaimed himself against the Romanticism of his time but noone did more than he to popularize the romantic taste in poetry.
(4) Chambers Cyclop.v.3.D.Patrick: Byron was influenced by Scott,Wordsworth and Coleridge;he drew from their Romanticism.

1.318ff.

The dawn revives: renowned, romantic Spain
Holds back the invader from her soil again.
Not now the Vandal or the Visigoth
Pollute the plains, alike abhorring both;
Nor old Pelayo on his mountain rears
The warlike fathers of a thousand years.
.....
These worst, these home invaders, felt and feel
The new Numantine soul of old Castile,
Up! up again! undaunted Tauridor!
The bull of Phalaris renews his roar;
Mount, chivalrous Hidalgo! not in vain
Revive the cry - "Iago! and close Spain!"
Yes, close her with your armed hosoms round,
And form the barrier which Napoleon found,-
The exterminating war, the desert plain,
The streets without a tenant, save the slain;
The wild Sierra, with its wilder troop
Of vulture-plumed Guerillas, on the stoop
For their incessant prey; the desperate wall
Of Saragossa, mightiest in her fall;
The Man nerved to a spirit, and the Main
Waving her more than Amazonian blade;
The knife of Aragon, Toledo's steel;
The famous lance of chivalrous Castile;
The unerring rifle of the Catalan;
The Andalusian courser in the van;
The torch to make a Moscow of Madrid;
And in each heart the spirit of the Cid; -
Such have been, and such shall be, such are. Advance,
And win - not Spain! but thine own freedom, France!
1

In his Don Juan, Byron's treatment of Spain is in keeping with the tone of his letters. It is in a light, satiric, vein but many of his observations are both shrewd and acute. As for his sources, the consensus of opinion seems to be that he possessed no more than a superficial knowledge of the legendary 'Don Juan,' and that there is nothing to show that he had read or heard of Tirso de Molina's El burlador de Sevilla (The Seville Deceiver), 1630, which dramatized the tale of the actual Don Juan Tenorio. In taking Don Juan for his hero he took the name only.

1. John Buchan:Op.Cit. p.433. Don Juan is a successful, social satire; the "quintessence of Byronism," an amazing medley of narrative, wit, satire, philosophy, pathos, cynicism and ribaldry.
1. Hallec,R.P.:Op.Cit.p.359. Don Juan is partly biographic.
1. H.J.C.Grierson: Op.Citp.p.195. Grierson quotes from Byron, re Don Juan: "They accuse me--Me--the present writer of
The present poem--of--I know not what--
.....
I say no more than hath been said in Dante's
Verse, and by Solomon and by Cervantes;"
.. ..

l. viii.

In Seville was he born, a pleasant city,
Famous for oranges and women, - he
Who has not seen it will be much to pity,
So says the proverb - and I quite agree;
Of all the Spanish towns is none more pretty,

.....

l. lvi. The Darkness of her Oriental eye
Accorded with her Moorish origin;
(Her blood was not all Spanish; by the by.
In Spain, you know, this is a sort of sin;)

Byron does not speak highly of feminine morality, in Spain:

Did not the Italian Musico Cazzani
Sing at my heart six months at least in vain?
Did not his countryman, Count Corniani,
Call me the only virtuous wife in Spain?

But he rapturously praises the Spanish women for their beauty:

And such sweet girls! - I mean such graceful ladies,
Their very walk would make your bosom swell;
I can't describe it, though so much it strike,
Nor liken it - I never saw the like.

And such was she, the lady of the cave;
Her dress was very different from the Spanish,
Simpler, and yet of colours not so grave;
For, as you know, the Spanish women banish
Bright hues when out of doors, and yet, while wave
Around them (what I hope will never vanish)
The basquina and the mantilla, they
Seem at the same time mystical and gay. (1)

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage was based on Byron's travels in many countries. In the account of the youth's tour through Spain, Byron sets forth his own impressions of his journeys in that country. He condemns the barbarous conditions prevalent in Spain at that time:

And here and there, as up the crags you spring
Mark many rude-carved crosses near the path:
Yet deem not these Devotion's offering -
These are memorials frail of murderous wrath:
For wheresoe'r the shrieking victim hath
Poured forth his blood beneath the assassin's knife,
Some hand erects a cross of mouldering lath;
And grove and glen with thousand such are rife
Throughout this purple land, where Law secures not life.

1.Dict.Nat.Biog.:Op.Cit.--Byron dedicated Don Juan to Southey in: good, simple, savage verse (Letter 322) bitterly taunting the poet as a venal renegade.

1. George Ticknor:Op.Cit. p.310. Don Juan: Shadwell's Libertine 1676, was substantially the same story.

He refers to conditions in Spain, during her conflict with France:

> Far as the eye discerns, without an end,
> Spain's realms appear whereon her shepherds tend
> Flocks, whose rich fleece right well the trader knows -
> Now must the Pastor's arm his lambs defend:
> For Spain is compassed by unyielding foes,
> And all must shield their all, or share Subjection's woes.

Characteristics of the Spanish people:

xxiii. For proud each peasant as the noblest duke:
Well doth the Spanish hind the difference know
'Twixt him and Lusian slave, the lowest of the low.
.....

Byron continues his reverie in the realms of Spanish romance:

xxxv. Oh, lovely Spain! renown'd, romantic land!
Where is that standard which Pelago bore,
When Cava's traitor-sire first called the band
That dyed thy mountain streams with Gothic gore?
Where are those bloody Banners which of yore
Waved o'er thy sons, victorious to the gale,
And drove at last the spoilers to their shore?
Red gleamed the Cross, and waned the Crescent pale,
While Afric's echoes thrilled with Moorish matron's wail.

In the name of the genius of Spain, and her ancient idol of chivalry,

he appeals to the dormant heroism of her sons:

xxxvii. Awake, ye Sons of Spain! awake! advance!
Lo: chivalry, your ancient goddess, cries,
But wields not, as of old, her thirsty lance,
Nor shakes her crimson plumage in the skies:
Now on the smoke of blazing bolts she files,
And speaks in thunder through yon engine's roar:
In every peal she calls - "Awake, arise!"
Say, is her voice more feeble than of yore,
When her war-song was heard on Andalusia's shore?

Byron's disappointment with the higher classes in Spain:

xlvi. But all unconscious of the coming doom,
The feast, the song, the revel here abounds;
Strange modes of merriment the hours consume,
Nor bleed these patriots with their country's wounds:
Nor here War's clarion, but Love's rebeck sounds;
Here Folly still his votaries enthralls;
And young-eyed Lewdness walks her midnight rounds:
Girt with the silent crimes of Capitals,
Still to the last kind Vice clings to the tott'ring walls.
(1)

1. Dict.Nat.Biog.: Childe Harold, a Romaunt, 4 to. 1812 (an appendix of 20 poems including those during his travels and those addressed to Thyrza).

1. Drinkwater: Op.Cit. p.550. Childe Harold: His first two cantos (1812) lifted him into fame in a single day.

1. G.H.Mair: English Lit:Modern.--Home Univ. Lib. of Mod. Knowledge. p.185. Childe Harold appealed by virtue of its subject-matter. The poem appealed by its descriptions of memorable places,-by its metre and by the author's charming personality.

His approbation of the lower classes in Spain:

xlvii. Not so the rustic - with his trembling mate
He lurks, nor casts his heavy eye afar,
Lest he should view his vineyard desolate,
Blasted below the dun hot breath of War.

.....

xlviii. How carols now the lusty muleteer?
Of Love, Romance, Devotion is his lay,
As whilome he was wont the leagues to cheer,
His quick bells wildly jingling on the way?
No! as he speeds he chants "Vivã el Rey!"
And checks his song to execrate Godoy,
The royal wittol Charles, and curse the day
When first Spain's queen beheld the black-eyed boy,
And gore-faced Treason sprung from her adulterate joy.

Religion in Spain, as Byron saw it:

lxviii. The Sabbath comes, a day of blessed rest:
What hallows it upon the Christian shore?
Lo! it is sacred to a solemn Feast:
Hark! heard you not the forest-monarch's roar?
Crashing the lance, he snuffs the spouting gore
Of man and steed, o'erthrown beneath his horn;
The thronged arena shakes with shouts for more;
Yells the mad crowd o'er entrails freshly torn,
Nor shrinks the female eye, nor ev'n affects to mourn.

His first sight of a bull-fight, in Spain, provoked him to flutter the dovecotes of respectable villadom, in England, and to contrast the 'spruce citizen, washed artisan, and smug apprentice' faring to church on Sunday, with: [1]

lxxi All have their fooleries - not alike are thine,
Fair Cadiz, rising o'er the dark blue sea!
Soon as the Matin bell proclaimeth nine,
Thy Saint-adorers count the Rosary:
Much is the Virgin teased to shrive them free
(Well do I ween the only virgin there)
From crimes as numerous as her beadsmen be;
Then to the crowded circus forth they fare:
Young, old, high, low, at once the same diversion share.

Byron now bids adieu to Spain: [2]

Such be the sons of Spain, and strange her Fate!
They fight for Freedom who were never free,
A Kingless people for a nerveless state;
Her vassals combat when their Chieftains flee,
True to the veriest slaves of Treachery:

1. Laurie Magnus, M.A.: A Dictionary of European Literature,
London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.,
New York: E.P.Dutton & Co. 1926.
(Byron: p. 73).

2. A.L.Cross, A Hist. of Eng. & Gt.Brit. New York, 1917. p.897. The first two cantos of Childe Harold, 1812, written at a brilliant, careless stage, lacking depth of feeling and sureness of imaginative range.

Fond of a land which gave them nought but life;
Pride points the path that leads to Liberty;
.....

lxxxvii. Ye, who would more of Spain and Spaniards know
Go, read whate'er is writ of bloodiest strife:
Whate'er keen Vengeance urged on foreign foe
Can act, is acting there against man's life:
From flashing scimitar to secret knife,
.....

These descriptive sketches reveal Byron's historic and romantic interest in Spain, though he neglected the study of her language and literature. He was the only important English romantic poet to visit Spain during the Peninsular War;and, in the presentation of what might be called his journalistic sketches, in poetic form, he provided fresh and varied material which helped to satisfy the curiosity of his readers concerning Spain. This greatly contributed to the immense and universal popularity which he achieved.

Although Shelley, during the latter years of his life, learned the Spanish language, and was deeply enamoured of Spanish literature, nevertheless he does not appear to have drawn largely from this scurce or to have written much of Spanish exploits.

1. Edward Dowden: "Studies in Literature, 1789-1877," London, 1909.
p.29. The French Revolution and Literature.--"In a life of Byron by Moore, an extract from a memorandum book of 1807, shows that Byron set down a list of the historical writers whose works he had perused." The list includes:history of Spain and Portugal. "And the greater part of these," Byron adds,"I perused before the age of 15."

2. Philip H.Churchman:"Lord Byron's Experiences in the Spanish Peninsula, in 1809," 'Bulletin Hispanique' Tome XI, 1909.
--Byron in Spain.-- Churchman quotes from Byron's "Detached Thoughts" (letters and journals, V,436) "I sometimes wish that I had studied languages with more attention: those which I know....Italian tolerably, Spanish less tolerably,....all have been acquired by ear or eye, and never by anything like study."

3. Southey was in the Peninsula 1795-1800.

4. Lauri Magnus: Op.Cit. p.73. Scott in 1816 declared that Byron was placed pre-eminent among the literary men of his country, by general acclamation.--Goethe,1823-6,declared that no poet in England could be compared with Byron; that so eminent a poet never existed before him or was likely to exist again,etc.

5. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1821) was born in Sussex, the son of Sir Timothy Shelley, Bart.

5. Edward Dowden: Op.Cit. p.28. -Byron was a representative of our literature of the Revolution, as a realized historical series of events.--Shelley was a representative of the Revolution, in its pure ideal.

A letter from Shelley, in Italy, dated August 1819, and addressed to Thomas Love Peacock, contains the first direct reference to a Spanish dramatist with whom the former was becoming acquainted: "I have been reading Calderón in Spanish. A kind of Shakespeare is this Calderon and I have some thoughts, if I find that I cannot do anything better, of translating some of his plays." Again, in a further letter to Peacock, Sept. 1819, Shelley reveals his interest in Calderón and the Spanish language: "Charles Clairmont is now with us on his way to Vienna. He has spent a year or more in Spain, where he has learnt Spanish, and I make him read Spanish all day long. It is a most powerful and expressive language, and I have already learnt sufficient to read with great ease their poet Calderón. I have read about twelve of his plays. Some of them certainly deserve to be ranked among the grandest and most perfect productions of the human mind. He exceeds all modern dramatists, with the exception of Shakespeare, whom he resembles, however, in the depth of thought and subtlety of imagination of his writings, and in the rare power of interweaving delicate and powerful comic traits with the most tragical situations, without diminishing their interest. I rate him far above Beaumont and Fletcher."

In a letter to Maria Gisborne, of date July 1820, Shelley encloses a poem extolling Calderón:

> that magic tongue
> Which Calderon over the desert flung
> Of ages and of nations; and which found
> An echo in our hearts, and with the sound
> Startled oblivion; - thou wert then to me
> As is a nurse - when inarticulately
> A child would talk as its grown parents do.

1. The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley: collected and edited by Roger Ingpen, ---Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1909.
1. Dict.Nat.Biog.-P.B.Shelley. His descriptive letters place him at the head of English epistolographers, in this department.
2. Ibid. This delight in the works of others,even more than his own poetical power,renders him matchless as a translator.
3. Shelley's Letters: Op.Cit. p.719, vol.2.
4. Ibid. p.796, vol.2.

Another letter to Peacock, of November 1820, further exemplifies his growing interest in Spanish literature. "I have been reading nothing but Greek and Spanish. Plato and Calderón have been my gods." Also, in April 1821, a letter to Henry Reveley contains the following: "Tell Mr. and Mrs. Gisborne that I have read the Numancia, and after wading through the singular stupidity of the first act, began to be greatly delighted, and, at length, interested in a very high degree, by the power of the writer in awakening pity and admiration, in which I hardly know by whom he is excelled. There is little, I allow, in a strict sense, to be called poetry in this play; but the command of the language, and the harmony of versification, is so great as to deceive one into an idea that it is poetry." [1]

In a letter to John Gisborne, November 1820, Shelley writes: "I am bathing myself in the light and odour of the flowery and starry 'Autos.' I have read them all more than once." Again to John Gisborne, April 1822: "Have you read Calderón's 'Mágico Prodigioso?' I find a striking similarity between 'Faust' and this drama, and if I were to acknowledge Coleridge's distinction, should say Goethe was the greatest philosopher, and Calderón the greatest poet." [2]

It is evident that Shelley became acquainted with Calderon during the summer of 1819, while he was engaged in the composition of The Cenci. In the preface to this tragedy, there is a reference to Beatrice's description of the chasm appointed for her father's murder: "An idea in this speech was suggested by a most sublime passage in El Purgatorio de San Patricio of Calderón, the only plagiarism which I have intentionally committed in the whole piece." [3]

1. Ibid. p. 866, vol.2.
2. Ibid. p. 954, vol.2.
2. Dict.Nat.Biog.: P.B.Shelley: His powers as a translator appeared at their best in the scenes from 'Faust' and Calderón's 'Mágico Prodigioso.'
3. Complete Poems of Keats and Shelley: The Modern Library, New York, 1932. Footnote, page 301.

Mary Shelley, in her own notes to The Cenci, adds: "He was making a study of Calderón at the time, reading his best tragedies with an accomplished lady, living near us....He admired Calderón, both for his poetry and his dramatic genius, but it shows his judgment and originality that, though greatly struck by his first acquaintance with the Spanish poet, none of his peculiarities crept into the composition of The Cenci; and there is no trace of his new studies, except in that passage to which he himself alludes as suggested by one in El Purgatorio de San Patricio."[1]

Madariaga[2] attempts to discover the reason for Shelley's interest in Calderón through certain striking resemblances between the two writers. He observes, first, an impression of stiffness in some of Shelley's philosophical poems as Queen Mab, or Prometheus Unbound, which becomes quite pronounced in the grotesque or satirical works, such as Peter Bell the Third and Swellfoot the Tyrant. "There are passages in Swellfoot the Tyrant which produce an impression as unpleasant as some of the systematic attempts at comic symmetry in Calderón. We are here at one of the points where Calderón and Shelley meet. Shelley does not understand comedy. He is not unlike Calderon in his incapacity for blending comedy with tragedy..."

And further, Shelley's dogmatism in his revolutionary creed was as pronounced as Calderón's in his religious creed. "We need not wonder then, if Shelley felt attracted towards Calderón, whose own muse could speak with an unfaltering voice, as one who heard strains of a higher mood." Madariaga thinks that, in this connection, Calderón's influence seems to have contributed towards rendering Shelley's style a little more architectural than his natural bent would have warranted.

1. Ibid. p. 364.
2. Salvador de Madariaga: Op. Cit. p. 7.

"I venture to suggest that the composition of the Ode to the West Wind is the most brilliant example of Calderón's action over Shelley. Shelley wrote this poem when in the height of his fever of admiration for the Spanish genius whom he had recently discovered, late in the autumn of 1819. The plan of the first four stanzas is typically Calderónian: the first stanza might be called The Leaf; the second The Cloud; the third The Wave; the fourth sums up: "Oh, lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!" "Under the skilful and subtler development of Shelley, the familiar style of Calderón's symmetric architecture is apparent, and the ease with which Shelley, perhaps unconsciously, appropriated a form of composition peculiar to Calderón is a very suggestive sidelight on the true nature of the spiritual relationship between the two poets."[1]

Although Shelley, during his last years in Italy (1819-21), read Calderón's plays, from the Spanish editions, probably Madariaga exaggerates the extent to which that reading influenced the English poet. Still, the criticism offered by Shelley on Calderón showed an appreciation which was very rare elsewhere.

1. Ibid. p. 18.

Chap. 6.

THE SPANISH EMIGRADO IN ROMANTIC ENGLAND.

Blanco White--El Duque de Rivas--Espronceda.

During the reign of Fernando VII, most of the leading men of letters, who were not imprisoned or in hiding, were political exiles in France or England. These liberally inclined men took an active part in the literary life of the countries to which they fled and, in this way, both French and English became more intimately acquainted with Spain and her literature. Nor did the emigrados fail to imbibe the principles of English and French Romanticism and, when the death of Fernando VII (1833) permitted their return to Spain, they carried back new ideals in literature, as well as in politics. At home, supported by the leading Romanticists, who were members of the celebrated Parnasillo, they initiated the 'revolt' which had been maturing; thus, 1833 represents the flowering of Romanticism in Spain, not its beginning.[1]

Pre-eminent among such Spaniards, in England, was José María Blanco y Crespo, who assumed the name of Blanco White.[2] After leaving a comfortable benefice in Seville, where he was canon in the cathedral, and abandoning the priesthood, he studied at Oxford. He was first a Catholic, then an Anglican and, finally, an Unitarian. As editor, author, and pastor, he merged himself with the cultural life of England. Oddly enough, his chief claim to fame rests upon an English sonnet, Mysterious Night, which was, according to Coleridge, "the finest and most grandly conceived sonnet in our language." However, it was his voluminous prose writings which accomplished most in conveying to

1. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly: "Chapters on Spanish Literature," --Ch. 10, Modern Spanish Novelists.-- London, 1908.
1. E.A.Peers: "History of Spain." ---Spanish Literature since 1681.--The 18th century.--
1. G.T.Northup: Op.Cit. p. 344.
2. Oxford Companion to Eng. Lit.: Op.Cit.--Blanco White.--He accompanied Whately, archbishop of Dublin, to Ireland and became tutor to his son. In Ireland, he and Mrs.Hemans became friends.--("Mysterious Night" was published in the 'Bijou' 1828)--Southey also knew him.

to the English mind a more accurate conception of Spain. In an article, written for the 'Quarterly Review,'[1] 1825, he criticizes a work on Spain, presumably written by a Spaniard. Blanco takes exception to the many glaring misconceptions found in that work, and feels the necessity of revealing and correcting those ideas, more especially because of their general prevalence in England. He points out that the stress laid upon Spanish aptitude for poetical improvisation was greatly exaggerated, as the number of extempore poets was limited, and the custom of improvisation had long been ridiculed and exploded in Spain.

For Blanco,[2] the critic, the national tendency towards exaggeration was something which was a modern outcrop. He was certain that Spain, at the height of her power, had not shown such weakness, though the Spaniards had felt that their country and their people excelled all others. When the country was eventually humbled, this was attributed to the corruption and weakness of the rulers and not to any defect of the Spanish people. Boasting, therefore, was part of a defensive mechamism, a means of escape from the reality of the comparative insignificance and impotence of the country. "Every individual preserved an exalted idea of himself, as a Spaniard, and raised his abstract conception of Spain far above the rank which the Chinese give to their celestial empire. No untoward event could bring him down from this aerial height. The Spanish soldier felt as proud, when, at the first discharge of musketry he ran away from his ranks, as the English platoons at Waterloo on seeing the French cavalry waver and fall back from their fire. Not a man, in the most numerous Spanish army, felt abashed after an uncontested defeat: and few, indeed, in

1. "Don Esteban, or Memoirs of A Spaniard, written by himself, 3 vols., p. 33, London, 1825. Quarterly Review:vol.33, Dec.1825,No.65.

2. Dict.Nat. Biog.:Op.Cit.-Blanco White: Conducted a monthly periodical in England,"Español."Writer for Thos.Campbell's"New Monthly"; wrote critical articles on Spain,in the supplement to Encycl.Brit.1822. Wrote for the'Journal Variedades.'In1835,contributed to London,and 'Westminster Review.' (Coleridge was a friendly correspondent.) He also wrote for the 'London Review', 'Dublin University Review'and others.

the whole country, suspected their own honor to be concerned in the loss of the most decisive battle."

In another review,[1] Blanco points out the origin, growth, and importance of the Inquisition in Spain. The spirit of bigotry and religious intolerance which, for years, had been characteristic of Spain, he attributed to the circumstances which attended the growth of the country originally. The contest, fierce and durable, between the Christians of Spain and the Moorish invaders, must have connected, in the minds of the Spaniards, every idea of honor with orthodoxy and all that was disgraceful and odious with dissent from their creed.

Blanco was a poet of transition. Formerly one of the leading figures of the School of Seville, whose poets displayed neo-classic restraint, tempered by a tendency toward greater freedom of lyric utterance,[2] Blanco was a poet of true feeling. His Letters from Spain (1822), under the pseudonym of Leucadio Doblado ("Doubly White"), are invaluable for the light they shed upon the Spain of that day. His long exile in England was marked by the pursuit of truth, a passion for independence and painful cries of the soul.[3]

Ángel de Saavedra (El Duque de Rivas) was an emigrado who came under English influence, although most of his ten years of exile were spent either in Malta or in Paris. Of noble family and with a distinguished record, during the Peninsular War, he was forced to leave Spain because of active participation in favor of a Liberal Constitution. In Malta, he met John Hookham Frere, sometime British ambassador at Madrid and an amateur of Spanish literature. Frere introduced him to the works of Byron, Scott and other contemporary poets, from which he became acquainted with English Romanticism. Finally Frere suggested that he write a Romantic epic, modelled on Scott's narrative poems.

1. "A Visit to Spain:" by Michael J.Quinn, London,1825,--Review in the 'Quarterly Review,' Vol. 29, April 1825, No. 57.
2. J.D.M.Ford: "Main Currents of Span. Lit.,18th and 19th centuries."
3. Ernest Mérimée: Op.Cit. p.440, Blanco White.

Acting upon this suggestion, the Duque produced El moro expósito, which was published in Paris in 1834, and thus took the first step towards literary emancipation. The success of his play Don Álvaro, o la fuerza del sino, confirmed the triumph of Romanticism in Spain. After his return to Spain, in 1834, Rivas led an active life as a writer, a politician and a diplomat.[1] His English influence helped to shape his character and, although he grew conservative in his later days, he did have far-reaching influences upon literary ideas and political thought.

José de Espronceda y Delgado (1808-42) was another exile from Spain, and he visited Gibraltar, Lisbon, London and Paris. While abroad he read the English and French poets and became a convert to Romanticism. In England, he read assiduously Shakespeare, Milton and, above all, Byron. Most of his poetry produced after this sojourn in England shows Byronic influence, although Espronceda was no servile imitator. He was clearly dominated by no one author but was influenced by many, including Scott and Macpherson. Although his association with the English probably helped them to better appreciate his country's literature he imbibed far more than he gave. Today he is considered the strongest and the most captivating lyric poet of Spain in the nineteenth century.

The number of emigrados has been reckoned at forty thousand. They included the intellectual elite of the nation: Blanco, Arriaza, Mendívil, Puigblanch, Villanueva, Gallardo, Mendizábal, Alcalá Galiano, Istúriz, Flórez Estrada, Eugenio de Tapia, Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío, and others, found shelter in England, while Angel Saavedra was in Malta, or in Paris. Blanco, at least, learned to write the English language with purity and talent. Galiano, a neo-Classic

1. Nelson's Encyclop.; Op.Cit. Rivas became Minister of Interior, under Premier Isturiz, and was again forced to take refuge in flight. Later he allied himself with the moderates, held premiership, and served as Ambassador to Paris and Naples.

critic,was Professor of Spanish in the University[1] of London, in 1828. His Prologue to the Duque de Rivas' El moro exposito[2] is a manifesto of his conversion to Romanticism.[3] Espronceda taught fencing in London. Trueba y Cossio went so far as to write two historical novels, on Spanish subjects, in the English language.

Thus the emigrados played a large but incalculable part in the enlightenment of the English, concerning Spain and things Spanish. This was accomplished not only by their writings but by their personal contacts with English literati, as has been forcibly illustrated by the life and works of Blanco White.[4] The Wiffen brothers became friends of Canon Riego, and J. H. Wiffen,[5] who was familiar with many languages, including Spanish, translated The Works of Garcilaso de la Vega[5A] into English, (1823).

On the other hand, when the Emigrados returned to Spain,[6] as they did after 1833, they carried with them English influences, especially in the field of literature. Spanish Romanticism, as a full-fledged and self-conscious movement, dates from that year, although its origin was much earlier. The two English Romanticists, whose influence in Spain was most pronounced, were Byron and Scott: Byron in the field of poetry and Scott in the realm of the novel.

(5A.) Benjamin B. Wiffin, 1794-1867, biographer of early Spanish reformers, visited Spain, 1839-42. See George Ticknor: Op.Cit.

1. E. A. Peers: "Spain" Preface--by E.A.P. Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex St., W.C., London,1929.
2. G.T.Northup: Op.Cit. pp. 343-4.
3. H.D.Sedgwick: "Spain,"a short history of its politics, literature and art, from the earliest times to the present, with a preface by J.D.M.Ford, Ph.D. (Espronceda 1808-42). Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1925.
4. George Ticknor: Op. Cit. ff. vol. 3, p. 349. Blanco, in his Variedades, London, 1824, gave a criticism of La Celestina.
   Ibid: A Spanish periodical work, full of talent and national feeling, was published,in London, by exiles then in Paris and London. Ocios de Espanoles Emigrados, 7 vols. 8 vo. Apr.1824-Oct.1827.
5. Dict. Nat. Biog.: J.H.Wiffen, 1792-1835, of Bedfordshire. He translated Garcilaso's works, with a life of Garcilaso,and an essay. 8 vols. Also wrote an essay on Spanish poetry, in verse, which he dedicated to the Duke of Bedford.
6. Mérimée: Op.Cit. p.405. The refugees, among others, presented to the intellectual Spanish classes the latest novelties in philosophy and literature. --20,000 exiles returned to Spain.

Chap. VII.

SPAIN AND THE LITERARY THEORIES OF ROMANTIC HISTORIANS.

Interest in things Spanish meant also an interest in the literature of Spain. Thus, throughout the period with which we are dealing, such literature was not only read and considered by all men of learning but, in addition, many studies were projected in which Spain's literature was examined, evaluated, and placed in its proper position in the body of the world's writings. The impetus towards this field of work did not, perhaps, find its origin in England; but, before long Englishmen took up these studies, commenced elsewhere, and published the results of their own work in periodicals, journals, and books. Again, the works, of scholars of other countries, were almost immediately afterwards translated and published in England as well.

Articles on Spanish language and literature abounded in the English periodicals of this period. In a review of one of Capmany's[1] works, a writer for the Quarterly Review decides that, in a country where so many grievances exist, arts and civilization cannot advance, nor the state keep pace with the progress of other nations which possess a better form of government or enjoy at least a more wise and equitable administration of affairs. "The spectacle of a great and powerful nation, reduced to weakness, poverty and contempt by the vices of its government, presents a curious and instructive, though melancholy object of contemplation.....National vanity and false patriotism have misled all Spanish authors, who have turned their attention to the affairs of Spain.....Foreigners who have turned their attention to this subject, were deceived by the positive and confident tone with which native writers described the ancient great-

1. 'Quarterly Review' London, 1808. Art. 10, p. 422-4.
"Review of Questiones Criticar sobre varios Puntos de Historia Economica, Politica y Militar." Su autor D. Antonio de Capmany. 8 vo. pp.305, Madrid 1807.------(1)Oxf.Comp.to Eng.Lit.;Op.Cit.--Capmany (1742-1813) a Catalan, in his other writings,attempted to defend the purity of the Castilian language.

ness and deplored the subsequent decline of their prosperity."

'Blackwood's' published a series of these articles under the heading Horae Hispanicae, which appeared at intervals over a period of some five years.[2] The first is a summary of the development of the language and literature in Spain, and an attempt to determine wherein Spain's literature was influenced by the influx of the Moors. The author concludes that it would be impossible to draw a definite line of demarcation between what might be called pure Spanish, and that which is not. But "No one can have any doubt that some influence, and that no inconsiderable one either, was exerted over the whole world of Spanish poetry and language, by the influx of those oriental tribes that occupied, for seven years, the fairest provinces of the Peninsula."

The succeeding numbers of this series of Spanish studies consist of translations from the Spanish poets and dramatists, with critical observations on the works surveyed. In the January 1821 issue of Blackwood's, there is a translation and discussion of the legend of The Fall of Roderick of Spain, with the remark that "the following poem might have been as successfully imitated by Southey, Herbert, Russell, and others."

The July 1825 issue contains a translation of Calderón's Worship of the Cross, which is generally ranked as one of the best works of Calderón, and affords "a very curious illustration of the Spanish 'theory of moral sentiments,' an example of the familiar introduction of religion, and of actual miracles upon the stage....and it is the least revolting to British feelings of any with which we are acquainted." The critic's comments on this play were perhaps representative of English sentiment towards that type of production. "Our own taste, as we have already stated, would certainly not have led to the select-

1. The 'Quarterly Review ' was founded in Feb. 1809, by John Murray, as a Tory rival to the 'Edinburgh Review." ....(Oxford Com. to Eng. Lit.: Op.Cit.)
2. Horae Hispanicae: 'Blackwood's'; No. XXXV, Feb. 1820, Vol.VI.

ion of La Devoción de la Cruz[1] as the most pleasing specimen of Calderón's tragic powers...We are, however, chiefly influenced to this act of deference, by our wish to present to the British public, if a less attractive, a more interesting, because a more important picture; - one exhibiting the portraiture rather of a nation than of an individual."[2]

The Schlegel brothers, Fredrick and William, leading figures in the German Romantic Revival, were more influential as critics than as writers of creative literature. In their histories and criticisms, they made known the literature of many countries, including that of Spain. Most of the literary writers of the day could read German and, consequently, the influence of the Schlegel brothers was not confined to their own country. In addition, the works of the Schlegels were translated into other languages and thereby made available to those who were not acquainted with the German tongue.

Fredrick Schlegel[3] infers that the excellence of a nation's literature depends greatly upon the living body of romances which that nation possesses. He believes that Spain has considerable advantages over many other nations, in the possession of its historical epic, the Cid. This species of poetic art exerts the most powerful and lasting influence on national feelings and character. "A single monument, like that of the Cid is more invaluable to a people than whole libraries of genius and wit, without national associations." Schlegel maintains that the Spaniards had as rich a store of romance as the English, though the romances of the former had the advantage in that they were not mere ballads in the more restricted acceptation of the term, but the majority of them were devised and compiled in epic form; thus presenting equal attractions to the illiterate and to the educated, since

1. Calderón: (1600-1681).
2. Horae Hispanicae: Blackwood's: July 1825. No. XI.
3. Fredrick Schlegel: Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern. First published 1815. H.G. Bohn, London, 1859.

they were at once national in feeling and elegant in tone.[1]

He regretted that former prejudices still restricted the consideration and regard of critics to the beauty of Spain's poetry and prose. It was in Spain that prose first developed and attained its earliest and fullest maturity. "The very isolation of that country from the rest of Europe may have materially contributed to an accelerated development of the language: rich as it is in well-written historical works, and in a manly eloquence that has survived to our day: an eloquence, moreover, impressed with the noblest characteristics of fiery genius, and occasionally interspersed with appropriate wit and caustic sarcasm."[2]

Spain, according to Fredrick Schlegel, was the one country in Europe possessed of an intrinsically national literature, and because of that, any comparison made between her literature and that of any other in Europe must necessarily result in favour of the Spaniards. "How lofty, in this point of view, is Spanish literature and poetry! Every part of them is imbued with the noblest national feeling, severe, moral, and religious in tone, though the subject under treatment be not directly either morals or religion. Throughout their entire range, there is nothing in the remotest degree calculated to degrade the thinking faculty, to confuse the feelings, to pervert the judgment. Everywhere there is one and the same spirit of honor, of strict morality, and of firm religious belief...With reference to so glorious a distinction, Spain is entitled to the first rank, England perhaps to the second."[3]

Schlegel considered that Lope de Vega stood at the bottom in Spanish drama. "Whoever would apprehend aright the genius of the Spanish

1. Oxford Companion to Eng. Lit.: Op.Cit.--Friedrich Von Schlegel, (1772-1829),younger brother of August Wilhelm vonSchlegel, notable for his studies of the history of literature.
2. Fredrick Schlegel: Op.Cit. p. 219.
3. Ibid. p. 250.

stage must study Calderón, the last and greatest of all Spanish poets. In the midst of corruptions instituted by Lope, Gongora, and Quevedo, Calderón lived, and from these chaotic elements he had to rescue the poetry of his land, to ennoble and purify it in the flames of love, and redirect it to its lofty aim."[1]

Augustus William Schlegel[2] is even better known as a critic than his brother Fredrick. His work on Dramatic Art and Literature was translated into English in 1815, and is the more important for the purpose of this study. In the second volume, William Schlegel compares the English and Spanish theatres, and suggests that these two, alone in Europe, developed wholly from the fulness of their own strength without any foreign influence. However, Spanish novels and romances were certainly known to the English but it was not until the time of Charles II that translations of Calderón made their appearance.

The English and Spanish stage, while developing independently, showed many striking similarities which led Schlegel to conjecture that the same or, at least, a kindred principle must have prevailed in the development of both. "The various epochs of formation of the Spanish theatre may be designated from the names of three celebrated writers, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderón.....If the Spanish theatre had not advanced farther, if it had possessed only the works of Lope and the more eminent of his contemporaries, we should have to praise it, much rather for grandeur of design and for promising subjects than for matured perfection. But Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca now made his appearance, as prolific and diligent a writer as Lope, and a poet of a very different kind; a poet if ever any man deserved that name.[3] ....Of the great multitude of ingenious and acute writers, who were then drawn by the dazzling brilliancy of the stage into the

1. Ibid. p. 273.
2. A.W.Schlegel (1767-1845), a German Romanticist,chiefly known in England for his translation into the German language, with the assistance of his wife and others, of the plays of Shakespeare.--Oxf.Comp. to Eng. Lit.
3. A.W.Schlegel: Dramatic Art and Literature,London,1815. pp. 325-35, v.2.

theatrical career, the most were merely imitators of Calderón....All the writers of that day wrote in a kindred spirit; it was a true school of art. Many of them have peculiar excellencies, but Calderón in boldness, fullness, and profundity, soars beyond them all; in him the romantic drama of the Spaniards attained the summit of perfection."[1]

A reviewer of this work,[2] 1815, states that it is absurd to talk of the taste of a nation which regards the men, who abolished the Inquisition and laid the foundations of a free constitution, as enemies to their religion and country. After the reviewer discusses Cervantes and Lope de Vega, he turns to Calderón. "The sublimist of the Spanish poets appeared like a meteor on the literary horizon....No poet was ever more fortunate in depicting the ancient character of the nation when animated with those romantic virtues which distinguish the inhabitants of the Peninsula." The writer asserts that Schlegel was the first foreigner to speak of our Elizabethan poets at any length, though he underrates the merits of others than Shakespeare. On the whole, he considers that these dramatic lectures are in every way worthy of that individual whom Germany venerates as the second and whom Europe has classed among the most illustrious of her literary characters.

In 1825, the Westminster Review[3] printed an article on Friedrich von Schlegel. "In treating of English, French and Spanish authors, his political prejudices have not so much scope. Yet even here we find an unmeasured praise of Spanish and Portuguese literature, dictated by his feelings as a Catholic.[4]

From 1812 onwards, William Hazlitt wrote abundantly for various periodicals,[5] including the Edinburgh Review, on the Liberal side. His essays in literary criticism are, in the opinion of some, his chief title to fame.[6] In one of these essays, Schlegel on the Drama, Hazlitt

1. Ibid. pp.335-9, v.2. (2) 'Quarterly Review' Jan.1815, London, Vol.12, Art.6, p.146. "Cours de Litterature Dramatique, par A.W.Schlegel, Traduit d'Allemand. (3) 'The Westminster Review' vol.3, 1825, London. (4) Ibid. Art.2, The Works of Fredrick Schlegel, pp.321-2. (5) Oxf.Comp.to Eng.Lit. Op.Cit. Wm.Hazlitt, 1778-1830. (6) 'Edinburgh Review' Feb.1815, vol.24. Also, "The Collected Works of W.Hazlitt", by Waller & Arnold Glover, vol.10, p.78, --'Contributions to the Edin.Rev.' London & N.Y.1904.

mentions that William Schlegel has long been celebrated on the continent, as a philosophical critic and as the admirable translator of Shakespeare and Calderón, into his native tongue. Although Schlegel's account of Shakespeare[1] is the best that has been given by any writer, English or otherwise, it is, nevertheless, liable to one exception, in that he will allow Shakespeare to have had no faults. As to the drama of Spain, Hazlitt states: "We cannot go into our author's account of the Spanish drama. The principal names in it are Cervantes, Calderón, and Lope de Vega. Neither can we agree in the praise which he lavishes on the dramatic productions of these authors. They are too flowery, lyrical, and descriptive. They are pastorals, not tragedies. They have warmth, but they want vigour." [2]

In reviewing a novel, The Wanderer[3], Hazlitt declares that the first-rate writers in this class are few, but those few must be reckoned, without scruple, among the greatest ornaments and the best benefactors of our kind. "There is a certain set of them, who, as it were, take their rank by the side of reality, and are appealed to as evidence on all questions concerning human nature. The principal of these are Cervantes and Le Sage; and, among ourselves, Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, and Sterne." Hazlitt, believing that this department of criticism deserves more attention, proceeds to treat it in detail, to endeavor to contribute something towards settling the standard of excellence, both as to degree and kind in these several writers. He begins with the renowned history of Don Quixote: "He always presents something more stately, more romantic, and at the same time more real to our imagination than any other hero upon record.....Perhaps there is no work which combines so much originality with such an air of truth. Its popularity is almost unexampled; and yet its real merits have not been suf-

1. Ibid. Collected Works, Vol. 10. pp. 77-8-9.
2. Ibid. pp. 118-19.
3. 'Edinburgh'Review', Vol.24, Longman & Co., London, 1815, Art.3, The Wanderer, a novel by Mme.D'Arblay, 1814, pp.321-. (3)Also, Vol.10, Collected Works of Wm.Hazlitt, by Waller & Grover. Op.Cit. Standard Novels and Romances, taken from the 'Edin. Rev.' vol.24, Feb.1815. pp.27-29.

ficiently understood. The story is the least part of them." Hazlitt thought it a great mistake to consider Don Quixote as merely a satirical work or an attempt to explode the order of chivalry. "There was no need to explode what no longer existed.....However, the spirit which the book breathes is unquestionably the spirit of chivalry, and if ever the flame of Spanish liberty is destined to break forth, it is owing to Cervantes and his knight of La Mancha." And further,"This instinct of imagination" is what stamps the character of a genius on the productions of art, more than any other circumstance. "There is more of this unconscious power in Cervantes than in any other author except Shakespeare..." In common incidents and descriptions of human life, "we have nearly the same insight given us here, into the characters, as in Fielding himself, but there is a greater mixture of sentiment with naïveté, of the pathetic with the quaint and humorous, than there ever was in Fielding....We will only add that Don Quixote is an entirely original work, in its kind, and that the author has the highest honour which can belong to one, that of being the founder of a new style of writing."

"There is another Spanish novel, Guzmán de Alfarache, nearly of the same age as Don Quixote and of great genius, though it can hardly be ranked as a novel, or a work of imagination. It is a series of strange adventures, drily told, and accompanied by the most severe and sarcastic commentary...The satire, wit, eloquence and reasoning are of the most powerful kind, but they are didactic rather than dramatic, ...They would be suitable for a sermon or pasquinade better than a romance. Still,there are occasional sketches of character and humorous descriptions to which it would be difficult to produce anything superior." In Hazlitt's opinion, there is little to warrant the common idea that Fielding was an imitator of Cervantes. "Sterne's Tristram Shandy[1] is a more direct instance of imitation."

1. Op.Cit. p.32,vol.10,Collected Works,or Vol.24,Edin.Rev. 1815.

While discussing Lazarillo de Tormes,[1] Hazlitt gives his general impression of Spain. "The scene of this novel could be laid nowhere so properly as in Spain, that land of priestcraft and poverty, where hunger seems to be the ruling passion, and starving the order of the day."

On the subject of Wit and Humour, Hazlitt believes that there is nothing more powerfully humorous than what is called keeping in comic character, "as we see it very finely exemplified in Sancho Panza and Don Quixote....I think that both Rabelais and Cervantes, the one in the power of ludicrous description, the other in the invention and perfect keeping of comic character, excelled Shakespeare; that is, they would have been greater men, if they had had equal power with him over the stronger passions."[2]

In 1817, the 'Quarterly Review' published an account of Lord Holland's Lope de Vega,[3] and the contributor made the following remarks: "No name among the Spanish poets is so generally known out of its own country as Lope de Vega but it is only the name; and perhaps no author whose reputation is so widely extended has been so little read. The good fortune, however, of this 'phoenix of Spain' has not wholly forsaken him and he has been as happy now in a biographer as he was during his life in obtaining the patronage of the great and the favor of the public."[4]

John Ebers, writing for the 'Edinburgh Review' in 1829, regrets that, due to fastidiousness and hypocrisy, those of his age have little use for England's rich store of old dramas; he deplores their squeamishness of taste which is unfavorable to the genius of comedy which de-

1. "The Collected Works of Wm.Hazlitt" Op.Cit. vol. 8, 1903. ---Lectures on the English Comic Writers (pub. 1819) etc. Lect. 6, On the English Novelists, p. 111.
2. Op. Cit. vol.8, p. 11 On Wit and Humour. Lect. 2, p.31, On Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Also,--the Miscellaneous Works of Wm.Hazlitt, vol. 4, New York, Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau St.,1857,Lect.1, On Wit and Humour,p.8. (3) 'Qr.Rev.' Oct.1817,Art.1. Some acct. of the lives and writings of Lope de Vega and Guillen de Castro,by H.R.Lord Holland, 2 vols.London,1817.(4)Geo.Ticknor:Op.Cit.vol.2,ch.13,p.120ff.Holland was much connected with Jovellanos, Blanco White,etc.

mands a certain liberty; and regrets that England is, more than any other nation, the victim of fashion, which interferes with and annihilates an entire department of the literature.[1] Hazlitt, in 1815, had also criticized English writers: "It is not to be wondered if, amidst the tumult of events crowded into this period, our literature has partaken of the disorder of the time; if our prose has run mad, and our poetry grown childish."[2]

Ebers continues: "If our own country be entitled to first place we must assign the next to Spain, in dramatic excellence; and we will offer, therefore, more observations on the Spanish drama....In the sixteenth century this reached its greatest excellence....Cervantes, Lope, Calderón, Moreto, Téllez, Rojas, and Solís, are the authors of the most esteemed dramas...The grand and distinguishing characteristic of the Spanish theatre is a wonderful fertility and variety of invention. It is most probable that the inventive turn of this nation was of Eastern origin; for the East was the native country of marvellous inventions.....We are inclined to believe that the Spaniards learned of the Moors their chivalry, their nobleness of sentiment; at least we find many traces of it in the histories of Mahometans; and the people of the north were certainly as incapable of teaching it, or any civility, as a herd of swine. The Spanish theatre is remarkable for a high tone of morality and, as in the Greek drama, there is a wonderful force and warmth of domestic affection....Their poetry has beauty and great quaintness.....Their glorious idiom is most alluring when native charms are least concealed by extrinsic ornaments. Their dramatists have sometimes a good store of quirks and quibbles but fewer than our own Shakespeare. These are the fault of the times....The great fer-

2. William Hazlitt: Collected Works, Vol.10 contributions to the Edin.Rev. 1815. Op. Cit. p. 32. or Edin. Rev. Vol. 24, 1815.
1. "Edinburgh Review": Vol. 49, Art.3, "Seven Years of the King's Theatre" by John Ebers, late Mgr. of the King's theatre, in the Haymarket, ---8 vo, London, 1828, pp. 395. Longman & Co., 1829.

tility of the principal Spanish dramatists, as well as many other peculiarities have been made known so universally by Lord Holland's[1] agreeable and instructive biographical works that it is quite unnecessary to repeat a tale that has been already so well told." "The illustrious name of Cervantes stands at the head of the list of writers; but we have two only of his pieces and they are not highly prized. Numancia is a tragedy.---Calderón is the prince of Spanish poets; his numerous comedies attest his wonderful and various powers....It is not on his comedies that the fame of Calderón, this wonderful genius, principally rests. His most celebrated pieces are of a more solemn nature; we mean his autos or Sacramental Acts.....This confirms our doctrine that the drama is intimately connected with Religion and not opposed to it. The five most celebrated of the Spanish dramatists actually became monks, Lope, Calderón, Moreto, Téllez, and Solís. In modern times the task of supporting the ancient glory of the Spanish stage rests upon Moratín; to this he is quite inadequate, but he is not devoid of merit."

Ebers agrees with an Italian writer that' imaginative characters --------in a drama,will be always in many respects and fundamentally the countrymen of the author.' Thus, in Spanish tragedies, ancient characters and people of different nations, display, notwithstanding something of punctilio and restiveness, a certain sensitiveness and haughtiness which discover the national disposition, and prove that their Achilles is Don Achilles.

"Spanish dramas were licensed by some convent of Dominicans. We do not look upon the government of Spain as very free---but our theatre is more confined." Ebers said this was owing to licensing and censorship, carried out under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain, in England.[2]

1. See Quarterly Review, No. 35, 1818, Robert Southey re Lope, or 1817, vol. 18 p.2, Southey re Holland's 'Lope.'
2. John Ebers--Seven Years with the King's theatre. Op.Cit. pp.342-354.

Another reviewer[1] comments upon Spanish literature, as follows: "Spanish poetry seems naturally to divide itself into two great epochs, the one extending from the infancy of language and versification down to the reign of Charles V; the other commencing with the revolution then introduced by the imitation of the Italian models, and continuing to the present day. In the former, poetry was the business or amusement of the nation at large....A general diffusion of imagination, overflowing in romance and song, knows and needs no foreign models, but animates its minutest productions with a spirit of intense nationality. In the latter, men were disposed to abandon the poetry of impulse for that of art.....to adopt the literature of strangers...to translate rather than to create, and to imitate rather than to furnish models for imitation."

"Spanish literature is,of all others,that which may be least appreciated by extracts and translations. Its excellence consists,not in insulated beauties,but in that noble, national spirit which, like a great connecting principle, pervades and harmonizes the whole."

Coleridge[2], whose poetry represents the culmination of romanticism[3], in its purest form, left numerous but fragmentary remains as a literary critic[4], which makes it necessary to take a great deal for granted. Some of his lectures were given extemporarily, and many of them were improperly reported. Some references to Spanish literature have been found among the fragments.

In a lecture given in February, 1818[5], Coleridge discusses Shakespeare and Cervantes. He considers that the specific difference between the Spanish and English mind is shown in the reflectiveness of Shakespeare and the acuteness of Cervantes. "These two characters, Sancho and Don

1. "Silva de Viejos Romances,"Publicada for Jacobo Grimm, Vienna, 1815. London, Longman & Co., 1824, vol. 39, art. 6. pp. 393-6.
2. S.T.Coleridge: 1772-1834.
3. John Buchan: Op.Cit. (Hist.of Eng.Lit.) p. 422.
4. George Saintsbury:Op.Cit. A Hist.of 19th Cent.Lit. p. 59.
5. 'Westminster Review' London, London 1824, vol. 59. Some passages from a lecture delivered by Coleridge, Feb. 1818.

Quixote possess the world, alternately and interchangeably, the cheater and the cheated. To impersonate them and to combine the permanent with the individual is one of the highest creations of genius and has been achieved by Cervantes and Shakespeare almost alone.....Don Quixote is not a man out of his senses, but a man in whom the imagination and the pure reason are so powerful as to make him disregard the evidence of sense when it opposed their conclusions. Sancho is the common sense of the social man--animal, unenlightened, and unsanctified by the reason. You see how he reveres his master at the very time he is cheating him."

Cervantes was the inventor of novels for the Spaniards and, in his Persiles and Sigismunda, the English may find the germ of their Robinson Crusoe. "I class Rabelais with the creative minds of the world, Shakespeare, Dante, Cervantes, etc."

Coleridge had a deep sense of Shakespeare's unique greatness: "When I think of the inexhaustible mine of virgin treasure in our Shakespeare, that thirty years have been unintermittingly and not fruitlessly employed in the study of Greek, Latin, English, Italian, Spanish, and German belle-lettrists, and the last fifteen years more intensely regarding laws of life and reason, as they exist in man, that at every new accession of wisdom....I have unfailingly discover-[1] ed a proportionate increase of wisdom and intuition in Shakespeare..."

Shakespeare, being independent of the interest of the story as the groundwork of the plot, never took the trouble of inventing stories. Thus, he selected those already invented or recorded. His Othello must not be conceived as a negro, but as a high and chivalrous Moorish chief. He learned the spirit of the character from the Span-[2] ish poetry which was prevalent in England in his time.

1. Ibid. pp. 3-19.
2. The Complete Works of S.T.Coleridge, 7 vols. N.Y.,Harper & Bros. Nos. 329 & 331 Pearl St., Franklin Square, 1853.
   "Table Talk" Vol.6,p.255. Dec.29,1822.
ff. Caballeros Granadinos, Aunque Moros, hijos d' also.--ed.

In his Biographia Literaria, Coleridge did much to introduce German philosophy to English thinkers, though some of his philosophical doctrines were arrived at independently.[1] In a Critique on Bertram he declares that he knows of nothing that will contribute more to a clear insight into the true nature of any literary phenomenon than the comparison of it with some elder production, the likeness of which is striking, yet only apparent, while the difference is real. "In the present case this opportunity is furnished us by the old Spanish play entitled Atheista Fulminato, formerly, and perhaps still, acted in the churches and monasteries of Spain, and which, under various names, Don Juan, The Libertine, etc., has had its day of favor in every country, throughout Europe. A popularity so extensive, and of a work so grotesque and extravagant, claims and merits philosophical attention and investigation." The play is throughout imaginative, the comic parts equally with the tragic; as little amenable to the rules of ordinary probability, as the Satan of Paradise Lost, or the Caliban of the Tempest. Don Juan had rank, fortune, wit, talent, acquired knowledge, and liberal accomplishments, with beauty of person, vigorous health, and constitutional hardihood - all these advantages, supposedly combined in Don Juan, gave him the means of carrying out the doctrine of a godless nature as the sole cause for everything, every thought and every action. "It is not the wickedness of Don Juan which constitutes the character an abstraction and removes it from the rules of probability; but the rapid succession of the correspondent acts and incidents.... his intellectual superiority, and the splendid accumulation of his gifts and desirable qualities, as co-existent with entire wickedness in one and the same character.....This excellence is so happily achieved in

1. 'Biographia Literaria': S.T. Coleridge, Bell and Daldy, London.
Ch. 23. Critique on Bertram.
Biog. Lit. first pub. 1817,London.

the Don Juan, that it is capable of interesting without poetry, nay, even without words, as in our pantomime of that name. We see clearly how the character is formed; and the very extravagance of the incidents, and the superhuman entireness of Don Juan's agency, prevents the wickedness from shocking our minds to any painful degree."[1]

Regarding disturbances in Spain[2]: "If, in Spain, too, disappointment has nipt our too forward expectations, yet all is not destroyed that is checked. The crop was perhaps springing up too rank in the stalk to kern well; and there were doubtless symptoms of the Gallican blight on it. If superstition and despotism have been suffered to let in their wolvish sheep to trample and eat it down even to the surface, yet the roots remain alive, and the second growth may prove all the stronger and healthier for the temporary interruption."

In discussing modern travels[3], Coleridge wishes that the naval and military officers who wrote accounts of their travels would just spare the public their sentiment. "The magazines introduced this cant. Let these gentlemen read and imitate the old captains and admirals, such as Dampier and others."

In 1831, he discusses Napier, Bonaparte and Southey[4]. "I have been exceedingly impressed with the pernicious precedent of Napier's History of the Peninsular War. It is a specimen of the true French Military School, not a thought for the justice of the war, not a consideration of the damnable and damning iniquity of the French invasion. All is looked at as a mere game of exquisite skill and the praise is regularly awarded to the most successful player. How perfectly ridiculous is the prostration of Napier's mind, apparently a powerful one, before the name of Bonaparte; I declare I know no book more likely to

1. Ibid. p. 277ff.
2. S.T.Coleridge: Biog. Lit. Vol. 1, p. 123. Chap.10. From the Biog. Lit. in 2 vols, by S.T.C., Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1907, edited with his aesthetical essays by J.Shawcross.
3. Ibid. Vol. 6, Table Talk. p. 491. Modern Travels.
4. Ibid. Vol. 6. Table Talk. p. 356. June 26, 1831. Napier, Bonaparte, and Southey.

undermine the national sense of right and wrong, in matters of foreign interference, than this work of Napier's."[1]

Coleridge speaks more favorably of Southey's History of the Peninsular War."Southey's history is on the right side and starts from the right point; but he is personally fond of the Spaniards and in bringing forward their nationality in the prominent manner it deserves, he does not in my judgment, state with sufficient clearness the truth, that the nationality of the Spaniards was not founded on any just grounds of good government or wise laws, but was in fact very little more than a rooted antipathy to all strangers as such. In this sense everything is national in Spain. Even their so-called Catholic religion is exclusively national, in a genuine Spaniard's mind; he does not regard the religious professions of the Frenchman or Italian at all in the same light with his own." Coleridge considered that this work of Southey was the finest specimen of historic eulogy he had ever read in English,- that it was more than a campaign to the Duke's fame.[2]

In another discussion, Coleridge declares that the severest naval discipline is always found in the ships of the freest nation and the most lax discipline in the ships of the most oppressed. Hence, the English are sharp disciplinarians, but on board a Spanish ship there is no discipline at all.[3]

It is not certain, even with the aid of his fragments, that Coleridge was the equal of either Lamb or Hazlitt in insight, but in his criticisms he was even a little ahead of the nobler bent and sympathy of his contemporaries. In his view of English literature he could relish the work of the Middle Ages without doing injustice to his contemporaries.[4]

1. Ibid. p. 357.
2. Ibid. p. 357. Also ff. 357 Ed.--by Prof. Shedd.
3. Ibid. p. 366-7. Aug. 14, 1831. From "Table Talk". National Colonial Character and Naval Discipline.
4. George Saintsbury: Op.Cit. p. 59.

Colonel Joseph Moyle Sherer[1] came under the critical eye of Jeffrey. The next year after his Recollections of the Peninsula was published, the 'Edinburgh Review' stated that though Sherer was an officer in the king's services, and not without professional predilections, he was, generally speaking, a speculative, sentimental, saintly sort of person, with a taste for the picturesque, a singularly poetical cast of diction and a mind thoroughly imbued with the principles of philanthropy and habits of affection. "If there is something of fadaise now and then in his sentiments and something of affectation in his style, it is no more than we can forgive, in consideration of his brevity, his amiableness and variety." Finally, his books are interesting and instructive. The merits outweigh the defects.

Michael J. Quin,[2] who was in Spain for some months, during 1822-23, wrote a series of letters, addressed to the 'Morning Herald.' The 'Quarterly Review' praises the author as a man possessing the powers of accurate observation, joined to an uncommon degree of candour. "The chief merit of the work before us arises from its being a true statement of the public transactions, in Spain, at the critical moment, when the progress of her new government was disturbed by the approach of a French army. The value of this information, as an antidote to such travels as were, but lately, published with the object of gaining partisans, in this country, to the most violent of the Spanish political factions, works written from the dictation of the Spanish liberals - is great as it is unquestionable."

After a survey of the history of the human mind in Spain, the author states that the literary Spaniards, whom the influence of the awakening genius of Europe directed into the real path of know-

1. 'Edinburgh Review' Oct. 1824. "Contributions to the Edinburgh Review' by Francis Jeffrey, 4 vols. complete in one,--Boston, Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856.----Col. Sherer, p. 675.
2. 'Quarterly Review: Vol.29, April 1823. "A Visit to Spain", detailing the transactions which occurred during a residence in that country in the latter part of 1822 and the first four months of 1823; with an account of the removal of the court from Madrid to Seville, etc., by M.J.Quin, Barrister at Law, and Fellow of the Royal Soc. of Lit., London, 1823.

ledge, had died away about the end of Philip II's long and withering reign. "Spanish talent blazed forth in Cervantes; and flared from the tinsel of Lope de Vega, betraying in the works of both, the neglect of the classical knowledge,which was becoming general in the nation."

Quin states that the Spaniard is a compound of indolence and fury. "Had books been allowed to circulate in such a country - had the intellectual repast been freely and abundantly spread before the thoughtful Castilian, the penetrating Aragonese, the vehement Andalusian, the Germans themselves would have proved dainty guests by their side."

A thorough want of judgment prevailed among the leading Spanish liberals,"but we would not offend a whole description of men, comprising some for whose talents we feel respect, and some whose mistaken efforts in a cause which bears that most engaging of names - liberty - we sincerely both admire, and regret....There are not two sorts of beings so differing in their ideas and sentiments as those who, in Spain, bear the name of liberals and serviles; no men are worse fitted to produce a moral and political improvement in the mass of the country than the former. Their knowledge is narrow, superficial, exotic. It has been acquired by stealth,in nooks and corners, under the constant apprehension of danger; a poor crop almost choked with the weeds of spite and anger. The liberals themselves hardly know what they are agreed upon.....The Spanish nation is decidedly against them.....The only rational policy, at this moment, is that of dividing the interests of the quiet speculative sceptic from those of the political adventurer. If both classes have rallied under the same colours, the Inquisition has to answer for the alliance. Many an honest and moderate Spaniard is still ready to meet poverty, exile, and death itself among the remnants of the Constitutionalists, not because he has adopted all the views of that party, but for fear of the extremities to which he sees the other inclined. He would submit to live under a government who allow-

ed no other worship but the Catholic; but cannot endure a system which places him under the espionage of the Inquisition. He will not, day by day, and year by year, through life, be under the necessity of concealing his books, his thoughts, his feelings. He will work for his bread in a foreign land rather than purchase ease at the expense of the most abject hypocrisy. Such is the nature of that inflexible and bloody curb which keeps the mind in a narrow path, without allowing it to look to the right or left."

John Gibson Lockhart was the pillar of the 'Quarterly,' of 'Blackwood's', of'Fraser's; at a time when quarterly and monthly magazines played a greater part in literature than they have played since or are likely to play again.[1] His fierceness as a critic earned him the nickname of 'The Scorpion.' He was editor of the 'Quarterly Review' from 1825 to 1853.[2] "No one can charge Lockhart with dilettantism: no one certainly can charge him with feebleness of intellect, or insufficient equipment of culture, or lack of humour and wit."[3]

Lockhart's verse is in the same scattered condition as his prose; but it is evident that he had very considerable poetical faculty. His translation of Schlegel's Lectures on History and his adaptations of Ancient Spanish Ballads, 1823, inspired English poets and essayists, and influenced their writings concerning Spain.[4]

The Edinburgh Review quotes Lockhart as stating that not only in the multiplicity of her ballads but in their antiquity does Spain surpass all other nations. "The Poema del Cid is considered by Schlegel, Southey, Duran, and all the best judges to be the oldest, as well as the finest poem in the language. It gave birth, according to Bouter-

1. George Saintsbury: Essays in Eng. Lit. Lockhart.
2. Oxford Companion to Eng. Lit.: Op.Cit. J.G.Lockhart.
3. George Saintsbury: Op.Cit. Lockhart.
4. 'Edinburgh Review': Lockhart's Ancient Spanish Ballads, vol.72,art.4, Longman & Co., London, 1841. Trans. by Lock A new edition, revised with numerous illustrations from the original drawings, 4 to, London, 1841.

wek, to the modern songs of Spanish chivalry and fixed, says Schlegel, the true old Castilian character."

"The early ballads of Spain, like those who made and sang them, were engrossed by a domestic warfare pro aris et focis. The actors paid no attention to foreigners or their concerns (to which, to this day, the Spaniards are contemptuously indifferent). Ultra-national and independent, they cared for no Arthurs."

The Spaniard borrowed from the Moor his warfare and mimic sports of war, but his art, letters, and agriculture he despised, as enervating to the soldier and heretical to the Christian. The retrospective habit, fostered in England by classical education, was kept alive in Spain by the never forgotten fall of Roderick, the last of the Goths. "They sung of men they knew and of their own armies. Hence their versatility in transferring themselves to the feelings of the actors. They, like Scott[1], whose romances are poems, owed their popularity to writing with that military artlessness, that hurried frankness, which pleases soldiers and young people of bold action and disposition." Written by gentlemen, their songs possess a high tone,- religious and chivalrous, a devotion to sex, a noble simplicity, a contempt for death, magnificent liberality and hospitality, adventure and action; but they had a hatred and undervalued foreigners.

Poesy shared in the decline of the nation. This discredit into which the old system had fallen produced Don Quixote, but no man had a more truly, chivalrous spirit than Cervantes. "The germ of a Don Quixote budded first among the practical English, who soon, with their genius for caricature, depicted the absurdity and weak side, in their Sir Topaz and others. More of Morehall was the Knight of La Mancha."

"Las Guerras de Granada, Schlegel says, contains some of the

1. Oxf. Comp. to Eng. Lit.: Lockhart married Sir Walter Scott's daughter, Sophia. Lockhart was an early admirer of Wordsworth and Coleridge, though he condemned Keats and Shelley.

finest ballads in the Spanish or in any other language....The prototype of the Waverley Novels, a mixture of history and fiction..... Not one tithe of the so-called Moorish ballads were probably ever composed by Moors."

Regarding Lockhart's Ballads, the reviewer states:"Their manly tone of liberty and independence, their reflective, somewhat saddened turn, their sincere, religious character, their sterling loyalty, patriotism and love of country, never will find a truer echo, than in honest English hearts...Just as Cervantes, the Shakespeare of Spain, influenced by a kindred feeling, interwove into his immortal Don Quixote a rich tissue of the native songs of his land."

The 'Quarterly Review' published Lockhart's criticism of Borrow and Cervantes, in 1842. Lockhart found that Borrow's Gipsies of Spain had merits, balanced by equal demerits, but his Bible in Spain proved the author's ability. "Considering the book merely as one of adventure, it seems to us about the most extraordinary one that has appeared, in our own time, or indeed in any other language, for a very long time past."

"In regard to the literary character and merits of Cervantes, the first thing that must strike every one acquainted with Spanish literature, is that of the genius, whose appearance forms an epoch so very remarkable in the general history of European intellect, can scarcely be said to have formed any epoch in the literature of his own country. In Spain, the age in which Don Quixote was written is not the age of Cervantes, but the age of Lope de Vega. Out of Spain, the writings of Lope de Vega have scarcely been known, and have certainly never been popular; while the masterpiece of Cervantes, under the disadvantages of translation, has taken, and preserved, in every country of Europe, a place hardly inferior to the most admired productions of native talent. As a master of Spanish style, he is now, both in and out of Spain,

acknowledged to be first, without a second....Mr. Spence, the author of a late ingenious tour in Spain, seems to believe, what I should have supposed was entirely exploded, that Cervantes wrote his books for the purpose of ridiculing knight-errantry; and that, unfortunately for his country, his satire put out of fashion, not merely the absurd misdirection of the spirit of heroism, but that sacred spirit itself. But the practice of knight-errantry, if ever there was such a thing, had, it is well known, been out of date long before the age in which Don Quixote appeared; and as for the spirit of heroism, I think few will sympathize with the critic who deems it possible that an individual, to say nothing of a nation, should have imbibed any contempt, either for that or any other elevating principle of our nature; from the many pages of Cervantes..... one who, above all, gave form and expression to the noblest feelings of the national character of Spain.....Never was the fleeting essence of wit so richly embalmed for eternity."[1]

Lockhart was a born critic: he had both the faculty and the will to work up the papers of his contributors to the proper level; he was firm and decided in his literary and political views, without going to the extreme Giffordian acerbity in both; and his intelligence and erudition were very wide. He is said to have contributed fully a hundred articles to the 'Quarterly' though he,by no means,confined himself to this work.[2]

Simonde de Sismondi, as a literary historian, made considerable contributions to the development of Romanticism, by making available to the various countries of Europe, the Literature of the South of Europe. His native tongue was French but his historical work was soon translated into various languages. The English translation appeared

1. Lockhart's Literary Criticism, with Introduction and Bibliography by M.Clive Hildyard, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1931. p. 26 Quarterly Review, No. 141, Dec. 1842, Lockhart re Borrow. p. 43, Lockhart re Cervantes.
2. G. Saintsbury: Op.Cit. Lockhart. (Essays in Eng. Lit.)

translated into various languages. The English translation appeared in 1823. Lockhart, in the introduction to his translation of Ancient Spanish Ballads, refers to Sismondi as "an elegant historian of our day."

Sismondi found that Spanish books were rare in France and difficult to procure; that there were scarcely any writers in that language whose works had been translated, and whose fame had become general throughout Europe. "The Germans alone have studied the literary history of Spain with zeal and attention. The number of Spanish writers is very considerable, and their fecundity is most appalling. For example, there are more dramas in the Spanish, than in all the other languages of Europe put together; and it cannot be allowed us to judge of these compositions by specimens chosen by chance from the bulk. The very peculiar national taste of the Spaniards likewise augments the difficulty we feel in becoming acquainted with them. The literature of Spain is decidedly oriental. Its spirit, its pomp, its object, all belong to another sphere of ideals - to another world..... On the other hand, the literature of Spain will amply repay the labour which an examination of it requires."

He praises the loftiness of the Spanish character. Though the literature of Spain manifests itself in sudden and fitful flights, these glimpses induce a desire to see more of it.

"To Don Quixote, Cervantes owes his immortality. No work of any language ever exhibited a more exquisite or more sprightly satire, or a happier vein of invention worked with more striking success. The most striking feature in the composition of Don Quixote is the perpetual contrast between what may be called the poetical and the prosaic spirit.....We derive a more accurate knowledge of this singular nation[1]

1. J.C.L.Simonde de Sismondi: Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe, trans. by Thomas Roscoe, London, George Bell & Sons, 1889. p.214ff.

1. Sismondi: 1773-1842. He spent some time in England after the Revolution at Lyons, 1792.

from the pages of Don Quixote, than from the narratives and observations of the most inquisitive traveller!

In the time of Cervantes, the Spanish drama was still in a state of uncultivated barbarism, even after the middle of the sixteenth century....The Spanish wrote to please the people and recognized no rule but that of conforming themselves to the spirit of the nation and to the taste of the populace....Their dramas, therefore, exhibited more vigour and more nature, and were more in harmony with the spirit of the people for whom they were composed. By their absolute neglect, however, of the ancients, these writers deprived themselves of all the advantages of experience....The conclusion of the sixteenth century and the commencement of the seventeenth, was a very learned period....The dramatic writers, while they recognized the authority of these rules, neglected to act upon them, for they were compelled to follow the taste of the public." [1]

"The Spanish poets are essentially national. The greater part of their pieces are drawn from their own times, and from the history of Spain. .....Lope de Vega's plays are no less removed from the perfection of the romantic writers than from the authors of antiquity. Nothing else could be expected from the unexampled velocity with which he wrote.....Lope de Vega appears to have studied the history of Spain, and to have been filled with a noble enthusiasm for the glory of his country, which he incessantly endeavours to support. His dramas cannot be strictly called historical, like those of Shakespeare...but he has connected a romantic intrigue with the most glorious occurrences in the records of Spain.....It is not merely on his own account that our farther attention is directed to Lope. He merits our attention still more, as having exhibited and displayed the spirit of his own age, and as having powerfully influenced the taste of succeeding centuries. [2]

1. Ibid. p. 232.
2. Ibid. p. 283.

...He obtained over the foreign stage a considerable influence. It is felt in the plays of Shakespeare and of his immediate successors; and it is to be traced in the drama of all Europe."

"Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderón, bear the impress of their age; but their individual genius greatly predominates, though the ancient traits of the national character were not entirely obliterated."[1]

"Our attention is now called to a Spanish poet whom his fellow-countrymen have designated as the prince of dramatists, who is known to foreigners as the most celebrated in this class of literature, and whom some critics of Germany have placed above all dramatic writers of modern days.....Calderón is, in fact, the true poet of the Inquisition.....The large edition of the plays of Calderón, published at Madrid in 1763, in eleven volumes, contains one hundred and nine pieces, of which I have perused only thirty. I know not how far I may have succeeded in transferring to his mind the sentiments which they have excited in my own mind; admiration for the dignity of the characters, and their noble elevation of mind; indignation at the singular abuse of religion, which in this poet is almost at variance with the interests of morality; a perception of the delightful flow of his poetry, which captivated the senses, like music or perfumes; an impatience at the abuse of talent, and of images which offend from their exuberance; and astonishment at a fertility of invention, unequalled by any poet of any nation.....His Autos Sacramentales, of which I have seen six volumes.....and partially inspected seventy-two pieces.....the most incongruous assemblage of real and allegorical beings, of thoughts and sentiments totally irreconcileable, all that the Spaniards themselves have, by a word sufficiently expressive, denominated 'disparates' are found united in these pieces."[3]

1. Ibid. p. 341.
2. Ibid. p. 367.
3. Ibid. p. 414.

Thus, Sismondi is in opposition to Schlegel in appraising Calderón. In his conclusion, Sismondi asserts that it is only by an accurate knowledge of the times, and the truth of all its history that we can expect to give a new interest to the age of chivalry. "But the Spaniards of modern days were in no wise superior to the personages who were the subject of their poetry. They were, on the contrary, inferior to them; and they found themselves unqualified to render justice to a theme of which they were not masters....We shall close the history which we proposed to give of the literature of Spain; and it is with regret that we perceive the brilliant illusions which illustrious names and chivalric manners at first excited in us, successively vanishing from our eyes."[1]

Mérimée, in writing of Calderón, mentions that the auto, so typical of Spain, appeared grotesque to the Protestant Ticknor, and a mass of absurdities to the Swiss Sismondi.[2]

Calderón found another champion in Dr. Hermann Ulrici.[3] "In the next place I wished to revive the memory of Calderón, who since Schlegel and Solger has been unduly neglected." In his study of Spanish literature, Ulrici stresses its national character, and points out that it was only in the romances of chivalry that the Spaniard's inborn sympathy with the romantic life and fantastic adventures of Knight-errantry found suitable expression. Nevertheless, he continues, as the age became unconsciously more dramatic, these romances, the more modern at least, evinced less of poetic truth and vigor; grew more or less unreal, hollow and artificial, and met consequently their death-blow in the Don Quixote of Cervantes. Ulrici thought that Lope de Vega was rightly named the founder of the Spanish national theatre, and his immediate successor was Calderón, who perfected it, and was,

1. Ibid. p. 442.
2. Ernest Merimee: Op.Cit. p. 381.
3. Dr. Hermann Ulrici: Shakespeare's Dramatic Art and his relation to Calderon and Goethe.---Trans. from the German of Dr. H.Ulrici, London, Chapman,Brothers, 1846.

in short, "the Spanish Shakespeare."....."It does not admit of a question that Calderón, Lope de Vega, and others, are pre-eminently popular poets in the narrow sense of the term; i. e., they are poets chiefly for their own nation and their own age. It is only in Spain that they can look for a full and fair appreciation." In considering the relation of Shakespeare to these Spanish writers, Ulrici is fully aware that Shakespeare wrote for all time and for all ages.

In the same year that Ulrici's work was translated into English , G. H. Lewes published "The Spanish Drama: Lope de Vega and Calderón." Lewes draws the attention of his readers to the proverbial richness of the Spanish drama and its diffusion, in forms now difficult to recognize, throughout Europe. "It is not enough to say that our own writers pillaged them without scruple. To express the obligation truly we must say that the European Drama is saturated with Spanish influence. Take from the French, and from Beaumont and Fletcher, and their contemporaries, from Dryden, Congreve, Wycherley, Shadwell, from Goldoni,... and others, all that they have borrowed from Spain, and you beggar them in respect of situation and incident.....Whole scenes of Beaumont and Fletcher, and of some of their contemporaries, hitherto admired as original, will be found in Lope de Vega, Calderón, Cervantes, Moreto, Tirso de Molina, etc.....Considering the immense influence exercised over the European stage by the Spanish dramatists, it is a matter of some surprise that no selection and translation of 'chefs-d'oeuvre,' no accurate and satisfactory account of these dramatists exists in our language. Many English writers have exhibited a satisfactory knowledge, and great admiration; and yet the Spanish drama remains a mystery to all not acquainted with its language."

He disagrees with A.W.Schlegel who pronounced the Spanish Drama to be the same in kind as the English, because both belonged to the Romantic Drama. The resemblance is simply that of form. The two dramas are

opposed in spirit, object, and construction. They unite only on the common ground of difference from the antique in disregarding the unities and in largely mingling the comic with the tragic.

"Calderón and Shakespeare are the opposite poles of intellectual action. The tendency of the Spaniard is to transform all thoughts into sensations; that of the Englishman to transform all sensations into thought." This resembles Coleridge's statement regarding Shakespeare's reflectiveness/and Cervantes' acuteness.

In characterization, there is a great difference. "Nowhere throughout the Spanish drama is there to be found a character: everywhere personifications.....His persons influence the story by what they do, but never by what they feel....In the high sense of the word, the Spanish poets are not dramatists, they are only ventriloquists.....The dramatic evolution of character and passion is always the aim of, at least, an English poet, but the Spaniard rarely attempts more than the evolution of plot."

The Spaniard's morality is objective. "Calderón's heroes display a true Spanish morality. They lie and cheat with the assurance of an Autolycus, and never seem to have any suspicion of their purity. I insist somewhat on this point, because Schlegel in his mendacious eulogies has not forgotten to include the "high integrity of the Spaniards." He compares the sensitiveness of their honour to the fabled ermine, which on being pursued by the hunters yields itself up to destruction rather than stain its lovely skin. The comparison is beautiful and apt; but in a different sense from the one intended. Precisely when pursued by the hunters - that is, when dragged before the public gaze -will this ermine rather die than stain its skin. When unobserved, it has no scruple about the dirt it crawls through." [1]

1. G.H.Lewes: The Spanish Drama: Lope de Vega and Calderon, Ch.4. London, Charles Knight & Co., 1846.

But Lewes believes that, though the morality of the Spaniards was objective, it was rigid. "The sixteenth century was eminently fitted for the drama, and Spain a nation worthy to give it birth. In that age of excitement and adventure, whenever the energies of men were not called forth by wars, discoveries, popular tumults, or personal ambitions, they were naturally devoted to love and intrigue. The soldiers of that age had little or no inclination towards the arts of peace; and when not in actual service, time hung idly on their hands. They read ballads of war, loyalty, and love; and these gave the spur to their imaginations, and dignified their desires with all the lustre of romance. What had the soldier to do in peace? .....vanity, idleness, restlessness, ...This is the life we see reflected in the Spanish comedies, and more particularly in those of Lope de Vega. In Calderón, the collision of strong passiona and strong restraints leads oftener to crime; because his mind was more tragical and gloomy than that of the gay, careless, gentlemanly Lope. In both we see the same state of a society eminently corrupt, idle, and adventurous."[1]

1. G.H.Lewes: Op.Cit. Ch.4.

Chap. 8.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY.

The Romantic Revolt gathered force during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and, before the turn of the nineteenth century, had swept over the entire continent of Europe. It had its rise in the Teutonic countries but received contributions from almost every land, and took on local colour from the character, the traditions, and the literature of those people whose influences were brought to bear upon it. As the Romantic Revolt became consolidated into the Romantic Period, certain general characteristics became evident, characteristics which differentiated it from the preceding, or Classical Period. Whereas the Classicists were interested primarily in style, form, and elegance of expression, the Romanticists were primarily interested in the thought or the sentiment. Humanitarianism, love of nature, interest in the ancient, national literatures engrossed their attention and they showed individualism in both style and subject matter. Although Romantic literature was frequently nationalistic, it drew upon the literature of all countries. This feature was largely an outgrowth from the vehicle of expression used, national legends and traditions, folklore and ballads; and, when national sources failed, or were being overworked, the earlier romances of other countries were drawn upon.

The Romantic Revolt was but the literary expression of that extensive social movement which, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so transformed life in all Western countries, and culminated, about the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, in the democratic form of government, and the capitalistic form of economy. While these social changes were accompanied by the rise of nationalism, they also witnessed the growth of greater economic interdependence, throughout the world. Perhaps these two developments, in certain aspects, had a profound effect upon the liter-

ary movement, stamping it with nationalistic characteristics while, at the same time, making it more international. Certain it is, however, that the great social reforms played no small part in the growth of romantic humanitarianism.

Since Great Britain was foremost in the social transformation, she was also among the first to feel the breath of this new spirit in literature; and, since international trade and international relations were so vital to her economic and political life, it is not surprising to learn that English men of letters felt no hesitation in going far afield in search of source materials. In this search for new source materials, England and Spain were brought into closer contact.

Following the sixteenth century, as Spain declined and England (later, Great Britain) grew in power and wealth, contacts between the two countries became less frequent. The Spaniards remembered England as the England of Queen Elizabeth, and the English remembered Spain as the Spain of Phillip II. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Spanish novels of the romantic, pastoral, and picaresque varieties had an appreciable influence in England, chiefly upon the drama; and, from the beginning of the eighteenth century onward, English novelists were considerably influenced by Spanish writers. Cervantes' brilliant satire, Don Quixote, overshadowed all other Spanish works for its influence upon the English. Ticknor writes: "No foreign country has done so much for Cervantes and Don Quixote as England, both by original editions published there and by translations."[1]

The Spanish drama never had much influence upon the English drama. In both countries the drama was distinctly national, and the temperament of the two peoples was sufficiently different to make much interchange impossible. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Spanish

[1] George Ticknor: Op.Cit. Appendix E, p. 420.

theatre was at its lowest ebb, whereas Shakespeare was revered, not only in England but in France and Germany. Therefore, Lope and Calderon were given no opportunity to furnish models direct to England, or indirectly through other continental countries. Furthermore, the Spanish drama had not escaped from the spirit of Medievalism and it embodied a type of asceticism and mysticism not acceptable to the English.

A number of Spanish words were adopted into/the English language, for example, such nautical terms as flotilla, stevedore, and cargo. Others such as canoe, hammock, and alligator, came by way of the New World, and certain Indian words, such as potato, were given Spanish forms before they were introduced into English.[1]

With the arrival of the Romantic Period, it was discovered that Spanish literature held vast store-houses of treasure. Spain's varied history, her long struggle with the Moors, and her great exploits in both the Old and New Worlds had afforded ample material for a wealth of romances, and it was the romance that the writer of this period wanted most of all. As early as 1765, Bishop Percy had published translations of two Spanish ballads in his Reliques. From then on, although there was no loud clamour for Spanish ballads, in the original or in translation, nevertheless there was an increasing interest in Spanish literature, and in the Spanish language.

This new contact with Spanish literature, on the part of England, did not increase the Englishman's understanding of the Spain of his own day, for the Romances, in whatever form, had their setting in the days of chivalry. English interest in Spain was heightened by the Napoleonic Wars, especially after Spain and England became allies against France. In the writings of the time it is evid-

1. Logan Pearsall Smith: "Words and Idioms. Studies in the English Language." London, Constable & Co.,Ltd., 1925. Ch.3. 'Four Romantic Words.'

1. Logan Pearsall Smith: "The English Language" Home Univ. Lib. Williams & Norgate, London. p.199.

ent, however, that the English little understood contemporary Spain. To the English Spain was still the land of romances of chivalry, and of beautiful women. It is evident, too, that the political institutions of Spain were not understood, even in official circles, according to John Hookham Frere.

The experiences of the military in Spain, the religious prejudices which were only natural, and the retarded development of the country, all tended to lower the Spaniards in the estimation of the English. But, if the Napoleonic Wars had the initial effect of warping English opinion of Spain, it had the secondary effect of stimulating more interest in the country, of inducing more English travellers to visit the country, and more historians to write of it. Such historians as Southey and Napier; such travellers as Bowring, Graham and Irving achieved much in revealing Spain as she really was. The picture which Ford and Borrow presented, toward the end of the period, was quite accurate.

The Spanish emigrados, who went to England, also had a far-reaching influence in creating a more sympathetic understanding of Spain and its people. It was difficult for the English to see beneath the surface; but, when the Emigrados discovered that their native land and fellow-countrymen were being misunderstood, they were in a position to interpret to the foreigners those points of misunderstanding. In England, Blanco White accomplished a great deal in this respect. Many of these people had an opportunity to render a similar service to their English hosts when, after 1833, the political exiles were permitted to return to Spain.

Among those English who had travelled was to be found an increasing number of poets and other writers; and personal acquaintance, together with the other influences at work, aided them to obtain and to maintain their proper perspective when treating of Spain.

Romanticism, with the free rein that it gave to criticism, and its encouragement of an exchange of national literatures, gave ample scope to the literary historian. If one people were borrowing from the literature of another, it is only natural that they would desire some means of learning of the other literature, with respect to both range and quality; therefore, the literary historian had a wide field. There was a demand for more history that treated literature both comparatively and critically, and translations became common so that the range of readers was greatly widened. From such sources, the English derived much valuable information regarding Spanish literature. These influences and changes were all reflected in English literature. At the outset, the English poets used the Spanish Romances merely as raw materials. When Spain and Great Britain were fighting, side by side, against Napoleon, English writers had a dynamic interest in the Peninsula and Spain was depicted in chivalric terms and colour. Later, there developed a disparaging note; and, finally, this note of disparagement gave place to a more sympathetic understanding.

The literary influences and the growing understanding were not entirely one-sided. Spain, too, began to draw upon English sources for her literary inspiration, and to see the English in a truer light. This influence was largely the outcome of the Emigrados. When, after 1833, these people were permitted to return to Spain, they carried home with them many of the English traditions, much of the English culture, and a great deal of the English Romanticism. Spanish Romanticism, which had already begun, burst into full bloom about this time. The style of English poets and English novelists was imitated, Byron and Scott being the two from whose respective fields most was borrowed, as has been shown by Churchman, Peers, and Zellars in their research and its records.

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