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**Moratin in England 1792-1793 : a study of don Leandro
Fernández de Moratín, based on his personal diary, the
"Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra" and his works on the
English theatre.**

**Thesis presented for the degree of M.A.
in the University of Durham.**

by

Peter G. Jennings, B.A. (Dunelm.)

March 1968.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Pablo Cabañas, who first aroused my interest in Moratín in the course of his lectures, and who as my supervisor provided me with welcome guidance, and advice. I would also like to thank Professor J. L. Brooks for acting as my supervisor at the beginning when Dr. Cabañas was on sabbatical leave; Dr. I. A. Macpherson and Sr. J. B. Ruiz, both of the Department of Spanish at Durham; Professor J.E.Varey, of Westfield College, London, and Mr. G.N.G. Smith, of Bede College, Durham, for allowing me access to their private book collections; Rev. P. Hallam, Mr. T. Cox and Mr. R.I.Hodgson, all of Bede College, for their advice on religious, dramatic and geographical aspects of the eighteenth century; last but by no means least, I would like to express my thanks to all who have given me support and encouragement, especially my parents.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations are most commonly used in
the course of this thesis :

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|
| O.P. | - | Obras Póstumas de Moratin. |
| <u>Apuntaciones</u> | - | <u>Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra (O.P.vol. 1)</u> |
| B.A.E. | - | Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles. |
| B.H.S. | - | Bulletin of Hispānic Studies. |
| M.L.Q. | - | Modern Language Quarterly. |
| P.M.L.A. | - | Proceedings of the Modern Language Association. |
| P.S.A. | - | Papeles de Son Armadans. |
| R.F.E. | - | Revista de Filología Espanol. |
| R.I.E. | - | Revista de Ideas Estéticas. |
| Rev. B.A.M. | - | Revista de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos. |

Where there is more than one reference to a certain book, the first reference will give title, author and page, but subsequent references will give only the author and page unless that author has more than one book mentioned, in which case the relevant title will be given.

PREFACE

"Su caracter de usted me confunde." (1)

These words are spoken by don Antonio, the owner of the cafe which is frequented by the luckless theatrical group of Moratín's play "La Comedia Nueva". The reason for this observation is that don Pedro, another customer at the cafe, having on all previous occasions condemned the players for their terrible play, for their lack of training, study and for the miserable failure the play which brings them financial ruin suddenly proposes to help them by giving each one a job on his estate. They cannot understand this, it is an action which seems to be totally irrational in the circumstances, and even don Antonio finds the situation difficult to comprehend. We too may ponder on the whys and wherefores of don Pedro's wisdom and kindness, and in doing so it may occur to us that the action comes, not as a result of a rational or logical line of thought, but from a feeling of pity, of humanitarianism, a desire to help; (2) it is a consequence of emotion, of the heart. We may object, however, that Moratín is regarded as the king of the intellect, the champion of the rational neoclassics, that he had no place in his thought for extravagance and emotion. Unfortunately things were not quite so black and white as this, as will be seen, even at the time of his writing "La Comedia Nueva". In this action of don Pedro, who is seen by certain commentators as a projection of Moratín himself, we get a hint that there is something more than the rational exterior which he has shown hitherto in the play - there is a graying of the black.

It was shortly after completing this play that Moratín

decided to leave Spain and to embark on a trip around the continent with the object of improving his education. He went first to France, but the course of the Revolution there forced him to move quickly, and perhaps unexpectedly, to England. Here he spent a year making and visiting friends and acquaintances, seeing the various sights and availing himself of the cultural activities of London, as well as writing a series of notes (The "Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra") on English life and customs. Moratín also formulated his plan for the reform of the Spanish theatres during the first four months, and wrote a translation of Shakespeare's tragedy "Hamlet".

The quotation which stands at the head of this chapter may be regarded as a starting point in our study of Moratín in England: Reading Moratín's plays one finds a great change in attitude between the Moratín of "La Vieja y La Niña" (1790) and the Moratín of "El Sí de las Niñas" (1806) - a move which appears to be away from the totally rational towards the emotional, and it seems to be from about the period of "La Comedia Nueva" that emotion begins to play a more patent rôle in Moratín's drama. In this study of Moratín in England we shall hope to show a phase of this development, and we shall see, too, how he is affected by the pace of the "modern" industrial society of England, and the difficulties which beset him. We shall indicate too, where Moratín stood in his attitudes - how much his outlook was affected by the vortex of European ideas. Finally we shall examine the theatre and see that although Moratín remains a true neoclassic for much of the time, there were times when a romantic breeze blew across his pages as he wrote, and at such times he wrote from the heart rather than from the head.

After indicating in the first two chapters certain aspects of European and English thought which were prevalent in the eighteenth century, in the third chapter we shall, with the aid of Moratín's personal diary, construct a framework of the way in which he spent his time in England. The next two chapters will deal with the "Apuntaciones", firstly with their form, secondly with their contents and how a picture of Moratín can be constructed from what he writes. Chapter Six brings us to a discussion of Moratín's plan for the reform of the theatres in Spain and his motives in this respect, while the next chapter looks at the state of the English theatre through Moratín's eyes, and then focusses more closely on the way in which he tackles the translation of "Hamlet", in an attempt to measure by how much he deviates from his precepts when dealing with an author who is at the other pole to him in dramatic writing. The final chapter draws on all the previous chapters to make some assessment of Moratín's attitudes and precepts at this period in the final decade of the eighteenth century.

Whether or not (at the end of this study), we shall be able to say, as does de Torre, that Moratín was "a caballo entre neoclásicos y románticos", (3) it is certain that there are chinks in the neoclassic armour, inconsistencies which might cause us to say to Moratín, "Su carácter de usted me confunde."

Let us then look at eighteenth century Europe, and observe the efforts of those philosophers of the light who believed that:

"ce qu'avait produit l'ignorance grossière
Disparaît au grand jour d'un siècle de lumière." (4)

NOTES TO THE PREFACE.

1. "La Comedia Nueva" B.A.E. volume 2, Act II, Scene 8, P.372.
2. A similar action may be observed in the story of the labourers in the vineyard; St. Matthew, Ch. XX, vv. 1 - 16.
3. "Hacia una nueva imagen de Moratín", G. de Torre (P.S.A.XVI, No. XLVIII, March 1960).
4. "Sur le sort de la poésie - Chabanon; quoted in Hazard "European Thought in the Eighteenth century", p.55.

CHAPTER ONE - EUROPE, SPAIN AND MORATIN.

There are two quotations which might well be borne in mind at the beginning of this introduction to the eighteenth century. The first, referring to the "vast mud flats of the eighteenth century", says, "It is better not to think of them as part of the artistic scene, but as the breeding ground of dramatic forms and ideas engaged in the struggle for existence"(1). The second, speaking in general terms about the century, says that it brought "a sense of relief and escape, a relief from the strain of living in a mysterious universe, an escape from the ignorance and barbarism of the Gothic centuries... The vast gulf of the monkish and deluded past had been crossed"(2). Nature was now a significant concept - the laws of Nature were the laws of Reason: the same "semper et ubique".

As a result of these changes poets, critics and many others took Nature as their standard, so much so that Pope described it as "at once the source the end and the test of Art"(3). Men were from now on mainly concerned with stripping Truth bare of mythology and of all the accretions which it had gathered through the centuries. By this stripping off of the dead weight of ancient authority, and by clearing away the neoclassic lumber, the geometric spirit prepared the way for a return to a new nature, and for a poetry which, it was said, was concerned less with talent than it was with the spirit of the material, and less with the ornaments than with the central core. It was this search for the absolute which characterised the century, and Reason was to be the

tool, the measuring rod, which could re-examine ad infinitum by means of a new process - Experiment - the difference between a hypothetical conclusion and a definite result - it was a guarantee against error. The eighteenth century was conscious of the fact that it was an adult, and that it had an adult sense of responsibility. Any exuberance which was uncritical was left behind, for the Age of Reason was aware that life was not as simple as it appeared, that there might be two points of view, and that every sphere of life had its problems. Experiment was needed to find a workable solution. Reason, it was believed, was self-sufficient, it led to Truth and did not smack of tradition. For the philosophers of the eighteenth century, Reason would fulfil all the broken promises of the past, and would buy happiness of prosperity; it would be the new salvation; it would be for them what grace was for St. Augustine. The superstitious would shrink away from its light, the bandage would be lifted. This was the Aufklärung which, according to Kant, marked the growing up stage in man's development, a determination to put away childish things - man had begun to think for himself (4). Sapere Aude - this was the motto of the age.

In this search for Truth, all the débris of the past was cleared away; religion was dissected and all that was untrustworthy and superstitious was filtered off - nothing but the true essence remained. In the field of Natural Science, as might be expected, Experiment was the watchword; Knowledge was power and matter was man's slave. This movement had a twofold aspect, which, in a way, was paradoxical: on one

hand there was a desire to expand, to transcend the boundaries of the country in order to grasp the whole of creation, and on the other, there was the tendency towards concentration: men shut themselves up in laboratories in order to discover Truth.

It was not, however, only the scientists who travelled around the world seeking facts; for the philosophers, too, the spirit of enquiry was essential, because they saw that the true principles would only be gained by observation of the facts. As things turned out, nearly everyone was bitten by the "travel bug" to a greater or lesser degree. Travel became a necessity, the apprenticeship to life, a serious undertaking, a finishing touch to education as exemplified in the English "Grand Tour": it was no longer regarded as a craze for roving around. Investigations were carried out in every conceivable place and at every opportunity; collections of all kinds in museums and galleries were inspected, measurements were taken of buildings, steps and windows were counted, theatres were visited. Books, catalogues and guides all witnessed the evergrowing fashion for travel to foreign countries, and one result of this vogue was that foreigners became stereotyped figures on the stage, a fact which put an end to the unity which was being created.

To add to the amount of travelling, no-one could stay for long in one place; writers were constantly in search of things to write about, but they were never satisfied, they had never seen enough. In consequence of this trend a new word came into the vocabulary -

"cosmopolite". There were two definitions of the word; first, it meant a person of no fixed abode, secondly, it came to refer to a person who was at home wherever he chanced to be, and it was this second meaning which prevailed. In 1755 Rousseau spoke of "those great cosmopolitan minds that make light the barriers designed to sunder nation from nation, and who, like the Sovereign that created them, embrace all mankind within the scope of their benevolence"(5). From now on the cosmopolitan was held in high esteem. Adventure was now a business, and the adventurer was a recognised social figure - he never stopped anywhere for long, and though he had no money, he seemed to be wealthy; he had an inextinguishable fund of daring and effrontery, he feared neither God nor man, and his life was a see-saw of being feted today and deserted tomorrow.

Connected with this search for Truth was the search for Happiness, "our Being, End and Aim", and the belief that, despite wars, plagues and other afflictions, this was the best of all possible worlds; the gospel of Optimism was a major talking point of the century, William King, Bayle, Shaftesbury, Leibnitz, Pope, Voltaire and Kant all making some new contribution to the existing ideas. Happiness was the thing for today - tomorrow was too late, and it had to be gained by one's own exertions. Practical happiness was what was wanted, and all kinds of methods were used to try to calculate it, to set down what one had to do to get it.

In the field of morals, the Gentleman and the Hero were now both out of the running for consideration as exemplary types, for the moral code was being refashioned in the light of current knowledge and ideas. According to Diderot, "Morality in a good is but another name for nature"(6).

It was both wrong and impossible, said the eighteenth century philosophers, to suppress the passions, for they are a fact of nature; they are like sap is to a plant, they are as necessary to the life of the soul as appetites are to the life of the body - "Just as a pilot dreads a dead calm, and whistles for a breeze to get his vessel underway, even though the breeze may freshen to a gale, so do the passions swell the sails of the spirit". Morals, which control the passions, are the rudder, compass and chart which should enable a man to keep on the course that Nature sets him, the course that will bring him to Felicity"(7).

At the same time there was a desire for Liberty, a value which became a marked feature of the age. Equality was painted in glowing colours, though men came to see that only political equality was possible. D'Alembert showed that Nature established in equality, and that the only proper equality was that men should be equal before the law and that no privileges should be attached to birth. In general, however, the century expressed its belief in man's right to possess property; permanence demanded inequality, they said, and this would always prevail among men. An attitude of "laissez-faire" also became common, and this involved an acceptance of inequality, while cherishing the liberty which was obtainable and day-dreaming about equality. England was regarded as the ideal of States as far as liberty was concerned, and many foreign visitors returned home full of its political merits.

With History, as with the Sciences, nothing but

plain fact was good enough; facts had to be first hand, or as Frederick II said, the ideal thing was to put down only that which you saw, and consequently second hand testimonies were regarded with suspicion. This was laudable enough, but the trouble was that in stressing that History should be of philosophic order, the historians merely substituted their own particular prejudices for those of their predecessors, so that they were no nearer getting to the heart of things, though that was their aim.

Although the eighteenth century was superior to the previous century in ideas and scientific knowledge, in the arts and letters it was inferior. It produced only a pile of imitations which obeyed the rules to a greater or lesser degree, and which kept to the existing forms yet there were slight changes in the classical rules which tended to move away from the previous strictness. There was a call for naturalness, for spontaneity in matter and style, for good honest commonsense; the moral was to count first, the illustrating story second; the heart, the seat of the feelings was regarded as absolute folly, and the intellect, a gem of the purest ray remained supreme. A new style of writing developed in a desire to strip everything which was not essential - the idea was to get straight to the point, leaving out all cumbersome transitions, though in France, where prose was becoming the personification of limpidity, there was a distinct lack of colour because it was a little too limpid.

On the social side of literature, the letter became a very popular medium; it was almost a continuation of speech, and was written with complete naturalness, recounting daily happenings, religion,

politics etc. At the same time there was a proliferation of periodicals designed to attract people who wanted to be able to get a notion of ideas and discuss them without taking the trouble to study them seriously. Gradually, the minor forms of art took the place of the greater ones: the eighteenth century writers having failed with the Epic now tried to make a success ^{of the} madrigal; brief lyrics replaced lengthy poems, grand opera became comic opera, and the canzone was replaced by the canzonetta; in the field of fine arts, plans of great castles gave way to those of small buildings, and little pictures took the place of large frescoes.

The man of letters himself changed from being the hungry hanger-on to a citizen of some importance, who lived by his pen. The change in his reason for writing brought consequent changes in content and form, for now that people wrote to pay their bills, quantity and speed were the result. Authorship was now a profession, a public service, and the writers, seeing that they could mould public opinion, saw themselves as wielding a far greater influence than monarchs had ever done.

From within this new man-made structure, however, there arose inconsistencies. The philosopher set free the anti-philosopher, the Man of Feeling. The heart, the seat of the emotions, had almost been extinguished but it still made itself felt - "Manon Lescaut", "Pamela", "La Nouvelle Heloise", "Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers" all testified to this. It was discovered before too long that Nature was not the same as Reason, but, it was asked, was sentiment so divorced from Reason, for some matter-of-fact writers were already using sentiment in their works, for example, Sheridan and Goldsmith. Another question which raised a host of

answers was "What is Beauty?". Most people found it very difficult to rationalize about beauty, there was always that certain "je ne sais quoi". Despite this difficulty, it was considered very necessary that beauty should pass from the objective to the subjective, and from the absolute to the relative.

One would have thought that all these new activities would have kept the men of the eighteenth century busy, without time to think about getting tired, but this was not so - they were concerned with their "ennui". There were times when civilised men felt a weariness of the burden of civilisation with all its refinements and complications; they craved for a simple life, for the means to escape from life, and with this desire in their minds they dreamed of the person of the Noble Savage, the Man of Nature who was the personification of Virtue, Truth and Happiness. In the writings of many travellers a diptych was offered to the readers - in one panel was a traitor, a scoundrel, a villain, whose mind was poisoned by superstition; in the other was a noble, generous, active, tireless, happy but ill-fated man; the former was the European, the latter, the child of Nature. With this picture in view there was a marked determination to seek the ideal pattern of humanity in the earliest ages, and so we see that the hope of discovering Happiness now lay in going backwards in time.

At first, the centre of all these developments of the age was France, she was the agreed authority of values, the guide, and her language was the accepted organ of reason. Then, after a while, Germany began to emerge with an insistence on plain, natural simple things, but

she was not alone, for England too was making a bid to outshine Paris. Restraint, good taste, balance and observation of the sainted rules were not in the English rulebook, and they were happy to get back to nature and freedom. In time, even France herself became a kind of anglomaniac, for she made herself the intermediary between England and the rest of Europe.

Although it seems somewhat ironic, it is nevertheless true that the nationalistic spirit of countries in the nineteenth century had its origin in the eighteenth. Each country had many of its inhabitants travelling about in others, getting information, seeking new ideas, and on their return, these foreign ideas were carefully selected. The primary objective of each country was to ensure its own individual existence - what it gained from other countries was only a temporary expedient to enable it to become, in due time, more firmly and more definitely itself. So it was, to a certain degree, with Spain, who copied France in the matter of its Academy, Dictionary and classical drama. In the case of the latter, the struggle between this borrowed form and the national drama was prolonged and only the latter had lasting success - the foreign influence had no effect on the masses.

In Spain it was Feijóo who first pointed out the need to look to foreign achievements. In a critical spirit, he called for progress in science, and he denounced superstitious. Perhaps as a result of campaigning, the Government gave support to scientific investigations, lectures etc., and provided the money for observatories and botanical gardens in Madrid. The periodical press of the time mirrored the new popular interest in the sciences in its multiplication, and there was a

corresponding influx of foreign scientific journals. The language problems steadily became a less formidable barrier as the century advanced, for Feijóo had recommended the learning of French after Latin, and in 1785 Sempere y Guarinos was able to say "although at first many scorned it (the French language) ... later, little by little, it came to be liked until it became fashionable and was made part of the education of the nobility"(8).

The nobility, however, did not encompass the whole of Spanish life; there were two main groups of people, one was small yet animated with confidence and ardour in its fight to educate the second group, which consisted of the large mass of people, fixed in its routine and its indifference for the things of the mind. This latter section of the population was the target of the bearers of the light - they planned egalitarian reform, and the destruction of the old feudal system; they were ardently progressive and wanted prosperity for the people - a tall order indeed in the case of Spain, as we shall see.

In 1759, the Marquis d'Aubeterre had this to say about the state of Spain - "il n'y a ni industrie, ni bonne foi, quasi point de police et peu de justice; les peuples sont paresseux et peu laborieux; il n'y a dans l'intérieur ni chemins, ni canote (sic), ni rivières, navigables, peu de voitures. En un mot on peut dire que ce pays en arrière de tous les autres de deux siècles au moins" (9). Workers were only temporarily employed because of the lack of cultivable land, taxes were especially great on the peasants, since the other classes, the clergy and the nobility were exempted, and they were forced to have

recourse to moneylenders ("autre plaie du temps"); nevertheless they faced their exploiters with passive resistance. Inertia was to be seen everywhere, and one writer commented - "les villages semblent des cimetières plus que des residences de vivants, tant est le nombre des victimes" (of poverty and disease) (10). Another observer had this to say - "Il règne les rues et sur les places une paresseuse inaction, une triste silence que l'on ne peut constater sans étonnement et compassion" (11).

The way of life of these people was governed by two things - custom and prejudice, and therein lay the difficulty of the undertaking of the enlightened reformers. The duc des Cars made this comment on the force of custom - "Il était de principe absolu de toujours faire ce que l'on avait fait la veille et absolument comme on l'avait fait" (12), and Cavanilles was on a similar track when he remarked that "La coutume et le préjugé sont des obstacles puissants en agriculture. Ainsi firent mes parents, voilà la loi du laboureur" (13). There was prejudice against the use of new machinery, or rather against any machinery at all, against the use of natural fertilisers, against trees, against vaccination for smallpox, a disease which was very prevalent at that time. This was, in the words of Jean Sarrailh, "la masse espagnole, obstinément routinière... difficilement pénétrable aux lumières du siècle. C'est à elle que se heurteront les réformateurs. C'est elle qu'ils rencontreront sur toutes les routes et dans tous les domaines" (14).

These reformers thought that by following European ideas, by following Reason and by educating the masses in the benefits of culture, they could regenerate Spain and give her back her individual dignity and

liberty. Ignorance, they said, was the source of all evils, so schools were needed to drive away this ignorance, and people such as Meléndez Valdes, Cabarrús and Jovellanos strove to instruct the masses in the ways of Reason, enthusing about the benefits of culture and knowledge. The former was seen as a source of happiness, and the reformers knew that to make the public happy it was necessary to found libraries, schools and Academies to encourage the Arts. Carlos III, for example, knew that "para hacer a los pueblos felices era preciso ilustrarlos" (15), and Meléndez Valdes said - "Si l'homme q'est misérable et faible que parce qu'il est ignorant, en augmentant ses lumières et ses connaissances, on augmentera du même coup son pouvoir et sa félicité et on allégera ses peines"(16). These were not the only virtues of culture - it could be used as an instrument of peace, since war could be explained as a result of ambition and ignorance; and secondly governments would be constrained to rule better. Culture, then, as they saw it, was the only way of making man worthy of the confidence put in him, and of giving him back his sense of grandeur. Culture alone could develop Reason which distinguished man from animals, and changed the ignorant and miserable creature into what he ought to be, the King of creation. The Spanish reformer of the eighteenth century believed this for the reason that culture increased man's intellectual faculties; Jovellanos summarised their thoughts when he said: "Sa raison (celle de l'homme) sans elle (la culture) est une torche éteinte, tandis que, grâce à elle, elle éclaire tous les règnes de la nature, découvre ses profondeurs les plus secrètes, et la met à sa discrétion" (17).

All the same, it was no good merely theorizing about the advantages of culture, there had to be a practical end, and among others Jovellanos urged a study of mathematics, natural history, physics, chemistry, minerology and metallurgy, with the idea that without a sound basic knowledge of these one would never perfect, as was necessary, agriculture, the arts trades, and commerce, all of which led to prosperity. Agriculture, he said, did not need men trained on benches in a class, it needed practical men who could saw, work and plough. In a similar vein, Campomanes was of the opinion that the invention of the sewing needle was far more useful than any brilliant speculation. Up until this time there had been a distinct lack of practicality in Spain, but now in the wake of a repeated "Que vaut la pensée sans l'action?", practice began to triumph over theory, but at the same time, care was taken to ensure that theory was not abandoned altogether - each had to support the other.

The diffusion of this "light" was seen to be the responsibility of the King - "C'est toi, o grand roi, qui dois répandre la lumière, née de leurs recherches (des économistes) et L'utiliser par le bien de tes sujets" (18). Meléndez Valdes, on the other hand, thought that it was the Government which should be obliged to "diriger la moralité et le goût publics"(18a), and that the Academy should do something about encouraging literature. Whatever the method, the motto of the enlightened reformers - all for the people but without the people - demanded that the reform should be undertaken by a small select group. As yet there was no concept of the people as a mere mass, they were to be treated as individuals: "Il importe dans la réforme envisagée,

de tenir le plus grand compte du précieux intérêt individuel" (19).

So far we have sketched briefly the nature of this "light", but where was it to come from? There was little relief from darkness inside Spain itself, so clearly the reformers had to look beyond their own boundaries, to Europe. Their methods of learning were two fold. The first was by reading books, letters, magazines and articles, but this was not easy at a time when the Inquisition held a tight control over the importation of foreign literature, though the control had eased slightly in comparison with earlier times. The second method was to go to Europe for oneself, to travel. Spaniards followed the European vogue, but in their case there was another reason - other Europeans travelled mainly for interest and pleasure; the eighteenth century Spaniard travelled in an attempt to find a solution to his country's moribund state. "Ces deux modes de connaissance", says Sarrailh, "sont pratiqués couramment pendant la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle, plus dégagée que d'autres périodes de l'histoire d'Espagne emportée par le désir de se mettre à l'unisson des pays plus civilisés" (20).

As we have said, while a certain number travelled abroad simply because it was the fashion, many others did so from a desire to improve themselves, and to get new ideas. Clavijo y Fajardo, for instance, had no doubts about the value of travel to the mind:- "Je n'ai jamais douté que les voyages ne soient utiles aux nations. Les hommes sont comme les fleurs et les arbres. Si on ne les transplante pas, les fleurs atteignent rarement toute leur beauté, et les arbres ne donnent pas de fruits savoureux. Les voyages épanouissent forcément nos facultés, ils

écartant de l'âme de nombreux préjugés nuisibles au bien de la société, et lui fournissent des données fondamentales d'observation et de conduite, ignorées si nous ne sortons pas du coin où nous sommes nés, et si nous ne connaissons les étrangers que par les livres. Un homme qui voyage voit et traite forcément des nations dont il peut apprendre beaucoup et dont la culture, l'urbanité et l'industrie l'étonnent maintes fois, si stupide soit-il" (21). Other Spaniards who also believed this took practical steps to benefit. Campomanes, for example, had plans to send young Spaniards abroad to learn new ideas, and an anonymous writer gave some advice on the organisation of these journeys, recommending that the pupil should be accompanied by a tutor, since "un navire sans gouvernail est exposé à périr" (22). Travel, however, was not just a matter of setting out from home one morning; there were things which had to be prepared with great care: a knowledge of the language of the country visited was necessary, there had to be a plan of what was going to be studied, and last but not least, the traveller had to know all about Spain itself, so as not to make a laughing stock of the Spanish people.

As far as the field of study abroad was concerned, a Barcelona journalist suggested that a young man should observe the following - "les coutumes des régions traversées, le caractère du prince qui règne sur elles, les qualités de ses ministres, les lois du pays, la religion, la forme du gouvernement, et l'étendue de l'obéissance des vassaux, les rapports entre l'Etat et les habitants, l'insuffisance de chaque gouvernement ... le commerce de chaque pays et les produits qu'il doit obtenir des pays étrangers, les rentes ordinaires de chaque royaume

et la méthode qu'il emploie pour se procurer de l'argent en cas de nécessité, ses forces de terre et de mer. Il est inutile de dire qu'il doit apprendre les langues, observer les antiquités, les palais et les églises" (23). Clavijo y Fajardo also gave a guide, suggesting a study of the spirit of the laws, the power of the people, the state of arts and sciences, and he added that while the actual aim of the journey depended on the individual, there must always be a method of study - "Il faut une méthode, faut de quoi on acquerrait des notions générales qui, dans la pratique, ne serviraient guère ou pas du tout" (24). Above all, it was maintained, journeys must have useful results, they must increase political and economic knowledge, which would increase the prosperity and happiness of the country. Some were able to finance these expeditions from their own pockets, but the majority had to rely on the grants awarded by the Government. In 1718 there had been a Royal Edict which provided for Spaniards who wished to improve themselves, and this arrangement continued under Felipe V., Fernando VI, Carlos III, and Carlos IV. Many travellers went to France, but worried by fears of the Revolution, the Government decided to send them to other pastures, to Italy, Austria, Prussia, England, for example, to study industry, commerce, customs, printing, cutlery and cloth.

It was in this way that many were able to return to Spain better prepared to collaborate in the great task of extricating their country from the slough of ignorance, by virtue of new methods and ideas brought from other countries. There were still some who scorned the new ideas, but they were in the minority. We may note here, in passing, that

Voltaire had recognised the value of personal experience as against reading from books when he said "Une douzaine d'honnêtes gens qui se font écouter produit plus de bien que cent volumes; peu de gens lisent, mais tout le monde converse et le vrai fait impression" (24a).

It was contact of this kind with the rest of Europe which appears to have brought to the fore four sections of the population which had been problems to varying degrees. Firstly, there was the question of the legitimacy of the nobility. Jovellanos came to be of the opinion that the aristocracy ought to be an example to the population, otherwise it ought to be done away with, and Cadalso in his "Cartas Marruecas" attacked their unjustifiable privileges, while Trigueros complained at those nobles "qui ne servent à rien" - "leurs parents célèbres qui furent si utiles leur donnèrent par héritage le droit de ne pas l'être. Inutiles fardeaux pour leurs concitoyens, ils naquirent seulement pour s'adorer dans leur vanité. Car pour que ne se dégrade pas une excellence si sublime, ils renoncent aux arts; ils renoncent à la science, et éternellement oisifs, laissent aux plébiens le bas et le vil emploi de nous être profitables" (25). Leon de Arroyal pointing out that "virtud" was the true basis of nobility, arranged the nobles into three classes:

- a) Natural - imposed by "virtud".
- b) Civil - by dint of profession
- c) Hereditary; he also claimed that "les nobles abusèrent de cette bonté et prétendirent que l'on devait à la naissance ce qui ^{était} seulement le prix de la vertu" (26). The main bone of contention, besides the fact already mentioned that the nobility was of very little use to the country, was the great contrast in richness between the nobles and the poorest people,

a contrast which shocked the recently acquired sentiments of human justice of the more enlightened, and they did their best to raise the standards of the poor, whose situation was one of the country's gravest problems.

Meléndez Valdes gives us a very vivid picture of the beggars - "Sans patrie, sans résidence fixe, sans aucune considération, ni respect, sans frein d'aucune autorité, changeant de domicile selon leur caprice, et en toute liberté Ils ne sont ni les habitants d'un village, ni les sujets d'un souverain, ils ne professent la religion que de nom, et ne connaissent aucun prêtre qui les en instruisse; on ne les voit jamais dans un temple, entendant la messe, ou se livrant a quelque dévotion. Leur vie miserable et errant les dispense de tout. Adonnés au vin, vivant dans une répugnante saleté, couchant les uns sur les autres dans les greniers et les étables, ils ne connaissent ni l'honnêteté ni la décence et, oublieux de toute pudeur, se livrent sans trêve aux désordres les plus honteux Que peut-on penser de nous en voyant partout ces bandes de vagabonds en haillons qui, par leurs cris, leur pâleur, leurs importunités nous poursuivent sans cesse, frappant constamment à nos portes et ne nous laissant aucune cesse ? Qui ne croira voir sur un même sol deux peuples différents, l'un de citoyens, l'autre d'esclaves dégradés ? Sauf de très rares exceptions, le mendiant est toujours un homme sans économie ni conduite, qui a dissipé dans le vice tout ce qu'il a gagné; qui n'a pas su élever chrétiennement ses enfants afin qu'ils l'aident dans sa vieillesse; qui au cours de sa vie et au temps heureux de son travail, n'a su ni épargner ni s'assurer un ami ou un

quelconque protecteur" (27). How much better it would be if they were members of the working community, yet this was far from being the case, for Cebarrús spoke of the very few who had everything and the great majority who had nothing. One of the immigrants to Spain in the eighteenth century, the economist Ward, suggested that begging was rife because children saw in the monks the combination of begging and veneration, and they were thus inclined towards a lazy life, but all the same he considered that only about a quarter were really beggars, the rest were just sheer lazy. In an attempt to alleviate the situation, lotteries were organised to raise money for beggars, and hospices were set up for those who were unable to work any longer, or who were prevented from working by some illness, and for tramps who refused to return to their original homes. One of the mottoes adopted by the reformers was well put to the test in this enterprise - "Let no-one be idle". Tomás Anzaro was of the opinion that the hospice system ought to be run by the Government, and Meléndez Valdes agreed, while Cabarrús, a disciple of Rousseau, attacked, in the name of nature, the administrative organisation of the official system, "qui substitue froideur et calcul aux élans de la sensibilité" (28). He was a violent critic of the asylums, hospices and hospitals and suggested that the more robust beggars might be fruitfully employed in building roads, canals and other public works. In May 1775, Carlos III issued an order to the effect that all beggars should be shut up in "maisons de réclusion" and put to useful tasks. This move, says Sarrailh, was typical of the efforts of the second half of the eighteenth century to resolve welfare problems

according to the rules inspired by Reason and new economic science rather than by pity or religion.

In the field of crime, however, reason and science did find themselves challenged by a wave of humanitarianism. There was a call for a reform in penal legislation which would substitute for capital punishment, already abandoned in certain enlightened countries, other equally exemplary punishments which would allow the guilty to correct themselves and to serve the public interest by their work. This European movement of human justice translated itself to Spain in the works of Jovellanos and Meléndez Valdes; the latter called for a deeper understanding of the human mind - "nous devrions être des anges pour comprendre et juger, pour pouvoir pénétrer les abîmes du cœur humain, le mystérieux labyrinthe de ses passions et de ses œuvres; et une ombre nous fait trébucher, un détail trompeur nous entraîne à l'erreur à notre insu" (29). He is aware that laws are a necessary remedy for a sick society, and are reason's brake for unchained passions, but he is equally aware of the extenuating circumstances. Once again there is this recognition of the rights of the individual, and of the circumstances peculiar to him alone, and consequently cases are judged by this and not by any general criteria (30).

The fourth section of the population affected by this widening of horizons was that of Spanish women. We shall see in the course of this study of the "Apunteciones", a comparison by Moratín between the education of Spanish and English women, and we may also note that in "El Sí de las Niñas" he has something to say about the education of young Spanish girls. In general, the century protested strongly

against the humiliating situation in which Spanish women were held. Its writers claimed that women should be given more dignity, and their claim was based on two principles, one of the equality of the sexes, the other of social utility. Campomanes, for example, believed that natural talent did not distinguish between the sexes, and Jovellanos thought likewise, saying that in primitive societies women were man's inseparable companions, and in parts of Spain, he said, women did a man's work. Another writer, Clavijo y Fajardo, suggested that young girls should be given a carefully controlled education and a taste for useful work. It was education which was to be the solution - "l'instruction rachètera les femmes et les égalera aux hommes" (31).

It may thus be seen that contact with Europe brought to Spain the possibilities of a gradual climb from the sterility of the first years of the century. The aims of the enlightened Spaniards had been to establish a contact with the foci of modern thought and ideas, and to revive their national tradition, while saving those aspects of the foreign matter which were compatible with it.

(ii)

The territorial expansion initiated by Fernando Catolico brought almost uninterrupted wars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and these in turn produced exhaustion of resources of materials and men on distant possessions. There was a rapid succession of catastrophes but the Spaniards refused to cede. Although Spain gave the appearance of grandeur, in fact, everything was made of cardboard and sounded hollow. Overambitious foreign policy, the complete ineptitude of

the rulers and corruption of life had brought ruin.

The neoclassic movement may be seen to have its roots in the century previous to that in which it emerged. As a result of these wars, Spain became the pawn of France, and through the influence of the Bourbons, French customs, manners and arts came to be seen and adopted in Spain, though this influence is really only an intensification of something which would have happened anyway; that this is so may be shown by the fact that the first distinctly Gallicising work was written far from Madrid and in a period of courtly inactivity. At first there was a hope that the new administration would spread beyond the Pyrenees the prosperity of Louis XIV's reign, but the failure of successive reforms produced a fierce nationalism, an antagonism to any reform, no matter how beneficial or necessary, that could be traced to a foreign source. The erudite classes felt keenly the stigma placed on Spain by foreign countries because of her intellectual impotency and because of this they were increasingly aware that drastic reforms had to be made in all walks of life. Feijóo, the author of the work mentioned above noted two distinct attitudes towards nationalism: "Dos extremos entrambos reprehensibles noto en nuestros españoles en orden a las cosas nacionales: unos las engrandecen hasta el cielo, otros las abatan hasta el abismo" (32). The latter group included the "afrancesados" whose affiliations to France were both political and literary; for the purposes of this study we shall be concerned only with the literary side of the movement.

By 1725 considerable progress had been made in some quarters in introducing French ideas and habits, and Feijóo concluded

that the antipathy between France and Spain had arisen from wars and political rivalry rather than from innate differences in temperament. He felt that the salvation of Spain as well as the peace of Europe depended on the friendly collaboration of the two countries; he steered a middle course, but was favourable to French influences, maintaining that truth was to be found by reason and experience. In attacking the traditional mentality, he is the first in Spain to reflect Enlightenment - a critical approach to tradition and a rational revision of values. Feijóo could not defend the irregularity of Spanish plays, and taking the same basic position as adopted by subsequent advocates of neoclassicism who insisted on the contribution of the Spanish theatre to France in the previous century, he called attention to the number of Spanish plays which could be made regular with a few minor changes. A condemnation of the Gongoristic style constituted one of the first attacks on literary taste which had prevailed in Spain for a century, and though Feijóo opposed a blind acceptance of foreign ideas and culture, there seems to be little that he believed should be perpetuated in the Spain of his day.

In the field of literature, it was believed by some that France held the key to a resurrection of the Spanish stage, and a return to the classical rules was proposed. The "Poética" of Luzán, published in 1737, mark the beginning of the neoclassic movement as an artistic entity. Luzan attacked the past for having abandoned the classical rules, for a lack of moral feeling, for the superficiality of character and for many other extravagances. He was of the opinion that if Lope de Vega, Calderón and Solís had combined study and art with their natural talent,

Spain would have such well written plays that they would be the envy and admiration of other nations, instead of being the object of their criticism and laughter - "but with regrettable loss, we see such unusual qualities with which nature endowed them, misused for the simple reason that, deceived by a common error, they thought their genius alone was enough to enable them to succeed" (33). The Poética define tragedy thus - "Tragedy is a dramatic representation of a great change of fortune which befalls kings, princes, and personages of high rank and dignity, whose falls, deaths, misfortunes and dangers excite terror and compassion in the hearts of the spectators, and cure and purge them of these and other passions, serving as an example and warning to all, but especially to kings, and persons of highest rank and power" (34) - and it goes on to make many observations concerning what drama should and should not be: the play must have moral instruction, a clearly defined beginning, middle and end, a plot which is of proper and perfect magnitude. It may be marvellous as long as it is not improbable. It must have unity of plot, "a quality indispensable and necessary for perfection" (35). Luzán defined the unity of time as meaning that "the duration of the action of the play should be identical with the time required for the performance on the stage" (36), and the unity of place, while for Luzán a difficult and rough problem, consisted "in having the place where the characters are supposed to be and to speak the same from the beginning to the end of the drama" (37). A cathartic effect was necessary to the drama, and the emphasis on the moral office of tragedy is the keynote of neoclassic criticism which reflects either an inward conviction on the part of its

champions or a desire to win to their cause both political and ecclesiastical support. On the matter of choice between prose and verse, Luzán was not dogmatic - "it is unjust to condemn either of these opinions absolutely, and a poet is at liberty to write his comedies in prose or in verse as he chooses" (38).

As far as the use of apparatus is concerned, Luzán admitted that although it was strictly outside the field of the poet, it might contribute to the perfection of a performance. Histrionics should be made, he said, to suit the actor to the role, according to his dispositions, age, ability and stature. Dress was to be in keeping with the nationality, dignity and social position of the character represented, and Luzán thought that nature should not be slavishly imitated, but improved and ennobled. He differentiated between the uses of tragedy and comedy, saying that high ranks should not be in comedy, and that the two ought not to be mixed. Both could be distinguished by style, but their technical requirements were the same - a moral purpose.

The "Diario de los Literatos" which first appeared in 1737 was the official organ and medium of propaganda of the neoclassic movement, but strong organised opposition forced its downfall and closure after only six years publication. In 1749 the Academia de Buen Gusto was founded and this marked the beginning of a concerted effort to introduce neoclassicism into Spain. It was distinctly aristocratic and Menéndez y Pelayo believed that it was without doubt the outstanding literary phenomenon of the reign of Fernando VI. It was, however, not a solid neoclassic body, for it was too much to expect Spaniards to turn their

backs on all their past training. Many may have been mentally convinced of the extravagances of Spanish poetry, but at heart they were reluctant to abandon even the grandiloquence and affectations of Gongorism. They could not bring themselves to accept rules which they instinctively felt hampered their imagination. The lack of success of neoclassicism may, perhaps be attributed to this and to other causes: the fact that it appealed mainly to the intellectual superiority of its exponents, to the lack of original talent, to the force of opposition to the movement, and to the fact that it was foreign in origin. The composition of regular tragedies presented a particular challenge to the neoclassic intellectuals and the few that appeared were written by men who were primarily scholars or critics and only secondly authors. Armed with the rules, they invaded a field in which they had little practical experience and frequently little aptitude. It is little wonder that the audiences, used to the extravagances of the Golden Age plays, did not appreciate these restricted, intellectual efforts.

The reign of Carlos III marks the apogee of the influence of French ideas in Spanish literature. During this period the "galoclásicos" had the advantage of official support in the shape of the provision of special theatres at the "sitios reales" for the presentation of the French type of plays, which were rather foreign translations than original works. The supporters of neoclassicism and its opponents fought bitter battles through their respective periodicals, and the latter group represented a reaction in favour of a nationalist literature which had three forms; the first was written with the special intent to create works inspired by Spanish themes and sentiments, the second was written

as a defence of Spanish culture abroad when under attack, and the third was a development of the movement of learning and criticism.

Don Nicolas de Moratín, born in 1737 of a noble family of Asturias had a classical upbringing and was soon drawn towards an adherence to the precepts of the neoclassic movement. He fought hard for the establishment of these ideas, and his "tertulias" attracted some of the most influential neoclassicists of the time - Signorelli, Conti and Bernascone. His son, the subject of this study, was born in Madrid on March 10th. 1760. His early life was troubled by an attack of smallpox at the age of four, and this had a profound effect on his later life, as will be seen. His character changed completely and the precocious, lively youngster became solitary and introverted. He had very few friends and he always preferred to rush home to his father and his friends as soon as the school bell sounded. At home "oía sus conversaciones literarias, y allí adquirí un desmedido amor al estudio" (39). He had a great bent for reading and studied Latin, but when about to go to the University of Alcala, he changed his mind, and went instead as an apprentice to a Jeweller. In 1779 he entered a poetry competition organised by the Real Academia, and gained second prize. In the following year his father died, and don Leandro had to look after his mother. At this stage he began to form literary friendships with such persons as Forner, Melón and Estala. In 1782 he entered a second competition, and again won second prize. After his mother died, he went to live with an uncle, and it is from this time that he first began to write seriously for the theatre, in the style of his father. Having written his first play, "El Viejo y la Niña",

Moratin went with Cabarrús on a diplomatic mission to France, having gained the patronage of Godoy. A pension provided him with financial independence, and he produced two more plays - "La Mogigata" and "La Comedia Nueva" - before he left Spain in the early summer of 1792 on an European tour. It is not very surprising that he adhered to the neoclassic precepts for the influence of his father and home seem to have been extremely strong in the critical formative years. Moratin followed the precepts laid down by Luzán quite closely in his writings, and developed his own definition of tragedy (40). He fought fiercely, like his father, for the banning of the extravagances of the Spanish stage, and for correction of the anomalies of Spanish life. Like Luzán, he believed that application, study and training were as necessary to the dramatist as "arte", and that for a play to be good it must have a moral, and be written according to a set of rules which he prescribed. His literary efforts insisted on these points, but had little effect, and so believing that previous reforms had accomplished very little also, he proposed his own reform plan.

The literary struggle of the eighteenth century between the neoclassics on one hand, and the nationalists on the other, while it may be seen as an outcome of political trends, may also be considered as a continuation, as far as its character is concerned, of the discords of the previous era between Lope de Vega and the Aristotelean preceptors. The neoclassic movement itself with its "afrancesados literarios" had a dual nature; it was firstly a reaction against the bad taste and extravagance of the comedia, and secondly it was an attempt to replace the

existing theatre with another, based on good taste and subjected to the restraining influence of the classic rules, considered as a product of natural laws and not of the ingenuity of man. If one follows this controversy it will be apparent that violence was met with violence and that it degenerated rapidly into a series of bitter polemics.

For the first half of the century, the neoclassists were forced to restrict their activity to the realm of theory because there was no-one capable enough of turning the theory into practice, that is, into dramatic terms acceptable to the stage - this was for Leandro Fernández de Moratín. With all its petty features and comparative sterility, the neoclassic movement marked a period of retrospection and introspection which proved beneficial to Spanish thought even though its good effects were subsequently diminished by national events at the turn of the century. When the air had cleared after this long, stubborn literary controversy, the writers of Spain discovered that they had reached a degree of intellectual maturity unequalled since the Golden Age, and that they had gained European orientation in their natural thought.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1. "Concerning the Dramatic Approach to the 18th century" - E. Helmen
B.H.S. Vol.27 (1950) P.72.
2. Eighteenth century background - B. Willey, P.9.
3. The European Mind, 1680 - 1715 - P. Hazard, quoted on P.399.
4. Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung? 1784, E. Kant.
5. European Thought in the 18th Century - P. Hazard, P.271.
6. Encyclopédie, article on "Leibnizianisme" quoted in Hazard,
European Thought, P.179.
7. European Thought, P. 180.
8. The Eighteenth Revolution in Spain - Herr P.76.
9. "L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle" -
J. Sarrailh, P.7.
10. Observaciones (1795) - Cavanilles I 153; Sarrailh P.11.
11. Memorias sobre las diversiones - Jovellanos, B.A.E. XLVI P.491b ;
Sarrailh P.18.
12. Memoires du duc des Cars, Vol.I. P. 210; Sarrailh, P.25.
13. Cavanilles, op.cit. I 183; Sarrailh P.25. We may compare this with
some words of don Leopold Auguste in Claudel's "Le Soutier de satin" -
"On ne peut pas rester éternellement confit dans la même confiture.
J'aime les choses nouvelles Il me faut du nouveau à tout prix ...
Mais du nouveau qui soit le développement de notre site naturel. Du
nouveau, encore un coup, mais qui soit exactement semblable à l'ancien".
(2nd edition Vol.II Pp.29-30).

14. op. cit. P.42.
15. Oración inaugural. B.A.E. XLVI P.318; Sarrailh P.160.
16. Discursos forenses (1821) P.182; Sarrailh, P.159.
17. Memorias sobre la educación pública B.A.E. XLVI P.231a; Sarrailh P.164.
18. Elogio de Carlos III. B.A.E. XLVI P.315 a-b; Sarrailh P.179.
- 18a. Sarrailh, P.179.
19. Ley agraria B.A.E. L. Pp.81b - 83a; Sarrailh P.184.
20. Sarrailh, P.288.
21. Et Pensador, Vol.II. P.160 (ed. Madrid 1762-67). Sarrailh, P.338.
22. Diario de Barcelona 27 August 1793 n. P.981.
23. Diario curioso 23 November 1772; Sarrailh P.343.
24. Et Pensador Vol.II. Pp. 178-9; Sarrailh P.344.
- 24a. Letter to Mme d'Epinau, 26.9.1766; Sarrailh P.372.
25. Et Hombre, reproduced in Sempere y Guarinos' Ensayo de una biblioteca español, Vol. VI. P.69 (Madrid 1789).
26. Verdadero metodo de estudiar, Vol. 3. Pp. 128-131. Sarrailh P.522.
27. Discursos forenses Pp. 278-9; 281; Sarrailh P.530.
28. Sarrailh P.531.
29. Discursos forenses P.46; Sarrailh P.540.
30. "Un grand courant d'humanité circule donc en cette fin du dixhuitième siècle, dans les mondes des criminalistes ... L'Espagne de la raison éclairée a suivi ce mouvement des âmes sensibles. Elle a voulu aider les coupables qui ne sont parfois que des malheureux, autant que les mendiants et les déshérités du sort". Sarrailh P.541.

31. Sarrailh P.517.
32. Teatro critico, Vol.II. essay 15; Clásicos Castellanos XLVIII, Pp. 256-7.
33. La Poética, o reglas de la poesia en general corregida y anotada por su mismo autor (Zaragoza 1737). P.5; in Cook "Neoclassic Drama in Spain", P.25.
34. Ibid, P.277; Cook, P.26.
35. Ibid, P.307; Cook, P.30.
36. Ibid, P.311; Cook, P.30.
37. Ibid, P.319; Cook, P.32.
38. Ibid, P.381; Cook, P.41.
39. Obras Póstumas de Moratín (Madrid 1867) Vol. III. P.305.
40. "Imitación en diálogo (escrito en prosa o verso) de un suceso ocurrido en un lugar y en pocas horas entre personas particulares, por medio del cual y de la oportuna expresión de afectos y caracteres resultan puestos en ridículo los vicios y errores comunes en la sociedad, y recomendadas por consiguiente la verdad y la virtud", quoted from the "Autocrítica" - B.A.E. Vol.II, P.320.

With regard to the home influence on Moratín's ideas, in his article "El francesamiento de Moratín", F. Lázaro Carreter says that "Su neoclasicismo es un resultado de una convicción no de una moda" (P.S.A. Vol.XX Feb. 1961 Pp.145-158). This can be seen to be true, but one wonders how much chance Moratín had to experience other forms of dramatic expression.

CHAPTER TWO - ENGLAND.

We have seen something of the background against which Moratín developed and also the ideas and attitudes which were developing in the wider spheres of Europe and Spain, and to complete this introduction, we now turn to consider the state of the country to which Moratín travelled in 1792 as one of those interested in progress and reform.

In the decade which led up to 1792, Pitt had moved away from a position of personal isolation and had built up an administration which had a steady purpose, but he was careful to realize that in the face of war reform was not expedient. He was also careful to deny that he wished to commend his ministers, (though in practice everything required his assent), because of his conviction that he was the embodiment of patriotic causes. During this period too, Pitt grew more and more conservative because of the need to keep the support of Lord North's old party, and in time with this the opposition pursued him with unrelenting vigilance.

With regard to the French Revolution which had been raging for three years when Moratín arrived in England, the first English impression was one of satisfaction, and even approval, but when Pitt could no longer ignore either the threats to Britain's commercial interests in Belgium, or the affront to the balance of power caused by the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands, he also felt that he could not stand on one side, as he had done, and watch Europe dissolve into chaos; on February 1st. 1793, France declared war on England. With the outbreak of hostilities, the Opposition was once more animated, and the

movement for reform was given a further impetus, causing some alarm among the conservative sector of Parliament. Unrest was widespread - there were riots in Birmingham in July 1791 - but unrest in the field of politics and talk of coalition was ended when at the beginning of the war Portland's right wing began to join Pitt; in such a situation Fox was hopelessly in Opposition.

The war gave an entirely new character to Pitt's regime. Among all groups there was a unity in fundamentals which gave the Government great strength, and put Fox into an isolated position. Pitt had entered the war from strategic considerations rather than for ideological reasons and his aims were limited. His policy was to help Austria recover her territory and thereby to restore British security. Disasters to the allies, however, made all England quickly aware that they were fighting not for profit but for survival.

The course of the French Revolution caused among the well-to-do a horrified recoil from a considerable freedom of thought in religion and politics to the hard narrow timidity of a class alarmed for its privileges and possessions. There was a similar change in manners from license or gaily to virtue or hypocrisy. Sunday observance was revived and enforced - the avenues to the churches were filled with carriages on Sundays, and this novel sight prompted the simple country people to enquire what the matter was.

Another effect of the Revolution was a re-appraisal of the political situation. Fox and the Dissenters proclaimed from France's example, a dawn of world-wide political enfranchisement and religious

equality, while Burke flung himself against the Unitarian reformers with all his might. Unreasoned hate of Dissenters was prevalent in the higher orders of society and locally in the slum populations. The "Church and State" mob which smashed up Priestly's home in Birmingham, Dissenting chapels and private houses attested to this hate.

To some revolutionaries, like the poet Southey, who wrote at a later date "Few persons . . . can conceive or comprehend what the memory of the French Revolution was, nor what a visionary world seemed to open upon those who were just entering it" (1), old things were passing away and nothing was dreamt of but the regeneration of the human race:

Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive,

But to be young was very heaven" (2).

One of the most representative, and possibly the most famous of the thinkers was Thomas Paine. Although he was an undesirable character, his "Rights of Man" was a work which had a colossal impact. Man, he said, is confronted by two alternatives - a democratically elected government, or government by kings. The latter, like that of the former, is ruled by imposture, its object is the exploitation of the people. The Gospel of the Revolution opened up a new era in human and political relationships, and this early enthusiasm found practical embodiment in a revival of the movement for the reform of Parliament and in the foundation of numerous Corresponding Societies for expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the Revolution (3).

In the early years of the war the Government contracted the habit of suppressing freedom of speech and of inflicting savage punishment of reformers who ventured to utter their opinions anywhere outside the

House. After the news of the massacres of September 1792 in Paris, however, the Democrats were overwhelmed by hostile public opinion from all sides and angles, Burke being the intellectual prophet of the change in attitude. There was no possible compromise with a regicide republic which had overthrown all vestiges of law and an ordered society. Even the British Radicals were disgruntled and sadly disillusioned; the poet William Cowper said, for example, "I will tell you what the French have done - they have made me sick of the name of liberty which I never thought to be" (4).

From the second half of the century, England lived in a classical age, and age of unchallenged assumptions when, according to Trevelyan, the philosophers had ample time to moralize on the human scene in the happy belief that the social situation and the "modes of thought to which they are accustomed are not merely ephemeral aspects of an ever-shifting kaleidoscope, but permanent habitations, the final outcome of reason and experience" (5). The age regarded itself not as setting out, but as having arrived - self complacency was in abundance. To men like Blackstone, Gibbon, and Burke, England appeared to be the best country possible in an imperfect world, requiring only to be left alone where Providence and the Revolution of 1688 had placed her. There was a general feeling that life was good enough, that the best thing to do was to preserve rather than improve or enlarge the status quo. On the other hand there were those who were decidedly disturbed and they examined in great detail the realities of English life - Hogarth, Fielding and Smollett all exposed its evils as unsparingly as did Dickens at a later era. The

complacency was not altogether unjustified but it was unfortunate that it produced an atmosphere which precluded great reform.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century however, progress was made in certain fields and we turn now to see some of the effects of the so-called Industrial Revolution. Some people like Price believed that the population of the country was decreasing, while others like Arthur Young, who relied on observation were of the opposite opinion (6). Whether this was the case or not, there was a definite shift of population from the South and East towards the North and East and a new feudalism arose, in which the centre was now the mill and not as previously, the castle.

At this period there were only eleven towns which had a population of more than 50,000 and six of these were ports; these made further spectacular advances in growth and improvement, for it became obvious that the nation's wealth and power depended upon her mastery of the sea. Farming also progressed along new scientific lines under the initiative of such men as Coke of Holkham. As industrial change quickened in pace, so did the need for improvements in communications and the results of the work of Metcalf, Telford and Macadam drew foreign praise; as a result of these improvements the need for self-sufficient villages was abolished. Waterways were the most important means of transport, and goods were transported very much more cheaply though delivery was relatively slow.

The scientific spirit which arose in the eighteenth century stimulated changes in industrial methods and the reasons for the wide

range of this Revolution lie in the fact that one invention was often dependent on another for its working, viz. spinning and weaving. Factories became the temples of the new society, but sadly, even the best of them had long hours and low wages. Fears of unemployment because of the introduction of machinery led to rioting. On one hand, the Revolution brought about an improvement in life - lower mortality rates led to longevity in some regions, while on the other the monotonous slums were a reminder of the evils of unchecked industrialisation, overcrowded, insanitary and uncomfortable. The monotony of existence, the dismal normality of everything was temporarily relieved by drink and immorality, against the former of which vices the Government and Wesley fought with differing degrees of success.

In the early part of the century, social differences and political inequalities had been cheerfully accepted by all; men were satisfied with their lot. What the Industrial Revolution did was to undermine the independence of large classes of society; it made their individual lives in field and factory intolerable, and at the same time it collected great masses of them together in industrial districts. Only then did democracy slowly commend itself to them; complacency was replaced by analysis and constructive criticism. There was a growth in moral imperative and an insistence that human virtue could be measured in terms of social value. These stirrings were, however, independent of the aristocracy who continued to administer its great political empire which gave it a natural position of authority in government, and it was this political responsibility, writes Dr. J. H. Plumb, which held England on

an even keel and saved it from the futilities which occurred in France. He points out, however, that the resemblance is closer than may be thought: "There is the same grotesque extravagance, the same heightened class consciousness, the same feckless attitude to the crises in politics or society. The years before the wars with revolutionary France were the years of England's "ancien régime" (7). The Industrial Revolution also tended to weaken political animosities between the Whigs and the Tories; the common interests of industry, rural poverty and the threat of the New World bound them together.

We have already mentioned the fact that the shift in population caused an improvement in health conditions; other reasons for a lower death rate may be seen in the greater availability of food from improved agricultural methods, higher wages from modern transport and industrial methods, and last but not least, improved medical services. Throughout the century medicine gradually moved out of the dark ages of superstition, and in the fields of science and philanthropy we see two other aspects of that spirit of enlightenment which was European in conception. Things previously taken for granted such as slavery, the miseries of prison, and cruelty, now seemed intolerable. It must be stressed, however, that very few, if any, of these undertakings were municipal, for municipal life was at its lowest ebb (8), the vast majority of these beneficent provisions were the result of individual efforts supported by voluntary contributions. Foundling hospitals were established to deal with the appalling problem of infant mortality and Parish children, and the general sensitivity to the needs and sufferings of others, particularly of the poor, was not only

reflected in literature, but was seen in the many foundations of the age - the Charity schools, the Sunday schools, the medical hospitals, the work of Rommilly and Howard for improved prison conditions, and the work of Nield for debt relief. It was at this period, too, that the rôle of law court judges changed from being one of jackals to the Government to independent umpires between Rex and subject. This humanitarian spirit led equally to developments in the religious sphere, and among the most notable figures of the age were Miss Hannah More, the leader of the Claphemite Sect, a powerful Evangelical movement, and Charles Wesley, whose aim was to transform the wills of the people, to reform their ill and to get them to devote their lives not only to religious observance but also to self-discipline and to work for others. Wesley's Methodism was completely void of ritualism, and it had an anti-intellectual, philistine quality which seemed to hold an attraction for those who had little in life, preserving its spirit in the suburbs and the industrial villages through discipline and toil. The new Charity schools had the merit of trying to do something for all, but the de-merit of too great an anxiety to keep their young scholars in their appointed sphere of life and to train up a submissive generation; an appropriate prayer for this type of establishment might be the following - "God bless the squire and his relations, and keep us in our proper stations".

To turn from Humanitarianism to the Humanities, it may be said that the development of journalism and the foundation of the great quarterlies in this era reflected a great expansion of the reading public who wanted both information and critical opinion. There is, says

V. H. Green, no single answer to this expansion: it arises from the fact that the atmosphere of the eighteenth century society was amenable to critical judgment and to literary and artistic appreciation to a greater extent than most other periods (9). In English literature the sense of Scott and the sensibility of Jane Austen were preseed under by the welter of fantastic romances of the medieval past: "The mysteries of Udolpho" by Mrs. Redcliffe, and "The Monk" by Matthew Lewis, for instance. Poetry was embedded in the social and political environment, the French Revolution coinciding with the Renaissance of English poetry, and both passed "ultra" as far as convention was concerned. The poets of the 1790s greeted the new age with enthusiasm and tended to move away from the artificialities of classicism towards the upsurge of romantic feeling. An interest in personal activities was a characteristic feature of this period, and this may be seen in the proliferation of diary writing, of which those of Pastor Woodforde, Lord Torrington and Horace Walpole were perhaps the most famous. There was no neglect of philosophy either, - Barclay, Hume and Locke saw to that.

It is in the field of drama that we must perhaps dwell longest, for it was from this background that Moratin took some of the ideas for his plan for the reform of the Spanish theatres and upon which he commented in the "Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra".

During the latter half of the eighteenth century a rapid development took place on the theatres, especially in the provinces, and as a result, the old vagabond troupes gradually reformed themselves into more organised stock companies. There was general agreement that actors

had a right to understand what they were saying, discipline was tightened up, and on the whole slackness was not tolerated. Besides this administrative change there developed also a change in the orientation of the plays themselves. Every decade wider travel brought a closer contact with the continent, and there was an increase in adaptations and translations of foreign plays, but for a large part of the period we see nothing but a tissue of scenes hastily taken from French dramas and equally speedily put together. The English stage also felt the influence of Italian writers such as Metastasio, Alfieri and Goldoni, and Lessing, Goethe and Schiller from Germany.

With regard to literary tendencies, the English theatre of the late eighteenth century was subjected to an excessive sensibility which allied itself to a prudery which was unknown before; it was a "grave, moral, pious age". Many innocuous plays were objected to as having a deleterious effect on the drama of the time; this attitude prevented authors from dealing with events which were natural and striking and it led to an artificiality in characterisation and in dénouement. Political emotions were extreme and the outbreak of the French Revolution produced a reaction in the English theatre which amounted to a strong patriotic outburst; there was considerable opposition to French writers but little active censorship. In 1794, for example, Boaden, the author of "Fontainville Forest", felt that he could not permit his play to go on without an apology for having taken the theme from France and without extolling in the epilogue the greatness of Shakespeare.

On the structural side, the period saw a considerable

amount of gradual development and slow alteration. The patent houses were enlarged: Drury Lane was remodelled in 1762, 1780 and 1792/3 thus bringing the final capacity up to 3,611; Covent Garden was remodelled in 1782 and again in 1792. This progress brought with it some unsatisfactory results, including bad lighting and a deterioration of acoustics - the actors' performances had to become louder and consequently the finer shades were lost. The delicacy of acting which came with the intimate theatre disappeared because of the necessity imposed on the actor to make his words carry to the highest gallery (10).

Pageantry and show were elaborated and novelties were frequently introduced in the shape of animal performers, dancing, singing, harlequinades. There was also increased activity in the preparation of new scenes, and instead of the stock scenery of former times, new landscapes and architectural designs were prepared: these were both romantic and realistic, strikingly well away from the conventionalism of previous years. The realistic movement assumed two forms, one leading towards an attempt to secure complete illusion in the theatre, and the other drawing the stage manager and painter towards antiquarian effects(11). Built-up sets, that is, the appearance of solid or seemingly solid hills and buildings on the stage came into being and as a result two tendencies emerged: on one hand, the romantic and rich scenery helped to secure the success of many of the melodramas of the age, and the latest machinery provided swift changes in scene, so that many romantic works abounded in rapidly altering settings, e.g. "Columbus" (Covent Garden 1792) which had a scene of only six lines; on the other hand, despite the use of

drop scenes, managers were becoming suspicious of the multiplication of diverse settings, and there was a tendency towards a crystallisation of effects.

In the wardrobe a considerable clash between the conventional tragic costumes and the fashion of the day was much in evidence. In 1773 Macklin was the first to consider historical accuracy, appearing as Macbeth in Scots habit. Actresses tended to lag behind their male counterparts in costume trends, but by 1790, with Mrs. Siddons as their leader, they had come into line.

Although many plays were damned because of poor casting, an equal number were saved because of good actors and actresses, and the successful writer could now expect to receive a reasonably respectable income from his work as a professional - the play was now a much more marketable commodity than before. In addition to this development, a further source of income was to be had in the copy-right of printed plays.

Before turning from this general survey of the English theatre we must look at the various types of drama which were being presented, but we must not forget those for whom writers, actors and actresses worked - the audience. Despite recurring riots and rowdyism during and after the performance of plays, the playgoers of the last decades of the eighteenth century were, on the whole, quieter than those of the early years. Their tastes were reflected in the highly decorous comic operas and in more than decorous sentimental dramas and moral melodramas. Bottle-throwing, fruit-throwing, and "cat-calling" did occur, but these outbreaks may be attributed to political motives rather than to anything

else. There were constant complaints from the actors concerning the painful lack of attention paid by the audience who spent much of its time chattering, but a remedy for this was discovered in the provision of men who "deafen'd the Audience" with their "salaried" applause (12). During the second half of the century a slight rearrangement in the general disposition of the audience in the playhouse took place.

Richardson's play "The Fugitive" drew attention to the altered state of the pit, and while it still retained its professional and amateur critics, it was also patronised by the more fashionable and intellectual parts of the audience, leaving the first gallery for the middle classes, and the upper gallery for the poorer people (13).

As in the society of the second half of the century there was a certain duality of old and new, so in the theatre the same period marked the emergence of Romantic principles: in this respect England was many years ahead of Spain, though classicism still held its own even until the end of the century. The formal rules of the Augustan critics were still regarded by most as divinely inspired and even the writers of the sentimental comedies bowed to their authority; the Augustanism of the 1790s was not the strong Augustanism of Pope, but even so it managed to help to suppress true dramatic emotion, though this latter trend had failed in the first instance mainly because the dramatists had not made a definite decision as to what they wanted to achieve in their expression.

In its essence, the theatrical literature of this period was quite English in the sense that its chief source of inspiration was to be found in the works of Shakespeare and his successors, and it was

this type of drama which the audiences preferred to the neoclassic tragedy. Authors noted this preference, and many plays contained a prologue which professed a determination to follow Shakespeare's style. There were numerous adaptations from Elizabethan and Restoration drama, all of which preserved those indefinable elements of heroic grandeur, yet at the same time many early Augustan plays were regularly performed and some, such as "Cato" saw annual revivals.

Parisian drama was extremely popular also, and among the German school of authors none was more popular than Kotzbuo, whose sentimental and humanitarian feelings attracted the attention of English dramatists. At first, however, there was widespread opposition to the German ideas and their political and moral tendencies were called into question; revolutionary sentiments provided some justification for alarm. The influence from the south of Europe was somewhat limited in that the Italian came mainly through comedy and opera, though Metastasio proved a fore-runner of romantic melodrama. Spanish drama had long been out of favour and very few plays were performed (14). The audiences of the late eighteenth century moved to an appreciation of North European drama.

In the early part of the century, as we have said, the Augustan tragedy was a vital force, but now it was really only something artificial and conventional, tending to hang on grimly when men were seeking new forms and emotions. It is clear that by the middle of the century, although neoclassicism was a spent force, there was nothing to take its place. Audiences accepted these plays as a necessary evil and their very retention in the repertoires had become a convention.

That "indefinite" type of tragedy which came to overtake the neoclassic was exemplified in two ways, firstly in tragedies which, despite some neoclassic features, showed an appreciation of that indefinable Romanticism; unfortunately they often fall between two stools in attempting to give the best of both worlds; secondly there were numerous popular melodramas which displayed the cruder and wider elements of the same spirit. One may note the spectacular nature of the settings, the love of gloom, the excess of artificial sentimentalism, the immature poetic justice, the stock figures, the conventionalised bombastic language and the lack of subtlety. While the audiences enjoyed these plays, authors wrote solely for effect with tongue in cheek - there was a total lack of any dominant purpose or urgent artistic necessity.

Turning to the comedies, we see that while performances grew more and more heterogeneous and absurd with farces, pantomimes, short melodramas, and comic operas, a revival of the best of the older plays, which were more moral and genteel, took place. It was considered that many good comedies were spoilt by the intrusion of farcical elements designed to attract the less fashionable spectators. As with tragedy, in comedy we find a strong influence of Shakespeare and also of continental writers. Comedy was divided into three main types - sentimental comedy of manners, and farce. In the latter category, were to be found some of the most truly theatrical things of the period: skill, talent and sometimes genius went into this form and though on occasions it may have been only debased Johnson or Molière, we have at the same time something distinct and independent.

Of the other types of drama we might mention the pastorals and dramatic poems. As a vital force pastoralism was spent by 1750 - all that was left to do was to imitate and copy. The age was moving towards a new naturalism, for Burns was already writing in the Lowlands fields and Wordsworth was beginning to utter his Lakeland thoughts.

Finally in this brief survey of the English theatre of the late eighteenth century we may note a feature which was becoming more noticeable right at the very end of the century - the separation of the "poetic" play from the "theatrical" play. It became almost universally recognised that certain types of drama were fundamentally unactable, and so "closet" and "theatre" appreciations were made the starting points from which a play was to be viewed. The main cause of this feature was the great number of German translations; the English renderings were unsuitable for the theatre and so there arose a tremendous demand from the reading public - here was a starting point for English poetic dramas. The age conspired to lead men of poetic ability to write plays intended not for the stage but for quiet contemplation in the study. Since this was their aim, they paid little attention to stage requirements and we find long, unnatural soliloquys, forgotten exits and entries and action sacrificed to talk. It is this closet play which is both the manifestation of dramatic debility in the age and the cause of that debility, for the stage declined because of the strict demarcation established between the theatre writers and the poets. The more harmful effects of this separation became visible only in the following century, but their nascence is to be seen in this one.

We have now looked at the forces at work in Europe during

the eighteenth century, the efforts of Spain to harness these forces to some good, Moratín's place in Spain and lastly the state of England at the time of his visit in 1792, and we move now to examine what Moratín saw in England and what he did whilst there.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.

1. The Hanoverians - V.H.H. Green P.388.
2. Ibid. P.388.
3. For example, the Constitutional Society, the Society of the Friends of the People, the Revolutionary Society.
4. Green, op. cit. P.393.
5. Illustrated English Social History, G. Trevelyan, Vol.3. P.85.
6. "View the navigation, the roads, the harbours, and all other public works. Take notice of the spirit with which manufactures are carried on ... Move your eye which side you will, you behold nothing but great riches and yet greater resources ... It is vain to talk of tables of birth and lists of houses and windows, as proofs of our loss of people; the flourishing state of our agriculture, our manufactures and commerce, with our general wealth prove the contrary".
Quoted in Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century (1714-1815) P.143.
7. Ibid P.85.
8. British History in the Nineteenth Century, G. Trevelyan Pp. 29-32.
9. Green, op.cit. P.450.
10. After 1763 no spectators were permitted to sit on the stage except at benefit performances.
11. The dedication to the play "Hartford Bridge" includes these words:-
"For some of the Scenery, the Writer must avow his obligations to the friendly Assistance of Mr. Wigstead, who very politely visited the Place of Action, and collected every Locality that could establish the subject". Quoted in A History of English Drama 1660-1900, by A. Nicoll, P.29.

12. Dissertations (1756), Cibber Vol.II. Pp.14-15.
13. Richardson's "The Fugitive" (1792) draws attention to the altered state of the pit:-

"And yet, in modern times, the aspiring Wit
 Braves but few perils from the well dress'd pit.
 Not as of old, when train'd to frown and fret,
 In murky state, the surly synod met.
 Vain of half learning and of foreign rules,
 Vamp'd from the jargon of the antient schools,
 In black full-bottom'd wig, the Critic God
 Shook his umbrageous curls and gave the nod !
 The pit was then all men - how shrunk the muse;
 From those bleak rows of overhanging yews !
 Unlike the gay parterre we now salute."

Garrick's epilogue to Murphy's "All in the wrong" (1761)
 addresses the different parts of the theatre.

"You relish satire (pit); you ragouts of wit, (boxes)
 Your taste is humour, and high season'd jokes (1st gallery)
 You call for hornpipes and for Hearts of Oak (2nd gallery).

14. Translations of the following were performed:
- 1770 Lope de Vega's "Castalvines y Monteses".
- 1880 Quiza's "Ignez de Castro".
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CHAPTER THREE - MORATÍN IN ENGLAND.

There is one question which must be answered before we can satisfactorily look at what Moratín actually did during his twelve month residence in England, most of which time was spent in the capital, and that is: "Why did he go to England at all?". Mesonero Romanos relates that after Moratín had returned from France with Cabarrús in 1788 and had been introduced into Court circles through the influence of Manuel Godoy, and after he had received the protection of the Conde de Floridablanca, he was regarded by all as "el primer literato de la época, el poeta favorito de la corte y el embaeso del pueblo, el regenerador de la escena nacional, el oráculo del buen gusto un personaje eminente"(1). In this position he could quite easily have stayed there in comfort, and luxury and would have been welcome. Why, then, did he leave?

In his Autobiography (2), Moratín relates that, after an attack of smallpox as a child of four, he lost all his previous precocity and self-assurance, and in the presence of all but intimate friends became very reserved and unsociable. This trait of character, which develops into a dislike of company runs through his life and is noted by two of his friends. Melón says that on first meeting Moratín, he found him "taciturno y reservado" and Mesonero Romanos, some of whose words have already been quoted, records that though Moratín was so highly regarded at Court, he never once compromised himself, but always remained aloof: "El rey del Parnaso trataba de potencia a potencia con el rey de la política; no era su adulator ni su cortesano; era su hechura, era su amigo y nada más" and he goes on to say "su genial retraimiento de la vida

pública, sus modestas aspiraciones en ella, y el deseo de huir el bullicio cortesano (cualidades que había heredado de su buen padre), le hacían apartar frecuentemente sus lastimados ojos del repugnante aspecto de aquella Corte corrompida, y tornábalos entonces como por instinto a aquel modesto albergue de la sencilla y patriarcal Alcarria, a la escondida Pastrana" (3). Moratín did not enjoy for one moment the intrigue and corruption of the Court, but preferred simplicity and solace. Manuel Silvela, Moratín's biographer, also records Moratín's unwillingness to be a member of a Court "cuyo poeta cesáreo no quería ser" and for which reason "atormentaba el suyo (ingenio) para no verse, a su pesar, introducido en su gabinete. (del rey)" Accordingly, "expuso a su protector la necesidad que tenía de viajar para instruirse" (4), and permission was granted. This genuine and natural aversion for company is especially strong when Moratín is faced with a corrupt Court, so he withdraws saying that he must go abroad to collect some important information. We may imagine Moratín's situation to be similar to that of some rather shy literary dignitary who is invited to a function at which he is the centre of attraction. He stays for a little while but soon says that he is afraid that he must leave in order to fulfil a business engagement. The question is, is this just a polite excuse, because he does not like being in company, or has he, in fact, some business?: if the latter is true, he is going only to a business meeting? Is the excuse which Moratín offers on his withdrawal from Court a genuine one, or is it a pretext for some more personal motive, as Dr. P. Cabañas suggests in "Moratín y la reforma del teatro en su tiempo"; he is of the

opinion that "fueron las novedades observadas en Francia, durante su primer viaje como secretario de Cabarrús, las que le impulsaron a emprender este, sin ajena tutela, llevado por un afán irreprimible de curiosidad y estudio" (5).

We saw in the ~~first~~ chapter how Moratín was preoccupied with improving the decadent state of the Spanish theatre, and how he sought to put forward, in his plays, a solution, which consisted basically of a need for a totally new approach by the dramatist, and also an adherence to certain definite rules. He was making an individual effort in a single field for the good of his country and his thoughts on this are well conveyed by a speech of don Pedro in "La Comedia Nueva"; in answer to the cafe owner, don Antonio, who has just said that there is no way of remedying the theatre, and no point in getting worked up about it, don Pedro replies: "Los progresos de la literatura, señor don Antonio, interesan mucho al poder, a la gloria y a la conservación de los imperios; el teatro influye inmediatamente en la cultura nacional; el nuestro está perdido y yo soy muy español" (6). Moratín, then, has a personal concern in the future of his country, he was too much of a patriot to let it remain in its present sad state without first making some effort to improve things.

We see from a letter written in February 1792, which accompanied a copy of Moratín's "La Comedia Nueva" sent to Floridablanca, that Moratín had the theatre very much on his mind in the months preceding his departure. He tells Floridablanca that it is not the ignorance of the public, "sino la insuficiencia de los que escriben para el Theatro (que) es la causa del abandono indecoroso en que hoy se halla este ramo

de nuestra Literatura" (7). He asks the Count to remember him if ever a reform of the theatre is contemplated; "Digo esto, señor," he says, "en virtud del estudio formal que tengo hecho del Theatro, de la esperiencia que he adquirido en él; de la persuasión en que estoy de la necesidad de su reforma y de la esperanza que todos debemos tener en verle mejorado, puesto que su renovación es tan digna de la ilustración y el zelo patriótico de V.E." (8). We may also note the didactic nature of "La Comedia Nueva" - it is in some ways almost a treatise on the theatre in dramatic form, and having been written in 1791, indicates that Moratín's concern at that time for the theatre was very great.

This concern for an improvement in the state of the theatre is also clearly seen from what Moratín says while he is in England. In a letter to Carlos III, written from London on December 14th. 1792, he proposes the creation of the post of Director of the Theatres, and states that "por medio de sus viajes a los países extrajeros, donde se cultivan con mayor perfección este ramo de la Literatura (9) cree haber adquirido en el no vulgares conocimientos, que acaso podrían ser útiles al Theatro Español, cuya reforma le parece muy necesaria y urgente" (10). In another letter to Carlos III, Moratín says that having lived for nine months in England he has gained "conocimientos muy importantes, particularmente en las Ciencias y Bellas Letras que profesa" (11), and to Godoy, at that time, the Duque de la Alcudia, he writes that he plans to go on to Italy "donde el estudio de la antigüedades sus Cortes diferentes, las formas particulares de su Gobierno, las maravillas de las Artes, el estado de su Literatura, sus Theatros y otros muchos objetos dignos de la

atención de cualquier que desea completamente instruírse, pueden añadirme nuevos conocimientos a los muy importantes que he adquirido"(12).

The reform for the theatre which Moratín proposed, and which will be discussed in a later chapter, is a product of the residence in England, and this and various other works on the English theatre (13) appear to show that Moratín's submission to his protector was not a pretext, and that actually carried out what he had planned. It cannot be denied, as will be seen later, that Moratín showed a very inquisitive approach to all that he saw in England (14), but I think that it is equally clear that there is this fulfilment of the explicit intention to travel abroad, with official backing, to collect information which would be of use in his campaign to fight the abandoned state of the theatre in particular, and Spain in general. This travel, Moratín might argue, would be of far more use to the country than him sitting around at Court in the midst of intrigue and corruption, feeling isolated and unhappy. Moratín was both a shy man, who preferred the anonymity which travel provided to the limelight of the Court, and an active man, who was personally not prepared to remain in isolated luxury while there was so much which needed to be done: he was eager to cull new ideas, from the evidence which we have so far that is, from what Moratín himself has said and what contemporaries have said about him, it is a combination of these two motives which impelled him to undertake his European journey, though I suggest that at this period the latter is the stronger.

Possibly because he has already been to Paris with Cabarrús, and was well acquainted with the route, and because on his first visit

he had seen things which would now be of especial interest to him, and which would provide a positive beginning to his undertaking, Moratín chose to go first to France rather than Italy. He arrived at the Franco-Spanish border, at the western end, on May 12th. 1792, and during May, June and July travelled north by way of Bayonne, Majex (May 17), Bélin (May 18), Bordeaux (May 18), Cubzac (May 20), Barbézieux (May 20), Angoulême (July 21), Poitiers July 22), Tours (July 23) and Orléans (July 24). On July 25th. Moratín arrived in Paris at midday. An entry in the diary for Sunday June 3rd. says "Yo, de miedo, no quise ir a París"(15) and it seems clear from this that he had received news of the violence of the Revolution there (16); we have, in fact, a preview of the situation in the capital in a diary entry for July 15th. :- "Decapitación de dos sacerdotes, Cabeza llevada por las calles; quedé paemado" (17). In Paris, Moratín again records his fear, once when the Tuilleries were stormed and also when there was a procession of heads on poles around the streets (18). Moratín was a believer in equality, freedom and progress (19), but his method of attaining this was far removed from the methods of the Revolution, and he was deeply moved and shocked and equally frightened. Since, because of the Revolution, he was unable to live in safety and peace to carry out his plans in Paris, he left the city on August 23rd. and made for the coast and Calais, where he boarded a steamer for England at 6 a.m. on the morning of August 26th.

Thus it was that Moratín first set foot in "England's green and pleasant lands", at Dover, to be precise, at midday on that same day, probably somewhat earlier and with more haste than he had anticipated, if

indeed he had intended to come at all (20). He records that the crossing produced in him a "pavor terribilis" (21). After Custom's formalities and lunch, he boarded a coach and left Dover at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, stopping the night at Canterbury. The next morning, Moratín left the inn at 5 a.m. and arrived in London at 8 p.m.; he went first to an inn in Suffolk Street, where he lodged for a week. Although there is no record of his having stopped to visit any of the towns en route, such as Bockton St., Sittingbourn, Rochester, Chaulk St., Dartford, Crayford or Deptford, something of the kind is demanded to account for the time element. The distance between London and Canterbury is 56 miles (22), and early in the nineteenth century, coaches used to take ten hours to travel from Dover to London, so that the journey from Canterbury to London would probably have taken about eight hours, bringing Moratín's arrival time, without stops, to around 1 p.m.

Some writers who have dealt with Moratín's travels in Europe have held that the date of his arrival in England was March 27th, 1792. This date can be shown to be quite erroneous by an examination of Moratín's diary, but it must be said that the error is encouraged by the date at the head of a letter written by Moratín to don Antonio Melón, published in the 'Obras Póstumas' (23):- "Londres 28 de Marzo de 1792"; the letter begins "Ayer llegué a Londres". We can only conclude that the editor was mistaken in his reading of the autograph. Further evidence for the August date, if further evidence is necessary, may be found by comparing this same letter with the diary; here is the phrase in the letter - "Hoy he visto a las Heras y al Embajador", and it appears in the

diary, under the 28th. August, as "ch Cónsul (i.e. de las Horas) y Embxador". Finally on this point, a letter written by Moratín to Carlos III on April 23rd. 1793, includes the following phrase : "y después de residir nueve meses en Inglaterra" (24); counting nine months back from April 1793, beginning and end inclusive, brings us to August 1792.

Moratín did not stay long at his lodgings in Suffolk St.(25). From the very beginning it seems that he was not happy with the general conditions of the place, for in his first letter to Melón, written on the day after his arrival, he tells him "me he metido de rondón en una casa que me cuesta una muela cada día; no sé donde iré a parar; ya te avisaré". On September 3rd., one week after arriving, he moved to a residence in "Green St.," near Leicester Square, where he remained until Christmas Eve (26). On this occasion he moved to 481, Strand (27). The letter which appears on page 132 of Vol.II of the "Obras Postumae" is out of place, and in this erroneous position suggests that Moratín moved back to Green Street in the Spring of 1793. R. Andioc (28) shows that the letter must be dated to October 1792, and thus the address given in Green Street (Number 11) refers to the same residence as that mentioned in the diary.

Almost the first remark which Moratín makes concerning England is a comment on the language: "la lengua es infernal, y casi pierdo las esperanzas de aprenderla" (29). Even six months later, he does not appear to be finding matters any easier: "Maldita es la lengua de estas gentes; no obstante traduzco ya como un girifalte; pero no se trate de hablar ni entender lo que hablen, porque es cosa perdida"(30).

The word "girifalte", or more correctly, "gerifalte", implies in its figurative sense that he can translate English very well, i.e. he can read it, but, as we see in the next phrase, he cannot make any attempt to speak it. This literary knowledge of the language he has undoubtedly gained partly as a result of his visits to the British Museum to which he goes "a ver librotas" (31), but a complete inability actually to speak the language implies that he had very little contact with the English people, and the diary confirms this (32). This state of affairs seems very strange for a man of Moratín's education and standing, but it becomes understandable if we go back once again to the effect which the attack of smallpox had on him. The only way to learn a foreign language properly is the way which was unconsciously adopted when one first learned to speak as a child, to go among those who speak it, to listen to them, and to imitate them, but with his self-consciousness among those who were not intimate friends, and his "temor de errar en lo que discurría" (33), Moratín felt unable to do this, and so was unable to get an oral knowledge. We learn however, from a letter to the Duque de la Alcudia, written in April 1793 that he has made some progress: "... después de aprehender esta infernal lengua" (34), but this probably refers to a literary rather than a spoken improvement.

In Moratín's first letter back to Spain, after the comment on the language, the next most pressing problem is that of money: "... mira en qué estado tiene tu primo la remesa que debe enviarme, pues mi bolsa ya está in extremis (35). Is it, one wonders, because he is so short of money that he says to Melón, "dale (a mi tío) esa esquila; me

hallo tan escaso de papel que no puedo escribir de otro modo" (36). This is by no means the only reference to money, and in almost every letter we find some instruction to his acquaintances in Spain on the arrangement of Moratín's finances: e.g. " ... y sobre todo no te olvides de lo del dinero" (37); "Tu primo debía haberme enviado en todo Diciembre cuatro mil reales, pertenecientes a los cuatro primeros meses del año próximo; díselo, y que por Dios, los envíe pronto" (38), and finally, " ... el dinero se iba acabando; pero no ha llegado el caso de pedir nada a nadie, loado sea Dios" (39). It appears from these examples, that Moratín found some difficulty in managing his finances while in England, and he admits as much in two official letters; firstly, to Carlos III he mentions "los muchos gastos que se le han originado en esta Corte, quizá la más cara de Europa" (40), and to the Duque de la Alcudia he says that up to now he has not applied for any assistance "aunque he padecido no poca estrechez" (41).

While in England, Moratín was always very eager to receive news of what was going on in Spain. His first letter evidences a natural curiosity: "Escribeme por el Cónsul y cuéntame cosas" (42), and his December letter indicates an even stronger desire for news: "Estoy muy escaso de noticias de mi patria, y las deseo, como debes suponer; tanto más que ahora las habrá interesantes y en gran número" (43). Even if these passages do not contain any hint of nostalgia, and the only reason for his wanting news is pure curiosity and a desire to be "au courant" with events in Spain, Moratín's October letter provides a more explicit suggestion of home-sickness and also of some nervous trouble. He says

"si en alguna carta vieras que cerdeo un tanto cuanto y que me punza el amor de mi patria; y deajo traslucir el laudable propósito de volverme a ella, envíame, para curarme tales vertigios, alguna noticia semejante a la de la apoteosis de Urquijo (44); que te quedaré sumamente agradecido y restablecerá, como por la mano, mi salud mental" (45). It may be objected that since the general tone of the letter is very light and the tone of the reference to Urquijo's elevation is joking, there is little significance in the remarks; it is just Moratín being humorous. This may be true or it may be Moratín trying to laugh off his troubles, but there is some foundation on which to base the claim that he was having some kind of difficulty with his health. Later in his residence, on June 16th., Moratín wrote to the Duque de la Alcudia, thanking him for the grant which had been made for his journey to Italy, which, he says, will take place "luego que haya tomado los baños de mar, que me han recomendado los Médicos como especial remedio para corregir la debilidad de mis nervios" (46). We see from the diary that Moratín was ill enough for him to record the fact on four occasions, the first in December 1792, and the other three in April 1793 - the 10th, 22nd, and 26th, and we note further that he visited a doctor on June 6th, ten days before the letter to Alcudia. On June 11th., he left London for a month in Southampton, during which time he went for a bath on all but three days, and even on his return to London on July 1⁰th, continued this practice right up to the day of his departure. We may note incidentally, that five years after this visit to England, the trouble seems to be still present and even developing, for in his letter resigning as Director of the Theatre,

he says that he is not a suitable candidate for various reasons, including "mi temperamento, mis inclinaciones, el quebranto que empieza a padecer mi salud ..." (47). We are given no indication as to the cause of this illness, but since it is of a nervous nature, we may suggest that financial worry may have been a part of the trouble. Besides the references in the letters to Melón, Moratín carried on a fairly protracted correspondence with the authorities negotiating a grant so that he might continue his journey to Italy. He was, it seems a very introvert type of person and it is certain that he would have worried inwardly quite considerably about his money, besides making the many references in his correspondence. We see, however, that at the end of May, he was granted a pension of 30,000 reales by the Spanish Government and that he was given 10,000 reales by Cologan, so that by the end of July he would appear to have been well off: in his letter to Melón in July, he is quite enthusiastic about this wealth: "Con estos diez mil y once veinte y seis mil que me quedarán de la ayuda de la costa, creo que hay lo que basta para ir a Mogol; te envío adjunto el poder y la fe de vida que me pediste; si te cuesta mucho la carta, pónmela a cuenta, y yo pagaré, yo pagaré" (48). Yet it is still not impossible that financial worry was a contributory cause of the illness, for although good news would be a great boost to recovery, treatment would still have to continue to bring him back to complete fitness.

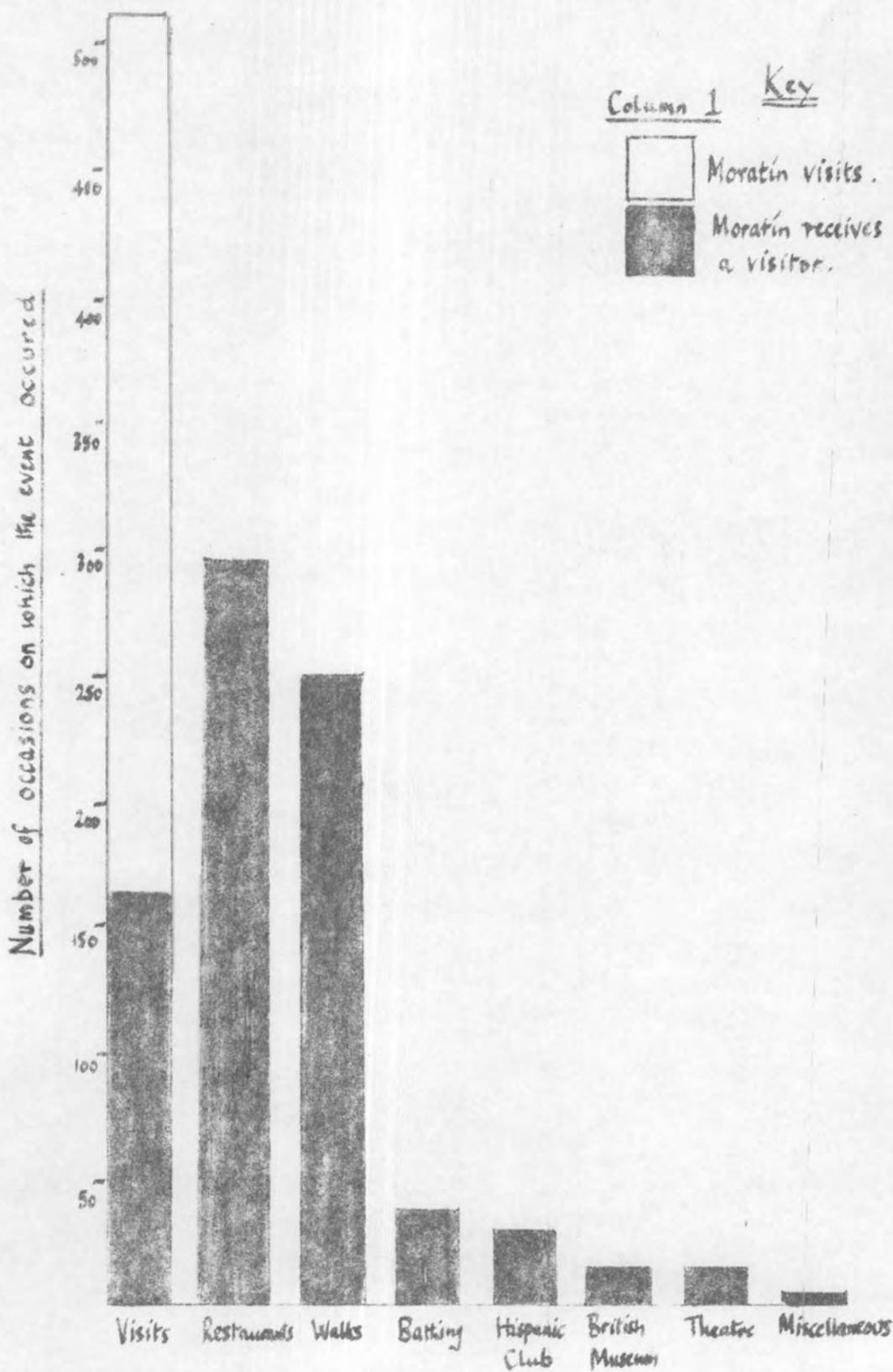
In the same letter as we get the reference to the disturbance to Moratín's "salud mental", we have, in complete contrast, what seem to be cries of enthusiasm; viz. ¡Cómo bebo cerveza ! ¡ Cómo hablo inglés !

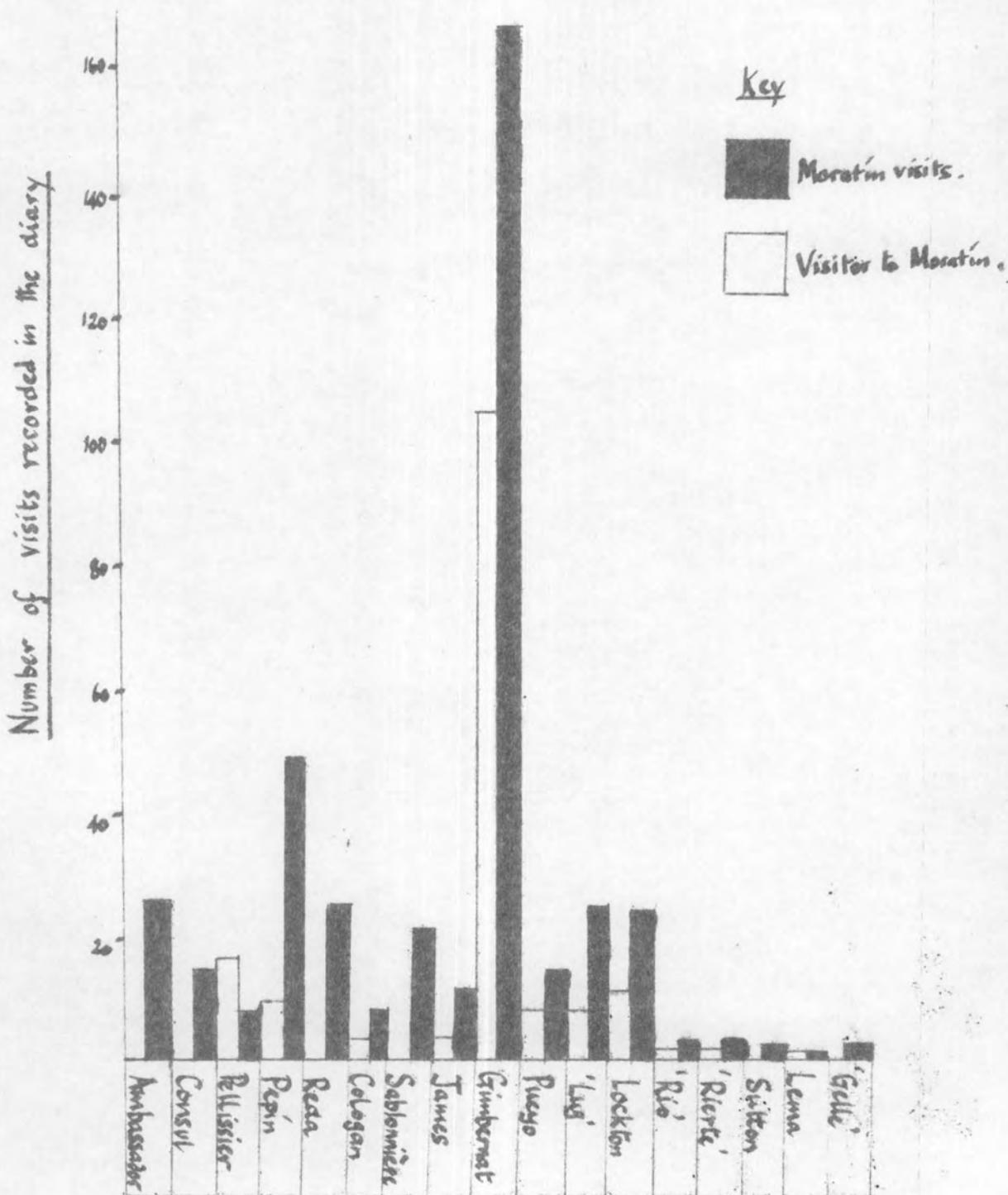
¡ Qué carreras doy por Hay-Market y Covent Garden ! Y sobre todo ¡ cómo me ha herido el cieguzuelo rapaz con los ojos zarcos de una espliguera !"

(49) This enthusiasm, however, would seem to be a little false and the tone of the phrase rather sarcastic, if we remember Moratín's claims to the difficulty which he encountered in attempting to learn the English language. Whether this was so or not, he definitely did not continue these outings for much longer, for he writes that he spent the winter "vegetando como un alcornoque" (50).

A subsequent phrase of this letter reminds us of Moratín's preference for solitude as against the mainstream of life: "hago frecuentes excursiones al jardín del convento; aquellos santos religiosos me reciben con la mayor benignidad, y mientras estoy en su compañía me olvido de las vanidades y engañosa pompa del mundo" (51). This was Moratín's English Pastoral, where he went to let his nerves settle down before returning to the rush of English life, where he went, as Luis de León did to his country estate, not necessarily just to escape from the world, but perhaps also to be able to think clearly, free from the pace, corruption and worries of everyday life. This desire for solitude is always present and is indicated again at a later date, in what Moratín says on refusing the Directorship; he could not give up writing, he says, for this was his vocation and "esto sólo podrá verificarse, no entre afanes continuos de una dirección tan extensa, tan difícil, que tantos desvelos pide, y para la qual me reconozco inútil; sino en la tranquilidad de una vida retirada y agena de tales cuidados y agitaciones" (52).

It seems to me that the financial worry was only a part of a nervous disturbance which was occasioned by the nature of England itself. We have seen, in the previous chapter, and we shall see later that Moratín, too, notes how very developed England was both in everyday life and in technology, compared with Europe in general, and Spain in particular. Being a rather introverted, shy person who preferred solitude, he was undoubtedly more affected by the change in the tempo of life than the normal person. It has been claimed that if an uncivilised savage were brought to live in a city such as London, he would die within a very short time, merely from an inability to make the requisite adjustment in the standard and pace of living. I am not suggesting for one moment that Moratín was anything but a very civilised man, but I use the extreme example only to point out the possibility that "la debilidad de mis nervios" was a result of being a part of the life in the capital of a country which was in the throes of an Industrial Revolution, which was far ahead of any country in Europe, especially of Spain, and which was moving too fast for Moratín to be able to keep pace in comfort. After a while things gradually began to get on top of him, and were not helped by financial troubles, so that he became slightly confused, and had to get away from the rush to recover his equilibrium. I suspect that the short trip to Southampton right at the beginning of May, was made with a similar motive to the trips to the convent, and that Moratín decided that the only way to help his nerves was temporarily to get right away from London, the cause of the trouble. It was shortly before this journey, we may remember, that he was ill on

How Moratín spent his time in England.

Moratín and his acquaintances.

three closely spaced occasions.

Having seen that in Moratín's own opinion he spent part of his time "vegetando como un alcornoque", we move on to see what he actually did do. The source of this information is the diary (53), which he kept up daily, noting the main features of the day, the people met, the places he visited, and the restaurants where he ate. It is in a kind of code which consists of abbreviations, devocalisations in the main, of Spanish, English, Latin, French and Italian words, all juxtaposed, and which is designed to render it more private than normal diary entries; we may note here, in passing, that this technique is another aspect indicative of Moratín's propensity for secrecy, privacy and solitude (54).

The first graph (Table 1) shows basically how Moratín spent his time in England. It is clear that the thing which occupied most of his time was either visiting or receiving friends and acquaintances, and we notice that he went out to visit roughly twice as often as he received. When we look at Table 2, which shows this feature with respect to individual people this becomes very obvious, with the lone exception of Pellissier, who visited Moratín more often than Moratín visited him. What is the reason for this? We also note from Table 1 that Moratín indulged in a great deal of walking, either in specific parks, or just generally "por las calles". This partiality for walks is observed too by Moratín's Spanish friends. Mesonero Romanos says that he was "Andarín infatigable y afecto a los puros placeres del campo recorría a pie todos aquellos contornos...." (55), and Malón records "Era un andador

incansable y encontraba cortas las distancias de Madrid para sus piernas; gustaba poco salir al campo y le entretenía más el correr calles" (56). Leaving aside the discrepancy over Moratín's like or dislike of walking in the country, we see that he was acknowledged as a great walker, and it seems to me that it was in the course of these walks, which he enjoyed so much, that he made most of his visits. We note in the diary on occasions the symbol "ñ" after the entry "ch.....", which means that this person was not in, and from this we may imply that the visit was not previously arranged, Moratín having dropped in "on spec", so to speak. It is then very possible that people came to call on him when he was out, which was quite frequently except in the late evening, thus making it seem as though Moratín did not have people come to visit him as often as in fact they did. As an alternative possibility, it may be suggested that Moratín did not have very good lodgings, that he was unwilling to entertain any but his most intimate friends, and that when others did come, it was an unarranged call. We have seen that he changed his address three times during the course of the year, a fact which suggests a personal dissatisfaction with his lodgings, but on the whole, I think that the former explanation is possibly nearer the truth.

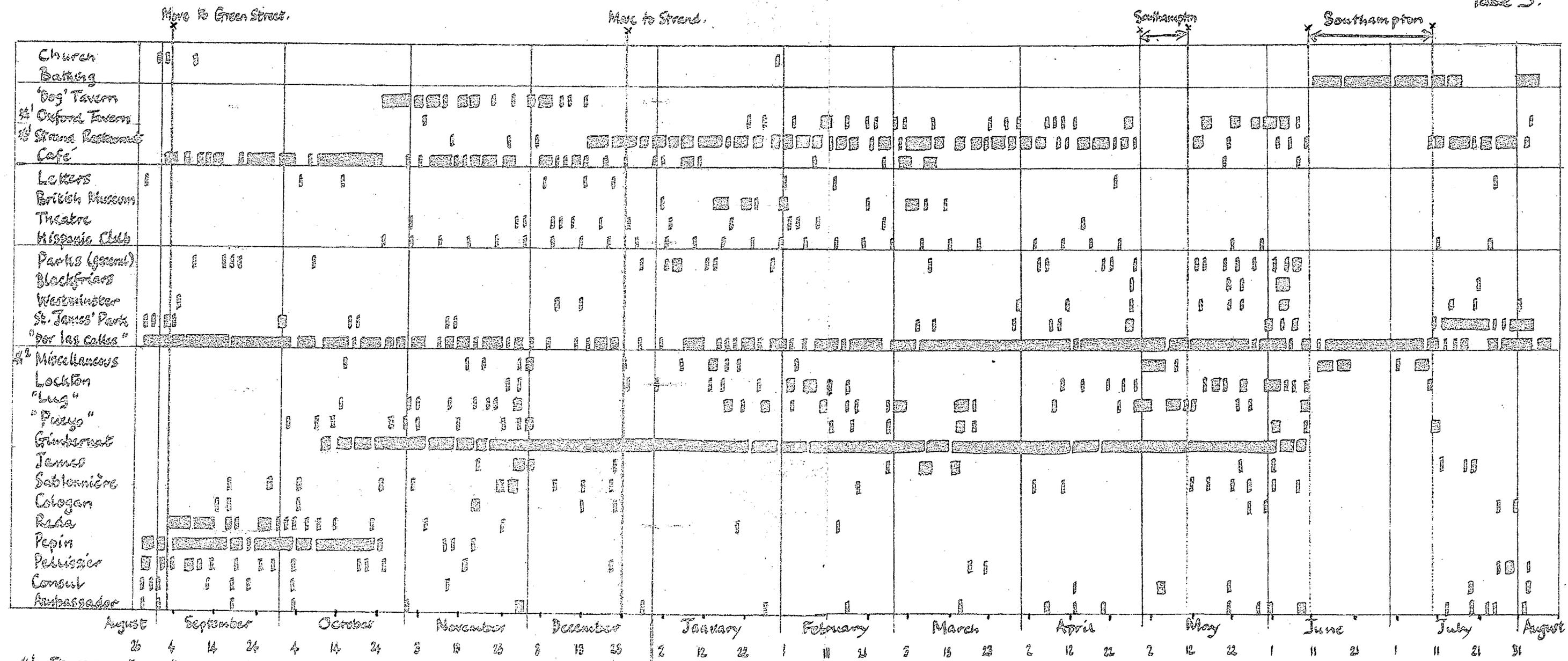
Although Moratín spent so much time visiting people, the first thing which strikes one on looking at those people with whom he was in contact in England, is the singular smallness of the circle. For a man of Moratín's eminence and learning one would have expected a far larger number than seventeen, some of whom are very infrequent visitors,

and probably more well-known persons than those whom we have; there is no record of any meeting with any of the doyens of Literature or of the Theatre. The next point of interest is the small number of English people in the circle of acquaintances. Apart from the gentlemen whom Moratín met at Southampton (57), he only seems to have been in contact with three - Messrs. Lockton, Sutton and James, and the latter two rather infrequently. We may, I think, ascribe this feature to Moratín's language problems, which have already been discussed, and consequently to his characteristic shyness. The remainder of the circle are either French or Spanish, presumably in England either in exile or on business, as for example, for the latter reason, the Consul and the Ambassador, whom Moratín visited quite regularly through the year (58). His comments to Malón seem to indicate that they had a mutual regard for each other, although one may suspect that Moratín's regard may be rather for the Ambassador's table and his ability to give aid:- "El Embajador me adora, por cuyo motivo voy a comer con él de mes en mes" (59); in a later letter, he says, "El Embajador parece buen hombre; por lo menos, tiene una mesa espléndida y delicada; le veo de quince en quince días". (60), and his last comment on him is just before setting out for Italy: "Voy muy contento del Embajador: este hombre (de quien abominan cuantos españoles he conocido aquí) me ha tratado siempre con una predilección inexplicable: me ha dado cartas para Azara y un general de dominicos, pariente suyo y el otro día hizo unos versos a mi viaje. Hay ciertos hombres que son a modo de instrumentos cortantes; si no se saben manejar, es fácil herirse con ellos; pero en cogiéndolos por el mango, son

utilísimos" (61). Cologan, as far as can be seen from references in the letters and the diary, was Moratín's financial agent in England (62), and Pellissier also appears to have had some advisory or administrative rôle, as he appears in the diary only at the beginning, for a while after Moratín's arrival, right at the end, just before the departure, and also shortly before Moratín changed his lodgings in December 1792.

The identity of the person who is well disguised by the cryptogram "Gbrt.", and occasionally slightly more fully "Gmbrnt", and who is quite obviously a very intimate friend, since he sees Moratín every day from the first meeting on October 11th. 1792 to June 9th 1793 with the exception of eighteen days (63), is rather a mystery and the only name which can be suggested is that of Gimbernat. There was an Antoni Gimbernat studying French medical techniques in Paris late in the century (64), and one wonders whether it was this same person who had come over to England to study English techniques before returning home to put his studies to practical use. Whether it was this man or not, Gimbernat was by far the most frequently in Moratín's company (65), and certain entries imply that he stayed with Moratín on one or two occasions; e.g. October 15th. - p.m. "Por las calles, a un café, aquí (a mi casa) Gimbernat." October 16th. - a.m. "con Gimbernat a la casa de Sutton y Pepin"., also similar entries November 8/9, and January 29/30. I do not think, however, that any particular significance can be attached to this, apart from the probability that he stayed because it was too late to return to his own house, as on the vast majority of occasions, Gimbernat returned home on the same night; this fact is implied by Moratín's first

Table 3.



*¹ It appears that Raha are the same place.

*² Sutton, Galle, Raha, Lema & Rho.

entry for the next day: "ch Gbrt". Moratín seems to have done most things in the company of Gimbernat and quite often went to breakfast with him before going out to visit people and places, and he is clearly the other person of the "we" used in the letters; e.g. "Vamos viendo algunas de las muchas cosas que hay que ver" (66).

We now move to look at the diary to see how Moratín spent his time in relatively general terms. To make this more comprehensible I have constructed a chart (Table 3), which is a diagrammatic representation of that part of the diary which covers Moratín's residence in England. Each black square, which represents one day, following events from left to right, means that Moratín saw that person or visited that place on the day concerned. Incidentally, Table 1 is this chart in graphical form and Table 2 is a detailed analysis of section A of the chart.

The first group of people with whom Moratín associated himself, and of whom the most intimate was Pepin, had a relatively short life, and was probably a circle of people connected with and known to the Ambassador. The meetings with this initial group begin to thin out in mid-October, that is, when Moratín comes into contact with a second circle, of which Gimbernat is clearly the most friendly, and we see that this thinning-out seems to coincide with Moratín's first visit to the Hispanic Club on October 26th. November 1792 sees the change-over of circles and a considerable drop in the visits to and from the first set of acquaintances. Visits during December are devoted almost exclusively to Gimbernat and then on Christmas Eve, Moratín moves from Green Street to the Strand. When this move takes place the first group

disappear with one or two exceptions; e.g. the Ambassador and the Consul whose functions are of a business nature; there are the isolated meetings with "Reda" and Sablonnière, with whom Moratín lunched, but they are exceptions and may perhaps be ascribed to chance meetings. The second set of acquaintances were in fact members of the Hispanic Club, and it is quite possible that Moratín changed his lodgings because of them, probably either because they were able to get him better accommodation than he had at Green Street, or perhaps because he preferred to live near them in the Strand.

During the Autumn of 1792 Moratín went for walks very regularly, but December brought a severe curtailment of these activities, a curtailment which lasts through until late February for walks through the streets and still later, until late March as far as walks in the parks are concerned. During this winter period too the number of visits, except those to and by Gimbernat diminish (67), and as with the walks, the weather was probably the cause, though it is difficult to see exactly which aspect of it (68).

With the decrease in out-door activities, the winter also brought a corresponding increase in indoor activities, which may be loosely grouped under the heading of "cultural", such as the theatre, the clubs, and museums, including the British Museum. Marias records in "Los Españoles" (69), that there were three things which Moratín liked: chocolate, to be left in peace, and to go to the theatre every day: "Sin chocolate y teatro, soy hombre muerto. Si alguna día te dicen que me he ido a vivir a Astracán, saca por consecuencia que en Astracán hay

teatro y hay chocolate". All that one can say is that in England Moratín must have been a living corpse, because most certainly he did not go to the theatre every day. From November 1792 to April 1792 only sixteen visits are recorded, and as ninety per cent of these visits seem to have been important enough to prevent him from going for a walk, it is fairly certain that he would have recorded any other visits. It is very strange that a man whose personal concern was the theatre, and who had written explicitly of the work he had done and proposed to do on the subject of reform, should have had so little contact with the English theatre. We may suspect that having finished his plan for the reform of the Spanish theatre, which was submitted to the authorities on December 20th. 1792, at which time he had visited the English theatre seven times, he devoted much of the rest of his time to satisfying his personal curiosity. We must not forget that Moratín had the germ of his reform plan in his mind before he came to England, for "La Comedia Nueva" is really nothing more than a dramatic treatise, and Moratín only needed to formalize his ideas into an official plan, which he did within four months of arriving. If all this is so, then we have been led astray by what Moratín has said in his official letters, and we are obliged to alter our opinion and suggest, as Dr. Cabañas does, without giving evidence however, that Moratín's desire to come abroad was only partly a desire to do official research on the theatre, and was primarily a desire to satisfy his own curiosity, which was perhaps first aroused by his first visit to France in 1788. Following on from this, we may suggest that he was being financed, then, for personal reasons and we

may perhaps censure Moratín for this, and we may certainly do so if he applied for a grant to continue his journey to Italy with the sole intention of going for personal reasons, using the theatre as a pretext. If we go back to the letters which we looked at when Moratín's intentions were examined (70), we must admit on retrospect that it is very difficult to discover whether what he says refers to personal or official business, and consequently it is equally difficult to say whether he is consciously lying or not. Further to these examples, he says, for instance, when applying for a grant to go on to Italy: "desearía salir de este Reyno, y antes de restituirse a España, visitar la Holanda, parte de Alemania, y concluir su viaje por Italia; país acaso el más digno de su observación y donde mas luzes puede adquirir, relativas a su facultad" (71). Is "su observación" in a personal or official capacity? Equally non-committal and vague is the statement in which Moratín recalls that "en el año pasado de 1792 salió de España con ánimo de correr varias Cortes extranjeras y adquirir toda aquella instrucción que proporcionan los viajes" (72). There is, however, one clue in a letter to Melon which just seems to catch Moratín's attitude with regard to the Government grant, which we noted in connection with his financial troubles (P. 63): "Con estos diez mil, y unos veinte y seis mil que me quedaran de la ayuda de la costa, creo que hay lo que basta para ir al Mogol". I think that here Moratín's tone is one of gentle mocking at the generous amount which he has been given, and which he will be able to use mainly for his own enjoyment, while possibly doing a token amount of official work. We cannot deny the

weight of evidence to show that Moratín was very concerned with the theatre and the necessity of an urgent reform - there is the evidence of the theatre plan and other works on the English theatre, e.g. the translation of "Hamlet", but I am led to think, by the evidence of the diary, that this was only a front to hide his real motive in coming abroad. It must be stated, however, that it was not an empty excuse, for we see that it was both legitimate and necessary, if somewhat swiftly executed (73).

Moratín's interest in other cultural matters is seen in his regular visits to the Hispanic Club, where as we have learnt, most of his friends were members. From the first occasion on October 26th. up until the beginning of May, when he left London for Southampton, Moratín attended the Club every Thursday, with the exception of March 28th. Although there is little detailed information as to what went on there, we read on several occasions that Moratín took part in debates on various subjects, and that on November 15th, on his fourth visit, he was made Secretary of the Club Committee: "e.g. scribto ex cmsion" (74).

In his February letter to Melón, Moratín tells him, "todos los días voy al Museo Británico a ver librotos" (75), but a look at the diary at this period shows this to be very far from the truth. It might have been true to say "ayer y hoy fuí", but nine days out of thirty-one can hardly be said to approach "todos los días".

With the arrival of April and the spring, and the better weather, Moratín's walks become much more frequent, as might be expected, and there is a corresponding drop in the "cultural" activities. It is

in the month of April also that Moratín began to make plans for leaving England, and we must now follow these events, though various references have already been made to them in discussing his motives for going abroad in the first place. The first hint of any idea of departure is given in a letter to Melón, dated Sunday 14th. (October), (76), in which he talks about a plan which he has for a library for "el Príncipe", and for which he says "creo poder desempeñar bien el cargo de bibliotecario de su Alteza muy serena", and then he continues, "suponiendo que haya cobrado ya un par de mesadas, saldré de aquí en Abril o Mayo, y iré a recibir tus dulces ósculos; si no quieren hacerlo (y ese dinero se ahorran) saldré en dicho mes, me haré a la vela, iré a Ostende, y de allí piano, piano, bajaré a la docta Ausonia" (77). In the next year, on April 23rd, in an official letter to the Duque de la Alcudia, he says, "habiendo llegado ya el tiempo de salir de Inglaterra" ... and he continues "Yo quisiera salir a principios del mes de Junio, o para restituirme a España, o para continuar mi viaje por Holanda, parte de Alemania, y concluirle en Italia" (78). We may note that during this time the departure date had been put back a month, possibly because he was ill at the time, or possibly because of financial problems. On the same day as this letter, he also wrote to Carlos III, saying that he had come abroad to take advantage of all the benefits which travel gave, and that now "después de residir nueve meses en Inglaterra, se ha procurado por este medio conocimientos muy importantes, particularmente en las Ciencias y Bellas Letras que profesa" (79); to further this knowledge he wishes to continue his journey to Italy.

To both he says that up until now he has travelled at his own expense, and that in doing so he has suffered a good deal of financial embarrassment. The "pensión eclesiástica" has not gone very far, and he has only been able to count on the "Beneficio, que desmoronado con rebaxas y muchas puerças de quien lo administra, no ha producido muy poco hasta ahora". Boratín therefore wishes to apply for a grant, as those who undertake scientific and economic research do (80), and he also says: "A V.S. Suplica se digne concederle, por una vez, alguna ayuda de costa pagada en Londres antes de su salida, que sea capaz de habilitarle para ocurrir a los gastos de tan largo viaje y a los de su residencia en Italia" (81). The fact that Boratín asks that the money be paid in London before his departure and not in Italy, supports the argument that he was extremely hard up at the time (82). He also asks for letters of recommendation which may be presented to the Ambassadors along his route. In a letter dated May 14th. 1793, addressed to the Ambassador in London, from Aranjuez, Boratín was granted the sum of 38,000 reales for his journey to Italy, "con el fin de acabarse de instruir en ella en los ramos de la Literatura" (83), and also the letters of introduction. The impression which Boratín gave the Spanish Government, then, was that the journey was completely for official purposes.

I think that Boratín's decision to leave England and go to Italy at that particular point was initiated by his illness, by a desire to remove himself from the cause of the trouble - London: his motive in applying to the Government for a grant seems to have been

an attempt to get some money to finance his curiosity, and it was because of the wait that he was unable to leave exactly when he had planned. The worry of the money and the tension of waiting for an answer probably did not help his nerves. On May 1st. Moratín set out with Gimbernat and "Lug." for ten days in Southampton, a record of which journey is found in the Apuntaciones (84). I have already suggested that this trip was a temporary respite from the capital to take Moratín's mind off things while he waited for a reply to his request. The journey took them through Winchester, Gosport, Windsor, and Hampton Court. From May 18th. - 20th., Moratín, Gimbernat and Lockton visited Richmond, Kew and Brentford (85), and a week later on the 26th. Moratín visited the Royal Hospital at Greenwich (86) by himself.

On May 25th. the letters of introduction were sent off from Aranjuez to the Ambassador in London (87), and the money probably followed later. It was, however, not until the 9th. June, eight weeks after the letter itself, that Moratín heard that his application had been approved, and in his diary for this day he wrote "noticia de la ayuda de costa para Ausonia". On the following day, Moratín wrote to the Duque de la Alcudia thanking him very much for the grant and saying that he would leave as soon as he had received his medical treatment. Having seen the doctor on the 6th., and having then been recommended to take the sea waters, rather as don Francisco de Bringas was recommended in Galdos' novel "La de Bringas", Moratín had doubtless made his arrangements for this trip, so he could not leave England immediately,

(in fact, we see that he left for the seaside on the 11th.)

Moratin's choice of seaside resort was Southampton; he had obviously become very attached to the place during his first visit for he records in the Apuntaciones that in this town "hallé una preciosidad digna de la admiración de cualquier viajero (88), and that its amenities and position "hacen agradable a cualquier su residencia en esta ciudad y dolorosa el dejarla" (89). He spent a month there bathing very regularly (90), and recording the sea temperature, and showing great obedience to his doctor's instructions with such comments as, on the 13th. June - "baño, frío, estremecimiento terrible". Finding suitable lodgings seems to have been Moratin's Waterloo, for twice within the month we find the entries "Traslación de trastos" (June 12th.) and "Mudanza de trastos a la posada de Mr. Knight (sic)". (June 18th.). He met and stayed with several English gentlemen here, and went for a walk almost every day, even when it was raining. On July 9th. he left Southampton at 9 p.m. and arrived back in London at 6 a.m. the next morning.

Moratin continued his bathes in London, probably as much to keep himself cool as for medical reasons, since July 1793 was notable for its heatwave, the hottest day being the 16th, when a temperature of 93°F was recorded in North London (91), on which day Moratin records "chaud". In this period also there is a noticeable increase in the number of walks, especially to St. James' Park, and a corresponding decrease in the visits, both of which features may be ascribed to the good weather. The only visits which he now makes, in fact, are those

connected with his departure, for example, to the Consul and the Ambassador to arrange for the money to be paid and to arrange papers etc. On July 26th, we learn, the Ambassador gave Moratín £332, that is, the 30,000 reales Government grant for which he had been negotiating since April. He also made several visits to the Post Office, and on the 22nd July he went to see a notary, all doubtless to in connection with his financial arrangements (92). In his final letter from England to Melón, written on July 26th, Moratín tells him "Dentro de cuatro o seis días saldré de aquí para Italia; los pies me bullen, y sobre todo no hay que esperar a que el tiempo se arrugue" (93) - so obviously he was eager to leave England, the need to get some money being the only bar up until then. On August 2nd, he took his leave of the Ambassador, and of the Consul on the following day. Three days later, on the 5th., he had his last bathe in English waters and at 7 p.m. left the capital for Dover, staying the night at Rochester. Moratín had to wait in Dover for three days because of adverse weather conditions in the Channel, and he spent the time in the company of a certain Mr. Mason, in talking to the captain of the steamer, and also in watching French clerics returning to France. On the 9th. the weather was judged favourable and at 10.30 a.m. Moratín left England at the spot at which he had entered it 346 days beforehand, and we may perhaps apply to him, with due correction, the comment which he himself passes on the French clergy, who, leaving England, were "tan oscuras de lengua inglesa, al cabo de un año de manosear el diccionario, como la madre que los parió", (94). The

steamer arrived on the other side of the Channel, this time at Ostend, at 5 p.m. and Moratín spent the night at the port before continuing his long journey to Italy.

This does not pretend to be anything more than a general account of the main features of Moratín's residence in England, for a detailed account would really only be a reiteration of what is in the diary, but even as such, we do get some idea of Moratín's temperament. The closed circle of friends and acquaintances, most of whom are French or Spanish is indicative of his self-acknowledged shyness and his inability to grasp the English language. The love of walking points to a desire to get out and about, to satisfy his curiosity, and Moratín's comment "yo sigo vegetando como un alcornoque", written in the middle of winter when he was not able to go for walks very often, emphasises this point: he felt quite lousy when obliged to remain indoors. The nervous trouble which seems to have affected him during a good part of his stay, which was possibly the result of the great change in the pace of living, and which was further aggravated by a certain inactivity in the winter due to the weather, and also by the tensions of the financial arrangements, shows a basically shy and nervous man who felt that the life of this capital city was pushing him along faster than he wanted to go, and who, because of this often stepped out of the mainstream to recover his balance and to rest a while. He was a man who preferred quiet and solitude to noise and rush, a man of the eighteenth century not of the nineteenth, a glimpse of which he obviously caught in England. Moratín seems to have spent relatively

little time on his "official" research once the theatre reform plan was completed, and we cannot dismiss the possibility that the request for a grant to travel to Italy was to get him out of financial difficulties, and also to allow him to continue to look round for his own pleasure, though with a little "official" work to clear his own conscience and prevent any accusation that he was using official funds purely for personal ends. We have seen that he carried out the research on the theatre which he had planned, and also that the theatre was very dear to his heart, but on this trip abroad it had a rival, his own curiosity, and the former tended to get used as a shield for the latter.

It is these personal views of England that we shall examine now, the things which Moratín saw and which impressed him, the places he visited, all of which are described in the "Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra".

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.

1. Obras Postumas de Moratin (Madrid 1867), volume 3, p.394.
(Hereafter quotations from these volumes will be referred to thus:-
O.P. vol... P...)
2. O.P. 3 Pp. 301-6.
3. O.P. 3 P.395.
4. O.P. I. Pp. 21-22.
5. Moratín y la reforma del teatro de su tiempo (Madrid 1944) Pp.2-3.
6. "La Comedia Nueva", B.A.E. Vol. 2. Act II, sc.V. P.369a.
7. Cabañas op.cit. P.11.
8. Ibid, P.12.
9. It is a complicating factor to note that Moratín here contends that the English theatre is so good, yet in a letter written from England he comments "El teatro inglés es capaz de consolar a los españoles, a los italianos, y aun a los malabares, de las extravagancias del suyo" (O.P.II P.132 Carta XXII). This apparent contradiction tends to lend weight to the argument, later, that Moratín, while announcing that his aim in going abroad was to study the theatre and bring back ideas which could be used to re-establish the Spanish theatre, was really more interested in travel from a personal angle. The letter reveals the intimate, unguarded comment on the truth, while the official document adheres to fiction for reasons which were financial and which will become clear later. The theatre is discussed in Chapter 7.
10. Cabañas, op.cit. P.13.

11. Ibid P.22. The letter is dated at 23rd April 1793.
12. Ibid P.20.
13. O.P. 3. Pp. 176-188.
14. See Chapter 4. P. 115.
15. O.P. 3. P.244.
16. This is evidence of the efficiency of the Spanish customs in keeping out news of the Revolution for fear of similar action; see Sarrailh, op.cit. P.289.
17. O.P. 3. P.245.
18. Ibid. P.246.
19. See Chapter 5, Pp 141 ff.
20. Evidence of this may be found in a letter to Antonio Melón (O.P. 2, P.132):- "Si los franceses no estuvieran locos, no hubiera yo venido a ver las inmortales obras de Shakespeare". It seems probable from this, that Moratín had only planned to go to France and Italy, and that his visit to England was a safety measure; presumably he intended to go back to France when the trouble had died down.
21. O.P. P.246.
22. Royal Kalendar (1797) P.37.
23. O.P. 2. P.125. The point is also dealt with by René Andioc "Remarques sur l'Epistolario de D. Leandro Fernández de Moratín" in "Mélanges offerts a Marcel Bataillon par les Hispanistes français" (Bordeaux 1962) P.287, and by Miguel S. Oliver in "Los Españoles en la Revolución Francesa," (Madrid 1914) P.104 n.l.

24. Cabañas op.cit. P.22.
25. Suffolk St. is off the Haymarket on the East side, to the south of St. James St.
26. The street at the south-east corner of Leicester Square is now called Irving St. and Moratín's lodgings (No.11) may be seen from Horwood's map (1797) to be on the south side of the street at the east end, that is, just round the corner from Castle St. (now Charing Cross Rd.,) - where the Garrick Hotel now stands.

The inn which Moratín frequented while at this address, the "Dog", or more fully, the "Dog and Duck", stands in Bateman St., about four minutes walk from Green Street, and the landlord informed me that although the present building had only been there for about 150 years, the previous building had been only a hundred yards away in Soho Square at the corner of Sutton Row.

27. At this time, before the creation of Trafalgar Square as it is now, the Strand continued further westward. No. 481 is shown on Horwood's map to be on the north side almost at the end, the numbers continuing to 487. It was opposite the end of Northumberland St.
28. O.P. 3, P.132.
29. O.P. 2, P.125.
30. Ibid P.129.
31. Ibid P.129.
32. See P.66.
33. O.P. 3, P.304.
34. Cabañas, op.cit. P.21.

35. O.P. 2, P.125.
36. O.P. 2, P.126.
37. O.P. 2, P.126.
38. O.P. 2, P.127.
39. O.P.2, P.128.
40. Cabañas, op.cit. P.22.
41. Ibid, P.21.
42. O.P.2, P.126.
43. Ibid.
44. Urquijo (1768-1817)^m held views which supported independence and liberty. He wrote a Spanish translation of Voltaire's "La mort de Cesar", whose "Discurso preliminar" laid open the abuses of penal legislation; this amounted to no less than an open attack on the Inquisition and this body ordered Urquijo's seizure. He was saved however, thanks to the influence of Floridablanca who placed him in the Diplomatic Corps. In 1792 he was made an official "de la primera secretaría de Estado". Moretín's allusion is to this sudden rise.
45. O.P.II P.131.
46. Cabañas, op.cit. P.25.
47. Ibid, P.38.
48. O.P.2, P.133.
49. O.P. 2, P.132.
50. Ibid. P.126; see also Chapter 5, note 86 and text.
51. Ibid. P.126.

52. Cabañas, op.cit. P.39. The desire to be alone may be attributed to a facet of Moratín's character described as "resignación", and defined by Lázaro Carreter as "cesación de la protesta ante un acontecimiento penoso" (quoted in *Insula* No. 161 April 1960, "Moratín resignado"); this facet noted by various commentators throughout Moratín's life.
53. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid m.s. No. 5617.
54. It may also be indicative of a pre-Romantic temperament. Many of the works of Romantic writers are very subjective and are full of personal ideas, and references which are extremely difficult to comprehend unless one knows the details of the writer's life; the era of the 'ego' was beginning.
55. O.P. 3, P.396.
56. Ibid, P.386.
57. Messrs. Taylor, Vincent, Rollenstonwiton, Bernard, Knighth (sic).
58. See Table 3.
59. O.P. 2, P.129.
60. Ibid, P.132.
61. Ibid, P.133.
62. Ibid, P.132 Carta XXIII.
63. See Table 3.
64. Sarrailh, op.cit. P.355.
65. See Table 2.
66. O.P. 2, P.129.
67. This tends to indicate the closeness of the friendship.

68.

Walks.

	<u>in</u> <u>Bad weather</u>	<u>in</u> <u>Good weather</u>	<u>No walk recorded.</u>
Oct. 13		12	6
1792 Nov. 6		12	12
Dec. 4		6	21
Jan. 18		1	12
1793 Feb. 11		3	14
March 22		6	3

In October, January and March the number of walks in bad weather exceed the number of days on which no walk is recorded, but the reverse is true in November, December and February, presumably because of the cold:-

	<u>No walk.</u>	<u>Cold.</u>	<u>Rain.</u>	<u>Fog.</u>	<u>Snow</u>	<u>Hail.</u>
Oct.	6	-	2	-	-	-
Nov.	12	7*	1	1	-	-
Dec.	21	16*	9	-	2	- (1)
Jan.	12	12*	4	1	-	- (1)
Feb.	14	9*	5	-	-	-
Mar.	2	1	-	-	-	1

* = most frequent example of bad weather (1) Combination of factors present.

While the cold may be a factor in the lack of activity in November, December and February, then, we must seek some other factor, possibly social, to explain this lack in other winter months.

(Meteorological data extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, 1792-1793.)

69. P.84.

70. See Pp. 55-56.

71. Cabañas op.cit. P.22.

72. Ibid.

73. Having found certain aspects of the English theatre which he thought might fit in with his official research, Moratín no doubt

considered that he could legitimately, if on somewhat tenuous grounds, apply for financial aid which would keep him in pocket and allow him to enjoy himself in fulfilling his personal desires.

74. See Table 3.

75. O.P. 2. P.129.

76. See Andioc, op.cit. P.288.

77. O.P. 2., P.131.

78. Cabañas op.cit. P.20.

79. Ibid, P.22.

80. Ibid, P.21.

81. Ibid, P.22-3.

82. See P.61.

83. Cabañas, op.cit. P.23.

84. O.P. I. Book 2, article 8, pp. 208 ff.

85. O.P. I, 2/10.

86. O.P.I, 2/9.

87. Cabañas, op.cit. P.24.

88. O.P.I. P.213.

89. O.P.I. P.212.

90. See Table 3.

91. Gentleman's Magazine 1793 (Part 2), P.662; the writer comments: "such a degree of heat is uncommon even in southern parts of Jamaica!".

92. This visit was equally possibly in connection with the requirements of the Alien Act (see Appendix 1); there is also a record in the diary of a visit to a Justice of the Peace soon after the introduction of the Act (see Appendix 1).

93. G.P. 11. P. 132.

94. G.P. 1. P. 272.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE APUNTACIONES SUeltas DE INGLATERRA : FORM.

The eighteenth century was, as was seen in Chapter One, a century notable for its vogue of travel, to all parts of the globe, to places both on and off the map, in search of knowledge and as far as Spain was concerned, salvation, and for the accounts of these journeys which soon reached those who preferred to discover how other peoples lived from the comfort of their armchair. In the realm of fiction, imaginary travellers sought Utopias and went into wild flights of fancy to show how irrational life was in Europe: "foreign visitors" came to a country and with calm irreverence laid bare the anomalies defects and vices of the system, revealing only illogicality and absurdity. Examples of this type of approach can be seen in the "Lettres Persanes" of Montesquieu, in Oliver Goldsmith's character Lun Chi Altagi, who visited London and ridiculed many aspects of English life, and in Cadalso's Gazel Ben Ali. There were too, the many books which related the idiosyncrasies of foreigners, their institutions and their way of life. Actual experience was the great thing - notions which had previously been taken for granted could now be checked in the light of actual experience, and practices thought to be based on reason were found to be mere custom and vice versa. Nearly every book written gave an explicit assurance that what was to follow was the plain unbiased truth, for only a foreigner could possibly stand outside the ring of prejudice and look dispassionately on what he saw. Paul Hazard epitomises the scene very accurately in the first chapter of his book "European Thought in the Eighteenth century", called "The Ubiquitous Critic".

The "Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra" (1) consist of a

series of forty-nine articles on English life, the English character, English institutions, details of journeys and visits made by Moratín, a "Historia del Teatro Inglés" translated from English sources, and a translated extract from "A new guide to the City of Edinburgh (1792): "acera del Teatro de Escocia". These articles are divided into four "Cuadernos": Cuaderno I contains twenty-nine articles, Cuaderno II: thirteen, Cuaderno III : five, and Cuaderno IV is devoted entirely to the English Theatre, but only ten pages are actually concerned with the contemporary theatre. The length of the articles is extremely irregular, ranging from a mere two lines (Cuaderno I article 3) to ten pages (2/8); there is a similar irregularity in what may be called the length/ importance ratio : for example, Moratín devotes one and a half pages to a visit to a menagerie (1/14), while the important and, in England, unique question of religious toleration is dismissed in summary fashion in a matter of ten lines (1/15) (2); in contrast to this treatment, one German writer devotes 224 pages to a discussion of the state of religion in England (3).

One is struck at the outset by the abrupt opening to the work; there is no preface, no word of introduction, we enter straight into the first article: "Encontrones en las calles", and indeed the next two after this are extremely short and abrupt. What is the reason for such a presentation ? Four possible explanations may be proffered: the first is that Moratín wished to convey in some manner his feelings on arriving in the English capital, the bustle, the feeling of being "désorienté", of being left standing, so to speak. This he attempted to do by starting

directly on the first article, a brief one, and following it with two other equally short ones; we are then into the work and the pace slows up. Moratín himself had not really planned on coming to England so soon, if at all, and he had been forced to change his plans of staying in France because of the Revolution and had come to England rather unexpectedly. (see Ch.3.) Three fleeting impressions convey the idea of someone somewhat overwhelmed with what he sees, but soon becoming more accustomed to the pace. We must not forget that Moratín was doubtless disturbed by what he had seen in France and was probably still affected by the shock (4).

The second explanation, suggested by Julian Marías in "Los Españoles", is that Moratín puts in no introduction because none is needed. Marías believes that Moratín never felt "dépaysé", but lived in the belief of the unity of Europe, England being a part of this union. Thus there is no need for an introduction to the "Apuntaciones", Moratín can go right "in media res" for the one reason that he has never come out of his "ambiente"; he is as much at home in England as in France or Spain. Despite the merits of this, throughout the "Apuntaciones" we get the feeling that Moratín sees England as something different from Europe; he lays stress on how the pride of the English makes it almost impossible for the foreigner to get accepted (5), and on the almost impenetrable walls of Customs' duties: "El sistema de aduanas de Inglaterra, murallas impenetrables a la industria extranjera ..." (6). England is isolated and of her own volition, or so it would seem from Moratín's record, and so this explanation of Marías appears to hold less plausibility.

The third possible explanation derives from the actual

title of the work : The "Apuntaciones" : the work is possibly, as the title suggests, nothing more than a series of notes which were never completely finished as far as the preface and the expansion of some of the articles was concerned. On leaving England, Moratín may have been preoccupied with the plans for his stay in Italy and his health, and the "Apuntaciones" may have been put on one side and forgotten, until discovered after his death, and then published as they stood.

The fourth comes as the result of an idea that these notes were meant to be nothing more than a personal record of Moratín's stay in England, sparked off by an innate curiosity, and were not a part of that vogue of travel writing of the eighteenth century. Had he been writing for an audience, his comments would not have been so bare - he would have constructed a fuller narrative, and written an introduction. While I would accept that the "Apuntaciones" would probably have been written despite the vogue of travel literature, because of Moratín's innate curiosity (7), I do not think that they are a purely personal thing, meant only for Moratín himself. The terseness of phrase, which, it might be argued, is due to the fact that the "Apuntaciones" were meant to be nothing more than a personal record of the stay in England, is quite probably the natural result of Moratín's personal make-up, having its source in the attack of smallpox which he suffered at the age of four: he says in his Autobiography "Perdí con las viruelas aquella seguridad de mis opiniones, aquella facilidad de trato que antes me hacía tan amable; me quedó el talento y con él un temor de errar en lo que discurría que me hizo silencioso y meditabundo" (8): after this attack, he would only say

what was necessary, afraid of making mistakes, and clearly lacking in confidence. The neo-classic school, of which Moratín was regarded a champion, taught among other things clarity of expression, order and spoke loud and long against verbosity. In the Apuntaciones we see a clarity of expression a certain economy of phrase, Moratín giving his information in a rather peremptory manner so as to make the comprehension of the matter as straightforward as possible; he has no wish to clutter up his work with unnecessary "fringe" material and verbose expressions, for it was against the precepts of his school and also unnatural to his character. This desire to say things as economically as possible is well illustrated in a passage from Book III : "Quise haber hecho un largo artículo acerca de la pronta comunicación que hay de unas provincias a otras ...; pero creo haber hallado un medio de reducir a menos palabras esta materia" (9).

The second piece of evidence, a set of phrases, makes it apparent that a third party is being addressed; e.g. "Daré una idea de esto (los brindís) la siguiente lista de los brindís y canciones con que se celebró en Portsmouth, el día 18 de Enero de 93, el cumpleaños de la Reina, en una comida pública" (10); likewise, "pero antes de referir lo ocurrido en ella (la comida), convendrá apuntes ligeramente las circunstancias en que se celebró" (11); similar examples, whose style also points to a third party being addressed, may be found in O.P. I, Pp.167, 176, 182, 194, 208, O.P. III 339. The use of the possessive adjective "nuestro", and of the first person plural also seem to evidence the intention of a public; Moratín is a representative of Spain in England,

and he associates himself with his fellow countrymen and them with him in contrast to the English, as he makes his tour of London and the provinces, e.g. "Nosotros, dueños de toda la América y de Filipinas, no gozamos de este privilegio ..." (12); "Cada una de ellas (las gacetas) equivaldrá, lo menos, a tres de nuestras gacetas comunes" (13); other examples are to be found on Pp. 170, 174, 185, 206. Further to these examples, there is on page 175, the phrase "En la calle llamada Strand". It appears to be quite obvious that Moratín himself would have known that Strand was a street, having lived in the capital for a year, and in fact in that street for about eight months, but a Spaniard would in all probability have been ignorant of this, and the phrase is meant to be an explanatory note to the reader. On P.225, we meet the phrase - "y es a mi entender" - it seems unlikely that Moratín would have included the phrase if he had been writing for himself and the purpose of it seems to be to intimate to the reader that this is his personal opinion, on some point on which he feels strongly. Here he is speaking about the compulsory closing of all entertainments on Sundays, and says "y es, a mi entender, un precepto muy duro decirle a un hombre: no trabajes hoy, no te diviertas, no hagas nada". We encounter similar examples on Pp.136 and 185.

The only reference which Moratín makes to the Apuntaciones, in a letter to don Antonio Melón is another piece of evidence which may help to throw light on the nature of the public. Moratín tells his friend Melón : "entre semana vamos viendo algunas de las muchas cosas que hay que ver de las cuales hemos formado una larga lista, y esto producirá

a la patria doctísimas elucubraciones" (14). It is the last words of this sentence which are the important ones. In its literal meaning the phrase would mean very learned meditation and study, but I think that here the sense is ironic. The rest of the letter, as with a good deal of Moratín's correspondence to Melón, is written in a joking, ironic vein and in these circumstances the phrase comes to have the sense of very superficial, trifling literary gossip, such as might be heard in the "tertulias". Further, I do not think that simply because Moratín uses the phrase "a la patria", it can necessarily be assumed that he means that the Apuntaciones will be read by the whole country. It is a loose phrase of extent and can be translated very well by the English "back home", which can refer as easily to one's circle of friends as it can to the whole country. The implication of this phrase, then, seems to be that a small literary public is intended and we move now to further evidence to support this.

The use of rhetorical questions is a literary device which is often used simply to produce the effect of an elevated style, sometimes in burlesque, sometimes in all seriousness to produce a special effect. It can be used to impress the reader and to create interest in a certain line of thought which an author wishes to put over. By means of a dialogue of question and answer, the author can also introduce his case more forcefully, and he stimulates the thoughts of his readers by posing the questions and then providing his own answers, which may or may not coincide with those of the readers; in any case, he draws the reader's attention to the subject, and the reader finds the effect more pleasant than a mere statement of fact. An example of this effect is found on

Pp.202-203 (15), where Moratín poses several questions concerning England's position in the world, and in response, he puts forward his own theories as to why it is so powerful a country.

The use of sarcasm and irony brings us to another use of stylistic effects; they are effects which tend to presuppose some third party on which the remarks will have some kind of reaction, be it amusement or pain; in any case, the author will have had the intention of provoking some kind of reaction; for example, in the article on the menagerie, Moratín says that the young rhinoceros which he saw had a horn 3 inches long, while there was an older one whose horn was $2\frac{1}{2}$ "cuartos" long, "por donde, hecho un cálculo prudencial, se puede inferir que cuando un rinocerente llega a su natural estatura, no será menor que el elefante" (16). This type of remark, but its very nature, demands a reaction, it is a probe which is designed to catch either a laugh, a groan, and which is often used by a person in order to draw attention to himself, or to make himself felt; one does not do this merely for one's own entertainment. Further to this, sarcasm and irony seem to be among those effects which would be used and most appreciated by a fairly intelligent person; they are the type of effect to be expected in a "salon". Someone less intelligent would probably take the remarks seriously, as they stood, and would miss the whole point. Many of these remarks would possibly be included for the benefit of Moratín's friends and acquaintances, of whose level of humorous appreciation he would be aware, and they too would know his sense of humour, and know that he was playing games. One could almost say that they are a kind of "in" joke.

We have already seen that Moratín came out of his shell only when in intimate company, where he retained his self-assurance and wit. Melón recounts that Moratín had the ability to imitate people and that he often did so among his friends -

"Remedaba con facilidad todos los caracteres. Sobresalía entonces en Madrid, por su elegancia en vestido y peinado, el abate Guevara y Vasconcelos, Secretario de la Academia de la Historia, hombre honrado y bueno, aunque muy afectado y pagado de su poco saber: Moratín imitaba su gesto, su voz, su continente, y sus palabras, y le hacía decir los más graciosos disparates que se pueden imaginar, El caso es que el apenas le conocía También imitaba a veces el carácter afectado de Jovellanos, el del poeta Huerta, el del buen Carlos III en sus diálogos con el conde de Losada, y otros muchos, con gracia inimitable" (17). The use of sarcasm and irony, it seems to me, may be considered as an instance of an effect very similar in aim and nature to that of imitating people. Both are designed to poke fun at someone or something, the only difference being that the one is abstract, the other physical.

We may therefore suggest that a fairly intimate and intelligent public was intended for the Apuntaciones. Moratín's curiosity and his desire to be aware of all that was going on was a motivation for the existence of the Apuntaciones independent of the vogue of travel literature. Had this vogue never existed, the Apuntaciones would still have been written, but they would have had a different form, for the Apuntaciones were written, I think, in imitation of this vogue. If we take into account what was said in Chapter I about

the replacement of major forms of art by minor forms, it may be that the Apuntaciones were written as an imitation of this movement, or guide book in miniature - miniature in length and in size of public, that is. If Moratín was inclined to imitate people, it is quite possible that he would be able to imitate a particular literary style. It must be stressed, however, and it will later be seen, that the facts presented are not exaggerated or distorted as a result. If he burlesques the style, he presents the facts as they are; there may be a laugh of amusement or scorn, but the basic truth of the information is inviolate.

This discussion is designed to show that the terseness of phrase is a part of Moratín's character, it is a precept of his school, that he would not say in one hundred words what he could say equally well in ten; that there is stylistic evidence to suggest that Moratín was writing, not to a vast nation, (18), with the aim of spreading enlightenment, but to an intimate circle of literary friends, with the aim of entertaining them with an account of his travels.

To discuss the form of the Apuntaciones further, it is now necessary to examine the range of subjects which Moratín deals with, to try to show what plan he used in his presentation, and to consider how far this was typical of what other writers did. It was once stated by the eighteenth century Socinian philosopher Joseph Priestly that History like Nature, was "a mighty maze" but not without a plan" (19). At first sight, the first part of this phrase could well be applied to the Apuntaciones, for there appears to be little in the way of order (20).

Cuaderno I.

1. Encontronos en las calles
2. Pediguñes
3. Carteles
4. Quema de Papa.
5. Pinturas poligráficas.
6. Tiempo de Pascuas.
7. Embriaguez.
8. Comidas públicas.
9. Otras.
10. Clubs y asociaciones.
11. Trastos para tomar té.
12. Iglesia de San Pablo.
13. Aniversario de Carlos I.
14. Casa de animales.
15. Artículos de la religión
anglicana.
16. Pies de las inglesas.
17. Deuda nacional.
18. Cueros de Irlanda.
19. Orgullo inglés
20. Caricaturas.
21. Taciturnidad inglesa.
22. Nobleza.
23. Adulterio.
24. Suicidio.
25. Matrimonio de eclesiásticos.
26. Museo Liberiano.
27. Carbón de piedra.
28. Batas y escofietas.
29. Maderas de Indias.

Cuaderno II.

1. Carta al Rey de Inglaterra.
2. Equitación. Mujeres a Caballo
3. Defectos capitales en el trato inglés.
4. Socorros a los pobres.
5. Carros tirados por borricos.
6. Príncipe de Gales
7. ¿Quién es aquel ?
8. Viaje a Winchester, Southampton.
Portsmouth, Windsor etc.
9. Greenwich.
10. Richmond y Kew.
11. Domingos.
12. Academia de Artes.
13. Entierros.

Cuaderno III.

1. Inscripción curiosa.
2. Coches de alquiler.
3. Gacetas.
4. Coches de camino.
5. Judíos.

Cuaderno IV.

- Teatros materiales de Londres.
Declamación y Canto.
Historia del teatro en Inglaterra.
Teatro de Escocia.

Connected topics are to be found all over the list (21); a few lines on religion are sandwiched between an account of a visit to a menagerie and a discussion of the feet of English females; a visit to a museum is found described after a discussion of clerical marriages and before a piece of information on English coalmines and the problems of smoke in London. Other equally haphazard examples could be quoted, and it is only when one makes a careful examination of the text in conjunction with Moratín's diary that any coherent pattern seems to evolve; it is when chronological criteria are applied to the list of subjects that the second part of Priestly's phrase comes true. Certain dates can be fixed by references both explicit and implicit in the text, but it is the diary which provides the major clues. The following is a plan of the Apuntaciones which I have constructed from both these sources, and shows the chronological basis followed by Moratín.

Chronological Plan of the Apuntaciones.

Cuaderno I.

1.)
2.) These are things which Moratín would notice from the outset of his
3.) stay in England - they are common everyday sights.
4. Text: "En el 5 de Noviembre se celebra el aniversario de la famosa conjuración".
5. Diary: 20th. December - "ic Gbrt. ꝑ il à pictas Poligrficas".
6. Text: Christmas - 25th December.
7. Text: Drinking and Dinners associated with Christmas.
8. Text: Reference to a Dinner at Portsmouth to celebrate the Queen's birthday "el día 18 de Enero de 93."

9. Text: "se anunció por los papeles diarios una comida pública para los amigos de la libertad de la prensa, en la citada taberna de Crown and Anchor.
- Diary: 19th January 1793 - "ad Crown (and) Ancre Tvern ubi bnqte librttis epogrfias, declmaciones, mngn.".
- 10.
- 11.
12. Diary: 4th February 1793 - "vid S Paul Curch. usq. pnculm".**
13. Text: "El día 30 de Enero, aniversario de la muerte de Carlos I, degollado en Londres Diary: 30th January 1793 - "Vetmster aniversario ex Chris I".
- 14.
15. Text: "El celebre Lord Jorge Gordon, sentenciado a cinco años de prision por revoltoso y tumultuario ... "The Gentleman's Magazine reports that Lord George Gordon was "remanded to prison" on the 28th January 1793; the article is thus fixed at a time after this date, probably soon after.
- 16.
17. Text: Quotation taken from the "Correo de Londres de 21 de Setiembre de 1792". From January onwards Moratín spent time in the British Museum and in all probability read back issues of the daily newspapers there, thus the early date.
18. Text: "Correo de Londres de 28 de Setiembre (sic) 1792". This date, a week later than the date in the last article shows Moratín working through the back numbers. There is, in this

article, also an extract from "el Monitor del día 12 de Febrero de 1793". The article is, then, fixed at a time after this latter date.

19.

20.

21.

22.

23.

24. Text: Moratín gives some statistics on suicides in London "desde el mes de Octubre de 92 hasta el de Marzo del año siguiente". The article cannot, therefore, have been written before the end of February 1793. **

25.

26. Diary: 25th February 1793 - "ch Gbrt ç il Museum Livrianum".

27.

28.

29.

Cuaderno II.

1. Text: Heading to the Article "Parte de una carta dirigida al Rey de Inglaterra por J. Gorani, francés, Paris, 1.^o de Febrero de 1793 (Véase Le Moniteur 22 Febrero). Once again the dating is rather imprecise, but the article can be fixed probably in March 1793 after I. 24.

2. Diary: 6th April 1793 - "ç il (Gbrt) à Hstley equitción".

3.

4.

5.

6. Diary : During the month of April, Moratín spent some time going for walks in the parks of London - e.g. "7th: Hyd. Pak"; 8th: "St. Jmes Pak"; 10th: "gran paseo in S. Jmes. Park"; 27th: "Prc. S. Jmes". 28th: "Prc. St. Jmes". During these walks he could have seen the "Príncipe de Gales, esto es, al heredero de la corona, paseándose a caballo con un amigo como pudiera cualquier particular". (Text).

7.

8. Diary: May 1st. 1793 - "sertir in che. ex 8 ... ad 6 in Southampton". On the 3rd. Moratín visited the "fbrica ex Motones" described in the article P.211. On the 12th. Moratín left Southampton and on his way back to London visited Windsor and Hampton Court - "ertr a 8. á 10 in Windsor mngt/sertir ad 3. Hmptncourt y á 10 in Lndon".

9. Diary: 26th. May 1793 : " in Dlignciee ad Greenwich vid Hoptal".

10. Diary: The diary records that Moratín spent the 18th to the 20th of May at Richmond and Kew, though he returned to London on the 19th. for a short while. He mentions Richmond Park, Kew Gardens which he calls "optim", and Brentford, where he dined and which is cited in the article.

11.

12. Diary: The Exhibition of the Academy took place during the month of June - June 8th.

13.

Cuaderno III.

1.

2.

3. Text: "A mediados del año de 1793"; i.e. during June 1793.

4. Text: "El día 13 de Julio de 1793 vi pasar por mi calle, una de las principales de la ciudad, desde las siete á las ocho de la tarde, veinte y siete coches de camino ...". The article will have been written after the 13th July 1793.

5.

Cuaderno IV.

Probably compiled during the whole of his residence in England

rather than at any specific time.

** These entries appear to be out of chronological order.

The question which now arises is this: Did Moratín write the

Apuntaciones on a purposely chronological basis, that is to say, did he write up the notes at the end of his residence in England in chronological order, or alternatively, are they written in a naturally chronological order, that is written at the time the events occurred? Another look at a phrase used earlier may give some indication on this matter; in Carta XXI (22) Moratín says to Melón: "entre semana vamos viendo las muchas cosas que hay que ver de las cuales hemos formado una larga lista". This remark would seem to imply that the first of these two possibilities is the correct one - it is unlikely that Moratín would say list if he meant a series of notes, but if this is so, how does one explain the detail of some of the earlier material? It is unlikely that Moratín could have remembered exactly what happened on an occasion eight or nine months previously, even allowing for

a very good memory (23). It seems to me therefore, that the word "lista" includes not only the list of things which Moratín saw, but also the facts about them. According to my chronology, by the 1st February, the date of the letter, the Apuntaciones would only go as far as 1/13; a list of thirteen can hardly be described as "large", but a list of facts on thirteen subjects could quite reasonably be so called.

There are three occasions on which articles are out of place in the chronological scheme of things: 1/12 should come after 1/13; 1/24 ought to occur after 1/26, the visit to the "Museo Liberiano;" 2/9 should come after 2/10 - such errata perhaps may be ascribed to a "lapsus memoriae" when the list was compiled, and it suggests that the list may have been added to, not immediately after each event, but at intervals.

A close look at the subject list will reveal a striking fact; there are several other articles which are again, to all appearances, out of place, not from a chronological point of view, but because they seem to possess no particular place, they have no time element in them. For example, why does an article on newspapers occur in Cuaderno III (Article 3), when according to our time scheme it is July 1793? It is absolutely impossible to hold that Moratín did not read a paper before the middle of 1793, for in point of fact, there are quotations from various English newspapers back in Cuaderno I, so he must have read papers quite early on in his residence in England. Other "misplaced" articles are those on "Batas y escofietas" (1/28), "Carbón de piedra" (1/27) which Moratín opens with the phrase "Al entrar por la primera vez en Londres"(24), "Domingos"(2/11) and

the two articles on "Coches" (3/2 & 4). In order to explain these difficulties, it is, I think, necessary to differentiate between the two types of articles in the Apuntaciones. Firstly, there are those which occupy a fixed position by virtue of being dateable; these are the visits etc. Secondly there are those articles which concern the life and character of the English; they appear to occupy arbitrary positions in the framework of the Apuntaciones, because they are both true and relevant at any point of time in the chronology of the work and it is impossible to say when these were written though possibly at the time of their place in the chronology triggered off by a certain event.

The division of the Apuntaciones into Cuadernos seems to be a purely arbitrary matter also. There is no evidence to suggest that each book is a separate entity as far as the subjects included are concerned, nor does an examination of the chronological plan reveal any special reason why there should be a change of book at the points at which they occur. The simplest and perhaps the correct solution is that Moratín wrote the Apuntaciones in a series of little notebooks. Books I and II are of almost equal length, and the shortness of Book III can be ascribed to the fact that Moratín left England shortly after beginning it. That Book IV is of equal length to both I and II seems to be a coincidence, for it would appear to have been written independently of the other three.

We must now turn to see in what ways, if any, Moratín's work in this field is typical of other writers who came to England at approximately the same time, firstly in presentation. I have made a study

of the writings of three other foreign authors for this purpose. German lawyer Gæbhard Wenderborn, wrote "A view of England towards the close of the eighteenth century", published in two volumes in 1791, in which he discusses twelve topics of English life:

Vol. I.	1.	On the English Constitution	P.1.
	2.	On the English Laws, Courts of Judicature and the Manner of Administering Justice.	54
	3.	On the Army and Navy.	85
	4.	On the National Debt and Taxes	96
	5.	On the Provision for the Poor	123
	6.	On the state of the Population in England.	124
	7.	Commerce.	136
	8.	Manufactures	222
	9.	London.	252
	10.	On the Character of the English	356
Vol. II.	1.	On Literature and the Arts	3
	2.	On the State of Religion	265

It must be said right away that while Wenderborn limits his range to only twelve broad topics, he goes into them in great detail, and in the chapter on Religion, for example, he describes all the various sects, their beliefs, and the pros and cons, in great contrast to Moratin who merely mentions that religious toleration exists, and as will be seen below, in fact he actually covers more than twelve subjects.

The Swiss correspondent and literary agent, Henri Meister, whose "Letters written during a residence in England containing many curious remarks upon English Manners and Customs, Government, Climate, Literature, the Arts (sic) &c, &c." were published at the end of the

century, adopts the popular letter technique to put over his information: he "writes home" from time to time recounting all that he has experienced since the last letter. It is to be suspected however, that there is no particular chronology to these letters, and that they are only a literary device, following a popular genre. It is the question of subjects which is of greatest importance to us however, and I reproduce below the list of contents taken from the English translation of the work:

- Letter 1 : General description of England - comparison of the English and the French character.
- 2 : Description of London - Revolutionary anecdotes.
- 3 : Playhouses - the sitting of Parliament.
- 4 : Of the British Constitution - of popular elections.
- 5 : Sunday - the English delights in the country - women.
- 6 : Prisons - Hospitals - Greenwich Hospital.
- 7 : Of Shakespeare.
- 8 : Opinion of the English Nation of Rousseau's Social Contract.
- 9 : More of Old Fashioned Politics, being a continuation of the subject of the foregoing letter.
- 10 : What a traveller ought to be.
- 11 : Of the English climate - the present state of England with respect to the French Revolution.
- 12 : Of Sea Coal, and its moral and physical effects.
- 13 : Second description of London.
- 14 : Of the English Stage.
- 15 : Of the English Language.

- 16 : The Dinner.
- 17 : The Journey - Windsor, Slough, Oxford, Stow, Blenheim.
- 18 : English Women - Morals of the English.
- 19 : Fonthills.

It will be seen that Meister's headings are more specific than Wenderborn's and that they approach more closely Moratín's presentation technique.

The last writer whose work we shall examine is Charles P. Moritz, who describes himself as "a literary gentleman of Berlin" on the title page of his "Travels, chiefly on foot, through several parts of England in 1782, described in letters to a friend". Again we meet the letter genre, but on this occasion, the letters are dated so that one is able to trace Moritz on his travels. As the letters are addressed to a specific person, Gedike, one also feels that in this case the letters are less a literary convention than actual personal letters; this is not however the case with Meister's letters. Moritz does not give any list of contents or index, but occasionally includes headings in the middle of the text. I have thought it best not to reproduce these as they will only be a small part of the material actually dealt with, and, as has been said, they may tend to mislead the reader into imagining that the author does not cover as many subjects as he actually does. It must be said that these indexes or lists of contents are reproduced where they occur, not primarily to show what subjects are covered, since several subjects are often dealt with under one broad heading, but in an attempt to show the differing techniques of presentation. The advantage of

Wenderborn's lay-out is that all the information on one topic is in one place, an advantage not enjoyed by those writers who subscribe to the chronological plan, as does Moratín. On the other hand, the letter technique, as used by Meister and even more successfully by Moritz, removes the objection that the account reads rather like a manual, for it is at least a reasonably natural approach, one which preserves something of flow and continuity. It seems to me that the Apuntaciones fall between these two stools, for information on connected topics is found spread over the work, and one is constantly stopping and starting as a result of this "pigeon-hole" technique, which evidences the influence of Moratín's concise, clear thought (25), and also of the geometric spirit of the age, in which, basically, there was a desire to codify and card-index all knowledge. Perhaps the main point which comes out of this discussion of presentation is that Moratín's work is not really very suitable as a social document, as a means of mass communication of information on the life of another country. It is too haphazard in the arrangement of subjects, because of this chronological approach. There are odd snippets of information on a topic all over the work and it is impossible to get a complete idea of the topic. Many of the articles, which are on important subjects, are very short and extremely generalised, and would be of little use as serious information. I think that it is Wenderborn's technique which is most suited to the task of giving serious information about another country for a nation wide public; it may read rather like an encyclopaedia, but it is detailed and any point can easily be referred to within the framework of a certain topic. The other

writers, including Moratín, seem to have only a limited aim, and their technique seems rather more literary than utilitarian: they may have wanted to tell others about England, I am sure that they did, but I also think that their aim was merely to recount their personal experiences. This is why they used the chronological approach and it is partly because Moratín also uses it that I suggest that the Apuntaciones are designed for a small public, just as a personal account of Moratín's stay in England. The rather formal presentation may, as I have suggested, be ascribed to Moratín's rather peremptory nature.

So much for the presentation; we turn now to a comparison of subjects dealt with. For this, I have compiled a chart to show which subjects are dealt with by the others in comparison with Moratín:

<u>Cuaderno I</u>		<u>Paister.</u>	<u>Moritz</u>	<u>Wenderborn</u>
"	1		*	*
"	2		*	*
"	3			
"	4			
"	5			*
"	6			
"	7	*	*	
"	8			
"	9			
"	10			
"	11	*	*	*
"	12	*	*	*
"	13			
"	14			
"	15		*	*
"	16	*		
"	17			*
"	18			

		<u>Meister</u>	<u>Moritz</u>	<u>Wenderborn</u>
<u>Cuaderno I</u>	19		*	*
"	20	*		*
"	21		*	*
"	22	*		*
"	23			
"	24	*		*
"	25			*
"	26			
"	27	*	*	*
"	28	*	*	*
"	29		*	
<u>Cuaderno II</u>	1 (26)	*	*	*
"	2	*		
"	3	*	*	*
"	4	*	*	*
"	5			
"	6			
"	7			*
"	8	*	*	*
"	9	*		*
"	10	*	*	
"	11	*	*	*
"	12			*
"	13	*	*	*
<u>Cuaderno III</u>	1	*		
"	2		*	*
"	3	*	*	*
"	4			
"	5		*	*
<u>Cuaderno IV</u>		*	*	*

Of the forty-eight subjects dealt with by Moratin, there are only fourteen which are covered by all four writers. These are:-

- Cuaderno I 1 - Encontronos en las calles
 " 11 - Trastos para tomar el té.
 " 12 - St. Paul's Cathedral.
 " 27 - Carbon de piedra.
 " 28 - Gatas y escofietas.
- Cuaderno II 1 - English politics.
 " 3 - The English attitude to foreigners.
 " 4 - Socorros a los pobres.
 " 8/10 - Travel in England.
 " 11 - Domingos.
 " 13 - Entierros.
- Cuaderno III 3 - Gacetas.
Cuaderno IV - The English Theatre.

All writers comment on the English character and temperament.

An examination of the subjects dealt with by one or two of the other writers reveals a similar result to the above - they are subjects which, it might be expected, would be reasonably apparent to the average traveller; e.g. 1/2 - begging, 1/7 - drunkenness, 3/5 - the Jews, and the reason why they are omitted by some of the writers is not very clear, but it must, I think, be that they had some personal reason for not including them. The subjects which are dealt with by the others but not by Moratin are in fact few. He deals with Politics and the French Revolution only incidentally, which is understandable if we remember his view expressed when passing through France on the way to England, and it is quite possible that he was bored by politics, Law, the British forces and the English language are subjects not included in the Apuntaciones, and we have noted Moratin's dislike for the latter, in another respect (27).

Finally, if we look at those subjects which are covered by Moratín alone, we shall find that there are nine in this category (28):

<u>Cuaderno I</u>	3	- Carteles (use of posters to wrap up meat)
"	8/9	- Public dinners.
"	10	- Clubs y asociaciones.
"	14	- Casa de animales (now animals on show).
"	18	- English trade figures.
"	23	- Adulterio.
<u>Cuaderno II</u>	5	- Carros tirados por borricos.
"	6	- The freedom of royalty.
<u>Cuaderno III</u>	4	- The frequency of English coach services.

The first two groups of subjects which were dealt with, by virtue of being treated by a majority of the writers, consist of those things which are most apparent about England and London in particular; e.g. the smoke, tea as a national drink, the large size of the newspapers, the English Sunday, the English attitude to foreigners. A glance at the group above, however, will reveal that Moratín is far more perceptive and inquisitive in his observations of life. They are things which, it may be said, are not immediately apparent to the normal person in a foreign country for the first time; they would probably only be noticed if the traveller was curious enough, so to speak, to move off the main road into the back streets. English trade figures would only be obtained by research, even though it was only through past copies of newspapers. Although adultery cases were often printed in the press, Moratín goes further into the matter and points out the intricacies and the swindles connected with them. The few lines on "Carteles", telling

us that theatre posters are used by butchers to wrap up the meat, epitomise Moratín's inquisitive and perceptive approach. Other examples could be quoted here to show this facet of his character, but their place is in another chapter. We may note at this juncture, however, a desire to go right to the heart of things, and the ability to see things which are recondite to all but the most observant eye (29).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

1. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid M.s. 5891, 92 pages, also O.P.I. pp.161-269.
2. There are however, later additions to be found in Vol. 3, pp.338-43; these consist of a translation of the Prayer Book Articles of Religion.
3. "View of England towards the close of the 18th century", Casbhard Wondarborn.
4. The second part of the hypothesis, concerning Moratín getting accustomed to England, is untenable if we are to believe the suggestion about his nervous trouble, in which he does not get used to the life. The initial impact would, however, be inflated by the fact that life in Spain was relatively calmer - see Ch.1.
5. O.P.I. p.182, 204. See also Ch.5, p.124
6. O.P.I. p.203.
7. See Ch.3, pp.72-74, and Ch.5, pp.144ff.
8. O.P.III. p.304.
9. O.P. I, 34 p.233.
10. O.P.I. p.164.
11. O.P.I. p. 166.
12. O.P.I. p.194.
13. O.P.I. p.230.
14. O.P.I. p.139.
15. "¿Por qué son poderosos los ingleses? ¿Por qué esta isla separada del orbe, que en el estado de naturaleza debía sólo contener algunas poblaciones de pescadores y vaqueros, hace frente a los naciones mas

temidas de Europe, tiraniza el Asia, infesta la America, y señorea con sus escuadras el mar ?" He goes on to provide his own theory - "Pues no es otra la causa original que la misma insuficiencia natural del terreno, la misma rigidez de su clima" (O.P.1).

16. O.P.1. Pp. 175-6
17. O.P. 3, Pp. 377-8.
18. See Pp. 94ff; the reference to the Apuntaciones in the letter to Melón is very casual, made very jokingly, and it seems to me that if he had been contemplating a major work, he would, among other more important things, have made more reference to the fact. Further there is no mention of the Apuntaciones in the diary.
19. Lectures on History (1788); quoted by Willey, op.cit. P.191.
20. One may ask why, when there are references to the sciences (Cabañas op.cit P.22), there is so little explicit reference to them in the Apuntaciones.
21. e.g. O.P.1, 1 12, 1 15, 1 25, 2 ii.
22. O.P. 2, P.129.
23. e.g. O.P.1. 1 8
24. O.P.1, P.193.
25. See Chapter 4, P.94.
26. This article consists of part of a letter from a Frenchman to the King of England, which concerns the political scene, in the main; the opinions expressed are not necessarily those of Moratín.
27. See Chapter 3, P. 59; de Torre, too, notices that Moratín dislikes politics - he comments that he is a "puro escritor, ajeno a toda

curiosidad política" (P.S.A. XVI, No. XLVIII March 1960).

28. There are others, but they must be excluded on the grounds of
chronological impossibility.

29. We may see this ability possibly as a result of his training as a
jeweller.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE "APUNTACIONES" - ENGLAND AND MORATÍN.

It would be more than a little confusing to anyone if this chapter consisted of nothing more than an account from beginning to end of what Moratín says in the Apuntaciones, and in view of this, it is from the four themes which can be traced through the work - Pride, Money, Industrialisation and Freedom - that we shall hope to form some picture of England and the English as seen by Moratín, noting carefully his attitudes, and then to show how he puts himself into the work.

We begin with what would undoubtedly be one of Moratín's first impressions of London, and consequently it is the first article (1). He comments, in his typically trite style, on the manners of people in the streets - how fast people walk and how they go straight ahead, regardless of what is in the way, whether or not they are carrying parcels; they do not worry about anything or anyone but themselves. Here, right at the beginning of his stay, Moratín notices a characteristic of the English which is to be found again and again in various aspects of English life - that of thought of self; coupled with a lack of sympathy for others, a lack of empathy. There are two levels of this characteristic, one personal and one national, and I propose to consider them in this order.

Moratín notes that here in England, everyone is very class-conscious - there exist all kinds of grades of nobility - "Aquí hay escuderos, caballeros, baronetes, barones, vizcondes, condes, marqueses, duques, señorías, excalencias, grandezas .." (2), coats of arms with various heraldic signs, and a large number of family trees. Each one is very concerned with his status (3), he will go to great lengths to stand

above his fellow men, and in his "one-upmanship" he will even go as far as engraving his coat of arms on his chamber pots (4). A further example of the "ego" complex of the English is seen in suicide. (5). Moratín says "convienen todos en que el suicidio es muy común en Inglaterra", and he ascribes its occurrence to "el temperamento melancólico de esta gente". It is part of their nature to sink into self pity, and driven on by "el invierno húmido, nebuloso y triste" which is "capaz de dar fastidio al hombre más bien hallado con su existencia" (6); they sink deeper into themselves, they see no way out of their problems, and yet are too self-sufficient to seek help, so they end their lives.

"La taciturnidad de esta gente" (7) also provokes comment from Moratín. He notes that even when a café is full of people, often the only sound that can be heard is a cough or the clinking of bottles; the people: "o no hablan, o hablan en voz baja, como si tuvieran miedo de ser oídos" (8). What is even more noticeable, he says, is that at parties "en cuanto al ruido, es tan corte el que se percibe, que no puede menos de causar admiración al que por la primera vez lo observa" (9). This reservedness is another aspect of self; the English are seen as introspective, unfriendly, because they are not willing to open up a conversation with others, even with their own kind. As a final example of the personal "ego", we move to the occurrence of drunkenness. Moratín comments, having said that the Prince of Wales gets drunk every night, "la borrachera no es en Inglaterra un gran defecto, ni hay cosa más común que hallar sujetos de distinción perdidos de vino en las casas particulares, en los cafés, y en los espectáculos" (10). Basically, it

it may be argued, getting drunk shows a lack of regard for others; one drinks for one's own ephemeral pleasure, and one does not care, or is incapable of caring, for the feelings of or consequences for one's fellow creatures. Moratín reports that the poor foreigner who goes to an English dinner has little alternative but to get drunk like the rest, unless he wants to incur the displeasure of the host and the other guests - "toda repulsa en esta materia es una ofensa formal que no se perdona" (10). The English, having no regard for the personal feelings of the foreign guests think that like themselves everyone wants to get drunk, and any sign of hesitation is immediately interpreted as a personal affront.

From these examples of the personal aspect of self, we move to the national. "El pecado mortal de los ingleses, el que cubre toda la nación y hace fastidiosos a sus individuos, es el orgullo, pero tan necio, tan incorregible, que no se les puede tolerar" (11). Moratín goes on to show how the English, in their blind patriotism, defend their religion and government as the best in the world, despite their many defects; the same can be said for the army, the navy, the theatre, Shakespeare, and they declare the "Inglaterra es inatacable" and that "las demás naciones son miserables y pobres y tontas, si se comparan con la suya" (12). What they have, as a nation, is the best, and it is for the other nations to recognise this fact. Moratín notes, too, an attitude of condescension which is prevalent and which is connected with this national pride - "Esta dulce satisfacción de que nada hay bueno sino en Inglaterra les hace mirar todo lo que no es inglés con una caritativa compasión que aturde, les hace decir tan clásicos disparates acerca de las otras naciones,

y atreverse a preguntar tan necias y extravagantes, que no hay extranjero que puede contener la risa al oírlas" (13).

The celebration of the anniversary of Guy Fawkes throws light on one further aspect of English pride, that of rejecting things which are extraneous to itself. Moratín, who seems unconsciously to be defending his Catholic homeland, says that the attempt to blow up Parliament was "maldad atribuida(14) a los papistas", as if he were not sure that this was so. Further on, referring to the "guys", he notes "estas figuras representan, en su opinión, al Papa", and he goes on to describe how "le insultan, le silban, le escupen, le tiran lodo, le arrastran por las patas, le dan pinchazos, y al fin muere quemado a la noche, con gran satisfacción y regocijo público" (15). We see in this a realization of the English underlying hate for Catholicism, which comes to the fore at such times. They even have a special service of thanksgiving for deliverance: "las viejas van a rezar a la iglesia (donde se celebra con oficio particular el suceso) (16). Catholicism and the Pope were things which originated outside England, they were foreign, and so, were inevitably rejected or regarded with great suspicion. Whether or not the Papists had actually been involved in the plot did not matter; the important thing was that they were a convenient scapegoat. English pride did not allow that such a plot could have been perpetrated by any true Englishman, and so, the people who owed some loyalty to a foreign source were inevitably the culprits. Even nearly two hundred years after the actual plot, Moratín's account of the celebrations conveys a certain orgiastic and sadistic atmosphere, showing how strongly the English felt

about the Catholics (17).

The foreigner, who was at this time one in every eighty-five of the population of London, has an extremely hard time in England, according to Moratín, if he does not immediately forget that he is a foreigner, and submerge himself into the English pattern of things:

"¡ Pobre del extranjero, que antes de llegar a Londres no haya aprendido el ejercicio de las ceremonias y modales ingleses ! Si no se peina como ellos, si no se toma el té como ellos, si no va vestido como ellos, si no se come y bebe como ellos es hombre perdido: antes de oírle una palabra, se le graduará de extranjero, que es decir, un bestia sin educación"(18).

Even then, the fact that he comes from across the water is not forgotten, and he is subjected to an unbearable torture; he is exploited and treated like a spy: "¡ Qué mucho, pues, que un extranjero se vea sacrificado desde que entra hasta que sale de Inglaterra ! ¡ Qué mucho que, si es rico, le engañan, y si es pobre, le desprecien ! ¡ Qué mucho que le pidan dinero por entrar en una iglesia, por ver un palacio del Rey, por ver el Parlamento, por ver un jardín, por leer en una biblioteca, por ver un museo, un gabinete, una armería, o cualquiera otra curiosidad pública ! (19) ¡ Qué mucho que se le dificulte ver una fábrica, un almacén, una máquina, y que siempre le miren como a un espía sospechoso" (20). This apparent desire to make the foreigner feel unwelcome is also transferred to the commercial field: "El sistema de aduanas de Inglaterra, murallas impenetrables a la industria extranjera, donde se pagan derechos tiránicos de introducción, favorece, estimula y premia la industria nacional. El acto de navegación, que no puede considerarse sin verguenza

de las demás naciones de Europa, favorece de tal manera su marina comerciante, excluyendo cuanto es posible las otras, que no sé por cuál razón existe sin que una guerra general le destruya" (21). The Englishman, a blind patriot, in Moratín's picture, makes every effort to retain the "splendid isolation" with which geographical factors have endowed him; he shows in his dealings with foreign visitors "la reserva, el egoísmo, la desconfianza, la dureza, la ambición y el espíritu de rapiña, que hace a los ingleses tan poco amables en su trato a todos los que no lo son" (22).

It must not be imagined, however, that all the English were so completely egocentric, and irrevocably patriotic, and Moratín takes care to give examples to show both sides of the coin, so to speak. There might have been the proud isolationists, completely self-centred in so many ways, but there existed also a good number of people who thought more of others than they did of themselves, both at a personal and a national level. The tide of sensibilities had just begun to turn in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, and the English were beginning to come out of the dark ages of egocentricity and of adherence to impractical ideas of nobility, though as has been shown, they still retained a good deal of it, especially in the commercial field. But the lights were brightening and many came to put the commandment "Love thy neighbour" into practical use, encouraged by the rise of Evangelism. It is because Moratín is in England chronologically at the crossroads in the development of this social sensibility that we shall find examples of the two incompatible ideas side by side, and why, having spoken of "el egoísmo"

Moratin can, four lines later, in the next article, say "En ninguna parte he visto practicado la verdadera ~~caridad~~ caridad política con tanto acierto como en Inglaterra: aquella caridad que socorre la verdadera pobreza, y la hace desaparecer por medio de auxilios oportunos; que proporciona el trabajo, que sostiene la inocencia y la virtud contra los peligros a que la necesidad las expone; que alivia a la naturaleza doliente, débil o decrepita; en una palabra, aquella que, dejando libre a los delitos el camino de la prisión, o del cadaleo, ampara a los que se hacen dignos de invocarla" (23). He notes how the welfare is based on the parish unit, how the parish children are educated, the extent of aid provided by the parish to the sick, the invalids and widows, and the voluntary subscriptions and obligatory taxes collected by the parish to provide funds (24).

It would appear that this sensibility, besides operating in the human sphere of life, spread also to the animal world for Moratin notes a humanity towards animals which is absent in Spain:- "En Londres son los burricos menos infelices que en Madrid. En vez de cargar sobre ellos pesos que no pueden sostener, y expuestos, por mala colocación, a que den con ellos en tierra, como lo hacen nuestros yeseros, ladrilleros y empedradores, aquí los hacen tirar de unos pequeños carros donde cada borrico lleva, con menos molestia, una carga tres o cuatro veces mayor que la que podría conducir a lomo. Cuando la distancia o el peso aumentan, suelen poner dos burros a cada carro, colocándose uno detrás de otro, como las mulas de las galeras catalanas" (25).

Connected with the matter of social welfare is the

existence of a great generosity which lent itself to all kinds of needy causes, including those in which foreign countries were involved. Moratín himself quotes one example; "La (suscripción) que se abrió para socorro de los curas franceses, refugiados a Inglaterra en tiempo de la revolución de Francia, ascendió, desde últimos de Agosto de 92 hasta el fin de Marzo del año siguiente, a catorce mil libras esterlinas" (26), but he appears to have slipped up here in his figures, since the Annual Register has the following entry in October 1792 (27): "The subscriptions received by the Committee for the relief of the suffering clergy of France amount to upwards of 15,000l. This reflects the highest honour on the English nation". In the course of the nineteenth century, this developing social sensibility gradually transcended many previous prejudices and egoistic ideas (28), but even in October 1792, "J.R.", an anonymous writer to the Gentleman's Magazine is able to note these transcending qualities: "The honest open-hearted Briton forgets all former injuries, all national animosities, all religious and political differences, and flies to the succour of the unfortunate with a noble spirit of disinterested benevolence"; he is writing of the French clergy who have fled "the poniards of their fellow citizens"(29).

While the English were very noble and generous to their neighbours when there was a disaster or crisis, under normal circumstances, as we have seen in part, they were anything but this, and the country as a whole paid homage to the cult of the "dios Dinero" (30). To visit any place of interest you had to pay an entry fee (31); and Moratín notes this on various occasions in the Apuntaciones; e.g. El

Museo Liveriano - "Está abierto diariamente para el público pagando 12 re. de entrada cada persona" (32); The Royal Academy - "No hay que advertir que se da dinero a la puerta" (33); The menagerie - "En la calle llamada Strand había una casa donde por dos shelines (diez reales) se enseñaba gran porción de animales de varias especies" (34),; and the collection of art reproductions - "La citada colección está abierta al público, pagando cinco reales por persona" (35). Other examples found in the text demonstrate just how much hold money had on the population. Begging, for instance, is carried on by all kinds of people, including those who already have an occupation, but do it just to get more - "los que barren las calles piden dinero a los que pasan, las mujeres que venden bollitos o estampas lo mismo; los granaderos de centinela en el palacio de San James lo mismo" (36), and even the children at Guy Fawkes, "algunos días antes, andan los chicos pidiendo dinero por las calles para quemar al Papa" (37). At the horse races "corre mucho dinero de unas manos a otras por las apuestas de los que compiten y las traviesas de los apasionados" (38), and going from betting to bribery, Moratín, speaking of the theatre audiences, say "no es de omitir que muchas veces el Gobierno se vale de esta ganta, (the noisy element) a quien paga la entrada de la comedia para que aplauden ciertos pasajes, o pida canciones que tengan alusión a las circunstancias del día y sean favorables al partido ministerial" (39).

After a person has died, and before he may be buried "se paga o arrastra el pago de sus deudas, y aún creo que hay ley para no dar tierra a nadie hasta que sus acreedores quedan satisfechos". Later on, to get to the church, the funeral procesion "empieza por dos o cuatro

de los citados personajes (the attendants) que van caminando a paso muy grave y con semblante dolorido, porque, al fin, para eso se les paga" (40), but there is a choice of ways of getting to the church - "los muertos que no tienen dinero no van en coche, sino a caballo on cuatro mozos" (41). Finally, in the matter of adultery, if the case is proven, "el adúltero paga una multa proporcionada a su fortuna", but, says Moratín, if money did not come into the matter, the English way of settling adultery would be "sublime filosofía, generosidad, virtud" (42), for the wife is not punished, and the couple continue to live together again in peace. However, in many cases of adultery, things are not what they seem; the pull of money is so great that some couples will go to disgusting lengths to gain it - "muchas veces un adulterio no es más que una especulación concertada muy de acuerdo entre marido y mujer para despojar a un gran señor o a un comerciante opulente de una porción considerable de guineas, y socorrer por este medio las necesidades de su familia" (42).

Thus Moratín's opinion that "en Inglaterra nada se ve si no se paga" (43), is seen to be very true. A man's value, as he takes pains to point out, is now measured by how much money he is worth. When people ask "Who is that?", the answer, in England, is not "Aquél se llama N.; tiene tal facultad, o empleo, ha hecho o escrito tales obras; tiene tal habilidad, o tales prendas; es de tal país; etc.", but "Aquél vale dos mil guineas, o más o menos; y según es lo menos o lo más, así es el gesto de aprobación o desprecio del que lo pregunta" (44). Yet, concludes Moratín, this criterion of a man's worth is quite useless,

quite false - "Si Tasso, Cervantes, Milton, Camoens atravesaron por una calle de Londres, nadie diría "Aquellos han escrito la Jerusalem, el Don Quijote, El Paraíso Perdido, y Los Lusíadas", dirían (según la frase vulgar); Aquellos cuatro que van allí valdrán uno con otro, doscientos reales" (45). While the remark has a certain ironic tone, Moratín is clearly saying that material wealth is not everything, not by a long way.

The growth of the importance of money was but a symptom of a far larger development - that of Industry and Commerce - the so-called Industrial Revolution, in fact, and in the Apuntaciones, we see some results of this development. Moratín indulges, in one article, in a little theory of nations, and in a rhetorical question asks why it is that the English are so powerful. In reply, he says that it is because the lack of natural resources, and the rigidity of climate has made them seek elsewhere for richness by means of industry, "único arbitrio de proporcionárselas (las riquezas) o de suplirlas" (46); there is indeed richness in England, for Moratín notes in another article "ni hay cosa que de una idea más grande de la riqueza de este país, que las cuantiosas suscripciones que se hacen diariamente con varios objetos" (47). They go abroad to get natural products, bring them back to England, "los mejoran y convierten en objetos de necesidad y de lujo, y vuelven a venderlos con nueva forma a las mismas naciones a quienes los compraron o los hurtaron primero" (48). They overcome their lack of natural resources by artificial means - "La falta de brazos la suplen con máquinas (49), caminos y canales (50); la falta de minas (51, con el giro de su comercio y los productos de sus artes; la falta de propiedad

individual con socorros voluntarios y suscripciones; y a este plan de interés común preside el espíritu de patriotismo, que todo lo abraza y vivifica" (52).

To maintain their artificial position, the English have to use artificial means - the customs duties and Navigation Acts mentioned above(53) - and all this artificiality breeds corruption, strife, suspicion and bad relations with other countries - "Las naciones opulentas por su industria y su comercio, establecidas en un terreno ingrato, que las niega la abundancia de exquisitas producciones naturales, siempre manifiestan en sus costumbres una mezcla de grosería, interés sórdido, genio suspicaz y desconfiado, que hará su comunicación desagradable a los demás, en quienes no concurren iguales circunstancias; y estos vicios serán mayores, a proporción que su riqueza y opulencia aumentan" (54).

In connection with industrialisation and trade, Moratín includes, as one article, a cutting from a newspaper, which notes the increase in the National Debt, due to a drop in the number of houses liable for the chimney tax (55), and elsewhere, he notes another result of industrialisation - "Ni es menos de notar el humo que sale de tantas chimineas, el cual forma una nube espesa, que cubre la mitad del horizonte, y oculta una gran parte de la ciudad" (56). The very common appearance in London of furniture made of foreign woods demonstrates one further aspect of English Trade, and Moratín comments - "Es necesario que sea muy infeliz el que no tenga en su habitación muebles de esta calidad" (57).

An article on London coaches brings us into contact with more general implications of the Revolution - "la pronta comunicación que hay de unas provincias a otras, y la multitud de gentes que continuamente viajan, atendida la bondad de los caminos, las comodidades de coches y posadas, y la necesidad urgente que tienen de pasar de unos pueblos a otros, gentes a quienes la industria, el comercio o el deseo de variar sus placeres, mantiene un continuo movimiento" (58); and we may, finally, note the bustle of the London streets, shown in the first article, as symptomatic of a developing capital, the centre of commerce and trade.

Much of the initiative for this development has come, it seems to Moratín, from the many English clubs - "Lo cierto es que a estas incorporaciones (que podrían en cierto modo compararse a nuestras sociedades económicas) debe la Inglaterra una gran parte de su prosperidad. Ellas son las que, reuniendo el propio interés, el celo patriótico, la ilustración y la riqueza, proporcionan a la agricultura, a las artes, a la industria y al comercio nacional todas las ventajas posibles ... estimulan, ilustran, y favorecen con sus luces y sus auxilios a los que deben hacerlo. Sus proyectos no se aplauden y se archivan; se ejecutan por medio de suscripciones cuantiosas, que los cuantiosas, que los facilitan: la mente que discurre, el dinero que proporciona los medios, y el celo y actividad que llevan al fin las empresas más difíciles, todo está unido, y así resultan efectos tan admirables". He is, however, surprised to learn that "el Gobierno no las da un cuarto, y que el único que le deben, es el de permitir las".

Noting this example of toleration, we turn now to the fourth and final theme which runs through the Apuntaciones- that of freedom. The first aspect which we come across is religious: Moratín says quite categorically "En Inglaterra hay absoluta libertad de religión; en obediencia a las leyes civiles, cada cual puede seguir la creencia que guste" (60). This is only partly correct, for while it is true that there was an absolute liberty of conscience, depending on one's status it was often a severe disability not to be an Anglican (61).

Although, as we have seen, the Roman Catholics in England did not meet with a great deal of toleration, Moratín shows the members of the Jewish tradition as enjoying a considerable freedom. They are despised and hated for leading such disreputable lives, yet they are allowed to do just as they like; the life which they lead was not forced upon them as the result of any laws or Governmental action, it was their own choice - "¿quién persigue a los judíos de Londres? ¿Quién les quita los mendigoslícitos de su fortuna? ¿Quién les prohíbe la aplicación a las artes, a la agricultura, al comercio? O ¿quién les cierra el paso, para que no puedan adquirir los conocimientos más sublimes de las ciencias?" (62). It is to be suspected, however, that as with the example of general toleration, Moratín does not realise the hidden conditions, the small print at the bottom of the page, as it were.

The second aspect of freedom concerns the education of English women; Moratín compares them with Spanish women, and concludes - "Las mujeres de este país no reciben una educación tan atada como las nuestras; se crían con más libertad y holgura; saltan y corren, y así

se forman y robustecan cuanto es necesario, según las facultades y el temperamento de cada una" (63).

The freedom of expression seen in the caricatures which are so frequently on show in the London streets is eagerly noted by Moratín: "¿Se quiere ridiculizar a un escritor, por más sabio, por más respetable que sea? No hay sino valerse de uno de estos mamarrachistas, que con cuatro líneas y un poco de color le pondrá en ridículo, le presentará al público, y no habrá quien pase por la calle, que no suelte la risa al verle de tan lastimosa figura" (64). All manner of things are satirised, Parliamentary debates, the Government, national and foreign events, the gravity of magistrates, the vanity of the nobility, even the King; on the last point Moratín says that there is little hope that other countries will show any restraint with regard to their sovereigns if the English, who set the example for Europe, treat theirs in such a way; perhaps this comment is a veiled reference to the events of the French Revolution, Moratín putting the blame on the English for their lack of exemplary behaviour. Connected with this article is the matter of the freedom of the press: "Todas ellas (las gacetas) son al principio partidarias de la oposición; sus autores declaman contra el Ministerio, vierten máximas políticas, y proponen medios de hacer feliz a la patria, zahiriendo cuanto se hace, y afectando el más puro interés" (65). An article on a public dinner organised "para los amigos de la prensa" (66) which Moratín attended "llevado de curiosidad", besides evidencing an awareness of and support for the freedom of the press, brings us into the realm of politics,

which Moratín avoids for the most part. He paints in the background to the dinner - the publication, at the time of the Revolution of Thomas Payne's "The Rights of Man", which demanded a reorganisation of the English Constitution, the withdrawal of the King's authority, and the Privileges of the nobles, the complete alteration of political government. The Government prohibited the book, brought Payne to trial for conduct likely to incite public unrest, and introduced the Alien Act (1792) to prohibit illegal infiltration into the country(67).

At the beginning of Book 2 stands an article, written in French, which is purported to be part of a letter "dirigida al Rey de Inglaterra por J. Gorani, francés. Paris 1^o de Febrero 1793" (68). The ideas included in this letter are by no means necessarily those of Moratín, but it is nevertheless possible that he puts in this criticism of the English Government as a typical example of the Continental criticism of the time, feeling that he himself could not have put the matter any better. In it, M. Gorani asks the King why, after beginning his reign so well, he has now slipped into "une excessive dégradation dans toutes les parties de l'administration intérieure et extérieure de vos états" (68), and goes on to accuse the King and his Ministers of corruption, despotism, imperialism, hypocrisy, excessive debt, and of purposely provoking war in order to get more subsidies to pay for the corrupt practices being carried on. We do not know how far this criticism is justified or how much of it is written from passion, but a letter from Moratín to Melón seems to demonstrate that both Payne and M. Gorani, in expressing their belief in the right of the individual to criticise the Establishment, represented the popular opinion (69).

Having seen what appeared to mark the limit of this freedom of speech, that is the criticism of the King, we remain in the Royal Family to note a further aspect of English freedom.

"Una de las cosas que más admiran a un español que llega a Londres, es la poca sujeción que les da su grandeza a los más grandes personajes de la Corte, y la libertad de que gozan, habiendo sacudido la cadena intolerable de las ceremonias y la etiqueta" (70). Moratín says that he has seen the Prince of Wales out riding in one of the parks, and also at private functions without any particular guard, but he warns his readers, perhaps with tongue in cheek, that "Cuando asista a las máscaras del Renelagh, lleva descubierto el rostro, a fin de evitar cualquier disgusto que podría originársele de no ser conocido" (71). He ends by inferring that, since the Prince of Wales has such freedom, everyone else in the kingdom will have equal freedom to go about as they please, but later finds this to be untrue when he discovers for himself one matter in which the English do not have any freedom of choice, that is, in how they spend their Sundays (72). Everywhere is miserable, the shops are closed and the streets are practically empty; "no es lícito jugar a los naipes, ni bailar, ni cantar, ni tocar un instrumento". What do they do? With great irony he says "Murmurar, putear y emborracharse, porque, al fin, en algo se han de ocupar" (73).

In tracing out the themes which run through the Apuntaciones we get a picture of an England caught in the midst of moving house, so to speak. While half the old furniture is still in

the house, some of the new is being brought in, and the result is a clash of patterns and styles. We see incompatible elements existing side by side - the old ideas of nobility, the importance of self, and the strong dislike for anything foreign existing with a new enlightened desire to be of service to others, to ease the burdens of others who are not so fortunate, to be tolerant and to allow freedom of conscience and action. But at the same time as this new sensibility comes on to the scene, we see that the structure and the décor of the house in which the new furniture is being put is also being changed, and in a way, it looks as if the old furniture may now be more suitable for the new structure. The Industrial Revolution, encouraged by private enterprise, caused an enormous development in industry, trade and commerce; it brought richness and prosperity, better communications, a spoiling of nature, and a paradox: it brought money to England, and while the money was used to bring relief and comfort to those who were in need, it was also a corruptor, and many men lost fortunes trying to gain more for themselves; money was the panacea for all things, good and bad. All walks of life, from the highest to the lowest had experience of its influence and it tended, in contrast to the new sensibility, to encourage the retaining of the old egoistic ideas, because instead of each man measuring his status either by the spread of his family tree, or by what he was, something intangible, he now measured it by what he had, that is, what money could buy.

Quite consciously, Moratín notes all the individual points independently, but I do not think that he is aware of the fact that, seen as a whole, there are clashes. For one thing, his rapid

Survey at the end of Book III (74) is too generalised to be a very accurate picture of what has gone before, and it points to a lack of comprehension and of standing back and looking at what he has written as a whole, and it is also unrepresentative; secondly, he fails to make any comment anywhere on the inevitable inconsistencies which occur in the work. It is undoubtedly the fault of the chronological approach that the picture of England is somewhat disjointed and lacking in thematic unity; it is rather like a jigsaw, in which all the pieces are there, but they are all muddled up and some shuffling around is necessary to make the picture intelligible.

Before moving on to see how Moratín reveals himself in the Apuntaciones, we shall look at the references to Spain which are to be found: Moratín refers to the Shrove Tuesday celebrations in Madrid (I/4), to the system of giving presents at Christmas (I/6); to the construction of houses - "Si éstas (las chimineas) fueran tan mal construidas como las de España, presto morirían ahogados cuantos habitasen los cuartos donde las hubiese; pues si alguna vez (que es muy raro) llega a rebatirse el humo dentro de ello, es tan insufrible e infernal, que inmediatamente hay que abrir puertas y ventanas para darle salida" (75); and to the scenery - "...y hasta las treinta y seis nada se ve sino algunos pinos, cardos y aliagas; todo está inculto y árido; ni agua ni verdura, ni casas, ni hombres; me pareció, cuando pasé por allí que estaba en mi tierra" (76); and also to a picture of Aranjuez (77). He points out the lack of humanity towards animals (78); the insignificant rôle of the "sociedades económicas", compared with the English clubs (79);

the decadent state of Spanish trade and industry; "nuestro depravado gusto en las artes, nuestra poca actividad e industria" (80); and the great problem of beggars : "Ya debe suponerse que donde se ejerce esta ilustrada caridad, no se verán filas de asquerosos, insolentes, holgazanes, llenos de vicios, espulgándose al sol, y esperando la hora de llenar las horteras en una olla de bodrio que se reparte entre ellos; ni se verá lleno de esta gente el portal de un poderoso ni la entrada de una iglesia, donde con grande ostentación fariseica se les reparten cuarenta o cincuenta reales, de dos en dos cuartos, porque ni ésta es caridad cristiana, ni éstos son pobres" (81); he implies also a lack of freedom: "Una de las cosas que más admiran a un español que llega a Londres es la poca sujeción que les da su grandeza a los más grandes personajes de la Corte, y la libertad que gozan, habiendo sacudido la cadena intolerable de las ceremonias y la etiqueta" (82), and makes reference to the strict education of Spanish women (83); finally we may note the sense of nobility still retained by certain Spaniards "Hacemos burla de los vizcaínos, asturianos y montaneses, porque pecan en linajudos..." (84).

The total impression of all this is one of complete exhaustion, of sterility, of hardness, of a country at the nadir of its fortunes faced with enormous problems of poverty, yet retaining a high sense of honour and nobility and keeping its women firmly under the yoke. All these points contrast sharply with Moratín's picture of England and we are reminded that it was to relatively developed countries such as England that those who led the spread of "las luces"

travelled, to bring back ideas which would help to extract Spain from its rut of decadence, ignorance and superstition, and to bring it back to its former glories. We may note, too, that those matters which Moratín contrasts with England are the very ones which have contributed in various ways to Spain's downfall. I do not think however, that the comparisons are made on purpose for any specific or conscious didactic purpose, but I tend to think that Moratín had a subconscious awareness of the problems of Spain, and of the need to solve them; that whenever he comes into contact with those matters in any other context, they immediately stimulate an association of ideas to the original set of problems and thus unconsciously, he makes the comparison.

We turn now from Moratín's impressions of England and the references to Spain to examine the self-portrait painted by Moratín in the writing of the Apuntaciones, and we begin with what might be described as his outlook on the world. Moratín makes a visit to a certain menagerie situated in the Strand, and having described some of the animals and the dreadful noise made by the animals and, incidentally by the guide, he continues "Pero todo se podía tolerar por ver la inquietud y travesura de los monos y micos, que, aunque presos y en tierra extraña, no dejaban por eso de entretenerse, dando saltos y vueltos, retozando unos con otros, espulgándose recíprocamente y haciendo gestos: no he visto en mi vida tinelo de pajecillos más vivarachos y enredadores" (85). Here, Moratín's attitude would seem to be, like those monkeys, make the best of things whatever situation you find yourself in, and get on with life as usual (86). We see in this an

echo of the words of Alexander Pope: "Hold thy peace; accept thy lot; in the faultless plan which arranges all things as Nature would have them, any change would destroy the general harmony and lead to chaos" (87). Although life may seem confusing, unfair, Man must accept his situation, and in doing so, he admits the existence of an intelligence infinitely superior to his own, the existence of a Supreme Being: Man, says Moratín, is so insignificant compared with God - ¡ Qué pequeños somos ! Nada es grande, nada es durable sino Dios" (88).

In contrast to, and seemingly incompatible with this attitude to the world, we find through the Apuntaciones phrases which suggest that Moratín also subscribed to the radical "socialist" attitude towards human society which decreed that all men should be equal, and which had been carried to very violent lengths in the French Revolution. These men were not prepared to accept the world as it was, and they set about ironing out the irregularities. As we have seen, Moratín did not support such violence and never became fanatical (89), but he was very impressed by the method which was being used in England to help cure "los males que causa al género humano la desigualdad escandalosa de las fortunas" (90), and which was an example of social welfare introduced by the new enlightened sensibility (91).

As a further example of this attitude, we see that Moratín criticises the existence of the nobility as "una de las extravagancias que, a mi entender, hacen poco honor a las luces de esta nacion"; it is a "debilidad" (92). He describes how most people are only interested in gaining and maintaining a higher status than their

neighbours, and says that supposedly enlightened nations, among which England is accounted, ought not to be concerned with such childish ideals - they are inconsistent with "las luces" (93). Status is such a useless temporary thing, it has no lasting effect, for in death all men are equal; Time soon erases all distinctions - " ¡cuán presto empieza a burlarse de la vanidad humana el tiempo destructor !" (94). Elsewhere, still on this point, referring to the magnificence of St. Paul's Cathedral, he says - "Pero esta gran mole volverá al mar, de donde salió, con el transcurso de los siglos; la soberbia ciudad que está a sus pies, centro de la opulencia, de la industria, de las artes, de la sabiduría y de los vicios, desaparecerá igualmente; y el nombre del caballero Wren, arquitecto de este templo magnífico, quedará altamente borrado en la memoria de los hombres" (95): Sic transit gloria mundi.

We have seen that criticism is levelled at the English for their pride and lack of regard for the opinions of others, which, says Moratín, springs from ignorance (96). The toleration of the beliefs of others had been present in the religious sphere since the seventeenth century, but the enlightened minds of the eighteenth made it one of three new virtues (97) and worked to extend it to other aspects of life, to break down personal and national barriers, to discover things common to all people and all countries, with the hope of eventually forming a united Europe. Moratín's criticism demonstrates his adherence to this school of thought, and his personal belief in the equality of opinion: We must remember that our personal feelings are not the only possible ones - others are just as entitled to theirs, and they may be as right as us. This line of thought is also implied in the discussion of female

beauty (I/16), in which Moratín notes that different countries have their own ideas of what beauty is e.g. "Lo que es hermoso a los ojos de un hotentote, podrá ser horrible a los ojos de un lapón" (98).

Consistent with these ideas, Moratín considers that it is as unjust to order people as to what they may or may not do, as it is to be intolerant. Speaking of the English Sunday, when people are not allowed to shop, play cards, dance, sing or play music, he says "...es, a mi entender, un precepto muy duro decirle a un hombre - No trabajes hoy, no te diviertas, no hagas nada" (99). There is here a clear belief in the right of the individual to choose what he does and a jibe at authoritarianism.

It must not be assumed that Moratín rejects everything which is old or traditional just because it is old or traditional; he is not a hot radical, but a discerning man who realises that some things which are old have an inherent value, and are worth keeping, though equally there are other things which are completely useless, having been accepted as "good" merely because they have stood the test of time, Moratín implies this in the phrase "no todo lo que es antiguo es digno de imitación" (100). Yet conversely, everything that is new is not necessarily of value either, and his traditionalist feelings come to the fore in a letter to Melón in which he speaks of the contemporary undercurrent of agitation for social and Parliamentary reform in England, and tells Melón that there were many complaints of inequality and privilege, "y otras cosas que anuncian los progresos que van haciendo en esta gente las erradas máximas de los modernos. De otro

modo pensaban nuestros abuelos, y el pan valía más barato, y había más cristiandad y más temor a Dios" (101).

Having instanced in the previous chapter the examples of irony and sarcasm which appear in the Apuntaciones, it is sufficient at this point to recall their use and the suggestion that they represent a characteristic of someone who wishes to put his point forcefully (102).

The many examples of small detail which are to be found in the Apuntaciones give a picture of a man with a very inquisitive mind, delving right into a subject, and interested in the sciences. We have already seen one or two instances of perception (103), and the admission that "llevado de la curiosidad". Moratín attended a certain dinner (104), and we may note further examples and although the following do not constitute a complete list, they will, I think, give sufficient indication on the point. There are details of 24 toasts proposed at a special celebration dinner (105), of the utensils needed for tea (106), of the English National Debt and Trade figures (107), and of several of the caricatures prevalent in England (108). When Moratín visited Southampton he made a tour of a "fábrica de motones" and gives details, including drawings, of what goes on there (109). We may also note the detail in the description of the make-up of the shield which is exhibited outside the house of a dead person (110), and of the composition of the brickwork of St. Paul's Cathedral: "Las piedras de que se ha formado esta gran edificación se componen de arena y despojos marinos; el choque de los elementos, que ha alterado ya en muchos partes la superficie que les dio el cincel, ha descubierto una

multitud de conchas confusamente unidas, y entre ellas se ven algunas, cuasi enteras, de las ostras que comunmente se venden por las calles de Londres" (111). The visit to the dinner organised for the freedom of the press brought Moratín the knowledge of how English toasts were made: "y levantando las copas en alto y haciendo varias veces con el brazo un movimiento semicircular, decían hasta cuatro o cinco veces urrè, urrè, urrè (que equivale a viva, viva, viva), alargando la última sílaba al concluir" (112). Finally, in this examination of detail we shall see several examples of figures and of sizes of various objects:- We learn from a small drawing the details of the coach in which Moratín travelled to Southampton (113), and we are told that the Round Table at Winchester "es de una sola pieza, tiene diez y ocho pies de diámetro" (114), that at Windsor, "la sala que llaman San Jorge ... tiene ciento y ocho pies de largo" (115), that at Greenwich Hospital, the "Sala Pintada" "es una pieza de ciento seis pies de largo, cincuenta y seis de ancho, y cincuenta de alto" (116), and that the "gran pagoda" in Kew Gardens is "de forma octágona, de cuarenta y nueve pies de diámetro en su base y ciento sesenta y tres de altura" (117); the greenhouses at these same gardens are heated, so we are told, by various pipes "de los cuales uno tiene ciento cuarenta y cuatro pies de largo" (118). In the same month, June 1793, Moratín visited the Royal Academy exhibition at Somerset House and he reports that there were 390 pictures on show according to the catalogue "La Mayor parte de estas pinturas son retratos; yo conte hasta trescientos treinta y uno" (119).

In the eighteenth century, geometry lost its supremacy,

for the simple reason that it added nothing to the stock of knowledge, and mathematics came to be held as the finest of intellectual exercises. Bacon declared that logic was no longer capable of getting at the reality of things, that there was a need for careful observation and experiment, and that we should not blindly trust the previous thinkers. Everywhere the "curiosi" began to get down to work; they investigated the natural world and made collections of every type of thing - of butterflies, of plants, insects, sea-shells, and there was a great interest in astronomy, even by monarchs, in physics and medicine and rapidly the old ideas were being superseded by the new, as the result of direct experiment (120). We are able to see in the Apuntaciones a trace of this interest in natural science and of the desire to find out by first-hand experiment, abandoning the use of pure logic. We note Moratín's interest in the newly discovered method of reproducing pictures (121), his scientific approach to the wonders of the whispering gallery at St. Paul's Cathedral "Nada de esto es admirable, atendida la construcción de un edificio tan vasto, y más que todo, su desnudez" (122), the scientific and medical explanation of the dangers of London smoke (123), and his interest in the "Museo Liveriano" and its exhibits, first-hand examples of the ways of Nature (124). In dealing with the matter of the number of people who travelled by coach in London, Moratín could merely have said that there were a great number because he had been told so, or because he had always noticed a steady stream of them, but his inquisitive mind found a more satisfactory method of showing the point. He undertook an experiment which would have the desired effect, and

which would be definitive: "El día 13 de Julio de 1793 vi pasar por mi calle, una de las principales de la ciudad, desde las siete a las ocho de la tarde, veinte y siete coches de camino, que unos salían de Londres y otros llegaban, llenos de gente. Multiplíquese este numero poco más o menos por todas las horas del día y por todas las calles principales de Londres, y no podrá menos de causar la mayor admiración. Adviertase que en aquel día no hubo motivo alguno extraordinario, y que todos los días del año sucede lo mismo". Moratín's interest in the sciences and, especially, in the scientific method, whilst stemming from an enlightened outlook on the world which assented to the search for knowledge by original experiment and first-hand knowledge, was also doubtless encouraged by his natural inclination to say things as concisely and as clearly as possible (125). These examples and those of detail are, I think, sufficient to show the care with which Moratín examined what he saw, the sharpness of his eye, and the instinct to measure and size up objects.

We now move to see whether what is recorded was honestly and impartially done or whether there was any distortion of the facts. While it is practically impossible to vouch for the accuracy of many of the details which are given, the attempt has been made wherever possible, and by comparing what Moratín has to say on certain subjects with what we find in three other travellers to England (126), we shall hope to form an opinion as to whether Moratín sees England with the impartiality which he claims he writes with in other works. In order to see more easily where corroboration exists I have arranged the authors in parallel chart form:

CORATÍN	REISTER	MORITZ	WENDERBORN
<p><u>1/12</u></p> <p>1. "desnudez" aparece un edificio desahogado donde faltan los muebles los adornos y el dueño"</p> <p>2. "Cree muy bien que será harto inferior este edificio a San Pedro de Roma"</p> <p>3. "Es ... cosa magnífica"</p> <p>4. "Para llegar a conocer la extensión de esta inmensa capital es necesario verla desde allí" (the top)</p> <p>5. "Ni es menas de notar el humo que sale de tantas chimineas el cual forma una nube espesa que cubre la mitad del horizonte, y oculta una gran parte de la ciudad".</p>	<p>... " the Cathedral of St. Paul which is a fine and elegant imitation of St. Peter's Church at Rome" (p.15)</p> <p>"The noble church of St. Paul" (p.180).</p>	<p>"An uncommon vacancy seemed to reign in it" ... All around me I could see nothing but immense bare walls and pillars (p.96).</p> <p>"He who wishes at one view to see a world in miniature must come to the dome of St. Paul's" (p.101).</p>	<p>"The bare walls of the inside make it ... greatly inferior to that of St. Peter at Rome" (p.347) Vol. I.</p> <p>a "noble piece of architecture (p.347 I).</p> <p>From the outside gallery, from which there is the finest view of London and the country adjacent on a clear day when the town is not too much covered with smoke (p.348, I).</p>
<p><u>1/27.</u></p> <p>1. "Al entrar por la primera vez en Londres, se percibe el olor desagradable del carbón de pi de ... un humo espeso que vuelve a caer sobre la ciudad" ..</p>	<p>"We are everywhere enveloped in fog" ... a very disagreeable black smoke"</p> <p>"This is surely the land of mists and vapours (pp.138-9).</p>	<p>"The first descried it (London) enveloped in a thick smoke or fog" (p.9)</p>	

	MORATÍN	MEISTER	MORITZ	WENDERBORN.
2.	"El inmenso consumo que de él (carbón) se hace"	"The immense consumption of sea coal increases the quantity of the fog ..." (P.140)		
3.	"El humo ... caga la cabeza y ataca el pecho, con notorio peligro de la salud"	"Eyes, ears, nose, mouth, organs of our senses (are) continually surrounded with this black smoke, which is of the most subtle and insinuating nature" (P.140).		
	<p><u>II/4:</u> "En ninguna parte he visto practicada la verdadera caridad política con tanto acierto como en Inglaterra".</p> <p>"No es fácil ponderar las sumas inmensas que se recogen, destinadas a estos fines piadosos" ... "suscripciones cuantiosas"</p>	<p>"The number of poor is certainly very considerable but the money raised for their support is equally great" (P.157)</p>	<p>..." the unbounded generosity of this nation, and also the many acts of real and substantial kindness which I had myself experienced in it. (England) (P.241)</p>	<p>"There are in no country such large contributions raised for the support of the poor as in England, yet there is nowhere so great a number of them" (P.113 I)</p> <p>- Wenderborn points out bad workhouse conditions and mismanagement of funds.</p>
	<p><u>128:</u> "La bata larga, la escofista y el sombrero es un traje muy común en Londres"</p>	<p>"Individuals of the lower classes are better clothed (sic) than elsewhere" (P.8).</p>	<p>"Women in general from highest to lowest wear hats, which differ from each other less in fashion than they do in fineness. Fashion is so generally attended to among the English women that the poorest maidservant is</p>	<p>"All do their best to wear fine clothes, but those who cannot purchase them new, buy them old, at second-hand, that they may at least have the appearance of finery. Servants in general live</p>

MORATÍN	MEISTER	MORITZ	WENDERBORN.
		careful to be in the fashion. They seem to be particularly so in their hats or bonnets which they all wear" (P.182)	nearly as well as their masters and mistresses" (P.115 I).
<p><u>II/11</u>: "Los ingleses observen rigurosamente el domingo, y tal día es el más triste de la semana en Londres. Las tiendas están cerradas, no se vende nada por las calles..no hay teatros ni otros espectáculos; desde la víspera al campo: las viejas se metan en la inglesa a oír el sermón; no es heito jugar a las naipes ni bailar, ni cantar ni tocar un instrumento y ¿qué hace la inmensa población de esta gran ciudad en tan santos días ? Murmurar, putar, emborracharse porque al fin, en algo se han de ocupar; y es, a mi entender, un precepto muy duro decirle a un hombre: no trabajes hoy, no te diviertas, no hagas nada".</p>	<p>"Sunday in London] is a day set apart from the rest of the week, and particularly dedicated to divine worship, to quiet recollection, and rest from all avocation. The common people rise earlier on Sunday, and after church they go either a distance out of town or walk about the streets of it" (P.50).</p>	<p>"As I happened once ... to hum a lively tune, he stared at me with surprise, and then reminded me it was Sunday". (P.15).</p> <p>"This was Sunday and all the family were in their Sunday cloathes". (P.149)</p>	<p>"The Sabbath day is kept in England with more outward decency than I have seen in many countries: About London the public houses are very full indeed"... There is no music or dancing as abroad. (Pp.269/70).</p> <p>"The English are to be commended for keeping up a stricter observance of the Sabbath-day than is generally to be met with in other Christian countries, in order to excite and to keep up a sense of morality" (P.271 II).</p>

MORATÍN	MEISTER	MORITZ	LONDERFORN.
<p><u>III/3</u>: "Gacetas": "Cada una de ellasequivaldrá, lo menos a tres de nuestras gacetas comunes" "Todas ellas son al principio partidarias de la oposición: sus autores declamian contra el Ministerio vierten máximas políticas from I 23:- "Las causas de adulterio se imprimen en los papeles públicos ... para mayor instrucción y deleite de los lectores". "Pasas de veinte las gacetas que salen casa día en Londres."</p>		<p>"Some of them side with the Ministry, and still more, I think with the opposition" (P.257). It is shocking to a foreigner to see what violent satires on men, rather than on things daily appear in the newspapers (P.257). "There are at least a dozen if not more pub- lished each day". (P.257).</p>	<p>"four times as large as ours on the continent" (P.306, I). The liberty of the press is very visi- ble - there are unsuccess- ful attempts to restrain this liberty (Pp.296-7, I) "on both sides animosity is carried to a great length" (P.300, I) There is scandal in abundance (301, I).</p>
<p>1. <u>I/7</u>: "La berrachera no es en Inglaterra un gran defecto ni hay cosa más común que hallar sujetos de distinción perdidos de vino ...</p> <p>2. "Cuando un extran- jero asista a una mesa de ingleses, pocas veces puede escapar de la alternativa de embriagarse como los otros ... cada con- vidado se ve en la</p>	<p>"... The habit of drinking immoderate quantities of the strongest wines and the most fiery spirits" (P.147)</p> <p>"Their table, as you may imagine, was well supplied with liquors and they emptied their bottles very dextrously</p>	<p>"It is allowed by the English that the prop- ensity of the common people to drinking of brandy or gin is carried to a great excess (P.23).</p>	

MORATÍN	MEISTER	WENDERBORN.
<p>precisión de beber, lo menos, tantas copas cuantos sean los concurrentes a la comida" (from I 9) "levantando las copas ... daban hasta cuatro o cinco veces urrà, urrà, urrà".</p> <p>"Debe advertirse que estas las señoras que han asistido a la comida se retiran".</p>	<p>and repeated huzzas" (P.243).</p> <p>When the drinks begin, "the ladies retire to their own apartment, and the gentlemen forget sometimes altogether, but always for some hours after their retreat that it is lawful to follow them" (P.285)</p>	
<p><u>I/20</u>: "Las caricaturas inglesas son muy divertidas: hay tiendas en Londres que pueden llenarse almacenes de ellas, tal es su abundancia".</p> <p>"Todo es asunto acomodado para estas obras jamás he visto más abatido la majestad que en las caricaturas inglesas ... no habrá quien pase por la calle, que no suelte la risa al verle de tan lastimosa figura"</p>	<p>"The print shops are ... full of caricatures relative to the transactions now going on in Paris" (P.30).</p>	<p>- "The most satirical and the most laughable caricatures are published and publicly exposed for sale (P.26, II).</p> <p>- "The great and the low down from the King to his lowest subject are presented before the windows of a print shop in various attitudes, and shapes, to excite the mirth among the passengers who pass by in the street" (P.26, II).</p>
<p>1. <u>I/24</u>: "Conviene todos en que el suicidio es muy común en Inglaterra"</p>		<p>Suicide: "which is so common in this country. The number of those who make away with themselves in London annually is considerable" (P.396,I)</p>

MORATÍN	MEISTER	WENDERBORN.
<p>2. - "las circunstancias exaltan el temperamento melancólico ... el mes de Noviembre particular - mente esta reputado por mes fatib; y no es muy extraño, puesto que el invierno (especialmente en Londres) húmedo, nebuloso y triste, es capaz de dar fastidio al hombre más bien hallado con su existencia"</p> <p>* Inaccurate statistics, see Annual Register and Gentleman's Magazine.</p>	<p>- "Oh but ask our friend Montaigne whether constantly to look up at a sky obscured with clouds and vapour will not dispose the mind to gloomy thoughts and melancholy ideas" (P.146).</p>	<p>- "If the sun gives serenity of mind, it is no wonder that the English look more cheerful in May than in November" (P.404, II).</p>
<p>II/9: Greenwich ... situado sobre la orilla meridional del Támesis, seis millas al oriente de Londres"</p> <p>"En lo material, se compone de <u>cuatro</u> palacios de piedra con una gran plaza en medio" ...</p> <p>"Toda la arquitectura es grandiosa, regular y uniforme".</p> <p>"El número de ellos (los marineras) era de dos mil"</p> <p>"El Rey de Inglaterra no tiene palacio alguno que pueda ni remotamente compararse con éstos".</p>	<p>"It is situated on the banks of the Thames, at a distance of six miles from London</p> <p>"It is composed of <u>two</u> buildings separated from each other by a grand esplanade ..."</p> <p>"magnificence and elegant taste" ... an assemblage of grandeur, elegance and beauty of design. "Great order and regularity is observed</p> <p>(It) "is actually the finest palace in England".</p>	<p>"They (Greenwich and Chelsea) raise the attention on account of their grandeur" (P.387, I).</p> <p>"The magnificent hospital at Greenwich (P.314, I) About 2,000 invalids at Greenwich (P.387, I).</p>

MORATÍN	MEISTER	WENDERBORN.
<p>"en las dos (fábricas) inmediatas al parque hay dos galerías inferiores, con más de trescientas columnas pareadas, de veinte pies de alto ..."</p> <p>"(El Támesis) ... está cubierto de embarcaciones que llegan hasta el puente de Londres; navíos de hasta cien cañones ... los vi anclados en él (el estillero) de ochenta y noventa"</p> <p>"la multitud de naves que cruzan por el (el Támesis)</p>	<p>"the front towards the Thames is composed of a double row of corinthian colymne, in couples, which support the pediment".</p> <p>Thames "bearing thousands and thousands of vessels ... and others moored in five or six tiers as closely to each other as it is possible for them to be". (Pp.65-68)</p>	
<p>II/13: No los entierran hasta cuatro, seis o más días de su fallecimiento".</p>	<p>"The dead are kept longer above ground here than in any other country of Europe. It is seldom that they are buried before the third day ..."</p>	<p>Bodies are not interred until proper enquiry is made about the death" (P.400, I). (This is the reason for the delay of six or more days before burial - see Moratín.)</p>
<p>"En Inglaterra se hace mucho caso de los muertos".</p> <p>"sobre la cubierta de esta cajón sirven de adorno seis u ocho plumajes".</p> <p>"todos van de negro y de este color son los cochés, los plumajes, las cubiertas, los caballos y cuanto sirve para la pompa fúnebre".</p> <p>... " a no ser que sea alguna doncella la que se entierra, que en tal caso</p>	<p>"The coffins are framed with attention and great elegance. From the highest to the lowest classes, no funeral is conducted without a degree of solemnity".</p> <p>"The funeral car or hearse, is stuck round with black ostrich feathers, two men walking before it covered from head to foot in black".</p> <p>"If it be the funeral of a single woman, or a man who has died</p>	

MORATÍN	MEISTER	WENDERBORN.
<p>(por un envidiable privilegio concedido a la virginidad) los plumeros, los penachos de los caballos y los tafetanes de los plañideros son blancos".</p> <p>"El lugar de entierro es o en los paredes de la iglesia o es en el cementerio"</p> <p>"Si el que murió es el último de su familia el fondo sobre que está pintado el escudo es todo negro, si es el primagénito u heredero inmediato la mitad del lado derecho es negra, y la otra blanca; si es la mujer o algún otro individuo de la parentela, al contrario"</p>	<p>unmarried, white ostrich feathers and white scarves are used" (P.291).</p> <p>"Great respect is paid to coats of arms, and upon the death of a gentleman, the family coat of arms is displayed on the outside of the house in a large black frame during the whole time of mourning". (P.54).</p>	<p>"I only wonder that the good understanding of the English and an age so fertile in improvements, has not yet seriously thought of putting a stop to that absurd and noxious custom of burying the dead amongst the living, in churchyards amidst dwelling houses, and even in churches under the feet of the parishioners". (P.262, I).</p>
MORATÍN	MORITZ	WENDERBORN.
<p>I/1: Los ingleses que van deprisa ... atropellan cuanto encuentran; los que van cargados con fardos o maderos siguen su camino y no avisan a nadie y dejan pasar a cuanto hallan por delante"</p>	<p>There is a "tumult of people, where everyone with hasty and eager step, seems to be pursuing either his business or his pleasure, and everywhere making his way</p>	<p>"The streets of London are continually crowded with people pushing along, and most of them with countenances as serious as if</p>

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1/2. "Los que barren las calles piden dinero a los que pasan; las mujeres que venden bollitos o estampas lo mismo los granaderos de centinela en el palacio de San James lo mismo".

1/15: "En Inglaterra, hay absoluta libertad de religión; en obediencia a las leyes civiles, cada cual pueda seguir la creencia que gusto y sólo se llama infiel aquel que no cumple sus contratos".

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through the crowds, to observe, as you often may, people pushing, one against another, only perhaps to see a funeral pass ... " (P.24).

" constant walking riding and driving up and down in the streets". (P. 84)

He saw "not even a beggar without both a shirt and shoes and stockings:" (P. 18.)

Moritz reports one incident he saw, of a handbill - "A clergyman exhorted the people not to assent to the shameful Act of Parliament for the toleration of Catholics by suffering their children to their eternal ruin, to be instructed and educated by them, but rather to give him, an orthodox clergyman of the Church of England, this employ and this emolument". (P.266-7)

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their heads were full of weighty affairs". (P.411, I).

"in his walks (the foreigner) is almost every hundred yards disturbed by the lamentations of unfortunate persons who demand his charity". (P.384, I).

"Even Deists, Socinians, Baptists ... profess their tenets and opinions as freely as the most orthodox episcopalian, or the most rigid Puritan, and no party blames the other for this freedom (P.395, I).

Wenderborn notes that the theatre evidences a tolerant spirit - each sect laughs at the satire on itself. - Charity, toleration and mutual forbearance with regard to religious opinions are greater in England than in any other

MORATÍN	MORITZ	WENDERBORN.
<p>"El celebre Lord Jorge Gordon, sentenciado a cinco años de prision por revoltoso tumultuario, se ha hecho judío en el carcel. Ha sufrido la circuncisión, se ha dejado crecer la barba y hoy día se llama Abraham".</p>		<p>part of the world, America excepted. "Lord George Gordon has been, within these few years, the only one that I remember who was excommunicated; but he seemed to regard it very little, and I believe that no reconciliation between him and the church is ever to be expected". (P.305, II).</p>
<p><u>I/19:</u> "El pecado mortal de los ingleses ... es el orgullo. They think "que no hay nada bueno sino en Inglaterra". Every aspect of life is best in its English form - so think the English according to Moratín.</p>	<p>"The English are taxed perhaps too hastily, with being shy and distant to strangers. I do not think this was even formerly, their true character (p.183). "And most true it is, that the poorest Englishman one sees is prouder and better pleased to expose himself to the danger of having his neck broken on the outside of a stage than to walk any considerable distance, though he might walk with ever so much at his case (p.184). "A poor peripatetic is hardly allowed even the humble merit of being honest ... They told me that the further I got from London, the more reasonable and humble I should find the people" (p.174)</p>	<p>All nations love their respective countries, but the English, I believe, show it in the highest degree". Due to education, diet and manners (p.369, I). Wenderborn records he was once told, "Sir, you look and think like an Englishman, it is a pity that you were not born in our country (p.373, I). Hate of France has abated now, but still present. He attributed the dislike of foreigners to the fact that when England was subject to Rome, foreigners took the best and highest places.</p>

MORATIN	MORITZ	WENDERBORN.
<p>I 21: Los franceses son más habladores que los españoles, y éstos más que los ingleses. En los paseos y concurrencias públicas se echa de ver... gente... Algunas veces se ve en un café, cuyas mesas están todas ocupadas, donde comen y beben en compañía, que, o no hablan, o hablan en voz baja, como si tuvieran miedo de ser oídos; muchas veces sólo se percibe el toser y escupir o el ruido de las botellas"</p>	<p>Moritz comments on the unbounded generosity and the acts of kindness of the English (P.241).</p> <p>"In these coffeehouses there prevails generally a very decorous stillness and silence. Every one speaks softly to those only who sit next him. The greater part read newspapers and no one ever disturbs another" (P.92).</p>	<p>"An Englishman in conversation is far from being so lively, noisy and insinuating as some other nations are". He talks little but ten of his words are worth one hundred of any other - not addicted to empty talk (P.406, I).</p>
MORATIN	MEISTER.	
<p>I/16: "Los pies de las inglesas son de enorme magnitud, y tan lejos está de ser un defecto en las damas, que las que no los tienen de forma tan gigantesca están expuestas a la censura pública"... "Las ideas de proporción y hermosura en las formas tienen su tipo original en la naturaleza".</p>	<p>"In general their feet are large and legs rather clumsy" (P.281).</p> <p>He admires English beauty and refers to the "perfection of beauty which English ladies possess" (P.277)</p> <p>He attributes the whiteness of skin to the inconvenience of a cloudy atmosphere.</p>	
MORATIN	MORITZ.	
<p>I/29: "Las maderas de Indias son tan comunes en Londres, que yo puedo asegurar no haber visto en ninguna casa decente mesas, papaleras, estantes ... etc. de madera de Europa".</p>	<p>Moritz noted that in the house of his landlady, a tailor's widow, "the tables are of mahogany" (P.14).</p>	

MORATÍN	CORITZ
<p><u>11/10</u>: El río va estrechándose al paso que se sube por él, y su corriente es tan lenta y suave, que parece un cristal, donde se repiten los objetos de sus deliciosas riberas, llenas de árboles y cultivo, y variadas graciosamente por la desigualdad del piso". "Desde lo más alto de la ciudad se goza la hermosa vista de sus contornos, con casas de campo, jardines, parques y otros objetos, y el río, que le baña el pie, por donde cruzan embarcaciones continuamente".</p>	<p>The pleasing rural tranquillity is compared with London ("that huge dungeon") - "I breathed a purer and fresher air" (p.115). The terrace at Richmond does assuredly afford one of the finest prospects in the world (p.115). On pages 117-118 there follow an extremely lyrical passage inspired by the view of Richmond (see Appendix II). <u>REISTER</u>: Richmond described as "one of the most beautiful prospects on the Thames" (p.242).</p>
MORATÍN	WENDERBORN.
<p><u>1/5</u>: "En la calle Pall Mall se ve la famosa colección de pinturas poligráficas. Pocos años ha que se halló el secreto de sacar con admirable brevedad y semejanza muchas copias de cualquiera pintura".</p>	<p>Wenderborn refers to "a late invention by which pictures are said to be copied in oil colours by a chemical and mechanical process" (p.209).</p>

Although this comparison is not exhaustive, it may be seen that the general accuracy of Moratín's writing can be vouched for. It cannot be denied, however, that there are a few inaccuracies which occur mainly from over-generalisation of limited experience - a fault to be expected with many travellers - and which also stems from a failure to see the picture as a whole (127), but we cannot, I think, accuse Moratín of a lack of perception, if we remember the close detail, often closer than his fellow travellers, which he records, and which is noted above. Moratín's situation seem to me very like that of the stranger walking through a forest of tall trees of mixed species; he notes the

details of the individual trees which he sees, but cannot see the pattern made by each species of tree in the forest, nor tell whether all the rest of the trees which he cannot see are the same as those which he has seen. The only way to discover the patterns made by the various species is to stand outside the forest, and a survey of the whole forest is necessary to ensure that there are no exceptions to the general rule which he has discovered.

It seems clear to me that Moratín recorded what he saw without conscious prejudice or partiality (128), though, as we have noted above, he seems not to have been aware of the full implications of the English scene, and despite the lack of introduction to the Apuntaciones which would appear to be deliberate, I think that it would not be too unreasonable to supply a word or two taken from three other works to demonstrate what may have been his attitude in writing this work. Other travel writers used their introductions to make a declaration of adherence to the precepts of truth: Gebhard Wenderborn, for example, says that, being a foreigner, he has no inducement to do otherwise than tell the truth - (The author) "is indeed confident that the work itself contains internal evidence of his having conscientiously adhered to the just precept "Speak of me as I am" (129). As for Moratín, in the "Autobiografía" we have the assertion, "Diré la verdad, y no más que la verdad; la diré con ingenuidad y sencillez" (130).; from the introduction to the "Orígenes del teatro español", with reference to the theatre, is a phrase in which Moratín says that he has "el empeño nunca desmentido de hallar la verdad no he querido hacer una apología ni una acriminación....

hago mención de sus bellezas y sus defectos" (131). The third example of this assertion of impartiality and belief in constructive criticism is found in the prologue to "El Viejo y la Niña" (1790): (el autor) "desprecia si los esfuerzos de la malignidad que exasperan y no corrigen, insultan y nunca prueban," (132). On three separate occasions, then, Moratín says that his aim is to be impartial, to tell the truth, to be disinterested, and we have seen that this attitude is clearly present again in the Apuntaciones, and we may suggest that inconsistencies and discrepancies are due, not to any conscious betrayal of the above precepts, but to a lack of understanding of exactly what was developing in England at the end of the eighteenth century, of the dual nature of the country at this time, and to his being in the midst of it all.

We have already examined Moratín's propensity for order, in the construction of the Apuntaciones, and for clarity, and we turn now to see whether the actual examples of order and clarity and their opposites which he comes across in his travels provoke any comment from him. In St. Paul's Cathedral, Moratín comments on the ornamentation - "Entre los adornos interiores hallé algunos de muy mal gusto, pesados, inútiles y ridículos;" (133); in the same article, looking down on London from the top of the Cathedral, "la anchura y rectitud de sus calles" catches his eye (134). On the journey to Southampton, Moratín notes at Winchester that the Cathedral is "de estilo gótico poco elegante" (135). At Kew Gardens, "la forma de estos jardines es por el gusto inglés irregular: calles torcidas, plantación desigual, así en las especies de los árboles (que hay muchos) como en las distancias que guardan entre sí" (136).

The first and last town which Moratín saw in England was Dover, and he notes in the first book of "Viaje a Italia" - "la ciudad es de forma muy fea e irregular, aunque no deja de tener casas muy buenas ..." (137).

In his descriptions of places and things Moratín uses a very subdued, unemotional vocabulary, perfectly in keeping with the precepts of neo-classicism (138); e.g. "sencillo" (139), "elegante" (140), "regular" (141), "uniforme" (142), "exactitud" (143), "buen orden" (144), "orden admirable" (145), "limpieza" (146), and "agradable" (147).

In what we have examined so far, we have seen Moratín much as he is generally thought of - Moratín, the champion of neo-classical thought, for he writes in complete consistency with the tenets of this school, unemotionally, following reason, with order, clarity and conciseness. Yet to stop at this point and say that this was all that the Apuntaciones reveal would be a gross misrepresentation of the facts - there is much more. Elements of the idea of "le Bon Sauvage", of exoticism, of lyricism, of emotion, which are normally associated with Rousseau and the later Romantic writers, and not with the neoclassics, are found juxtaposed with the elements of neo-classicism (see above).

We take as our starting point Moratín's attitude to the interior of St. Paul's Cathedral; he complains of its bareness - "parece un edificio desalquilado, donde faltan los muebles, los adornos y el dueño que le ha de habitar" (148). Why does a man who has always preached that one should aim for plain unadorned simplicity, be so unimpressed and irritated when he sees the materialisation of his ideas, unless it is that his ideas have changed or are changing? A look at

some of the vocabulary which is used side by side with that which was quoted above will perhaps make clearer this divergent outlook; he uses, for example, such words as "dilatada" (149), "exquisito" (150), "delicioso" (151), "doloroso" (152), "deleitoso" (153), "ameno" (154), "preciosidad" (155), "hermoso" (156), "lisonjero" (157), and the phrase "me llené de entusiasmo patriótico" (158). It will be noticed that the greater part of these examples come from the accounts of Moratín's journeys around the South of England (159), and this phenomenon leads one to think that Moratín's lyrical sentiments are most readily aroused by the sight of scenery. We may also note that the detail which has been in evidence sometimes, but not exclusively, absent when a scene is being described, and it suggests that Moratín's interest at this point is not in the individual details but in the general impression given or in the feelings which the scene evokes; e.g. (Richmond) "tiene dos o tres calles principales" (160); Winchester: "lo rodean varios montecillos" (161); in the Cathedral "hay en esta iglesia varios sepulcros" (162); by themselves, these examples are not very impressive, but when we recall the great detail provided on other occasions, their generality becomes much more apparent, and the lack of preciseness is greatly accentuated. There are further examples of this tendency which, though not directly connected specifically with a scene, demonstrate a different attitude to that which has been discussed (163); for example, we read that in St. Paul's "Para ver un modelo se atraviesan unos pasillos cubiertos ..."; "para llegar a la linterna se sube una multitud de escaleras de madera" (164); and at Windsor Castle, "en la pieza que llaman de las Hermosuras, se ven hasta unos catorce cuadros.." (165). This latter example, for instance, contrasts sharply with Moratín

at the Royal Academy - "La mayor parte de estas pinturas son retratos; yo conté hasta trescientos treinta y uno" (166).

Having seen a tendency to generalize and to use "emotional" vocabulary when he views the English countryside, we now move to the scenery itself: "Windsor, sitio real, está situado en medio de unas llanuras deliciosas, que miradas desde las colinas inmediatas o desde el castillo, ofrecen a la vista un espectáculo al más lisonjero: árboles, prados de eterno verdor, por donde el Támesis vaga con perezoso curso, bosques sombríos, calles larguísimas de castaños de Indias, cubierto el piso con una alfombra blanda de céspedes menados" (167). It is only with great difficulty that one can think of this lyrical description as coming from the same pen as the following passage which occurs in the same article :- "Hasta las veintiuna millas de Londres, por el camino mencionado, todo es llanuras muy bien cultivadas, pastos abundantes, árboles y mucho caserío. Después se atraviesa una parte del pequeño parque de Windsor donde el terreno es más desigual, y hasta las treinta y seis millas nada se ve sino algunos pinos, cardos, y aliagas" (168), and the surprise is even greater when we read of the effect of this scene at Windsor on Moratín: "todo deleita, todo ocupa agradablemente los sentidos y enajena y suspende el ánimo" (169); what has happened, we ask, that Moratín, the man of Reason, is saying that his reason is suspended, and that it is his emotions which are in control? Why is there this sudden, short burst of feeling on looking at a piece of scenery? Why are control and intellect thrown to the winds? Before attempting to answer these questions, let us look at one or two further

examples of lyrical narrative. At Greenwich, the River Thames "baña el pie de estos edificios" (the Hospital) (190), and at Richmond "El río va estrechándose al paso que se sube por él, y su corriente es tan lenta y suave, que parece un cristal, donde se reptan los objetos de sus deliciosas riberas, llenas de árboles y cultivo, variadas graciosamente por la desigualdad del piso" (171). On the way from Hampton Court to London, Moratín noted that the road was excellent, "cuasi siempre adornado a un lado y otro con arbuatos y árboles agrupados en bello desórden, que mantienen la frescura del piso, sirven de cerca a las haciendas, dan sombra y deleitan la vista" (172). Finally, Moratín found that the gardens at Kew "tienen un carácter melancólico muy notable; terreno igual, y por consiguiente, sin vistas; no hay fuentes, ni arroyos, ni cascadas, ni estatuas, ni flores" (173). He enjoys irregularity, and finds delight in examples of disorder, an attitude quite inconsistent with basic neoclassic ideals.

To answer the questions posed above, we must look for a few moments at the general picture of the literary trends of the era. The enjoyment of scenery does not appear in literature before the eighteenth century, and it was not until the 1750s that travellers in England began to express passion for scenery in the Lake District, Wales and Scotland. 1767 was the date of the final acceptance of English scenery as emotionally appealing, when Arthur Young combined a sober attention to agricultural methods with rhapsodies over the scenery, and even Dr. Johnson and James Boswell subscribed to emotional moments in Scotland. In Europe, Goethe (1779), Beckford (1778), Mme. Roland (1788), and

Wordsworth (1798), all showed similar signs of emotion, and guidebooks, sophisticated and even satirical travellers gradually yielded to the new taste of Romanticism which became accepted there fully in accounts of journeys in 1779 (174). Moratín's emotional moments are clearly a part of this wide awareness of the moving qualities of scenery, and the two views which are to be found side by side in the accounts of his journeys are, it seems to me, well conveyed in a passage from Jane Austen's novel "Sense and Sensibility": Marianne introduces Edward Ferrers to Barton Valley, saying "Look up it and be tranquil if you can. Look at those hills. Did you ever see their equals?" To this the young man replied: "It is a beautiful country but these bottoms must be dirty in winter". "How can you think of dirt, with such objects before you?" "Because .. among the rest of the objects before me, I see a very dirty lane" (175).

Moratín's picture of what he thinks that a woman should be seems to me to be a very lyrical one also. Speaking of his dislike of women on horseback, he says "cuando su sexo se nos presenta robusto, rígido y feroz, como en este caso, desaparecen la delicadeza y la timidez que son los signos que le caracterizan", and he goes on to describe what he thinks that they ought to be like:- "Sean ellas hermosas, sensibles, tímidas, y delicadas; éstas son las armas que le naturaleza las concedió; nosotros endurecidos en las fatigas, vencedores de las fieras y los elementos, cedamos sólo a unos ojos y a una boca que sonrío suavemente, a cuya violencia deliciosa no hay corazón que no se rinda" (176). Women, then, should be as Nature intended them, delicate. not robust and dominating, and Moratín's picture, especially the last phrase:

reminds one very much of the "femme fatale", the modern Siren, and also of Espronceda's picture of Elvira in "El Estudiante de Salamanca"; although Elvira was not a "femme fatale", she was "Bella y más pura que el azul del cielo/con dulces ojos lángidos y hermosos,/...../ tímida estrella que refleja al suelo/rayos de luz brillantes y dudosos/ángel puro de amor que amor inspira/" (177).

From lyricism we move to three examples which show an inclination for the exotic, for things from far distant countries whose names excited the emotions, and which were only just coming into common use because of the recent discoveries. In the menagerie, Moratín's attention is drawn almost exclusively by two animals both of which are natives of countries far distant from England; the kangaroo, "un animal nuevamente descubierto", is described in detail, as is the rhinoceros, even to the point of Moratín saying "apenas tenía tres dedos de cuerno sobre el pellejo" (178). His visit to the "Museo Liveriano" reveals a detailed interest in the collection of "armas, trajes, adornos, y instrumentos bárbaros que recogió el célebre y desgraciado Captain Cook en sus atrevidos viajes al rededor del mundo"(179); included among these objects, "se ven varios trajes de reyes y magnates, de singular hermosura y artificio, de extraordinaria brillantez y exquisitos colores" (180). Finally, in discussing the matter of female beauty, Moratín makes the observation that beauty is a relative matter(181), and says that what might be regarded as beauty in one country might be ugliness in another. While other travellers use the comparison between European and English tastes (182), Moratín says, "Y ¡nos admiramos que en el Senegal y en el Congo se llamen feas las aguileñas, y que se queden para tías

las que no son más negras que el hollín ! Lo que es hermoso a los ojos de un hotentote, podrá ser horrible a los de un lapón; un persa y un apache seguirán opinión distinta en puntos de balleza física;" (183). Here are the names of countries far away, which were relatively newly discovered, and which, from the reports of travellers, were the homes of people who lived a very primitive life, close to Nature - the Noble Savage.

We meet Moratín's Noble Savage, a Lapp in this case, "cubierto de pieles, ocupado en la pesca y la caza, sin otras ideas de comercio que las que puede adquirir en el trueque de los pocos frutos de su país por los artefactos o utensilios que necesita, producto de las artes extranjeras que desconoce, ignorante acaso de lo que es dinero y riqueza". In this simple state "podrá conservar costumbres inocentes y virtudes sociales, que tal vez faltan entre las naciones civilizadas que más les aplauden y preconizan" (184). This picture is strikingly Rousseauesque: the innocent savage, perfectly happy, untainted by society and all its corrupt practices. Reference is also made, to him, in the abstract, in the article on foreign woods (1/29) - " ¡Cuánto es mejor el color hermoso y natural de las maderas preciosas de Indias, que todos estos barnices, destinados a fingir cosas imposibles, y que anuncian a un mismo tiempo nuestro depravado gusto en las artes, nuestra poca actividad e industria" (185). From all this, it would appear that Moratín places the blame for the decadent state of society on the shoulders of society itself; he considers that civilisation, and culture bring with them many advances in technology, a corruption of morals and in a comment on the number of utensils needed to make a cup of tea he

implies that culture, with all its sophistication, is nothing more than an unnecessary and superfluous weight around the neck of those who pretend to be cultured - one would be equally well off without all the superficial trimmings: "Todo esto es necesario para servir dos tazas de té con leche. Si es más libre el hombre que menos auxilios extraños necesita para el cumplimiento de sus deseos, las gentes cultas ¡qué lejos están de conocer la libertad! ¡Cuántas manos trabajan para que el cortesano sorba un poco de agua caliente! ¡Qué necesidades faticias le rodean! ¡Cómo gime el infeliz bajo la pesada cadena que le doran las artes!" (186). This attitude of Moratín to the superficiality of culture seems to be paralleled by his remarks on the English preoccupation with money, for concerning the latter, he pointed out that money did not really measure a man's worth to society (187) and here he is saying that culture and all the things which it brings about are merely an ornamental exterior, completely non-utilitarian: material possessions are not the important thing, it is what a man is, something intangible, that counts, and which is the true measure of a person. The Lapp in contact with Nature can live a perfect life, free from corruption and immorality, happy, free from the worries which civilisation brings, a life in which all contribute to the common good through their own individual industrious and utilitarian efforts. He is the personification of Virtue, Truth and Happiness.

In making a concluding assessment of the Apuntaciones, as they show England and Moratín, we seem to be faced with two dichotomies, one of a country, the other of a man. In Moratín's picture of England we have seen a country with two sets of values, in the act of choosing one

set: new humanitarian values are fighting to overtake the old egoistic values, but their progress is being checked by the fact that the old ones are being regenerated by the arrival of a new technological development. Moratín seems not to be able to distinguish between these incompatible elements, and thus does not form a complete picture of England, although all the basic facts are there, often in great detail. I venture to suggest that had Moratín intended his work as a didactic social document, he would have used a different technique, which would have presented the information more clearly. There would have been, I think, a fuller narrative, a more logical development of thought, and he would probably have been more careful in tying up the loose ends and explaining the inconsistencies. As it is, there is no real development and climax to the work, the conclusion is unrepresentative of the whole, over generalised and too rose-coloured, and material on connected topics is scattered all over the work. The most suitable technique for presenting a picture of a country with some didactic purpose would seem to be something similar to that adopted by Biederborn, where each broad topic is treated in a block, rather in the style of an encyclopaedia. Moratín's technique, however, which, in a way, is more like that of Moritz and Meister is more suited as a purely literary device, than as a means of spreading enlightenment.

The discussion of style in Chapter Four showed that some kind of public was intended, and from the examples of irony and sarcasm and the presentation technique it may be suggested that this public was probably a small circle of Moratín's literary friends and acquaintances,

who would appreciate his sense of humour and who would know exactly what he meant. The rhetorical style, exaggerated at times may also be regarded as a part of this humour. The various elements of evidence would, therefore, point to the Apuntaciones being a set of notes, written in a chronological order simply to give Moratín's friends some account of his visit to England, possibly in imitation of the current vogue of travel literature.

Ironically enough, while the man seems not to have comprehended the dichotomy of the country which he wrote about, it is in this country that our second dichotomy, that of the man himself, is revealed, and in Moratín there is something of the duality of England itself. We have firstly, two opposing attitudes, one of accepting the state of things as they are, the other of helping to improve the lot of those less fortunate, and of striving for equality. We find a good deal of the latter outlook in the Apuntaciones, which shows Moratín as a believer in the enlightened, humanitarian attitude to mankind, and we also see in his remarks a belief in the worthlessness of material things and of the superficiality of a sophisticated culture. But Moratín is by no means a radical; he retains a discerning and balanced attitude to the relative merits of tradition and progress. He is enlightened in his outlook on the new scientific spirit, which encouraged personal experiment, and he shows the inquisitive and impartial approach of the new thought, which seems to be encouraged by his naturally concise and clear style of writing. We also see in the subjects which Moratín deals with, an awareness of the European themes of Freedom, Economic development

and the importance of money.

It is when we come to the accounts of Moratín's travels that another dichotomy of attitudes becomes most apparent, bringing inevitable inconsistencies. Side by side with the concise, unemotional and detailed narrative we have the spontaneous lyrical outbursts which occur when Moratín views some particular scene, and in other parts of the Apuntaciones we have noted other elements which evidence a Romantic, or at least pre-Romantic temperament. These lyrical outbursts are by no means Moratín's first (188), but their significance in the Apuntaciones is that they occur mixed in with the cold unemotional narrative, each seeming to run quite happily into the other.

To return to what was said in Chapter Four about the Apuntaciones not being a personal record of Moratín's stay in England, in a special sense, I suppose that they are this. I think that they were meant for a public, so they are not personal in that sense, but they are personal in the sense that they reveal Moratín's character, his attitudes and the duality of the neoclassic and pre-Romantic ideals. This duality undoubtedly stems from Moratín's childhood, in which his personal feelings inspired by the age were suppressed and denied development by the influence of the home environment, which was particularly strong: "desde la escuela, cuya puerta se veía desde mi casa, me ponía en ella de un salto. Allí veía los amigos de mi padre, oía sus conversaciones literarias adquirí un desmedido amor al estudio, leía a Don Quijote, y al Lazerillo, las Guerras de Granada, libro delicioso para mí, la Historia de Mariana, y todos los poetas españoles, de los cuales había en la librería de mi padre escogida abundancia. Esta ocupación, y la de ir a ver a mi pobre

abuelo me entretenían el tiempo, y así pase los nueve primeros años de mi vida, sin acordarme de que era un muchacho" (189). Gradually the personal feelings, aroused by the spirit of the age, assumed a stronger role, but Moratín was perhaps too conscious of his upbringing and the influence of his father to reveal them and consequently he had to keep them under the surface. On occasions, however, they were too strong to be repressed and unconsciously they crept across the face which was turned towards the public, until Moratín, suddenly becoming aware of their presence, and that he had dropped his guard, swept them away. We may parallel and associate this dichotomy with that which we find in Moratín's character, noted in his Autobiography: "En mi casa y entre los míos era alegre y sencillo; pero al presentarse persona poco íntima, hallaba en mí un muchacho reservado y poco social" (199). In his public writings he was among strangers, but in his personal writings he was "at home".

The Apuntaciones are, then, a melting pot of the personal and the public, and the work shows Moratín, like England, at a crossroads; he still maintains a general cold exterior, but on occasions and often unconsciously, his personal emotions break through the surface. The work seems to me to mark a point in the emergence of the personal Romantic feelings produced by the "Zeitgeist" into the world of strict literary ideas produced by his home environment, it is a meeting point of the Moratín of "El Viejo y la Niña" and the Moratín of "El Sé de las Niñas". To conclude this chapter I quote some words of Wordsworth which seem to me to be very appropriate to the situation in which Moratín found himself in England, and not irrelevant to his own personal state of mind:

"Beneath the hills, along the flowery vales,
The generations are prepared; the pangs,
The internal pangs are ready; the dread strife,
Of poor humanity's afflicted will
Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny". (191).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE.

1. O.P.I. P.161.
2. O.P.I. P.185.
3. "Aquí también se disputa de sangre en el ojo y se revuelven los abolorios, y se citan los cimentarios para probar el mérito personal" (O.P.I, Pp. 185-6).
4. "... y se graban en los orinales los blasones adquiridos a palas y coces y a quien más pudo en aquellos tiempos de ignorancia y de tiranía" (O.P.I., P1186).
5. Although suicide can be seen, in one respect, as a sacrifice of self, it may also imply a lack of thought and regard for one's dependants and for society in general.
6. O.P.I., P1187.
7. Ibid, P.184.
8. Ibid, Pp. 184-5.
9. Ibid, P.185.
10. Ibid, P.163.
11. Ibid, Pp. 180-181.
12. Ibid, P.181.
13. Ibid, P.182
14. The underlining is mine.
15. O.P.I. P.162.
16. Ibid, P.162. The prayer offered begins thus: "O God, whose name is excellent in all the earth, and thy glory above the heavens, who on this day didst miraculously preserve our Church and State from the

secret contrivances and hellish malice of Popish conspirators, and on this day also didst begin to give us a mighty deliverance from the open tyranny and oppression of the same cruel and bloodthirsty enemies ..."

We may also note this comment on the French by a contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine: "A great part of them are bigots to the most absurd and superstitious ceremonies of the Romish Church (1792, p.879).

17. The Catholic Emancipation Act was not passed until 1829.
18. O.P.I. P.182.
19. It should perhaps be pointed out that some of these applied equally well to English visitors.
20. O.P.I. P.204.
21. Ibid, P.203.
22. Ibid, P. 204.
23. Ibid, Pp. 204-5. The general aspects of this movement may be seen in Chapter 1.
24. Ibid, P.206. The taxes were collected at the rate of 1/6th of the rent.
25. Ibid, P.206.
26. Ibid, P.206.
27. Annual Register, 1792; Chronicle P.39.
28. We may perhaps note that despite the passing of one and a half centuries, such prejudices are still in evidence.
29. Gentleman's Magazine 1792, p.880. The writer also comments: "What circumstances we should have found at Paris, if circumstances had been inverted, we cannot easily conceive" - a comment which betrays a certain self-righteousness under all the benevolence and humanity.

30. O.P. I. P.207.
31. See P. 124 for more detail on this point.
32. O.P. I. P.188
33. Ibid, P.225
34. " P.174
35. " Pp.162-3.
36. " Pp.161-2.
37. " P.162.
38. " P.200.
39. " P.239.
40. " P.226.
41. " P.227.
42. " P.186.
43. " P.225.
44. " Pp. 207-8.
45. " P.208. The material value put on art may also be seen from 1/5.
46. " P.203.
47. " P.206.
48. " Pp. 203-4.
49. An example of such machines may be found in 2/8, P.211 (O.P.I.)
50. Canals are mentioned in O.P. I. P.209.
51. It seems that by "minas" Moratín must have been referring to mines other than coal, for in 1/27, (P.193), he says "Hay minas abundantísimas de carbón de piedra en Inglaterra y todo es megester para el inmenso consumo que de él se hace".

52. The whole quotation is taken from O.P. I, 2/4 P.204.
53. See P. 124 .
54. O.P. I. P.202.
55. Ibid, P.179.
56. " P.174.
57. " P.194.
58. " P.233.
59. " Pp.170-1.
60. " P.177
61. The Test Act was not repealed until 1828.
62. O.P. I. P.234.
63. Ibid, P.179.
64. " P.183.
65. " P.230-1.
66. " P.167.
67. See Appendix 1.
68. O.P. I. 2/1 P.196.
69. "Dicen que es menester hacer un nuevo arreglo de Parlamento, y que la nacion ne está legalmente representada; apoyando esta locura en el ridículo pretexto de que hay ciudades o partidos de veinte o treinta mil vecinos que no tienen un solo representante en las Cámaras, cuando hay otros pueblos de doscientos o trescientos que envían cuatro o cinco o más. Se quejan también, con igual injusticia, de las riquezas del clero, la distribución de impuestos, los privilegios de varios cuerpos y particulares". (O.P.2, Carta XX, P.127).
70. O.P. I. P.207.

71. Ibid P.207.
72. This is one specific example of the general tendency of foreign writers to generalize, ignoring or ignorant of the whole picture.
73. O.P. I. P.225.
74. Ibid, P.234.
75. " P.193.
76. " P.209.
77. " P.214.
78. " P. 206 2/5
79. " P.170
80. " P.195.
81. " P.205. 2/4
82. " P.207.
83. " P.178 1/16.
84. " P.185 1/22
85. Ibid Pp. 176-7.
86. This attitude may be found expressed by Moratín in another of his works, "El Barón", through the character of Don Pedro, who, speaking to la tía Mónica, says:-

"Un error breve,

Que no ha producido infaustas
 Resultas, pueda ser útil,
 Porque instruye y desengaña.
Quisiste salir de aquella
Humilde esfera en que estabas,

Ya te espuso esta ilusión
 A un abismo de desgracias.
 Horror me da contemplar
 Cuántos males preparaba
 Tu ceguedad". (Act.II, Sc. XVIII, B.A.E. Vol.2, P.391.)

A few lines later he tells her that her family's love for her is the highest happiness to which she can attain; dreams which excite ambition are nothing but false promises:

"Vive contenta en el seno
De tu familia, estimada;
Querida y en dulce paz;
 Que el fausto, la pompa vana
De las riquezas no pueden
Hacer que disfrute el alma
Estas dichas" (Ibid.)

The underlinings are mine. This attitude may explain why, in the same letter, Moratín can complain of homesickness and can also say:

" ¡Qué carreras doy por Hay-Market y Covent Garden !". (O.P.II, Carta XXII P.132).

87. Essay on Man; quoted in European Thought in the 18th century, Paul Hazard, P.337.
88. O.P. I. P.174: I.12.
89. " ... penetrado de aversión al fanatismo" "tuvo y mantuvo muchas lealtades:a la no-violencia" (Marías op.cit. Pp.84 & 85). We may perhaps associate this with his "resignación" (see Ch.3. note 52).
90. O.P. I. P.205.
91. England was seen as the best governed European state "where men are philosophers, who, looking on other men as their brothers, sacrifice

their tranquility to preserve the inviolate rights of man" (quoted from "El amigo del príncipe y de la patria o el buen ciudadano" translated from the original French; (Madrid 1788-9). This English translation is taken from Herr : "The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain", Chapter 6.

92. O.P. I. P.185.

93. O.P. I., P.186 I/22

94. O.P. I, P.228.

95. O.P. I. P.174.

96. "De dónde pueden nacer defectos tan notables sino de la ignorancia y la ridícula altanería y presunción que nace y vive con ellos" (O.P.I P.182).

97. The other two new virtues are Beneficence and Humanity.

98. O.P. I. P.178

99. Ibid, P.225 2/11.

100. " P.223.

101. O.P.2. P.127.

102. See Chapter 6 for further examples of this desire to make points forcefully.

103. Chapter Four, P. 115.

104. Chapter Five, P. 134.

105. O.P. I. Pp.164-5:-

1. - Al Rey y a nuestra Constitución.

CANCIÓN - Dios selvo al Rey, etc.,

2. - A la Reina, y este día se repita con mucha felicidad.

CANCIÓN - Larga vida a Carlota, etc.

3. - Al Príncipe de Gales y familia Real.

CANCIÓN - Dios salve al Rey, etc.

4. - A la armada y ejército.

CANCIÓN - Triunfa, ¡oh Britania!, etc.

5. - La Iglesia y el Estado.

6. - Al lord Grenville por su animosa respuesta al agente de Francia.

7. - Felicidad a nuestras armas.

CANCIÓN - ¡Britanos! pelead con esfuerzo etc.

8. - Confusión a nuestros enemigos.

9. - Orden y buen Gobierno.

CANCIÓN - ¡Escuchad! La nación etc.

10. - Al autor de la última canción.

11. - Libertad, prosperidad y lealtad universal.

CANCIÓN - Dios salve al Rey.

12. - Prosperidad a la Gran Bretaña e Irlanda.

13. - A que nunca abandonemos la realidad por la apariencia.

14. - A los constantes y firmes amigos de nuestra Constitución.

15. - Hallen todas las naciones a la inglesa dispuesta siempre a defender su Constitución.

CANCIÓN - Levantado por la mano, etc.

16. - Confusión a Tomas Payne y todas sus obras.

17. - Al conde de Chatham.

18. - A Mr. Pitt.

19. - Al Duque de Richmond.

20. - Al Lord Hood.

21. - Al Señor Jorge Yonge.

- 22. - Al Conde de Pembroke
- 23. - A los miembros de este condado.
- Etc. Etc.

- 106. 1 - Una chimenea con lumbre.
- 2. - Una mesa pequeña para poner el jarrón de agua caliente.
- 3. - Una mesa grande, donde está la bandeja con las tazas y demás utensilios.
- 4. - Un jarrón con agua caliente.
- 5. - Un cajoncillo para tener el té.
- 6. - Una cuchara mediana para sacar.
- 7. - Una tetera, donde se echa el té y el agua caliente.
- 8. - Una jerrillo con leche.
- 9. - Una taza grande con azúcar.
- 10. - Unas pinzas para cogerlo.
- 11. - Unas parrillas.
- 12. - Un plato para la manteca.
- 13. - Otro plato para las rebanadas de pan con manteca, que se ponen a calentar sobre las parrillas.
- 14. - Un cuchillo para partir el pan y extender la manteca.
- 15. - Un tenedor muy largo para retostar las rebanadas antes de poner la manteca.
- 16. - Un cuenco para verter el agua con que se enjuagan las tazas cada vez que se renueva en ellas el té.
- 17. - Dos platillos.
- 18. - Dos tazas.

19. - Dos cucharitas.

20. - Una gran bandeja en la mesa grande para todos estos trastos.

21. - Otra bandeja mas pequeña, donde se ponen las tazas con té, las rebanadas de pan y el azúcar para servirlo a los concurrentes.

(O.P. I. I/11, p.171)

108. O.P. I, I/18, pp.179-80.

108. O.P. I, I/20, pp. 183-4.

109. O.P. I, p.211

110. O.P. I, p.228.

111. Ibid, p.174.

112. " p.168.

113. " p.208.

114. " p.210.

115. " p.115.

116. " p.219.

117. " p.223.

118. " p.224.

119. " p.225.

120. This paragraph is an abstract of a section from "European Thought in the Eighteenth Century", Paul Hazard, pp. 145-50.

121. O.P. I, p.162, I/5.

122. O.P. I, pp. 172-3.

123. Ibid, p.193.

124. " pp. 188-192, I/26.

125. See Chapter Four, note 9.

126. Gebhard Wenderborn, Charles Moritz and Henri Meister (see Chapter Four, Pp. 108 ff.). These travellers were chosen quite arbitrarily and not in order to prove any point.
127. See Pp. 133&136 for examples.
128. e.g. O.P. I. P.234, concerning the Jews.
129. Preface to "A view of England towards the close of the 18th century".
130. O.P. III. P.301.
131. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.148.
132. Ibid, P.536.
133. O.P. I. P.172.
134. Ibid, P.173.
135. " P.210
136. " P.223.
137. " P.271.
138. We may also note, from a stylistic point of view, the detached attitude conveyed by the use of the reflexive - e.g. - "se anda en doce horas ... se entraba ... se acomoda" (O.P. I, 2/B. P.208).
139. O.P. I, Pp. 212, 216.
140. Ibid, Pp. 172, 212, 216, 218.
141. " Pp. 218, 223.
142. " P. 218.
143. " P.216.
144. " P.212.
145. " P.219.
146. " Pp. 212, 213, 216, 222.

147. Ibid, Pp. 209, 210,211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 223.
148. " P. 173.
149. " P. 173.
150. " Pp. 168, 224.
151. " Pp. 210, 212, 214, 221, 222.
152. " P. 211.
153. O.P. I. Pp. 213, 214, 218.
154. Ibid P. 213.
155. " pp. 213, 215.
156. " Pp. 173, 216, 217, 224.
157. " P. 214.
158. " P. 213. The underlining is mine.
159. " Pp. 208-224.
160. " P.222.
161. " P.209.
162. " P.210.
163. See Pp. 161-162.
164. O.P. I. P. 173.
165. Ibid, P.215.
166. " P.225.
167. " P.214.
168. " P.209.
169. " P.214.
170. " P. 221.
171. " P.222. Having noted instances of Moratin's taste for the regular, we now encounter an example of the exact opposite.

- Irregularity, it seems, is a virtue; my underlining.
172. Ibid, P.217-9. Likewise, disorder is counted at a premium - it is described as "bello"; my underlining.
173. Ibid, P.223. Fountains, ruins and waterfalls were an extremely popular decoration in nineteenth century gardening; they blended in with the 'natural' unkempt style of landscaping. Cf. also the penchant for ruins - See Appendix 2.
174. M.L.Q. 1964. Appreciation of mountains and wild scenery came first to inspire the Romantic in people. Another influence on the interest in rugged scenery was that of landscape painting. The language of enthusiasm was provided by J. Thompson in "The Seasons" (1726-30).
175. The Novels of Jane Austen, Vol. I. P.88 (Clarendon, Oxford).
176. O.P. I. P.201.
177. Ed. Clásicos Castellanos, P. 194.
178. O.P. I. P.176.
179. Ibid, P. 191.
180. " P. 192.
181. See Chapter I. with regard to the significance of this - P.8.
182. e.g. Henri Meister - "Letters written during a residence in England" Letter XVIII, P.277.
183. O.P. I. Pp. 177-8.
184. Ibid, P.202.
185. " P.195.
186. " P.172. The list is given in Note 106 to this chapter.
187. See P.150.

188. When Moratín made his first visit to France with Cabarrús in 1788 he remarked: "Vi por primera vez el mar. No me hartaba de verle, porque para quien ha nacido en tierra de secano, y no ha visto más cantidad de agua que la del claro Manzanares ... el espectáculo del mar es interesante y maravilloso" (O.P.II, P.74). On the same journey, he describes a wood at Valchusa thus: "La tremenda soledad del bosque, y el rumor incesante de las aguas, que asorda el valle y retumba en la concavidad el monte, todo inspira una melancolía deliciosa que se siente y no se puede explicar". (O.P.II, P.91; my underlining).
189. O.P. 3, P.305.
190. O.P. 3, P.304.
191. Quoted in Plumb, op.cit. P.141.
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CHAPTER SIX: MORATÍN'S THEATRE REFORM.

We see from a letter to the King in which Moratín proposes the creation of a Director of the Theatres of Madrid, that he claims to have dedicated himself "desde su edad más tierna al estudio de las Letras Humanas, y en particular al de la Poesía Dramática igualmente que al conocimiento del Theatro" (1), and in the course of Chapters One and Three, it was again seen that concern for the theatre appeared to be an important aspect of his life. Moratín was very anxious to bring about a regeneration of the Spanish stage by making the authors realise the seriousness of their jobs as writers, and by attempting to introduce some reform into the actual organisation of the theatres themselves.

As a possible solution to the former problem Moratín put forward certain ideas which are to be found in "La Comedia Nueva", produced in 1792. The play contains an assertion of Moratín's belief that genius was not enough for a writer - study and training were also an integral part of an author's life, matters which had to be undertaken if one was to avoid producing "Obras ... desatinadas y monstruosas, dictadas más que por el ingenio por la necesidad o la presunción" (2). It was no good writing merely from inspiration, because "hay un método de enseñanza y unas reglas que seguir y observar; que a ellas debe acompañar una aplicación constante y laboriosa, y que sin estas circunstancias unidas al talento, nunca se formarán grandes profesores, porque nadie sabe sin aprender" (3).

In the same play, don Pedro tells the playwright and his friends that the theatre needs "una reforma fundamental en todas sus partes, y que mientras ésta no se verifique los buenos ingenios que tiene la nación, o no harán nada, o harán lo que únicamente basta para manifestar que saben

escribir con acierto y que no quisieron escribir" (4). It is this second type of reform which is of major interest to us and which Moratín proposes to Carlos III in December 1792. He must have been thinking out the ideas for this in his mind for some time previously, for we see some of them in "La Comedia Nuova", but it was in England that he made the final draft, introducing some features which he had seen working in the English theatre, and from where he wrote to the King proposing his plan.

Before going on to examine Moratín's plan, however, we shall first take a fairly rapid glance at the previous attempts to reform the Spanish theatre up to 1792, to see how, if at all, Moratín's plan fits into the general pattern. In the early 1760s the Conde de Aranda led a reform campaign, in which Nifo was directed to draw up a plan of reform, and in which the latter was so convinced of the need for reform that he said that it would be better to abolish the theatre entirely than to allow it to continue in a corrupt state. His ideas were, however, not very far-reaching and were limited to converting the theatre into a school of morals. Because of political disturbances, the plans were shelved for a time, but when conditions became more settled, Aranda continued his campaign, by making improvements to the stage, by producing harmony between the partisans of the two rival theatres, the Cruz and the Príncipe by mixing the personnel of the two theatres and introducing a change of theatre with the change of season. He also suppressed the cloths or curtains which had been the only adornments to the stage from the time of the old corrales. 20,000 duros were spent on providing painted sets, and by increasing the price of box seats by

2 reales per person, a decoration fund was established for continued improvements to the stage props.

These plans, however, were only external and did not affect the actual repertoire of the theatre. This reform was undertaken by don Bernardo Iriarte, who was commissioned to choose the most regular plays from the old theatre. Certain changes were made to make some of them conform more nearly to the unities, and other inopportune passages were suppressed. Theatres were established at the "sitios reales" to introduce translated French comedies.

Right in the middle of the ten years 1782 - 1792 which marked the peak of the campaign against the irregular theatre, one commentator urged the reform of public taste by persuasive methods:- "It is necessary to temporize with the vulgo and even with the actors themselves, who for the most part are even more deluded than the former, and to accept and follow their taste until they are freed from prejudice. The best thing to do, as soon as a drama is announced, would, in my opinion, be for some able person to advise the public whether the aforesaid drama is regular or not, both in general terms and with reference to some of its particular beauties or defects ... In this way the public would come to notice the good and bad points in plays, would acquire proper ideas and would learn what true comedy or tragedy is" (5).

Three years later, in April 1788, another commentator made the following recommendation - "In order to separate good comedies and tragedies from the bad and to reform and correct those that are susceptible to reform and in order to throw away completely those that are useless, extravagant, and harmful, it would be very fitting for a

board of censors to be set up, composed of six persons, two of them to be theologians to look after the morale and dogma, and the remaining to be men of good taste and competent literary judgement, whose duty it would be to examine all plays presented to the theatre for performance (6). Eleven years later a similar plan was put into operation with the formation, by Royal decree, of a Board of Censors.

In 1790, the magazine "La Espigadera", the mouthpiece of neo-classicism, criticised the stage sets and the general situation: the incompetence of the actors and the necessity for proper instruction for them. In the same year, at the request of the Academia de Historia, Jovellanos composed a long report on the most popular forms of public spectacle and diversions in Spain, which was more concerned with the moral aspects of the matter than with the precepts involved. The solution, according to Jovellanos, was to arrange contests, in which authors were encouraged to enter by offering prizes. There was also a need, he said, for a drastic change in the performances themselves and for a complete overhaul of the physical plant of the theatre, and for a modernisation of stage decorations and props. He suggested that the management of the theatres be taken away from the charitable institutions which leased theatres to the companies, and that if all the income could be devoted to maintaining the theatres, the situation could soon be remedied.

In 1791, Urquijo, later to be Minister of State, said that he believed that the public taste was changing, and that the time had come to abandon the comedia. He recommended a recast of the Golden Age comedies, the complete elimination of the sainetes, the foundation of

a school of dramatic art, and the establishment of a board of control, whose duties were "to examine for itself all the old and modern dramas; to order corrected those that are susceptible to emendation; to prohibit the performance of those that are bad, and by bestowing laurels, prizes and honours on good poets who distinguish themselves, to encourage the growth of the nation to study such an important science" (7).

We now come to examine what Moratín proposed in his plan of December 1792, and to see in what ways it compared with or differed from those which had preceded it. In the first place, in a letter separate from the plan and written a week before the latter was submitted, Moratín proposed the creation of a Directorship for the theatres of Madrid. He says that he had had great experience in the theatre, that in the course of his travels he has found things which might prove useful to the Spanish theatre and that if he is considered worthy of the post, "no dudará sacrificar todo su talento y estudio a un objeto de tal importancia, no menos digno de la atención del Gobierno, que interesante a las costumbres públicas, a la ilustración y a la gloria nacional" (8). It seems to me that this is very much a case of Moratín creating a post for himself rather than for the good of the country. He points out, with great vanity, his qualifications, as he did in a letter written earlier in the year to Floridablanca (9), and there is no thought of any specific qualifications for the post which might be needed by Moratín's successors; the whole post seems to have been conceived of merely in terms of Moratín himself, and we may suggest that his aim, using this method, was to put forward his ideas on an official basis, as Director,

rather than unofficially, as one out of the many neoclassic writers. This feeling may possibly be connected with Moratín's retiring nature, and the thought that his ideas would not have enough impetus unless they were put officially, that is, backed with the authority of the Directorship; in this connection we may note further from the Autobiografía that Moratín, as a child, was always one to follow the rules and authority - " ... el maestro me trataba muy bien, o fuese que mi conducta le obligaba a ello., o que yo era uno de los más puntuales en contribuir con la pensión mensual (10). Alternatively, and perhaps more likely is the possibility that it was a desire for power which made Moratín propose himself for the Directorship. He was, it may be argued, so convinced of the infallibility of his ideas that he felt that the only way to get them put into practice was by making himself the organ of their expression. His apparently quite open vanity as to his suitability for the post seems to support this, but before making any definite judgement we must first look at the details of the plan.

The plan opens with a call for urgent action to mend this dreadful situation in the theatres, for, says Moratín, the theatres of Madrid are "indignos de una corte como la nuestra". He criticises the fact that "no hay premios para estimular los buenos ingenios de que abunda la Nación" without suggesting a remedy, and attributes the lack of funds to the fact that "se sacan sumas considerables para objetos que no tienen con él la más remota conexión" (11), that is in paying for the lease of the theatres to the hospitals. Moratín also criticises the lack of schooling for actors, a criticism which is to be found throughout "La Comedia Nueva" as we have seen; he says, "No hay quien

instruya a los Cómicos en el arte de la declamación, de donde resulta que todos ellos son ignorantes de su ejercicio, y si tal vez, por un afecto extraordinario del talento, llegasen a acertar en algo, serían inútiles estos esfuerzos, puesto que no hay establecida una recompensa justa proporcionada a sus adelantamientos", but again, no suggestion as to a way of improving the situation is made. As well as criticism of the poor pay received by the actors, Moratín finds little worthy of praise in the field of music, which he considers "atrasada y envilecida un conjunto de imitaciones inconexas, sin unidad, sin caracter, sin gracia, ni gusto ...", and we find too censure of the costumes used for the various plays; these are "impropios, ridículos, indecentes" (11). There is dissatisfaction at the poor décor, the "pesadez, rudeza y mal gusto de las máquinas", and the lighting, which is condemned as "pobra, sucia y mal dispuesta", and not least is the criticism of the uncomfortable seating arrangements : "la colocación incómoda de la mayor parte de los espectadores, origen de la inquietud, alboroto y descompostura que se observa en ellos" (12). Other sources of discontent as far as Moratín is concerned are listed one after the other in the plan : "la arbitrariedad injusta de las entradas: el mal método de la cobranza: la multitud de empleos inútiles: la escasez de los que son necesarios: la ninguna subordinación que reyna en todos los que sirven al Theatro, exterior e interiorm(en)te ..." (13).

Above all, however, Moratín finds that there is a lack of organisation from the top, with the result that "unos deshacen lo que hazen otros, que se multiplican, se contradicen, y se inutilizan las disposiciones más justas, que nadie conserva una autoridad

legítima y segura: ningún subalterno cumple con sus obligaciones y, por consiguiente nada se hace bien" (14). This seems to be the first hint that Moratín is entertaining what might be called dictatorial ideas, and these are later further developed when he comes to his solution of the problem. There is, Moratín claims, a misuse of the censorship, which leads to the alteration of plays which are perfectly acceptable: "Para el examen y admisión de las piezas que han de representar se interviene el Corregidor, el Vicario, un Censor que nombra el Vicario, otro Censor nombrado por el Corregidor, otro Censor Religioso de la Victoria y además de éstos, el Autor de la Compañía, el Galañ, la Dama, el Gracioso, qualquiera de ellos se halla con derecho de juzgar la obra y desecharla o admitirla, según le parece,. De aquí resulta que no hay obra de mérito que no sea despreciada, que no se tacha, altere y deefigure con atajos y correcciones, hechas por quien no tiene la menor inteligencia de esto y que no cueste imponderables dificultades al hazerla executar en los Theatros" (14); and there is a lack of interest on the part of the Government, a fact which is very surprising, considering that "nadie ignora el poderoso influxo que tiene el Theatro en las ideas y costumbres del pueblo; éste no tiene otra escuela, ni exemplos más inmediatos que seguir que los que allí ve, autorizados en cierto modo por la tolerancia de los que le gobiernan" (14). Moratín follows this by saying that "Un mal Theatro es capaz de perder las costumbres públicas" (15), a thought which is very similar to that expressed by don Pedro in "La Comedia Nueva": "el teatro influye inmediatamente en la cultura nacional" (16), and which is used later in

the plan, viz. "Si el Theatro es la escuela de las costumbres ..." (17); we may perhaps parallel this latter phrase with another from the play, spoken this time by don Antonio: "Mientras el teatro siga en el abandono en que hoy esta, en vez de ser el espejo de la virtud y el templo del buen gusto, será la escuela del error y el almacén de las extravagancias" (18). The point of all these phrases, whether from the play or the plan, is, of course, to put forward Moratín's belief that the theatre should be a place where one learned something which would be of use in the course of one's life, or that good was always rewarded and evil punished. This, however, was not the case with many of the old comedies, for it appears, says Moratín, that "apuraron nuestros autores la fuerza de su ingenio en pintar del modo más halagüeño todos los vicios, todos los delitos imaginables, no solo hermoseando su deformidad, sino presentándolos a los ojos del público con el nombre y apariencias de virtud" (15). He gives many examples of this and then concludes: "quanto puede inspirar relaxación de costumbres, ideas falsas de honor, quixotismo, osadía, desevoltura, inobediencia a los magistrados, desprecio de las leyes y de la suprema autoridad : todo se reune en tales obras y éstas se representan en los Theatros de Madrid y el Gobierno lo sufre con indiferencia" (19). Three other types of plays come in for criticism also, the "saineta", the Comedias de Magia which are described as "composiciones desatinadas que mantienen al vulgo en una ignorancia estúpida o q(u)e, por mejor decir, le llenan de errores groseros, no menos opuestos a una sana razón, que a las verdades augustas de nuestra Religión santísima" (20), and

finally, the Comedias modernas, whose "falta de invención arte y decoro haze tan insufribles y que tan mala idea dan de nuestra cultura a los Extranjeros que llegan a verlas" (20). Turning once again to "La Comedia Nueva", we see a very similar line of thought expressed by don Pedro in Act II, Scene V, concerning the play written by don Eleutorio, which might be described as a Comedia moderna : "Allí no hay más que un hacinamiento confuso de especies, una acción informe, lances inverosímiles episodios inconexos, caracteres mal expresados o mal escogidos; en vez de artificio, embrollo; en vez de situaciones cómicas, mamarrachadas de linterna mágica. No hay conocimiento de historia ni de costumbre; no hay objeto moral; no hay lenguaje, ni estilo, ni versificación, ni gusto, ni sentido común ¿Qué pensarán de nuestra cultura los extranjeros que vean la comedia de esta tarde ? ¿Qué dirán cuando lean las que se imprimen diariamente?" (21).

These are the faults which Moratín finds in the Spanish theatre and his summary is this - "A vista de tales reflexiones, ¿quién negará la necesidad urgente de corregirle, para sacar de él todas las utilidades de que es capaz un establecimiento de esta especie: purificándole de los defectos que hasta ahora le han hecho conocidamente perjudicial ? Arreglado y dirigido como corresponde, producirá felices efectos, no sólo a la ilustración y cultura nacional, sino también a la corrección de las costumbres y, por consecuencia, a la estabilidad del orden civil, que mantiene los Estados en la dependencia justa de la suprema autoridad" (22). Once again we have this exemplary feature of the theatre emphasised, a feature which seems to be a primary aim of the

theatre, as far as Moratín is concerned. This, then, is the situation and as a solution he proposes the institution of the post of Director of the Spanish Theatres of Madrid, "dándole a éste todas las facultades necesarias para dirigirlos, siendo las principales de ellas las siguientes ..." (22) - there follow eight points which outline the main duties of the Director.

He is to be responsible for the running of the theatres, in all its branches (23), and is responsible to the Government for the plays which are produced - " ... será el único Censor de ellas. Sin su firma no podrá representarse obra alguna, antigua o moderna, y en las antiguas que admitieren corrección podrá alterar o suprimir los pasajes que le parezcan y sólo con esta enmienda podrán executarse" (22). This facet of the post seems to have been influenced to a large degree by the English theatre and the rôle of the Lord Chamberlain. In his Historia del Teatro en Inglaterra, Moratín includes a few lines on the Act which brought this about - "En efecto, por un acto del Parlamento, expedido en 1737, se prohibió representar pieza alguna sin que precediese expresa licencia del Lord Chamberlan,, y se quitó al Rey la facultad de dar privilegio para el establecimiento de nuevos teatros, con graves penas a todo el que contraviniese a estas disposiciones" (24). There was, Moratín records, a great outcry against this incursion on the liberty of the press, but nevertheless it was passed, with the result that "los ministros quedaron libres en adelante de verse expuestos a la censura de los poetas dramáticos" (24).

The Director will decide when and how the plays which have

been approved will be staged, and he will select the actors for the companies. Further to this, he will have control over all the stage hands, the musicians and will have absolute power "en todo lo perteneciente a las reformas y perfección del Theatro y a las disposiciones relativas a mejorarla; pero quando éstas alterasen la economía y los gastos procederá de acuerdo con el Juez Protector"(25). Finally, the Director will recognise no authority superior to himself apart from that of the King, and Moratín ends his plan with with words of great self-assurance (26) and vanity - "Tal es el único medio de restablecer a su debido esplendor los Theatros Españoles" (25).

This plan was passed on by the Duque de la Alcudia to the Corregidor of Madrid for his comments, but the latter appears to have forgotten about it for some time, a sign perhaps, of the impact on him, since on October 15th, 1793 a note was sent to him asking "en qué estado tiene (V. S.) el Plan que se le remitió para su examen escrito por Dn. Leandro Fernández de Moratín, sobre el arreglo de los teatros" (27). Within a fortnight, however, the Corregidor wrote back enclosing a critique of Moratín's ideas. He was of the opinion that Moratín's picture was a false one - "Todos, Señor, son Censores del Teatro; todos se creen con talento suficiente para criticar las piezas que se presentan; y lo peor es, que se ha echo de modo pintar al nuestro con colores que a la verdad no merece" (28). He says that he would count Moratín "entre los hombres instruidos que tiene la Nación" but thinks that here he is in error, and he ascribes his misjudgement, perhaps rather sarcastically, to his having been affected by the "humor melancólico ynglés", for "hace una pintura de las Comedias que se representan en

nuestros teatros, a mi modo de entender exagerada e injusta"(28). The Corregidor thinks that though Moratín is too sweeping here in his claim, in "La Comedia Nueva" his opinions were more moderate and reasonable. He is of the opinion that Spanish drama should not be criticised unless the foreign drama which is being brought in to replace it is itself without fault, and this view betrays nationalist feelings which are certain to clash with Moratín's; although both have the same end in view, that is, the salvation of the Spanish theatre, it is their means which are different.

The Corregidor agrees with Moratín that many writers are very mercenary in their approach to drama - "los autores que se dedican a escribir piezas para el teatro los más son mercenarios, que escriben una Comedia por que lo den 60 o 70 pesos : su objeto principal es este pequeño interés , y así en quatro días trabajan una pieza para el teatro, quando los hombres más grandes han necesitado mucho tiempo para meditarlas y escribirlas" (29) - but he says that Moratín misunderstood the rôle of the Censors. Each one has a separate specific task to perform, and these he enumerates, the final result being that "la inspección de las piezas que se representan en la parte cómica y todo el gobierno y policía del teatro pertenece sólo al Corregidor de Madrid como Juez Protector"; however, he is often occupied with other business and not always qualified on matters affecting the stage, and so there are two Censors appointed, one a cleric "que vigile sobre los puntos de Religión que es lo principal", and the other a layman, who at this time is don Santos Díez González, "resultando del todo que sólo

uno, es quien censura piezas: que lo hace con total libertad por que para eso se le imbian, no habiendo más diferencia entre lo que propone Moratín y la práctica, que la materialidad de llamarse Censor el que inspecciona hoy las piezas cómicas y nombrarle Moratín en su papel Director" (30).

In the Corregidor's opinion, the way to get a successful reform in the theatre is not to have a Director, which according to the Corregidor is only another name for the present Censor, but to "buscar este mal en su origen para curarle" (31). He says, in agreement with Moratín, that there is a need for some encouragement for authors and a necessity for better conditions for actors - "pudiera pasar el Cómico en la situación del día si le diese de comer; pero señor si perecen de hambre", and to show the validity of his point he quotes an example from the Italians in Rome - "En Roma los hubo excelentes por que se les premiaban con honores y dineros" (32).

The crux of his point is this - "ni tendremos hombres de literatura y Juicio, que reformen nuestro teatro si no se les fomenta y premia, ni Cómicos si no se les da estimación y que comer" (32). The Corregidor ends his critique by refuting Moratín's claim that there is bad music, scenery and décor - "la materialidad de los teatros está muy decente" (32) he says quoting examples of improvements which have been made, and his final comment is in a similar vein to that which opened the critique - a defence against Moratín's sweeping claims - "sepa que los teatros no están tan indecentes ni tan descuidados como pinta Moratín" (33).

Leaving aside the obviously differing views of the two men, one looking at the theatre from a purely nationalist position, the other from a position which is in fact nationalist but which enlists outside help to achieve this, it is apparent that both the Corregidor and Moratín are exaggerating their claims. The Corregidor, responsible for the government of the theatres, would hardly, for the sake of his reputation, admit all that Moratín claims, and in the same way Moratín would undoubtedly paint a black picture of the status quo as he would have a vested interest in the ultimate situation; it would be politic for him to exaggerate since his final result would appear all the more greatly achieved when fulfilled. It will be admitted that many of the previous reforms had in fact introduced some improvement into the theatre in the matter of décor etc. (34), and so in this respect Moratín's criticism is out of proportion. It will also be noticed that there is never any specific proposal of a way to reform any aspect of the theatre. While previous reform plans had put forward definite suggestions, Moratín's gives the Director such diaphanous powers that it is impossible to know exactly what ideas he had, nor can it be said that Moratín was very original in his ideas, for there is little or nothing which had not been dealt with previously: lack of encouragement to writers, of schooling, of decent conditions for actors, of good sets and of censorial powers had all been discussed in earlier reforms and there some concrete solutions had at least been put forward, whereas in Moratín's plan the lack of these things is merely criticised and then left to the mercies of the Director and his unknown ideas. Much of what is said about the

Censorship of the theatre betrays a very strong neoclassic bias, and in this respect the plan may be criticised as being for the good of the neoclassic school rather than for the good of the Spanish nation as a whole. We may note the strong demand for the theatre to be an example to the nation, a school of morals and customs, the lack of which feature in England causes comment from Moratín, as will be seen in the next chapter. The coincidence of many of the remarks in this plan with certain of those in "La Comedia Nueva" leads one to suspect that this part of it concerning the Censorship was already conceived before Moratín had left Spain and that he was only recasting in an official way what had already been expressed "unofficially" in his plays; it also lends weight to the hypothesis, made in the last chapter, that Moratín did not spend a great deal of time at his official duties while in England.

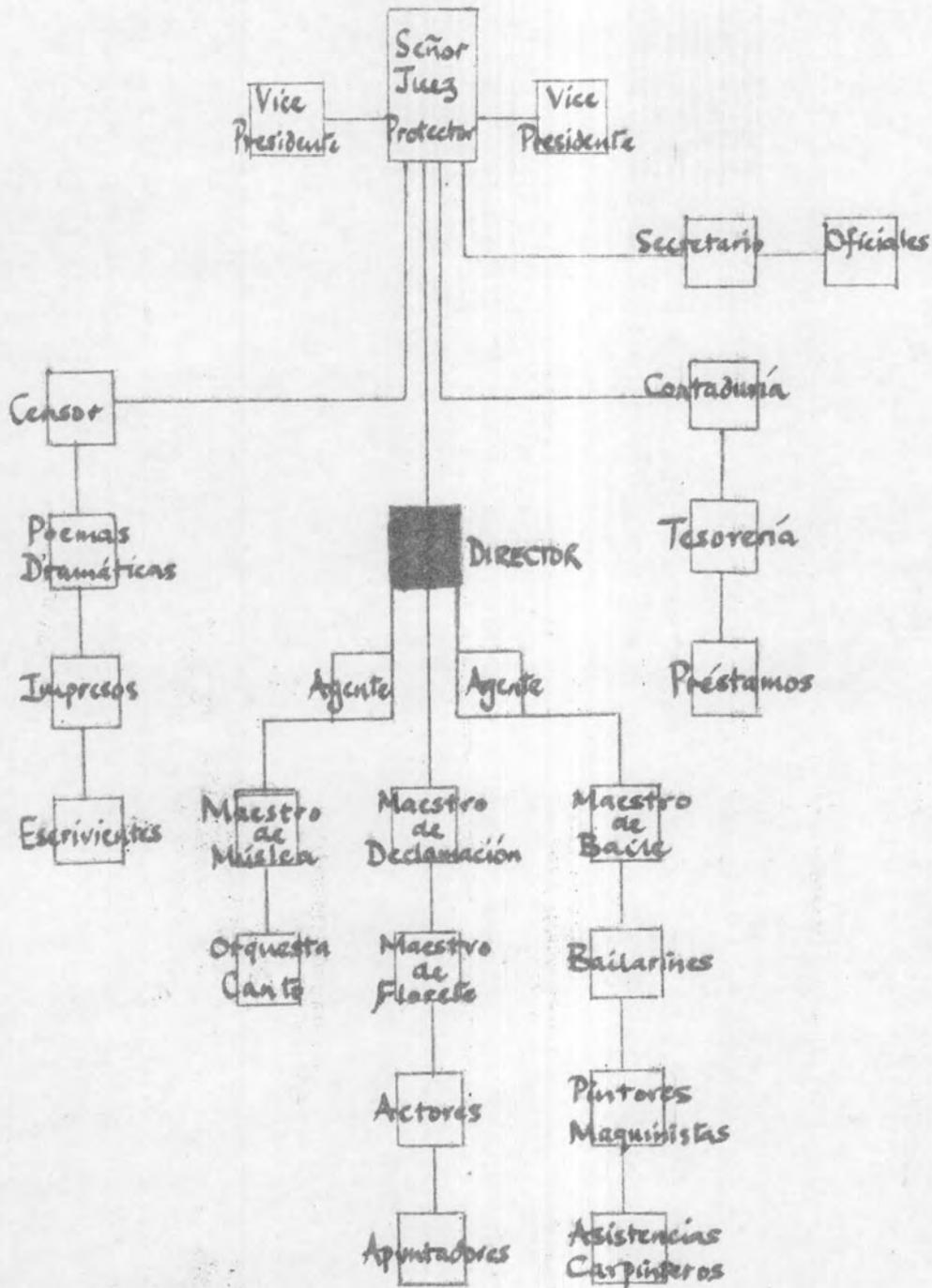
The very dictatorial rôle of the Director in this plan of reform would seem to suggest that it is the latter of the two possibilities put forward above, which is the nearest to the truth (35); that is, that Moratín was seeking power for his own ends. The plan has little explicitly constructive material to offer, and consists mainly of a list of defects and criticisms: most of the reform seems to be left unwritten, to the Director who can do what he likes within very wide bounds. Since Moratín clearly pushes himself forward as a candidate, and in his view, probably the only suitably qualified candidate, we may suspect a touch of megalomania on his part. Undoubtedly he had "a bee in his bonnet" over the theatre, and felt that in the neoclassic ideas which he held he had the key to the situation, and that the only way to

to get anything done was to go it alone. He would not, however, hope to do this without official backing, because it was quite probable that his ideas would not be accepted, and at any rate one voice from among so many clamouring for reform along restrictive lines would not carry much weight, so he proposed the creation of the Directorship which had very vague and elastic conditions and duties as the means to his end. Once he was in the position of Director, which was carefully constructed so as to be almost unassailable from below and all but supreme, he could then put into practice his ideas without fear of having them blockaded.

The reform plan may be seen, then, as a personal attempt by Moratín to get himself into an official and high position so as to be able to put into practice, unmolested, his ideas concerning the theatre, and one is consequently led to ask whether Moratín is interested in reforming the theatre merely for his own glory or for the good of the country. The fact that there is so little concrete laid down in the text of the plan supports this personal motive view, for Moratín obviously knew what he wanted to do but was afraid of putting it down in black and white because of the opposition which he might come across if he did, such was the controversial nature of his plans. There seems, furthermore, to be little explicit thought for successors to Moratín, and for the general running of the scheme; everything is to be made up as and when necessary, just the basic framework is there; this, of course, covers up a multitude of sins, and also shows a lack of foresight, or rather, it tends to prove that the plan was intended as a personal matter. One interesting fact in all this is that Moratín

proposed himself for the post of Director a full six days before the actual plan itself was submitted. Although it is clear that no decision would have been taken in that short space of time, there is still the hint that Moratín was trying very hard to get himself into line for the Directoship before the actual details of the position were known, a suggestion which upholds the thought that Moratín was very much concerned to get the post, and which makes us suspect that he feared less chance of success if the terms were known, that is, that it was so dictatorial.

Having seen the plan in some detail and the little enthusiasm with which it was received, we now move to see how much of it incorporated in later reforms. In 1797, don Santos Díez González submitted a rival plan and as the idea of the Directorship is included, I propose to examine it very briefly, concentrating on the post of Director. The 1799 plan, as it became, besides providing explicitly for fixed salaries for the actors, a committee to select the plays to be performed, for a percentage of the revenue of the takings to be given to the author, for prizes to be awarded, for the abandonment of the absurd classifications of part, and for a pruning of the size of companies, the lack of which features Moratín had criticised but not explicitly corrected, and it also embodied in its structure the position of Director together with other administrative posts. But the Director of the 1799 plan was not the Director of Moratín's plan - he did not have control of half as much and he was firmly under the control of the Juez Protector as may be seen from Table 4, which is taken from the plan of 1799:



"Todos penden del Señor Juez Protector."

We can see from this that the Director would only have control over the actual staging of the plays, and not, as in the case of Moratín's plan, over the censoring of the plays, over finance and all the rest of the departments as well. Even the Juez Protector himself had two Vice-Presidents to act as a kind of control on him, and really the Director was on no higher a footing than the Censor, the Secretary or the Accountant; this may be seen in relation to the Censor in the duties of the Director - "deberá en las ausencias y enfermedades de censor examinar las piezas dramáticas (sic), así como el censor en iguales urgencias deberá hacer las veces de director y llevar sus cargas" (36). Further to this we may see that the other duties of the Director were somewhat different to those envisaged by Moratín - "El director, autorizado y sostenido por el señor juez protector, deberá ser el inmediato jefe de los actores y otros oficiales del teatro, después del mismo juez, cuya voz lleva" (36). He is quite clearly subordinate to the Juez Protector all the time, he is bound to the policies of the latter, and really he is no more than the latter's representative in looking after the actors and the stage itself: there is little room for initiative. His function more specifically is this - "Calará sobre las obligaciones de ellos (los actores); promoverá la cultura y progresos de la escena; asistirá a la junta de formación de compañías cómicas, examen de actores y otras juntas extraordinarias que sean tocante a los teatros. Repartirá entre los actores los papeles según le pareciere" (36). The qualities of a Director must be such that "sea sugeto de notoria instrucción, literatura, ciencia

prudencia y costumbres loables", and to ensure the maintenance of his status "importará, para que sea más obedecido y respectado, que ningún actor u oficial subalterno de los teatros diriga sus memoriales, representaciones y recursos al señor juez protector no siendo por la mano del director, quien los remitirá al juez con el informe correspondiente para su resolución" (36). This latter clause makes the Director sound very much a junior clerk to the Juez Protector, a person who could very easily be by-passed were it not for this proviso, and consequently a person of not very great importance when it comes down to fundamentals.

In contrast with the Director of the 1792 plan, the Director of the 1799 plan was far from being a dictatorial person. He was only one part of a system with specific and limited duties which revolved around the Juez Protector and his vice-presidents, and it is, I think, basically because of this restriction that Moratín refused the Directorship offered to him in 1799 under the terms of this plan. Moratín himself pleaded on a lack of qualification from a temperamental and health point of view, and also because he felt that his vocation was writing and he could not do both jobs at once satisfactorily - he would not give up writing. This may have been true, but it was of secondary importance. In his book "Neo-classic drama in Spain, Theory and Practice", J.A.Cook also expresses his doubts as to the validity of these excuses. He follows Cánovas del Castillo in saying that since Moratín found, on his return to Spain in 1796 that the "comedias de magia" had lost none of their power and that Comella was still wearing

"his dramatic crown", it would have taken a very brave and confident man to assume the virtual dictatorship of the theatres of Madrid under such circumstances" (37). We have pointed out, however, that the Directorship of the 1799 plan was by no means a dictatorship, and at any rate a "virtual dictatorship" was more or less what Moratín had proposed in his own plan seven years before when the dramatic situation was still the same, as Cook admits. How can a man who has proposed such a plan as that of 1792 be anything but a "brave and confident man"? He knew that he would stand or fall by what he did as would his school of thought - he was responsible to himself alone. It was this diminution in the importance of the rôle of the Director, in my opinion, which caused Moratín to refuse the post; possibly he felt that in this relatively weaker position, so much dependent on those above him, he would be unable and unwise to carry out the reforms which he felt were necessary for the salvation of the Spanish theatre, and which, by the look of the nature of his proposed Directorship would be quite dictatorial and sweeping, or rather, unpopular because they came from a minority group. He would not be able to exercise the necessary control over all the parts of the theatre's administration and so his plans would become obsolete and unworkable. His resignation might appear to be a case of "sour grapes", though we must remember that he did accept the specially created part of corrector of the old comedies, possibly to fulfil in part his desire to put neoclassical ideas into some official position in the theatre. As things turned out, the organised resistance to this reform was so effective that the

Government was obliged to return control of the theatres to the city on January 24th. 1802, and Moratín was frustrated once again, as he was so many times in his life by the force of circumstances. He returned to continue his campaign through his writings or as Dr. Cabañas has said "El Moratín que ha triunfado en la escena, deshecha su primitiva ambición de encauzar oficialmente, reformándole al teatro de España, prefiere la gloria personal, conquistada en el amor al estudio, en la obra trabajada lentamente" (38).

This was Moratín's attempt at the reform of the Spanish theatre, an attempt which came to an unfruitful and perhaps rather sad end; it consisted mainly of ideas which Moratín had held in Spain for some time previous to his journey abroad, and only in one instance of a feature learned from his residence in England. This may, of course, be a reflection of the lack of suitable material in the country, and it is with this possibility in mind that we move to see exactly what Moratín did find in the English theatre and what he thought of it.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6.

1. Cabañas, op.cit. P.12.
2. B.A.E. Vol. 2., Act 1, Sc. 4. P.363.
3. Ibid, Act 2, Sc. 8., P.371.
4. " Act 1, Sc. 4., P.364.
5. El Memorial Literato, November 3rd 1787.
6. Ibid, April 23rd, 1788.
7. Discurso preliminar to his translation of Voltaire's "Le Mort de Cesar" (Madrid, 1791). Pp. 70-71.
8. Cabañas, op.cit. P.13.
9. Ibid, P.12.
10. O.P. 3, P.304.
11. Cabañas, op.cit. P.14.
12. Ibid, P.14. We may see an illustration of this point in the course of "Le Comedia Nueva". In Act II, scene 4, don Antonio reports on the situation at the premiere of don Eleutorio's play - "Serán los del patio que estarán sofocados ... El calor es muy grande, y por otra parte, meter cuatro donde no caben más que dos es un despropósito; pero lo que importa es cobrar a la puerta y más que revientan dentro". B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.368.
13. Cabanas, op.cit. Pp. 14-15.
14. Ibid, P.15.
15. " P.16.
16. Act II, sc. 5. B.A.E. Vol.2, P.369.
17. Cabañas, op.cit. P.17.

18. Act II, sc.5. B.A.E.Vol. 2. P.369.
19. Cabañas, op.cit. Pp. 16-17.
20. Ibid, P.17.
21. Act II, sc.5. B.A.E. Vol.2. P.369.
22. Cabañas, op.cit. P.18.
23. "El Director tendrá el gobierno interior del Theatre, cuidando de quanto es conducente a la perfección de las representaciones y, en consecuencia, todos los ramos que deben considerarse como medios relativos a este fin, estarán sujetos a su dirección" (Cabañas op.cit. P.18).
24. O.P. III, P.264.
25. Cabañas, op.cit. P.19.
26. The tense in which the plan is framed - the simple future - may be indicative of the assurance which Moratín has that his plan will be accepted and will become fact.
27. Cabañas, op.cit. P.25.
28. Ibid, P.26.
29. " P.28.
30. " Pp. 29-30.
31. " P.30.
32. " P.32.
33. " P.33.
34. See Page 190 ff. supra.
35. See Page 194 supra.
36. "Plan de reforma de los teatros de Madrid, aprobado en 1799", Ch. E. Kany, reproduced in Rev. B.A.M. 1929 vol.6. Pp.279 ff.

37. p. 377.

38. Cabañas, op.cit. p.10.

CHAPTER SEVEN - MORATÍN AND THE ENGLISH THEATRE.

A remark recorded by Moratín in a letter to Melón appears not to contain any very hopeful possibilities for the English theatre as a source of exemplarity for the Spanish stage - "El teatro inglés es capaz de consolar a los españoles, a los italianos, y aún a los malabares, de las extravagancias del suyo" (1), and it is with this comment and the possibility expressed in the last chapter in mind that we shall follow Moratín in his survey of the English theatre, its organisation, schools of acting its precepts, as set down in the Apuntaciones, and then from other works.

In Cuaderno Four of the Apuntaciones, Moratín describes the three main theatres of London; the Teatro de la Ópera, the Hay Market theatre and Covent Garden theatre. In dealing with the lay-out of the first, he mentions, incidentally, that "detrás de la orquesta se extiende una gradería que llama el "pitt" (patio) (2) - it is clear from this that his mind was too full of things political. Moratín praises the space made available in the Covent Garden theatre for people to walk about in during the intervals, but we learn that this privilege applied only to those who were in the stalls, and the people in the pit and the "graderías" had to sit through the whole performance, that is at least four and a half hours without being able to move; Moratín attributes this feat of endurance to "una paciencia septentrional" (3). He is surprised that there are no busts of the nation's writers on show in the theatres, as there are in France, and this provokes a comment which shows up another aspect of the attitude of self and lack of regard for

for others seen in an earlier chapter - "El espíritu de avaricia sórdida que preside a la administración de los teatros ingleses, no ha podido concebir esta idea de generosidad y de justo reconocimiento a la memoria de tan grandes hombres" (e.g. "Shakespeare, Congreve, Dryden, Otway, or Caverly" (sic) (4). This same spirit of meanness is also reflected in the decor of the Hay Market theatre - "todo es pobre, mezquino, incómodo, indigno de una corte como la de Londres, y nada proporcionada a disculpar la vanidad inglesa que juzga de buena fe que todo lo de este país es lo mejor del mundo" (5). He also criticises the way in which the English theatres are lit; this consists of "una multitud de arañas de cristal, colocadas de trecho en trecho, pendientes de unas palomillas fijas en los postes de los aposentos o en un antepecho" (6). These dazzle the audience and also their heat causes discomfort to those in the boxes. Moratín compares this unfavourably with the French method which is to have one large chandelier high in the roof, thus obviating all inconvenience.

There are, however, some words of praise for the English theatre, some aspects of it which meet with Moratín's approval, and the first of these is the fact that as in the French theatre there is no division between the men and the women - "no resulta de aquí desazones ni escándolos y, al contrario, se evitan los gravísimos inconvenientes que diariamente se verifican en Madrid por esta ridícula separación" (7). The fact that the prompter does not stand in the same position as in Spain seems to present no problems either, for Moratín notes with justifiable satisfaction that the English actors always learn their lines well, because the prompter stands well away from them, in the wings; "esto les

hace aplicarse a tomar de memoria lo que han de decir, y puedo asegurar que de cuantas veces asistí al teatro, jamás noté la menor equivocación" (8). In Spain, on the other hand, as an Englishman, Clarke, noted, the prompter, besides making a nuisance of himself to the audience by being conspicuous behind the curtain because of his torch, was often obliged to help out the actor who hardly ever knew his lines (9).

The things which might be called the technical refinements, that is, the costumes, décor, music and stage apparatus, come in for some criticism from Moratín, when compared to the French, though we may notice that even then they are superior to what is to be found in Spain: "En todos estos artículos se halla muy inferiores a los teatros de Francia. Los trajes son decentes, pocas veces de buen gusto ... El aparato nada tiene de particular; muchas veces es indecente y pobre, pero siempre superior al de los teatros de Madrid. El acompañamiento es numeroso cuanto es necesario que lo sea; las decoraciones, de un mérito regular, con poca novedad, osadía ni belleza en la invención" (10).

As far as the English audiences are concerned, Moratín finds them vociferous and rowdy, and as will be seen, very much like the Spanish - "El populacho de esta capital (que puede apostárselas en ferocidad e ignorancia al primero en Europa) tiene la facultad, por el dinero que se da a la puerta, de gritar, cantar, alborotar, aporrearse y no dejar en quietud a lo restante del auditorio; si la gradería alta se empeña en que no se ha de oír la comedia, no hay quien lo estorbe" (11). This general uproar which occurs in the theatre is corroborated by the experience of Charles Moritz, who, on the occasion of a visit to the

theatre in England, reported that "often whilst I sat here did a rotten orange or pieces of peel fly past me their (sic) is no end to their calling out or knocking with their sticks, till the curtain is drawn up" (12). The coincidence of this behaviour with that of the Spanish audiences is observed in a scene from "La Comedia Nueva", where doña Mariquita describes the behaviour of the audience at the premiere of don Eleutorio's play thus - "El patio estaba tremendo. ¡Qué oleadas! ¡Qué toser! ¡Qué estornudos! ¡Que bostezar! ¡Qué ruido confuso por todas las partes! Suenan bramidos por un lado y otro, y empieza tal descarga de palmeadas huacas, y tal golpeo en los bancos y barandillas, que no parecía sino que toda la casa se venía al suelo" (13) Moratín also notes that the audiences are very demanding on the actors and singers, and are very powerful in that they always get what they want - "se cree con suficiente autoridad (y tiene motivo de creerlo porque nunca se le resista) para hacer repetir una o más veces a los actores cualquier trozo de música que le cae en gracia. He visto muy a menudo la crueldad con que suelen obligar a una actriz a repetir inmediatamente una aria de muy difícil ejecución que acaba de cantar; ¡Triste de la que resista un poco a estas ordenes, o lo haga de mala gana! La hundirán a silbidos, estará expuesta cada vez que salga al teatro o acaso la obligarán a abandonarle" (14).

In the actual material things of the English theatre, then, Moratín finds much meanness and poor quality, that is when compared with the French theatre, though it is superior to the Spanish in many respects. We find that the audiences are much the same both in Spain and England and from this side of the theatre we turn to the other side, to

the stage itself. Meratín criticises that lack of organisation in the acting techniques which are to be found in England - "No hay escuela de declamación teatral como la hay en Francia : así no es mucho que este arte se halle no muy adelantado entre los ingleses" (15). What they do, he says, is to imitate each other, but for lack of a specific plan, "tal vez se admiten a la carrera del teatro los menos aptos para ella, o tal vez los modelos de imitación que eligen son defectuosos" (16). The French school of acting was very strictly organised and although in England there was definitely no such strictness, there was clearly definable "school", in the abstract sense.

In English acting in the first half of the eighteenth century, there was a definite keeping to tradition, an acceptance of the classical precepts but this was followed, just before the middle of the century, by a revolt against these ideas, and a turn to imitative acting, "realistic Romanticism". All the great actors of this period held in common their era's earnest desire to imitate "nature", and the chief tenet of the actors' creed was "to hold ... the mirror to Nature". From 1782 onwards was the period of acceptance of the "grand style" of acting, a style parallel with the classical romanticism of English Literature of the period. The excellence of Garrick's school began to fall into decline at this time and simultaneously the influence of Sheridan began to take effect. This new school was headed by Mrs. Siddons and her brother John Philip Kemble, and one of its main precepts, besides that of adhering to nature, was that in doing this art must not offend the eye by lack of harmony, nor the ear by inharmonious sounds. To

illustrate this further, Hamlet's speech to the player in Act III, scene 2 may quite aptly be quoted to convey the general lines of the ideas of the school - "In the very torrent, tempest and whirlwind of your passions you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness". And yet at the same time he very justly observes "The end of playing, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature". Yet even in the midst of this trend towards naturalism, grace was still an essential part of the actor's style, and there was also a call for naturalness in delivery to counteract the monotony of action which Moratin himself notices: (17) "The beauty of all action consists in its ease and freedom, that is, making it appear to be the natural consequence of that passion, humour or sentiment with which the actor is supposed to be animated at that juncture" (18). The essential thing, then, was for the actor to "transform himself into every person he represents" (19), or as Robert Lloyd commented, in summing up the attitude of the preceptors:

"To this one Standard make your just Appeal,
Here lies the golden Secret; learn to FEEL,
Or Fool or Monarch, happy or distress,
No Actor pleases that is not possess'd" (20).

From this brief summary of the trends in English acting in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, we move to Moratin's remarks apropos the actors and actresses whom he saw. Although the run-of-the-mill actors were in the great majority, there were one or two such as David Garrick, whose influence was beginning to decline, and Mrs. Siddons who shone above all the rest. Moratin reserves high praise for the latter, who he saw on several occasions; he says that she had

"una presencia heroica, un rostro expresivo, capaz de cualquier afecto, una voz llana, dócil a toda inflexión, grande inteligencia, y oportunidad en las aspiraciones, perfecta imitación del llanto y del gemido, sensibilidad, nobleza en la acción y movimiento conocimiento exquisito de las situaciones que finge no menos cuando habla que cuando escudra" (21). Further to this, in a review of "The Grecian Daughter", in which Mrs. Siddons was appearing, Moratín says "Hay algunas situaciones interesantes, en que Mrs. Siddons mostró su grande habilidad, con exclusion de todos los demás, que lo hicieron indignamente" (22), a comment which serves to demonstrate how much Moratín was impressed by her acting, and by how much she stood above the rest. From Henri Meister, a Swiss who had been living in Paris, and likewise a disciple of the French classical school, Mrs. Siddons evoked a similar comment - "I think that I have seen for the first time the tragic muse in all the dignity of the buskin, with all the majesty of her sceptre and encircled with all her fascinating charms" (23). A little later he admits "Twenty times did Mrs. Siddons make me forget that it was an English tragedy I saw her performing in It was certainly their own language they spoke (the characters portrayed by Mrs. Siddons) but so magical was their deception that I know not how it was, but it appears to me at this moment they spoke a language which my heart perfectly understood" (24).

In general, however, apart from these two, the majority of the players were very mediocre, and Moratín comments on the fact that he finds "ni en las inflexiones de la voz, ni en el gesto, cosa que mereciese particular alabanza (25). More specifically, he says that "la

acción con que acompañan la voz, aunque no disparatada, es por lo común insignificante, acompasada y monótona; los ademanes y el paseo (son) muy distantes de aquel noble decoro que debe caracterizar a los semidioses trágicos" (25). The reason for this criticism of lack of correspondence between voice and action and between action and what tragedy demands seems to lie in the fact that at this time many theatres were being enlarged; Covent Garden, for example, was altered in 1784, and again in 1791, as was Drury Lane in 1792/3, and the result of all this, as we saw in Chapter One, was that the alterations made it necessary for the actor to pay greater attention to his actions, to exaggerate them so that they might be clearly seen right at the back of the theatre, and to speak more loudly than the actual words demanded in order to be heard everywhere. A contemporary Englishman, Cumberland, in fact points out this change in the style of acting necessitated by the structural alterations - "On the stage of old Drury in the days of Garrick the moving brow and penetrating eye of that matchless actor came home to the spectator. As the passions shifted, and were by turns reflected from the mirror of his expressive countenance, nothing was lost; upon the scale of modern Drury many of the finest touches of his art would of necessity fall short. The distant auditor might chance to catch the text, but would not see the comment, that was wont so exquisitely to elucidate the poet's meaning and impress it on the hearer's heart" (26). The larger buildings necessitated an abandonment of the intimate theatre and led inevitably to the exaggerated style which Moratín found so unreal and lacking in verisimilitude.

Comedy, as opposed to tragedy, is found to be equally strongly censured - "Todo es en ella excesivamente recargado, todo pasa los límites de la naturaleza y verisimilitud dramática", and Moratín notes most perceptively that "no es sólo el vulgo el que se entretiene y deleita en ellos (los mamarrachos)" (27), implying that in England it is not only the populace which shows a lack of taste in enjoying these plays which fly far beyond the bounds of belief, and also that in general the English are not very discerning as far as the theatre is concerned. This point is verified by what Miss I. McClelland says in an article on the eighteenth century conception of the stage and histrionic technique (28). She says that the average Spaniard showed more initiative in theatre-going than the average Englishman. In England, theatres were closed from above, that is by Government authority, whereas in Spain they were closed and reopened by sporadic requests of individual townships under varying pressures of local consciences, usually as the result of a preaching mission; the most effective of these were made by the Jesuits who combined a telling realism of detail with a militant force of eloquence, and this is paralleled in England by the crusades of Wesley. The provinces could be shaken into major acts of amendment by these methods, but the capitals were not quite so easily taken by storm.

On the English stage, singing is only very limited according to Moratín for "se reduce a ciertas arietas o canciones alegres de gusto nacional" (28). Despite the fact that there is so little, Moratín has a strong dislike for the manner in which the songs are executed - "He observado que sus arias nobles y afectuosas tienen

todas un carácter monástico y lúgubre más apto para conciliar el sueño o conducir un cadaver al sepulcro que para inflamar al oyente con la imitación de las agitaciones de ánimo"; still more specifically he says "los ingleses parece que entonan antifonas en un coro de benedictinos" (29). We may note that these remarks appear to be a little inconsistent in the light of the tenets which Moratín professes to follow in his work, however, for on many previous occasions it was he who condemned an author for writing in such a manner as to inflame the hearts of his audience, and who said that the author should write without emotion, with clarity and control. Despite this criticism, Moratín finds the songs "de un estilo fácil, gracioso y alegre" (30), and he says that they are executed with more musical intelligence than in Spain.

We may notice that in Moratín's survey of the English theatre there is very often a measuring by the standards of verisimilitude; we have already seen this in his judgements of tragedy and farce and it can be seen again in his comments on casting - "los actores ingleses destinados a desempeñar los principales personajes de la tragedia, parece que los han escogido cuidadosamente, altos, bien dispuestos, de heroica presencia para producir toda la ilusión que es tan necesaria al teatro" (31), and also, unfavourably, in the discussion on costumes - "los trajes son muchas (veces) impropios de las naciones o siglos a que se refieren. Las tragedias de "Venecia salvada" y "La esposa de luto" las visten a la moderna; prueba de la poca atención que se pone en un requisito tan necesario a la ilusión dramática" (31). By no means everything contravenes the rule of verisimilitude however,

and there is one further aspect of the stage which evokes qualified praise from Moratín - "En la representación de batallas añaden una circunstancia muy necesaria que nunca se practica en Madrid, y es la vocería confusa de los combatientes, que unida al ruido de las armas, produce un buen efecto". The only trouble, says Moratín, is that there comes a point "cuando tiene que hablar alguno de los personajes sobre el teatro; entonces cesa de repente todo el estrépito, y vuelve de nuevo cuando el actor acabó lo que tenía que decir" (32). This, concludes Moratín, "es no menos inverosímil que ridículo". In his opinion the noise ought only to fade into the background when there is a speech, and not stop altogether.

On the whole the English theatre, as may be seen, was not in too bad a state, at least not when compared with Spain, for Moratín does in fact say "los defectos de los cómicos ingleses me han parecido menos absurdos que los de los nuestros" (33). When we compare this with the comment made to Melón which appears at the beginning of this chapter, there would seem to be some difference of attitude, and we may perhaps suggest that the latter comment is one of those generalisations which Moratín is wont to make on occasions.

Before going on to examine the actual plays which Moratín surveys, in order to discover his attitude towards them, it may be useful to stop at this point and take a look back at what he has said about what might be called the physical side of the theatre, to try and discover some standard to which he is working, and to see if this is applied to the more abstract material of the plays themselves. The main criterion of what has

already been discussed seems to be that of verisimilitude, as we have noticed. We have seen it used in Moratín's examination of the use of the prompter, the lack of correspondence between voice and action and the words of the play, in the use of modern dress for old plays, in speeches in battles, in casting, and in the extravagance of comedy. We also see, to a lesser extent, the criterion of elegance and nobility applied in the criticism of the lay-out of the theatres and in the judgment of the acting of Mrs. Siddons.

With these two criteria in mind we shall now examine these English plays on which Moratín passes judgment. For this purpose I have classified these judgements under various headings and as a matter of interest and comparison I have included by their side Moratín's opinion of three Spanish writers (34):-

<u>Fault</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Lope</u>	<u>Zemorra</u>	<u>Cañizares</u>
1. Lack of verisimilitude, extravagance, nonsense.	12	7	13	20
2. Defective development.	6	1	1	1
3. Unnecessary scenes/people.	4	-	-	-
4. Lack of "arte"	2	-	-	-
5. Ghosts	2	-	-	-
6. Lack of exemplarity.	1	-	-	-
7. Over-rapid writing.	-	2	-	-
8. Indecency.	-	1	1	-

It is clear that the main criticism which is levelled against the English playwrights is that of lack of verisimilitude (35), including lack of the unities, exactly the same as was levelled at the

stage performances, though here it is followed by defective development; both of these findings confirm Moratín's claim, through don Pedro, that to write well "se necesita toda la vida de un hombre, un ingenio muy sobresaliente, un estudio indefatigable, observación continua, sensibilidad, juicio exquisito y todavía no hay seguridad de llegar a la perfección"(36). This latter idea is found again in Moratín's notes on Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" where he refers to "el entusiasmo con que se oye en los teatros de Inglaterra una pieza tan irregular dictada sólo por el ingenio y sin los auxilios que presenta el arte" (37). Even when one looks at the judgements of the plays of the Spanish writers, the lack of verisimilitude and control are quite predominant and the criticism of both English and Spanish authors shows Moratín's strong belief in the "rules" and his consistent application of them; he does not criticise just the foreign writers, and though he is a nationalist, it is clearly not in the sense that he will only allow Spanish things, rejecting anything foreign, but in the sense that he feels that in order to make Spanish drama worthy of the country, it must be cleared of all extravagances and writers must be trained to write with control and order, with reference to certain rules. His criticism of the English authors on the terms as that of the Spanish serves to demonstrate that Moratín believed that his ideals were not just for Spain but for all dramatic conventions. Wherever Moratín goes he is true to his "rules" and he does not hesitate to criticise the English "errors" as incompatible with his concept of drama.

Not all of Moratín's comments are unfavourable and

among all the errors there are the good points which evoke as sincere a praise as the errors evoke disdain. Praise is given willingly where praise is due, a fact which emphasises Moratín's impartiality and fair-mindedness; for instance in his comments on "Douglas" by Mr. John Home which seem to convey almost a sense of relief at having found something worthy of praise - no hay violencia considerable en la acción ni en el tiempo. Hay pasajes muy afectuosos; todo es grave, decoroso, y trágico, sin mezcla de chocarrerías ni pajezas (está) escrita ciertamente con talento e inteligencia" (38).

It is in this latter play that Moratín brings up a question which he raised, amongst other occasions, in "La Comedia Nueva", in his reform plan, and in the "Autocrítica". He praises Home for avoiding the extravagance of the rest, but asks "¿Cuál es el fin moral de este drama? ¿Qué doctrina se saca de él?.... ¿Le basta al poeta dramático hacer llorar o reír en el teatro, sin que entre la risa o el llanto halle al oyente ni doctrina ni ejemplos que le ilustran el entendimiento o le rectifiquen el corazón? ¿De qué sirve conmovér al oyente, si no se le enseña? El que llega a derramar lágrimas en el teatro no merecerá en recompensa de aquellas lágrimas la adquisición de alguna verdad?" (39). This call for exemplarity, which was very basic to Moratín's conception of the theatre and its function, as we saw in the last chapter (39), finds its source in the "Autocrítica", in the definition which Moratín composed for the comedia; through the comedia itself and through "la oportuna expresión de afectos y caracteres resultan puestos en ridículo los vicios y errores comunes en la sociedad (40) y recomendadas por

consequente la verdad y la virtud" (41). Exemplarity was, then, very important, and words of the Latin poet Horace were quoted by those in favour of a moral purpose in drama to substantiate their case :-

"Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci
Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo" (42).

Further to this, they held that in both tragedy and comedy, whatever emotions are aroused, they are directed towards the same end, that of exemplarity, because "great changes of fortune as well as ridicule and punishment of vices have as their purpose the benefit of the spectators, making them either more constant and patient in their tribulation or wiser and more prudent in their defects" (43). On many occasions the plot of a play was simplified in a mistaken desire to make the moral lesson more effective, rather than because of a too rigid adherence to the precepts of Luzán, and we may see this in Moratín's definition of the purpose of the comedia - "si en la fábula cómica se amontonan muchos episodios, o no se la reduce a una acción única, la atención se distrae, el objeto principal desaparece, los incidentes se atropellan, las situaciones no se preparan, los caracteres no se desenvuelven, los afectos no se motivan; todo es fatigosa confusión; Un solo interés, una sola acción, un solo enredo, un solo desenlace: eso pide, si ha de ser buena, toda composición teatral. Las dos unidades de lugar y tiempo, muy esenciales a la perfección dramática, deben acompañar a la de acción, que la es indispensable" (44).

The unities, then, make the exemplarity more patent, and more easily understood by the uneducated public, and Moratín ends

this section of the "Autocrítica" by listing what he thinks are the important points in any comedia, the parts which will contribute to a good play whose moral may be easily understood - "Para hacerla (la fábula) teatral deberá ser la exposición breve, el progreso continuo, el éxito dudoso, la solución inopinada y rápida, pero no violenta no maravillosa, ni trivial" (45). Looking at the comments on the English plays, it is easy to see why Moratín condemns most of them, for the majority have elements exactly opposite to those above; e.g. "la pieza abunda de extravíos ... No se hable de unidades ni de otros requisitos gramáticos, porque no hay nada de esto" (46); "El todo de la fábula es desordenado e inconexo a más no poder (47); ... se observa en el tres acciones absolutamente distintas e inconexas no hay asomo de regularidad" (48); "Toda la fábula es muy mal ordenada" (49).

This brief examination of the English plays which Moratín surveys is, I think, adequate to show four things. Firstly that he was completely true to his neoclassic precepts of exemplarity, control, order, and verisimilitude; secondly that he was impartial, for praise is given where it is due, not begrudgingly but willingly and he does not condemn foreign writers just because they are foreign, but because they contravene the rules by which he is guided. Thirdly, and following on from this, we see that the tendency to write "sin freno a la imaginación" was by no means limited to Spain, but that it was equally widespread in England, and finally that, in fact, the English audiences were less discriminating than the Spanish in their choice of drama.

From a general survey we turn now to a specific author,

an author considered by many generations as the greatest English dramatist of all times, who in the opinion of Ben Johnson was "not of an age, but for all times" I propose first of all to give some indication as to the position of Shakespeare's standing in the eighteenth century, in both England and Spain, and then to analyse Moratín's opinion of him through his translation and notes to the tragedy "Hamlet", and from this to draw some conclusions as to the nature of Moratín's criticism.

After Shakespeare's death drama had declined steadily and during the Civil Wars theatres had been shut down and were not reopened until the Restoration. With this gap, drama could clearly not restart where it had left off, since the older traditions were now weakened. During the seventeenth century another kind of drama had been gaining strength in France, and in the field of dramatic practice, the period after the Restoration was a period of uncertainty and experiment, uncertainty as to how a play ought to be written, whether according to the precepts of ancient drama or to those of French drama, or of English drama, whether rhymed or unrhymed.

Alexander Pope shifted the blame for Shakespeare's faults which Dryden in the previous century had laid on the Elizabethan age to the Elizabethan theatre, to the acting profession and to the blunders of the first publishers - "the constant blunders in proper names of persons and places are such as must have proceeded from a man who had not so much read any history in any language". Almost all learned or unusual words were "so intolerably mangled that it's plain there either was no Corrector to the press at all or one totally illiterate" (50). He defends the bard by saying that "to judge of

Shakespeare by Aristotle's rules is like trying a man by the laws of one country who acted under those of another" (51), and with great disinterest he summarises his opinion by saying that he affords "the most numerous as well as most conspicuous instances both of beauties and faults of all sorte" (52). Elsewhere he says, in a similar vein, that "It must be owned that with all these great excellencies he has almost as great defects, and that as he has certainly written better, so he has perhaps written more than any other" (53). Hanmer followed Pope's line of argument by maintaining that "a great deal of stuff which disgraces the work of this great Author was foisted in by the players after his death to please the vulgar audiences by which they subsisted" (54).

Henry Home, Lord Kames, excused Shakespeare's errors on the grounds that he had no pattern in his own or in any other language which he could follow. He was of the opinion that those who rigidly exaggerated every blemish "ought to consider that it is easier to discover his blemishes, which lie generally at the surface, than his beauties which cannot be truly relished but by those who dive deep into human nature" (55). He attacked the unities saying that "it is abundantly ridiculous that a critic who is willing to hold candle-light for sunshine and some painted canvasses for a palace or prison, should be so scrupulous about admitting any latitude of place or of time in the gable, beyond what is necessary in the representation" (56). As a summary to his ideas we may quote a comment from his "Elements of Criticism" - "it was one of Homer's advantages that he wrote before general terms were multiplied: the superior genius of Shakespeare displays itself on avoiding them after

they were multiplied" (57).

Lord Lyttleton, in his *Dialogues of the Dead between Boileau and Pope* has this to say - "No author had ever so copious, so bold, so creative an imagination; with so perfect a knowledge of the passions, the humorous and sentiments of mankind. He painted all characters from kings down to peasants with equal truth and equal force" (58).

In Dr. Johnson we have a part of both the old and the new criticism. He defended Shakespeare by saying that at the time "the English nation was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity The Publick was gross and dark and to be able to read and write was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity he that wrote for such an audience was under the necessity of looking around for strange events and fabulous transactions The mind which has feasted on the luxurious wonders of fiction has no taste of the insipidity of truth" (59). Shakespeare's plays, he said, were always crowded with incidents to catch the attention of the populace more easily. He is the poet of nature; he does however have certain faults which include a fluctuation in the meaning of words, and overloading of words with meaning, a rapidity of imagination, a lack of exemplarity". It is always a writer's duty to make the world better, and justice is a virtue independent of time and place" (60); Shakespeare's plots are often very loosely formed, there is unnecessary sentiment, disproportionate pomp of diction and circumlocution, and he violates the unities except for that of action, but Johnson defends this violation in much the same way as Kames. His

general opinion of Shakespeare may be summarised in the two following quotations :- "Other poets display cabinets of precious rarities, minutely finished wrought into shape and polished into brightness. Shakespeare opens a mine which contains gold and diamonds in inexhaustible plenty, though clouded by incrustations, debased by impurities and mingled with a mass of meaner minerals" (61).

"When Learning's Triumph o'er her barb'rous Foes
 First rear'd the Stage, immortal Shakespear rose;
 Each change of many-coloured Life he drew,
 Exhausted Worlds, and then imagin'd new:
 Existence saw him spurn her bounded Reign,
 And panting Time toil'd after him in vain:
 His powerful Strokes presiding Truth impressed,
 And unresisted Passion storm'd the Breast" (62).

Johnson was also one of the initiators of a new type of criticism, which involved a move from the general to the particular, and which was undertaken also by Warton, Uhately, Richardson, and Morgann. In "The Prompter" (1735) appeared an article by him "to consider some characters in our dramatic pieces as they were originally designed by the poets, who drew them, and as they appear to an audience from the manners in which the actor personates them".

To summarise the general attitude towards Shakespeare from these specific examples and from other writers we may say that in the eighteenth century Shakespeare was regarded as the glory of English letters. We see the honesty of Pope and Johnson in admitting that the poet was not free from error, and the attempt to prove that errors did not originate from Shakespeare himself. There is overwhelming evidence

for Shakespeare's popularity; e.g. When Tom Jones took Partridge to the gallery of Drury Lane the play was "Hamlet"; the fashionable topics on which Mr. Thornhill's friends from town would talk were "pictures, ~~taste~~, Shakespeare and the musical glasses"; the greatest poet of the century played a leading part in erecting the statue of Shakespeare in the Poet's Corner, and it was an eighteenth century actor who instituted the Stratford celebrations. A final example may be quoted in the strolling player in the "Vicar of Wakefield", who said "Our taste has gone back a whole century. Fletcher, Ben Jonson and all the plays of Shakespeare are the only things that go down The public only go to be amused and find themselves happy when they can enjoy a pantomime under the sanction of Jonson's or Shakespeare's name" (63).

We may detect in all this, I think, certain points of interest to the century: the neglect of the rules, including Shakespeare's free rein of passion, the extent of his learning, his knowledge of nature, and later on, his value as a delineator of character. We see that though his faults were regarded not so much his own as those of his time, on the whole critics recognised the claims of the classical models. After Johnson's disavowal of the "rules" we hear less about them, for he vindicated the national pride of Shakespeare and his views soon became the commonplaces of those critics who struck the average current opinion.

The third quarter of the century was the true period of Shakespearean criticism, in which dramatic rules were finally deposed. More respect was paid to Shakespeare's originals and a 60 year long controversy as to the extent of his learning ended by proving that the

best commentary on him was the literature of his own age. Character now became the main topic of criticism, and it is in Warton that we can recognise the coming change. The gradual change is illustrated by the works of Lord Kames, and in an age whose literary watchwords were simplicity and precision there were bound to be remarks on his obscurities, his puns and his bombast. The "Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff" written in 1777 by Morgann was the forerunner of Romantic criticism of Shakespeare; the keynote to the work was that "the impression is the fact". Morgann stated what he felt and explained his reasons in language which, it is said, was barely on this side of idolatry.

This is Shakespeare through English eyes, and to complete the picture and to put Moratín completely into context we must now look briefly at the Spanish opinion of Shakespeare.

In 1742 an edition of Shakespeare's works arrived in Madrid, and the Censor, having examined the works, made this report: "El Censor no tiene cosa que reparar, excepto la sospecha de ser Shakespeare hereje por decirse en su vida que nació en Stratford, una de las provincias infectadas por la herejía en Inglaterra" (64). Though a tenacious defender of the Spanish comedia, Francisco Mariano Nifo gave a reasonably favourable criticism of the English dramatist, in which he comments, as does Moratín, on the great pride of the English for Shakespeare (65). Cadalso made an exemplary judge of the situation, for he was widely travelled and was judged to have a "claridad intelectual notable y un ánimo abierto y muy atento a todas las manifestaciones

literarias" (66). I quote a passage from the Supplement to "Los Eruditos a la Violeta" (1772) to give an idea of his thoughts on the subject :- "El dramático inglés Shakespeare, sobre todos los demás defectos que le debéis notar vosotros, los críticos a la violeta, tiene otro capaz por sí solo de hacer su nombre aborrecible desde Barcelona a la Coruña y desde Bilbao a Cadiz y es que fué contemporáneo de nuestro pobrete Lope de Vega; se correspondieron literalmente, y se imitaron en los descuadernos de la imaginación y también en esas que llaman hermosuras de invención, enlace, lenguaje, y amenidad, los que no están impuestos en lo que es verdadero mérito escénico. No hubo entre los dos más diferencia sino que el señor Lope de Vega sería un hombre de olla podrida, estofado, migas, vino de Valdepeñas y rosario y que el señor Shakespeare sería un hombre que gastaríá su roast-beef, plumbpuding, good ale y punch" (66). Two points may be noted - firstly, that he has a high regard for Shakespeare, and in comparing him with Lope he states his good points, and secondly, that by spelling Shakespeare's name correctly he shows his knowledge of English language and literature.

In 1772 the "Hamlet" of Ramón de la Cruz was well received, but the author did not know the work from first hand, having got it through french sources: he was only partly successful in trying to give it a more lively and interesting character. Iriarte made jibes at the freedom of the theatre with references to the ghosts and witches in "Hamlet" and "Macbeth", but after Voltaire's onslaught stopped in 1778, it was generally agreed that though he had been impassioned and partial, Shakespeare still remained "incorrecto y desigual".

The Jesuit, Father Lampillas defended Lope, Calderón and the old school, but he also attacked Shakespeare, following the lines of Voltaire - "Un poeta que no conoció el arte, la decencia ni la economía del teatro; un poeta que nos representa en pocas horas sucesos de treinta años, que mezcla lo trágico con lo cómico, las acciones más horribles con las bufonadas más vulgares (también) tiene grandes e innumerables defectos" (67). A Spanish diplomat who was involved in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, Esteban de Arteaga seems on the other hand to be very much affected by the beauties of Shakespeare - "Toda la Europa aplaude el talento de Shakespear, cuyo pluma retrató con tal evidencia los puntos más finos de las pasiones y de los caracteres de los hombres. Su fecundidad superior a la que se observa en los demás poetas Así a él solo, entre todos los escritores dramáticos, compete el título de naturalista por excelencia" (68). The fact that elsewhere he spells Othello with an "h" shows that he took his material from source and not secondhand from the French critics. Later it occurred to him that he must refrain from these spontaneous outbursts of sentiment and remember what he is meant to be, and so he destroys his remarks with a series of lies in the Voltairian vein.

As a final example of Spanish opinion we shall look at a passage from Joseph Calderón de la Barca whose "Memorial literato" published in 1797 contains the following "Shakespear era hombre de un ingenio vehemente y fecundo, harto natural y sublime, pero, sin la menor chispa de buen gusto ... Me atrevo a decir que (su) mérito

perdió el teatro inglés, pues, conteniendo sus farsas monstruosas (que por mal nombre llaman tragedias) escenas admirables y acciones terribles, las tales piezas ... se representan aun con sumo aplauso ... Sus ideas extravagantes y gigantes han adquirido al cabo de 150 años derecho de pasar por sublimes" (69).

The general feeling in Spain, then, is one of hostility to the over-extravagance, bad taste, lack of control and verisimilitude, the inventions and lack of accuracy, though it is clear that a major cause of this attitude was the fact that up until the last quarter of the century Shakespeare arrived in Spain through France and was consequently under the influence of Voltaire; a secondary cause may have been the high sense of nationalism which some writers seemed to have had. Only Cadalso and de Arteaga have any great praise for Shakespeare, the former from being completely impartial, and the latter because he is spontaneously moved by the English dramatist, but on discovering this he rapidly covers up by writing an attack which he does not really mean, very much in the same way as Moratín covers up as soon as he discovers that he has dropped his neoclassic guard.

We turn, after these conflicting views of Shakespeare, a wholehearted support of him in England, where the defects are ascribed to causes beyond Shakespeare's control, and a general attack on him from France and Spain because he goes beyond the bounds of control and imagination, to Moratín's own opinion.

From the opinions which Moratín passed on several plays which are surveyed in Volume 3 of the Obras Póstumas we can see the

general trends of his criticism before going on to examine the translation of "Hamlet" in greater detail. In the former Moratín points out the lack of any unities, a lack of order, the fact that there are too many characters, many of whom speak only three or four lines and then disappear; he criticises the lack of control to the imagination, especially in dream sequences which are described as fantastic and ridiculous. In his critique of "Vida y Muerte de Richard III", Moratín says, on this point, "Mistress Griffiths, panagirista eterna de Shakespeare, encarga con mucha formalidad al espectador que no tome a la letra la aparición de los cinco muertos, pues el poeta sólo quiso representar las ideas que ofrecía el sueño a aquellos dos personajes dormidos; que es lo mismo que decir que no crea lo que ve, o que duerma con los ojos abiertos, o que piense que está loco mientras dure tan absurda representación" (7).

Not everything is subjected to unfavourable comment, however, and there is unexpected praise for the "cantata mitológica" in the fourth act of "The Tempest", in which "los genios diviertan a la hija y yerno de Prospero, celebran sus bodas" Moratín finds this an "excelente trozo de poesía, y lo único que merece elogio en esta desatinada pieza", a comment which, we may suspect, betrays a falling of the neo-classic guard (71). In "Julius Caesar", Moratín finds that though there are "defectos sin número" there are also "en medio de estos defectos, bellezas admirables. En los caracteres de Bruto, de Casio, de Porcia, de Calpurnia, de Marco Antonio manifestó Shakespeare su exquisito sensibilidad y la fecundidad y robustez de su talento. Hay escenas (sic) tan bien imaginadas, tan felizmente escritas que bastan a disculpar el entusiasmo con que se oye en los teatros de Inglaterra

una pieza tan irregular dictada sólo por el ingenio y sin los auxilios que presta el arte" (72). We may note here again Moratín's demand, propounded in "La Comedia Nueva", that "ingenio" is not enough for a writer, he must have training.

The translation of "Hamlet" was begun during Moratín's residence in England and was completed by August 1794, or so it would appear from a phrase in a letter to Melón dated that month - "¡Qué tragedia inglesa, intitulada Hamlet, tengo traducida de pies a cabeza!" (73). In the "Advertencia" which precedes the play, Moratín says "la presenta tragedia es una de los mejores de Guillermo Shakespeare, y la que con mas frecuencia y aplauso público se representa en los teatros de Inglaterra" (74). We may expect, then, that the faults which he finds in this play will be less grave than those of others, and that the good points will occur more frequently. Moratín's assertion that "Hamlet" is the most popular of Shakespeare's plays is seen, from the records of performances and receipts of the Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatre companies for the period January 1792 - December 1793, to be correct as far as receipts (i.e. attendance) is concerned, but not so accurate with regard to the actual number of performances, if this too is a criterion of popularity (75).

<u>Play.</u>	<u>No. of Performances.</u>	<u>Average Receipts.</u>		
		£.	s.	d.
Hamlet	9	289.	8.	3.
Macbeth	12	279.	14.	7.
Catherine and Petruchio	4	245.	15.	6.
The Tempest	5	228.	5.	0.
The Comedy of Errors	5	208.	10.	8.
Richard III	4	197.	19.	0.

When we turn to look at Moratín's general ideas on the play we find criticism on much the same grounds as the other Spanish writers made it, combined with a strict tenure of the precepts of neoclassicism. There is a mixture of good and bad: there are "bellezas admirables" and also "defectos que maclan y oscurecen sus perfecciones", all of which forms "un todo extraordinario y monstruoso". The range of style is very wide indeed and Moratín notes that it alternates between "aquellas pasiones terribles, dignas del coturno de Sófocles" and "los diálogos más groseros capaces sólo de excitar la risa del vulgo". There is an equal variation in the ~~pace~~ of the development, for at some moments "procede la fábula con paso animado y rápido", while at others "se debilita por medio de accidentes inoportunos y episodios mal preparados e inútiles, indignos de mezclarse entre los grandes intereses y afectos que en ella se presentan". We see here incidentally a further example of the defective development fault noted in connection with other English plays.

In contrast to his claim that the dénouement of a play should be "inopinada y rápida", Moratín finds that in "Hamlet", in "el desenlace, se complican sin necesidad los nudos, y el autor los rompe de una vez, no los desata, amontonando circunstancias inverosímiles que destruyen toda ilusión". Again we must take note of this attack on the lack of verisimilitude, whose origin lies in a lack of basic training on the part of the author, a lack of application of the rules which would provide a constant level for style and pace and which would obviate the continual up and down which is met with.

Finally, in this generally survey, Moratín criticises the fact that there is no poetic justice in the play - "y ya desnudo el puñal de Melpómene, le baña en sangre inocente y culpada, divide el interés y hace dudosa la existencia de una Providencia justa, al ver sacrificados a sus venganzas en horrenda catástrofe el amor incestuoso y el puro y filial, la amistad fiel, la tiranía, la adulación, la perfidia y la sinceridad generosa y noble. Todo es culpa, todo se confunde en igual destrozo" (75). Here the idea underlying the criticism is that here also there is a lack of exemplarity, for with all this, the perishing of the innocent and good, how can we say that "resultan puestos en ridículo los vicios y errores comunes en la sociedad, recomendados por consiguiente la verdad y la virtud"? (77).

We move now to the translation itself, and I propose to deal with it in two stages, firstly by an examination of Moratín's approach to the text, and then by an analysis of the notes which he writes, to attempt to discover his attitude to Shakespeare in this very specific instance. In the preface to the play Moratín states that to make a translation it is not enough to know the language, but that the translator must identify himself with the writer, that is, he must "seguirle en sus raptos, precipitarse con él en sus caídas, adivinar sus misterios, dar a las voces y frases arbitrariamente combinadas por él la misma fuerza y expresión que el quiso que tuvieron, y hacer hablar en castizo español a un extranjero cuyo estilo, unas veces fácil y suave, otras enérgico y sublime, otras desaliñado y torpe, otras oscuro, compulsivo, redundante, no parece producción de una misma pluma" (78). He then says that if

these considerations ought to have made him stop, he was impelled to continue because of a desire to present to the Spanish people one of the best plays of the most famous English writer. He has for the most part disregarded previous French versions of the play because their translations do not follow the original as his does. They follow Shakespeare in his moments of genius, but where he forgets himself and is heated by a kind of frenzy, they abandon him and alter and substitute words and ideas; really their translation is only a work "compuesto de pedazos suyos y ajenos, que en muchas partes no merece el nombre de traducción" (78). We shall now see how far Moratín keeps to the original and how much he is influenced by his neoclassical precepts, as were the French translators.

The first thing which strikes the reader of Moratín's translation is that it is a prose translation as against Shakespeare's blank verse original, but from what he has to say on the matter of prose and verse in his "Autocrítica", we should expect that the translation would have been written in verse - "La tragedia pinta a los hombres, no como son en realidad, sino como la imaginación supone que pudieron o debieron ser; por eso busca sus originales en naciones y siglos remotos. Este recurso que la es indispensable, la facilita el poder dar a sus acciones y personajes todo el interés, toda la sublimidad, toda la belleza ideal que pide aquel género dramático; y como en ella todo ha de ser grande, heroico y patético en grado eminente, mal podría conseguirlo si careciese de los encantos del estilo sublime y de la pompa y armonía de la versificación" (79). - Was it perhaps that Moratín found some difficulty in putting the text into prose, and felt that he might lose much of the

sense if he tried to put it into verse ?

The second thing which is very noticeable is the division of scenes by Moratín, according to the classical tradition, that is, making a new scene whenever a character enters or exits. He refuses to copy the original and traditional English scene division, and we may note this as a first example of his prejudice in favour of the neoclassic theatre. There are a few exceptions to this general claim, however, for example, at the beginning of Act IV, in scene I when Rosencrantz and Guildenstern go out, and also in scene 24 when Laertes exits. Some of the most consistent exceptions are those which involve the Ghost of Hamlet's father; e.g. Act I Scene 2, and also Scene 10. This may be Moratín's way of expressing his disgust at the introduction of ghosts and similar supernaturalities, a criticism which we have seen in connection with his summary of Richard III, and which we also see in a phrase in the Notes - "La aparición del muerto es ociosa e intempestiva en esta escena. Cuando la introducción de tales visiones no fuese reprobada generalmente" (8), but, in fact, we find that in Act II, scene 22 and in Act III, scene 27 there is a change of scene for both the entry and the exit of the Ghost, so that really the division tends not to be very strict, though clearly in general terms it is classical in form.

As far as the language of the translation is concerned, at least sixty examples of inaccuracies and mistranslations, of translating a plain phrase by a more clumsy expression, and vice-versa, might be quoted, but we shall confine ourselves to the most worthy examples, remembering that these mistakes and deliberate alterations do occur

elsewhere in the text. We must also note that while Moratín will follow a certain line, he will deviate from that line on an equal number of occasions - while he will translate Shakespeare's phrase "I am sick at heart" quite literally by "yo estoy delicado de pecho" (81), he will add clauses to the original; e.g. "and borrowing dulle the edge of husbandry" is translated as "y el que se acostumbra a pedir prestando falta al espíritu de economía y buen orden que nos es tan útil" (82); while he will tend to overcomplicate, e.g. "This Fortinbras did forfeit, with his life, all those his lands ..." is rendered thus "Fortimbras cedía al vencedor (dado caso que muriese en la pelea) todos aquellos países que estaban bajo su dominio ..." (83), he will also oversimplify, e.g. "nor the windy suspiration of forced breath .." is rendered as "ni los interrumpidos sollozos" (84). Before looking at the mistranslations and misunderstandings it may perhaps be useful to examine one or two further examples of complication and simplification ; - in the former category we have the following : "of unimproved mettle hot and full" is rendered by "de un carácter fogoso, falto de experiencia y lleno de presuncia", which is rather an explanation than a translation (85). "This must be so" is translated "mortales ved aquí vuestra irrevocable suerte" (86); in the last scene of the third Act, Gertrude asks Hamlet, after the appearance of the Ghost - "What shall I do?" ; this appears in the translation as "¿Cuál es? ¿Qué debo hacer?" (87). In the latter category we have examples such as these - "as harbingers preceding still the fates, and prologues to the omen coming on" appears in Moratín's text as "precursores que avisan los futuros destinos" (88); secondly, the phrase "ere yet the

salt of most unrighteous tears / Had left the flushing in her galled eyes" is rendered thus : "enrojecidos aun los ojos con el p^{er}fido llanto" (89); finally, the phrase "That's a fair thought to lie between maid's legs" is translated in a very Bowdleristic manner by " ¡ Qué dulce cosa es" (90).

Turning now to the matter of mistranslation, inaccurate renderings and mistranslations, we find that the majority are caused, ultimately, by a lack of intimate knowledge of the English language, with all its "double entendres". In some places it is patently obvious that Moratín completely mistakes one English word for another, a fact which further corroborates the hypothesis that Moratín was really very poorly acquainted with the language (91). I quote some examples from the text to illustrate this: In Act I, scene 4, for example, Claudius says "No jocund health that Denmark drinks today / But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell / And the King's rouse the heavens shall bruit again / Re-speaking earthly thunder". Moratín mistakes the word "rouse", which in this context means a draught of liquor, for a shout or cry and translates it as "aclamaciones" (92). In the next speech, Hamlet soliloquises - "O that / the Everlasting had not fixed / His canon against self-slaughter ! ..." - Moratín, having translated the word "cannon" correctly by "cañón" four lines above, repeats it in this context, which is of course erroneous.

In Scene 7 of the same act, Laertes is giving Ophelia some advice with regard to her relationship with Hamlet, and he says "And in the morn and liquid dew of youth / Contagious blastments are

more imminent". The word "blastment" means withering or shrivelling up, but Moratín translates it as "vientos" (93). In scene 9, again concerning Ophelia and Hamlet, Ophelia says to Polonius "I do not know what I should think", to which the latter replies, "Marry, I'll teach you: think yourself a baby:/ That you have ta'en these tenders for true pay / which are not sterling ...". The word "sterling" apart from the obvious monetary meaning, which Moratín takes -"esas ternuras que no son moneda corriente" - also has the metaphorical sense of sound or reliable, which is clearly intended here, as a pun on "true pay" (94). In the same scene, Polonius says "Do not believe his vows (Hamlet's) : for they are brokers / Not of that die which their investments show". To render the latter phrase, as Moratín does, by "ni es verdadero el color que aparentan" (95), is to mistake "die" for "dye", the former being a stamp for embossing, or a plinth, or cubical part of a pedestal, which is proverbially straight, level or true. Further to these we have the following examples of Shakespeare's quibbles making a mockery of Moratín's intelligence : In the ante-penultimate scene of the tragedy, Claudius is stabbed by Hamlet, who exclaims "Here, than, incestuous, mudrous damned Dane / Drink off this potion : Is the union here? / Follow my mother". Moratín has translated the second line thus : "Bebe esta ponzona .. ¿Está la perla aquí?" (96). While he is correct in translating union as "perla" in one sense, since Claudius had put a pearl in one of the goblets, he misses the other sense of the word, the marriage or union which would be made in the deaths of both Claudius and Gertrude.

There are a significant number of inaccuracies and

generalisations in the translation of individual words in a particular context; to quote them all would take more space than is necessary, and so the following are quoted to give some general idea of Moratín's attempt to get to grips with Shakespeare's vocabulary apart from that which has already been seen. "Grizzled" - "blanco"; (97); "contagious" - "mortíferos" (98); "toys" (= impulses, idle fancies) of desperation - "ideas melancólicas" (99); "unnatural" - "aleve" (100); "sewing" - haciendo labor" (101); "my too much changed son" - "mi doliente hijo" (102); "sable" - (i) "armonios" (103) (ii) "pavonado" (104); "my father died within these two hours" - mi padre murió ayer" (105); "Ecstasy" - desórden (106); "chaps" (= without lower jaw) - "estropeada" (107). We may also note a linguistic inconsistency which occurs in Act 1, scene 2 - after the Ghost exits, Marcellus says "Tis gone", and this same phrase comes up when the Ghost exits a second time. In Moratín's translation, on the first occasion the rendering is "Ya se fue", whereas on the second it is more accurately "Se ha ido". Finally in this matter we see various small changes which Moratín makes to the original - we see that whereas Shakespeare used the royal "we" with regard to Claudius, Moratín uses only the plain first person singular (108); that in Act II scene III, where Shakespeare has "Thanks Rosencrantz and gentle Guildenstern," Moratín has "Muchas gracias cortés Guillermo, Gracias Ricardo" (109); that in Act III, scene 4, where the original says "Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all", Moratín's version has "Esta prevision nos hace a todos cobardes" (110); that in Act III scene 9, where Shakespeare has both Rosencrantz and Guildenstern speaking, Moratín has the former alone (iii); that in Act III scene 15, where the original has "a peacock",

Moratin's translation has "un sapo" (112); that in scene 16 of Act IV, Shakespeare's "Danes" become Moratín's "voces" (113), and that in Act V scenes 1 & 2, two of the Clown's speeches are completely omitted (114).

As has been said, there are other examples of similar omissions, alterations, and misunderstandings, but it is hoped that those quoted above are sufficient to demonstrate that Moratín's translation was perhaps not quite as accurate as we might have imagined from what was said in the prologue, though it must be remembered that he was aware of the difficulties and did the work in good faith. Metaphorical phrases are often translated by far more concrete expressions, and conversely, concrete expressions are translated periphrastically and metaphorically, though we must admit, in Moratín's defence that some literally translated would have had little meaning in the Spanish. We can find examples of oversimplification, overcomplication and plain addition to the original, and we discover that Moratín betrays his impartiality in following the classical division of scenes, though even this is not consistent throughout. The main impression which all this gives is that Moratín did not really fully understand Shakespeare, at least not well enough to get at the true meaning which itself often had a double sense. In a way it is very ironic that an author whom Moratín criticises so much should in fact confuse and perplex him so much, for we see in the Notes that he admits defeat on several occasions when faced with quibbles and condemns them, perhaps with rather a "sour grapes" attitude, as childish.

We move now to the Notes which appear at the end of the translation, in which Moratín discusses Shakespeare's technique, his precepts and any points which arise from the actual text. By means of

these notes we shall hope to gain some idea of Moratín's approach to the tragedy and to Shakespeare himself, and for this purpose I have analysed the notes according to the various points of criticism made in them, and the following table shows the results-

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Number of times mentioned.</u>
Lack of verisimilitude, incongruity, including lack of unities.	21
Coarse language, puns.	11
Irrelevant scenes and people	9
Extravagant language	5
Speed of writing	1
Mixing tragedy and comedy	2
Ghosts	1
Praise of Shakespeare	15

We find that once again lack of verisimilitude is the main object of criticism, and that coarse language is the next most criticised feature of the play, with irrelevance, that is, defective development, coming a close third. If we look back at the analysis of the other English plays which were discussed earlier, we find that here lack of verisimilitude was at the top of the list, followed by defective development. In this latter case, coarse language was not a great fault, a fact which tends to show that Shakespeare was more guilty in this respect than other English writers. Lope's fault - too rapid writing - is not very prominent with Shakespeare, but examples of anachronism are quite frequent. We shall discuss first the claims of lack of verisimilitude, of irrelevance, of coarse language, the clash of

precepts, and then we shall look at the praise which Moratín accords Shakespeare, and finally Moratín's interpretation of the concept of tragedy.

Moratín is rather worried by the appearance of the Ghost, and as we have already seen, he finds it "ociosa e intempestiva". He asks, "si empieza la tragedia con la aparición de un espectro, ¿cómo ha de acabar?" (115) - a question which indicates a fear that things will get even more improbable, but he does not take into account the fact that in the sixteenth century practically everyone believed in ghosts and in their ability to materialise and there was a great dispute between Catholic and Protestant as to exactly what ghosts were. Horatio's speech in the second scene of Act I is said by Moratín to be worthy of tragedy, but also guilty of anachronism, for as he points out, Caesar was not born at the time of the action of the play (116). He also criticises the incongruity of Hamlet sitting "en un despoblado; a media noche, a oscuras, tiritando de frío y de horror", taking notes concerning the appearance of the Ghost and his conversation with it (him) (117). The fact that in Act II Scene 1 the Ambassadors sent to England in Act 1 return causes Moratín to be a little sarcastic and his comment speaks for itself - "Nadie dirá que se han detenido mucho" (118). The appearance of the Children of the Revels, a sixteenth century theatrical company, in "Hamlet" causes further sarcastic comment from the doyen of verisimilitude - "en todo este pasaje duerme profundamente el padre del teatro inglés. Cuan grande sea el desacierto de poner en boca de Hamlet tales discursos no hay para que ponderarlo" (119). In Act IV scene 4

Moratin finds a further example of inverisimilitude in Hamlet's progress to England - "El lector notará que Hamlet, habiéndose embarcado en Elsingor para ir a Inglaterra, se encuentra en el camino con un ejército de Noruega que marcha a Polonia. Conviene confesar que la geografía de Shakespeare no es de las más exactas" (120). He censures Laertes' concept of "naturaleza" in Act IV scene 17 (121), and also the fight between Laertes and Hamlet on the grounds of extravagance (122); the whole episode of Hamlet's return to Elsinor from the ship and of Claudius' subsequent action is condemned as being outside the bounds of possibility (123). As a final example of this section of criticism we may note that Moratin is of the opinion that "la brevedad con que (Fortinbras) ha conquistado a Polonia y vuelve vencedor es prodigiosa por cierto; pero no es menos singular que en dos o tres días hayan llegado a Inglaterra Ricardo y Guillermo y ya están los embajadores ingleses en Elsingor con la noticia del mal despacho que hallaron en Londres aquellos infelices" (124). Yet for all this perception, he does not recognize the discrepancy which exists in the character of Horatio: firstly, he is a "friend to this ground and liegeman to the Dane"; he speaks of "our last King", of "our State". He is appealed to as one who knew the late King well. In court he is in a position to procure for the sailors an audience with the King. In his second rôle, he is not a native of Denmark, he is a stranger to the court and to the customs of the country. He is unfamiliar with the personal appearance of the King; he has not heard of Yorick; he does not know about Laertes. Thus Shakespeare's legerdemain remains undetected by even the most perceptive of critics, and legerdemain it is, not carelessness, for

the rôle of Horatio is not that of an actual person, but a piece of dramatic structure, whose function is to be the chief spokesman of Scene 1 and the confidant of the hero for the rest of the play.

We come now to examine some examples of scenes and passages which Moratín condemns as irrelevant, though as we shall see later, they are only irrelevant in Moratín's concept of drama. Moratín finds the talking of the soldiers at the beginning of the tragedy a complete waste of time, for in the theatre, he says, time is precious (125). The characters of Fortinbras, the ambassadors, the priest, the soldiers and sailors, the gravediggers are all irrelevant in Moratín's eyes - "Este cuadro está cargado de figuras que ofuscan el grupo principal". Nothing important is said or done by them and their presence in the play "es apurar la paciencia de quien escucha con dilaciones y rodeos" (126). The business of Laertes' departure for France and of Polonius' advice to him is likewise condemned - "Nada de esto tiene relación con la fábula: son partes episódicas, desunidas, ociosas que la dilatan sin utilidad" (127).

The opening scene of the second act comes under fire also, but it must be said that if this scene is omitted it gives rise to the error of imagining that Hamlet goes to see Ophelia immediately after his meeting with the Ghost, which is not the case; the scene has, then, a dramatic purpose (128). Moratín finds that the appearance of the Ghost later on in the play, in Act III scene 27, in fact, is useless although in actual fact it is again very necessary to the dramatic development. It makes its appearance in order to stop Hamlet taxing the Queen with the crime and thus revealing it to her, to spare her public execration,

shame and horror. Hamlet tests his suspicions with Gertrude, but she proves innocent. The Ghost has already demanded that the fact of murder be kept from her and it intervenes to prevent the revelation of the deed (129). Scenes like scene 2 of Act III, the scene between the player and Hamlet are totally unnecessary in Moratín's opinion and it is because of such he says, that "casi se gastan cinco actos en una fábula que pudiera holgadamente reducirse a tres (130). In point of fact the scene is an essential part of the preparation for the dumb show, which proves to be the king-pin of the whole plot.

The character of Polonius comes in for some censure too, for it has been "poco necesario a la fábula" (131), as is the case with the "príncipe de Noruega", for he only speaks a few lines and never appears again. The appearance of Osric (Enrique) in Act V scene 2, is yet another cue for Moratín to criticise unnecessary characters, and this time he puts forward a suggestion to save the number of persons - "Si el autor no hubiese hecho morir de mala muerte a Polonio, Ricardo y Guillermo, cualquiera de ellos hubiera desempeñado este papel sin necesidad de aumentar personajes, cuyo número si es excesivo aun cuando sea necesario, embaraza mucho la fábula. En esta hay treinta y dos interlocutores: no es fácil hacer nada bueno con tanta gente" (132). Characters, then, must have a rôle which is always relevant to the plot, they must be utilitarian, instrumental in bringing about the dénouement, and consequently, they will be quite small in number. We may recall that in "El Sí de las Niñas" there are seven characters, in "La Comedia Nueva", eight, in "El Viejo y la Niña", seven, in "La Moigata", eight

and in "El Barón" seven.

As far as Shakespeare's language is concerned, we find that Moratín's feelings are really quite mixed; at times he is hostile, but at others he is enthusiastically in favour of it. Assuming the former attitude he considers that the soldiers' phrase "not a mouse stirring" though an "expresión muy natural en un soldado", it is nevertheless "muy ajena de la sublimidad trágica"; he prefers the Racinian phrase "Mais tout dort, et l'armée, et les vents et Neptune" (133). This type of criticism, it seems to me, is connected with Moratín's call for plays to be concerned with "personas particulares" - "no se delata (el poeta) en hermostrar con matices lisonjeros las costumbres de un populacho soez, sus errores, su miseria, su destemplanza, su insolente abandono ... debe apartarse de todos los extremos de sublimidad, de horror, de maravilla, y de bajeza" (134). In the speech of Hamlet, which begins "O, that this too solid flesh would melt", Moratín finds "circunloquios, falsos y pueriles, para expresar una idea tan sencilla", that is, presumably, that woman's name is frailty (135). Two scenes later, Laertes' advice to Ophelia is condemned for its multitude of maxims, and Shakespeare is reprimanded on two occasions for using metaphors when giving advice, since according to Moratín, the aim of advice is to be clear, and clarity is unlikely to be achieved if such figures of speech are used; there is also castigation for a wastage of flowery language on a single thought (136).

The exhibition speech of Hamlet and of the First Player comes in for some harsh criticism, and if one looks at it, the criticism will not be unexpected, for, in Moratín's own words, it consists of

"Fantasía robusta, imágenes atrevidas, expresión gigantesca, pompa de estilo, mucha descripción, adornos inoportunos, viciosa abundancia, tales son las prendas que caracterizan este el siguiente pasaje, y ellas delatan el verdadero autor" (137). Hamlet's last speech in Act II concerns his plan to put on a play to trap the King into confessing the murder of the old King Hamlet, and he questions his own bravery; Moratín comments - "Esta reflexión de Hamlet es justa y oportuna, pero las imágenes ridículas con que la amplifica y la adorna lo echa todo a perder" (138). Puns do not seem to meet with much approval, for when Hamlet makes a pun on the name Brutus, Moratín says "Estas puerilidades y equívocos necios no son propios de la tragedia ni de la comedia, ni de obra ninguna escrita con gusto y juicio" (139).

Finally we look at the grave-diggers scene - Act V scene 1 - and here Moratín seems almost at his wits' end at such effrontery - "Si parece extraño que los sepultureros hagan papel en una tragedia más lo parecerá que un príncipe trame conversación con ellos, sufra sus necedades, y se divierta en revolver los huesos y moralizar sobre los calaveras. ¡Y qué imágenes amontona el autor!" Horrendas, asquerosas, repugnantes, ridículas. Y que estilo tan ajeno del decoro trágico? ¡Qué desengaño para los que piensan que un poeta sólo necesita ingenio!" (140). We may perhaps connect up this latter idea with one put forward at the beginning of the notes. Moratín complains that there are parts of scene I which are "dedicado al populacho de Londres a quien Shakespeare quiso agradar contándole patrañas maravillosas", and he comments "El poeta dramático no ha de adular la ignorancia pública: su obligación es censurar los vicios e ilustrar el entendimiento" (141). Both these ideas

are seen to be basic to Moratín in respect of the job of the writer. We have already seen that Moratín insists that training is absolutely essential for any writer, apart from any natural talent which he may have, and by following certain rules, learned from this training as proposed by Moratín, for example, the result will be an exemplary ridicule of "los vicios y errores comunes en la sociedad, y recomendadas por consiguiente la verdad y la virtud" (142). These shocking new characters, the grave-diggers, who would hardly be tolerated in even the coarsest farce, reflect, according to Moratín, the state of the English audiences and more specifically, the fact that authors write primarily for their audiences, something which is accepted by the eighteenth century critics in England, but not by Moratín - "El pueblo inglés gusta de horrores, y bufonadas, discursos filosóficos, lenguaje altísimo, batallas y entierros, brujas aparecidos, cachetes, triunfos, música, suplicios y cadáveres. Esto podrá tal vez consolar en parte la envidia de las naciones que no han producido un Bacon ni un Newton" (143). This sarcastic last phrase is very reminiscent, in content, of the comment which stands at the beginning of this chapter.

In these notes we also have reference to Shakespeare's mixing tragedy and comedy, especially with regard to the character of Polonius. He is described as a "viejo ridículo, presumido, entremetido, hablador indefatigable, destinado a ser el gracioso de la tragedia". "Tales figuras" says Moratín "son buenas para un entremés no para una tragedia", and he continues - "los afectos terribles que deben animarle, las grandes ideas de que ha de estar llena, la noble y robusta expresión que corresponde a tales pasiones, la unidad de interés que nunca debe

debilitarse, todo esto se avviene mal en las tonterías de un viejo chocarreo y parladín. No basta que la naturaleza nos presenta esta unión confusa de objetos", and here is the crux of the matter "Un buen poeta no debe imitarla como es en sí; desecha lo inútil e inoportuno, elige lo que es conveniente a sus fines, y en esta elección consiste el gran secreto del arte" (144). These demands are exactly paralleled by his definition of the comedia in the "Autocrítica", viz: "... Imitación no copia, porque el poeta, observador de la naturaleza, escoge en ella lo que únicamente conviene a su propósito, lo distribuye, lo embellece y de muchas partes verdaderas compone un todo que es mera ficción: verosímil, pero no cierto; semejante al original, pero idéntico nunca"(145). The writer must be discriminating in what he extracts from nature, and Moratín attributes this mixing of the genres by Shakespeare to a lack of training. He again accuses Shakespeare of this fault in Act II scene 2, and he makes his opinion quite clear when he says "Los que atribuyen esta mezcla de cómico y trágico; de bajeza y sublimidad al carácter de la nación y no a la ignorancia de los escritores se equivocan mucho. Los ingleses y los españoles no son ciertamente más risueños que los franceses pero entre estos últimos se ha cultivado con más acierto la poesía dramática" (146).

When we turn to Moratín's praise of Shakespeare, we discover that considering that each represents one opposing pole of dramatic presentation, the praise is quite liberal, though it is often given with qualification - this would have been very good but for such and such a defect; for example, Horatio's speech in Act I scene 1 is considered by Moratín to be worthy of tragedy, but, there are

anachronisms also (147); again, he says that Ophelia's madness is an episode which produces an admirable effect, despite its not being the main action of the play (148).

Hamlet's talk with the guards on the battlements of the castle does, however, meet with unqualified approval, for Moratín finds that "en todo este diálogo animado y rápido se espresa perfectamente la curiosidad, la inquietud, el terror del príncipe" (149). He also praises the words of the King in Act I scene 4, concerning Hamlet's protracted mourning - "este discurso está lleno de verdades importantes, dichas con noble simplicidad, sin metáforas, ni ambages, ni ornatos viciosos" (150), and in the question of Ophelia "No more but so?", to Laertes' statement that Hamlet is but an adolescent, only ephemerally in love with her, Moratín discovers an "amable sencillez (que) manifiesta en dos palabras (translated by Moratín ¡Nada más?) el estado de su corazón"; his comment is this - "estos rasgos caracterizan los grandes talentos" (151).

Hamlet's speech at his first sight of the Ghost of his father is considered "lleno de vehemencia, de terror y sublimidad trágica y prepara oportunamente la situación que sigue después", and Moratín really forgets himself and reaches the zenith of enthusiasm when Hamlet decides to follow the Ghost, alone - "¡Qué pavorosa agitación se apodera del auditorio! ¡Con qué muda inquietud se espera el éxito! Ya se olvidan cuantos desaciertos han precedido; aquí triunfa el talento del poeta; ya ha conmovido con poderoso encanto los ánimos de la multitud que le sigue atónita" (152). All thought for the rules is thrown to the winds and we have here, not the Moratín of order, unemotional clarity, but the

Moratin who lets himself be moved with the audience at the bravery of Hamlet, the very same Moratin whom we saw at Windsor. A few lines later, however, he has reassumed his erudite burden of neoclassicism and criticises the irrelevances of the Ghost. We get a further hint of this emotional attitude in Moratin's reaction to Hamlet's visit to his mother which is interrupted by the appearance of the Ghost; He admires Hamlet's "ternura filial" and describes it as "uno de los rasgos más felices que pudo usar el autor para hacer interesante al personaje. Estos grandes afectos producen el patético tan esencial a la tragedia; y si en medio de su violento choque se van triunfar aquellas pasiones virtuosas que la naturaleza inspira, no hay entonces alma sensible que pueda resistirse a la conmiseración y al llanto" (153). He is also unreservedly enthusiastic about the portrayal of Ophelia's misfortune - "Su risa, sus cantares, su furor, su alegría, sus lágrimas, su silencio son toques felices de un gran pincel que dio a esta figura toda la expresión imaginable" (154).

The Spanish critic concurs with the general consensus of opinion that the "To be or not to be" soliloquy is one of the best, and he adds "merece serlo", except for a few objections which concern the interpretation of Hamlet's state of mind at that particular point of the tragedy. Of the scene in which Polonius is killed by Hamlet behind the arras, Moratin says "En esta escena se compensan los defectos de plan y estilo con el grande interés de la situación, lo animado y rápido del dialogo, la viveza de las pinturas y la agitación de los afectos"(155). Finally, we see that the appearance of the Queen at the fight between

Hamlet and Laertes, which Moratín describes as "estravagancia de situación, desigualdad de diálogo: humilde, grosero, inflado, campanudo", changes things completely. Now the attitude is this - "¡En qué hermosa actitud se presenta (la reina), esparciendo flores sobre el cuerpo de su dulce amiga! ¡Qué triste reflexión la de que esperó adornar con ellas su tálamo nupcial no ya de sepulcro! ¡Qué inquietud materna al ver la furia de Hamlet y su peligro! ¡Qué bellísima comparación la de la paloma cubriendo inmóvil sus nuevas crías" - a very lyrical appreciation one might say, and another glimpse of the assertion of the Moratín of Richmond (156).

Although Moratín finds Polonius a ridiculous character, this is only when he is being strictly neoclassical, because a comic character could not, by neoclassical rules, appear in a tragedy. Later on however, he recognises that in fact he is a clever invention - "los exordios y rodeos de Polonio, las protestas de que será cosa breve (que en él es imposible), las antítesis y equívocos que vierte a cada paso para afectar cultura y elegancia, las distracciones que padece, las interrupciones con que rompe el discurso continuamente, su vanidad ridículo de vasallo fiel, sagaz político, prudente padre, y el prurito de meterse en todo y hacerse hombre de importancia llenan de sales cómicas este carácter, y manifiesta lo que el gran talento de Shakespeare hubiera sabido hacer en otra edad y con otros principios" (157). The blame for Shakespeare's literary misdemeanours is put on his era, not on him, a fact which indicates that Moratín is following eighteenth century English critics and that he considers that Shakespeare, independent of his time,

had a brilliant mind, and was capable of writing very fine works.

The final section in this examination of the translation of "Hamlet" concerns Moratín's interpretation of various points raised in the course of the notes. We have already seen that some scenes which he calls irrelevant play an integral part in the development of the tragedy, and I propose to examine briefly five other points - the Ghost, Hamlet's madness, his relations with Ophelia, the dumb show/play, and the dénouement.

In answer to Moratín's question concerning the Ghost, "¿Por qué no se aparece desde luego al príncipe Hamlet?" (158), we may say that it is because Shakespeare has to establish that the Ghost is not a figment of Hamlet's imagination. Three witnesses, one a sceptic, will substantiate the fact that it is real, that is, external and objective. We have already said that ghosts were much discussed in Shakespeare's time, and the traditional Catholic view, which Moratín takes, is that they were spirits of the dead returned from Purgatory to communicate with the living. The Protestant view was that they were devils who "assumed" the forms of the departed for evil purposes; as they were willing to return to earth they could not be souls in bliss in Heaven. This dispute is mirrored in the play by Horatio and Marcellus.

Moratín finds Hamlet's madness a little disappointing, I think, for he says "El lector espera sin duda grandes cosas de este artificio (la locura), pero en el progreso del drama se verá que no resulta nada de interesante, y que Hamlet procede en todo con suma prudencia. Johnson dice que no se ve que esta fingida locura sea bien

fundada, pues nada hace Hamlet con ella que no pudiese hacer igualmente estando en juicio" (159). It is essential however, that the madness shall be feigned, for if it were real, Hamlet would cease to be a tragic figure; the catastrophe must ensue from the actions of the players, and if Hamlet were actually mad he would not, in all probability, be responsible for these actions. No, it was not madness but melancholy (160), from which Hamlet was suffering, and this melancholy explains many features of his character, including two which seem to be explained by nothing else, that is, apathy or lethargy, and his inability to understand why he delays. We must admit that Hamlet is never seen in a condition of unmistakable madness. The soliloquys which confirm the belief that there is something wrong with him because he tells us, prove at the same time that he is fundamentally sane, for the man who can describe his own mental symptoms in a rational fashion is still reasonably normal; it is quite possible that Ophelia was introduced into the mad scenes to point out this distinction. Hamlet can draw the line between "himself" and "his madness", but we never see where the line falls. Hamlet retains responsibility for his actions and Shakespeare makes us feel that he is shirking his plain duty and that he is blameworthy for this neglect, yet at the same time he makes us realize that the procrastination is due to the "illness", and is in fact a part of it. On this occasion Moratín's demand for verisimilitude seems to have gone a little too far.

He also feels that Hamlet's attitude towards Ophelia in Act III scene 2 is very unjust: "No se halla razón que disculpe la dureza bárbara con que Hamlet trate en esta escena a la inocente y

sensible Ophelia. Pudiera muy bien hacer con ella el papel de loco, sin despreciarla ni abatirla" (161). There is, however, a good reason for this behaviour, and it is this: Previous to this scene, back in Act I, Hamlet has ceased to be in love with her, because his mother's conduct has put him quite out of love with love itself, and has polluted his whole imagination. His behaviour in this scene is explained partly by this, and partly by the fact that there is a stage direction which occurs in the original folio which gives Hamlet a double entry on to the stage; the first is into the inner stage at line 159, and the second into the outer at line 168 - it is in the course of these lines that he overhears, accidentally, the plot between Claudius and Polonius which implicates Ophelia beyond any possibility of doubt in Hamlet's eyes, as one of his uncle's minions, and thus provides the reason for his comments to her in this scene.

When Hamlet, at the end of Act II, thinks up a way of trapping his uncle into confessing his guilt, Moratín asks "¿Y está seguro Hamlet de que el rey se estremecerá y mudará de color? ¿No es de creer que un malvado cauto, artificioso, halagüeño, que no sienta remordimientos de su culpa, y que ha sabido con tanta destreza disimularla, sabrá también conservar en aquella ocasión una tranquilidad aparente que desbarate todas las ideas del príncipe?" (162). It is true that Hamlet does not know whether his plan will work or not, but the validity of the Ghost depends on it. Of course, the King might be able to conceal his guilt, but this is unlikely, given human psychology and someone faced with shock tactics. Moratín also questions whether the King, when he realises through the play, that Hamlet knows the facts of

his father's death " ¿tardará un momento en quitarle la vida o podrá omitir un nuevo delito que le es necesario, estando tan hecho a cometer otros mayores?"(162). Hamlet is seen by Moratín to be really mad because he does not realize that he can be the victim of his own plot. But, we see, in fact, that after the play has taken place, the King immediately sends Hamlet to England to his intended death. The fact that by this play Hamlet may prove the victim of his own plot cannot by any means be ascribed to Hamlet's "madness", for it is the essence of tragedy. The centre of tragedy, says A. C. Bradley, may be said to lie in action issuing from character or in character issuing from action. The calamities of tragedy do not simply happen, nor are they sent, they proceed mainly from actions, and those the actions of men (163). The performing of the play was Hamlet's own invention, it comes as the result of his character, and so if it causes his death eventually, it is according to the requirements of tragedy.

With regard to the dumb show, the actual working out of the details are quite complicated, but not, one would have thought, too complicated for someone like Moratín who would have seen the play acted. Or did he see it acted? Several questions which he asks, and comments which he makes would seem to be rather unnecessary if he had seen a performance; for example, he asks why it is that the King, having seen the dumb show without being moved, is moved at the play which is essentially the same (164). The answer lies in the fact that the King does not see the dumb show, for at the time he is talking to the Queen and Polonius about Hamlet's illness. This is not the place to go into

detailed explanations of Shakespeare interpretation, but nevertheless I think that some word of explanation is necessary. The dumb show had not been intended by Hamlet, and his words evidence this (165), but it was a technical necessity from Shakespeare's point of view, for he had to let the audience know the truth about the murder, without letting the Queen know; the actual truth is revealed in the dumb show. In the play which follows, Hamlet changes the rôles, and he identifies himself with the assassin quite spontaneously - this is why Claudius sends him away, or so it seems to the Queen. At this point the audience and the court know the true situation, while the Queen knows only that Hamlet is a parricidal case; the King, of course, knows that Hamlet knows that he is the murderer from the details which the latter gives of the poison etc. The real meaning of the Gonzago play could not be revealed because the Queen was involved and the Ghost had expressly forbidden that she should know the truth. Moratín's claim that the King is stupid because, he says, he has seen the dumb show and then asks "Is there offence in't?" is now irrelevant and erroneous, and one would have thought that had he actually seen a performance this matter would not have been raised; the same may be said of the questions concerning Hamlet's attitude to Ophelia, and though it would be completely without foundation to say that Moratín never saw a performance of "Hamlet", the possibility of this being a purely literary exercise is made a little more feasible by such questions as are cited above.

Hamlet's reaction to the outcome of the play scene is criticised by Moratín - "Horror, piedad filial, ira venganza: esto ha

de sentir, de esto he de hablar ¿Quién hubiera creído que se pondría a cantar coplas, y tocar la flauta, y decir bufonadas, y llanar jumento a su tío? (166). This behaviour indicated the relief, triumph and infinite glee of that moment. The play had been a great success of histrionic art. All Hamlet's disguises, his complicated and interwoven parts drop off and he is free to give full vent to his feelings. The melancholy which Hamlet suffered can also account for this behaviour, for the keen satisfaction which his own actions give him - he has demonstrated his own skill. When he sees the King defenceless praying, however, he is unable to take any action, there is a sickening return of his melancholic paralysis.

We turn lastly in this discussion of Moratín's interpretation of the play, and so, fittingly, to the dénouement. Of the King's plan to have Hamlet killed in a rigged fencing match, Moratín asks "¿Cómo no teme que la muerte de Hamlet, producida por tales medios, descubrirá la traición a los ojos de todos, y que no habrá nadie que le juzgue autor o cómplice?" He suggests that the plan is ridiculous, and that it would have been much better and safer to have had Hamlet killed on the way to Elsinor, out of the way (167). This may be all very well from a purely utilitarian point of view, but the dramatic requirements of tragedy demand the former course, the one which was taken. Hamlet has to fulfil his duty, but tragedy must ensue. By Moratín's method, Hamlet's death would come about, but the catastrophe would not be brought about by the *ἀναγκη* - the fatal flaw of character; in Hamlet's case this is his unquestioning lack of suspicion concerning the sword

which are used in the duel bring about his death. This lack of suspicion was clearly a well known characteristic of Hamlet, for Claudius says, when he is plotting, that Hamlet is "too generous and free from all contriving" to "peruse the foils".

In the course of the graveside scene, Moratín notices that "al acercarse la catástrofe hace el autor más amable al protagonista Hamlet, reconociendo el, esceso que cometio, pide perdon a Laertes de haberle ofendido. Su candor y su generoso proceder hacen resaltar más la perfidia de sus enemigos que le preparan una muerte tan alevosa" (168). This latter point is partly true, but it is not the only reason why Hamlet's character undergoes a change. At this point Shakespeare was faced with the problem of how to reinstate Hamlet in the affections and admiration of his audience after an exhibition of disastrous weakness in Acts III & IV, without either condoning that weakness or suppressing it. Because he has reached Act V, the catastrophe of the tragedy which involves the death of the hero, he is obliged to show Hamlet as himself again, greater and more admirable than ever before; otherwise the play would end dismally with a sense of frustration and inadequacy. The requirements of tragic drama compelled Shakespeare to win back the audience's respect for Hamlet before the end, to dissipate the clouds at sunset, as John Dover Wilson puts it (169). In Act V, Hamlet is a complete prince - dignified, cool, reflective, noble in speech and in death. The re-entry of Laertes is meant to overshadow that of Hamlet, thus putting the audience's sympathy with Laertes, but gradually we see that the ranting insincerity of the latter has become a commonplace and

contemptible beside "the agony of this great and tortured spirit". Against the base iniquity of his opponents, Hamlet shines "like a star in the darkest night" (170), in nobility, generosity, honour and integrity of soul; and his death is his vindication, for called upon for deeds, he fails dismally and completely. Thus, the situation as Moratín had it is perhaps the wrong way round; it is the baseness of Laertes which makes Hamlet shine, rather than the other way round, and though, of course, Moratín's interpretation is quite sound, it lacks the point of why Hamlet should stand out as he does.

"Such a sight as this becomes the field" - this was how Fortinbras described the final picture of the play, of the bodies of the dead King, Queen, Laertes, and Hamlet (171), and we may perhaps be given licence to include Polonius and Ophelia. Moratín, too, is disturbed by this wholesale butchery, and perhaps more so by the indiscriminacy of it all - "Todos los principales personajes de esta tragedia mueren culpados o inocentes, sin que esta matanza general sirve de aumentar el efecto trágico, pero al contrario, lo disminuye, dividiendo el interés que debería concentrarse en uno solo" (172); We are immediately reminded of what he said in the "Advertencia" concerning the destroying of both innocent and guilty. There is the justice in this indiscriminate killing, he seems to be asking, but in doing so he again misunderstands the essence of tragedy and even of life, or rather his conception of tragedy is totally different from that of Shakespeare. Moratín's drama "pinta a los hombres, no como son en realidad, sino como la imaginación supone que pudieron o debieron ser" (173), whereas Shakespeare's is the image of real life; Moratín's drama is concerned to show a moral, to set an example or to

show good rewarded, bad punished, to demonstrate the justice in being good, but this is a totally false concept completely divorced from life. There is no poetic justice in the world; it is not true to life to have the bad punished and the good rewarded, everyone has experienced this-*Δράσασθαι Πάθει* - the doer must suffer, and so it is that the innocent as well as the guilty perish, it is a requirement of tragedy, of life.

Moratin's demand for poetic justice and his lack of comprehension of real tragedy is seen also earlier in the play, in his critique of the famous soliloquy at the beginning of Act III, scene 1. He questions Hamlet's need to be afraid at his undertaking - "Este temor es indigno de un alma grande, indigno de quien está seguro de la justicia de su causa (but he is not sure until III 2 when the King's behaviour proves the authenticity of the Ghost), y debe contar con la favor de la Omnipotencia que pues le ordena aquella acción, sabrá darle los medios de ejecutarla, y disipará todos los peligros" (174). As we have seen above this is just not the case. Hamlet, as the tragic hero, is doomed to die as a result of his hamartia: "la machine infernal" has begun its work and it cannot be stopped: Hamlet's "anéantissement" like that of Oedipus is assured. With him will fall innocent as well as guilty, for as A. C. Bradley has said, again in a definition of tragedy, "(its) effect generally extends far and wide beyond the hero". Today we still come across many instances where the innocent die, in the wars which rage at present and in disasters such as Aberfan. Perhaps the most fitting way to close this discussion of poetic justice would be to quote a few lines from the tragedy in question, which to my mind sum up very well what the tragic

hero is; he is -

" a massy wheel,
Fixed on the summit of the highest mount,
To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things,
Are mortized and adjoined, which when it falls
Each small annexment, petty consequence
Attends the boist'rous ruin". (175).

From this examination of English drama, in fairly general and then in more specific terms, it may be seen that though not much better than the Spanish in Moratín's eyes, it was certainly no worse; it was rather a mixture of good and bad, good and bad, that is, as measured by how far it concurred with or strayed from the rules of neoclassicism, as defined by Moratín in his understanding of the elements and purpose of the comedia. His criticism is certainly consistent, and is not made according to any national prejudices, but is directed at any dramatic concept, regardless of country of origin, which does not conform to these rules. We see censure of the English dramatists, particularly for their lack of verisimilitude, for irrelevancy and also for using coarse language, and for lack of exemplarity. The aim of Moratín's drama was to point out a moral, an example which people ought to follow in their daily lives, but his mistake was to presume to judge Shakespeare by these standards, as did many other Spanish writers. There are also many references to the lack of training of writers - a theme which is dealt with very fully in "La Comedia Nueva" - study training and application to a discipline of rules are as necessary as genius itself; in this way they would avoid great ranges of style and technique

which occur, especially in Shakespeare. It is quite noticeable that many points raised in "La Comedia Nueva" and in other works written before 1792 are found repeated again and again in works of this period either in general terms or almost word for word, a fact which seems to indicate a lack of scope in the arguments of the neoclassics. Rather than develop new fields they are content to keep "plugging" at old ones; this is particularly evident with regard to the theatre reform dealt with in the last chapter.

Impartiality, which we found to be quite strong with regard to the matter covered in the Apuntaciones, is found, in the field of drama, to be less so, and there are examples of definite alterations in favour of the neoclassic theatre, especially in the translation of "Hamlet". There we find simplifications, complications, additions, omissions, and though we may censure Moratín for this deviation from the original, a thing which he condemned in the proface to the work, we must, at the same time, remember that he did realize the difficulties of his task and that it was undertaken in good faith for the good of the Spanish people as a source of information, facts which absolve him to a degree.

The condemnation of many of Shakespeare's scenes as irrelevant shows that Moratín has completely misunderstood the essence of the drama which he is translating, and it also gives a good example of his partiality. Instead of judging these scenes, and the whole play, by Shakespeare's conception of a tragedy - and when this is done these scenes are perfectly relevant - he judges them by his own, and things go to extremes, since the two conceptions are as different as grass and

chocolate. For Moratín, drama has an exemplary aim; his demand for poetic justice shows it to be divorced from real life; for him it is a cold, scientific exercise which is so arranged as to give a message at the end, in which basically, good, justice and reason or good sense are rewarded and evil ousted. Shakespeare's on the other hand, is life itself, and this accounts for all the variations, the mixture of coarse and elevated, of comic and grave, of rough and smooth, of the triumph of both good and evil. Moratín also misunderstands the role of the Aristotelean and Shakespearean hero, who is doomed to die as the result of his "hamartia" - he has no guardian angel, and with him, in his death, may fall both innocent and guilty indiscriminately.

Praise of the English dramatists especially of Shakespeare, is twofold in aspect. The first is praise for following, no doubt unwittingly, the precepts of neoclassical thought, for relevance, verisimilitude, suitable language and for sound development - an aspect which is not altogether unexpected. The second aspect is, however, more of a surprise; for it is praise on emotional grounds, praise from enthusiasm as the "agitación de los afectos". As unconsciously as Moratín dropped his neoclassic guard when he came to Windsor,

Richmond and Kew, so here the same inner Moratín assumes ephemeral ascendancy over the public figure, and we see spontaneous enthusiasm and lyricism at examples of suspense and fear, of tenderness and sadness, as we did when he surveyed landscapes and scenes. The number of examples is not very great, but they serve as an indication of another field in which this Romantic sensibility is at work (176).

We may perhaps detect a further penchant towards this

sensibility in the "Advertencia" to "Hamlet." Moratín closes it with these words - "Si se ha equivocado (al autor) en su modo de juzgar, o por malos principios, o por falta de sensibilidad, de buen gusto o de reflexión, no será inútil impugnarle". On the surface, this seems to imply two things: Firstly it can be read as an admission that there are imperfections, and mistakes in the work - an attempt has been made to show these - and secondly it seems to imply a realisation on Moratín's part that he had done Shakespeare wrong in judging him by neoclassic standards, for this is to judge the actions of an Englishman by the laws of a savage tribe. Perhaps he foresaw, during this period, that the days of neoclassicism were limited, and if this is so, then we may see these words as a kind of apology for his principles; he is trying to save himself from condemnation by future generations who will adopt dramatic concepts suitable to those of Shakespeare, by saying that really he appreciated and supported Shakespeare's ideals, but that he had to keep up a pretence of being a neoclassic writer, rather in the same way as Estoban de Arteaga, because this was what was expected of him (177); he was, he might claim, a champion of the neoclassic cause and though his private feelings might be different, he felt it his duty to his father and the neoclassic school to conceal them, though as has been seen, in this he was not always successful (178). Such an attitude, besides portraying Moratín as the slave of duty could equally well be construed as a fear of standing up for what he really felt, and if this is so it accords with instances of cowardice and "resignación" which may be seen in his life (179). Having put this interpretation on these words, we must now consider whether this

is the correct one or whether the words are not merely Moratín being sarcastic. One might argue on the basis of this that they are no more than a further instance of false modesty, for we have seen how closely he followed neoclassic precepts at this time in his writing - the very fact that he judges Shakespeare by them is the prime example - and, this being the case, I feel that we must allow as much for false modesty as for a "Romantic conscience". Those who believe that false modesty is the whole story may object that this period in Moratín's life is too early for the appearance of ideas which are seen in "El Sí de las Niñas", but examples to the contrary have been shown, and there is one further piece of evidence which supports a "conscience" interpretation. The play "El Tutor" which is regarded by many as the first draft of "El Sí de las Niñas", and which itself never came to fruition in the theatre, was completed while Moratín was in England; in his diary there is the following entry under December 14 1792 - "Tuteur fintus".

Whatever interpretation is accepted, two points seem to emerge from this study of Moratín's dramatic writings. The first is that for the great majority of the time he adheres strictly to the principles of neoclassicism; the second is that, despite this, there is some evidence that inroads are beginning to be made on these principles by a new sensibility, and this is all the more important because it is occurring in what might be expected to be the last stronghold of neoclassicism - his play writing. The duality is here as it was in the Apuntaciones, though, it must be admitted, much less patently, and one is led to wonder whether the balance of attitudes

and ideas is as weighted towards the "old" and neoclassic pen as might be imagined; to make some assessment of this matter we shall take a look back over Moretín's activities in England.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7.

1. O.P. 2, P.132. Carta XXII.
2. O.P. I, P.235.
3. Ibid, P.238.
4. " P.236.
5. " P.236; see also Chapter 5, P.
6. " P.237.
7. " P.238.
8. " Pp.239-40.
9. " "Life and Manners in Madrid 1750-1800", Charles E. Kany.
10. O.P. I. P.240.
11. Ibid, P.238.
12. Travels through several parts of England in 1782, Charles P. Moritz,
P.72.
13. Act II, Sc.7. B.A.E. Vol.2. P.370.
14. O.P. I. P.239.
15. Ibid, P.241.
16. Ibid, P.241.
17. " La acción con que acompañan la voz, aunque no disparatada, es por
lo común insignificante, acompasada y monótona" O.P. I. P.242.
18. General View of the Stage: Hiffernan, P.114.
19. History of the English Stage: Betterton, P.48.
20. The Actor, P.4.
21. O.P. I. P.242.

22. O.P. 3, P.187.
23. Meister, op.cit. P.195.
24. Ibid, Pp. 198-9.
25. O.P. I. P.242.
26. Quoted by Nagler "A source book in theatrical History, P.408.
27. O.P. I. P.243.
28. "The Eighteenth century Conception of the Stage and Histrionic technique" I.M.McClelland, in Homenaje a A.M. Huntington (Wellesley, Mass, 1952). Pp.393-425.
29. O.P. I. P.243.
30. Ibid, P.244.
31. " P.240.
32. " Pp. 240-1.
33. " P.242.
34. Any comparisons should be vertical not horizontal, since the size of each sample varied.
35. In his "Autocrítica" Moratín defines verisimilitude thus "Para hacerla (la fábula) verosímil no basta que sea posible; ha de componerse de circunstancias tan naturales, tan fáciles de ocurrir que a todos seduzca la ilusión de la semejanza". (B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.321).
36. Act III, sc. 8, B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.371.
37. O.P. 3, P.179.
38. Ibid, P.186.
39. See Pp. 196-7.

40. Such errors were these:-

"Daba, pues, ceñirse la buena comedia a presentar aquellos frecuentes extravíos que nacen de la índole y particular disposición de los hombres, de la absoluta ignorancia, de los errores adquiridos en la educación o en el trato, de la multitud de las leyes contradictorias, feroces, inútiles o absurdas, del abuso de la autoridad doméstica y de las falsas máximas que la dirigen, de las preocupaciones vulgares o religiosas o políticas, del espíritu de corporación, de clase o de paisanaje, de la costumbre, de la pereza, del orgullo, del interés personal; de un conjunto de circunstancias, de afectos y de opiniones que producen, efectivamente, vicios y desordenes capaces de turbar la armonía, la deconcia, el placer social y causar perjudiciales consecuencias al interés privado y al público" (B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.322).

41. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.320.

42. Ars Poetica, lines 343-344.

43. Cook, op.cit. Pp. 406-7.

44. B.A.E. Vol.2. P.321.

45. Ibid, P.321.

46. O.P. 3. P.180-1.

47. Ibid P.102.

48. " Pp. 182-3.

49. " P.187.

50. Preface to Edition of Shakespeare, 1725; quoted in 18th century essays on Shakespeare, ed. D. N. Smith, P.56.

51. Shakespearean Criticism, ed. D. N. Smith, P.50.
52. Ibid, P.47.
53. " P.49.
54. 18th century essays, Pp. 93-4.
55. Shakespearean Criticism, P.82.
56. Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century - D. N. Smith, P.74.
57. Elements of Criticism, Ch. XXI.
58. Shakespearean Criticism, P.84.
59. Johnson's works: Preface to Shakespeare (1768), P.103.
60. Ibid, P.91.
61. " P.106.
62. Prologue spoken by Garrick at the opening of the Drury Lane Theatre (1747).
63. Eighteenth century essays - Introduction P.XIII - Vicar of Wakefield, Ch. XVIII.
64. A. Paz y Melia "Catalogo abreviado de papeles de Inquisición, No. 1286 (Madrid 1914).
65. Per op. cit. P.76.
66. Ibid, Pp. 81-82.
67. " P.95.
68. " P.102.
69. " P.105.
70. O.P. 3, P.177.
71. Ibid, P.179. The whole play is described as "Extravagante pieza en que Shakespeare dejó correr sin freno a su imaginación" (P.178).

72. O.P.III. P.179.
73. O.P.II. P.147. Carta XXIX.
74. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.473.
75. Raw figure obtained from "Shakespeare in the Theatre 1701-1800",
C.B.Hogan, Vol.2. PP.93-96 (Clarendon 1951). These dates were
selected solely to give a reasonable cover to the period of Moratín's
stay and the months preceding it.
76. The above quotations are all taken from the "Advertencia" to
Hamlet. B.A.E. Vol. 2. Pp. 473-5.
77. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.320.
78. Ibid, P.474.
79. " P.320.
80. Act 1, note 3, B.A.E.Vol. 2. P.555.
81. Act I, scene 1, B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.476.

From hereon references from the text and translation will be noted
down thus, e.g. I 1 P.476 (for this reference). Scenes refer to
Moratín's Spanish scene numbers.

82. I 8 P.486.
83. I 2 P.478.
84. I 4 P.481.
85. I 2 P.478.
86. I 4 P.481.
87. I 27 P.524.
88. I 2 P.479.
89. I 5 P.482.
90. III 11 P.512.

91. See Chapter 3, pages 59-60.
92. P.482.
93. P.485.
94. P.486.
95. P.487.
96. V 9 P.552.
97. I 6 P.484.
98. I 7 P.485.
99. I 10 P.488.
100. I 12 P.489.
101. II 2 P.494.
102. II 3 P.495.
103. III 11 P.512.
104. II 10 P.504.
105. III 11 P.512.
106. III 27 P.523.
107. V 1 P.540; see also "Shakespeare y Moratín ante la fosa"-Barallat
y Falguera, for other examples.
108. I 3 P.480.
109. P.495.
110. P.508.
111. P.511.
112. P.516.
113. P.532.
114. Pages 539 and 541.
115. Act I nota 3. P.555.

116. Act I nota 6 P.555.
117. " I " 27 P.556.
118. " II " 7 P.556.
119. " II " 15 P.556.
120. " IV " 5 P.558.
121. " III " 10 P.559.
122. " V " 7 P.560; "A la extravagancia de la presente situación se junta la desigualdad del diálogo; humilde y grosero en boca de Laertes cuando insultan al clérigo zafío y en la de Hamlet cuando habla de los cuatro mil hermanos y del gato y el perro; inflado y campanudo cuando uno y otro empiezan a echar bravatas y hablan de las estrellas errantes, y de levantar un monte con espuelas de tierra que tuesta su frente en la zona tórrida, y otras baladronadas dignas de *Dyscopelínicos*".
123. Act V, nota 9. P.560.
124. " V, " 17. P.560.
125. " I " 4. "En el teatro es muy precioso el tiempo y estos soldados le pierden solamente con su conversación".
126. Act I, nota 8. P.555.
127. " I, " 21 P.556.
128. " 2 " 1 P.556.
129. " 3 " 23 P.558.
130. " 3 " 4 P.557.
131. " 3 " 21 P.558.
132. " 5 " 10 P.560.

133. Act I " 2 p.555.
134. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.322.
135. Act I note 11 P.555.
136. " I " 19 P.555.
137. " III " 20 P.557.
138. " II " 21 P.557.
139. " III " 6 P.557.
140. " IV " 3 P.559.
141. " I " 7 P.555.
142. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.320.
143. Act V Note 1 P.559.
144. " II " 2 P.556.
145. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.320.
146. Act II note 8. P.556.
147. " I " 6 P.555.
148. " IV " 4 P.558-9.
149. " I " 15 P.555.
150. " I " 10 P.555.
151. " I " 16 P.555.
152. " I " 24/25 P.556.
153. " III " 16 P.558.
154. See note 148.
155. Act III note 20. P.558.
156. " V " 7 P.560.
157. " II " 9 P.556.
158. " I " 3 P.555.

159. Act II note 4 P.556.
160. See "What happens in Hamlet", J.D.Wilson, Pp. 226-229.
161. Act III note 3 P.557.
162. " 2 " we P.557.
163. Shakespearean Tragedy, A.C. Bradley, P.12.
164. Act III note 8. P.557.
165. "Marry, this is miching mallecho, it means mischief". Act III, sc. 11, P.513.
166. Act III, note 13. P.558.
167. " IV " 16. P.558.
168. " V " 12. P.560.
169. Wilson, P.267.
170. Ibid. P.276.
171. Act V, sc.11 P.554.
172. Act V, note 15. P.560.
173. B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.320.
174. Act III note 2 P.557.
175. " III sc.20 P.519.
176. While it must be admitted that Moratín demands an "oportuna expresión de los afectos" in his definition of the comedia, the language in which these comments are couched tends to indicate an enthusiasm which is not to be expected if the play is merely fulfilling the requirements of his definition; it is an enthusiasm which may be seen as a complement to Moratín's enthusiasm over the English landscape.

177. See p. 237.

178. See pp 162 ff & 259 ff.

179. See p. 64, Chapter 3, note 52 and Ch.5. note 89. Barías says this of Moratín's bravery: "Moratín, hay que decirlo, no era valiente. Creo que tampoco era cobarde, no más que lo estadísticamente normal. Pero hay épocas en que esto no es suficiente, en que es menester ser valiente. Moratín no lo fue del todo ..." (op.cit. p.85).

CONCLUSIONS.

In the course of this study of Moratín and the eighteenth century it was noticed that two opposing tendencies were in conflict, the "old" values were in ferment with the "new"; men were taking a new and critical look at values which they had held for centuries, they were rejecting some of them, and were searching very hard for new standards. In Moratín's writings of the period of his residence in England we may see some of these new attitudes and ideas, for example, in the desire to travel for self-improvement, for I think that on the evidence this trip may be seen as a product of personal curiosity equally as much, if not more so than a product of conscience over the Spanish theatre. To restore the balance a little however, we must remember that the theatre did hold an important place in Moratín's thoughts, though as the section on the theatre showed, the actual amount of work done in England on its account was not large and so far as could be seen the directorship was for Moratín's personal prestige rather than for the good of Spain. In the light of this, we may say, I think, that Moratín travelled for personal reasons. He went, as did other Europeans, to gain first hand empirical knowledge of the manners and customs of other peoples and we see this information in the "Apuntaciones", which are a set of notes written for a small public, possibly some of Moratín's friends, as a record of what he had seen and done, in a style which, appearing to follow the vogue of diminution of genres, comes to us as a small guide to the English: he seeks knowledge and encompasses it in a small notebook.

Moratin also shows great interest in the scientific developments which were taking place in England as part of the Industrial Revolution, and in other more abstract attitudes which are indicative of an enlightened mind - Liberty, Equality, the ethics of the privileges of the nobility, Poverty, Humanitarianism (1), Toleration, - and there is evidence of the new search for Happiness, a happiness for which tomorrow was always too late. Moratin follows the new eighteenth century thinkers in his conception of beauty as something relative, for they did not think of it as a classical reflection of truth, but as a pell-mell of ideas with that certain "je ne sais quoi".

While in England, Moratin had good experience of "culture", another product of the Revolution, with all its sophistications, and like the civilised men of Europe who felt a sense of weariness with this burden of refinement and complication and a desire for the simple life, he, too, expressed his preference for the life of the "Bon Sauvage" as against that of the cultured man.

From these examples and others found in the text, we may, I think, associate Moratin with progressive European attitudes and call him a man of Europe as well as a Spaniard.

With regard to Moratin's "professional" capacity, that is, as a writer for the theatre, it may be fairly claimed that he remained, for the most part, a strict neoclassic, though there are exceptions. The force and influence of his home life are particularly evident here and we see a close following of the precepts laid down by Luzán. It would appear that these precepts were rather limited in

their range, for we have noted that Moratín uses very similar arguments, some almost identical in wording, in his definition of tragedy and comedy, in "La Comedia Nueva", in his plan for the reform of the Spanish theatres, and throughout the works which criticise English drama. There is little development in the depth or breadth of these arguments and it almost as if he were afraid that any development would cause them to be stretched to a degree which was too tenuous to support: every criticism has to relate strictly to his base line - the "Autocrítica". On the other hand, it might be argued that by using this narrow range of criticism Moratín believed that he would have a greater effect - the situation may be seen as the difference between trying to break a piece of wood with the flat of the hand, and with the hand edgeways on, like an exponent of karate. Throughout the study of Moratín's works on the English theatre we read of his call for a writer to study, to receive training, to write with exemplarity, order, regularity, precision, with regard to the unities and with relevant development, omitting everything which has the air of extravagance, incongruity or coarseness - all of these are found wanting to a greater or lesser degree in English writers, according to Moratín, and all indicate a strong adherence to the principles of neoclassicism.

Although it was established that, in general, Moratín showed impartiality in what he recorded during his visit to England, when it came to the translation of Shakespeare's "Hamlet", it was found that there was a far greater degree of partiality and bias towards neoclassicism. He altered scene arrangements, cuts entries and

phrases to suit his own ideas and imposed his concept of tragedy on a play written with an Aristotelian concept in mind. This, of course, provided Moratín with numerous occasions on which he could criticise Shakespeare, and unfairly he often took them. To be just to Moratín, however, it must be said that he gives the English authors praise whenever their ideas happen to coincide with his.

It was seen in the last chapter that even in that aspect of Moratín's writing which might be considered as a stronghold of neoclassicism, that is, in the practical expression of his dramatic theory, there are instances of capitulation. Although these instances are few, they do indicate the direction in which this Romantic influence was developing, before it came out into the open in later works. In discussing his attitudes we have noticed that some Romantic elements are already present, and others were apparent in the descriptions of several landscapes which Moratín viewed - they brought forth lyrical responses and emotional impressions. It appears to be in this latter context that these responses are most easily elicited, and we may note here that the situation is what may be called a "personal" one.

We turn now to consider the second section of our study - Moratín's character. There seems to be two distinct views of him; in the first we see a shy man who leaves the Spanish court, ostensibly because he does not enjoy the company there (2); he does not have very many friends in England, possibly because he cannot learn the language - he is too reserved to make the necessary contact with the English themselves. We see too a lonely man who likes to lose himself

in the anonymity of a big city by going for walks almost every day; we see a man worried by financial troubles rather overcome, I think, by the pace of life in the metropolis, which Moritz called "a huge dungeon", and we may suspect that Moratín also felt this, for during his nervous illness, which may be partly due to this, he escapes for a while to the peace of the country and the seaside. A further contributory cause to his illness may well have been the homesickness which is alluded to in his letters to Melón (3). The second picture of Moratín is totally different; here we see a vain, presumptuous, "pushing" man who seems to be attempting to assume dictatorial powers in the theatre, such is the sureness of that panacea which he holds called neoclassicism. The passage of the "Advertencia" discussed in Chapter Seven, with its interpretation of false modesty, lends weight to this, yet it must be remembered that this sureness for neoclassicism was only as a means of restoring the Spanish theatre to its former glories, and not necessarily for neoclassicism in itself. While he was sure on the "professional" plane, on the "personal" plane Moratín may not have been so sure of its virtues, and thus it may be possible to interpret the passage in two ways.

This point brings us to discuss the duality which has become apparent in this study. To begin, let us go back to the point raised above concerning the personal nature of the landscape lyricism. From the evidence it seems that these lyrical or Romantic elements occur principally when Moratín is writing in a "personal" capacity - when he is looking at scenes during the course of a journey, or when for a moment he drops his neoclassic guard and becomes himself,

as in the course of "Hamlet" when Hamlet decides to follow the Ghost of his father. There are far smaller inroads on what may be called his professional capacity, that is as a dramatist; here he is far more on his guard, and he has a strong weapon - the rules of neoclassicism, though as we have just seen, they do fail him on occasions.

This distinction between the "personal" and the "professional" allows us to go one step further and to point to another distinction. Moratín's early life, his education, upbringing and the consequent adherence to and diffusion of the precepts of neoclassicism which may be fairly attributed to the influence of his father and his circle of friends in the critical formative years have one fact in common - the home. On the other hand when we examine the remaining attitudes and ideas which have been noted in the course of this study, we discover that they are the result of the Zeitgeist, they are a consequence of the outside environment (4); these are the new ideas heralding a new sensibility, those which give Moratín the name, man of Europe, and we are thus led to believe that it is the influence of the home which has bred the neoclassic, the "professional", in Moratín, and the wider theatre of the European environment which has soaked him in the new attitudes and ideas which will, in time, flower into Romanticism - we have seen the beginnings of this in the "personal" referred to above. This means to say, then, that the duality observed in Moratín is the result of the interaction between the influence of his home life and the wider environment experienced in his travels.

He is, thus, indeed, "a caballo entre neoclásicos y románticos", perhaps, at this period, more to the former side of the ideological saddle than the latter, but all the same, I think that we may agree with Julian Marías who has said with regard to Moratín that "como escritor público pertenece casi íntegramente a la época que termina; pero el Moratín casi desconocido de sus escritos privados corresponde inequívocamente a la fase que empieza" (5) - he is at once Alpha and Omega.

A quotation from "La Comedia Nueva" marked the beginning of this thesis, and to close it, I quote a few lines from a later play which marked a further stage in the development of Moratín's Romanticism, and which seems to me to convey very precisely Moratín's situation during the period which has been studied in this thesis; the words are don Diego's: "En esa edad son las pasiones algo más energicas y decisivas que en la nuestra, y por cuanto la razón se halla todavía imperfecta y débil, los ímpetus del corazón son mucho más violentos" (6).

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSIONS.

1. Ge de Torre remarks in his article "Hacia una nueva imagen de Moratín" (ref.cit.), that Moratín was a "puro escritor, ajeno a toda sensibilidad social", but the indications in the Apuntaciones are that this is not the case; see Chapter 5.
2. The fact that the desire for solitude and peace is a lifelong characteristic seems to be indicated by a remark made in a letter to doña Francisca Muñoz by Moratín in 1820: "Quiero vivir libre, y lejos de Corte y de Gobierno y de empleados" (O.P. 2, p. 328, Carta XVIII); see also Chapter 3 note 52. While Moratín, both in his life and his writings shows a high regard for "classical" order, it may be seen that the force of circumstances which necessarily act upon him prevent him from keeping to this ideal to any degree. Moratín is always on the move from one place to another - he is never allowed to settle anywhere permanently and in peace. This is due in part to his character and partly to his political beliefs which are those of an "afrancesado". There arises an ironical paradox of a man who is prevented from ^{achieving} the self fulfilment of his literary beliefs because of his political beliefs, which stem, in their essence, from the same source as the former - France.
3. See Chapter 3, P.61.
4. Writing in 1836, Larra was not sure of the source of the "lethargic and sentimental character" of Moratín's writings; he did not know "whether it was the effect of the epoch in which Moratín lived, in

APPENDIX 1.

The paragraphs below are those which seem to be most relevant to Moratin's situation. The whole Act is reproduced in the Gentleman's Magazine 1793, Jan. Pp. 83-5.

1. It is enacted, that the master of a vessel arriving in any port of this kingdom shall immediately specify in writing, to the collector of such port, the number, names, rank and occupation, of any foreigners which shall be on board his vessel.
2. Under the penalty of 10l. for every foreigner on board the vessel whom he shall have neglected or refused to declare.
3. That every Alien arriving in any port in this kingdom, on or after the 10th day of January 1793, shall immediately declare in writing, to the collector of such port, his or her name, rank, and occupation, or, if Servants, the name, &c. of their masters or mistresses, or shall verbally make such declaration to such officer to be reduced by him into writing; and shall also declare the country where they have principally resided for six months preceding their arrival; and every Alien neglecting to make such declaration, or making a false declaration thereof, shall be adjudged to depart out of this realm, and, if afterwards found in this realm, shall be transported for life.
8. No Alien shall depart from the place of his arrival (except to make the declaration aforesaid) without obtaining a passport from the Mayor or other Chief Magistrate of such place, or from one Justice of Peace for the district, containing the name, rank and occupation of such Alien, and the town to which he purposes to go.

19. Every Alien who has arrived in England since the 1st of January 1792
 shall, within ten days from the 10th of January 1793, and every Alien
 arriving in future shall, within ten days after his arrival at the place
 expressed in his passport, deliver to the Chief Magistrate where he
 shall be, or, if no Chief Magistrate, to a Justice of Peace of the
 district, an account in writing of his name, rank, occupation and place
 of abode, and the place of his residence for six months preceding, and
 take a certificate thereof; and in case of neglect or refusal to make
 such declaration, or of delivering a false account, to be imprisoned.

Notes:

1. On Monday January 21st 1793 Moratín visited a Justice of the Peace,
 in connection with the Alien Act (see paragraph 19); Diary: "a Juez
 Pais pr ppon de Aliens Bill".
 2. The visit to the notary on July 22nd 1793 may have been in connection
 with paragraph 8, though the financial possibility is equally strong.
 If this latter case is so, then there is no reference to his fulfilling
 the demands of paragraph 8.
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APPENDIX 2.

Charles Moritz, too, was affected by scenery, and he wrote this apostrophe to Richmond:

"Sweet Richmond I never, no never shall I forget that lovely evening, when from thy fairy hills thou didst so hospitably smile on me, a poor lonely, insignificant stranger! As I traversed to and fro thy meads, thy little swelling hills and flowery dells, and above all, that queen of all rivers, thy own majestic Thames, I forgot all sublunary cares, and thought only of heaven and heavenly things. Happy, thrice happy am I, I again and again exclaimed, that I am no longer in yon gloomy city, but here in Elysium, in Richmond.

O ye copsey hills, ye green meadows, and ye rich streams in this blessed country - how have ye enchanted me! Still, however, let me recollect and resolve, as I firmly do, that even ye shall not prevent my return to those barren and dusty lands where my, perhaps a less indulgent, destiny has placed me; and where, in the due discharge of all the arduous and important duties of that humble function to which Providence has called me, I must and will faithfully exert my best talents, and in that exertion find pleasure, and I trust happiness. In every future moment of my life, however, the recollection of this scene and the feelings it inspired, shall cheer my labours and invigorate my efforts". (Op.cit. Pp. 117-118).

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(Representación de la Mogigata" in Revista Española", 2nd. February 1834, quoted in Cook, P.357).

5. Marías, Pp. 80-81.

6. "El Sí. de las Niñas", B.A.E. Vol. 2. P.427.
