IN SEARCH OF THE PROMISED LAND:
THE TRAVELS OF EMILIA PARDO BAZAN

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ABSTRACT

The object of this thesis is to explore Pardo Bazán's approach to travel as an aesthetically rewarding experience and also as a soul-searching exercise in which she voices her opinions and concerns with regard to the state of late nineteenth-century Spain and compares it to some other European countries. Indeed, in the Galician author's chronicles, which reveal her versatility and multifaceted interests as a travel writer, the journey itself takes second place to cultural, social, political, artistic, religious, and intellectual considerations.

Another aspect of Pardo Bazán's travel works that this study will develop is her uneasy stance with regard to progress, technological advancement, and modern civilization, as illustrated, principally, in her foreign chronicles. For it is her apprehension and at times aversion to modern technology that place her in an anachronistic position in relation to some of the events and places covered in her travel accounts. Pardo Bazán's obsessive longing for the past, as well as her generalized rejection of the aesthetic canons and artistic achievements of the nineteenth century (a period she regarded as lacking in spiritual and religious values), will also be revealed as playing a significant part in her approach to travel writing.

In addition, the author's ambivalent attitude to France will be considered, together with her internationalism (which was never at odds with her Spanishness), and the progressive
and painful realization that, in the social, industrial, and cultural spheres, her country lagged well behind most of its European neighbours. Overall, this thesis will trace Pardo Bazán's journeys through her homeland and elsewhere in Europe as she attempts to identify the ills that beset turn-of-the-century Spain, suggest some possible solutions, and ultimately seek out among the advanced European nations she visited a role model worthy of emulation by her own country.
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1. The Making of a Travel Writer

Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921) was one of the most prolific writers of nineteenth-century Spain. In a career which spanned over forty-five years, Pardo Bazán wrote nineteen novels, twenty-one novelas breves, well over five hundred short stories, many monographs and articles on a wide variety of subjects, two cookery books, and seven travel works. It could also be added that she was the most travelled writer of nineteenth-century Spain, with the possible exception of Juan Valera, who was in the diplomatic service.

Between 1871 and 1874, in what was to be her first European tour, Pardo Bazán visited Paris, Vienna, Venice, Verona, Geneva, and London. Between December 1887 and January 1888, the author travelled to Rome as a correspondent for the Madrid newspaper, El Imparcial. Her first travel work, entitled Mi romería, in which she recounts her journey to and experiences in the Italian capital, appeared in book form in 1888. That same year she published De mi tierra, a collection of travel pieces and essays on the folklore and art of her native Galicia. Al pie de la torre Eiffel and Por Francia y por Alemania, in which Pardo Bazán narrates her experiences at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889 and related travels, appeared in 1889 and 1890 respectively. Por la España pintoresca, published in 1895, is a compilation of some travel
pieces written by Pardo Bazán following trips taken between 1889 and 1893. In 1900, her articles on the Paris Universal Exhibition of that year appeared in book form under the title of *Cuarenta días en la Exposición*. The impressions collected during her travels through Belgium, France, Portugal, and parts of Spain were published in 1902 in *Por la Europa católica*.

Judging by her comments in the "Apuntes autobiográficos" which prefaced the first edition of *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886), it seems that Pardo Bazán's first attempts at travel writing were made during her European tour of 1871-74, accompanied by her parents and husband. In 1871, after the election of Amadeus of Savoy as King of Spain and the demise of the Progressive Party to which Pardo Bazán's father belonged, the entire family moved to Paris in order to escape the turmoil that occurred in the wake of the Revolution of 1868. During her travels through France, Italy, and Austria she wrote her first passages of prose in the form of a travel journal, which she then decided was not worthy of publication:

> Sobre las mesas de las fondas, sobre mis rodillas en el tren, con plumas comidas de orín y lápices despuntados, tracé mis primeras páginas de prosa; el indispensable *Diario de viaje*, que no se me ocurrió publicar, ni lo merece. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 709)

And it was during her stay in Paris in 1871 that she obligingly performed her first duties as the "parfait voyageur", which later, in 1906, she summarized as follows:

> Ces devoirs [...] consistent à visiter les monuments un par un, ce qui est très ennuyeux et non moins inutile. Je ne l'ai plus refait depuis. Je vais où il me plaît, et je
After her return to Spain, Pardo Bazán became acquainted with Francisco Giner de los Ríos who introduced her to 
Krausismo, the German philosophy in vogue at the time amongst many Spanish intellectuals. Although Pardo Bazán never embraced Krausismo, apparently preferring to occupy her time in the reading of "sounder" philosophers, such as Schelling, Fichte, Kant, Hegel, Saint Thomas, Descartes, Plato, and Aristotle (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 711), she did strike a close and long-lasting friendship with Giner, who was to become her mentor and adviser. In an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 1 March 1915, Pardo Bazán paid homage to the recently deceased Giner, and noted how he would urge her to enhance her writing career and broaden her horizons through travel and through contact with foreign places so that practice would contribute to increasing her Spanishness, her casticismo:

Era Giner partidario de que el escritor se hiciese íntimo de sí mismo; de que penetrase en su santuario y no renegase del manantial en que acostumbraba a beber: pero también de que recorriese el mundo, viajase, recibiese las influencias del aire exterior, y por ellas se hiciese doblemente castizo. (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 337)

In another article published in March 1915, this time in La Lectura, Pardo Bazán acknowledged her debt to Giner for always encouraging her to travel and to enrich her knowledge, but without forgetting her Spanish roots (Pardo Bazán, 1973:
1520). It is this double perspective that makes Pardo Bazán's travel chronicles so interesting since, regardless of her geographical location at the time of writing them, Spain is always in her mind: "El alma, sin querer, está siempre orientada hacia la patria" (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 186). Hence the constant comparisons, often to the detriment of her home country, that she makes between Spain and the nations visited.

In the article of La Ilustración Artística mentioned above, Pardo Bazán also praises the way Giner would advise his students to get to know Spain, its people, its villages, its idiosyncrasies, its monuments, and its customs, in order to return to the pure and uncontaminated roots of Spanish culture (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 340-41). Indeed, this is what Pardo Bazán sets out to do in De mi tierra (1888), Por la España pintoresca (1895), and the Spanish section of Por la Europa católica (1902), as will be shown later.

In September 1880, the doctors advised Pardo Bazán, who was suffering from a liver complaint, to go to Vichy to take the waters. Since the journey involved a good deal of travelling through Spain and France, she decided to write an account of her experiences. But after some reflexion, and possibly still influenced by the poor quality of her unpublished "Diario de viaje", she changed her mind and decided to devote herself to novel writing instead. In the preface to Un viaje de novios (1881) she gives her unfavourable opinion of some travel works and justifies her decision to write a novel against the background of the Vichy trip:

Después acudió a mi mente el tedio y enfado que suelen causarme las híbridas obrillas viatorias, las
"Impresiones" y "Diarios", donde el autor nos refiere su éxtasis ante una catedral o punto de vista, y a renglón seguido cuenta si acá dio una peseta de propina al mozo, y si acullá cenó ensalada, con otros datos no menos dignos de pasar a la historia y grabarse en mármoles y broneses. Movida de esta consideración, resolví novelar, haciendo que los países por mí recorridos fuesen escenario del drama. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 571)

Pardo Bazán's travel works are not certainly obrillas in the derogatory sense implied by this term, but to some extent they can be considered as hybrid with regard to the wide variety of issues covered and the blend of objectivity and subjectivity, of reverie and reality, of the prosaic and the sublime which is the hallmark of many of her travel collections. Moreover, on many occasions the author does indeed convey her ecstasy at the sight of a beautiful monument, an artistic creation, or Nature itself.

In an assessment of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's travel books published in her literary review Nuevo Teatro Crítico in January 1892, Pardo Bazán voices her views on travel literature and on what travel signifies for the average Spaniard. She argues that Spaniards, contrary to other Europeans, do not travel for aesthetic reasons, for pleasure, or out of curiosity. For the ordinary Spaniard, she adds, travel equals vexation, hardship, and discomfort. Spaniards only travel out of necessity or to comply with established social customs, such as their yearly summer vacation:

En España no existe la nocion estética del viaje: el que hace la maleta para salir de su casa no busca recreo, obedece a circunstancias que le imponen la necesidad de
Most Spaniards, she claims, regard travel as a kind of punishment, an unnecessary expense, or a risky business: "Aquí no se ha modificado aún el concepto penal, digámoslo así, del viaje. Viajar es, para la inmensa mayoría, sinónimo de derroche triste, mezcla de padecimientos, privaciones, riesgos y vejámenes" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1400). And yet, Pardo Bazán herself has no qualms about expressing her displeasure when she is inconvenienced by an inefficient railway system, or suffers over-priced hotel accommodation, poor food, or uncomfortable lodgings. However, she argues that Alarcón provides an exception to the Spanish attitude of regarding travel as hardship, risk, and vexation: "En esta cuestión como en otras varias, Alarcón no parece español genuino" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1400). But perhaps, the Galician writer's countrymen were after all justified in their reservations about travel, since, as Paul Fussell observes: "Etymologically a traveler is one who suffers travail, a word deriving in its turn from Latin tripalium, a torture instrument consisting of three stakes designed to rack the body" (Fussell, 1980: 39).

Pardo Bazán agrees with Alarcón that the travel account should be regarded as the reflection of the temperament of the traveller and nothing else. She also claims that the travel writer imprints his or her own character on the descriptions of the places visited. If this approach, she notes, renders the travel narrative somehow subjective, it matters not, because if what the public wants is an impersonal account, this need is better served by objective guidebooks and
textbooks:

Supo Alarcón que el viaje escrito es el alma de un viajero, y nada más; que a los países y comarcas les infunde el escritor su propio espíritu (porque para libros de viajes objetivos, ahí están las Guías y las Descripciones geográficas, hidrográficas, arqueológicas e históricas). (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1400)

In fact, it will be seen that Pardo Bazán leaves such a strong personal imprint on her travel accounts that the objectivity of her chronicles is often compromised. It is never her purpose to merely report on what she sees, and her descriptions are always accompanied by comments of a personal nature which leave no doubt as to her stance on specific objects or issues. Indeed, on very rare occasions does Pardo Bazán act as an impartial observer or detached narrator: she is normally the protagonist or at least one of the main characters featured in her chronicles,¹ and her account of the places and countries visited is not just descriptive but also often highly judgemental. In effect, Pardo Bazán tends to use her chronicles to hammer home a particular point very close to her heart, because her convictions always seem to accompany her. As Beatrice Erskine notes: "She was intensely alive, a woman of strong feelings, of strong prejudices perhaps, but one who was always true to herself and her convictions" (Erskine, 1921: 242).

For Pardo Bazán, the travel account is able to create and

¹ In this way, Pardo Bazán is far removed from the ordinary neutral reporter, "a coolly invisible collector of data-bits, a figure quite unlike the traveler", that Mark Z. Muggli regards as "the centre of the journalistic ideal, and of each journalistic text" (Muggli, 1992: 180).
convey beauty as well as stir up human emotions of the noblest and most sublime kind, and, in consequence, it should be highly regarded: "El viaje escrito es género poético (entendiendo la palabra en su sentido más amplio y alto)" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1400). Often, when Pardo Bazán encounters in her travels a particularly beautiful location, monument, or artistic creation she falls prey to a kind of poetic trance and, at this point, her travel chronicles, although written in prose, acquire an intensely lyrical quality. But it is also true that she can break the most sublime poetic spell by pulling her readers out of their reverie with an "untimely" prosaic comment when least expected. As Carmen Bravo-Villasante observes: "Este prosaísmo voluntario deshace a veces sus mejores páginas poéticas; mediante una sola palabra ella misma destruye el encanto. [...] La mujer poeta parece luchar con la mujer sabia" (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 107). Indeed, in the essay entitled "Luz de luna", part of the collection gathered in De mi tierra, Pardo Bazán readily admits to this dichotomy: "Yo [...] renegaba de esta pícara dualidad mía, de esta complejidad de mi ser que, permitiéndome sentir el valor inestimable de la ilusión poética, me obliga al mismo tiempo á analizarla y por consiguiente á destruirla" (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 70-71).

In her essay on Alarcón, Pardo Bazán suggests that the travel book is just as much an art form as the novel, in that it can make the reader relive the emotions felt by the traveller when confronted by the beauty of a particular location: "Y que un libro de viajes que comunique al lector la impresión producida por una comarca en una organización privilegiada para ver y sentir... lo que no ven ni sienten los
This spiritual "communion" between the reader and the travel writer is also true of Pardo Bazán's own travel works, in the sense that often her chronicles seem to reflect her innermost feelings, and this apparent openness, coupled with the passion of her convictions, gives an impression of intimacy and immediacy that she attempts to transmit to her readership.

But regardless of the impression the writer may create in the reader's mind, there is of course very little that is spontaneous or immediate in travel writing. Travellers usually do not write their complete accounts as they go along, and the letters to distant friends contained in those travel journals which take the epistolary form may be written once the author is safely back home. There is also a great deal of telescoping, selection, and re-ordering of the material, perhaps to manage it better and perhaps to optimize the impact the narrative will have on the reader. As Percy Adams notes, the récit de voyage "is not just a set of notes jotted down each day or whenever the traveler has time, [...] but far, far more often the account has been reworked, changed in translation, polished, edited, often with collaboration" (Adams, 1983: 280). Therefore, travel accounts are frequently highly contrived, despite the impression of spontaneity or immediacy the reader may perceive. As Sara Mills observes, although one cannot ignore that travel texts are the product of a journey undertaken, one cannot take for granted that these texts provide a straightforward, truthful account of factual events, and in any analysis of travel literature the critic must always consider the fictionalizing possibilities.
within the reach of the writer (Mills, 1973: 200).

Another characteristic of travel writing may be the inclusion of digressions and interpolated stories which, although at times apparently irrelevant, add variety and alter the pace of the narrative. For Adams, such digressions are an essential part of the travel book because they help to lend authenticity to the account: "What may be called digressions in some forms of literature are for travel accounts structurally inherent" (Adams, 1983: 209). Moreover, he argues that this "vertical" plotting is just as necessary to travel writing as the itinerary followed by the traveller and the reporting of what he or she sees (Adams, 1983: 206). Similarly, Pardo Bazán observes in Por la Europa católica: "Si siempre me gustan las digresiones, en viaje especialmente las encuentro sabrosas y necesarias" (Pardo Bazán, [1902a]: 249). However, in the case of the Galician writer, as will be seen later, her penchant for digressions causes her at times to lose her way in some of her travel chronicles, rendering the narrative somewhat disorderly and disjointed.

Pardo Bazán claims there are two ways of travelling: "Con el cuerpo sólo, y con el cuerpo en compañía de la imaginación y el entendimiento, cultivados y bien amueblados. La mayor parte de los que viajan llevan consigo el cuerpo no más, y juzgan de un viaje con arreglo a los datos que el cuerpo suministra" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1404). Certainly, for the Galician author travel is not simply a physical activity. Sometimes, she travels for pleasure and recreation -- this is particularly the case with De mi tierra and Por la España pintoresca -- but more often she is driven by cultural, social, political, religious, and intellectual considerations.
Indeed, in her travels she takes with her a cultural and intellectual baggage which she hopes to enrich and share with her fellow countrymen. Thus, her chronicles are not primarily the reflection of a physical experience even if, on occasions, she may comment on the discomfort endured or the effort involved in a particular journey.

Furthermore, Pardo Bazán argues in her essay on Alarcón's travel works that when the traveller is an artist, he travels in retrospect: that while physically he is based in the present, his fantasy is set in the past. Therefore, he remains an anachronism because, historically speaking, he is misplaced: "Porque todo el que viaja como artista comete anacronismo; vive con sus órganos en el presente, con su fantasía en lo pasado" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1405). In many of the author's travel works there is an unequivocal longing for the past, for better times gone by, which she frequently associates with the chivalrous Middle Ages or the glorious days of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, she enjoys wallowing in the nostalgia, melancholy, and sometimes morbidezza she feels when recollecting the past, and this attitude renders Pardo Bazán a perfect example of the anachronism she herself regards as one of the hallmarks of the travel writer.

2. Some Feminist Concerns

Manuel de la Cruz describes Pardo Bazán as "varonil por su estilo, por sus empeños, por el fondo pasional de sus lucubraciones, toda su obra parece labor de un escritor del sexo fuerte" (Cruz, 1924: 286). Indeed, in a letter written to
Galdós in 1889, a year before the death of her father, Pardo Bazán expresses her wish to be financially independent from her parents through her income as a writer and journalist, and regards this attitude as part of her increasing "masculinization":

Me he propuesto vivir exclusivamente del trabajo literario, sin recibir nada de mis padres, puesto que si me emancipo en cierto modo de la tutela paterna, debo justificar mi emancipación no siendo en nada dependiente; y este propósito, del todo varonil, reclama de mí fuerza y tranquilidad. Si pensase en este dualismo mío interior, no cumpliría mis compromisos editoriales, porque dormiría mal, estaría rendida el día siguiente, y adiós producción, y adiós 15 cuartillas diarias.

Lo dicho, esta especie de trasposición del estado de mujer al de hombre, es cada vez más acentuado en mí, y por eso no tengo tanta zozobra moral como en otro caso tendría. De los dos órdenes de virtudes que se exigen al género humano, elijo las del varón... y en paz. (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 16)

In fact, the adoption of masculine attributes by nineteenth-century female travellers is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored, and probably stemmed from the need to survive in a field which hitherto had been dominated by the male. Mary Russell sees the "masculinization" of these women as part and parcel of the process of self-identification: "The history of the woman traveller and her journey towards self-identification mirrors the development of the female consciousness as a whole. With rare exceptions [...] the early women travellers had little conception of themselves as women.
Some [...] actually perceived themselves as men" (Russell, 1994: 218).^2

Although Russell claims that it would be inappropriate to place all nineteenth-century women travellers under the umbrella of feminism (Russell, 1994: 26), Mills, on the other hand, observes: "By judicious quotation and selective reference to their authors' lives, it is possible to depict these writers and their narrative figures as proto-feminists who live up to the titles 'indomitable' and 'eccentric'" (Mills, 1993: 4). Indeed, despite the fact that Pardo Bazán's feminism was somewhat class-based, for it tended to focus on the position of the female from the upper classes, she is often regarded as one of the leading feminists of nineteenth-century Spain. Alfredo Carballo Picazo describes the author's commitment to the feminist cause thus: "Le duelen muchos aspectos de España [...]. Y, sobre todo, la situación de la mujer. Esfuerzo titánico, la lucha contra la muralla de incomprensión, lucha sin cuartel. En novelas, en artículos, en conferencias, se bate doña Emilia en defensa del sexo femenino" (Carballo Picazo, 1965: 363). Carmen de Burgos, for her part, claims that Pardo Bazán's courage and example "ha sido más eficaz para la mujer española que todas las predicaciones y campañas feministas" (Colombine, 1921: no

^2 In fact, Dea Birkett and Sara Wheeler argue that since the possibility of becoming something other was particularly attractive for women, many Victorian female writers were delighted to be referred to and treated as men on their travels (Birkett, 1998: xi).

^3 Pardo Bazán's best-known feminist work is her essay "The Women of Spain", published in the Fortnightly Review in 1889, and then in Spanish a few months later in La España Moderna. In this essay, she discusses in some depth the situation of the contemporary Spanish female from different social backgrounds.
There is little doubt that in Pardo Bazán's feminist concerns, her father, as well as John Stuart Mill, the eighteenth-century Benedictine monk Feijóo (and in particular his essay "La defensa de las mujeres"), and Giner de los Ríos, the Krausist founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, played a significant part. Rebuffing the prejudices of a society which did not believe in the education of the female, Don José Pardo Bazán set out to encourage his daughter's thirst for learning and imbued young Emilia with the principle of the moral and intellectual equality of the sexes. Soon after his death, Pardo Bazán observed of her father, mentor, and teacher:

Guiado por ese instinto, juzgaba y entendía de un modo diferente de como juzga la mayoría de los hombres, que con haber tratado y después a bastantes de los que aquí pasan por superiores, en esta cuestión de los derechos de la mujer rara vez los he encontrado a la altura de mi padre. Y repito que así le oí opinar desde mis años tiernos de suerte que no acertaría a decir si mi convicción propia fué fruto de aquella, o si al concretarse naturalmente la mía, la conformidad vino a corroborar y extender los principios que ya ambos llevábamos en la médula del cerebro. ("Stuart Mill", Nuevo Teatro Crítico, No. 17, May 1892: 70, cited in Clémessy, 1981, I: 256)

The philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill, who in 1867 submitted a Bill to the House of Commons requesting that women should be given the vote (Rodríguez, 1991: 148), was a major contributor to the emergence of the women's movement in
Britain. In his essay *The Subjection of Women* (1869), Mill proceeds to dismantle block by block the Victorian edifice of male prejudice against women. Mill realized that the subjugation of women was a tradition so deeply entrenched in popular sentiment and so widely maintained in Western society that it had become "an almost universal opinion" (Mill, 1975: 428). He refers to writing as "the only mode of publicity" allowed to women to express their feelings, and it is in these writings that they voice their protest at the way they are treated by society (Mill, 1975: 442). The British Establishment, however, held very different views: "Whatever Mr. John Stuart Mill may think, England is not prepared for either female suffrage or a female Parliament, for women as [...] public lecturers, public speakers, doctors, lawyers, clergy, or even, to any much greater extent than at present, as authors" [my italics] (Murray, 1869a: 465).

In an article published originally in *La Lectura* in March 1915, Pardo Bazán acknowledged her debt to Giner de los Ríos who had introduced her to Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, which she had later translated and incorporated in her "Biblioteca de la Mujer" (1892) with a prologue written by her:

Era Giner resueltamente feminista. Todo lo que atañía al mejoramiento de la condición de la mujer le interesaba en el más alto grado. Por él conocí yo la famosa obra de Stuart Mill *La esclavitud femenina*, que tanto influyó en el movimiento feminista de Inglaterra y que hice traducir y publiqué en castellano cuando aún creía, ilusionada, que pudiese aquí importarle a alguien tales asuntos. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1522)
However, Pardo Bazán's disillusionment with the feminist cause in Spain, which occurred around 1913, is reflected in a letter written to the editor of La Voz de Galicia on 8 July of that year. In it, she refers to her foundation of the "Biblioteca de la Mujer" in 1892, in an attempt to familiarize the Spanish female with the women's movement that was thriving at the time in the United States and in other European countries. She also speaks of the lack of concern of the Spanish woman for her own emancipation which, in her opinion, explains the backwardness of the feminist movement in Spain (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 285). Indeed, in The Land of the Castanet (1896), the American scholar and journalist Hobart C. Chatfield-Taylor had this to say about Pardo Bazán and the absence of the "New Woman" in Spain:

Progressive womanhood, too, has its representative in Señora Emilia Pardo-Bazán, a clever and prolific novelist [...] who has a distinct place in Spanish contemporaneous literature. She stands somewhat alone, however, as the new woman has not found her way to Spain, and Spanish women are content to remain in the useful sphere for which nature created them. (Hobart C. Chatfield-Taylor, The Land of the Castanet, new edition, Duffield, New York, 1906: 50, cited in Hilton 1952b: 137)

Pardo Bazán's militant feminism reached its peak in the early 1890s due mainly to two important events in her life: the rejection, in 1889, of her candidature to the Real Academia de la Lengua, one of the most important male preserves of Spain's cultural scene, and the death of her father, a committed feminist, in 1890.

Mills regards the period 1870-1930 as that of the "New Woman", "where great transformations were taking place in terms of women, both politically, in terms of the vote and
Soon after the outbreak of World War I, Pardo Bazán published an article in La Ilustración Artística in which she speaks of the efforts made by the feminist movement in Europe in favour of disarmament. By then, her pessimism with regard to the emancipation of the Spanish female was such that she even denied the existence of any kind of feminist movement in her home country. Indeed, she argued that, so far as the women's movement was concerned, the Spanish female lagged two centuries behind that of more advanced nations (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 292-93). Some four years later, in an interview given to José Francés in 1918, the Galician writer finally conceded defeat: "En España, el feminismo no avanza un paso, a pesar de tanto como se habla de él y de tantas apariencias como pudieran hacer suponer que no tardará en alcanzar algunos triunfos" (Francés, 1920b: 53).

Yet despite these pessimistic thoughts, it could be argued that together with the jurist and sociologist, Concepción Arenal, and the Krausists, led by Giner de los Ríos, Pardo Bazán made a significant contribution to the betterment of women's education in Spain by denouncing its inadequacies and calling for sexual equality in educational matters. Moreover, she fought tirelessly and outraged many with her crusade to show that women's alleged intellectual inferiority was a myth to which their cultural starvation had contributed significantly.

changes in legal status, and socially, in terms of permissible dress and behaviour" (Mills, 1993: 104). Russell, for her part, sees the "New Woman" as the product of the women's movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a female enjoying financial independence and a sound education (Russell, 1994: 23-24).
3. Approaching Pardo Bazán's Travel Works

In this thesis, a text-by-text chronological approach to Pardo Bazán's travel works has been adopted, judging and analysing each chronicle separately as an independent unit, in order not to undermine its individuality, "personality", or the subject-matter which forms and provides the core of each collection. In effect, although the travel works examined in this study were originally published as newspaper or magazine pieces, the author herself saw fit to gather them in book form as single, individual works.

This text-by-text approach makes it possible to follow in a sequential manner the development and evolution of Pardo Bazán's preoccupations, concerns, views, and beliefs, even if in some instances the passage of time did not necessarily contribute to resolving the ambivalence and contradictions displayed by the author with regard to some issues, or indeed reveal any progress in her thought and opinions in certain areas. Also, and given the period over which the works extend, the chronological approach makes it easier to establish whether the various motifs were granted a different level of importance at different points in time. In fact, by assessing the texts individually and sequentially, contrasting and comparing them to one another, it becomes possible to identify more effectively the recurrent themes of the chronicles, detect the author's changing attitude, if any, and finally bring together in an analytical conclusion what the corpus of Pardo Bazán's travel works discloses about the author herself, her ideology, and general outlook.

This work-method, however, also presents some drawbacks. For instance, there is a danger of repetition in the
discussion of the motifs or concerns that reappear in several of the chronicles; or perhaps of failing to make an essential connection between two or more works because of the time-gap between them. Also, there exists the possibility of becoming sidetracked from the main themes and getting too involved with minor details as one makes one's way through the narratives. In order to avoid these pitfalls, the principal motifs or concerns have been foregrounded within most chapters, thus combining the text-by-text approach with a thematic approach whenever appropriate.

An overall thematic approach could have been adopted, with chapters dedicated to the main themes, concerns, and preoccupations found in the corpus of Pardo Bazán's travel chronicles. However, this would have resulted in a dismemberment of the texts, transforming them into disjointed, fragmented, and possibly confusing pieces of narrative, thus jeopardizing what the author wished to preserve: their integrity as individual, independent, and artistically valid collections. Also, there is the risk of blurring the chronological evolution of the author's thinking which is, on the other hand, easily traceable in the text-by-text sequential approach.

Finally, the methodology chosen in studying Pardo Bazán's works in sequence emulates the act of travel itself, since, after all, a journey is effectively a linear progression, a series of forward movements, even if the digressions of which the author is so fond and which abound in her chronicles can on occasions throw the narrative off course and provide the "vertical" plotting that Adams, as mentioned earlier, sees as inherent in travel literature. In brief, by tracing Pardo
Bazán's steps in her journeys through Spain and elsewhere, this thesis becomes a linear itinerary which mirrors and runs parallel to that taken by the author herself.

It must also be noted that Pardo Bazán's travel works require a detailed examination because they are densely written, and a single paragraph can contain valuable references to various subjects which, like the pieces of a mosaic, contribute to creating a general picture of the author's ideology. Since her travel chronicles are not limited to straightforward descriptions of the physical world and frequently one deals with erudite and complex pieces of narrative, a minute analysis of her writings is advisable if their full meaning and implications are to be grasped in their entirety without overlooking any important aspects.

4. Secondary Sources
Since no bibliography can be exhaustive, an attempt has been made to select and give pride of place to those secondary sources which afford a better understanding of Pardo Bazán as a woman and as a writer, of her views, her epoch, the events reported on, and the places visited.

Especially revealing on the personal front are Pardo Bazán's own "Apuntes autobiográficos" (1886) (the only known piece of autobiographical narrative published by the author), her candid letters to her friend and lover Galdós, and Carmen Bravo-Villasante's biography, which, although somewhat uncritical, does contain some interesting personal details and rare material. References will also be made to Pardo Bazán's Paris lecture "La España de ayer y la de hoy", delivered
shortly after the "Disaster" of 1898, since it constitutes a soul-searching exercise in which the author re-examines her patriotism and reassesses her attachment to Spain's glorious past.

An analysis of Pardo Bazán would be incomplete without appropriate reference to Nelly Clémessy, an authority on the author, whose articles, lectures, and particularly her awesome study of Pardo Bazán with its extensive bibliography provide an indispensable source of knowledge about the author's life, literary career, preoccupations, ideals, and mentality. Also highly illustrative are Delfín García Guerra's perceptive assessment of Pardo Bazán's ideology, and Ronald Hilton's various essays on the author, where he discusses, inter alia, her attitude towards France, her pro-European tendencies, and her political allegiances, all of which are relevant to this thesis. For general information on Pardo Bazán's life and career, the works of Robert Osborne, Walter Pattison, and Maurice Hemingway are drawn on.

In order to demonstrate Pardo Bazán's associations with the so-called Generation of 1898, her status as precursor of the tenets of this generation, and her internationalism, reference will be made to the oeuvre of some of the writers of 1898 themselves (Azorín, Unamuno, Antonio Machado). Further material is sought, because of their recognized knowledge of the subject, in the works of such prestigious literary historians as Carlos Blanco Aguinaga and Pedro Laín Entralgo.

The historical contextualization is provided by references to contemporary texts, magazine and newspaper articles, both Spanish and foreign, that either deal with Pardo Bazán herself (interviews, assessments, and posthumous
tributes), her times, her writing career, or the events featured in her chronicles. Particularly useful here are the interviews given by the author to Carmen de Burgos (Colombine), Enrique Gómez Carrillo, and José Francés because of their intimate nature and apparent frankness, or Manuel Gálvez's eloquent and perceptive tribute to Pardo Bazán's achievements soon after her death. Antonio Díaz Benzo's appraisal of the author's coverage of the 1889 Paris Exhibition is, although unnecessarily harsh, valuably revealing about the author's weaknesses as a reporter at that particular event. An alternative, complementary, and often corroboratory view of Pardo Bazán's impressions of the 1900 Paris display is found in the reporting of The Times, the poignant account of another journalist and disillusioned patriot, César Silió, the devastating criticism contained in the articles of the Heraldo de Madrid, the jubilant and exultant chronicles of Rubén Darío, and the French viewpoint as presented by Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé.

A significant contribution to this historical contextualization, but this time with an emphasis on Spain, is made with Pardo Bazán's own journalistic articles, as gathered in the collections La vida contemporánea (1896-1915) and De siglo a siglo (1896-1901), which, apart from demonstrating the author's talent as a journalist, provide firsthand information on Spain's society, culture, politics, and plight at the turn of the century. Moreover, cross-referencing to these works helps to detect any inconsistencies in or deviations from the statements made by the author in the chronicles covered in this study. Further material is also extracted from the author's Obras escogidas and from the third volume of her
Obras completas, a compilation of literary criticism, essays, personal impressions, biographical sketches, lectures given, and the prologues to some of her major works. In brief, these sources have been selected because, between them, they provide a counterbalance, a confirmation, or even occasionally a disclaimer to the general line of thought contained in Pardo Bazán's travel chronicles.

A British view of the nineteenth century and a revealing contrast with what was taking place in Spain and in some of the countries visited by the author are afforded by John Murray's reputable Quarterly Review, which covers a wide spectrum of subjects such as railways, women travellers, politics, world travel, religion, international affairs, and social issues. The more scholarly historical, cultural, and economic background is sought in the works of such renowned historians and economic historians as Gabriel Tortella, Miguel Martínez Cuadrado, Miguel Artola, Raymond Carr, and Manuel Tuñón de Lara.

With regard to travel, appropriate reference will be made to some of the critics and theorists of travel literature: including Percy Adams, Paul Fussell, and Michel Butor. Also worthy of a mention are Mark Z. Muggli's essay on the problems of journalistic travel writing, Sara Mills's feminist theoretical approach to the narratives of early women travellers, and Mary Russell's interesting assessment of the motivations and tribulations of these female pioneers. In addition, Alan Sillitoe's compilation of the views and experiences of nineteenth-century travellers provides a useful counterbalance to Pardo Bazán's own findings. However, in this thesis pride of place will be given to some of the author's
contemporary fellow travel writers: Henry James and his charming portrayal of Italy around the time of Pardo Bazán's journey to that country; Juan Valera, possibly the most travelled writer of nineteenth-century Spain, a chronicler of the period, a close personal friend of the author, and with a cultural baggage similar to that of Pardo Bazán, and Rubén Darío, the author's favourite modernista writer, a good friend of hers, an admirer of French culture, a much-travelled journalist, and a chronicler, critic, and observer of Spanish society in the wake of the "Disaster" of 1898. But the most valuable point of comparison comes with the travel works of Alarcón.

Alarcón provides a significant reference point with regard to Pardo Bazán's travel writing for several reasons: they were contemporaries and members of the so-called Generation of 1868 (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 540); both were accomplished travel writers who journeyed extensively in Spain and abroad; the places they visited coincided on some occasions, and Pardo Bazán's 1892 essay on Alarcón's travel works is probably the most revealing piece written by the author on her own approach to travel writing and on what she believed the travel experience should encapsulate. Although it is not the object of this thesis to indicate whether Pardo Bazán's travel works were influenced by those of Alarcón, some interesting similarities as well as contrasts will be shown to exist in the comments made by both writers during their travels through Spain and elsewhere.

But even if the influence Alarcón may have had on the author is debatable, what is undeniable is Pardo Bazán's admiration for Alarcón's skills as a travel writer. Indeed,
although in her 1892 essay she dismisses *De Madrid a Nápoles* (1861) as "el libro de viajes menos castizo y menos sentido de Alarcón" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1401-02), she is highly complimentary about *La Alpújarra* (1874). She calls it an "evocación histórica no indigna de la pluma de un Thierry" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1404), and admits when discussing *Viajes por España* (1883) that "Alarcón atesoraba singularísímas disposiciones para el género. [...] !Cómo luchar con el recuerdo de la paleta de Alarcón!" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1405).

Finally, Pardo Bazán concludes that she regards the Andalusian writer as "maestro inimitable en el cuento y el viaje" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1406), and acknowledges that some of Alarcón's travel works "no tienen par en nuestras letras" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1409). But perhaps what attracted Pardo Bazán most to Alarcón was what she regarded as the already mentioned anachronistic stance of the artistic travel writer: "Nadie persistió en el viaje retrospectivo como Alarcón" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1405).

5. Justification of Approaches Adopted

As mentioned above, cross-referencing to Pardo Bazán's journalistic articles and essays will be used to trace the evolution of her ideology, to support or disprove any of the opinions voiced in her chronicles, and to contribute to the historical contextualization of her travel chronicles. However, cross-referencing to the writer's fiction has not been undertaken since this thesis deals only with supposedly factual accounts, whose narrative voice will often be different from that found in the author's novels and cuentos.
Indeed, since the publication of Wayne C. Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (1961), it has been widely recognized that the narrative voice which speaks to the reader in a work of fiction is not that of the writer but rather that of an implied author, "official scribe", or the author's "second self" -- a persona that the writer assumes either consciously or unconsciously (Booth, 1961: 71). Therefore, although it is possible to find some common themes and settings in Pardo Bazán's travel works and fiction, an attempt to establish a shared ideology in both genres or to use her novels to confirm or undermine the statements made in her chronicles would be speculating on the basis of the narrative voice or the opinions of characters of a given work of fiction. As Booth warns: "It is only by distinguishing between the author and his implied image that we can avoid pointless unverifiable talk about such qualities as 'sincerity' or 'seriousness' in the author" (Booth, 1961: 75).

On a separate issue, Linda Kraus Worley has argued that in the writings of early female travellers there is an underlying awareness of the contradictions involving their behaviour with reference to what was expected of the stereotypical nineteenth-century female. Not only had they ventured into the outside world, "but the very act of writing -- especially a travel narrative with its strongly autobiographical element -- might reveal an unwomanly preoccupation with the self" (Worley, 1986: 40). Although Pardo Bazán's travel chronicles contain a significant amount of autobiographical detail, in particular *De mi tierra, Mi romería*, and *Al pie de la torre Eiffel*, they do not reveal any of the "tensions" mentioned above because the author, who saw
herself as a serious feminist, did not harbour any doubts as to the right of women to travel and broaden their cultural and intellectual horizons. Nor did she suffer from the "anxiety of authorship", defined by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar as "an anxiety built from complex and often only barely conscious fears of that authority which seems to the female artist to be by definition inappropriate to her sex" (Gilbert, 1979: 51). Therefore, since Pardo Bazán did not travel or write as a gendered individual with a role limited or imposed by her sex, an analysis of her chronicles in terms of gender has not been included in this thesis.

What will also be excluded, because it is not central to this study, is a full-scale analysis of class issues. However, numerous references will made to Pardo Bazán's upper-middle class background, her aristocratic connections, her privileged position as a traveller, her annoyance when treated like an ordinary viajero, her anti-democratic concept of social organization, and her elitist approach to some issues.

At this point, mention should also be made of the omission from the thrust of this thesis, given their marginal relevance to the ensemble of Pardo Bazán's travel works, of the theories of the Picturesque. The Picturesque, a set of interpretations, ideas, and conventions concerning the pictorial appreciation of landscape, played a significant part in the development of aesthetic theory regarding travel narratives, poetry, painting, architecture, and landscaping during the eighteenth century. Broadly speaking, it consisted

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6 For further information on the Picturesque see, for example, Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View, Cass, London, 1967 (first published 1927); Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds), The Politics of the
of the idealization of Nature in order to make it conform with the works of such painters as Salvator Rosa, Gaspard Dughet, and Claude Lorrain, and with the poetry of some classics (Virgil, Homer, and Theocritus). The first Picturesque tourists set out to "discover", in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the areas of North Wales, the Scottish Highlands, and the Lakes, in search of the British scenery which resembled the Arcadian and picturesque scenes represented by the above painters and poets (Andrews, 1989: viii). These educated amateur enthusiasts of fine landscape would write bucolic descriptions and would often invoke pastoral poetry in their accounts in order to associate the scenery with idyllic images and to recreate "that mythical time set in an eternal spring when man lived in harmony within his society and with the natural environment" (Andrews, 1989: 5).

In Picturesque landscape painting, the human figures became increasingly subordinate, so as not to interfere with Nature. The "unobtrusive" figures favoured by Picturesque artists were beggars, gypsies, and idle shepherds (Andrews, 1989: 25). Moreover, the lines of mountains are roughened and irregularized and the scenery is artistically manipulated, since some of the theorists of the Picturesque had reservations about "Nature's own competence in designing her landscapes" (Andrews, 1989: 31). Indeed, "close attention to nature was of little importance to the artist who was painting

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to a formula" (Andrews, 1989: 34). In brief, the Picturesque representation of Nature is formulaic. Nature is embellished and "improved" according to certain conventions. And in adapting itself to art, Nature becomes a "composition". Moreover, landscapes are dramatized to suit the Picturesque tastes of the artist.

In the late eighteenth century, the Picturesque, as a prelude to Romanticism, begins to show a fascination with ruins, which inspired both "pleasing melancholy" and "agreeable horror" (Andrews, 1989: 41). And the search for melancholy became one of the main motivations for Picturesque tourists to visit ruined castles and abbeys (Andrews, 1989: 42). In effect, ruined buildings invaded by Nature became part of the Picturesque iconography: "A temple or palace of Grecian architecture in its perfect entire state [...] is beautiful; in ruin it is picturesque" (Uvedale Price, Essay on the Picturesque, 1794, cited in Andrews, 1989: 58). Moreover, ruins represented the surrender of art to Nature, with the Picturesque theorist relishing the dilapidation by time and weather of formal buildings (Andrews, 1989: 226).

Like the educated Picturesque tourist, Pardo Bazán travels on occasions for aesthetic gratification, and the pictorial approach in her landscape descriptions will be noted in subsequent chapters. However, she does not appear to dramatize her depictions of the natural environment, nor indeed embellish or improve Nature to comply with Picturesque conventions. On the other hand, there are indications that every time she comes into contact with Nature, the poet inside her makes an appearance, resulting, on occasion, in rather bucolic and idealized depictions of the natural environment.
And yet, her idealizing tendencies normally focus on the individuals who command her admiration rather than on Nature itself: Leo XIII and the Pretender in Mi romería, Edison, Hernán Cortés, and Dr Leopoldo Arnaud in Por Francia y por Alemania, Dr Enrique Madrazo in Por la España pintoresca, Pasteur in Cuarenta días en la Exposición, and the Bishop of Liège in Por la Europa católica. Moreover, as opposed to Picturesque painting, her descriptions of the Galician landscape and her costumbrista scenes are often "populated" by peasants and other colourful figures, whom she does not regard as interfering with Nature. On the contrary, these human figures are portrayed as an integral part of the landscape. Also, while the Picturesque is anti-utilitarian and shuns the description of people at work in the countryside, Pardo Bazán often depicts her peasants performing everyday tasks.

It is true that occasionally the author presents a marriage or alliance between Nature and ancient monuments (this will be noted in Chapter 2). But she does not convey the notion of the surrender of art to Nature. In her case, invading Nature is used to create an impression of neglect and abandonment. In addition, Pardo Bazán, like the Picturesque tourist and probably due to her post-Romantic inclinations, wallows in the nostalgia and melancholy that derelict and ruined buildings inflict on her. However, contrary to Picturesque theorists, she does not revel in the dilapidation by time and weather of historic buildings. Indeed, she is constantly calling for the restoration of Spain's neglected artistic heritage. But possibly where Pardo Bazán differs most from the Picturesque is in her trust on Nature's competence to create -- like an accomplished craftsman or architect and
without need for artistic manipulation -- beautiful and "picturesque" scenery for the traveller, painter, or poet to enjoy.

The historical contextualization dealing with the period and the places has been provided, as mentioned earlier, by references to contemporary texts, newspaper and magazine articles, both Spanish and foreign, Pardo Bazán's own journalistic production, the works of professional historians, and the accounts of travellers and reporters who visited the same places or attended the same events as the author. A more complete historical contextualization could have been possible, but it would have stolen precious space from the analysis of the author's chronicles.

Instead of there being a separate chapter on the literary qualities of the author's travel writings, relevant considerations will be interspersed throughout this study, alongside the piece of text or passage under analysis. In fact, earlier in this chapter reference was made to the hybrid quality of the author's chronicles, the personal imprint she leaves on her works: their often compromised objectivity, the resistance of the narrative voice to act as a mere observer or detached narrator, the judgemental tone of the accounts, their occasionally lyrical quality, their apparent frankness, which contributes to creating an impression of intimacy and immediacy, and the abundance of digressions. Chapter 2, which focuses on De mi tierra, will emphasize the autobiographical elements in the author's travel accounts, the mixture of the sublime and the prosaic that characterizes some of them, the poetic and idyllic descriptions of the natural environment, the sensual depiction and sensory perception of Nature, and
the frequent use of the pathetic fallacy. Chapter 3, which looks at Mi romería, foregrounds the strategies used to authenticate and lend credibility and authority to the narrative, the multifaceted quality of the writings, the fine landscape descriptions, the guidebook approach adopted in some passages, the inclusion of the macabre, as well as the "confessional" tendency and the mystical overtones of part of the account.

In the assessment of Al pie de la torre Eiffel (Chapter 4), reference will be made to the disadvantages of the selective and personal nature of the writings, the emphasis on aesthetic concerns to the detriment of the technological side of the descriptions, and the fragmentation of the narrative caused by excessive asides. Chapter 5, which looks at Por Francia y por Alemania, will examine what Pardo Bazán herself identifies as the essential characteristics of her chronicles, and will foreground the anachronistic stance of the writings vis-à-vis some objects or persons featured in the accounts, the contradictions that become one of the hallmarks of the author's writings, and the sentimentality that can occasionally permeate the accounts. In Chapter 6 (which focuses on Por la España pintoresca) there is an assessment of how the incorporation of a multiple viewpoint enlivens the narrative and lends authenticity to the writings, of how the absence of date indicators and of a constant itinerary renders the collection slightly disjointed, and of the multifaceted quality of the writings. Reference will also be made to the pictorial and colorista leaning of the descriptions, the fascination with the beauty of Nature and its creations, the sensory perception of Nature, the lack of diligent research,
and the subjective and personal approach of the narrative.

Chapter 7, which deals with Cuarenta días en la Exposición, will foreground the selective nature of the writings, the personification of inanimate objects, the difficulties in dealing with progress when it is a mere abstract concept, the critical, recriminating (and yet constructive), passionate, poignant, emotional, and bitter tone of the reporting, and the way the author's patriotism can colour the impartiality of the accounts. Finally, Chapter 8 (on Por la Europa católica) will reveal the pro-European tenor of the writings, the projection of travel as a vehicle for the modernization of Spain, the way the narrative skips thorny issues that could undermine the argument proposed by the author, the reverent attitude of the writings towards those figures who command the author's admiration, and her attachment to costumbrismo. There is also the striking inclusion into a supposedly factual account of a piece of speculative writing (concerning the theft of jewels from the Virgen del Sagrario), her indifference in this material to the barrenness of Castile, the personification of machines, and the patriotic tenor of the narrative.

Was Pardo Bazán a tourist, a traveller, or both? The differentiation between these two concepts or between tourism and travel is problematic because the activities associated with them partly coincide. Also, these terms are slippery since they do not carry the same connotations now as a century ago. Fussell argues that prior to the advent of the rudimentary phase of tourism in England in the mid-nineteenth century there was travel, and before travel there was exploration. He links exploration with the Renaissance, travel
with the bourgeois age, and tourism (because of its egalitarianism) with our own proletarian epoch, but with obvious overlaps. He adds that although the explorer, the traveller, and the tourist all make journeys, the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveller that which has been discovered, and the tourist looks forward to enjoying that which has been discovered and prepared for him. Also, while the explorer relishes the potential dangers of the unknown, the tourist prefers the security of an organized trip, and the traveller combines as best he can the thrills of the unpredictable with "the pleasure of 'knowing where one is' belonging to tourism" (Fussell, 1980: 37-39). In addition, whereas tourists tend to take with them the customs and way of life of their countries of origin, travellers often seek to experience at first hand novel cultures and "otherness". This differentiation, however, has become rather blurred in recent times due to the increasing homogeneity of mankind caused by "the universal advance of a technological mass-produced culture" (Cocker, 1992: 244). Furthermore, while tourism evokes large numbers of people heading for popular destinations, travel, on the other hand, still holds an elitist aura: a few, privileged ones, journeying to exotic or little-known places.7

But the distinction between travel and tourism or between travellers and tourists also involves some class and education issues. For instance, nineteenth-century tourists were regarded with contempt by some or their peers, for "the educated and snobbish considered themselves 'travellers' _______  

7 "La manada va contra la esencia misma del viaje" (Cela, 1978: 525).
rather than 'tourists', reluctant to associate with the uncultured mob who were thought to give their country a bad name" (Sillitoe, 1995: 3). Moreover, prior to the advent of tourism, travel was associated with study, and, contrary to tourism, it implied "variety of means and independence of arrangements" (Fussell, 1980: 39, 41).

The distinction between travellers and tourists is even more difficult in the case of Pardo Bazán given her multifaceted interests as a travel writer and the various roles she assumes during her journeys. Since none of the negative connotations often associated with tourists (limited financial means, lack of education, superficiality) are relevant to the author, she should be generally regarded as a traveller, and a privileged one too, as will be established later. However, it is also true that in some of her travel works she occasionally indulges in touristic pursuits. But she always displays the behaviour of a knowledgeable and erudite tourist. In brief, although it is appropriate to point out the complexities of attempting to distinguish between travel and tourism and between travellers and tourists, Pardo Bazán's abilities as a travel writer remain largely unaltered by such considerations.
CHAPTER 2

EARLY SKETCHES: DE MI TIERRA

1. Introduction

In 1884 Pardo Bazán founded the society "El Folklore Gallego". Between that year and the end of 1887, she wrote various essays, delivered some lectures, and travelled through Galicia and other parts of Spain. Then in 1888 she published De mi tierra, a collection of seven travel pieces and seven essays on the folklore and art of her native Galicia. This work, together with Por la España pintoresca (1895), reveals better than any other of Pardo Bazán's chronicles, what she termed the "aesthetic notion" of travel, that is, when the journey is made for recreation and artistic gratification, so that the traveller can delight in the beauty of the places visited and the surrounding landscape.

The setting for this work is thoroughly local and intimate: the author's own beloved Galicia, the terruño where she feels at ease as a writer and as a human being. In the prologue, Pardo Bazán warns that this work has not been written to bear the scrutiny of literary criticism and is subjective in tone: "Compónese este libro de elementos diversos, unificados por la nota común de referirse á autores, libros, monumentos y paisajes de mi tierra: en las páginas que hoy salen á luz, resuena el acento apasionado y asoma el tierno interés que inspiran las cosas familiares, no el riguroso análisis crítico" (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 7). She
willingly acknowledges the weakness she feels for her native region, and with this admission she is presumably justifying the fact that her portrayal of the idiosyncrasies of Galicia is going to be somehow biased: "Que me arroje la primera piedra el escritor ajeno á flaquezas tan disculpables, exento de piedad y amor por el pedazo de España donde haya nacido" (7).

The aim of this work, Pardo Bazán argues, is to make Galicia better known to the rest of Spain so that it can stand on an equal footing with other Spanish regions. She no longer wishes Galicia to be regarded as a kind of sub-region, isolated from the rest of the country by its peculiar culture, folklore, and traditions. The author also intends to make Galicians aware of their intellectual and creative potential in order to make them proud of their cultural heritage (9). Indeed, the aggressiveness she displays in some passages could well be explained by the low esteem in which Spaniards in general tended to hold her home region (Pattison, 1971: 21). And yet, in spite of Pardo Bazán's unwavering support of Galicia, her insistence on the superiority of Castilian over Galician, her refusal to write in gallego, and her rejection of the separatist aspirations harboured by some of her contemporary fellow Galicians, caused many of them to turn against her as they came to regard Pardo Bazán as an outsider whose affection for Galicia was a mere cosmetic exercise. For instance, Walter Pattison argues that for Eduardo Pondal, one of the Galician poets honoured by Pardo Bazán in De mi tierra, "Doña Emilia is an outsider who sees the region as 'picturesque,' and views it with 'benevolent superiority' through 'the elegant lorgnette of an aristocrat and mundane
cosmopolite'" (Pattison, 1971: 9). Whether her love for this isolated corner of Spain was that of a stranger, as her detractors claimed, or she truly loved it as an artist and devoted daughter, is open to debate, but what comes through in De mi tierra is that Galicia was an integral part of Pardo Bazán's being.

Although De mi tierra is often regarded as Pardo Bazán's minor travel collection, it affords a useful insight into the author's approach to travel literature, anticipates some recurrent themes in her chronicles, provides an indication of the idiosyncrasies of her travel accounts, and raises some important issues regarding the strong autobiographical element in Pardo Bazán's travel writing.

2. The Travel Experience

In De mi tierra, Pardo Bazán, as mentioned in her essay on Alarcón's travel works (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1404-05), travels with the body and the spirit, for as she herself remarks after an exhausting day at the monastery of Rivas de Sil: "La satisfacción de una jornada provecha para el alma y para el cuerpo" (240). The tone of the travel narratives is relaxed because, apart from Pardo Bazán being on home ground, the journey is apparently made for spiritual gratification, pleasure, and recreation. In effect, in this collection the author ranks amongst those viajeros who find in travel "a constant, ever-recurring, pleasure -- the true medicine of the nineteenth century" (Murray, 1869b: 479). In De mi tierra, as in Por la España pintoresca, travel is presented as a collective activity to be enjoyed with others. The first-
person plural is often used, and on two occasions the author provides the names as well as information on the circumstances of the other members of her party (183, 212).

In this highly descriptive work, with its strong sense of movement, the author speaks of the physical effort demanded by some of her excursions and mentions the means of transportation used (landau, omnibus, carriage, on foot, and, most often, the train). Temporal markers abound ("Serían las doce de la mañana. El sol, que nos había freído los sesos durante el último cuarto de hora, pareció eclipsarse" (214); "Salimos hacia Casdemiro á las tres próximamente" (183); "Se convino en que no era posible emprender la jornada de Celanova antes de las ocho de la mañana" (192)), and Pardo Bazán is eager to convey precise information on the distances that separate two destinations and on the time involved in the journeys.

For a travel work, De mi tierra is not very prolific in landscape descriptions. In fact, there are only eight rather brief depictions of the Galician landscape (189, 224, 229, 230, 231, 241-42, 265, 268), and most of these refer to an untamed, wild, and threatening Nature. For example: "Al regresar á Orense caía la noche; el río era una línea irregular trazada con lápiz-plomo, las montañas, color violeta oscurísimo, nos encerraban, como sucede siempre en estas carreteras del Rivero, en que parece no haber salida posible" (189-90). This would suggest that in this particular collection Pardo Bazán prefers to focus on the physical description of artistic monuments in relation to their natural surroundings rather than on the landscapes themselves.

There is the indication that some of the pieces in De mi
tierra were penned immediately after the event, so that the passage of time would not hinder Pardo Bazán's recollection of her experiences as a traveller. Indeed, she appears eager to jot them down while they are still fresh in her memory. Thus, in "La casa solariega del Padre Feijóo", she observes: "Antes que se disipe la impresión de este delicioso paseo y esta serena tarde, voy á conservarla entre las hojas de papel" (183). However, in other instances there is the clear suggestion that her impressions were recorded some time after the journey. For example, the fact that in "Rivas del Sil" she quotes from Enrique Flórez's La España sagrada (229) would indicate that this account was written after having consulted some secondary sources. Also, in the essay "Una visita á San Rosendo y su monasterio, en Celanova", Pardo Bazán quotes from old texts and manuscripts on the history of the monastery (194). Furthermore, the richness of historical information included in most pieces would also suggest that many of the travel essays gathered in De mi tierra were presumably penned a posteriori and after drawing information from other works.

3. Train Travel

In his Hand-book for Travellers in Spain (1845), Richard Ford says of Spain: "This, the most romantic and peculiar country in Europe, may in reality be visited throughout its length and breadth with ease and safety, for travelling there is no worse than it was in France or Italy in 1814, before English example forced improvements" (cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 136). While Britain's first railway line (Liverpool-Manchester) was opened in 1830 and France's public railways were first
introduced in 1836 (Murray, 1868: 288, 315), in Spain, 1851 (the year of Pardo Bazán's birth) saw the inauguration of the country's first railway line between Madrid and Aranjuez (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 16). In fact, the Plan General de Ferrocarriles was submitted to the Cortes by Bravo Murillo's government on 3 December 1851, but with the exception of some short stretches of railway track (Barcelona-Mataró, Madrid-Aranjuez, Langreo-Gijón), the construction of a national rail network did not begin in earnest until the implementation by the Progressives of the 1855 Ley General de Ferrocarriles. This party, which favoured Spain's economic development and the importation of foreign capital, believed that the construction of a railway system was essential for the modernization of the national economy (Tortella, 1981: 108-09). John Murray, for his part, also hoped that the railways would end Spain's isolation in Europe, because by "bringing foreign visitors into the country, and enabling native Spaniards to extend the range of their travels and ideas, they will probably break down those moral and material barriers which have hitherto so completely separated Spain from other nations" (Murray, 1862b: 168-69).

Between 1856 and 1866, 4500 kilometres of track were built, an average of 450 kilometres per year, and never to be surpassed. In 1866 there were 5000 kilometres of track in operation -- compared to 19,000 kilometres in Britain and 14,400 kilometres in France in 1867 (Murray, 1868: 325) -- and although construction ceased abruptly during the critical period of the late 1860s, it recommenced in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Tortella, 1981: 111). Thus, by 1900 Spain had a rail network of 13,200 kilometres, a significant
success which pivoted on several factors: the government's support, a massive injection of foreign capital and technology (mostly French), and the domestic investment and initiative provided mainly by the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Valencia (Tortella, 1981: 109). Other major achievements of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were the rail link between Galicia and Asturias and the national network, the construction of the Bilbao-San Sebastián coastal railway, the Madrid-Cáceres-Portugal connection, and the Huelva-Seville line (Tortella, 1981: 111). It is possible that these developments account for the words of praise that A. & C. Black's 1892 guide bestows upon Spain:

The improvements affected [sic] in the country during the last decade, in the directions of travelling facilities, hotel, police, and sanitary arrangements, are hardly credible. The hotels in the principal cities are now equal to those of any other country; while the complete network of well-appointed lines of railway enables the traveller to visit the finest and most interesting localities in a short space of time, with comfort and with safety. (Cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 147)

Although at times Pardo Bazán travelled by landau, omnibus, or even on foot, most of her trips, both in Spain and abroad, were made by train. Hence the significant number of comments on train travel that feature in her travel works, and De mi tierra is no exception. For example, the essay "Rivas de Sil" begins on a pessimistic note with the author presenting the compartment of the train that will take her and her travelling companions to Rivas de Sil as a kind of prison: "A las cinco de la madrugada, con una niebla pálida y fría que
Regarding the hospitality shown to her party by the staff of the local railway station, Pardo Bazán airs her views on the benefits of train travel. And although in later travel collections she often complains of the inadequacies of the railway system both in Spain and abroad, in *De mi tierra* the train is presented as an instrument of progress and civilization which serves, she argues, to bring people from different areas closer together, thus promoting a feeling of fraternity (241).

On the other hand, in the piece entitled "Marineda" it is the ocean and not the train that is presented as having contributed to the progress and prosperity to the town. What in effect has brought civilization to La Coruña is, according to Pardo Bazán, the ocean, for it has opened it up to the world and to other cultures. In this instance, the train is presented as a kind of predator that is only interested in the natural riches of the area. Its role, on this occasion, is limited exclusively to commercial purposes: "El tren, como aquí dice gráficamente el pueblo, sólo vino á llevarse las merluzas. Marineda era lo mismo antes de que por sus campiñas cruzase silbando 'la rauda locomotora'. Tenía el mar, el mar civilizador, el sagrado Océano..." (269-70). Pardo Bazán's love-hate relationship with train travel, her frustration at what she saw as the deficiencies of this means of transport, as well as the measures she advocated to remedy them, will be mentioned in subsequent chapters.
4. The Autobiographical Element in *De mi tierra*

One can speak of the interaction between travel works and other kinds of writing, for, as it has been frequently pointed out, travel literature shares borders with other literary genres such as autobiography, biography, and history (Dodd, 1982: vii). Indeed, Percy Adams argues that for some readers travel writing is a form of memoir writing, autobiography, or historical autobiography (Adams, 1983: 165). Murray, for his part, argues that travel writing ranges from the entirely subjective (often fragments of autobiography) to the completely objective (in which the writer describes only visible objects), and that in between these two extremes the author arranges pieces of criticism, personal experience, history, narrative, sentiment, science, or whatever attracts his attention. Murray concludes that "the tourist to whom [...] self is the most important object, naturally keeps nearest to the terminus of autobiography" (Murray, 1858a: 348). Some critics, however, continue to regard travel literature as a sub-genre that fits uneasily somewhere between fiction and autobiography.

Bravo-Villasante has argued that most of Pardo Bazán's works contain a significant amount of autobiographical details (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 157), and this is in fact true of *De mi tierra* and other travel collections. Interspersed in the narrative, the reader finds many elements which refer back to Pardo Bazán herself, her life, her experiences, her family, her friends, her idiosyncrasies, and so on, possibly to emphasize the veracity or intimacy of her approach. For example, the first paragraph of the essay entitled "Una visita á San Rosendo y su monasterio, en Celanova" reads: "Allá en mi
niñez, y como una leyenda de familia, había oído referir que mi tío, el conde de Torremúzquiz, jefe de la rama de Mosquera, tenía, á título de descendiente de San Rudesindo ó Rosendo, el derecho de entrar bajo palio en la catedral de Orense" (191).

But the piece with the strongest autobiographical flavour in the entire collection is "Marineda", in which Pardo Bazán goes back to La Coruña of her infancy and reminisces about her time as a child there.

In the "Apuntes autobiográficos" (1886), Pardo Bazán mentions her liking for autobiography in the shape of diaries, letters, or memoirs in which the writer divulges details of his life with decorous sincerity. She laments that although this genre is very popular abroad, it does not have many followers amongst the Spanish reading public or the writers themselves, who regard autobiographies with suspicion. She is convinced that there is always a link, of an intimate nature, between the writer and his works (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 698-99). The author also claims that by including autobiographical information the writer is not displaying a pedantic streak, and that it is possible to speak of oneself in an objective and sincere way. Furthermore, she argues that the writer should feel the need to bare his soul to the reader (as she does), in order to achieve the spiritual communion she regards art to be:

Del pico de la pluma apoyado sobre la cuartilla en blanco sube por la mano al corazón [...] un afán irresistible de comunicar al público lo más recóndito de nuestro pensar y sentir. Bien mirado, el arte no es otra cosa sino la comunión del alma individual con el alma colectiva, si vale llamarla así. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 699)
The author does certainly practise what she preaches, for some of her travel chronicles contain episodes which amount to a soul-searching exercise on her part. This is particularly true of Mi romería (1888), where Pardo Bazán examines both her religious and political sentiments in front of her readers. Indeed, in the above quotation writing is suggested as a kind of confessional activity that predisposes the writer towards self-revelation.

It would be legitimate to ask whether Pardo Bazán's defence of the autobiographical genre and the inclusion of autobiographical details in her chronicles are in a way connected with the attitudes of nineteenth-century society to female-authored literature and the preoccupation of that period with limiting women's literary efforts to exclusively the realm of the personal and emotional (Mills, 1993: 96).^ For example, women's travel writing of that time often has a strong autobiographical flavour and takes the form of diaries, letters, or a combination of the two because, whilst men had monopolized public speech for centuries, women's opinions had been confined to a domestic or private context. Indeed, for a woman to express her views publicly was regarded as unfeminine and improper and this, as Mills notes, would explain why some nineteenth-century female writers "refused to put their names to their literary writing and others simply decided against writing or used pseudonyms" (Mills, 1993: 41). Those brave enough to sign their works would normally concentrate on the

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^ Indeed, "the emotional terrain is traditionally seen as the territory of women writers" (Birkett, 1998: x) because, as Mary Morris observes, women had been denied the outside journey for so many years that they were forced to turn inwards instead, into their emotions (Morris, 1992: 25).
kind of "factual" writing which required little or no "authorizing", and which would focus on personal information and "non-serious" topics, such as autobiography and travel writing (Mills, 1993: 81) -- "the 'lesser' subjects reserved for ladies as becoming to their inferior powers" (Gilbert, 1979: 64).

Carmen Martín Gaite, casting her eyes back three hundred years, sees the works of St Teresa of Avila as a prime example of the problematic relationship that has existed for centuries between women and writing (Martín Gaite, 1993: 61-62). Indeed, when writing the Libro de su vida, an autobiographical work, Teresa was faced with two major obstacles. First, she had to deal with the prejudices of a patriarchal society that regarded women as passive and silent individuals, and, in addition, with the stringent censorship laws of the Catholic Church at a time when the Inquisition was at its most fierce. Second, she had to find a way of expressing, in a matter-of-fact and straightforward language, something which could not possibly be explained in human terms because her spiritual experiences were not of this world (Martín Gaite, 1993: 63). However, Teresa threw caution to the wind and confided her innermost feelings to the written word. Somehow, she had to render believable the story of her spiritual relationship with God, and her Libro de su vida became "uno de los testimonios más impresionantes del poder expresivo de la palabra femenina para roturar terrenos salvajes" (Martín Gaite, 1993: 68). Teresa, just like many female travel writers of the nineteenth century, was opening new ground for women's writing, and also like her fellow women of three hundred years later she ventures into what hitherto had been unexplored territory and
proceeds to conquer it, having only the weapons of her pen, her sincerity, and her talent.

At this point it is worth remembering Pardo Bazán's interest in Spain's mystics (which began shortly after her introduction to Krausismo around 1873 (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 710) and culminated in the publication in 1882 of her San Francisco de Asís), her mystical ecstasy during the celebration of the papal mass in Mi romería (Pardo Bazán 1888: 87), and her comments in the "Apuntes autobiográficos" in which she admits to having read St Teresa of Avila's Las moradas and to having felt inspired by the words of the saint (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 710). So was Pardo Bazán influenced in any way by Teresa's writing and by her rebellious attitude to male censorship? The Galician writer, as a female, did certainly venture into uncharted territory with her travel works. Teresa, like Pardo Bazán, was also a traveller, in the sense that she travelled through Spain opening new Carmelite convents. They were both declared admirers of the chivalric romances, a totally escapist genre, which, like travel writing, transports the reader to new and exciting (although fantastic) places, and depicts a medieval knight wandering in search of chivalrous

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2 This will be discussed in Chapter 3.

3 Russell recalls how Teresa of Avila travelled through the rough roads of sixteenth-century Spain, preaching her reform of the Carmelite order (Russell, 1994: 41).
adventures. Both women often digress from the subject at hand and become sidetracked from the main narrative flow. And Pardo Bazán, like the saint from Avila, also speaks in Mi romería of the inadequacies of human language to express that which belongs to the realms of the spiritual: "Y la expiación de mis pecados de orgullo, si alguna vez los cometí, es no atinar á decir bien lo que mejor he sentido nunca" (Pardo Bazán, 1888: 91). This possible parallelism between both writers is an issue worth exploring although it does not fall within the scope of this thesis.

5. Spain's Artistic Heritage

De mi tierra, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, anticipates some recurrent themes in Pardo Bazán's travel writing, one of them being the author's concern with the preservation of Spain's artistic and cultural heritage. Indeed, in De mi tierra, as in Por la España pintoresca, there is a constant preoccupation with the deterioration and loss of Spain's artistic heritage, possibly because Pardo Bazán regards the nation's historic treasures as repositories of what had been a glorious past. And in order to attract attention to what she sees as sheer neglect on the part of the government, she often compares the backwardness of Spain,

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4 It can in fact be argued that travel literature, too, has a kind of escapist aura, in the sense that both the writer and the reader of this particular genre could be seeking to escape from a mundane existence in return for the excitement and adventure of a journey to unknown places. As Morris notes: "Travelers [...] are dreamers. [...] Like readers of romances, we think that anything can happen to us at any time. We forget that this is not our real life [...] We keep moving [...] whether by train or daydream" (Morris, 1992: 27-28).
where national treasures and monuments are uncared for, with the attention paid to conservation in more concerned nations:

Galicia merece que se atienda á sus riquezas arquitectónicas como se atiende á las de otras provincias españolas; y el rostro se enciende de rubor y los ojos se nublan de llanto cuando los tesoros del arte, que en naciones más felices se conservan como debe conservarse lo que no tiene sustitución posible en el mundo, desaparecen del territorio al cual servían de preciado blasón. (200)

In addition, Pardo Bazán laments the derelict condition of some ancient and historic monuments, and is adamant they should be preserved for posterity as part of the artistic and cultural heritage of the nation (206).

In her chronicles, the author seems to be particularly attracted to religious monuments, whether they be cathedrals, churches, convents, or monasteries, and this interest could, of course, be an indication of her religiousness. However, in the essay entitled "La casa solariega del Padre Feijóo", she also reveals a respect for other ancient things, for the solera of buildings and antique pieces of furniture. In addition, in De mi tierra Pardo Bazán presents an "alliance" between historic monuments and Nature itself, for rarely is such a monument mentioned without it being described in relation to its natural surroundings. For instance, although in "Una visita á San Rosendo y su monasterio, en Celanova" Pardo Bazán is principally concerned with the architectural virtuosity of the monastery, she includes a brief but telling description of the manifestations of Nature within this religious precinct:
Tan rectos, gruesos é iguales crecen los robles centenarios, que los tomamos por castaños al pronto. Aparte de la mullida alfombra de yerba que cubría el suelo, otra de aromáticos y cortados helechos entapizaba la esplanada ó claro donde se alzaba la marquesina, á fin de que ni un grano de polvo manchase la suela de nuestro calzado. (207)

In the piece entitled "En el castillo de Sobroso", rampant Nature has taken over the building with the climbing ivy covering parts of the castle and hiding from view its noble lineage: "La invasora hiedra oculta por completo las medias lunas y los roeles del escudo que campea sobre la puerta de honor" (211). Later in this same essay, Nature is presented as an ornament that engulfs and enhances the beauty of the fairy-tale castle: "La naturaleza parecía complacerse en adornar con vegetación espléndida al combatiente feudal dormido, ó por mejor decir, encantado entre los laureles que acaso fecundizó con sangre" (214). In "Rivas de Sil", Pardo Bazán pauses in the middle of the description of the architecture of the monastery to interpolate a brief description of the building's natural surroundings: "La naturaleza, ese gran escenógrafo, ha tendido tan oportunos festones de hiedra, tan graciosos tallos de zarzamora, que la poesía del lugar se duplica y su colorido romancesco y misterioso domina el alma y los sentidos, embargándolos con la dulce pena, la morbidezza exquisita de la contemplación" (240). And in "Impresiones santiagüesas" the marriage between Nature and historic buildings is further emphasized: "Paseando una tarde por las cercanías de Santiago, fuí á parar al antiguo convento de San Lorenzo, que según la frase gráfica de
Neira de Mosquera, se pierde, se hunde, y brumado por el corpulento ramaje de los árboles que nacieron en torno suyo, levanta su descarnada torre" (243-44). Interestingly, a similar association is also suggested by Azorín in "Una hora de España" (1924): "En las laderas del castillo, en los fosos, en los mismos muros, los claveles se mezclan a las flores moradas de la malva [...]. Dentro de la fortaleza, [...] las matas de alhelí cuarenteno cubren el piso, y en abril, sus flores aterciopeladas, de color morado, forman una tupida y vistosa alfombra" (Azorín, 1982: 585).

De mi tierra also contains an early indication, although veiled at this stage, of Pardo Bazán's conviction that the nineteenth century was a period of artistic barrenness and lack of creativity: "No, yo no me puedo resignar á que se abandone y pierda lo que nos legaron siglos más creadores de la belleza plástica que este nuestro. Malhaya quien tocó irrespetuosamente á la España monumental" (206). The author's antipathy towards the century in which she was born strengthened with the passage of time until it became, as will be noted in subsequent chapters, a recurrent theme in most of her travel collections.

6. The Sublime and the Prosaic, Folklore, and Local Colour
Another characteristic of Pardo Bazán's travel writing is the ease with which she moves from the religious, to the artistic, to the sublime, and finally to the mundane. Indeed, it is as if she enjoyed breaking the spell that has been cast on the reader and bringing him abruptly back to reality. In the essay entitled "En el castillo de Sobroso", Pardo Bazán has her and
her party entranced by the tales of ghosts recounted by their guide, Tradición:

La más romántica leyenda de Sobroso es Floralba, la infiel esposa del viejo conde que, abandonada por su seductor, ronda noche y día en torno del castillo donde fué castellana y señora en otro tiempo. [...] Desde entonces, hasta hoy mismo, al sonar la media noche en punto, Floralba, vestida de blanco, con el pelo flotante, gimiendo é implorando piedad, se aparece sobre la torre del Homenaje y llama en vano á los portones. (216, 217)

As they sit on the floor, surrounded by ancient walls and listening to Tradición, they consider remaining in the castle until midnight, the witching hour, to await the arrival of Floralba's ghost. But even if Floralba does not make an appearance, the other spirits of the valley will make their presence known:

Pensando en tales historias, que nada tienen que envidiar á las que aun se cuentan al borde el Rin, [...] se nos había pasado por las mientes cierta idea [...]. Aguardar, á las doce de la noche, la aparición de Floralba... Puede que la blanca y arrepentida castellana no nos hiciese el gusto presentándose; mas de fijo que la luna, Floralba de nuestro planeta, á cosa de las once ya dibujaría en el cielo un airoso creciente, y á su luz y á la de la hoguera, el torreón adquiriría vida fantástica, y del valle se alzaría, entre argentina bruma, larga procesión de espíritus... (217-18)

And then, abruptly, as if the enchantment had suddenly been broken, Pardo Bazán abandons the land of fantasy, comes back to the real world, and comments on the unsuitability of
spending the night alfresco if one wishes to avoid contracting rheumatism: "En fin, el reuma es cosa desapacible, y á Mondariz, después de todo, no se viene para ganar alifafes, sino para curarlos" (218). And with this sudden change in the tone of the narrative, the reader is brought back to a prosaic reality, far removed from the realms of the supernatural. But perhaps, as Bravo-Villasante notes, this is Pardo Bazán's way of curtailing an overactive fantasy and of affirming the line of rational thought that characterizes her (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 107).

Contact with Nature brings out the lyrical tendencies in Pardo Bazán's writing, causing her at times to poeticize the account of her experiences as a traveller. For instance, in "Una visita á San Rosendo y su monasterio, en Celanova", her description of the lunch offered by the monks to their visitors under the natural canopy of the ageing oaks has an idyllic quality to it:

Era digno de una edad artística y tenía sus lejos y perfiles de banquete ateniense, el espectáculo de nuestra comida en la robleda. El cielo sin una nube; el toldo y la mesa inundados de ramaje y flores. [...] Los robles, majestuosos y protectores, ofreciendo su misteriosa sombra y la augusta serenidad de sus viejas cabezas al cuadro; la música, bastante lejana para aumentar el gusto y no estorbar las conversaciones: y alrededor, en círculo inmenso, todo un pueblo de instintos cultos y feliz carácter, que iba y venía por entre la arboleda, remedando improvisada fiesta campestre, y con su regocijado rumor, análogo al murmurio de las hojas que la brisa halaga, nos acompañaba y hacía coro, sin
distraernos ni causarnos la más leve molestia. A hora tan oportuna empezó y terminó el festín, que cuando Emilio Ferrari recitaba del modo que él sabe hacerlo, el canto primero de Pedro Abelardo, el día estaba justamente al declinar; y cuando nos alzamos de la mesa, asomaba apenas el lucero vespertino. (207-08)
The above would seem to indicate that every time Pardo Bazán comes into contact with Nature, even if this detail of Nature is a grove of oak trees enclosed by ancient stones, the poet inside her makes an appearance and indulges in bucolic and idealized descriptions, as in the passage just quoted.

Pardo Bazán also likes to introduce a touch of folklore or local colour into her travel collections, principally those dedicated to Spain, and in De mi tierra this element is incorporated into the narrative in the shape of picturesque characters, such as the guide Tradición in "En el castillo de Sobroso", the shepherd in "Rivas de Sil", and the alquilador in "Marineda". Also, in this last travel piece Pardo Bazán emphasizes the touch of local colour by including a scene in typical costumbrista tradition, a market day in Marineda (La Coruña):

Labriegos y labriegas inundan la ciudad, trayendo en sus cestas los frutos del establo, del corral y de la huerta. Son de ver las pintadas gallinas, las palomas asustadizas, la legumbre húmeda aún del fresco rocío de la mañana, que resbala en aljófares por las satinadas hojas de repollo y escarola, ó hace brillar como coral pulido los rojos tomates. Dejan los labriegos á las placeras su sana y apetitosa carga, y derrámanse por calles y callejuelas en busca de artículos de primera
necesidad y otros superfluos. Yo les veo mil veces en el lugar llamado Campo de la Leña (y también de la Horca) pararse fascinados por alguna bujería que se vende en las barracas. Apenas comienza el ajuste, es de notar la maña que para el regateo despliega el campesino, y la habilidad casi judaica con que el vendedor le acorrala, tejiendo mañosamente la red en que al cabo han de ir á prenderse los cuartos que con amor acaricia la mano callosa del marchante. (286-87)

This attachment to costumbrismo is presumably part and parcel of Pardo Bazán's search for the roots of Spanish culture, a quest she had been encouraged in by her mentor and teacher, Giner de los Ríos (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 340-41).

7. Progress versus Tradition

Pardo Bazán's aversion to machinery and factories is well documented. In the "Apuntes autobiográficos" she speaks of her visits to the cigar factory of La Coruña while researching for her novel La Tribuna (1883), and presents the factory as Dante's Inferno, a living hell on earth where the damned are reduced to the state of mere machines: "El verdadero infierno social a que puede bajar el novelista, Dante moderno que escribe cantos de la comedia humana, es la fábrica, y el más condenado de los condenados, ese ser convertido en rueda, en cilindro, en autómata. ¡Pobres mujeres las de la Fábrica de La Coruña!" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 725). Her dislike of machines is also foregrounded in Por Francia y por Alemania (1890), the sequel to her chronicles on the Paris Exhibition of 1889, when, forced by her duty as a journalist to report on the
latest technological advances, she has no choice but to visit the "dreaded" "Palacio de las Máquinas" (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 1-13). In De mi tierra, too, there are clear indications of the author's abhorrence of factories and machinery. However, she also realizes that factories are a necessary evil if Marineda (La Coruña) is to become a prosperous and thriving community:

Las fábricas no me gustan, y como no me gustan, apenas las visito. Lo poco que las he frecuentado bastó á convencerme de que no las entiendo. [...] Las máquinas me inspiran no sé que repulsión vaga, y cuando veo el motor que estira y encoge su zanca de gigante, un malestar indefinible se apodera de mí. Con la razón, me alegraría mucho de que Marineda se cubriese de fábricas, siempre que no tuviese yo que recorrerlas. (277, 278)

Such observations suggest that Pardo Bazán's attitude to progress encapsulates two contradictory opinions. On the one hand she advocates development and regeneration for Galicia, but, on the other, she displays a conservative attitude which is opposed to drastic changes. Indeed, she wants Galicia to move forward in time, to progress and advance, and yet she laments that industrialization will result in the loss of some of the region's traditions and local characters. For instance, in her essay entitled "Marineda", Pardo Bazán dwells at some length on a local figure, the alquilador, who would rent out his donkeys to visitors and take them on guided tours of the area (284-85). With a note of sadness, she adds that the alquilador and his donkeys have now been replaced by more modern means of transport which, in a way, have undermined the previous charm of these local outings (286).
And yet, in this same essay, La Coruña is presented as a microcosm of nineteenth-century Spain and of Spain's rejection of commercial development and progress. According to Pardo Bazán, Marineda neglects to sell its potential as a tourist destination and lives enclosed in itself, refusing to see that a regular tourist trade would revive its dying economy:

Marineda, cuyo destino y porvenir es ser un encantador punto de baños y veraneo, no se ha penetrado aún de esta verdad, y se empeña en vivir de sí misma, realizando un fenómeno de autofagia. Entre este error, y la poca unión de sus elementos, desde hace algunos años su prosperidad no aumenta, y su comercio decae. (279)

Indeed, Pardo Bazán's ambivalent and contradictory attitude to progress will be discussed in more depth in the chapters dedicated to the 1889 Paris Exhibition.

8. Mother Nature, Paganism, and Romanticism

Pardo Bazán delights in the contemplation and description of the natural environment, and this love for the manifestations of Nature is another recurrent theme in her travel works. As Azorín observes in "Madrid" (1941): "Doña Emilia ha sentido el paisaje. Con más fuerza, con más amplitud, con más hondura que sus coetáneos, ha escrito doña Emilia la Naturaleza" (Azorín, 1982: 901). Indeed, in the essay entitled "El olor de la tierra", dedicated to the Galician poet Valentín Lamas Carvajal, Pardo Bazán's sensual understanding of Nature becomes evident. For her, Nature appears to have a palatable and tactile quality, and penetrates the body through the senses of touch, smell, sight, and hearing:
Recostada en el más florido de los veirales que rodean á la Granja de Meirás, con las manos hundidas en el balsámico y aterciopelado matorral de mentas y trébol, á dos pasos de mí el castaño rumoro, me llegaba sin embargo, más enérgico y sano que el de las plantas silvestres, el olor de la negra tierra, no inficionado aun con el horrible abono animal, la capa de crustáceos que envenena el aire puro de la Mariña hacia fines de Septiembre. (51)\(^5\)

Pilar González Martínez has argued that in the early part of Pardo Bazán's writing career, "Emilia propugna una naturaleza mítica, autónoma, a la que le coloca atributos del orden de lo humano. [...] Pardo Bazán no diferencia sustancialmente el organismo vegetal, el organismo animal y el organismo humano. Para ella, el orden de la materia y de la naturaleza es un 'orden autómomo'" (González Martínez, 1988: 86, 91). In fact, the piece "Luz de luna" illustrates Pardo Bazán's wide use of the pathetic fallacy in her presentation of Nature as a living entity which breathes, feels, speaks, and hears: "Creo firmemente que hay aromas, sonidos, colores, formas y hasta maneras de soplar el viento, de mujir el mar y de besarse suavemente las frondas del arbolado" (67). Such sentiments also raise the issue of the "pagan" undertones which inform the associations often made by the author between the exaltation of Nature and the religious experience. For example, the essay "El país de las benditas ánimas" indicates that for Pardo Bazán the contemplation of Nature and of

\(^5\) Such sensory perceptions of Nature are also present in the piece dedicated to the province of Orense (Galicia) in Por la España pintoresca (Pardo Bazán, [1895c]: 165-66).
artistic beauty is more conducive to a religious experience than the shrines built by the local people. Also in this piece, she describes her religious fervour when, during her visit to the monastery of Los Canedos, she was surrounded by and in awe of the beauty of Nature:

La emoción religiosa, derivada de la contemplación artística, es tan bienhechora, tan digna de un espíritu abierto á la belleza! Francamente, [...] ¿no hay algo que nos eleva y nos hace mejores en espectáculos como aquel que nos ofrecieron Los Canedos, el conventillo franciscano deshabitado y derruido? Desde la cima de la torre [...] veíamos todo el valle y la vega de Puenteareas flotando en el rosado vapor del último rayo solar. A nuestras espaldas, el bosque de pinos y alcornoques centenarios, cuyas copas formaban cortinas de verdura á la torre, y que, sin embargo, dominaba con la majestad de su grandeza, el soberano cedro del Libano, [...] que apenas cabe en el recinto del vasto patio conventual, y hace soñar con viajes á Oriente, á las cimas de donde bajó la revelación y donde se consumó la redención del género humano. (224-25)

However, it is also possible that this correlation between the contemplation of Nature and the religious experience stems from Pardo Bazán's perception of the natural environment as the living proof of the greatness of the Creator: "[Un Prelado] labró para asilo un pequeño eremitorio donde meditar y macerarse y vivir en comunión estrecha con la naturaleza y con Dios que en ella resplandece" (244). Interestingly, similar sentiments are expressed by Alarcón in his travel work, La Alpujarra (1874): "A solas con la augusta
Although Pardo Bazán was a devout Catholic, this Nature-religion duality could be regarded as being inherently pagan because she appears to be implying that, like the Celts, the original settlers of Galicia, she, too, is a worshipper of Nature. Indeed, in the piece entitled "Luz de luna", Pardo Bazán claims to like Eduardo Pondal's poetry because its originality lies in its emphasis on primitive people and pagan rituals: "Con el incidente del fantasma fingido por la enredadera, intento yo explicar el celticismo prehistórico, el osianismo y las reminiscencias ancestrales, en que consiste la originalidad de Eduardo Pondal" (71). In this essay, with its strong accent on Galicia's ancient past, the author looks with nostalgia at the Celtic origins of the Galician race, sees Pondal as a kind of bard or Celtic minstrel, and speaks of transmigration and reincarnation, observations which are rather striking considering Pardo Bazán's Catholic credentials: "Eduardo Pondal, con su gabán y su hongo, ha venido á ser el bardo --no hay que reírse, pues las almas de los que fueron parece como que se cuelan á veces, por caprichosa metempsícosis, en el cuerpo de los que son" (71).

In effect, the entire essay, with its heavy Romantic evocations, is reminiscent in parts of some of Bécquer's Leyendas, such as "El monte de las ánimas", and, above all, "El rayo de luna". The following description has a Gothic, eerie flavour, which can be associated with Romanticism:

Las copas de los pinares de mi tierra se agitan con ese ruido especial, semejante al del Océano cuando se oye á distancia y en días tormentosos. Mas lo que de día es
zumbido vago, [...] es, de noche, al brillar la luna, grave aunque contenido canto llano, que infunde cierto pavor religioso. Entonces predomina en él la larga u! la vocal del terror. [...] ¿Quién no ha notado el efecto fantástico que produce de noche el ruido más vulgar? Y el de las copas de los pinares es de verdad temeroso, hecho de molde para exaltar la imaginación. (68)

And certainly the following material could have been inspired by Bécquer's Leyenda "El rayo de luna" or by Espronceda's El estudiante de Salamanca:

Una noche de verano, en la Granja de Meirás, hallándose las ventanas abiertas de par en par y reunida tertulia numerosa, alguien dijo que frente á la casa estaba una mujer, ó más propiamente un fantasma, vestido de blanco y con los brazos extendidos. [...] Era, en efecto, la verdadera figura de una mujer alta, con túnica flotante, que nos tendía los brazos y que de cuando en cuando columpiaba la cabeza y el cabello undoso [...]. La causa del fenómeno: una enredadera sumamente tupida y frondosa, que trepaba por el limonero, y cuyo follaje claro, al resplandor de la luna, se perfilaba imitando el realce y las líneas indecisas de un cuerpo. (70)

Moreover, as in many works by Bécquer and Espronceda, the episode ends in disappointment and disillusionment for the poet, in this case, Pardo Bazán.

A little later she speaks of one of the great scandals associated with the Romantic period: the publication in the eighteenth century, by the Scottish writer James Macpherson, of the translation of the poems of the Gaelic bard Ossian, which were subsequently proved to be spurious. Yet Pardo
Bazán, far from condemning Macpherson's trickery, praises his initiative in reviving the essence of a forgotten literature:

Macpherson no fué un falsificador vulgar, sino un hombre de genio, que benefició, aunque mezclándole tantos elementos extraños, el tesoro de una literatura rica y perdida, y trajo al arte un elemento con legítimo derecho á la existencia, puesto que había sido expresión artística de varias razas congéneres. (75)

The author's admiration of and devotion to Nature, her recollection of ancient pagan rituals, her idealization of primitive cultures, and her spooky descriptions all seem to indicate a continuing Romantic inclination on her part which is evidenced in the tone and content of some passages in De mi tierra.

9. The Past
As mentioned in Chapter 1, the longing for a distant past is a common motif in Pardo Bazán's travel works, and De mi tierra is no exception. For example, in her essay "Rivas de Sil", she combines the delights of a contemplative and ascetic existence with her penchant for going back in time: "¡Quién pudiera, retrocediendo nueve siglos, ver el monte ripense cuando subían por él los monjes á su abadía y los anacoretas á sus doce ermitas, desparramadas en la falda, donde se retiraban á mayores austeridades y á más estrecho trato con Dios!" (232). And a little earlier she reiterates her yearning for a return to the days of splendour of the monastery of San Esteban de Rivas de Sil in the tenth century: "La imaginación se exalta y echa de menos --con la ardorosa saudade que inspira lo
impossible-- el tiempo en que la sandalia del justo Frankila hollaba este musgo virgen y resonaba sobre estos peñascales" (230). In the piece entitled "Marineda", Pardo Bazán speaks of the special emotion that engulfs her at the sight of ancient monuments. With time, it seems, that emotion turns into pain: "Esa emoción especial que me causan los monumentos de otras épocas, y que á la larga, llega á ser dolorosa" (269). This special feeling of which she speaks is, in earlier essays of De mi tierra, a kind of obsessive melancholy or yearning for bygone centuries which she often associates with a glorious and triumphant Spain that no longer exists. Moreover, she is presumably using the past as a kind of emotional shield which protects her from the decline of Spain as a military, political, and cultural power. Indeed, in a letter written to Azorín on 17 March 1898, Pardo Bazán readily admits to her "weakness" for Spain's past: "España no tiene más que pasado; pero un pasado que nos atrae a todos en razón de las deficiencias y miserias del presente" (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 226).

However, in her lecture "La España de ayer y la de hoy", delivered at the Salle Charras in Paris on 18 April 1899, Pardo Bazán acknowledged that she, like many of her compatriots, was also to blame for Spain's plight, because instead of confronting the reality of the ills that beset her country she had sought solace in the past, in the glorious days of Spain: "Cansada y desalentada solía volver al legendismo. Cerraba los ojos por no ver la España actual; miraba únicamente hacia el pasado; el pasado era estético, y la estética consuela" (Pardo Bazán, [1899]: 82). With brutal candour and sincerity she gives her opinion on the state of
Spain the year after the "Disaster" of 1898 and speaks of what she terms the "leyenda dorada", created collectively by all Spaniards, and which "ha preparado nuestros desastres y nuestras humillaciones" (Pardo Bazan [1899]: 62). This "Golden Legend", she concludes, is potentially more harmful than the "leyenda negra" because it involves the apotheosis of the past (Pardo Bazán, [1899]: 63).

It would appear that the events of 1898 and the culture acquired through much reading and travelling made Pardo Bazán realize the need to confront the present, however painful it might be, instead of sheltering behind the past, behind Spain's "Golden Legend", which under the guise of tradition and traditional values had prevented many Spaniards from facing the decline of their country. However, and this emerges very clearly in her Spanish travel works, the Galician writer never quite managed to totally sever her emotional links with the glorious Spain of the past: the Spain of the Reconquista, the Empire, or the War of Independence.

10. The Patria, Regionalism, and Separatism

Another recurrent theme in Pardo Bazán's travel works is her exaltation of her country. In the "Apuntes autobiográficos", the author observes that she felt patriotic ardour for the first time as a small child when she witnessed the arrival in La Coruña of the victorious Spanish army after the African war of 1858. Driven by the nascent patriotism that was to remain with her for the rest of her life, young Emilia wrote some poems to the triumphant soldiers (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 700). For the Galician writer, the nation is a superior and almost
divine entity whose integrity can never be undermined by incompetent politicians:

Sacaba en limpio que el desenlace de la guerra y aquella entrada de las tropas en La Coruña representaban algo muy grande y digno de ser celebrado, algo que no era del Gobierno ---de quien solía yo oír pestes en mi casa---, sino de otra cosa mayor, tan alta, tan majestuosa, que nadie dejaba de reverenciarla: la Nación. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 701)

She adds that life, experience, and learning have not altered in any way her patriotic stance, and sees the lack of patriotism that affects those who are misguided by contemporary intellectual trends as a sign of the loss of national pride and of the decadence of some nations, including her own (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 701).

In her essay "La poesía regional gallega" in De mi tierra, the author, whilst discussing regionalism and separatism, speaks of how in some underprivileged areas, such as Galicia, the affection for one's home region can sometimes degenerate into resentment against the leading regions of Spain and against the country as a whole. And this animosity explains, in her opinion, why for the more regionalist of gallegos their understanding of the term patria is limited to their native Galicia (38).

Yet although Pardo Bazán may support regionalism when it represents the undying and uncompromising love for one's birthplace, she is no separatist. For her, Spain, the patria,

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6 In Por la Europa católica (1902), the author overtly expresses her condemnation of Catalan separatism (Pardo Bazán [1902a]: 235, 247).
is a higher political and cultural entity than the region, and she is adamant that the nation's unity must never be jeopardized by regionalist aspirations:

Galicia no es sino la tierra, algo íntimo y dulce, algo quizás más caro al corazón, más necesario para la vida que la misma patria: pero la patria representa una idea más alta aún, y la patria [...] es España, inviolable en su unidad, santa en sus derechos. (40)

And while, as a Galician, Pardo Bazán does not hesitate to quote some of Rosalía de Castro's most anti-Castilian outbursts: "Castellanos de Castilla,/ tendes corazón de ferro.../ ;Solo hai para min, Castilla,/ a mala ley que che teño!" (40), she also persists in her condemnation of separatism and of the principle of federal republicanism advocated by Pí y Margall, which, in her opinion, has undermined the unity of the patria:

Conviene decir que el mal del separatismo es por ahora bien leve en Galicia: que este pueblo, práctico y serio en medio de su misma postración, no ha dado la menor señal de que le cruce por las mientes tan peligrosa autopía, la cual, por hoy, sólo se ha manifestado tímidamente en la serena esfera del arte, siendo recogida por algún político del sistema, como el sabio Pí y Margall, que reconoce en las literaturas regionales el signo de una idea preconizada por él --idea que ya originó á la patria graves daños y aun puede ocasionárselos mayores--. (41)

Indeed, Pardo Bazán's overt indictment of separatist regionalism, coupled with the little space dedicated to Rosalía de Castro in her essay "La poesía regional gallega",
caused much displeasure to the historian Manuel Murguía, Rosalía's husband and one of the champions of Galician regionalism.

11. Conclusions
Perhaps one of the more striking features of De mi tierra is its apparent sincerity. Whether one chooses to agree or disagree with Pardo Bazán's ideas, one cannot help but be surprised by the Galician writer's candour. Pardo Bazán believed in voicing her views and opinions openly, and her seeming frankness is one of the trade marks of her travel chronicles. As Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles has noted:

Muchas son las virtudes que pueden señalarse en las obras de Emilia Pardo Bazán. La primera de ellas: la sinceridad. [...] Leyendo las obras de la Pardo Bazán nos damos cuenta cabal de sus sentimientos religiosos, de su ética social, de sus gustos literarios, de sus ideas políticas, de su irrenunciable feminidad hogareña, de sus conceptos estéticos, de sus reacciones frente a los problemas inmediatos de cada día. (Pardo Bazán, 1943: xlii, xliii)

As in the case of Por la España pintoresca (1895), De mi tierra comes across as slightly disjointed and fragmentary because it consists of a medley of essays and travel pieces put together as an afterthought. Also, in the travel section, which consists of just seven pieces, the lack of a continuous

7 "La casa solariega del Padre Feijóo", "Una visita á San Rosendo y su monasterio, en Celanova", "El castillo de Sobroso", "El país de la benditas ánimas", "Rivas de Sil", "Impresiones santiaguesas", and "Marineda".
itinerary and the hopping between places contribute to this lack of unity. In effect, the only hilo conductor or common denominator to the entire collection is Galicia and the author's undeniable affection for this Spanish region. In other words, De mi tierra is essentially an apology for and an exaltation of Pardo Bazán's beloved Galicia, of its people, of its traditions, of its culture, of its poets, of its artistic treasures, and, above all, of its natural environment seen as the living proof of the existence and splendour of the Creator who has lavished His gifts on this isolated corner of Spain.

The most obvious difference between De mi tierra and Pardo Bazán's later travel works is its intimate and private nature. The reader is given a devoted Galician speaking about her much-loved terruño and expressing her fears and aspirations for what she sees as a forlorn Spanish region. In effect, De mi tierra, contrary to other travel collections and with the exception of some passages in Mi romeria, is highly introspective: it frequently looks inwards into the soul of Galicia, of its people, and into the Galician soul of Pardo Bazán herself.8

In her essay on Alarcón's travel works Pardo Bazán argues that some regional writers reign supreme over the physical descriptions of their native areas (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1406). And this is in fact true of De mi tierra, which, while affording the ideal scenario for the author's renowned descriptive writing, also provides a rich and colourful literary mosaic of Galicia as Pardo Bazán attempts and

8 As in the case of Mary Morris and her travel journals (Morris, 1992: 29), De mi tierra amounts in parts to Pardo Bazán's engaging in a dialogue with herself.
succeeds in immortalizing "el lindo redil donde dormí cuando corderillo" (287).
CHAPTER 3

MI ROMERIA: PARDO BAZAN'S POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND ARTISTIC PILGRIMAGE

1. Introduction
The structure chosen by Pardo Bazán for Mi romería is that of a travel journal, with entries for almost every day of her trip. The work encompasses the author's impressions and experiences of her trip to Italy, via France, between December 1887 and January 1888, to attend the celebrations in Rome of Pope Leo XIII's jubilee. The epilogue, one of the most interesting and controversial parts of this collection, contains the account of Pardo Bazán's visit to the Pretender, Don Carlos, in his Venice palace, and also her "Confesión política", in which she speaks of the conflict between what she terms the Old Spain and the New Spain. In Mi romería, Pardo Bazán went to Italy as a feature writer for the Madrid newspaper, El Imparcial, where her chronicles were serialized between 19 December 1887 and 27 February 1888, before being published in book form later that year.

The "Advertencia á quien leyere este libro", which as a kind of prologue introduces Mi romería, anticipates some of the main themes and characteristics of the account, such as, for instance, the striking combination of Christian and pagan elements that coexist in this work. Pardo Bazán informs her readers that from her trip to Italy she has brought back a diverse collection of objects and mementoes which, she claims,
reflect both Mi romería and her spirit: "Caprichoso conjunto de elementos cristianos y paganos, de aficiones artísticas y adhesiones personales, que en su variedad y aparente desorden refleja y simboliza, no sólo la obra que hoy sale á luz, sino el alma de su autora" (Pardo Bazán, 1888: 6).

Anticipating yet another important aspect of this travel collection, its pro-Carlist tenor, the author alludes to her article on Don Carlos and argues that the Spanish reading public has been denied the information to which it is entitled in order to judge this controversial political figure (7). She knows that her article on the Pretender will encounter much polemic and criticism in both camps (Carlist and Liberal), but she believes it is her duty to report the facts as she sees them (7-8).

The author ends her "Advertencia" by asking for forgiveness if any of the terminology used in her religious chronicles appears irreverent or offensive to some. And this, again, anticipates another important feature of this collection, and one which will be discussed later, the pagan or profane connotations of Pardo Bazán's religious experience:

No faltó quien me dijese que el epígrafe del artículo sobre la misa jubilar de Su Santidad, El fantasma blanco, suena á atrevido é irreverente para la sacra persona del Pontífice. ¡Yo, que lo escribí con lágrimas en los ojos y el corazón inundado de ternura hacia el encantador viejecito! Me apresuro, me apresuro á declarar que usé la palabra fantasma, no en el sentido de visión espantable y horrenda (¡horrendo León XIII!), sino en el de cosa que parece sobrenatural y soñada. (8-9)

But she also adds that furnishing an opinion on debatable
religious matters does not contravene the religious beliefs held by a writer and should not curtail freedom of expression: "El campo de las cuestiones libres y opinables es dilatadísimo, y la rienda de oro de la fe no le ha cortado jamás los vuelos á Pegaso" (9). It is noteworthy that to advocate freedom of speech on religious issues she chooses a mythological, and therefore pagan, creature.

2. The Recording of the Travel Experience and its Depiction in *Mi romería*

The narrative straightaway addresses the journey to be undertaken, with the opening section, "A Roma", presenting Pardo Bazán in the parish church of San Luis purchasing her ticket for the pilgrimage (11). Subsequently, in late December 1887, the author travelled by train to Rome. Her itinerary took her from Madrid to Hendaye and then via Lourdes to Toulouse, Cette, Marseilles, Montecarlo, Ventimiglia, Genoa, and thence to Rome. The journey took five days and six nights, with the convoy of pilgrims arriving in Rome on 24 December 1887.

In the "Advertencia", Pardo Bazán claims to have written *Mi romería* "on the move": "Bien lo saben mis compañeros de romería, que me las vieron trazar sobre la mesa de la fonda ó de algún cafetín de estación ferroviaria, mientras no servían la taza de dudoso brebaje, ó no llegaba el esperado tren" (6). This claim is further emphasized at the end of the section entitled "Una salve":

Y mientras no llega el tren donde hemos de proseguir nuestra ruta hasta Cette, me siento á una mesa de mármol,
en el comedor de la estación, y entre el bureo, las idas y venidas, la conversación de los romeros, rodeada de señores sacerdotes, deanes, magistrales y párrocos que se interesan mucho por el buen resultado de mi garrapateo y por la pronta terminación de estas cuartillas, [...] trazo estos renglones, que le tocaban á Ortega Munilla, y que saldrán como Dios quiera. (37)

Indeed, this approach was referred to by the Galician writer a year later in Al pie de la torre Eiffel, and in very similar terms, when she mentions:

Aquellas crónicas escritas á lo mejor en el rincón de una estación de ferrocarril, en la mesa de un café, en el salón público de un hotel, entre el bullicio de las conversaciones y los acordes del piano; unas veces con frío, otras con sueño, otras con apetito de despachar el almuerzo ó de salir á beber la taza de café turco. (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 64)

But why is Pardo Bazán so keen to bring attention to this point? While it is possible that she wants to make allowances for any flaws or omissions in the narrative, the main reason is probably that she is trying to create an impression of veracity, immediacy, and freshness, as if no real structuring had gone into the text and as if hardly any time had elapsed between the events and their recording. In effect, Pardo Bazán's references to her work-method are almost certainly an attempt to authenticate and lend credibility and authority to the narrative.

It is also possible that she was heeding Alarcón's advice, as contained in his "Historia de mis libros" (November 1884), in which the novelist, referring to his De Madrid a
Nápoles (1861), insists that for travel works to be spontaneous, fresh, truthful, natural, and devoid of literary artifice they must be written as the traveller goes along, during or immediately after the event. There are, in fact, striking similarities between the words uttered by Pardo Bazán, as quoted above, and those of Alarcón to emphasize that their chronicles were written in transit: "En ferrocarril, en silla de postas, a caballo, en mulo, embarcado, marchando a pie; [...] en los cafés, en los palacios de los Reyes, en las estaciones y posadas del camino; dondequiera que veía, pensaba, sentía o me contaban algo, allí tomaba nota de ello" (Alarcón, 1968: 15). The Andalusian novelist argues that it is precisely the coarseness ("crudeza") and confusion stemming from this approach that differentiate travel writing from "los relatos de la imaginación", such as the novel, which are the product of a reality that has been "seasoned" by reflexion, philosophy, and art. Travel accounts, Alarcón notes, must resemble "fotografías escritas", thus conveying an impression of verisimilitude and frankness that will make the reader assume the role of traveller himself (Alarcón, 1968: 15).

The fact that Mi romería is written in the first-person singular as, of course, are nearly all accounts of this kind, also enhances the notion of immediacy because there is no narrator to mediate between the writer and the reader. On the other hand, the use of the first-person narrative voice also raises questions concerning the objectivity, credibility, and reliability of a chronicle since no second voice is present to substantiate what is being said. Indeed, as the reader starts into the following section, entitled "Viaje de recreo... espiritual", some doubts may arise as to Pardo Bazán's claims
in general, for it is apparent that she has not been entirely honest with her readership. A claim made in the introductory "Advertencia" was that she had not consulted any external sources: "Por primera vez de mi vida he escrito así, machacando el hierro hecho ascua, sin meditar ni consultar obra alguna" (6). But in the fourth section, in order to substantiate her allegations concerning the hostility endured by the Spanish pilgrims, she has no qualms about quoting some passages from José María León y Domínguez's De Cádiz á Roma (47-48). And in the section entitled "Los santos novísimos", Pardo Bazán once again undermines the claims made in the "Advertencia" as she admits to having consulted external sources to gather information about certain Spaniards soon to be canonized. The excuse she offers for this "deviation" from her self-imposed condition is her commitment as a researcher to keep her readers well informed (93-94). It therefore transpires that not only has she used external sources, but that these texts were presumably consulted after the trip and the appropriate passages inserted in the chronicles a posteriori. So the sense of immediacy and freshness Pardo Bazán apparently strives to create does not refer to everything in her account.

In the section entitled "A Roma", there is a striking contrast between Pardo Bazán's own approach to travel (as something which should be pleasurable and trouble free) and that of an old woman who travels "con lo puesto" because her main concern is to see the Pope and "ganar muchas indulgencias, ganar el cielo" (13). The Galician writer cannot help but admire the old lady's rather transparent approach to religious pilgrimages. In modern times, she argues, most
pilgrims appear to be more preoccupied with the comforts of travel than with the religious motivation that prompted their journey in the first place (14).

There is little doubt that the prospect of the journey has an exhilarating effect on Pardo Bazán, and as the train taking the pilgrims to Rome pulls out of Madrid, she attempts to transmit her enthusiasm and expectation to the reader: "Yo siento esa palpitación de júbilo y esperanza que se experimenta al poner el pie en el puente de la nave cuando el viento favorable hincha las velas y el blando oleaje acaricia la proa con amoroso arrullo" (18). Indeed, here she appears to rank among those described by Adams as "the lovers of travel for the sake of travel" (Adams, 1983: 68).

However, as way of contrast and anticipating an opinion she was to voice four years later in her assessment of Alarcón's travel works, the Galician writer also emphasizes that Spaniards tend to regard travel as vexation, discomfort, and hardship, especially when the journey is in fact a religious pilgrimage, where a certain degree of discomfort is assumed as part of the experience (14). Indeed, judging by what he observes in *De Madrid a Nápoles*, the term pilgrimage appears to conjure unpleasant associations for Alarcón, too: "¡Una peregrinación a Roma no debe hacerse sin dolor ni peligro! (Alarcón, 1968: 1412). Although Pardo Bazán claims that the comforts and luxuries of life are there to be enjoyed, she feels they should always come second to religious and artistic considerations: "Toda persona cabal debe ser por turno ateniense y espartana: saborear los refinamientos suntuarios de la vida, y saber desdénarlos cuando se le ofrece un deleite más exquisito aún, el goce de la fantasía y el
It transpires that the religious journey undertaken by Pardo Bazán and her fellow pilgrims differs from the average trip in that the warmth and camaraderie that exist among them serve to reveal the inner self of each traveller: "Los romeros no somos únicamente trescientas personas que se trasladan de un punto a otro: somos un pedazo del pensamiento nacional que anda, y este movimiento y este roce determinan un calor, una energía moral, á cuyo impulso los caracteres típicos adquieren su realce todo y el hombre interior se revela bajo la capa, el gabán, la sotana, las episcopales vestiduras" (22). She welcomes this communal approach to travel, far removed from the indifference of "esos viajes al uso moderno" where travellers tend to keep to themselves and make small talk about the most trivial aspects of their trip (21-22). Moreover, each compartment of the train is presented as a kind of microcosm containing examples of the most representative types of religious followers (29).

During the outward train journey, Pardo Bazán, the pilgrim, is superseded briefly by Pardo Bazán the fiction writer or novelist. Indeed, as she herself notes: "La romería estimula mis aficiones de observadora" (15), in this instance, of human nature. Confined in the narrow space of her train compartment, the author proceeds to study her fellow travellers in order to determine their potential as characters of a novel. First she focuses her attention on a retired army
officer, both a devout Catholic and a seasoned traveller, whose features, she claims, reveal an honest and serious character (22-23). Her second potential personaje is a young Andalusian priest, articulate, funny, and talkative, a true representative of "la mocedad, la alegría y chuscada meridionales" (23). She then looks at another ex-army man who, after refusing to pledge allegiance to King Amadeus of Savoy, joined the Carlist forces and fought with them (24). Next she sketches two more passengers, both of whom happen to be bishops: the first one is a "polemista insigné" (26) and the second one, whom she describes as humbly dressed and unaffected by the luxurious trappings which typify these emissaries of the Church, "es de los que prediccan con el aspecto, sin que por eso alardee de desaliño ni de penitente y huraña aspereza" (27). Finally, she turns her attention to an inexperienced madrileño who, unaccustomed to travelling, forgets to collect his ticket on departure and is removed from the train, and to a seasoned romero who comes well provided to keep hunger at bay during the journey (28).^1

On this point, Adams speaks of the "coach motif", drawn from travel literature by the eighteenth-century novel, and used by the novelist for transporting his characters, selecting them so that they can be described, getting them to tell stories of themselves or of other people, or engaging them in conversation (Adams, 1983: 223). And in Mi romería it could be argued that during the brief spell when Pardo Bazán

^1 Alarcón, too, in his travel work La Alpujarra (1874), takes on the mantle of a novelist when he encounters a cortège in the middle of the mountains, and immediately embarks on all kinds of suppositions regarding the status of the members of the party, their relationship to one another, and the object of their trip (Alarcón, 1968: 1532).
behaves like a novelist, she is in fact using the "train motif", with the same intentions as her predecessors of a hundred years earlier.

In this collection, the author presents the travel experience, and the concomitant hardship, as a kind of social-levelling device among the pilgrims. To hammer home this notion, she tells, in the form of an anecdote, how all the occupants of her compartment (with the exception of the Bishop of Salamanca) and regardless of their social background, collaborated in the preparation of a chocolate drink in a rather curious machine provided by one of the pilgrims (28-29). In effect, Pardo Bazán's "democratic" approach to the pilgrimage had already been stressed at the very beginning of the trip: "Casi me irrita pensar que en el próximo viaje se dividirá el tren, como siempre, en coches de primera, segunda y tercera, pues desearía que fuésemos iguales todos, como hermanos" [my italics] (15).

In the section entitled "Una salve", the Galician author describes in a humorous way the problems encountered when attempting to purchase some food at the local inn in Hendaye, and how her frustration and hunger led her to steal three apples (33-34). Here again is the notion that the difficulties of the journey tend to bring the travellers closer together, and that the spirit of camaraderie helps them forget their troubles: "En suma, almorzamos frugalmente sobre el regazo, pero en excelente armonía y riéndonos de tanta peripecia" (34).

Pardo Bazán begins this particular section by describing some of the problems and vexation endured by her and her fellow pilgrims involving their tickets and luggage tags (31-
33), and, indeed, in 1897 Karl Baedeker was to note:

"Mistakes" are far from uncommon on the part of the ticket-clerks or the officials who weigh luggage. [...] During the last few years an extraordinary number of robberies of passengers' luggage have been perpetrated in Italy without detection, and articles of great value should not be entrusted to the safe-keeping of any trunk or portmanteau. (Cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 75)

Later in Mi romería, the author claims that she almost welcomes the difficulties encountered whilst travelling because they provide her with material for her pen. Nevertheless, she wishes to emphasize the abominable organization of the present trip: "Doy fe de que á mí, por mí, casi no me pesa de ello. Los observadores somos como los médicos: decimos ¡qué hermosa enfermedad! ¡qué caso tan bonito! Yo me distraigo y tomo notas y me río [...]. Pero si tocan á declarar cómo anda esto, juro y perjuro que anda remalísimamente [...]. La romería, en su parte material, es un desbarajuste" (48).

In effect, the entire text is scattered with reminders of the unpleasant side of travelling: long delays, physical exhaustion, bad organization, freezing temperatures, lack of sleep, and so on. So perhaps Pardo Bazán can, after all, associate herself with the average Spaniard who, as she herself was to point out, regarded travel as primarily discomfort, frustration, and aggravation. However, there is the clear indication in Mi romería that the religious purpose of the journey and the inner cheerfulness of the Spanish race help the pilgrims endure as best they can the hitches of the journey (39). Moreover, the beautiful scenery and the good
weather that welcomes the pilgrims as they approach Lourdes contribute to distract from the hardship of the trip and inspire Pardo Bazán to display her skills at paisajismo, while also using appropriate religious images:

El cielo se ha despejado y el lindísimo país que vemos por las ventanillas nos embelesa. Las cimas de los montes se nos aparecen á lo lejos nacaradas por el sol y vestidas de nieve tan inmaculada como la Virgen [...]. Las nevadas cumbres son coronas de la Concepción purísima; los laureles rosa, y las hiedras que adornan estos muros calcinados, estas graciosas aldeillas meridionales descritas por Alfonso Daudet, se tienden como ramillete balsámico á los pies de la Mujer sin tacha. [...] De repente, sobre un anfiteatro de montañas, con la nieve detrás, escénicamente dispuesto como la decoración de una comedia de magia, aparece el Santuario, y de cada departamento brota una aclamación delirante: ¡Viva la Virgen! (34-35)

But further travel problems await the pilgrims. At Toulouse, they endure a five-hour delay and are unable to sleep or visit the city (37). Upon their arrival in Cette, another delay besets the travellers. However, a walk around the town, a visit to the port, and a hearty breakfast at the hotel soothe their irritation (39-40). Here at Cette, the convoy of romeros is arbitrarily divided into three groups, and during the long wait at the railway station Pardo Bazán focuses her attention on two rather curious travelling companions. These are "la inevitable inglesa de todos los trenes", who despite the freezing temperatures decides to take a walk on the platform, and an innocent-looking wine merchant
who had been wrongly suspected of having stolen the watch of one of the pilgrims (41). Again, this is almost a reminder of her calling as a novelist, a constant observer of human nature in search of potential characters for her fiction.

The next stop is Marseilles, and while Alarcón refers to this French city as "la Puerta principal de Europa" (Alarcón, 1968: 1200), the Galician writer is more preoccupied with the revolutionary associations of Marseilles, dismissively alluding to it as "la ciudad revolucionaria, Marsella, la roja" (42). After a good night's sleep and a delicious breakfast at a local hotel, Pardo Bazán and some of her travelling companions take a tour of the city. They also visit the port and the local shops, and acquire some typical chapelgorrís (43).

Following their arrival in Ventimiglia, the pilgrims have to endure a customs inspection and a further long wait before catching the train for Rome (45). At this point, Pardo Bazán launches yet another ferocious attack on the rail company for the inconvenience, humiliation, and sheer rudeness inflicted on the travellers (47-48). And yet, one finds that most train travellers in Europe around that time were in a similarly vulnerable position vis-à-vis railway companies. Indeed, Murray describes the relations between Britain's three hundred railway companies and their disadvantaged passengers thus: "To the tender mercies of this heterogeneous society of companies are our 163 millions of travelling public handed over, a helpless mass. [...] They cannot, of course, know what train is before them, or what train will follow them; nor can they be aware of any of the thousand and one risks to which they are exposed" (Murray, 1862a: 2).
In Genoa, an eight-hour delay awaits the travellers. Although in *Italian Hours* (1909) Henry James comments that "in the wonderful crooked, twisting, climbing, soaring, burrowing Genoese alleys the traveller is really up to his neck in the old Italian sketchability" (James, [1959]: 114), Pardo Bazán has to limit herself to touring a part of the city, which she describes as having "la severidad de los grandes monasterios: es suntuosa y helada" (50). She visits the cemetery, with its wonderful marble statues, and goes to a couple of churches. Unfortunately, though, the freezing temperatures and the physical exhaustion accumulated during the journey undermine her enjoyment (50-51).

In his eight-volume series of guidebooks, *The Cities of Northern Italy* (1883), Augustus J. C. Hare presents Italy and the Italians in a positive light:

During eight whole winters spent at Rome, and years of travel in all other parts of Italy, the author cannot recall a single act or word of an Italian of which he can justly complain; but, on the contrary, has an overflowing recollection of the disinterested courtesy, and the unselfish and often most undeserved kindness, with which he has universally been treated. (Cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 78)

Pardo Bazán, however, disagrees with Hare on the innate courtesy of Italians, and in the piece entitled "Viaje de recreo... espiritual", she speaks of the hostility shown towards the Spanish pilgrims (especially the members of the clergy) and the humiliation endured by them during their journey through France and Italy (45). Suffering from feelings of persecution, the author adds "hay deliberado propósito de
mortificarnos" (46). This sentiment is reiterated soon after her arrival in the Eternal City, for the reception that awaits the Spanish pilgrims there is cold and indifferent, and Pardo Bazán immediately compares the hypocrisy of the Italians with the warm and hospitable nature of Spaniards (70-71). However, once in Rome, the excitement of discovering a city unknown to her makes Pardo Bazán forget her physical exhaustion and other cares. Indeed, almost immediately after her arrival she heads for the Vatican to view the exhibition of gifts given to Leo XIII on the occasion of his jubilee (54), of which she provides a detailed description (55-57).

The fact that she is forced to spend Christmas Eve in Rome away from her family, fills Pardo Bazán with melancholy. She speaks with nostalgia of her home in La Coruña (which she refers to, as usual, by her fictional name for it, Marineda) and remembers her absent children (57-58). It is a moment of great tenderness in which the reader is addressed not by Pardo Bazán the traveller, reporter, or pilgrim, but by Pardo Bazán the devoted mother and the homesick Spaniard who yearns for a traditional Nochebuena. Alarcón, too, during his Italian trip of 1860 fell prey to the feeling of longing for the homeland that affects some travellers when abroad: "Salid de vuestra patria, recorred ajenas ciudades, estudiad extrañas costumbres, y veréis y sentiréis que la patria existe, que cada hombre tiene una patria, como tiene una madre, y que esa patria y esa madre no se pueden reemplazar con otras" (Alarcón, 1968: 1363). The Andalusian writer, like Pardo Bazán, finds himself in the Piazza di Spagna on Christmas Eve, and also like the Galician novelist devotes himself "¡a soñar con la patria y con la familia!" (Alarcón, 1968: 1446).
Putting her sadness aside, Pardo Bazán decides to find out what a traditional Italian Christmas Eve has to offer. To her surprise, the Eternal City is quiet. There is no sign of jubilation or religious exaltation. Rome is not apparently aware that the Child Jesus has been born (59). Similarly, Henry James speaks of the "shrunk proportions of Catholicism" in Italy, adding: "It's as if the churches had been made so for the world, in the social sense, and the world had so irrevocably moved away. [...] The only thing at all alive in the melancholy waste they collectively form is the smell of stale incense" (James, [1959]: 173).

Whilst in Rome, Pardo Bazán behaves very much like a tourist. Indeed, after describing a costumbrista scene in the proximity of Santa Trinità dei Monti (61), the author visits the church of San Giovanni in Laterano, delights in the angelic voices of the choir (62-68), and describes the lavish interior (66-67). She also goes to the Via Appia, where she dwells on the enigmatic sepulchres that line it, and to the catacomb of the Capuchins, where she contrasts the pagan and ultra-Christian concepts of death (110-16) while indulging in the macabre description of the exvotos and mummified bodies of the monks buried there (112-15). Yet all this time she makes no mention of the other tourists who are presumably in the Italian capital and whom James accuses of undermining the enjoyment of the city where pilgrims find it difficult to keep their devotion alive: "It is the general oppressive feeling that the city of the soul has become for the time a monstrous mixture of watering-place and curiosity-shop and that its most ardent life is that of the tourists who haggle over false intaglios and yawn through palaces and temples" (James,
Oblivious to such concerns and accompanied by Luis Llanos, her friend and guide during her stay in Rome, Pardo Bazán visits the Forum, the Palatino, several museums, and the Catacombs, and while she dismisses guidebooks in general as being "sosas y pálidas" (126), she is fascinated by the vivid explanations of her obliging and knowledgeable cicerone. In this particular section (and this is most unusual in Pardo Bazán's chronicles), the author's narrative voice is almost completely taken over by that of Llanos, with her role being thus reduced to that of mere scribe who recounts the words uttered by her guide. And, ironically, it is at this point that the narrative acquires the typical overtones of the guidebooks the author dislikes so much.

Despite these touristic pursuits, Pardo Bazán still finds the time, as she often does in her foreign chronicles, to gather firsthand information from some knowledgeable locals on what is occurring in their country. In this respect, her travel works are far removed from what Murray terms "philosophical tours", produced "by hasty travellers who guessed rather than gathered their information" (Murray, 1858a: 352). Indeed, the Galician writer claims she likes to obtain her information not from books or newspapers, but from direct sources, from the people she meets and from whom such information "brota más sincera y viva, más caldeada en la fragua de la voluntad" (74-75). In this instance, she is very much the reporter or researcher, using her connections as a privileged traveller to interview the people with inside knowledge on what is really happening in Italian politics.

Later in Mi romería, Pardo Bazán travelled by train to
Florence, "la ciudad más monumental y más rica en obras de arte que acaso adorna al mundo" (138). Overwhelmed by the artistic wealth of the city and with little time in which to see it -- "Florencia requiere quince ó veinte días de religiosa contemplación" (137) -- the author, this time playing the part of art critic, focuses her attention on the Michelangelo sculptures which decorate the tombs of the Medicis (141-43). The next stop is Padua, and during her visit to the Basilica of St Antony, Pardo Bazán loses herself in disquisitions about the saint's hagiography (147-50), but she also includes a description of some of the artistic treasures housed in the temple (151-53). While Alarcón is fascinated by the decorations of the chapel dedicated to St Antony (Alarcón, 1968: 1354), Pardo Bazán is much more interested in the teeth and mummified tongue of the saint kept in a reliquary (150-52), another indication of her taste for the macabre that often emerges in her travel works. Interestingly, Henry James also indulges in some macabre pursuits in his Italian Hours, and when in Milan he examines the "shrivelled mortality" of two saints, whose mummified bodies are housed in the cathedral (James, [1959]: 89-90).

While in Loreto, the next stop in her itinerary, Pardo Bazán delves into Italian folklore and recounts, with a touch of mockery, how the sanctuary of Loreto came to be located miraculously in Ancona (156-59). Perhaps this is one of the episodes for whose irreverence she apologizes in the "Advertencia". However, her disrespect may be justified since Murray qualifies the "itinerary" of Loreto as "the most incredible of ecclesiastical legends" (Murray, 1853: 442).

Pardo Bazán began her journey back to Spain by train on
18 January 1888 as part of a group of twenty-five pilgrims. The return trip was much more pleasurable for the travellers than the outward leg, when they had so much to endure:

Un mes antes habíamos rodado [por aquel mismo camino] como pelotas, sufrido persecuciones y calamidades sin número, cabeceado de sueño deteniéndonos á horas increíbles, y asaltando las cantinas de la estación para beber cuatro sorbos de caldo, mientras el silbato de la locomotora se mofaba de nosotros como un pájaro burlón, convirtiendo en segundos los minutos reglamentarios. (165-66)

Also, on the journey home Nature appeared to be smiling on the pilgrims. The weather is milder and the landscape is breathtakingly beautiful:

La impresión del regreso en mi alma es la de una restauradora paz y una cordialidad infinita de la naturaleza. Hace un tiempo primaveral, delicioso; pasamos de día por Niza, Monte Carlo y San Remo, y los ojos se nos deslumbran con el riquísimo azul del Mediterráneo y el verde y oro de los naranjales, que nunca se acaban. (166)

Alexander Baillie Cochrane, in his Young Italy (1850), was also captivated, like the Galician writer, by the stunning Mediterranean landscape: "The few square miles round Cannes and Nice, enclosed between the amphitheatre of the maritime Alps and the sea, is at once the perfection of climate and the garden of Europe" (cited in Murray, 1850: 533).

Soon after arriving in Lourdes, Pardo Bazán heads for the sanctuary, where she is taken aback by the fervour inspired by the candle-lit effigy of the Virgin. Although moved by the
scene, the author is not entirely taken over by it. She is no longer the pilgrim, but a detached reporter or observer, describing the religious spectacle that unfolds in front of her eyes but without fully participating in it (168).

Overall, in Mi romería the travel experience is presented by Pardo Bazán as unpleasant and troublesome, and in transmitting this message she is placing herself firmly in the camp of those Spaniards who regarded travel as primarily hassle and hardship. And although at one point in her account she claims that with religious pilgrimages the spiritual experience must always come second to the luxuries of life (52), Pardo Bazán, the epicurean cosmopolitan, is not quite prepared to renounce modern-day comforts or the privileges she normally enjoys as a traveller. The redeeming factor here is that, despite everything and fortunately for the author, the journey has an exhilarating effect on her that she is eager to transmit to the other pilgrims and to her readership. There is also the aesthetically rewarding experience of the sight of beautiful scenery and the visits to historic and artistic monuments. What is unclear from the text is whether it is the journey or the religious purpose of the trip that acts as a kind of social-levelling device among the pilgrims. But what does transpire from the work is that the difficulties and hindrances of the journey create a feeling of camaraderie among the travellers which helps them overcome their troubles.

Mi romería is probably Pardo Bazán's only travel collection in which she appears to be more interested in the people who travel with her than in the actual places visited, at least while she is on the train. The fact that she is confined for long periods to her train compartment with little
to occupy her mind, or to some station café having to endure lengthy delays, presumably explains this unusual interest in her fellow travellers and the significant amount of social interaction in the first part of the account. It is also noteworthy that during the outward leg Pardo Bazán makes few attempts at describing the landscape seen from the train window, preferring instead to focus her attention on interiors and thereby stressing the sense of confinement.

3. The Religious and the Mystical Experience in Mi romería
It seems that Pardo Bazán's religiousness is reawakened as soon as her pilgrimage to Rome begins: "La romería [...] refresca mi cariño hacia la Iglesia santa" (15). Indeed, she is overjoyed at the prospect of going to Rome, the spiritual centre of the Catholic world: "Salgamos, pues, con el corazón satisfecho, la mente excitada y la alegría propia de nuestra fe en el rostro; éste es un hermoso día. Vamos á Italia y á Roma, á la cuna del mundo latino y al centro de nuestra vida espiritual" (18). Thus, the author experiences a sense of religious anticipation as soon as the train leaves for Rome.

Beatrice Erskine speaks of the "exalted mysticism" of Pardo Bazán's earlier writings (Erskine, 1921: 242), while Pattison claims that after the publication of San Francisco de Asís, "Doña Emilia first intended to compile a history of Mysticism in Spanish literature. At the beginning of the winter of 1882 she was in Santiago investigating her new subject in the university library. But Mysticism was pushed aside for Naturalism" (Pattison, 1971: 42). Yet in Mi romería, published a few years later, Pardo Bazán's mysticism was very
much alive, and constitutes a significant feature of the work.

For example, during the celebration of the papal mass the author falls prey to a kind of mystical ecstasy, and at the moment of the consecration she describes herself as engulfed by a feeling of supreme happiness which strongly resembles the arrobamiento místico of St Teresa of Avila, one of the Spanish mystics greatly admired by the Galician writer (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 710). As she is completely taken over by the experience of the papal mass, she can no longer hold back the emotions that struggle to be set free. She ceases to be aware of her body and mind, and remains motionless as she attempts to assimilate and cope with an unfamiliar feeling:

Estaba en pie, inmóvil, sin respirar, corriéndome dos hilos de lágrimas por las mejillas. Lloraba en silencio, con una felicidad interior tan grande y tan verdadera, que creía no estar en el mundo. Ni sentía la vida orgánica de mi cuerpo ni la función de mi cerebro (cosas que, aun dormida, noto vagamente); no pensaba, ni discurría, ni comprendía, pero se me iba derritiendo el corazón, y un dulcísimo delíquio me vedaba mirar al altar mismo. (87)

However, Pardo Bazán knows that because of her profane inclinations the account of her mystical experiences will be regarded with suspicion and disbelief. Moreover, she is even unsure whether she is doing the right thing by narrating such intimate sentiments:

No me importa que esta impresión tan real y tan profunda sea ó no creída; ignoro si hago bien ó mal en narrarla, y sobre todo en analizarla, pues acaso al destapar el pomo se evapora la preciosa esencia; quizás no faltará
quien la eche á broma ó la juzgue incompatible con mi estado habitual de equilibrio, con mis aficiones literarias, harto profanas y libres, con la especie de frialdad y pesadez de espíritu que engendra la vida mundana, con mi horror al sentimentalismo y al lirismo, con otras muchas cosas que son de nuestro siglo. (87-88)

Interestingly, Alarcón also fell prey to a kind of mystical trance as he awaited the arrival in St Peter's of Pope Pius IX for mass on 25 December 1860, and for him the experience was just as unfamiliar as for Pardo Bazán: "El corazón me latía con irresistible violencia: sentí frío y ganas de llorar...
¡Me desconocía en aquel momento, o, más bien, antes me había desconocido!" (Alarcón, 1968: 1448).

The Galician writer, like Alarcón, is surprised by her reaction to the mass officiated by the Pontiff. Until then she had been unaware that her religious fervour and sensitivity were so near the surface: "Convengo en que también me sorprendí de mi propia impresión. Sabía que era católica, no que lo fuese tan apasionadamente" (88). Yet her mystical ecstasy was only temporary. Indeed, as soon as the pageantry and magnificence of the ceremony diminish, Pardo Bazán wakes up from her religious ecstasy, as one does from a dream, and devoid of her previous religious ardour she is transformed from a participant into a simple spectator who, if not indifferent, is merely curious:

Mas no bien el Papa se bajó de la silla y sólo quedaron dominando la multitud los dos blanquísimos flábulos de plumas, se desvaneció en mi alma el sentimiento que me impulsaba á lamentar no parecerme siempre al pueblo en la frescura del corazón. Volví á ser la espectadora, no
indiferente, pero sí curiosa, que estudia cada detalle con deleite artístico, que sorprende los efectos de luz y la expresión de los rostros. (86)

The author attempts to relive the experience but fails miserably. Her heart feels heavy and her pen fails to capture the precise emotion and jubilation that engulfed her. Only God knows how close to Him she came to being:

En mí sólo ha durado algunas horas la visita del ángel. Busco aquellos sentimientos, y ya no los encuentro [...]. En fin, por espacio de un día al menos se ha liquidado la nieve, y subido convertida en cálido vapor hasta el cielo. (90)

And Pardo Bazan, unable to describe the experience of a religious fervour of which she believed herself incapable, has to admit defeat and acknowledge, just as St Teresa did in El libro de su vida, the inadequacy of human language to express that which belongs to the realms of the spiritual and the mystical (91). Moreover, it seems that her religious ardour requires pomp and ceremony to manifest itself, and it soon dissipates once the visual impact is removed.

This section, entitled "El fantasma blanco", provides, possibly more than any other in Mi romería, an interesting insight into the author's understanding of religion and what she believes the religious experience should involve. Her reaction to the papal mass reveals for Pardo Bazán a facet of her Catholicism of which she had previously been unaware. Until then she did not know that her religious sensitivity could, with the appropriate stimuli, rise to the surface and become a kind of mystical ecstasy. In effect, and from a religious standpoint, her trip to Rome thus becomes, albeit
briefly, a journey of spiritual self-discovery.

4. Christianity versus Paganism

Without a doubt, one of the more striking features of Mi romería is the contrast between Christianity and paganism (or at least the profane) which is already anticipated by the curious collection of items brought back by Pardo Bazán from her trip to Italy, as described in the "Advertencia". And where this dichotomy or duality is most noticeable is in the presentation of the figure of Pope Leo XIII.

One of the focal points of Pardo Bazán's pilgrimage is to meet the Pontiff in person. As she awaits with great expectation and excitement the departure of the train that will take her to Rome, Pardo Bazán visualizes Leo XIII thus:

Para ese Sér, desde hace largos meses, hermosas y aristocráticas manos recaman sobre raso, muselina y tercioplelo, con oro, aljófares y sedas, ornatos dignos del fastuoso Oriente; incrustan y cincelan los orificios el cáñiz cuajado de brillantes que han de elevar sus puras manos en el sacrificio incruento; [...] y envían las reinas y las princesas broches de pedrería, con que adornará su pecho lo mismo que una desposada en el día de las bodas. A las plantas de ese Sér van á arrodillarse [...] gentes de toda nación; hacia ese Sér se alza aclamación inmensa en todas las lenguas del mundo, y le llaman Padre todas las razas; y cuando extiende la diestra y abre los labios para bendecir, su voz resuena en todos los ámbitos del orbe. (17-18)

This description is somewhat reminiscent of that of a pagan
idol which remains impassive as its followers bestow gifts, wealth, and riches upon it. The religious leader, as projected by Pardo Bazán, assumes almost non-human characteristics, thus becoming a kind of icon or deity. The fact that she refers to the Pope as "ese Sér", further supports this interpretation.

There is little doubt that Pardo Bazán felt great respect and admiration for the Pontiff. Overcome by her devotion, she describes him as a kind of ethereal figure or Holy Ghost who is present in every corner of the Eternal City, accompanying and inspiring the pilgrims:

El Papa llena á Roma: oculto, retraído, invisible, envuelto en la dorada aureola que le forma el amor y el tributo de la cristiandad entera, él es el alma de la ciudad. No le vemos, como no vemos el aire que alimenta nuestra vida ni la sangre que la sostiene; pero le respiramos. Es inaccesible, y sin embargo le sentimos en derredor nuestro, influyendo en nuestro albedrío con acción psíquica inexplicable. (75)

As in her depiction of Leo XIII in the piece entitled "A Roma", the Pope is presented as some kind of fetish, inaccessible and unassailable, and lacking in human characteristics, and if Pardo Bazán's intention is to gain the affections of the reader for the Pope, she probably fails. The figure of the Pontiff, as projected by the author, does not inspire love or affection but awe and fear, because the impression she conveys is that of Leo XIII as a rather ghost-like and sinister entity.

The first four words of the section entitled "El fantasma blanco" dispel any doubts as to whether or not Pardo Bazán managed to see the Pope: "Ya le he visto" (81). It is as if in
a childish way she could no longer hold back her excitement: she has to share the good news with the reader, with no time to build up the suspense. Strikingly, though, her description of the interior of St Peter's, as a select few await the arrival of the Pope, is reminiscent of an opening night at the theatre, with the Pontiff playing the leading role:

Al ver en frente el inmenso escenario, á mi izquierda la tribuna diplomática, deslumbradora de bordados y cruces; á mi derecha las patricias romanas luciendo sus mantillas de encaje sujetas con ricos joyeles, y debajo de mí los bancos destinados á canónigos, obispos y patriarcas; al tender la vista por el templo colosal inundado á torrentes con la luz que se despeñaba de la gigantesca cúpula, [...] experimenté la satisfacción del aficionado á música que asiste al estreno de una ópera del más excelso compositor y se encuentra dueño del mejor sitio, á conveniente distancia de la orquesta, y en punto de no perder detalle de la representación ni nota de la música.

(82)

However, the Galician writer, aware of the irreverence of the profane connotations of her description, asks for forgiveness. Furthermore, she confesses that prior to the appearance of the Pontiff the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, and not the spiritual experience, represented the main attraction for her:

He resuelto declarer sinceramente que éstas eran al principio mis impresiones para que la confesión sirva de castigo á mi frialdad y á mis ráfagas de paganism. [...] Claro que la gran solemnidad pontificia nunca se me figuró, rigurosamente hablando, una función teatral, aun considerando tan sólo su parte externa, la magnífica
pompa que la rodea y realza; pero reconozco que esta pompa, este artístico y ostentoso ceremonial eran para mí lo más atractivo. [My italics] (82-83)

Whereas elsewhere, gloomy and derelict churches awake in Pardo Bazán a religious feeling, the luxurious interior decorations of Roman churches assail her with a kind of jubilation and exaltation which borders on paganism:

Hasta el día de hoy no me habían producido emoción religiosa sino las iglesias solitarias, un poco obscuras, mejor si son góticas, amenazan ruina y las pudre la humedad [...] .

Un estado de alma en que no se advierte más que serena alegría, plenitud vital que duplica el goce de existir, de pensar y de entender, eso me producen a mí los soberbios templos de Roma, donde la profusión de oro, plata, bronce, malaquita, cornalina, jaspes y alabastros, la majestad arquitectónica, el aparato de las esculturas, parece que comunican al vivir humano cierta magnificencia y nobleza propia de las grandes épocas históricas paganas, cierto vigoroso júbilo que nos acerca al estado olímpico de los semidioses. [My italics] (83-84)

Presumably influenced by the pagan exaltation that highly ornate Roman churches inspire in her, Pardo Bazán's description of the Pope's arrival in St Peter's conveys, once again, the image of a mannequin or puppet, a pagan idol which, overburdened by the weight of the riches its followers have lavished on it, is paraded in front of the crowd. There is no physical substance to this Pope (the title of this section is, it should be emphasized, "El fantasma blanco"). He has an ethereal and supernatural quality to him. It is a vision, not
a flesh and blood individual. Pardo Bazán, nevertheless, is deeply moved by the entire spectacle and experiences a kind of religious ecstasy:

Cuando por cima del bosque de cabezas, suspendida en el aire como una visión celeste, flotando y bogando después por entre las olas del gentío, divisamos la silla gestatoria; cuando distinguimos la forma del Pescador de hombres, blanco y dorado, abrumado bajo el peso de sus riquísimas vestiduras, de la pedrería de sus joyas; cuando ya vimos su rostro pálido y el movimiento sobrenatural de su brazo al bendecir, sentí el primer escalofrío, el primer estremecimiento psíquico extraño, y, de pie en la silla, como estaban todas las señoras, temí caerme y me apoyé en la primera espalda que pude. (84)

It is interesting to note the similarities between this description and that of Alarcón as he witnessed the arrival in St Peter's of Pope Pius IX on 25 December 1860. This Pontiff is also portrayed as some kind of deity or pagan god:

¡Es la primera vez que contemplo a un ser humano llevado real y efectivamente en procesión, levantado en apoteosis, divinizado, como solemos verlos en representaciones teatrales o en cuadros referentes a héroes de otros pueblos o de otros siglos! [...] Rodeábale una nube de incienso; anchos abanicos de pluma agitaban el aire en torno de él; un alto palio cobijaba las andas; las gentes se arrodillaban a su paso... Era un dios. [My italics] (Alarcón, 1968: 1448)

With regard to such analogies, it is worth recalling Murray's words that "there has ever been a traditional influence
essentially classic and pagan in the Roman Catholicism of Italy. All its ceremonies, pompoms, and observances show it" (Murray, 1861b: 471).

In an attempt to share with her readers her admiration for Leo XIII, Pardo Bazán explains what kind of person the Pontiff is. As on previous occasions, in the section entitled "Una audiencia y una grilla", she proceeds to describe him as a kind of ethereal being, all spirit and little substance:

Más que un organismo humano, parece su cuerpo un pretexto para que esté un alma en el mundo. [...] Las líneas etéreas de su cuerpo y rostro; la transparencia de su tez, semejante á vaso de alabastro con una luz puesta dentro; la blancura argentina de sus canas; su cándida veste; su andar ligero, que apenas se apoya en el piso; todo le da aspecto de sér celestial, ya exento de las imposiciones de la materia y de las groseras funciones biológicas. Ni carne ni sangre: espíritu no más en este hombre. [My italics] (119, 120)

Alarcón, on the other hand, who is determined to see "al hombre detrás del Pontífice" (Alarcón, 1968: 1460), presents Pope Pius IX very much as a flesh and blood individual, albeit idealized:

Pío IX tiene sesenta y nueve años: es alto y fuerte: su apostura revela a un mismo tiempo cierta marcial franqueza y profunda humildad apostólica. [...] A la viveza de sus ojos se contrapone la pacífica bondad de su boca [...]. No obstante su avanzada edad, brilla en su frente un destello de juventud, y, según pude ver luego, este venerable anciano [...] conserva la agilidad y el fuego de sus mejores años. [My italics] (Alarcón, 1968:
Indeed, the only time Leo XIII acquires some kind of physicality in *Mi romería* is during his audience with the pilgrims, emotionally described by Pardo Bazán thus:

> Cuando salió el Papa de detrás del cortinaje purpúreo, repentinamente, le vi al lado de Ortega Munilla y al mío. Y breves momentos después sentí un halago tierno, cariñoso, conmoverador, una caricia de abuelo y de santo, una mano pura, suavísima, que se apoyaba en mi cabeza [...]. La mano del Papa me ceñía las sienes con dulce violencia: le tomé la otra, que llevaba medio vestida con blanco mitón de lana, y se la cubrí de besos. El corazón se me deshacía de ternura. (118-19)

Subsequently, there are more non-Christian elements in Pardo Bazán's description of the Pope: she compares him to the Trimurti, the Hindu Trinity composed of the deities Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu (120), and also adds that the poetry written by the Pontiff ("Dicen que León XIII escribe hermosos versos latinos") makes him worthy of a place on Mount Parnassus (120-21).

The contradiction that emerges from all this is that there appear to be irreconcilable differences between the Pope as God's representative on earth, as the head of Catholicism, as the Vicar of Christ on earth, and the near-pagan idol or deity portrayed by Pardo Bazán. Another contradiction in terms is that involving what the author regards as the ethereal quality of Leo XIII. How can the Pontiff be "ethereal" if he is supposed to be the successor of Peter, the *rock* upon which the Catholic Church was built?: "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram oedificabo Ecclesiam meam" (Matthew 16. 18). One would
assume that the Pope ought to project an image of solidity, substance, and strength.

Later, in the section entitled "Loreto", Pardo Bazán brings once again some pagan connotations into the description of another religious figure, in this case, the Virgin Mary:

Y entre el marco de estas paredes parduzcas, de oriental sabor [...], se ve algo que deslumbra y ciega, algo semejante à un ídolo asiático, una Virgen de negro rostro incrustada en una funda de forma de campaña, donde, sin exageración alguna, no hay ni el espacio de un dedo que no esté cubierto de piedras preciosas: las turquesas enormes, los zafiros, los carbunclos, las esmeraldas y los brillantes despiden reflejos encendidos é irisados, y parece la obscura casita de los viejos muros caverna encantada de Las mil y una noches que oculta y cela tesoro riquísimo. (160)

As in her depiction of the Pope, Pardo Bazán associates luxury, riches, and jewels with non-Christian idols and deities.

Similarly, in the section entitled "Dos muertes", the author looks at two contrasting ways of understanding death: the pagan way of classical Rome and the ultra-Christian way of the Capuchins. For this religious order, with its total disregard for worldly possessions, what mattered was the afterlife. Death was the awaited amada and a means to an end: eternal life (110-11). Pardo Bazán, the admirer of beauty, appears to be more attracted, even if it is just for aesthetic reasons, to the pagan concept of death as "el regreso al seno de la naturaleza madre" (110) than to that of the Capuchins, however spiritually rewarding the latter perception may be.
All the above indicates that Pardo Bazán's description and understanding of Christian events, places, symbols, and concepts normally include profane or even pagan connotations which appear to be in direct conflict with the subject-matter. The frequently pagan overtones of the author's religious experience are possibly a symptom of her continuing Romantic inclinations, as mentioned in Chapter 2. But the Christian-pagan duality of *Mi romería* could also be linked to the city of Rome itself with its first pagan, then Christian, and finally Renaissance associations. In other words, it is likely that Pardo Bazán saw Italy as a mixture of Christianity and paganism, even in the closing stages of the nineteenth century. Alarcón, too, fell under the spell of this duality, and of his visit to the Colosseum in the moonlight he observed:

*He temblado, en fin, he llorado y hasta he balbuceado una plegaria en aquellos sitios que representan la agonía de un mundo y el nacimiento de otro... ¡Noche inolvidable! ¡Todas las tempestades de lo futuro serán insuficientes a oscurecer en mi memoria la claridad con que tu luna bañaba hace poco de religiosa melancolía los restos del naufragio de las edades paganas!* (Alarcón, 1968: 1427)

Rome's pagan-Christian dichotomy emerges clearly in Alarcón's words: he is admiring a monument which typifies pagan Rome, and yet he is praying to a Christian god. Furthermore, he also notes that the Colosseum, "el antiguo teatro maldito", now houses a gigantic cross in the middle of the arena to mark the place where a Catholic priest leads the people of Rome in prayer every Friday evening (Alarcón, 1968: 1430).

Finally, the inherent pagan overtones of certain
Christian rituals should be borne in mind. For instance, commenting on the Easter Week celebrations in Spain in March 1899, Dario foregrounds the pagan connotations of this religious festivity. For him, it is the pomp, ceremony, and luxury of the religious processions that transform these manifestations of Christianity into an almost pagan festival:

Por todas partes retoña [...] la raíz cristiana, por tantos motivos; pero la savia pagana de la tierra no está destruida. La latina se explica. Se gusta en las procesiones de la pompa, de lo oros lujosos, de la decoración de las imágenes, y con el pretexto de la devoción se da suelta a los nervios y a la sangre, floreciendo de rojo la España Negra. (Dario, 1987: 112)

5. The Nineteenth Century

Pardo Bazán's innate dislike for the century of her birth was commented on in Chapter 2. With the passage of time, this hostility increases to the extent that it becomes a recurrent motif in many of her travel chronicles. Although in De mi tierra, the author's criticism of the nineteenth century was rather veiled, in Mi romería she voices her views openly. Indeed, during the journey back home through Italy and France, Pardo Bazán speaks of the modern and tasteless architecture of the new hotels built on the coast to accommodate the tourists. In her opinion, these buildings detract from the natural beauty of the area:

¡Cuán poco artística es nuestra época, al menos en lo que se refiere a arquitectura! [...] A la edad moderna no se le ha ocurrido cosa mejor que sembrar este mitológico...
país de los horribles hoteles que ahora se estilan, grilleras de ladrillo, cal y pizarra, en cuyas fachadas, teñidas del rosa salmón más inicuo, se ostenta el gigantesco reclamo de un dentista norte-americano ó anuncios del agua maravillosa de Sarah Félix... ¡Ah, siglo décimo nono! ¡Ah, siglo de cartón! (166-67)

Thus for Pardo Bazán one of the characteristics of the nineteenth century is its lack of taste and aesthetic values. Such belief is reiterated in her description of the sanctuary of Lourdes: what she finds attractive about Lourdes are the elements created by Nature, and she sees man's contribution to the sanctuary as a blemish on the beauty of the natural setting (169).

As she watches the dimly lit effigy of the Virgin of Lourdes, a prayer, thinly disguised as part of the narrative flow, finds its way into Pardo Bazán's pen:

Virgen blanca, la que estás en la negra gruta, tú sabes que en los tiempos que atravesamos rara es el alma que no siente la parálisis parcial ó total, el alma que no gasta muletas. Bien como las alas del ángel movían la superficie de la piscina probática, conviene que tu soplo agite nuestros espíritus. Y entonces colgaremos las muletas en tu gruta, así sean de oro con perlas y esmaltes. (169)

In this particular passage her concerns are not aesthetic or artistic, but religious, for here she is referring to a lack of religious faith marking the nineteenth century, a period of spiritual barrenness, according to the Galician writer. In the lecture "El porvenir de la literatura después de la guerra" delivered at the Students' Hall of Residence of Madrid Central
University on 5 December 1916, Pardo Bazán argued that religion had been another victim of modern times and that its decline was clearly linked to some of the dominant ideas of the eighteenth century. One hundred years later, she added, the vicious attacks against religion had been superseded by a total indifference to and a lack of awareness of the existence of the soul, and by the adherence to Joseph-Ernest Renan's theory of the supremacy of science over religious beliefs. Thus, the individual, after being deprived of all hope, was left alone in a spiritual vacuum (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1546). In fact, similar concerns were also expressed by Alarcón in his travel work La Alpujarra:

La antorcha de la filosofía moderna, en lugar de iluminar la mente de los desheredados por la fortuna, la ha incendiado, dejándola llena de humo y de cenizas. [...] Creían algo, amaban algo, respetaban algo, adoraban algún ideal, y hoy no creen, aman respetan ni adoran, sino lo concerniente a sus sentidos corporales. (Alarcón, 1968: 1546)

But it is not only spiritual impoverishment that Pardo Bazán sees as marking the nineteenth century. To counteract what she perceives as the artistic indigence of the century, the author often seeks solace in the past, and in Mi romería she finds comfort in the legacy of classical Rome. It is the remembrance of the past that makes it possible for her to survive the present:

Allá, en las márgenes del Tíber, dejamos en prenda una porción importantísima de nuestro sér, aquélla con que percibimos el ritmo de la historia y del arte y conseguimos, con ayuda de la imaginación, vivir en los
siglos muertos. De Roma me queda en el paladar como el dejó de un licor divino, del cual sólo me dieron á probar unas gotas. (171)

In *Mi romería*, and in later travel collections, the nineteenth century is presented by Pardo Bazán as a period of artistic, creative, and religious barrenness, and this frequently compels her to look to bygone centuries for comfort and reassurance: "Miremos siempre hacia atrás; el pasado se ríe del presente" (153).

6. The Political Theme in *Mi romería*

In the "Epílogo" to *Mi romería*, in which the reader is addressed by Pardo Bazán the political writer, not the tourist or the pilgrim, the author recounts the impressions of her visit to Don Carlos, the Pretender, in Venice in January 1888. The encounter was also attended by José Ortega Munilla (the other reporter of *El Imparcial*), Antonio Juan de Vildósola (the editor of the Carlist newspaper, *La Fe*), the Count of Melgar, (the secretary of Don Carlos), and José Suárez de Urbina, a Carlist war reporter (Melgar, 1940: 110). In his chronicle of the encounter, Ortega Munilla notes that the conversation turned from the very beginning to politics and that it centred on Spain. He also adds that during lunch "la conversación fué totalmente dirigida por la gran escritora. Y D. Carlos la oía con reverencia y admiración" (Ortega Munilla, 1921: 7). In this epilogue, Pardo Bazán is preoccupied with appearing objective, impartial, and fair in her portrayal of the Pretender, and to support her allegations of impartiality she refers the reader to other "independent" sources such as
the Italian senator Pierantoni, a man of great repute, who had also been pleasantly surprised by Don Carlos's persona (182-83).

Pardo Bazán begins with a description of the Pretender, as the paragon of male beauty and as a kind of flawless Adonis, which is highly idealized and reminiscent of the classical statues of Ancient Greece or Rome, thus indicating another influence of the pagan sculptures she has admired in the Eternal City:

Es D. Carlos de elevadísima estatura, que en hombre menos bien proporcionado y apuesto parecería colosal. La cabeza, ni grande ni chica, campea airosa sobre el arrogante busto. Los ojos, obscurísimos y ensoñadores, atenuan el carácter, obstinado de puro correcto, de la intachable nariz. El pelo es de ébano; la barba, de seda negra, con dos ó tres hilos argentinos, distribuída por la naturaleza con tan buena gracia, que sin extralimitarse en el cuello ni las mejillas adorna con varonil gravedad el simpático rostro. [...] La mano merece notarse: es una nobilísima extremidad humana, que revela en su dueño, al par de la inteligencia y la exquisita pulcritud de la vida civilizada actual, el vigor necesario para aferrar la tajante de los antiguos paladines. (183-84)

Ironically, although in La cuestión palpitante (1882-83) Pardo Bazán mocks Rafael and Gilliatt, the highly idealized Romantic heroes of Lamartine and Victor Hugo respectively -- "¡Cuán preferible es retratar un ser humano, de carne y hueso, a fantasear maniquíes"! (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 584) -- in Mi romería her description of Don Carlos runs along similar
lines. Moreover, there is also a striking contrast between the above portrayal, which emphasizes the physicality of the Pretender, and the author's earlier depictions of Leo XIII, which foregrounded the ethereal and spiritual attributes of the Pontiff.

Pardo Bazán can find no flaw in this man who has the body and the physique of a king. In effect, for the Galician writer the Pretender is the living embodiment of the monarchy (185), an institution very close to her heart, and her appraisal of Don Carlos as an entirely suitable and befitting candidate for the Spanish throne is again reiterated in the message she writes in the visitors' book of the Pretender:

Si yo no tuviera hace años la triste convicción de que ha palidecido el sol de la gloria hispana y su fortuna ha desplegado las alas para ir a posarse en otras regiones del mundo, hoy lo creería viendo al Rey que el destierro nos niega y que honraría la estirpe de Borbón más que el animoso Felipe V y el justo Fernando VI. (Melgar, 1940: 111)

And on different tack, the author, as a declared admirer of art and beauty, is also fascinated by Don Carlos's artistic taste, as reflected in the decoration of his home, the palace of Loredán:

Desde los mástiles rojo y gualda para atar las góndolas en el desembarcadero, hasta el último clavo de la señorial mansión, todo indica el gusto refinado e inteligente del hombre moderno, educado por largos viajes, que prueban el arrojo y actividad del espíritu y la robustez del organismo en quien por recreo los emprende. (190)
It is certainly striking that the Pretender, the leader of a movement which stood for absolutism, the Inquisition, censorship, and cultural conservatism, is presented by the Galician writer as an "hombre moderno". Yet, of course, the objectives of Carlism were the perpetuation of the social and political forces which had characterized Fernando VII's absolutism: the Church, the aristocracy, and the monarchy, whose power and influence the Liberals had set out to undermine.

Judging by what Pardo Bazán says of her encounter with the Pretender in her Polémicas y estudios literarios (1892), it would appear with hindsight that by 1888, the year of her visit to Venice, her more liberal ideas were beginning to erode her Carlist principles, even if she was still unaware of this fact. What she does admit to is that by 1892 she no longer regarded herself as identified with the stringent Carlist principles of her youth, but with the more liberal tenets of the present: "Sea como quiera, el mismo Don Carlos, que me calificó de escritora liberal, vio tal vez mejor que yo misma el estado de mi conciencia, y creo que cumplo como buena al declarar --sin detrimento de mi respeto al príncipe expatriado-- que ya estoy, no identificada con mi época, sino probablemente un poco más adelante" (cited in Osborne, 1964: 28). Indeed, Ortega Munilla, like the Pretender, also suggested Pardo Bazán's estrangement from Carlism at the time of the Venice visit: "Yo no sé si Emilia Pardo Bazán experimentó alguna amargura en ese viaje y en esa visita a Loredán. Lo único que sé es que, poco más tarde, ella se separaba de su misión amorosa a las tradiciones" (Ortega Munilla, 1921: 7). Thus, it seems that by 1888 Pardo Bazán's
affections were less with the Carlist cause than with the person of the Pretender himself. In other words, her sympathies had shifted from a political movement to the person who embodied the principles of Carlism.

The second section of the "Epílogo", entitled "Confesión política", provides an interesting and revealing insight into Pardo Bazán's political allegiances. She begins her "confession" by speaking of the Revolution of 1868 and by admitting that although at first she was attracted to its political ideals, the excesses of the Septembrina forced her in the opposite direction: "De familia liberal, acogí con simpatía el movimiento; en breve los desplantes y excesos de la gloriosa me arrojaron en sentido contrario, hacia la reacción completa" (193). By "desplantes y excesos" she is presumably referring to the anti-religious and anti-clerical excesses of the Gloriosa, which in her "Apuntes autobiográficos" she describes thus: "Los brutales excesos de la demagogia clerófoba; el Congreso vuelto blasfemadero oficial; las imágenes fusiladas; los monumentos del arte derribados con saña estúpida; las monjas zarandeadas y tratadas con menos miramiento que si fuesen mozas de partido; la rapacidad incautadora y, en suma, la guerra sistemática al catolicismo" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 708).

There is little doubt that the Revolution of 1868 marked Pardo Bazán, and it is even possible, as Ronald Hilton suggests, that it awakened her to the confrontation between the Old Spain and the New Spain (Hilton, 1952a: 293). Indeed, even as late as 1915, the ghost of the Septembrina was still haunting her. In an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 26 July 1915, the author refers to the Gloriosa
in terms of chaos and social collapse, and remembers how Madrid's upper classes fled the country in order to escape the revolutionary hordes. But at the back of the minds of these political refugees the restoration of the monarchy was already taking shape (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 343).

In *Mi romería*, the author claims that after the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875 she lost interest in politics, devoting her entire time to literary pursuits, and adds that although her political ideas mellowed with time, her basic beliefs remain unaltered (194-95). But can Pardo Bazán's claim be taken at face value? Judging by her travel chronicles, politics, both domestic and foreign, remained very close to her heart, and they tend to surface when least expected, even if in some collections, such as *Por la España pintoresca*, this preoccupation is entirely absent. What Pardo Bazán does reveal is a strong aversion to ambitious, selfish, and self-centred politicians for whom their personal achievements on the political arena and their thirst for power are more important than the good of the nation. And in *Mi romería* she paints a bleak and pessimistic picture of post-Restoration Spain as the ideal breeding ground for egotistic politicians who do not regard the well-being of Spain as of paramount importance (197-98).

Indeed, Pardo Bazán's disappointment with Cánovas del Castillo's Restoration settlement is evident, and although in *Mi romería* she acknowledges that the Restoration has brought peace to Spain, it has been, she argues, at the cost of a meek and weak government that is bleeding the nation to death (198). At this point, the writer delves into what can be regarded as the core of her "Confesión política", that is, the
Spanish problem presented as the conflict between the Old Spain and the New Spain. Of the two, Pardo Bazán favours the Old Spain, presumably because her origins and what she represents are deeply rooted in that system. Here it is important to remember the aristocratic, conservative, and Catholic circles in which Pardo Bazán moved and with which she was associated both intellectually and emotionally. In effect, in the preface to her Poetas épicos católicos (1879) she admits to being a neo-Catholic at the time of writing that work, observing: "Este libro es hijo del estado de mi alma en 1878 y 79: era yo entonces lo que suele entenderse por neo-católica" (Pardo Bazán, [1895a]: 9).

For the author, constitutional government and the parliamentary system institutionalized by the New Spain are pernicious for the country, and she uses vigorous language to reflect her disappointment at what she sees as the shambles of the democratic process:

De las aspiraciones que ésta [la Nueva España] trajo consigo, es el constitucionalismo y el sistema parlamentario la que le costó más esfuerzos y sangre y la que proclamó como dogma fundamental. [...] Pero va arraigándose en las conciencias la persuasión de que el sistema representativo, tal y como hoy existe, es aparato lúgubre y funesto, á cuya sombra se trama nuestro daño; mampara solemne, tras la cual se consuma la ruina, acabamiento y perdición de España. (196, 197)

Here she is referring to the two-party system in operation in Spain during the Restoration whereby the two main factions (Conservative and Liberal) would monopolize power and alternate in office for pre-established terms. Under this
political "arrangement", known as the turno pacífico, the elections became a charade in which the results were agreed beforehand following a long process of negotiation (encasillado) between the government and the opposition, aimed at achieving a comfortable majority in Parliament. Thus, the struggle for political power would take place prior to the election itself: "En esas condiciones el Gobierno parlamentario es claramente una ficción. Pero una ficción que dio un pasable juego durante un cuarto de siglo, mientras Cánovas y Sagasta mantuvieron la hegemonía casi indiscutida de dos grandes partidos que aceptan las reglas del juego como un compromiso político de honor" (Luis Sánchez Agesta, Historia del constitucionalismo español, Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid, 1955: 342, cited in Tortella [Jover Zamora], 1981: 292).

Yet although in her writings of the 1880s and 1890s Pardo Bazán portrays the parliamentary government of the Restoration as weak and subject to exploitation by ambitious and self-serving politicians, at no time, as David Henn notes, does she mention the need to reform the system in order to transform it into a representative and democratic one (Henn, 1988: 139). In other words, regardless of her indictment of Spain's political sins the author does not suggest a viable alternative which might lead to the reform and regeneration of the country. This would seem to confirm Nelly Clémessy's claim that despite Pardo Bazán's liberal tendencies the Galician writer had no faith in democracy. She always held a very aristocratic concept of social organization, and although she recognized that the monarchic system was not without flaws, she saw it as the fairest form of government (Clémessy, 1981, II: 511).
In *Mi romería*, Pardo Bazán argues that since the first Carlist war (1833-39), the Old Spain has been represented by the Carlists and the New Spain by the Liberals. But the present conflict which divides Spain is, she claims, no longer about who should inherit the throne; it is about opposing political ideas and the clash between the past and the present (199). This conflict to which she alludes was, in fact, as Hilton notes, the confrontation between Catholic conservatives and anti-clerical liberals. While the former claimed that Spain had to be rescued and kept at bay from pernicious foreign influences, the latter affirmed it was necessary to remove the dead tissue that, within Spanish society, was poisoning the country. Furthermore, they argued that Spain should open its doors to the constructive influences of Europe's more advanced nations (Hilton, 1952c: 298).

In the closing stages of her "Confesión política", the author adds that the reins of the country should be placed in the hands of independent, robust, and powerful institutions (205). Here she is probably suggesting that Spain should be governed by a strong and independent monarchy, that is, a non-parliamentary and absolute monarchy such as that represented by the Pretender. Indeed, the final message of her "Confesión" appears to confirm this suggestion. As she leaves Don Carlos, Pardo Bazán is engulfed by the sadness that surrounds the palace of the monarch fated not to be king. The tragedy for her is that the resident of the Loredán palace could well be the miracle worker Spain so badly needs: "Cruzábamos el Gran Canal dirigiéndonos á la estación del ferrocarril; miré hacia las ventanas de Loredán, y una inmensa tristeza embargó mi alma. [...] Allí se quedaba tal vez el remedio y la salvación..."
de España" (205, 206).

Overall, and in spite of Pardo Bazán's sympathies for Carlism and for what this cause represented, a tone of reconciliation prevails in this last section of Mi romería, where she expresses her wish for the two Spains to unite, settle their differences, and then march together towards a glorious future (201). Yet despite the conciliatory tenor of Pardo Bazán's recommendations, her article caused a major rift within the Carlist party between the so-called carlistas and integristas. On 1 June 1888, Ramón Nocedal, the editor of the extremist Carlist newspaper El Siglo Futuro, wrote to Don Carlos asking him to make his stance clear. The reply of the Pretender on 14 June of that year read as follows:

No es cierto que entre los tradicionalistas haya dos banderas [...]. Publica una escritora liberal apreciaciones personales en La Fe, [...] y tú te apresuras a propalar entre tus lectores que se ha levantado aquella nueva bandera en nuestras filas [...]. Te bastaba haber dicho que aquella escritora, extraña a nuestro campo, gozaría de cuantos méritos literarios se quisiera, pero carecía de autoridad política. (Cited in Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 162)

Don Carlos's reply is interesting in that he refers to Pardo Bazán as a liberal writer and an outsider, and refuses to grant her any political authority by undermining her assessment of Spain's political scene. At this juncture, Pardo Bazán could well have felt betrayed or at least disappointed by the words of the Pretender, the man she had set out to vindicate in the impressions of her visit to Venice.

Disillusioned by the rigidity and intransigence of
Carlism, Pardo Bazán wrote in 1888: "No puedo, no, ver con indiferencia que aún corre por las venas de España este licor que sólo debiera ser rancio, y hoy es ponzñoso en fuerza de su misma vejez" (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 163). This marked the end of what Pardo Bazán herself termed her "carlismo posibilista", and shortly afterwards she became a supporter of Cánovas del Castillo's Conservative party (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 163-64). The author's disappointment at having failed to see a reconciliation between the Old Spain and the New Spain must have been significant. But perhaps what troubled her most was the realization that, by 1888, the venom which had poisoned Spain's internal politics for many decades had lost none of its potency.

7. Conclusions

Although in Mi romería, Pardo Bazán, as is customary with her, does indulge in some name-dropping, her contacts in Spain and abroad can do nothing to alleviate the hardship of her journey to Italy. To her chagrin, she finds herself in a vulnerable position in that she is not the privileged traveller the reader encounters in later chronicles: she is just one of the three hundred anonymous and helpless pilgrims who are forced to endure the bad organization and conditions of the trip. Indeed, contrary to other travel collections, in Mi romería Pardo Bazán is treated very much like any other viajero, and her frustration at this "democratic" treatment emerges in the work despite the various references to the camaraderie among the pilgrims and to the travel experience (and the resulting hardship) acting as a kind of social-levelling device.
Although at one point the author claims she welcomes the difficulties of the journey because they provide material for her pen, she has problems reconciling her easy-going approach to travel (and the preferential treatment she usually enjoys) with the vexation and discomfort suffered during the outward leg of her Italian trip.

Adams argues that "lasting" authors of travels should be able to combine several disciplines or play several roles in their accounts (Adams, 1983: 281), and, in effect, one especially interesting aspect of Mi romería is that it shows Pardo Bazán at her most versatile as a travel writer: she is the traveller, the pilgrim, the novelist, the tourist, the art critic, the historian, the homesick Spaniard, the political writer, and the patriot. And it is the combination of these multifaceted pursuits that transforms Mi romería into an artistic, political, and religious pilgrimage in which Pardo Bazán conveys, and at times confronts, her views in these three areas of interest. Indeed, in the case of the Galician writer, as in that of earlier pilgrims, "the devotional interest is no longer so exclusive as to preclude the notice of other features not directly connected with it" (Murray, 1854b: 359).

From a religious standpoint, Mi romería is also a journey of self-discovery as the author attempts to understand and cope with a religious experience hitherto unknown to her. However, what undermines the potential merit of Pardo Bazán's religiousness is that it appears to be prompted by rather profane trappings, such as the pomp and ceremony of the celebrations she attends in Rome. Indeed, her fervour, as depicted in Mi romería, comes across as a religious sentiment
which penetrates through the senses instead of emanating from
the heart. And although there can be no doubt that in her
pilgrimage to the Eternal City Pardo Bazán attempts to become
a better Catholic and to feel the religious fervour in a more
devout way, it is also apparent that she is fully aware of and
struggles with the profane overtones of the religious
sentiment as experienced by her.

One aspect of Mi romería that proves difficult to
reconcile is the Christian and pagan connotations that coexist
rather uncomfortably in this work. This duality could well be
explained, as mentioned earlier, by the fact that Rome, the
setting for the greater part of this work, was first a pagan
and then a Christian city. It is possible that Pardo Bazán,
without realizing it, has fallen under the spell of the
Eternal City where, as she herself notes, pagan and Christian
elements still jostle for position:

En esta Roma, donde parece que á la vuelta de tantos
siglos aún continúan luchando Cristo y Jove; en esta Roma
bifronte como el antiguo Jano, en que se pueden visitar
con pocos minutos de intervalo los salones testigos de
las orgías imperiales y las Catacumbas, rellenas de
huesos de confesores de la fe. (107)

This dichotomy is also mentioned by Alarcón prior to his
arrival in Rome: "Vamos a entrar [...] en la capital del
Paganismo y del Cristianismo; en la morada de los Césares y de
los Papas" (Alarcón, 1968: 1422), while Henry James notes that
"in Rome you stumble at every step on some curious pagan
memorial, often beautiful enough to make your thoughts wander
far from the strange stiff primitive Christian forms" (James,
[1959]: 338).
In the section entitled "Acqua Vergine", Pardo Bazán succumbs to a Roman superstition: legend has it that all those who drink from the Fontana di Trevi at midnight on the eve of their departure will return to the Eternal City prior to their death. Pardo Bazán willingly complies; she dips her hand in the icy fountain and drinks its water. At this point one wonders whether in her journey to Italy she is in fact seeking some kind of spiritual regeneration or purification, the kind of purification that erases the past and allows the individual to be reborn. As González Martínez notes:

En el agua todo se "disuelve", "toda forma" se rompe, todo lo que ha ocurrido deja de existir; nada de lo que antes existía perdura tras la inmersión en el agua [...]. Por destruir todas las formas, por borrar el pasado, el agua posee este poder de purificar, de regenerar, de nacer de nuevo... El agua purifica y regenera porque suprime el pasado, y restaura --aunque sólo sea por un instante-- la integridad de la aurora de las cosas.

(González Martínez, 1988: 55)

Alas, the reader is never told whether the gods smiled on Pardo Bazán in fulfilment of her wishes. The secret stays with her as she bids farewell to the Eternal City with a sentimental "Hasta la vista, Roma" (173).
CHAPTER 4

A MONARCHIST AT A REPUBLICAN CELEBRATION:

AL PIE DE LA TORRE EIFFEL

1. Introduction

In 1889 Pardo Bazán travelled to France as a feature writer for her friend José Lázaro Galdiano's recently founded review, *La España Moderna*,¹ to report on the Paris Universal Exhibition held that year. Her articles, mainly destined for publication in Spanish-American newspapers, were published in book form later in 1889 under the title *Al pie de la torre Eiffel: (Crónicas de la Exposición)*. This account is in the epistolary form and consists of nineteen letters dated from 7 April to 14 July 1889. Cartas 1 and 2 were composed while Pardo Bazán was still in Madrid, and their object is to provide background information on France prior to her departure for Paris. Cartas 3 and 4 were written from Bordeaux, as the author made her way to the Universal Exhibition, and the rest of the entries were presumably penned in the French capital.

Carta 7 contains what could be regarded as an *advertencia*, similar to that included in *Mi romería*. In it, Pardo Bazán warns that her chronicles will not be entirely dedicated to the Exhibition, for she intends to alternate this subject with personal opinions and impressions of individuals.

¹ The first number of *La España Moderna* appeared in January 1889.
and topics of general interest (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 107). Indeed, the fact that a significant part of Al pie sidesteps the Exhibition completely, focusing instead on Pardo Bazán's opinions, tastes, and interests, is pointedly noted by Antonio Díaz Benzo: "Creyendo leer cosas de París, me encuentro en su libro con cosas de usted" (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 17).

Furthermore, in Carta 1 the author acknowledges her intention to be selective in her reporting on the Exhibition. She will be the only judge of what is worth describing in detail. Indeed, she announces that she is leaving for Paris "con objeto de escribir cuanto en mi opinión merezca ser referido del magno acontecimiento de la Exposición" [my italics] (1). This personal perspective, which would seem to indicate Pardo Bazán's intentions to act as a mediator between the Paris event and her readership, is again foregrounded by Díaz Benzo and robustly criticized:

Todas las instalaciones y edificios de importancia que tiene la Exposición Universal de París no merecen para usted más atención que un rápido vistazo; los instrumentos y aparatos que usan los ingenieros los llama simplemente chismes, [...] hace caso omiso de los pabellones industriales; no admira ni estima la Galería de las Máquinas, siquiera como se admira y estima lo incomprensible, y no se determina a describir el Palacio de la Agricultura. [...] ¡Pues queda uno enterado de lo que había allí leyendo el libro de usted! (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 44-45)

But in Carta 11, to which Díaz Benzo's comments refer, Pardo Bazán's selective approach could be justified since, as the title of the section indicates, she is only looking at the
Exhibition "por fuera", delaying her inspection of the display "por dentro" "para cuando todas las instalaciones se encuentren completas" (188).

2. The Sense of Travel and Place, and Some Thoughts on Spaniards in Paris

In Carta 1 of Al pie Pardo Bazán announces that during her stay in Paris she will be moving around the city and visiting, inter alia, some of the seediest spots of the Parisian underworld (18-20). However, this promise never materializes. In the same letter she also speaks of her experiences in Paris as a seasoned traveller and tourist but in retrospect, referring to previous stays in the French capital and adding: "La ardiente curiosidad que despierta París, pocos la habrán satisfecho con más detenimiento y holgura que yo. Sola y libre [...] la he recorrido sin perdonar callejuela" (15). Indeed, she briefly recalls her visits to the National Library, her evenings at the Opéra, her experiences in the best and also the humblest Parisian restaurants, her visits to the city's markets, her purchases in some of the most prestigious shops, her trips to the city's museums and art galleries, her soirées with Edmond de Goncourt, and so on (14-18). In this way, she is authenticating her credentials as a highly qualified guide to Paris and attempting to lend credibility and authority to her chronicles by demonstrating that she is fully familiar with the French capital, its institutions, and way of life. Furthermore, she mentions that she would welcome the chance to witness a public execution while in Paris -- "Espectáculo macabro y horrendo si los hay" (20) -- and as a justification
for her macabre pursuits (often featured in her travel works)
she observes: "No es frívolo afán de diversión lo que me
incita á darme cuenta de todo, sino una especie de deber
profesional, inherente á mis tareas de novelista y á mi
condición de pensadora" (20).

Pardo Bazán's penchant for the macabre also reveals
itself in her three-day stay in Bordeaux, with her
description, again in retrospect and referring to a previous
trip, of the mummified bodies buried in the city's church of
St Louis. She proudly announces how through her travels (which
presumably have hardened her sensitivity) she has come to
control her fear of gruesome and macabre spectacles:

He mirado sin pestafiear los ahogados del depósito secreto
de la Morgue, extraídos después de permanecer cinco meses
en el fondo del Sena; he penetrado de noche, á luz de un
trémulo farolillo, en el pavoroso cementerio de los
Capuchinos, en Roma; he recorrido las salas de enfermos
graves del Hôtel-Dieu, y he visto depositar en el ataúd
al difunto fallecido de terrible mal contagioso... Soy,
pues, dueña de mi misma. (56-57)

And it is while in Bordeaux that she recollects her stay in
Barcelona the previous year, visiting the Universal Exhibition
of 1888, which, free from professional commitments, she
attended "como viajera perezosa, á gozar un mes de libertad y
de recreo estético y ensoñador" (70).

Once installed in Paris, Pardo Bazán refers, at the
beginning of Carta 5, to the relative discomforts of the train
journey from Bordeaux:

Llegué á París en la madrugada del 4 [de Mayo], en un
tren atestado de gente; imagino que la llevaba hasta
dentro de los furgones. [...] "Fortuna --pensaba yo-- que estamos en tierra francesa. Allá en mi querida é incorregible patria, esto se habría convertido ya en tren botijo, y en lugar de los ocho asientos de cada departamento, iríamos aquí trece ó catorce personas hacinadas, molestándonos, y por consiguiente aborreciéndonos de todo corazón." (81-82)

But after her arrival in the French capital, travel is sidestepped as Pardo Bazán concentrates her attention on the components of the Paris event and other ancillary pursuits.

Earlier in Al pie Pardo Bazán noted that her stopover in Bordeaux helped alleviate the monotony of a trip undertaken many times before (55). Indeed, as she readily admits in the very first sentence of Al pie, her familiarity with Paris has undermined the excitement and anticipation that she would otherwise have felt as a traveller: "Si yo no conociese á fondo, casi palmo á palmo, la gran capital de Francia, ¡qué emoción experimentaría en estos instantes al encontrarme, como quién dice, puesto el pie en el estribo para salir hacia ella!" (1).² Here, and making no attempt at false modesty, the author presents herself as someone well acquainted with and able to appreciate Paris.

Elsewhere in Carta 1, Pardo Bazán speaks in a patronizing and disdainful way of some of her compatriots who will be visiting the Universal Exhibition. She is referring to the unprepared and inexperienced average madrileño, travelling

² In fact, Al pie could almost be regarded as what Muggli terms a "domilogue", written "by residents or sojourners, rather than travelers", who "have become such fixtures in their foreign places that we -- not they -- are the travelers" (Muggli, 1992: 188).
abroad for the first time to visit the Paris display. The fact that he does not speak the language, coupled with his unfamiliarity with French customs, will, she claims, turn this much-awaited trip into a nightmare. Hurriedly attempting to cover as much ground as possible, he sees all the sights and visits all the monuments, but without taking anything in. He becomes tired and irritable, and feels trapped by the crowds that surround him. The carefully calculated budget for the trip flies out of the window as soon as the unfortunate traveller crosses the border. Unforeseen expenses mount up, and the stay in Paris ends up costing much more than anticipated (21-25).

Pardo Bazán, however, being a seasoned traveller, will take everything in her stride whilst visiting Paris:

Yo, en cambio, estaré en mi elemento. Acostumbrada á viajar y familiarizada con París por largas residencias, cada cosa se me presentará en su verdadero horizonte, y el París moral é intelectual (el que no se ve con guías ni en un mes), se destacará de nuevo para mí sobre el murmullo ensordecedor del gran Certamen (25). Doubtless, she regards herself as one of those travellers who "have remained long enough in one province or place, [...] however often described before, to obtain that living acquaintance with it which always commands interest" (Murray, 1845d: 104). Her arrogant, patronizing attitude and the mockery to which she subjects the inexperienced traveller reflect a feeling of vain and unsympathetic superiority on Pardo Bazán's part: "¡Ah y qué cordialmente voy á reírme cuando encuentre por aquellas calles y aquellas instalaciones de la Exposición á mis vecinos del barrio de Salamanca, que no
verán la hora de volver á catar su linfa del Lozoya y su puchero castizo" (24-25). She appears to overlook the fact that the average Spaniard does not share her privileged position which on this occasion at least allows her to travel freely with no budgetary constraints.

With other visitors she is prepared to be more tolerant. Indeed, in the closing pages of *Al pie* Pardo Bazán speaks of her admiration for English travellers who refuse to be intimidated by the chauvinistic way in which the French exalt their customs, art, traditions, and national characteristics to the detriment of those of other nations. The English, a proud and energetic race with a strong sense of national identity, will not, she claims, play by these rules and, in consequence, their idiosyncrasies are respected by the French (293-94). Spaniards, however, eager to please and demonstrate their innate class by not questioning the extortionate prices charged by the French, become an object of ridicule in the neighbouring nation: "Pero nosotros, mansos corderos del turismo; nosotros que entramos en Francia resueltos á dejar que nos esquilen á trueque de probar nuestra hidalguía y finura (todo español acepta toda cuenta, es tradición y proverbio), nosotros somos el Quijote reidero, el figurón internacional, la víctima propiciatoria" (294). In this observation, Pardo Bazán is comparing the resolve and strong sense of national identity of English travellers with the exploitable chivalry of their Spanish counterparts, who are prepared to be hoodwinked on condition that their breeding is not compromised. Thus, she is possibly suggesting that chivalry in late nineteenth-century European travel is a liability rather than an asset, and that to behave like a trusting knight-
errant is foolish.

3. The Political Implications of the 1889 Universal Exhibition
Politics are never far from Pardo Bazán's mind, and in Al pie she uses every opportunity to establish a link between the Paris Exhibition and this topic so close to her heart. Indeed, as early as Carta 1, the Galician writer argues that so many nations have declined France's invitation to participate in the Paris Exhibition for political reasons. She claims that France has a tradition of revolutions and political unrest, and has attempted to transmit this instability and subversive tendency to other countries. The fact that the Exhibition commemorates the centenary of the French Revolution has apparently antagonized many nations, hence their decision to boycott the event (12-13).

But despite this, Pardo Bazán is confident that the Paris Exhibition will be a total success: "¿Quién lo duda? La Exposición resultará; París rebosará de gente y harán su agosto los hosteleros, los tenderos, las cortesanas y las modistas" (14). The rejection by some foreign governments does not appear to undermine in any way the enthusiasm and

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^ Indeed, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, China, Egypt, Spain, Britain, Italy, Luxemburg, Holland, Peru, Portugal, Romania, and Russia took part in the Exhibition, but not officially, while Germany, Sweden, Turkey, and Montenegro failed to be represented (The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information, Eleventh Edition, New York, 1910-1911, 29 vols, vol. 10: 69).

^ In effect, The Times saw the event as a "great Exhibition, in which engineers, architects, and builders have vied in science, activity, and devotion in order to offer the world a work worthy of the genius of this country" ("Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 7 May 1889, p. 5).
Pride that the French feel about the Exhibition, which they regard as a common achievement (93).

Pardo Bazán also notes that in the unlikely event that the Exhibition turns out to be a failure, the French government will be to blame for having arranged for the event to coincide with the one-hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, the most vivid symbol of the Revolution of 1789 and of the absolutism of the French monarchy (35). On this observation, which reveals a certain arrogance on Pardo Bazán's part, Díaz Benzo adds sarcastically: "No fue pequeña la [tontería] que cometió el Gobierno de Francia no consultando á usted la fecha y forma en que debía celebrar la Exposición. ¡Así se pierden las naciones!" (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 15).

But in any case, the author's impressions of Paris soon after her arrival could not be more positive. The French capital is absolutely spotless. Paris is looking its best for the crowds arriving for the Exhibition and a feeling of national pride pervades the atmosphere. She offers the following description of the city of light or, as she refers to it, "una bacanal de luces":

A lo largo de las fachadas, señalando las ventanas, puertas, molduras y cornisas hasta los pisos más altos,

5 The correspondent of The Times also speaks of the initial mistake committed by the French government "in desiring in every way to confound the Exhibition with the Revolution, and in trying to make a great display representing the progress of science and the arts as a result of a political revolution". Subsequently, however, "under the silent influence of public good sense at home and abroad, the Exhibition has dropped its intimate connexion with the Revolution, and the celebration of the centenary of that event is no longer to be regarded as the inauguration of the great display in the Champ de Mars" ("The Versailles Celebration", The Times, 6 May 1889, p. 7).
las líneas de luz nacen y se destacan poco a poco, hasta que de repente queda toda la orilla derecha de París adornada con estrellas y girándolas de diamantes. [...] El Arco de Triunfo dibuja sobre la oscuridad nocturna un círculo de fuego. (102)

Pardo Bazán goes on to observe that the Paris Exhibition is regarded by some French people as a way of getting back at the Germans: they may be militarily superior, but they lack the ingenuity and the organizational skills of the French who can charm the entire world into attending their Exhibition (84-85). At this point it becomes apparent to Pardo Bazán that the Paris Exhibition is as much about national psychology and politics as about inventions and industrial advancement. The Galician writer presents the event as acting as a kind of political wallpapering device for the French. The monarchists, putting aside the unhappy anniversary which for them the Exhibition commemorates, are engulfed by a feeling of national pride. Even the supporters of the disgraced General Boulanger decide to postpone their protests until after the event. And the average Frenchman, less preoccupied with politics,

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6 Indeed, The Times remarked how in France "party spirit is silent in presence of the feeling of satisfaction and pride which has taken possession of the whole nation" ("The Versailles Celebration", The Times, 6 May 1889, p. 7).

7 The correspondent of The Times perceptively notes: "It seems already like ancient history to reflect that only a few months ago General Boulanger had a monopoly as regards the collecting of crowds in Paris, whereas to-night his name is not uttered, and he appears as if entirely forgotten" ("Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 7 May 1889, p. 5).
welcomes the economic boom stimulated by the Exhibition (85).  

The morning of the inauguration, Pardo Bazán walks the Parisian streets sensing and breathing the excitement and anticipation which seize the French capital. Hundreds of thousands of people crowd the streets. They are all making their way, as if entranced, towards the new Colossus of the Eiffel Tower, which beckons at them from high up in the sky (92-93). As the landau of the President of the Republic makes its way down the Champs Elysées, the crowd gathered for the event apparently applauds with reservation and a touch of detached indifference. But the coldness of the people melts away as the band begins to play the first chords of "La Marseillaise". The crowd roars, electrified by the patriotism conveyed by the national anthem (97-98). With this description, the author seems to suggest that this crowd is the repository of the ardour, fervour, and convictions of the hordes that one hundred years earlier had taken the Bastille, and that the focus of attention is no longer the infamous prison but the Eiffel Tower, the contemporary emblem of the victory of 1789. Indeed, at the sound of "La Marseillaise", the time-gap magically disappears as the French people relive

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8 "There is not a true Frenchman who is not enthusiastic in his desire to do what he can for the success of the great undertaking" ("The Versailles Celebration", The Times, 6 May 1889, p. 7).

9 The correspondent of The Times noted: "M. Carnot had arrived through a dense but not very enthusiastic crowd" ("Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 7 May 1889, p. 5).

10 In effect, soon after Carnot's arrival at the Exhibition, there began "an outburst of general popular enthusiasm which scarcely ceased the whole time that the Head of the State remained in the grounds" ("Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 7 May 1889, p. 5).
the emotions and convictions which guided them in 1789:

¿Qué misterioso dinamismo ha puesto el genio del hombre en unas cuantas notas, en el rudimento de una melodía, para que [...] conserven su celeste virginidad y se levanten puras, incólumes, electrizadoras, en los momentos supremos de la vida del pueblo que las creó? (98)

What comes as a surprise is to learn that Pardo Bazán, a staunch conservative and monarchist, idealizes the motives of those who stormed the Bastille. She then laments and criticizes the violent excesses committed by the liberators, who in turn adopted the same despotic practices as the representatives of the Ancien Régime:

¿Por qué el recuerdo de un hecho inspirado en el sentimiento más noble de piedad y justicia ha de ir unido a memorias tan sangrientas como las que son afrenta del mismo régimen despótico? [...] Arrasada la Bastilla, levantábase el terror del farol y de la guillotina. Pronto el degüello sería institución popular, y la libertad se daría un baño completo de sangre humana. (49)

In the "Confesión política" of Mi romería, which was discussed in Chapter 3, it was noted that Pardo Bazán condemns the violent, anti-religious, and anti-clerical excesses of the Spanish revolution of 1868 (Pardo Bazán, 1888: 193). Indeed, in La Alpujarra (1874) Alarcón qualifies the Gloriosa as "una conspiración contra la Religión católica" (Alarcón, 1968: 1546), and it was anti-religious excesses that caused Pardo Bazán subsequently to reject the principles of this revolution. It is possible that with time she came to associate the violence she had witnessed in the wake of the
Gloriosa with what she had learned about the bloody aftermath of the French Revolution. Be that as it may, in Al pie, even though implicitly, she appears to draw a parallel between both historical events.

It seems that from a young age Pardo Bazán was fascinated with and had an idealized perception of the entire historical drama attached to the French Revolution. In her "Apuntes autobiográficos" (1886) she writes that after reading several books on the French Revolution as a child she came to regard this event as "el más interesante drama del mundo" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 703). However, in the latter part of her career the political consequences of the French Revolution preyed on her mind. In an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 17 April 1905, in which she reviews Galdós's play Bárbara, the author suggests that the revolutionary spirit of 1789 continued to rule the destiny of Europe even after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815 and after the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 211-12).

In any case, in Al pie the author claims that the carnage which took place in July 1789 is no cause for celebration, and that the date chosen for the Exhibition may well upset the feelings of those nations which, opposed to revolutionary practices, still have the monarchy as their system of government. The past should be laid to rest and the display should concentrate on the future. For the Galician writer, the Paris Exhibition should be a symbol for peace, harmony, and industrial development, and not a commemoration of violence and bloodshed (49-50). But what Pardo Bazán omits to mention is that bloodshed and violence were regarded by many Frenchmen as the price that had to be paid for freedom, and that the
4. Spain at the Universal Exhibition: Politics, Economics, and Culture

In Carta 1, and in order to provide some kind of background to Spain's participation in the Paris Exhibition, Pardo Bazán speaks of the commercial relations between Spain and France and identifies the neighbouring nation as Spain's most valued trading partner (5-6). In effect, the free-trade policy of the Sexenio (1868-1874) was continued by the Liberals in the 1880s, and after their return to power in 1881 they set forth a policy of trade agreements, such as those signed with France in 1882 and with Britain in 1886. The trade with these two nations represented two thirds of Spanish exports and over half of the country's imports (Tortella, 1981: 154).

Pardo Bazán also touches on the question of Spain's dependence on French technology, and is adamant that her country should overcome its technological inferiority in order to manufacture its own products, thus avoiding the crippling costs of French imports (5-6). Here she is referring to the way Spain became indebted to foreign investors during the nineteenth century, mainly those of France, Britain, Belgium, and Germany. Indeed, for the exploitation of its mining resources in the second half of the century, Spain, due to a shortage of domestic investors and to its low technological

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11 Indeed, the correspondent of The Times alludes to "the great majority of the [French] nation, who support the principles of the Revolution as a patrimony of which they are proud" ("The Versailles Celebration", The Times, 6 May 1889, p. 7).
level, had to resort to the importation of foreign capital and technology. In the period 1850-91, 3371.7 million pesetas' worth of foreign capital was invested in Spain, which compensated for the accumulated deficit of the balance of trade for the same period, amounting to 3556.1 million pesetas (Tortella, 1981: 101, 102). The intervention of foreign businesses in the economy of nineteenth-century Spain is also noted by Carlos Blanco Aguinaga: "Durante la segunda mitad del XIX, en la urgente busca europea de materias primas y de terreno propicio para las inversiones [...], así como, en menor grado, en la busca de nuevos mercados, España llegó a ser importante zona colonizable" (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 22).

The Galician writer laments that Spanish traditional goods and products now come second to their French substitutes because Spaniards favour French goods over those produced at home (6). But the counterbalance is provided, as Pardo Bazán notes, by the income obtained from the export of Spanish produce to France:

Pero así y todo, Francia nos ofrece más de lo que nos lleva, tomando nuestros caldos, desde el añejo Valdepeñas al dorado Jerez, los minerales de nuestras sierras, el corcho de nuestros alcornocales, el aceite de nuestros olivos, la suave lana de nuestros borregos. (6-7)

In effect, in the nineteenth century Spain's wine industry was widely spread over the entire Peninsula, with Andalusia and Catalonia as the main exporting regions. During this time, Spain exported large amounts of wine to France to be used for the **coupage**, and when phylloxera struck French vineyards during the period 1875-85 export figures increased significantly (Tortella, 1981: 83). Indeed, Raymond Carr notes
that "from 1868 France began to import huge quantities of Spanish wine; between 1882 and 1892, with thirty steamers a week taking wine from Tarragona to French ports, Spain dominated the world wine market, a domination which was exploited with anarchic euphoria and little thought for the future" (Carr, 1982: 392). As in other industries, foreign capital did eventually move into Spain to take over the export sector of Spanish wines. Names like Terry, Garvey, Sandeman, Byass, Osborne, and Domecq (French) are proof of this foreign invasion. However, following the phylloxera infestation of Spanish vineyards between 1885 and 1905, a major economic crisis resulted in some provinces, such as Málaga, which led to a dramatic drop in wine exports (Tortella, 1981: 83).

When commenting on trade relations between Spain and Germany, Pardo Bazán argues that high import tariffs ensure that Spanish exports to Germany are kept to a minimum. And yet, she adds, the Spanish market is flooded with substandard German goods imported at inflated prices. Hence, the author has harsh words for Germany and its wine, noting:

¿Qué ha de esperar España [...] de una nación populosa y vasta, amiga de empinar el codo y donde, sin embargo, sólo se consumen nuestros vinos por valor de dos millones quinientas mil pesetas? Nuestros vinos, esos néctares [...] tan diferentes de los aceitosos jugos de las viñas del Rhin, los cuales, á guisa de muchacha clorótica que se pinta las mejillas, necesitan que el color del cristal les disimule la palidez. (7)

However, regardless of the protectionist behaviour of the Teutonic nation mentioned by the Galician writer, Germany's contribution to the development of Spain's economy in the
second half of the nineteenth century was significant, with, for example, Spain exporting a good deal of its iron ore to Germany (Tortella, 1981: 53-54).

Nevertheless, Pardo Bazán continues her diatribe against Germany and against the Spanish Liberal party's commercial and foreign policy towards this nation:

Industrialmente, no cabe duda: estamos al lado de Francia más bien que al de Alemania, y las complacencias de nuestro Gobierno con el del Canciller en la cuestión de aranceles, no nos ha reconciliado con el país de los juguetes de plomo y los alcoholes amílicos. Pero políticamente... ya es harina de otro costal. (7)

It is possible that by 1889, the year of the Paris Exhibition, the author was painfully aware of Spain's manipulation by Germany regarding its accession to the Triple Alliance. On 6 May 1887 Spain pledged allegiance to the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) through Italy, because it was Bismarck's intention to avoid a direct connection between Spain and Germany which could appear threatening to France. The pact, prepared by Bismarck, had little to offer Spain and did not even recognize Spanish interests. Spain, for its part, undertook not to reach any kind of agreement with France which would be detrimental to any of the nations of the Triple Alliance. The treaty was renewed by Cánovas del Castillo in 1891 but not in 1895. Thus, in the fateful year of 1898 Spain stood alone and unaligned with any other European power (Tortella [Jover Zamora], 1981: 346-47).

Renewing the economic theme, in Carta 9 the author notes how the French make a point of promoting at the Exhibition some of their most famous products, such as Sèvres porcelain
and Gobelin tapestries, and suggests that were Spain not immersed in an economic crisis, it, too, could learn to promote its manufacturing industry which at present, she claims, just manages to stay afloat (149). As in Carta 1, Pardo Bazán laments that Spain lacks the confidence to promote its own products because it regards them as being of inferior quality to those of foreign origin. Moreover, she is greatly disappointed because not a single piece of Spanish porcelain or pottery is on show at the Paris Exhibition. Spain, she argues, should emulate Portugal's marketing skills, for that country's porcelain, although of inferior quality to that of Spain, is being exhibited at the display (163-64). Overall, she concludes that Spain's manufacturing industry is poorly represented at the event. The Spanish exhibits consist mainly of agricultural and food products, and these, as Pardo Bazán notes, are not manufactured goods, but the gifts of a generous Mother Nature combined with the expertise of traditional farming methods (170).

Later, and on the issue of Spain's cultural contribution to the Exhibition, Pardo Bazán explains the difficulties which had to be overcome before a representative sample of Spanish painting could be exhibited at the Paris event. She criticizes the Spanish government's reticence when the time came to send some paintings to Paris: its ineptitude and shortsightedness, she stresses, could well have irreparably damaged the image and prestige of Spain's art (205). The author appears to use this section to discredit her country's government (headed at the time by the Liberal Práxedes Sagasta), whose sympathies towards France she had attacked earlier in Al pie (10-11), and also to emphasize what she sees at its inadequacies. However,
after describing in detail the Spanish paintings on show at the Exhibition, Pardo Bazán praises the efforts made by the committee in charge of the display of her country's collection and concludes that, despite all the vicissitudes, the exhibition of Spanish painting has been very successful (218).

It is noteworthy that the author's description of the paintings on show is rather amateurish, revealing an absence of in-depth knowledge of the subject. Yet, Pardo Bazán readily admits to this deficiency: "Al emitir un juicio comparativo entre naciones, es difícil no herir el amor propio de alguna, y más arduo decidir con equidad, sobre todo si no poseemos conocimientos sólidos y nos guía únicamente la afición y el gusto" (219). However, this lack of expertise does not prevent her from comparing Spanish and French nineteenth-century painting and concluding, in an authoritative tone, that Spanish artists are in no way inferior to their French counterparts (220). What comes to mind here is Murray's remark to the effect that travel writers tend to include a significant amount of criticism in their works, regardless of "whatever protestations of ignorance [with which] the author may preface his narrative" (Murray, 1858a: 359). Indeed, on occasions Pardo Bazán's robust patriotism certainly colours her opinions, prompting her to pass rather subjective and unsubstantiated judgements.

5. Progress, Machinery, Art, Nature, and Spiritual Purification

Pardo Bazán's inherent dislike of factories and machinery in general was mentioned in Chapter 2, and in Al pie, even before
arriving in Paris, she envisages herself suffocated by all the machinery, iron structures, and inventions featured at the Exhibition. Moreover, she anticipates that the experience will be so unpleasant that she will be forced to seek refuge in Nature and art, which will bring solace to a soul tortured by industrial advancement. Here, she is presenting an implicit antithesis between Nature and the industrial age, and between aesthetic values and progress:

Mañana saldré de Burdeos hacia París, á fin de presenciar la ceremonia de la apertura. Sólo de oír nombrar tanta galería de hierro, tanta maquinaria, tanta electricidad, tanto ascensor vertical y oblicuo, tanta palanca y tanto endiablado invento como ostenta el Campo de Marte, parece que me entra jaqueca. ¿Qué será cuando los vea funcionar? Me refugiaré en los jardines, en los cuadros, en las estatuas, en el eterno asilo de las almas ensoñadoras: la Naturaleza y el Arte. (80)

These observations present Pardo Bazán as being opposed to technology, progress, industrial advancement, and, in essence, to modern times. Later in the work, the Galician writer draws an interesting comparison between the models of the Bastille that were sold as souvenirs during the aftermath of the French Revolution, and the models of the Eiffel Tower purchased by the visitors to this Exhibition (105-06). Here, she seems to be making a parallel between the Bastille as the symbol of the autocratic ways of pre-Revolution France, and the Eiffel Tower as the embodiment of man's subjection to progress and modernity. In other words, the individual has changed one gaoler for another, because if prior to 1789 he was the prisoner of the Ancien Régime, he is now the slave of the
demands of modern technology.

In her account of the opening of the Paris event there is again the notion that the gardens which encircle the exhibition area act as a kind of oasis for Pardo Bazán. Surrounded by technological feats and by an enthusiastic public, she seeks solace in Nature. She dislikes crowds and feels trapped in them:

Consigo salir de aquel chicharrero y beber á mis anchas el aire libre de los jardines. [...] Tengo una especie de fiebre rara, que podría llamar "la calentura de las multitudes." Porque andan por aquí más de doscientas cincuenta mil personas, y su continuo ir y venir, el vocerío de sus diálogos, forma una sinfonía que embriaga y roba toda tranquilidad. (100)

This aversion to crowded and noisy spaces is also referred to in a letter written to Galdós during her stay in Paris: "La agitación y el mareo inherentes a estos certámenes me los echán a perder mucho" (Pardo Bazán, 1975: 75).

Once at the Exhibition, Pardo Bazán's dislike of machinery and technical artefacts, as well as her lack of appreciation of technological achievements, become evident:

Cada cual es como Dios le hizo, y á mí me falta la casilla de las máquinas, instrumentos y planos. [...] A cualquiera menos á mí se le ocurriría consagrar enfáticos elogios á la Galería de las Máquinas, que á todo el mundo admira por la audacia de su construcción y su magnitud [...]. Para mí esto es un problema científico magistralmente resuelto; pero comprendo que no sé apreciarlo; que no lo admiro ni lo estimo, á proporciónde lo que debe de valer. (194, 195)
But in spite of her reticence, the machines on display seem to beckon to Pardo Bazán. They, too, want to be part of her chronicle. They represent the future, progress, they deserve to be noticed. Pardo Bazán, the admirer of the past and of ancient monuments, is intimidated by these modern artefacts which, although constructed of cold metal, seem to have a life of their own. Indeed, she attributes human characteristics to them:

Las máquinas andan, respiran, giran, funcionan; estos monstruosos de hierro y acero viven con una vida fantástica, y parece que me dicen con su chirrido y su estridor: "¡Oh empedernida amante del pasado, oh admiradora infatigable de las catedrales viejas y de los edificios muertos! Descríbenos, que también nosotros merecemos que nos atiendas. Sé poeta para nosotros, como lo has sido para las góticas torres del siglo XIII. Mira que aunque parecemos unos pedazos de bruto metal, [...] en nosotros hay un poema: somos estrofas, somos canto."

Yo las miro sonriendo, y salgo cuanto antes de allí, por temor a una jaqueca de las de primera clase, que me impediría escribir hoy estas notas. (99)

Despite the touches of humour and self-mockery in this passage, it could be argued that the Galician writer is ill-equipped, both emotionally and professionally, to report on the technological side of the Exhibition, and that she only obliges because it is her journalistic duty. Indeed, although unnecessarily harsh, Díaz Benzo's comments seem to confirm this assumption: "Sale cuanto antes de allí [la Galería de las Máquinas] por temor a una jaqueca de las de primera clase. Sea, por caridad, más franca. Usted salió por no hablar de lo
que no entendía, y ojalá hiciera siempre lo mismo [...] antes de escribir sin madura reflexión" (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 24-25).

In effect, in Por Francia y por Alemania Pardo Bazán was to admit that "para los ignorantes como yo, lo bonito de la Galería consiste en las luces eléctricas" [my italics] (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 4). Furthermore, and as was seen earlier, the author is much more interested in the political, cultural, and social implications of the Paris event than in the actual exhibits.

Certainly, it seems that Pardo Bazán is only attracted to technological feats when they are aesthetically appealing. Thus, she is greatly impressed by and in awe of the illuminated fountains of the showground, whose waters glitter like a cascade of precious stones, and which she described as "tan hermoso fenómeno" [my italics] (250). Yet, uncharacteristically for Pardo Bazán, a detailed description of the technological intricacies of these fountains is in fact given in Carta 15 (250-51). In this particular instance, she puts aside the coldness she normally feels towards technological feats because the fountains appeal to her aesthetic values, and to beauty she is never indifferent.

Of course, the most impressive (and lasting) technological achievement of the Exhibition was the Eiffel Tower, and on the night of the inauguration (6 May 1889) Pardo Bazán goes down to the Seine to inspect it ("el coloso de hierro de la Industria") at a close range. Overcome by the emotion of the moment and by the beauty of the fireworks which light up the Parisian sky, she forgets the prejudices that cold metal structures inspire in her. The Colossus acquires in Pardo Bazán's eyes a beauty, grace, and delicacy comparable
only to those of the old churches of which she is so fond:

La armazón del coloso [...] es un encaje finísimo de hierro, más calado que ningún rosetón ojival, de una gracia y de una delicadeza aérea. [...] Su densa y dura materia, bañada por la inmaterial hermosura de la luz eléctrica, se espiritualiza, y ese gigante de la industria semeja el ensueño de un poeta. (104)

Here again, as in the case of the illuminated fountains, her anti-technology mentality succumbs to the Eiffel Tower's aesthetic impact.

Pardo Bazán goes on to convey the notion that the celebrations of that night are a kind of pagan festival. The worshippers of the Republic, represented by the Colossus, dance in honour of their idol. Christ and His cross are symbolically trampled on as the crowd rushes to pay homage to the new god:

Al oír el clamoreo de la ebria multitud, acudieron á mí memoria [...] las palabras que oí á un discípulo de Maistre, enemigo, por consiguiente, de la Revolución, y de la Exposición también: "París danzará sobre la fosa de su gloria y sobre el calabozo en que tiene encerrada la Cruz. Este centenario es la apoteosis del ateísmo, la sanción de cuantas iniquidades lleva cometidas el siglo XIX". (105)

In this episode the Eiffel Tower is presented as the great symbol of technology, engineering, and modern attitudes. Paris and its Universal Exhibition are, in fact, depicted as a microcosm of what is happening in the rest of the world in the closing stages of the nineteenth century: the Christian religion has been superseded by the new "religion" of
industrial advancement.

Interestingly, the prosaic and near-pagan tenor of the celebrations was also noted by the correspondent of The Times:

The absence of any religious ritual to-day was very marked. Had the Archbishop of Paris, accompanied by his clergy, been present to invoke a blessing on the Exhibition the ceremony would certainly have been much more impressive and less prosaic. [...]

But to-night has quite eclipsed that annual celebration [the 14th of July] [...]. The public buildings have been lavishly illuminated [...]. All the principal streets, indeed, are ablaze with light, and all Paris is in the open air. ("Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 7 May 1889, p. 5)

The notion of the nineteenth century as a period of spiritual barrenness and religious indifference is further emphasized by Pardo Bazán in Carta 8, where she calls for some kind of religious renaissance and admits that in order to compensate for the religious and spiritual vacuum of modern times she has sought solace in art:

No me resigno con la indiferencia religiosa de nuestro siglo [...] y que me llenaría de puro gozo un renacimiento de las creencias y una nueva infusión de caridad. El mundo actual me parece seco y frío, lo cual no ha dejado de hacerme sufrir, siéndome preciso echar toda la corriente de mi espíritu hacia el lado del arte. En él he encontrado asilo seguro, y una convicción de que mi obra, parcial y subjetiva, valga poco ó casi nada, puede tener algún resultado objetivo y ser un holocausto en el altar de la verdad. (141)
Has art, therefore, become a kind of surrogate religion for Pardo Bazán in which she invests her spiritual energy? The answer appears to be in the affirmative, judging by her earlier comments to the novelist Edmond de Goncourt:

Mis goces más intensos y más duraderos, al arte los debí. No sólo ante un poema ó una página de primer orden, pero ante un cuadro, estatua, ánfora ó pieza de bronce bien labrado experimento impresiones tan delicadas y gratas, que no concedo á nadie pueda experimentarlas superiores. (121-22)

Also in Carta 8, the author speaks of her manifest opposition to Positivism, a modern "religion" which offers no god, no temple, no miracles, and a "religion" which has no followers amongst those it attempts to redeem:

Para abrazar una doctrina religiosa hay que tener fe en la palabra de su fundador, y yo no la tengo en la de Augusto Comte, y sí en la de Cristo. ¿Qué misera religión es esa de Comte, sin Dios, sin culto, sin templo, sin mártires, sin persecuciones, sin milagros, sin dinamismo social, sin eco en el seno mismo de la humanidad que pretende redimir? (141-42)

Here, Pardo Bazán comes very close to the true definition of Positivism as a philosophy or scientific creed based on cold facts, observation, scientific evidence, and empirical knowledge, a "religion" that chooses to ignore the individual's spiritual needs and the metaphysical side of human existence.

On the day of the inauguration, the author, overcome by her nostalgia for the deserted streets of central Paris, abandons the Exhibition and rushes to a particular church to
pray. In this episode, the act of going to church acquires purifying qualities. It is possible that Pardo Bazán, feeling in a way contaminated both ideologically and physically by the "pagan" crowds surrounding her at the Exhibition, wants to cleanse herself, to purify her soul and her body in the peace and quiet of a church:

¡Qué soledad reinará en aquellas calles! ¡Qué tristeza respirarán los altos portones, las ventanas herméticamente cerradas, los escasos transeúntes que crucen el bulevar San Miguel ó las vías colindantes, en busca del silencioso hogar ó de la muda iglesia! Este pensamiento me llena de nostalgia, y determino [...] hacer una cosa que hoy no se le ocurrirá, tal vez, á ningún viajero: entrar en la iglesia de mi amada Virgen de las Victorias --que ha permitido que venciésemos á los franceses,-- y rezarle una Salve. (100-01)

In Carta 8 of Al pie, Pardo Bazán's religious faith certainly rises to the surface. She may cultivate worldly activities, but she often feels the urge to pray and be close to God. And as in the letter dedicated to the opening of the Exhibition, the church, the temple is presented as a place which provides spiritual sustenance, and where the body and the mind are purified after having been contaminated by the profane pursuits which, for her, characterize modern life:

Por lo que á mí toca, no negaré que experimento en grado altísimo la necesidad religiosa. A vueltas de mis estudios, de mis distracciones, de mis viajes, de mis aficiones artísticas, á veces paganas, mi fondo creyente resurge á cada paso, y llegan días en que necesito iglesia, como necesitaría, en lo material, el agua para
So although on occasions the author may have seen art as a substitute "religion" for what she regarded as the spiritual barrenness of the nineteenth century, it is evident that the Christian religion continued to provide a safe haven to which she returned at troubled times in order to find peace within herself.

6. Pardo Bazán's Belligerence and the Spanish Military

In Carta 11 of Al pie Pardo Bazán is, literally speaking, in a belligerent mood. She claims that war is inexorably linked with the advancement of civilization and that she mistrusts the "armed peace" which, like a threatening cloud, hangs over Europe (183). Indeed, she would welcome an open war if it served to clear the air and bring the present stalemate to an end: "Llegue enhorabuena el conflicto; descargue la nube, resuélvase el problema y sonría otra vez el sol" (186). Of course, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, with the loss for France of Alsace and Lorraine, was still fresh in the memory of most Europeans, and this, coupled with the unification and ever-increasing military and industrial might of Germany, presumably explains the tensions described by the author.

Still on a military note, Pardo Bazán argues that an idle army loses its raison d'être, its pride, its nerve, its self-respect, and its determination. To illustrate this point she gives as an example the present malaise which, in her opinion, assails the Spanish military:

"Durante los ocios de la paz, no sólo pierde la profesión militar su razón de ser, sino que se convierte..."
en el más prosaico de los oficios. Basta ver en las capitales de provincia (de España hablo) á los oficiales de las distintas armas cómo se vuelven al cabo de poco tiempo de cuartel, descanso y vida doméstica. Lo primero que hacen es aborrecer su oficio; no querer ponerse jamás el uniforme; dejarse crecer el pelo y la barba, con manifiesto descuido; criar panza, casarse, cargarse de hijos y adoptar el tipo del ciudadano pacífico por excelencia. El pundonor quisquisoso, la galante caballerosidad, la resolución, la energía que la profesión militar lleva consigo, todo lo echa el oficial español en el desabrido pucherete de la familia modesta [...]. Olvidado de la galanura y elegancia marcial, va sucio, derrotado, sin botones y con el galonaje color de desteñido cobre; y, por último, sólo se acuerda de que abrazó lo que nuestros abuelos llamaban "la nobilísima carrera de las armas" el día que tocan á cobrar; el día en que cae del cielo --mal ganado-- el garbanzo maldito. (183-84)

Pardo Bazán adds that, despite the high cost involved in maintaining this institution, in the event of war the army would fail miserably to protect the nation. The military, she claims, is a superfluous luxury that Spain cannot afford (185).

The Spanish armed forces were in effect a significant drain on the country's financial resources, with 25.3% of the national budget between 1850 and 1890 invested in military expenditure (Guerra: 5228 million pesetas, 20.3% of the national budget; Marina: 1283 million pesetas, 5% of the national budget) (Tortella, 1981: 140). Another serious
problem affecting the Spanish armed forces was the surplus of officers in relation to the number of soldiers. In 1898 Spain's military (with an 80,000-strong army) had six times France's number of officers although the French army comprised 180,000 men (Julio Busquets, El militar de carrera en España, Barcelona, 1971: 25, cited in Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 248). In 1900 the military had 417 generals and 24,750 officers (Tortella [Ruiz], 1981: 462). By 1906 a mere 80,000 men were under the command of almost 50 generals and 18,000 officers, and it was not until 1912 that General Luque, war minister in Canalejas's cabinet, increased the number of soldiers to 135,000 (Tortella [Ruiz], 1981: 494-95).

Pardo Bazán's allegations concerning the inability of the Spanish army to defend the nation were, of course, shown to be distressingly accurate during the Spanish-American War of 1898, when the weaknesses of this parasitical institution feeding off past glories were dramatically revealed. Indeed, in the edition of Al pie published shortly after the events of 1898, the Galician writer, with thinly veiled satisfaction, announces that her earlier predictions had been justified. However, displaying laudable equanimity, she also adds that she will not judge the army any more severely than other Spanish institutions (Al pie de la torre Eiffel, 1899: 5-6, cited in Hilton, 1952e: 14).

The author's scathing attack on the Spanish military caused much controversy at home, not only in the press but also among the members of the armed forces. Antonio Díaz Benzo, under the pseudonym of "Un militar", published a leaflet entitled Al pie de la Torre de los Lujanes: contestación á las cartas de Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán tituladas
In the letter which introduces the leaflet, Díaz Benzo claims to be proud of belonging to an institution which protects the nation, and not to feel hurt by Pardo Bazán's comments although:

Clava al Ejército español el acerado dardo de su fina sátira, envuelto entre las flores y bellezas de un galano estilo. No es ésta la mayor injusticia que el Ejército ha sufrido con la resignación que da la disciplina, pero injusticia al fin. Como las ofensas de una señora no alcanzan á los caballeros, no estamos ofendidos; pero ya que usted, con humorismo y desgaire, nos dedica algunas páginas, yo voy á contestarle en otras cuantas del mismo modo, porque los militares reservamos los ataques bruscos para los enemigos masculinos. (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 5-6)

Overall, Díaz Benzo accuses Pardo Bazán of judging the army unfairly and of getting involved in questions that do not concern women. At the end he concludes that Pardo Bazán's Al pie: "Habla muchísimo bueno de usted, mucho mediano de sus amigos, muy mal de España, y pésimamente de nuestro sufrido Ejército, y poquisimo de la Exposición" (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 61).

In Por Francia y por Alemania (1890), the sequel to Al pie, Pardo Bazán admits to being surprised by the controversy caused by what she calls her comments "de estilo entre humorístico y censorio" (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 252) on the

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12 The Torre de los Lujanes, situated on the eastern side of the Plaza de la Villa, opposite Madrid's Ayuntamiento, is supposed to have been the prison of François I after his capture in Pavia in 1525. This tower does, therefore, symbolize the very heart of Madrid and serves as a reminder of Spanish victories over France during the Golden Age (Hilton, 1952c: 306).
Spanish army. To defend her position, she brandishes the banner of the writer's freedom of speech, adding that she finds no justification as to why the army should regard itself as above journalistic criticism (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 252-53). She reiterates that it was never her intention to upset or offend anyone. In fact, she claims to have some very good friends who happen to be army officers and whom she holds in great esteem. Here, Pardo Bazán is in a conciliatory mood, but only up to a point, retorting that the large number of insulting letters received, most of them anonymous, made her change her mind about omitting her comments on the Spanish army from the new Spanish edition and the French translation of *Al pie* (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 258-60). She would not be intimidated by anyone, not even by the Spanish military.

7. The Monarchy
In Carta 2 Pardo Bazán paints a highly distressing and disturbing picture of the appalling and inhuman conditions endured by the prisoners of the Bastille. In this disease-ridden and vermin-infected hell on earth, the captives rotted away forgotten by God and man alike (37-38). By foregrounding the atrocities perpetrated at the Bastille and ignoring the abuses by the absolute monarchy in power at the time, the Galician writer is possibly attempting to shift the blame for the outbreak of the French Revolution from the wrong-doings of the monarchy to the practices of the infamous prison, which she projects as the epitome of everything that was evil, cruel, and wicked in the Ancien Régime (46-48).

Indeed, in Carta 5 Pardo Bazán presents the monarchy as
possessing an aesthetic appeal, as being the ornament or icing on the cake that events such as the Paris Exhibition really need. In other words, the monarchy adds glamour, and although this institution no longer carries any political weight, the author finds it indispensable for making such occasions visually impressive: "Ello es indudable: la Monarquía, casi anulada políticamente por el sistema constitucional, es una forma de Gobierno insustituible desde el punto de vista decorativo y externo: la piden los sentidos" (86). As an apparent believer in an independent, strong, and absolute monarchy, the Galician writer uses these comments, then, to attack the concept of constitutional monarchy.

Pardo Bazán claims that the monarchy is popular because it represents (presumably in an idealized way) the social institution par excellence: the family. A nation may be fond of its king, but the appeal and devotion the monarch generates are always channelled through his immediate family: his wife and his children. It is, in her view, the king's family that endears the monarch to his people:

El Rey, para conquistar nuestras simpatías --siquiera irreflexivas y momentáneas-- va escudado por el santuario de los afectos, por el símbolo de la gracia y del amor: la esposa y los hijitos. [...] Al pasar la carroza donde sonríen unas tiernas criaturas, el pueblo --que tiene un fondo de bondad inagotable-- se enternece y aclama, sin sospechar cuánto revela de generosos sentimientos el acto de aclamar una institución porque la representa un angelote blanco y colorado, y porque al vitorearla se vitorea al Sancta Sanctorum del corazón humano... la dulce familia. (87, 88).
The Galician writer develops this point by recounting an anecdote which supposedly occurred during the French Revolution. When the revolutionary hordes, that in July 1789 stormed the royal palace demanding the sacrifice of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, were told by the Queen that the Dauphin was sleep in the next room, their furore subsided and they tiptoed across the royal chamber in order not to disturb the young prince's sleep (89). However, Pardo Bazán, being a staunch supporter of monarchy, chooses not to allow that the monarch, in using his family as a kind of protective screen, is in fact manipulating the people by playing on their natural affections towards defenceless individuals.

There are several reminders in Al pie to the effect that France, in the eyes of Pardo Bazán and in particular during the celebrations attached to the Exhibition, is a deprived country because it no longer has a monarchy as its state institution. In Carta 13, the Galician writer reiterates the need that, in her opinion, France has of a such an institution. The role of the dethroned king is being played, inadequately she claims, by Marie-François-Sadi Carnot, the President of the Republic, and his wife. The author is adamant that Latin countries need a reigning monarch on whom to focus their ardour, and regards Carnot, the abstract embodiment of the Republic, as a poor substitute to act as a sounding-board for the people's affections (225).

In Por Francia y por Alemania the author argues that the French are aware of this deficiency. Hence, their excitement every time a crowned head visits the Exhibition, including the Shah of Persia, the absolute monarch par excellence: "París el demoledor de Bastillas, el revolucionario, el heraldo de la
libertad y la igualdad, y en vez de excluir, como pedía la lógica, '¡Si serán brutos los persas!' hace lo mismo que ellos y se postra ante Nasaredino" (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 68). This attitude of the French towards the monarchy was later reiterated in Pardo Bazán's article "A la rusa" (November 1896). Referring to the visit to Paris of Tzar Nicholas of Russia, she argues that the French display the same proficiency at decapitating reigning monarchs as they do at fêting them. The Tzar, who at the time of the French Revolution would have been regarded as a tyrant, is now honoured and entertained by the Parisians (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 42). Similar sentiments are indicated by Murray when he notes that though the French "have lost the old ennobling feeling, they have not lost the taste for the trappings of Royalty" (Murray, 1850: 535).

Overall, Pardo Bazán's defence of the monarchy, as an institution badly needed by the French, relies on emotional and aesthetic arguments, on the visual attraction that this institution would provide for events such as the Paris Exhibition. After considering the justification the author makes for the monarchy, one could be forgiven for concluding that her "aesthetic" argument is nothing but a ploy to promote this institution in a country that has dispensed with it. Yet it is true that nineteenth-century constitutional monarchs, deprived of their absolute powers, had generally become ornamental figures. Indeed, this is the impression conveyed by Dario in his article "El Rey" (25 April 1899). For the Nicaraguan poet, the pomp and ceremony of royal occasions, having as their protagonist a now powerless monarch, have their historic value undermined as they acquire theatrical
overtones which border on the comical. The parading of the
king in public becomes a charade devoid of any political
meaning. It is contrived, uninspiring, and totally artificial
(Darío, 1987: 129).

8. Pardo Bazán's Attitude to France

Judging by Pardo Bazán's observations in _Al pie_, it is clear
that her attitude to France is ambivalent, as was the case
with many educated Spaniards of the late nineteenth century.
She recognizes that France, and Paris in particular -- "el
cerebro del mundo" (14) -- have for long been the cultural,
political, and intellectual centre of Europe (1-2). Yet at the
same time she resents the pre-eminence of the neighbouring
nation. This resentment appears to be linked to a deep-seated
mistrust. Indeed, in _Al pie_ she reiterates that for centuries
France has been Spain's political and military adversary,
always lurking in the background and waiting to profit from
Spain's misfortunes. She refers to the French invasion that
triggered the War of Independence and threatened to annihilate
Spain, and speaks of the French as a treacherous race never to
be trusted (7-9). Her dislike of France is further intensified
by what she sees as that country's subversive influence on
world politics and its attempts to transmit this instability
to other nations (12-13). And although, as Hilton notes, she
does admit that some good had resulted from the Revolution of
1789, she is too conservative to welcome openly the
celebrations of its first centenary during the Paris
Exhibition of 1889 (Hilton, 1953: 196).

Another factor in Pardo Bazán's antipathy towards France
is that it is an enclave of republicanism, that it proudly celebrates its republican status, and that this form of government is still flourishing, with some interruptions, one hundred years after the French Revolution. It is noteworthy that Carta 19 of Al pie, dated 14 July, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, is especially virulent against France and the French people. In fact, practically the entire section consists of a vitriolic diatribe against the host country. Pardo Bazán's monarchic devotion appears to have been unleashed by such a significant date, and what better way to express her repulsion for republicanism than by attacking what is possibly the most dramatically enduring modern symbol of this political system.

Hilton, for his part, claims that Pardo Bazán feared that France's influence would undermine Spain's morality. Thus, as a counterbalance to Spain's "Black Legend", the Galician writer saw fit to create her own "black legend" of France, by presenting it as the epitome of vice and sinfulness (Hilton, 1953: 197). In effect, in Al pie Pardo Bazán refers to the ball she attended at the Paris Opéra some years earlier as "saturnal romana" and "lupanar inmundo" (296), adding that: "Aun en medio de la crapula y del vicio, el español conserva un poquitín de idealidad, unas miajas de honrada vergüenza" (296-97). Alarcón, too, in a note to the second edition of De Madrid a Nápoles, also speaks of the depravation of France's customs, of its impiety, and coarse materialism (Alarcón, 1968: 1206). Furthermore, he refers to the balls of Mabille as "lupanar público y al aire libre" (Alarcón, 1968: 1208), and condemns the immorality of the Cancán thus: "¡El Cancán..., que es indescriptible, que es el retozo bestial convertido en
arte; que es el más grosero sensualismo llevado a la escena o paseado por los sitios públicos; que es, sin embargo, el non plus ultra del entusiasmo del pueblo parisién!" (Alarcón, 1968: 1225).

Pardo Bazán's negative feelings towards France are exacerbated by her perception of a lack of knowledge on the part of the French with regard to Spain's culture, traditions, and history (291-92). In addition, she abhors the air of superiority and condescension apparently displayed by French people every time they speak of Spain. Indeed, this patronizing manner and disdain towards Spaniards are also noted by Alarcón: "¡Nosotros, míseros españoles, tan atrasados en la senda de la civilización, somos mirados desde aquí como una especie de africanos semisalvajes!... ¡Por eso, lo más que se nos otorga es una insultante benevolencia, una curiosidad maravillada, o una depresiva compasión!" (Alarcón, 1968: 1208).

Finally, it should be noted here that in Por Francia y por Alemania, the sequel to Al pie, Pardo Bazán, as will be shown in the following chapter, openly admits to the anti-French tenor of her chronicles, attempts to justify it, but then adopts a more conciliatory attitude towards the neighbouring nation.

9. Conclusions
Angel Guerra describes Al pie as "crónicas volanderas, amenas, interesantes" (Guerra, 1911: 336). Similarly, Bravo-Villasante observes: "Son crónicas amenas, entretenidas, escritas con soltura y ligereza periodística, y con la acostumbrada dosis
de subjetivismo y elementos autobiográficos" (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 168). Indeed, although this collection is supposed to be devoted to the 1889 Universal Exhibition, Pardo Bazán, as announced in the advertencia, often sidesteps this event and gets sidetracked into the realm of the personal. In fact, she could even be accused of neglecting the actual Exhibition in favour of personal pursuits. For instance, in Carta 9, half-way through Al pie and twenty-one days after her arrival in Paris, the author readily acknowledges: "De la Exposición propiamente dicha no he visitado despacio por ahora más que la exposición de los productos de las fábricas nacionales de Sèvres y los Gobelinos" (149). This egotistic approach and the fact that it takes a considerable time for the author to start reporting on the actual displays is noted, and with some malice, by Díaz Benzo:

Lleva usted veinte días en París, y apenas ha escrito nada que se refiera á la Exposición [...].

¿No valdría más decir que, en vez de crónicas de la Exposición, había usted publicado las crónicas de lo que usted y sus amigos hacen, hablan y piensan, para que todos nos enteremos de sus mutuos rencores y de sus mutuos bombos? [...] Domina en ella tanto el yo sempiterno de su autora, que rinde y fatiga al lector más benévolo y pacienzudo. (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 29-30)

Similarly, Carlos Mendoza concludes that Al pie "es muy curioso como documento, por el prominente relieve en que aparece la personalidad de la autora" (Mendoza, 1889: 731). In effect, Al pie suffers from what Murray terms the "egotism of autobiography" in travel literature (Murray, 1858a: 350), in the sense that it focuses more extensively on Pardo Bazán
herself, her **aficiones**, her interests, her dislikes, and her acquaintances than on the Exhibition itself. Indeed, in this particular collection the personal nature of Pardo Bazán's writing becomes one of its major drawbacks, for, as Murray observes, with regard to women travellers:

> When a lady invites you to accompany her, in her own person, through countries suggestive of outer impressions of the utmost interest and novelty, yet pauses every moment to tell you not only her own particular thoughts and feelings, but also those habits, peculiarities, preferences, and antipathies, which one would have thought even she herself on such an occasion would have forgotten, we feel tied to one who at home would be rather tiresome, but abroad becomes insufferable -- to one who never leaves **self** behind. (Murray, 1845d: 131)

Another "weakness" of Al pie is the way Pardo Bazán indulges in constant digressions. Although on occasions, "digressions may readily be excused where they bring fresh life and vigour to the subject, and suggest new relations to the mind" (Murray, 1854a: 50), too often here they steal valuable space away from what should be regarded as the main topic of this collection: the 1889 Universal Exhibition and/or Pardo Bazán's impressions of her stay in France. A good example of this penchant is Carta 3, written from Bordeaux, and in which the author loses herself in observations on the murder of the Calle Fuencarral in Madrid instead of describing the French city. Again, Díaz Benzo is quick to point out this "deficiency": "Ya que nos escribía desde allí [Burdeos], parecía más natural que nos contase algo de aquella población. La verdad es que, pegue ó no pegue, ya ha llenado usted con
eso unas cuartillas, y vamos andando" (Díaz Benzo, 1889: 18).

In Carta 5, which presumably should be dedicated to the inauguration, Pardo Bazán becomes sidetracked once more as she discusses the aesthetic appeal of the monarchy. But at least she admits to this almost inadvertent aside: "¡Qué lejos ando de la inauguración!" (89). In effect, although most of the letters in Al pie touch on the Exhibition, only seven (Cartas 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, and 17) are dedicated to the Paris display and even these have some minor digressions. These constant asides, however interesting, tend to fragment the narrative, rendering it rather disorderly and confusing. In fact, by attempting to cover too many issues, as she was to admit in Por Francia y por Alemania (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 245), some of them totally irrelevant to the actual Exhibition, it could easily be argued that at times in Al pie Pardo Bazán loses her way, demonstrating a surprising lack of professional discipline and excess of self-indulgence for such an experienced writer and chronicler. To her credit, in the sequel to Al pie she readily acknowledges the many flaws of both works and asks for forgiveness (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 245).

As any perceptive reader may have anticipated from Pardo Bazán's comments in Carta 1, in her account of the Exhibition she adopts a largely selective approach which possibly deprives her readership of a comprehensive overview of all the different subjects covered at the Paris event. The one exception she makes, to her emotional cost, is to report on the machinery on display at the Exhibition, and only because she feels obliged to do so in her journalistic capacity. And it is in her inadequate coverage of the industrial aspect of
the event that it becomes apparent that the Galician writer is not in the least interested in technological feats per se, not even as a demonstration of human creativity, inventiveness, or ingenuity. Indeed, in a letter written to Galdós from Paris on 18 June 1889 she openly admits to her disregard for technological progress: "Por ahora la Exposición para mí sólo se traduce en gasto, polvo, sudor, mareo y traqueteo de tren. Veremos si mañana, ante la torre Eiffel, mudo de pauta y canto un himno al progreso" (Pardo Bazán, 1975: 30). She is uncomfortable when surrounded by machinery and attempts to transmit this uneasiness to her readers. Here, surprisingly for such an educated woman, the author is displaying the fearful attitude of those who are intimidated by the unknown and by their own ignorance. In view of this, it is legitimate to wonder whether Pardo Bazán, with her devotion to the past and to ancient monuments and artefacts, is not in effect an anachronism in the midst of the Universal Exhibition, with its celebration of progress, technology, and modernity. Indeed, when the manifestations of progress appear threatening to her, she seeks refuge and solace in Nature and art, familiar ground in whose surroundings she feels totally relaxed. As with Henry James, it seems that for the Galician writer, too, "art is the one corner of human life in which we may take our ease" (James, [1959]: 129).
1. Introduction

Por Francia y por Alemania: (Crónicas de la Exposición) takes the form of a travel journal and consists of nineteen letters and an epilogue. It was first serialized in José Lázaro Galdiano's review, La España Moderna, between July and October 1889, before being published in book form in 1890. Cartas 1 to 9 and 14 to 19 were written from Paris, and some of them deal with the Universal Exhibition of 1889. In Cartas 10 to 13, Pardo Bazán recounts her impressions of Switzerland, Germany, and Austria, to where she travelled as a kind of detour from her main destination: Paris and the Exhibition. In fact, the work can be regarded as a sequel to Al pie de la torre Eiffel (1889). In Por Francia y por Alemania, as in Al pie, the author does not allow the Paris Exhibition to monopolize her entire attention. In effect, of the nineteen letters (and an epilogue) that comprise this work, only six (Cartas 1, 2, 6, 7, 14, and 18) are dedicated to the Paris event. The others deal with such diverse issues as politics (Cartas 3 and 8), fashion (Carta 4), folklore and medieval traditions (Carta 5), the conquistadors (Carta 9), Switzerland, Germany, and Austria (Cartas 10 to 13), literature (Cartas 15 and 19), French theatre (Carta 16), and Galician music (Carta 17). Por Francia y por Alemania covers a time-span of just under three months:
from 18 July to 8 October 1889, with the period 10 to 28 September spent in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria.

This collection is particularly interesting because in the "Epílogo" Pardo Bazán identifies what she regards as the essential elements of the chronicles she writes. She observes that the style of these should be entertaining and interesting, free-flowing, calm, impetuous, colourful, and warm. They should appeal to people from all walks of life, regardless of their intellectual capability. She adds that the information conveyed should make easy reading, and that the impressions transmitted should be of a personal or even lyrical nature, because the time elapsed between the registering of the impressions and turning them into the written word is insufficient for the chronicler to be objective (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 245-46). The implications of this definition will be discussed later.

2. Technological Advancement, Progress, and Modern Civilization

Overcoming the aversion she had shown towards machinery in Al pie, Pardo Bazán decides to report in the first instalment of its sequel on the industrial side of the 1889 Exhibition. After all, she claims, her chronicles should not be exclusively concerned with politics, literature, and the picturesque (1). Perhaps her decision to tackle the industrial aspect of the Exhibition in the very first section has been prompted by the desire to put behind her, as early as possible, this unpleasant task. But despite her reticence and inherent dislike of machines, the author cannot help but be
impressed by what she calls the "Galería de las máquinas", a gigantic structure supported miraculously in the air and apparently large enough to accommodate an entire army (2). However, after borrowing some technical material from more specialist writers in order to describe the technological intricacies of the "Galería" (2-3), she does admit that had it not been for her son Jaime's "aficiones científicas" she would not have visited the Gallery a second time (3).

Pardo Bazán's aversion to mechanical artefacts borders on the pathological. Indeed, she claims that the sight of the machines turning all at once makes her feel physically ill: "Sólo de entrar en la galería y ver el incesante y periódico vaivén de tanto artilugio, me entra un malestar, un desasosiego, un azoramiento físico, que se convierten pronto en sufrimiento y alteración nerviosa" (3-4). And, as in Al pie, the author credits human qualities to the machines:

Allí todo se mueve, todo anda: las máquinas sudan, gimen, trabajan como esclavas que son, con una tenacidad sombría é implacable. El puente rotatorio eléctrico gira lo mismo que un loco; las máquinas motrices respiran angustiadas; los cilindros no sosiegan; los aparatos telegráficos vibran de impaciencia; sólo las locomotoras duermen aburridas de su inacción; porque la máquina cuando se está quieta se fastidia, y tiene el aspecto más melancólico del mundo. (4)

Thus for Pardo Bazán the "Galería de las máquinas", like the factories she detests so much, is reminiscent of a Dantesque world inhabited by threatening metallic monsters that breathe, sweat, and groan.

She moves on to review the electrical installation of the
"Galería" and, in a Romantic manner, portrays Thomas Edison as a nineteenth-century knight-errant, as the "caballero andante" of the chivalric romances:

En la Edad Media se referían los hechos del caballero andante, del aventurero, que nacido en pobre cuna, pero dueño de potente talismán, iba por el mundo enderezando entuertos, descabezando gigantes y subyugando ínsulas. El caballero andante moderno es Edison, con su novelesca vida y su inverosímil suerte, que hará amarillear de envidia y soñar despiertos á la mayor parte de los pálidos alumnos de la Escuela Politécnica y de las Academias especiales. (5)

These observations involve a strange marriage between past and present, and it is possible that Pardo Bazán presents Edison, the embodiment of technological progress, as a knight-errant because she can only come to terms with modern advances by placing them in an anachronistic temporal zone, in this case, the Middle Ages. Similarly, she anachronistically situates the Eiffel Tower (the epitome of modern engineering) in biblical times, by comparing it to the Tower of Babel (15-16).

At first sight, it would appear that Pardo Bazán is fascinated with Edison and his accomplishments because she is a true believer in scientific advancement: "Cuando pienso en los adelantos de la electricidad de diez años acá; cuando recuerdo que hace tres lustros una lamparita eléctrica era una curiosidad y casi un milagro [...] me entran impulsos de creer á puño cerrado en el Progreso endémico y crónico" (8-9). But almost in the same breath, the Galician writer wonders whether modern civilization has perhaps sown the seeds of discontent. Has civilization become a race against time in which mankind
is the main victim? Is scientific progress the cause of the spiritual malaise and anxiety of modern man? At the very least she has serious doubts about the benefits of technological advances:

La que llamamos civilización ¿es más que una batalla sin tregua, para ganar un pan amargo, para cubrir necesidades ficticias y para vivir roído de cuidados en el ahogo perpetuo? Y cuando decimos que hemos llevado la luz, la ciencia y el progreso á una región salvaje, ¿no podríamos añadir que llevamos la inquietud, el desasosiego y las penas del alma? ¿Se suicidaban los aztecas, los pieles rojas, los australianos, antes de la llegada del europeo? (10)

And yet, immediately after this soul-searching exercise, Pardo Bazán concludes that her bleak thoughts were triggered by her aversion to machines, an explanation that does not seem entirely plausible: "En el fondo, la ráfaga de pesimismo que me azota no es sino que me aburren las máquinas. Voy á figurarme que al lector le pasa dos cuartos de lo mismo, y á sacarle pronto de este infernal palacio de la electricidad y el vapor" (10). In effect, the Galician writer's pessimistic attitude with regard to the shortcomings of progress and inventions re-emerges shortly afterwards when she concedes that, ultimately, mechanical and scientific achievements contribute very little to the understanding of life: "No; basta de mecánica, industria y adelantos. Si me voy á cavilar entre ellos, me desesperará el pensamiento de que ni una línea ensanchan el oscuro límite del conocimiento esencial de las cosas" (13).

As mentioned in Chapter 2 and based on Pardo Bazán's
comments in Al pie and its sequel, it becomes apparent that her attitude to progress, technological advancement, and civilization in general is ambivalent. For although she often advocates progress and regeneration, principally with regard to backward Spain, her aversion to technology and mechanical artefacts belies such a stance. The fact that machinery and factories are an essential component of the progress she so strongly recommends, frequently escapes her. Moreover, she presents modern civilization as a two-edged sword, in the sense that she holds it responsible for the present spiritual malaise and anxiety of modern man. Contradictions are, in effect, one of the hallmarks of Pardo Bazán's writing and, as Delfín García Guerra has noted, they encapsulate such opposites as "su cosmopolitanismo y su provincianismo, su europeísmo y su españolismo, su libre-pensamiento y su tradicionalismo, su inconoclasia y su conformismo, su misticismo y su positivismo, [...] en fin, entre su condición y su deseo" (García Guerra, 1990: 32).

3. The 1889 Universal Exhibition

In a letter written to Galdós during her stay in Paris, Pardo Bazán observes: "Algo de la Exposición (claro está) me gusta muchísimo" (Pardo Bazán, 1975: 75), and judging by her comments in Carta 14 she is probably referring to the international shows which feature the folklore of some of the more exotic nations represented at the event: "Yo confieso que extravagantes y todo, ó acaso por su misma extravagancia, fueron lo que más me interesó en la inmensa feria internacional" (157). Indeed, Carta 14 contains her mixed
impressions regarding these shows. She is particularly displeased by the theatrical performance of some actors from Annam,¹ whose spectacle she finds coarse, distasteful, and unappealing (158-60). Conversely, she is fascinated by the delicate physique and exquisite mannerisms of the dancers from Java, whose elegant and sophisticated routine is more to her taste (162-63). However, she then voices her repulsion at the show of some African tribesmen — "diablos en figura de hombres" (165) — whose performance consists largely of acts of masochistic self-mutilation. Yet Pardo Bazán is never indifferent to beauty, hence the praises she lavishes on Fatma, the attractive Tunisian dancer, whose enchanting physique and colourful attire she describes in detail (166-67). She next turns her attention to the show put on by Egyptian and Nubian performers, whose act includes some belly-dancing, the attraction of which escapes her: "Que no es bonito ver á una mujer casi inmóvil y con la tripa convulsa, me parece ocioso decirlo" (168). Pardo Bazán then comments on Spanish dancers brought to the Exhibition to provide a display of flamenco dancing. Their performance is apparently so inadequate and vulgar that she wonders whether these dancers are the genuine article of whether in fact they have been hired for the occasion from a local Parisian club (171). Subsequently, she reviews the show at the Bastille featuring the daring escape of Jean Latude (174), and the staging at the Tower of Nesle of a tasteless medieval spectacle devoid of all dramatic attributes but very well attended by the élite of Parisian society, including the exiled Spanish queen, Isabel

¹ French-governed central Vietnam, which in 1884 was declared a French protectorate.
II (174-77). Another popular show is that provided by the legendary Buffalo Bill, and in the author's opinion his success demonstrates that theatre audiences prefer cheap thrills to dramatic and historical content (177).

In Carta 18 of Por Francia y por Alemania, Pardo Bazán bids farewell to the Exhibition. As autumn draws in and the cold weather lays siege to Paris, the Galician writer decides it is time to return to the warmer climate of her homeland. Besides, she does not wish to bear witness to the demolition and dismantling of the pavilions which have housed the exhibits of the Paris display. It is a moment of great sentimentality (which is not the norm in Pardo Bazán's travel writing), reminiscent of the farewell between two good friends:

Dará tristeza asistir á esta obra de destrucción: causará pena, y muy grande, el ver [...] cesar, en fin, tanta actividad, movimiento y vida. Esto es preferible no presenciarlo; y cuando transcurrido algún tiempo vuelva á traernos la suerte á las orillas del Sena, poder creer que fué por arte de encantamiento, que fué la varilla de algún mágico prodigioso la que transformó este lugar y campo ya para siempre memorables. (217-18)

Taking stock of the Exhibition, Pardo Bazán states that it has been a roaring success. The Paris event has been entertaining and has magnificently fulfilled its task as the showpiece of France's culture, scientific progress, wealth, and industrial might. Moreover, it has brought financial benefits to several sectors of the Parisian economy (218). Being a product of human enterprise, the Exhibition has had its flaws but, overall, the author has no hesitation in
praising the organizational skills of the French and the successful combination of the different pursuits featured in the display where everyone found something of interest to see (218-19). Furthermore, she ventures that the Exhibition has been a spiritually rewarding experience which has made it possible for mankind to learn a little more about itself (219).

However, returning to an issue already discussed in Al pie, Pardo Bazán expresses her doubts as to the benefits that, if any, the Exhibition will have for France's foreign relations. The Paris event, as a celebration of republicanism, has antagonized many European monarchies and perhaps has even contributed to prolonging and exacerbating the "armed peace" which like a dark cloud hangs over Europe's destiny (219). If, on the other hand, she argues, one looks at the Exhibition from an optimistic standpoint as the testimony of the cultural advancement of humanity, then France, regardless of its political system, has made itself worthy of the recognition and respect of the rest of Europe (219-20). In an ideal world, she concludes, international contests should be limited to the peaceful display of cultural might such as that witnessed on the occasion of the Universal Exhibition (220).

So, overall, Pardo Bazán's impressions of the Paris display are largely positive. And although the pro-republican connotations of the Exhibition still concern her, the Galician writer, showing equanimity, acknowledges the organizational skills of the French and the contribution made by France to the advancement of technology and the propagation of culture. There is little doubt that despite the reservations Pardo Bazán may harbour concerning France, the 1889 Universal
Exhibition has impressed her both emotionally and culturally.

4. Spain's Glorious Past and the Conquistadors

Pardo Bazán begins Carta 9 by exalting the figure of Hernán Cortés who, she claims, has been vilified by some foreign writers: "Injusto anduvo Enrique Heine con nuestro conquistador al decir que había puesto su nombre de bandido al lado del sagrado nombre de Colón, en el libro de oro de la historia. Nunca fué bandido Cortés, sino muy buen caballero y cristiano" (107). The author then moves on to describe the Galician explorer and traveller Dr Leopoldo Arnaud as a modern-day Hernán Cortés: "Un compañero de Hernán Cortés, nacido siglos más tarde, es lo que me pareció el doctor Leopoldo Arnaud" (107). In effect, in Por Francia y por Alemania Dr Arnaud is presented as a nineteenth-century conquistador, whose experiences of his travels in the Argentinian region of the Gran Chaco have been published as a travel journal:

Según el dicho de Cicerón, [...] las obras de poesía y oratoria no tienen gracia ni deben ser admitidas sin mucha elocuencia; pero la historia verdadera y real, quodquod modo scripta delectat; y esta sentencia puede aplicarse al diario del doctor Arnaud, donde relata su viaje al través del Gran Chaco, inexplorada región americana que logró recorrer padeciendo muchos trabajos y necesidades, arrostrando grandes peligros, y engrosando el caudal de la ciencia geográfica con nuevos datos y
Interestingly, Pardo Bazán regards Arnaud's account as being entirely factual, a kind of history book with no room for fiction or invention on the part of the writer. Indeed, she describes some of Arnaud's adventures and findings which, in a way, are reminiscent of those of another explorer, Christopher Columbus, as narrated in his Diario de a bordo, where the New World is presented as a Garden of Eden, as a paradise on earth, until things go terribly wrong and the initial dream becomes a nightmare. Thus, she observes of Arnaud's travels:

A cada paso que adelanta el explorador por el deleitoso oasis de la prometida tierra, la naturaleza, al parecer tan benigna y pródiga, le opone insidiosas asechanzas. Al empezar á comer, famélicas bandadas de canes le disputan el sustento. De noche, las garrapatas se le incrustan bajo la epidermis. El agua se agota, y vienen las inauditas torturas de la sed [...]. Después de las garrapatas, los tábanos y mosquitos; luego los repugnantes vampiros, que chupan la sangre del viajero fatigado. ¿Y qué diré de las tormentas, los aguaceros repentinos, furiosos y arrolladores, las ventolinas y huracanes, los relámpagos y rayos? ¿Qué del calor insufrible? ¿Qué de la escasez de víveres? (111)

Pardo Bazán was interested in the events surrounding the discovery and conquest of the New World since childhood. In fact, in her "Apuntes autobiográficos" she proudly announces

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2 Cortés also recounted his adventures in Mexico in several letter-despatches written to Carlos V in 1519-26 (Adams, 1983: 250).
that by the age ten she had re-read Antonio de Solís's *Conquista de Méjico* on countless occasions (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 703), and in 1914 she published *Hernán Cortés y sus hazañás*, the third volume of the series "Biblioteca de la Juventud", intended to popularize the figure of the conquistador whose memory, she argued, had been sadly neglected by some Spaniards. It is likely that Pardo Bazán's admiration for the conquistadors was linked to the fact that these men were often seen as the epitome of the glorious days of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, commenting on her interview with the Galician writer in 1911, Carmen de Burgos observes of the conquistadors: "Doña Emilia ama la hermosa figura de esos aventureros extremeños, conquistadores, que encarnaban el alma potente de la gloriosa España de Carlos V" (Burgos, 1911: no page).

And in Carta 18 of *Por Francia y por Alemania* Pardo Bazán admits to being particularly fond of Mexico because for her it represents the past glories and achievements of Spain during the time of the Conquest and the Empire:

*Méjico es el país del Nuevo Mundo que más curiosidad é interés me inspira, porque todo en él habla de nuestra gloria. Su pabellón es reproducción de un teocalli ó templo del antiguo culto azteca [...]. Adornan su fachada doce figurones de emperadores y dioses aztecas, entre los cuales está el horrento Vizlipuzlí, que ante sus aras vió sacrificadas tantas víctimas españolas en la Noche Triste.* (228)

In effect, Mexico was a country which had been the scene of both Spain's "unexampled glory and humiliation" (Murray, 1864: 374).
Some years later, in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 20 March 1911, Pardo Bazán continues to regard Mexico as the most Spanish of all Latin-American countries, and presents Cortés as a kind of superman and the greatest conquistador of all:

[México] la más española, en tradición y costumbre, de las Repúblicas sudamericanas [...]. México debe amar más a España, porque quiso la suerte que realizara su conquista el superhombre entre aquellos superhombres que eran (vistos en conjunto) los conquistadores. De aquellas águilas caudales, Hernán Cortés fue la de alas más vastas y vuelo más alto. (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 274)

Given the above, it could be argued that the author's admiration for the conquistadors stems from her penchant for the past, for bygone centuries when Spain was the world's most powerful nation. Indeed, although she is always encouraging Spaniards to look forward and to progress in order to forge a prosperous future for their nation, her ideals remain firmly entrenched in the past. In a way, Pardo Bazán uses the past as a kind of psychological crutch on which she leans for support as she waits and hopes that Spain will eventually find a way out of its present economic, political, and social stagnation.

5. Journeying on

After obtaining the required passport from the Spanish Embassy in Paris, on 10 September 1889 Pardo Bazán travelled from the French capital to Zurich by railway, or what she terms,
"hipógrifo violento" (117).\(^3\) Subsequently, in Cartas 10 to 13 she recounts her impressions of Switzerland, Germany, and Austria, to where she has travelled as a kind of detour from her main destination. At the beginning of Carta 13, the author explains how her erratic nature and her fondness for travel determined her, once in France, to extend her itinerary to cover Germany and Austria, which held the added attraction of being unknown territories (147-48).

Her first stop is Zurich, which surprises her for its cleanliness and tranquillity. This city is presented as a "neutral" or "aseptic" place and without the bustle of the big metropolis:

El aspecto de la ciudad me produjo una impresión inexplicable de paz y reposo. Poca gente en las calles; escaso ruido, como no fuese el del trabajo en los edificios que se construían; las casas modestas, pero sin que ninguna revelase miseria ó solamente estrechez en sus moradores; de mendigos, ni rastro; limpieza y tranquilidad por todas partes, y en suma la agradable apariencia de una ciudad racional y pacífica sin fiebre ni tráfago, [...] --un rincón de Europa ni envidiado ni envidioso, como el sabio de los versos inmortales. (118)

Other travellers before the Galician writer had also commented on Switzerland's high standards of cleanliness. In his guide of 1838, John Murray notes that cleanliness is one of the Alpine country's assets, but only until the traveller reaches the Italian side of the Alps and goes into Savoy and Piedmont (cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 38). With regard to the

\(^3\) This is an obvious allusion to the opening of Calderón's *La vida es sueño*.
accommodation on offer to travellers, the criticism of Murray and Baedeker's early guides on the poor quality of Swiss hotels and inns appears to have produced the desired effect, for in later editions hotels are presented as a Swiss speciality, and "the modern establishments are models of organisation on a most extensive scale. The smaller inns are often equally well conducted, and indeed in French and German Switzerland a really bad hotel is rarely met with" (cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 43). This impression is corroborated by Pardo Bazán, who in Carta 10 speaks of her Swiss hotel in highly complimentary terms (118).

After a delightful breakfast at the hotel and equipped with all the information any reputable tourist would require on Zurich, the author sets out to explore the city (118-19). She travels to the summit of Mount Uetliberg by funicular, where she samples the local beer and a tasty piece of Gruyère (119). Subsequently, she remarks on the large number of English tourists staying in a charming hotel on Mount Uetliberg, where they remain for most of the summer or the autumn, enjoying the bird's-eye view (120). That evening, Pardo Bazán relaxes in the peaceful gardens which surround the statue of the religious reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, as she delves into Swiss history and evokes what she regards as the virtues of the Alpine country (120).

Indeed, the author sees Switzerland as a role model for other European nations. In this non-belligerent and industrious country, she argues, the law is implemented and complied with; its moderate customs and aspirations result in a wholesome way of life; education is one of the priorities of its government; and the country's finances are kept healthy by
honest politicians who use their office to serve the people instead of lining their own pockets (120-21). (This last remark is, presumably, an indirect reminder of the corruption which, Pardo Bazán claims, besets Spain's political scene (30-33)). It seems that Switzerland appeals to the Galician writer because it suits her orderly mind and epitomizes many of the values she holds dear: education, civilization, hard work, honesty, moderation, law and order, cleanliness, and a wholesome life-style. Indeed, for the author Switzerland is a country which keeps itself to itself and focuses its efforts on enhancing and improving the prosperity and well-being of its people. Implicitly, then, she is drawing a comparison between this prosperous nation and trouble-torn Spain. In her travels, Pardo Bazán is constantly looking for examples within Europe worthy of emulation by her home country, and Switzerland is presented as a most suitable candidate.

Zurich is a welcome respite for the harrowed traveller who has spent several weeks surrounded by the frantic activity of Paris during the Exhibition. But Pardo Bazán's nature is much too active and restless for the fascination with Zurich's tranquillity to last. She needs constant mental stimulation, so, shortly after her arrival, she feels it is time to move on to a more exciting location: "A la larga ¿qué sé yo si tanta ecuanimidad acabaría por aburrirme? El espíritu necesita su oleaje, su mar viva y rugiente, y aquí no hay sino lagos, lagos que riza de tiempo en tiempo una brisa fresca" (123).

On 12 September Pardo Bazán arrived in Munich, travelling from Zurich to Lindau in Bavaria first by train and then by boat. The author is pleasantly surprised by the diligence and courtesy of Bavaria's customs personnel and the efficiency of
its railways (126). This impression is also shared by Murray who, in his handbook of 1858, describes the examination by German Customs as "strict without being vexatious. The Prussian douanier (often an old soldier invalided) is above taking a bribe, or rather, government regulates matters so as to prevent his taking one. [...] Strangers are treated with invariable civility, provided they conduct themselves becomingly" (cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 59).

Pardo Bazán cannot help but notice that Germany is a country that lives in the shadow of an impending war and is getting ready for it. Indeed, she refers to the Teutonic nation as a "vasto cuartel", whose railways have been militarized so that when the time comes the troops can be deployed quickly and expeditiously (127). Germany's belligerent spirit thirty years prior to Pardo Bazán's visit was also remarked on by Murray. His handbook of 1858 says on Berlin: "The great number of soldiers gives to Berlin almost the air of a camp", and he adds that for the Grand Review of the garrison, which takes place near Berlin in the autumn, "20,000 troops are sometimes collected, and the manoeuvres last several days" (cited in Sillitoe, 1995: 61).

The author is impressed by the monumental grandeur of Munich, Bavaria's capital, which reminds her of the magnificence of Florence (128). She notes that the shortness of her stay in Munich will force her to be selective with the monuments visited. Hence, she will focus her attention on Munich's museum of painting and on the Palace of Glory (Ruhmes Halle) (129). Indeed, her first visit is to the art gallery, where she delights in Murillo's street urchins (129-30). She then moves on to describe Munich's Palace of Glory, an enclave
which houses the busts of Bavaria's notable citizens and is a kind of temple to human achievement, a tribute to the greatness of the fatherland, and an exaltation of the immortality of talent and ingenuity. Although she admits to the "podredumbre del cuerpo" (133), Pardo Bazán is adamant that the spirit of great men lives on and enriches the existence of those who survive them (132-33). It is interesting that as examples of Bavaria's famous achievers the author identifies by name just two, both of whom happen to be artistes: the painter Albrecht Dürer and the composer Christoph Gluck. She also welcomes the fact that in the Palace of Glory the statues of these illustrious men are physically separated from the "vulgo" (132). This seems to suggest that for the author the creation and appreciation of art is a kind of aristocratic pursuit outside the reach of the masses, an elitist quest only to be undertaken, enjoyed, and valued by a chosen, cultured, and talented few. Indeed, in Por la Europa católica she argues that: "Para la muchedumbre [el arte] no existe" (Pardo Bazán, [1902a]: 99).

While in Munich, the Galician writer indulges in one of the comparisons of which she is so fond, and compares the recognition Bavaria bestows upon its great men with Spain's apparent disregard for its outstanding achievers:

[Que] la Bavaria y el Templo de la Gloria llenan un fin altísimo, no lo desconocerá nadie que haya lamentado el desamparo de nuestras ciudades españolas, sin exceptuar á Madrid, donde tiene una estatua Espartero, y no la tienen ni Quevedo, ni don Juan de Austria, ni Tirso, ni Garcilaso, ni Quintana, ni el Duque de Rivas, ni..... ¿á qué citar? Podrían añadirse nombres y nombres, que la
multitud olvida absolutamente, que va relegando á las
sombras del pasado remoto --tan remoto ya para los que
fallecieron ayer como para los clásicos del siglo de oro,
porque la misma niebla los envuelve. (133-34)

A similar sentiment was also expressed by Pardo Bazán in a
lecture delivered on Espronceda soon after her appointment, in
June 1906, as president of the literary section of Madrid's
Ateneo, and in which she laments "el escaso culto que hay en
España a los literatos muertos" (cited in Bravo-Villasante,
1973: 268). And in Por Francia y por Alemania the Galician
writer insists it is high time to inculcate in Spaniards the
notion of the immortality of genius, the fact that great men
are not subject to the same natural laws as mere mortals, and
this respect for talent, she argues, should be part of the
education of the people (134).

On 14 September Pardo Bazán was already in Nuremberg, but
she does not comment on the journey or indicate how she got
there. After her arrival, the author compares this German city
with Avila and concludes that whereas Nuremberg, despite
having evolved and grown, has managed to combine progress with
its medieval charm, Avila, on the other hand, has retained its
medieval appearance through sheer backwardness and decline.
Indeed, Avila's palaces and fortresses have long been
abandoned whilst the artistic beauty and historic interest of
the city go unrecognized (138). With these comments, the
author is foregrounding what she sees as Spaniards' endemic
lack of culture and education which prevents them from
appreciating and preserving their own artistic heritage. It is
also interesting to note that whereas in De mi tierra Pardo
Bazán portrays the Galician peasant as the living spirit of
the pueblo, as the paragon of virtue, as the repository of local traditions and culture, as the incarnation of popular wisdom, and as the epitome of poetry, now she questions the ability of the "abulense" peasant to appreciate the artistic beauty of his own city: "Unicamente el labriego, envuelto en parduzcos harapos, goza á diario de tanta belleza y siente --si cabe tal sentir en su cerebro rudo-- la poesía encerrada en los muros abulenses" [my italics] (138). Another reminder, perhaps, of her "aristocratic" understanding of artistic appreciation.

Pardo Bazán's aesthetic concerns, always close to her heart, are triggered by the architectural beauty of Nuremberg, whose buildings and street adornments appeal to her because of their refreshing heterogeneity. On the other hand, she criticizes the aesthetic canons of Spain's city councils which, she claims, are determined to impress on every street and building the mark of uniformity and, in consequence, of tedium:

En España el ornato consiste en hacer las cosas lo más tontas é insulsas posible: en que las fachadas se parezcan y sean idénticos los portales, en que nada sobresalga ni entretenga la vista, en que nuestras viviendas presenten el gracioso aspecto de una hoja de papel de estraza con diez ó doce agujeros simétricos. [...] El ideal de la belleza para aquellos que Heine llama philister, y que desde Heine acá no han mejorado de gusto, es una ciudad semejante á una cárcel modelo: celdas á derecha é izquierda, numeradas y pintadas de gris. (139)

It is possible that Pardo Bazán's damning comments stem
from her vision of the nineteenth century as a period of aesthetic and artistic barrenness. However, considering the development of Spain's major cities in the second half of the nineteenth century, it would appear that the author's criticism was not totally unfounded. José María Jover Zamora notes how the inadequate structure of Spain's main cities to satisfy the demands of modern times resulted in the emergence, in the 1880s, of the ensanche, aimed at providing accommodation for the urban population (Tortella [Jover Zamora], 1981: 326). The ensanches, mass-produced and built for practical reasons, were more concerned with the free flow of traffic than with community life. Thus the traditional square, used as a meeting point by the local people, was replaced by the bleak uniformity of identical streets built in a perfectly straight line (Tortella [Jover Zamora], 1981: 327), similar to those mentioned by Pardo Bazán.

In Por Francia y por Alemania, the Galician writer speaks of the way Madrid and other major cities struggle to solve the problems created by their respective ensanches (128), while Alarcón, in his Viajes por España (1883), is highly critical of Palencia's ensanche: "El prurito de derribar para ensanchar o reedificar, que se ha apoderado de Madrid, trasciende ya a las más apartadas y sedentarias villas... [...] En medio de aquellos nobles caserones de Palencia, están ya levantando...

4 Land set aside for the construction of new buildings on the outskirts of a city, and the collective noun for the buildings constructed on that land. It is an urban phenomenon which becomes increasingly common in the second half of the nineteenth century.

5 The author's grievances against nineteenth-century urban architecture are also present in Por la España pintoresca (Pardo Bazán, [1895c]: 100).
algunas jaulas de cinco pisos, para diez familias [...], que ponen espanto" (Alarcón, 1968: 1182).

While in Nuremberg, Pardo Bazán loses herself in its winding and picturesque streets, visits Dürer's former house, and admires St Sebald's tomb, whose bronze statue she describes as "el más soberbio trabajo de bronce que he visto nunca" (141). At this point she remembers a particularly beautiful effigy of the Virgin, the location of which escapes her, for, in her travels, as she readily admits, "aborrezco tomar apuntes" (142). The author's fascination with the macabre and the gruesome re-emerges here in her description of the chamber of horrors at the castle of the Burgraves in Nuremberg, where the unfortunate prisoners endured the most appalling tortures, including the deadly embrace of the Iron Maiden:

Nada falta allí: ni la silla con pinchos, que se calentaba al rojo blanco antes de que la ocupase el paciente; ni la máscara erizada interiormente de púas que, candente también, se aplicaba al rostro; ni la rueda en que se tendía el cuerpo formando arco para que sobresaliesen las coyunturas y pudiese quebrantarlas fácilmente la barra de hierro [...]. Es un museo de ferocidad humana que crispa los nervios, y más si se considera que gran parte de los instrumentos dan señales inequívocas de estar usados. (143-44)

Unusually for Pardo Bazán, in her account of Nuremberg she touches on the gastronomic delights on offer to foreign visitors and advises future travellers what to eat and drink at the local restaurants (144-46). She ends the section on the city by encouraging any prospective tourists to wander through
its historic streets and to evoke the past, for it is to the past, she argues, "al cual pertenece parte de nuestro entendimiento, casi todo nuestro corazón y toda nuestra fantasía" (146).

On 20 September Pardo Bazán was in the spa town of Karlsbad, to which she had travelled by train. And it is from her train window that she notes and describes the contrast between the welcoming and luscious Nature of Bavaria and the angry, wild, and threatening landscape of Bohemia. As is customary in her travel works, the author personifies Nature:

> Entre Baviera y Bohemia las fronteras no son línea ideal trazada por el frío dedo del interés político, sino división impuesta por la naturaleza que, pacífica y frondosa en los valles del país bávaro, á partir de Eger frunce el ceño y se muestra plutónica y salvaje. Todo se vuelve gargantas y desfiladeros que encierran la vía férrea y parecen acceder de mala gana al paso del tren [...].

> A modo de arrugas en la cara de una abuela, cortan el valle de Karlsbad dos grietas hondas, producto de antiguas sacudidas volcánicas, que atarazando y haciendo añicos las enormes rocas primitivas de gneis, abrieron camino á los manantiales calientes. (148, 149)

As in the case of Nuremberg, Pardo Bazán wanders through the streets of Karlsbad while dwelling on the history of the old spa town and describing some of the hydrotherapies to be had at the "Sprudel" (149-52). She ends her letter on Karlsbad by praising the facilities of the town's hotels and adding, in a humorous way, how uncomfortable, short, and narrow the local beds are: "Son un potro" (155).
Overall, the tenor of Cartas 10 to 13 is relaxed and informal as Pardo Bazán leaves behind the bustle of the Paris Exhibition, her commitments as a journalist, and behaves very much like a tourist. Although the journeys themselves are hardly mentioned and landscape descriptions are rather scarce, there is a strong sense of movement as the author portrays herself travelling by different means and casually walking the streets of the cities visited. This middle part of the work, with its strong notion of being on the move and its touristic pauses, contrasts sharply with the first and last sections in which the author leads a rather sedentary life-style while reporting on the Paris Exhibition and resuming the role of feature writer and foreign observer.

6. Pardo Bazán and Travel Writing

The "Epílogo" to Por Francia y por Alemania provides a useful insight into Pardo Bazán's opinion on travel chronicles. She begins this "Epílogo" by displaying a humbleness which is uncharacteristic in her. She begs forgiveness for the many flaws of both this collection and Al pie, adding that the need to cover much ground in a short space of time has resulted in a lack of profound observation and analysis, with the writer having to content herself with merely scraping the surface of the issues discussed (245). Indeed, on three occasions she notes that her chronicles have been written hurriedly (209, 250-51, 260). She also acknowledges that her intention to make her accounts entertaining, despite the arid nature of some of the topics covered, has forced her to be selective with the information conveyed to her readers, thus giving preference to
the more mentally stimulating and amusing of her experiences (245). With these comments, the author is in fact justifying the exclusion from her chronicles of those items which, by her own admission, she finds uninteresting or unappealing (the industrial side of the Exhibition, for instance), as well as the inclusion of countless digressions. At this point, it is reasonable to wonder whether, as in Al pie, the many asides of which Pardo Bazán is so fond and which abound in Por Francia y por Alemania (some of a physical nature, such as her detour via Switzerland, Germany, and Austria), have not, in effect, stolen some precious space from the actual reporting on the Exhibition.

Pardo Bazán's digressions from the main topic of discussion are often prompted by aesthetic considerations and by the fascination that beauty and beautiful things hold for her, possibly derived from her upper-class background and her acute sensitivity to anything aesthetically pleasing. In Andrés González Blanco's words:

Nunca ha perdido de vista la autora de La Tribuna [...] que es una dama de alta clase, y en la mayoría de sus obras se siente la mano fina y blanca, no deformada por el trabajo, que se va posando sobre todas las cosas delicadas de la vida, señalándolas al lector como partículas de belleza [...]. En el fondo, doña Emilia Pardo Bazán no puede olvidar que es condesa; y se detiene extasiada allí donde hay un mueble raro, un bibelot rico, un abanico antiguo, como los que ella gusta de coleccionar. [My italics] (cited by Sainz de Robles in Pardo Bazán, 1943: xlvi)

Indeed, in Carta 14 of Por Francia y por Alemania the Galician
writer is fascinated by the exquisite beauty and delicacy of some of the dancers from Java, whom she describes thus:

Las bailadoras, parecen, más que mujeres armadas con las seducciones y gracias propias de su sexo, idolitos, bibelots, esculturas de Tanagra llamadas á ocupar sitio en una cristalera. Tres son feas, graciosamente feas: la cuarta muy bonita, de correctas y delicadas facciones, oblicuos y graves ojos, mejillas menudas y redondas como las de las figurillas egipcias, labios puros y color de limpio cobre. (162)⁶

But to return to the "Epílogo" to Por Francia y por Alemania, and what Pardo Bazán regards as the essential elements of her chronicles, she observes that their style should be entertaining and interesting, free-flowing, calm, impetuous, colourful, and warm. They should appeal to people from all walks of life, regardless of their intellectual capability. She adds that the information conveyed should make easy reading, and that the impressions transmitted should be of a personal or even lyrical nature, because the time elapsed between the registering of the impressions and turning them into the written word is insufficient for the chronicler to be objective (245-46). One could argue that by identifying the principal characteristics of her travel chronicles, Pardo Bazán is in effect revealing some of her main traits as a professional writer. Her linguistic facility and her renowned temperamento colorista contribute to the ease with which her narrative flows and to the touches of colour that adorn many of her descriptions. On the other hand, it should be pointed

⁶ Note the use of the term bibelot in both quotations.
out that her style is not always calm. Pardo Bazán is a passionate woman, and when she believes that something dear to her (normally Spain) is being vilified or unjustifiably criticized, she does not hesitate to rebuff in a passionate, outspoken, and at times vitriolic way any such attacks. She is equally enthusiastic in the defence of her political views and of what she believes are the best options for the political future of Spain.

It must also be said that Pardo Bazán's chronicles are not pitched at all levels of the reading public. She is an erudite observer and, as such, she writes for the relatively educated reader of La España Moderna, El Imparcial, or any other reputable publication that hires her services. In effect, as Clémessy notes, the author's readership consisted principally of Spain's ruling and influential classes: the middle and the high bourgeoisie, members of the liberal professions, high-ranking civil servants, landowners, politicians, intellectuals, some aristocrats, and some female followers (Clémessy, 1981, I: 172). Moreover, the Galician writer takes for granted a considerable cultural baggage on the part of her reading public. Indeed, at one point in Por Francia y por Alemania she refers to "la cultura artística del que nos lee" (132), and it could therefore be argued that, to a certain extent, she adopts the motto quoted by Wayne Booth "I write. Let the reader learn to read" (Booth, 1961: 90),

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7 In a letter to Galdós she describes herself as "una mujer de tan desatadas pasiones como yo" (Pardo Bazán, 1975: 38).

8 In the "Apuntes autobiográficos" she admits to her "inveterado apasionamiento en defender a España de acusaciones gratuitas" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 720).
showing little tolerance of any possible cultural weaknesses on the part of her readership.

Pardo Bazán's impressions, as contained in her travel chronicles, are indeed of a personal and even lyrical nature. Very rarely does she act as a detached observer. The information and views conveyed are often mediated or vitiated by the author's stance with regard to the matter under discussion. Moreover, she uses the genre of travel literature as a vehicle which ultimately serves the purpose of transmitting the writer's personal impressions on any given subject. Pardo Bazán was a knowledgeable woman who, rightly or wrongly, was always ready to venture her opinion on practically everything, and this erudition, confidence, or vanity features strongly in her chronicles. Finally, by arguing that the time-gap between registering impressions and turning them into the written word is too short for the chronicler to be objective, the author could be attempting to create an impression of immediacy, freshness, spontaneity and, therefore, of credibility by implying, in a tacit way, that there was no time to manipulate or alter in any way the information transmitted.

In Por Francia y por Alemania Pardo Bazán associates her travel chronicles with journalistic writing, suggesting that such works must be closer to the spoken work, to an invigorating conversation, than to a display of lofty didacticism. She claims that if the reader is in search of instruction, then he or she should buy a book. The purpose of journalistic writing is, she argues, to entertain and interest, and, therefore, what is expected of the chronicler, she states, is a display of personality and wit, even if it
borders on the presumptious. These attributes, she adds, differentiate the fast-flowing journalistic chronicle from the matured, learned, and ponderous literary text readily available in all bookshops and libraries (245-46).

Regarding Pardo Bazán's rejection of a didactic approach in travel writing, it is worth noting that although she frequently expressed her opposition to didacticism in literature, she found it very difficult to abide by her pronouncements. Adams establishes an interesting link between travel writing (as education and as a means of structuring experience) and the Bildungsroman, arguing that "travelers with broad, inquisitive, or trained minds observed, read, listened, wrote, and then taught" (Adams, 1983: 188). Indeed, in the case of Pardo Bazán her didactic inclinations impregnate her travel chronicles, possibly because of her firmly held convictions, and her attempts at persuasion are constantly evident. Guidance is always offered to the reader, as if he or she could not be trusted to make the right choice or come to the right conclusion. In the words of Clémessy: "En la obra de la Condesa se transparenta cierto afán de enseñar al público, de ilustrarlo, de despertar su juicio crítico, orientándolo" [my italics] (Clémessy, 1975: 11).

7. Pardo Bazán vis-à-vis France
In the "Epílogo" to Por Francia y por Alemania, Pardo Bazán also decides to confront her feelings about France. In a convoluted way, she admits that both this chronicle and Al pie contain an excess of galofobia because they were largely written for Latin-American newspapers (246-47). Presumably,
the Francophobia to which the author refers is an indication of her animosity towards France, for it was to this country rather than to Spain that the new generation of Latin-American intellectuals was turning in search of inspiration and innovative ideas. In effect, Pardo Bazán argues that "en América conviene excitar un poco la fibra del afecto hacia España" (248). The author's indignation at France's attempts to usurp Spain's place in the affections of Latin-American countries that she believed owed a debt of gratitude to the mother country (Hilton, 1953: 193), is also present in her review of Jorge Huneeus Gana's Estudios sobre España (Santiago de Chile, 1889). In his work, Huneeus exhorts his fellow Latin Americans to shun France's influence and to turn their eyes towards the "madre patria", and it is with much enthusiasm that Pardo Bazán welcomes the return of the prodigal son to the bosom of his mother country: "Debemos regocijarnos al comprobar que cada día se acercan más a la madre común los países hispano-americanos, y sacudiendo el yugo de la imitación francesa, buscan sus modelos [en España]" (La España Moderna, June 1889: 202, cited in Hilton, 1953: 201). Now Pardo Bazán seems anxious for both Al pie and its sequel not to be regarded as Francophobic writing (247), and attempts to temper their anti-French tenor by presenting it as a "necesidad retórica" (249), aimed, apparently, at undermining France's image in the eyes of Latin-American readers.

Also in the "Epílogo" to Por Francia y por Alemania, the Galician writer is determined not to have her patriotism questioned. However, as a realist and after having witnessed France's might at the Universal Exhibition, she has no choice but to pay homage to that country's cultural, artistic, and
technological prowess. But she is also cautious with her praises by warning, once again, that France cannot be trusted politically and that Spain's emulation of its neighbour must be selective (247-48). Indeed, in Al pie, in order to emphasize the insurmountable differences that separate Spain and France, Pardo Bazán denies any possible brotherly links between these two nations as she scorns the notion of "pueblos latinos": "Políticamente, Francia es nuestra eterna adversaria, y raya en niñería candorosa figurarse que una tendencia histórica demostrada por la acción de muchos siglos, va á suprimirse ó modificarse merced á dos ó tres poesías y artículos sentimentales y á una supuesta confraternidad de los pueblos latinos" (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 7-8). Some years later, however, she was to reverse this opinion as she proclaimed the unity of Catholic and Latin nations, with France holding the key to the prosperity of the Latin race (Hilton, 1953: 194).

A significant factor in the author's anti-French attitude appears to be the alleged chauvinism of the French which, she claims, leads them to dismiss the achievements of other nations. Indeed, in Por Francia y por Alemania she argues that the French will always attempt to undermine any Spanish accomplishment likely to earn the country some recognition in the eyes of Europe (86). Similarly, Juan Valera, in his article "Mérito y fortuna" (1896), blames France for the lack of knowledge of Spain's artistic achievements in the world, and accuses the neighbouring nation of acting as a kind of filter or barrier which prevents Spain from being better known abroad (Valera, 1958: 1027). But regardless of any resentment Pardo Bazán may have harboured against France, on the other side of the coin there was the admiration that as an
intelligent and learned woman she was bound to feel for France's culture, science, art, literature, erudition, wealth, and civilizing influence. France, by her own admission, was a strong, powerful, educated, and energetic nation, and the author continued to hope that, with time, these epithets would also be applicable to Spain (248). In view of this, it is reasonable to assume that Pardo Bazán felt a grudging admiration for France, and that she was optimistic that, in the future, Spain would be in a position to match its neighbour's achievements.

8. Conclusions
In Por Francia y por Alemania, Pardo Bazán's sedentary lifestyle during her stay in Paris while reporting on the Exhibition contrasts sharply with the sense of movement created by her journey through Switzerland, Germany, and Austria. As in Mi romería, the travel experience is presented as having an exhilarating effect on the author, and the excitement she feels as a traveller at the discovery of hitherto unknown countries comes through in the account of her experiences.

But even if in the first and last sections of the collection travel is sidestepped, Carta 9 is dedicated to the traveller/explorer Leopoldo Arnaud and the account of his travels through the Gran Chaco. Thus, the reader learns through the mediation of Pardo Bazán the hardship and tribulations endured by Arnaud in his journey of exploration. So, in a way, she does delve into the travel experience even if in an indirect manner and through secondary sources.
It could also be argued that travel is not discussed while Pardo Bazán is in Paris because the Exhibition is effectively a microcosm of the world, and, as such, without stepping outside the actual showground and without having to endure the discomfort inherent to travel, the author is able to study at first hand the characteristics of the countries represented at the event. As Pardo Bazán herself observes: "Diría que mejor se aprecia aquí el color local, que viajando: viajando habrá que buscarlo y encontrarlo desparramado, y acaso oculto: aquí nos lo dan preparadito, porque de propósito eligieron en cada país lo más típico y saliente para regalárnoslo" (158).?

In Pardo Bazán's foreign travel works she is often seen looking for a role model for Spain. In a way, she acts as a kind of pilgrim searching for the promised land whose example will bring Spain hope and will rescue it from its present decline. In Por Francia y por Alemania this honour is shared by France and Switzerland, although she is not yet prepared to present the neighbouring nation as worthy of total emulation by Spain. This will happen later, in Cuarenta días en la exposición. But for the time being, she limits herself to exalting some of France's virtues and is careful to temper her praises. On the other hand, her impressions of Switzerland are totally positive and without reservation. Indeed, in Por Francia y por Alemania the Alpine country is suggested as a role model not just for Spain but for Europe as a whole.

Regarding Pardo Bazán's difficult relationship with

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9 Another possible interpretation is, of course, that some of the world's greatest nations have figuratively "travelled" to Paris, where they have made themselves available to the scrutiny of "sedentary" travellers.
France, Hilton notes that although in her youth the Galician writer, sharing an attitude which had prevailed in Spain for over a century, was, like most Spanish conservatives, resentful towards France, in her latter years her outlook on this country changed to the extent that she became regarded as Spain's leading Francophile (Hilton, 1953: 193). Indeed, Enrique Gómez Carrillo quotes her as saying in 1906 that after delivering in Paris her lecture "La España de ayer y la de hoy" (1899): "J'ai commencé à considérer la France comme une seconde patrie, comme un pays où je ne suis pas complètement étrangère" (Gómez Carrillo, 1906: 460).

In fact, Por Francia y por Alemania marks a turning-point in Pardo Bazán's attitude towards France. Whereas Al pie is full of mistrust and disdain for the neighbouring nation, in its sequel she appears to come to terms with France's cultural, artistic, scientific, and intellectual superiority. After having visited and admired the successful 1889 Universal Exhibition, the reality of France's influence can no longer be ignored or underestimated. It is to Pardo Bazán's credit that she admits to this and that in the "Epílogo" she attempts to temper the anti-French tenor of this and her previous work. Although some Francophobic sentiment is still present in Por Francia y por Alemania (particularly in Carta 7, in which she defends Spanish painters against the alleged injustices of the French jury), it is much more subdued and controlled than in Al pie.
CHAPTER 6

A JOURNEY TO SPAIN'S ARTISTIC AND HISTORIC PAST:

POR LA ESPAÑA PINTORESCA

1. Introduction

Por la España pintoresca: Viajes, published in 1895, is a compilation of travel pieces written by Pardo Bazán following trips taken between 1889 and 1893. The work consists of three sections in which the author recounts the impressions of her journeys through the province of Santander, Castile, and Galicia. Her essays on Santander and its province were first serialized in La Epoca between 17 August and 19 November 1894. The articles on Castile were first published in the Nuevo Teatro Crítico between 5 May and 12 December 1891, and her pieces on Galicia first appeared in the Madrid newspaper, El Imparcial, on 6 and 20 October 1890, and 24 July 1893.

This collection deals with very different parts of Spain and also reveals some of the most important artistic treasures of the regions visited by the author. In effect, it discloses the natural and artistic diversity of Spain. Pardo Bazán herself notes in Por la España pintoresca that one cannot speak of a single Spain, since there are as many Spains as there are regions (Pardo Bazán, [1895c]: 111), and in her article "El viaje por España", published in La España Moderna of November 1895, she also proposes the notion of a plural Spain: "España es múltiple, compleja, y sus regiones contrastan violentamente las unas con las otras; [...] España
[...] nunca revestirá un solo color, sino todos los del arco iris, con la caprichosa variedad del rico mosaico" (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 94).

In *Por la España pintoresca* the author meets local people, employs the services of some of them, and at times talks freely with her new acquaintances. This social intercourse is occasionally a search for local colour (this will be discussed later), at times an indication of her journalistic tendencies, and possibly even a manifestation of her calling as a novelist (as an observer/researcher of human nature). These encounters also contribute to lending credibility, authority, immediacy, freshness, and verisimilitude by incorporating, not just the author's single perspective, but also a kind of multiple viewpoint which, besides enlivening the narrative, also serves to authenticate the account.

2. The Travel Experience in *Por la España pintoresca*

In contrast to other travel collections, such as *Al pie* or *Cuarenta días*, in which the author is based in one particular place for most of the time, in *Por la España pintoresca* there is a great deal of movement, of physical activity, of hopping between places, walking around, and going on local outings. Indeed, Pardo Bazán speaks with relish of her walks in Santander, Alcalá, Guadalajara, Sigüenza ("Con gran mortificación de los piés" (107)), Valladolid, Medina de Rioseco, and Toledo. The reader also learns of her excursions to Ontaneda (15), Villacarriedo (22), the Pas valley (27), Comillas (69), the Altamira caves (79-87), and San Pedro das
Rocas (166-80). This close contact allows the author to appreciate at first hand, and not from the distance of a train window, the beauty of Nature, the idiosyncrasies of the locals, and the artistic qualities of the monuments she comes across in her travels.

However, the principal means of transport used by Pardo Bazán in this collection is the train. In the opening piece she travels from Palencia to Santander by train, and although she is very attracted to the scenery she can admire from the carriage window, she makes the following comments on the discomfort of train travel:

Declaro que el recorrido entre Palencia y Santander es capaz de quebrantar los huesos á quien los tenga más flexibles y resistentes. Sin duda la via se encuentra desnivelada, y aun cuando el tren no va de prisa, lleva un traqueteo intolerable. A fin de olvidar la molestia, hay que colgarse de las ventanillas y distraerse con el paisaje, cada vez más fresco y grandioso. (8)

A similar view is expressed in her article "La pierna del gobernador" (September 1901), in which she justifies Spaniards' aversion to travel by foregrounding the hardship and discomfort involved in travelling in Spain, especially by train: "Como se viaja tan poco en nuestro país (y no hay que extrañarlo, vistas las infinitas molestias que entrañan aquí los viajes), en invierno y de noche es frecuente que en un departamento se vaya solo" (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 247).

Indeed, during her stay in Toledo the author complains about the apparently ludicrous train timetable which allows visitors only four hours in which to explore the city, unless they are prepared to stay overnight, and calls for a more
efficient service and faster trains (135-36). Alarcón, too, in his *Viajes por España* (1883), speaks with frustration, but also with a touch of humour which is absent from Pardo Bazán's narrative, of the one-hour wait that travellers to Salamanca have to endure in Medina del Campo as a result of "los altos e incomprensibles designios de las Empresas, que no han juzgado conveniente ahorrar a los viajeros esta hora de detención" (Alarcón, 1968: 1131). Overall, train travel features strongly in *Por la España pintoresca*, which depicts on its cover a woman looking out of a carriage window and, in an inset, a travelling locomotive. There are, however, other methods of travel sometimes employed during these journeys. For example, the horse-drawn carriage, which Pardo Bazán finds much more preferable in the summer to "los remolinos de polvo y el cunear del tren" (9), or the omnibus, that she uses while in Orense (166).

In *Por la España pintoresca*, as in *De mi tierra*, the travel experience is presented as a collective activity, with the first-person plural being widely used. On four occasions Pardo Bazán mentions her daughter Blanca (85, 109, 125, 132) and another female travelling companion (96), and during her stay in Toledo she gives the names of the members of the party who visit the city with her (134-35). Also, in the piece on San Pedro das Rocas the author meets some old friends who had accompanied her on previous excursions -- "mis perpétuos amigos, mis infatigables excursionistas" (163) -- and rejoices at the prospect of exploring new places with them and sharing the excitement of the journey ahead (163-64).

In this collection, Pardo Bazán follows in the footsteps of previous travel writers and their works: Rodrigo Amador de
los Ríos's España, sus monumentos y artes, Amós Escalante's Costas y montañas -- "breviario del excursionista por la Montaña" (18) -- Galdós's Cuarenta leguas por Cantabria, and Enrique Flórez's La España sagrada. In fact, she quotes freely from these texts and some of the historical background included in her description of the places visited is drawn from the above works. So, besides the companionship provided by her fellow excursionistas or viajeros, Pardo Bazán also travels, figuratively, in this collection in the company of other travel writers, and this, in turn, enhances her perception of travel as a collective enterprise to be enjoyed, as mentioned above, with others.

But overall, Por la España pintoresca contains few comments on the journeying from place to place, and frequently there is no indication as to how Pardo Bazán travelled between any two locations. For instance, in the last piece on Santander she proclaims her departure from that city: "Adiós, Santander, que nos vamos á Torrelavega y Santillana" (42), and immediately afterwards she announces her arrival in Santillana del Mar: "Ya estoy en este pueblo sorprendente" (42), omitting to explain how she got there. In effect, in Por la España pintoresca the journey takes second place to cultural, artistic, historical, and principally aesthetic considerations, for, as the Galician writer herself states in her article "El viaje por España": "El viaje por España es, ante todo, viaje de estudio y de cultura, aunque también de recreo en muchos sentidos" (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 95). How the author travelled to one of the destinations covered in the work matters far less than her impressions of what she found in each place visited. Yet, this lack of information, coupled
with the fact that with only three exceptions (89, 138, 191) no date indicators are provided, renders the entire collection (possibly because of the time-gap between the various trips) slightly disjointed. In other words, there is no continuity of movement between the different sections of the work because there is no constant itinerary that would allow the reader to follow the writer in her journeys through the various regions of Spain.

In this collection, as in most of her others, Pardo Bazán is in a privileged position when she travels.\(^1\) She is no ordinary traveller, but a celebrated writer, highly regarded by some of the people she encounters during her journeys, and whose family connections and friendship with important local dignitaries enable her to visit many of the sights which are normally closed to public viewing. Moreover, in many instances she enjoys a preferential treatment which is not on offer to the average tourist. For example, while in Santander she is ushered into Menéndez y Pelayo's library by the savant's own parents and brother (37). During her visit to Galdós's house in Santander she is accompanied by the novelist himself (40), and in Santillana del Mar she is the guest of the Marquess of Casa Mena, and the Marquess of Robledo (42, 52). While in Guadalajara, her friendship with the provincial governor (an old friend of her father's, and who had known the author since her infancy) facilitates her access to three major monuments in the city (96). Then, upon her arrival in Sigüenza, the author is feted by the town's mayor (103), and on Good Friday she is invited to lunch by the local bishop (109). Her visit

\(^1\) The exception here is, of course, the outward journey in Mi romería.
to Toledo is also rendered much more interesting because of the intervention of her friend, Cardinal Payá: "Gracias á la atención del Cardenal, las dignidades del Cabildo se molestaron en enseñarnos detalladamente algo de lo que no siempre ven los turistas" (148).

While Spain's plurality is indicated in Por la España pintoresca, so too is the spectrum of roles played by Pardo Bazán in this collection, where her multifaceted interests as a travel writer come through just as they did in Mi romería. For instance, while in Ontaneda she is the bañista and the explorer, who takes the waters in the local spa, goes exploring the nearby villages, and speaks of her "impaciencia por registrar la Montaña" (15). During her visit to Quevedo's country home, the author adopts the role of botanist, describing in detail the different varieties of flowers and bushes that populate the nearby field (21-22). On her visit to the palace of Soñanes, she is the art historian and the folklorist, who recounts the architectural intricacies of the palace and the popular legend associated with the building (23-24). While in the Pas valley, Pardo Bazán becomes the folklorist, the anthropologist, and the costumbrista, as she goes searching for the local material that only the pasiegos can provide and delves into their traditions and ethnic origins (25-27). During her visit to Dr Enrique Madrazo's hospital, she assumes the role of science reporter who interviews the physician and describes the treatments offered by the clinic (29-33). In Santander, Pardo Bazán is again the reporter who converses with the survivors and witnesses of the explosion of the munitions ship, the Cabo Machichaco (34-35), as well as the literary pilgrim to Menéndez y Pelayo's library.
and Galdós's study (37-39). While still in Santander, the author reverts to the role of amateur science reporter in her superficial description of the work carried out by the local marine biology station (40-42), and during her stay in nearby Santillana, she is both the knowledgeable tourist who visits the town's abbey and the hagiographer who recounts the life of Santa Juliana and studies hagiographic symbols (45-48). Also in Santillana, Pardo Bazán becomes the genealogist and the heraldry aficionado, as she explores the lineages of the village's ancient families and describes their coats of arms (56-60). Her subsequent stay in Comillas involves an incursion into late medieval history on the subject of Juana la Beltraneja (61-62), some touristic pursuits in the shape of her visit to the local palace, seminary, and museum (73-76), and a literary pilgrimage to Calderón's family roots (66-68). Then, during her visit to the Altamira caves, Pardo Bazán is again the explorer and archeologist who moves through the earth's entrails, as well as the reporter who tells how the paintings were discovered and informs on the arguments surrounding their authenticity (77-87).

At the beginning of the section on Castile, the author plays the role of seasoned travel writer, advising future viajeros where to stay and the places to explore (88-89), while in Alcalá she is the historian and scholar who visits the local archives and the now deserted university (91-93). And it is during this visit to Alcalá that Pardo Bazán's taste for that common feature in her travel works, the macabre, re-emerges as she relishes the prospect of seeing the relics of two young martyrs and the mummified body of San Diego (94). When in Guadalajara, she is again the tourist, walking about,
visiting, and describing the local sights (96-103), and the same applies to her stay in Sigüenza (104-10). However, while in Valladolid she is shown to be the knowledgeable art critic who visits and describes the wooden sculptures housed in the local museum (111-21). The same can be said of her stay in Rioseco, where she visits four churches (126-32). Interestingly, in Toledo Pardo Bazán is presented as an ill-prepared tourist, inadequately shod to walk the steep streets and lacking a manageable guidebook to the city (136-38). However, this does not undermine her enjoyment as an art critic of the visit to some of Toledo's religious monuments (139-42). This section demonstrates more than any other in this collection Pardo Bazán's many roles as a travel writer: the author is a moralist who criticizes the irrevent use of Toledo's cathedral as a place for romantic encounters (143), a religious pilgrim attending one of the city's Easter processions (144-45), a folklorist who recounts the story of Juanelo Turriano and defends the popular attraction of legends (150-53), a literary pilgrim who visits the setting of Cervantes's *La ilustre fregona* (156-58), and finally a defenceless tourist whose stay in the city is marred by the unsolicited services of a self-appointed guide (158-60). In the later section on San Pedro das Rocas, Pardo Bazán is the excursionista and the paisajista who "discovers" and describes some of Orense's mountains (163-73), and while in Betanzos, the author becomes the costumbrista writer, depicting in a scene full of local colour the country fair held there (188-89).

Another noticeable aspect of *Por la España pintoresca* is that throughout the collection there is the clear indication
of shortness of time, of haste: "Esa fatalidad que hace que siempre se quede atrás en los viajes algo que de veras importa" (120). It seems that there is insufficient opportunity to explore and enjoy at leisure all the natural and artistic treasures Spain has to offer. Thus, the journey is made "con tiempo tasado y medido en demasía" (148). Indeed, Pardo Bazán describes herself as a "viajero de paso" (17) and, as such, she is selective with the monuments she visits and with the information she conveys to her readers: "Como yo no pretendo sino archivar aquí fugaces impresiones, he de limitarme á recordar lo que más se me grabó en la memoria, lo que más recreó mi espíritu" (105). Anticipating some recrimination on the part of her reading public, the author justifies her selective and partial approach thus: "Yo no escribo guías; voy á donde me lleva mi capricho, á lo que excita mi fantasía, al señuelo de lo que distingue á una población entre las demás de España" (121). Very similar sentiments are also expressed by Alarcón in De Madrid a Nápoles (1861): "Yo no escribo la Guía de Turín, sino mis propias impresiones. Apresurémonos, pues, a referir y copiar aquellas escenas y panoramas que más nos hayan sorprendido en esta capital" (Alarcón, 1968: 1280). In the case of Pardo Bazán, there is a touch of vanity in these words uttered by the author, the free spirit, the privileged viajero, who travels, at least in this chronicle, for leisurely, artistic, and aesthetic pursuits, with no financial constraints. Indeed, bearing in mind the fact that these pieces may well have been commissioned for publication, this collection nonetheless transmits the impression of those travel works which record "wanderings of great length, undertaken solely for pleasure
and curiosity, consuming much time and money, and as such indulged in especially by those who have both at their command" (Murray, 1845d: 119).²

3. Santander and its Province
The first essay of Por la España pintoresca finds Pardo Bazán travelling by train from Palencia to Santander and looking forward to exploring "el único punto de la zona cantábrica que no había yo visitado nunca" (7). The short journey made between Renedo and Ontaneda by horse-drawn carriage confirms for the author the physical similarities she had suspected existed between the Santander area and her beloved Galicia:
"Es el mismo verdor, [...] el mismo campo, que oculta cuidadosamente el ingrato color del terruño bajo espesísimo vellón de hierba y flores..." (9).

Pardo Bazán's journey of exploration begins by drawing the reader's attention to the fact that several famous Spanish writers either lived in Santander or their families came from that province:

Précias y alábase la Montana de que, si bien hasta el presente siglo no rodó en ella la cuna de escritores de alta fama, en cambio, de linaje montañés y de solar radicado en esta tierra proceden algunos de tan universal

² Muggli notes how Fussell, in The Norton Book of Travel (1987), argues that the travel writer's essential motivation to travel should be a "nonutilitarian pleasure". However, one cannot ignore, as Muggli observes, that "many writers have traveled on publishers' advances, and many others have had clear prospects of later publication" (Muggli, 1992: 181-82). This latter assertion appears to be applicable to Pardo Bazán and her travel works, despite the impression she strives to create in some of them.
renombre como el marqués de Santillana, Garcilaso de la Vega, Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca y D. Francisco de Quevedo. (16)

In the very first paragraph of the work she had in fact made a reference to the province of Santander as "la tierruca" of one of the most important regional writers of nineteenth-century Spain: José María de Pereda (7).

However, the author's annoyance and frustration at the derelict condition of what she regards as Spain's artistic heritage soon becomes apparent. After the physical effort involved in "ascender una cuesta bastante agria y de salvar vallas y portillos" (19), Pardo Bazán encounters Quevedo's old country house, now reduced to a pile of stones: "No puedo repetir el verso de la famosa Canción, y exclamar: 'de todo apenas quedan las señales,' pues ni señales quedan" (20).

Azorín, too, in España (1909) notes the appalling state of some of the country's historic monuments: "Yo veo en las viejas, venerables catedrales, estos patios que rodea un claustro de columnas. Estos patios [...] están llenos de maleza y de hierbajos bravíos; nadie cuida estas plantas; ni la hoz ni el rastrillo han entrado aquí hace largos años" (Azorín, 1982: 411). Yet, Pardo Bazán's disappointment at the dilapidated condition of Quevedo's old house is compensated to a certain extent by the beautiful vegetation that surrounds it, and she gives a typical colorista description, with a good deal of enumeration and in which the author's pictorial tendencies become evident:

El trébol rosa, amarillo y blanco; las salvias melífluas; las orquídeas raras y delicadas; los enhiestos gladiolos; los acianos ó blués, tan de moda hoy, que
pasan del azul zafiro al azul turquesa; las remilgadas minutisas; las biznagas, que en el centro de su umbela blanquísima tienen una gota de sangre; las valerianas lujosas; la amarilla cicuta; el cardo arquitectural; las medicinales manzanillas; las margaritas, que en sus pétalos llevan la revelación del destino; las vaporosas gramíneas, el miosotis, lleno de nostalgia.... se agrupan y entremezclan formando un tapiz recamado y aromoso. (22)

This suggested relationship between painting and Pardo Bazán's writing is emphasized by García Guerra when he notes: "La prosa de P.B. presenta un marcado carácter pictórico. [...] Si bien es cierto que constituye un tópico dentro del realismo que las novelas son cuadros de costumbres, en el caso de nuestra escritora esta comparación entre la narrativa y la pintura alcanza un significado especial" (García Guerra, 1990: 49). Clémessy, for her part, links Pardo Bazán's temperamento colorista and pictorial tendencies with the emergence of Impressionist painting, by perceptively pointing out that when the Galician writer began her writing career Impressionism was at its apogee. Indeed, between 1874 and 1886 eight exhibitions were held which guaranteed the success of Renoir, Manet, Degas, Sisley, and others. In time, the Goncourt brothers became the best representatives of the new trend whereby painters and writers, united in their love for colour and light, left behind precise designs and contours. In the case of Pardo Bazán, her interest in French Impressionism [and the Goncourts] was first revealed in some landscape descriptions contained in Un viaje de novios (1881) (Clémessy, 1981, II: 821).

Another good example of Pardo Bazán's colorismo in Por la
España pintoresca is her description of the creatures that inhabit the bottom of the sea, as featured in Santander's marine biology station: "Los rojos de minio, los amarillos de ocre, los azules de cobalto, los verdes esmeralda, los rosas transparentes y los violetas fluidos de esos bichejos raros [...] , son una magia contemplados al través de la delicada y diáfana cortina del agua que los hace vivir" (41). Yet Pardo Bazán was not alone in this pictorial approach to travel literature. Indeed, in his Viajes por España Alarcón compares himself to a painter when confronted with the description of a beautiful monument: "Dejemos la pluma y cojamos el pincel" (Alarcón, 1968: 1154).

The piece on the Pas valley in Por la España pintoresca is particularly interesting because it reveals the author's attachment to costumbrismo. Indeed, in her Spanish travel collections the Galician writer is often seen looking for local colour, for costumbrista scenes. Evaristo Correa Calderón defines costumbrismo as:

Un tipo de literatura menor de breve extensión, que prescinde del desarrollo de la acción, o está muy rudimentaria, limitándose a pintar un pequeño cuadro colorista, en el que se refleja con donaire y soltura el modo de vida de una época, una costumbre popular o un tipo genérico representativo. (Evaristo Correa Calderón, Antología de costumbristas españoles, Madrid, 1964: 1, cited in Whitaker, 1988: 63)

For her part, Pardo Bazán saw costumbrismo as heralding, with its popular flavour, the "realismo nacional" to which she was so attracted. Indeed, in La cuestión palpitante she speaks with fondness of Fernán Caballero, Mesonero Romanos, Enrique
Flórez, and Larra as the precursors of costumbrismo, suggesting that their works are the repositories of established Spanish traditions, of casticismo, and, in a word, of Spanishness itself (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 641). During summers spent in her country home of Meiras, Pardo Bazán would have witnessed the gradual loss of rural customs and traditions, and certainly her Spanish travel writings show her determination to seek out these manifestations of Spanish culture before they were irretrievably lost.

Indeed, in the piece on the Pas valley in Por la España pintoresca the Galician writer admits that the main reason for visiting this particular spot was the quest for local colour: "Esperaba cuadros de mucha fisonomía. No renunciaba por nada del mundo al color local" (27). The mere mention of the Pas valley and its peasants conjures in the author's mind images of colour, fertility, health, vigour, and sheer life:

Al oír valle de Pas, diríase que vemos un derroche de formas plásticas, un insolente alarde de robustez, vitalidad y carnes sanas y firmes, y, al par, racimos de chicuelos, un hervidero de bebés mamones que ríen, con una perla de densa leche entre los rosados bezos.... Nos deslumbra el rojo fuerte de las sartas de coral; nos ciega el azul de las cuentas de vidrio y el relucir de las arracadas de filigrana pendientes de rollizas orejas; nos recrean los tonos gayos de pecheras y justillos, la majeza de las amplias sayas de ruedo galoneadas y del pañuelo de seda que cubre la trenza dura de la pasiega beldad.... (25)

But unfortunately, it transpires that the Pas valley has little to offer in the way of local colour, and Pardo Bazán's
expectations turn into disappointment. Not one of the buxom and colourful peasants she had anticipated is to be found there: "Y henos ya [...] en el pueblo de Vega de Pas, sin haber visto, ni para un remedio, pasiego ni pasiega con color local, sino algunas aldeanas idénticas á las que se encuentran en Ontaneda ó Carriedo, sin abarcas, ni justillo, ni albanega, ni filigranas, ni corales, ni veros azules ni colorados, como diría Sancho Panza...." (28).

The Pas valley may have no local colour to offer Pardo Bazán, but it does hold a rewarding surprise: Dr Enrique Madrazo's state-of-the-art hospital (29).³ Apparently, the Madrazo hospital, benefiting from the latest surgical equipment and isolated in the mountains, provides a near-aseptic environment thanks to the pure water and air of the surrounding countryside and the extreme hygienic conditions of its installations (30-32). Pardo Bazán admires Madrazo's altruism, faith, and the strength of his convictions, and finds him an inspiring role model in an age of uncertainty which, she claims, forces the individual into a state of perpetual anxiety. For the author, meeting Madrazo has been a morally enriching experience: "Hombres como Madrazo son una fuerza" (33).

During her stay in the city of Santander, Pardo Bazán recalls the horrors of the recent explosion of the munitions ship, the Cabo Machichaco: "A Santander no se le ha quitado todavía --ni es milagro que no se le quite-- el temblor producido por la catástrofe que le cubrió de luto. Apenas hablo con persona á quien no le haya sucedido algo atroz"

³ Some of the victims of the explosion of the Cabo Machichaco in November 1893 were in fact treated by Madrazo.
Her conversation with some of the survivors and witnesses of the explosion brings home to her the tragic and human side of the catastrophe: "Todo lo cual lo habíamos leído en la prensa, y sin embargo, ¡qué diferente nos pareció al escucharlo referido por los testigos y las víctimas!" (35).

On a more pleasurable note, Pardo Bazán's literary interests take her to Menéndez y Pelayo's library in Santander, the inner sanctum of the savant, into which she is led by his parents and brother (37-38). By way of contrast, she next describes Galdós's study, also in Santander, and compares Menéndez y Pelayo's tidiness and dedication to a life of erudition and research to Galdós's joie de vivre and cluttered life-style (39). The author's scientific concerns, already present in her conversation with Madrazo, re-emerge during her visit to Santander's Estación Cantábrica de Biología Marina, and because of her limited knowledge of scientific matters ("Libreme Dios de soñar en descripciones científicas" (41)), her description of the work carried out at the station is minimal and basic: "Sólo diré, para inteligencia de los profanos como yo, que la tal estación ó laboratorio tiene por objeto estudiar la fauna y la flora de las grandes profundidades submarinas, muy hondas en este punto de la costa cantábrica" (41). There are, in fact, echoes here of her inadequate reporting on the industrial side of the 1889 Paris Exhibition.

Later, in Santillana del Mar, Pardo Bazán visits the abbey, and after exploring the hagiography of Santa Juliana and the hagiographic symbols that adorn her sarcophagus (45-

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4 Six-hundred dead and one thousand injured was the human cost of the explosion.
48), the author turns her attention to the abbey's cloister. Although she usually laments the sight of neglected historic buildings, this time, it should be noted, she is disappointed because the cloister is not as crumbling and gloomy as she had imagined:

Ya no presenta hoy [el claustro] tan fúnebre aspecto como cuando lo describieron Pérez Galdós y Amós Escalante; ya no lo invade tanto el moho polvoriento de los sepulcros, ni la vegetación melancólica de los lugares húmedos y desiertos; ya no ruedan cráneos bajo los pies del visitador.... y casi estoy por decir que es lástima, pues este claustro causaría más impresión cuanto más triste, solo y próximo á desplomarse. (49)

These observations indicate an almost Romantic or even morbid quality to the Galician writer's liking for buildings which fill her with melancholy and sadness. Furthermore, here there is a contradiction in Pardo Bazán's attitude to the conservation of historic monuments: although she is adamant that Spain's artistic heritage should be preserved and restored, she tends to prefer the appearance of derelict, desolate, and forlorn buildings which inspire in her a nostalgic and melancholic feeling which she enjoys. Indeed, later in the work, she observes of another cloister: "La restauración del claustro está hecha con suma felicidad y primor; [...] pero la piedra blanca me lastima los ojos y me desilusiona. Por mi fortuna he visto el claustro de San Juan de los Reyes mucho antes de que se intentara restaurarlo: lo he visto con zarzas, con yedra, con ortigas, contemplativo, desolado, con la hermosura de lo ruinoso" (139).

After a leisurely walk around Santillana during which
Pardo Bazán comments on the lineage and genealogy of the village's nobility and inspects their old ancestral homes -- the so-called "casas blasonadas", whose coats of arms and mottoes she describes and explains in detail (56-57, 59-60, 63) -- the author goes exploring in the library of her host, the Marquess of Robledo. At this point she enters the fascinating and dream-like world of the chivalric romances, which fire her imagination:

El marqués posee el codiciado ejemplar único de la edición castellana de Tirante el Blanco, amén de muy raras ediciones de Amadís, Las Sergas de Esplandián y otras narraciones igualmente quijotescas. Aun cuando parezca extraño, yo no puedo aislar la impresión de estos libros fabulosos de los históricos mobiliarios. Me producen el mismo estado de excitación imaginativa, el mismo delicioso transporte á un mundo irreal, habitado por gigantes, encantadores, vestigios y fadas. (57-58)

In fact, Pardo Bazán appears to have enjoyed chivalric romances from an early age. In the "Apuntes autobiográficos" she admits that during her childhood one of her favourite books was Cervantes's Don Quijote (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 704). The author was possibly attracted to chivalric romances because they allowed her to escape from what she regarded as the prosaic reality of the nineteenth century and enter a chimerical world of "high-flown sentiments, improbability, exaggeration, unreality -- in short, elements diametrically opposed to a sober, rational view of life". Indeed, interspersed throughout Por la España pintoresca there are

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numerous references to Don Quijote, Sancho Panza, and the chivalric romances in general.

Santillana del Mar, the birthplace of another renowned writer, Iñigo López de Mendoza, epitomizes for Pardo Bazán the world of the chivalric romances. She sees this small village, its ancient, aristocratic buildings, and noble families as remaining fixed in the past, resisting the arrival of new, democratic ways:

Es verdad.... [la leyenda genealógica de Santillana] vestida de gules y sinople; verdad envuelta en la dorada gasa del símbolo. ¿Qué son la conseja del Caballero del Cisne, qué el Santo Grial, qué las aventuras de Roldán, qué los amorios de Tristán é Isolda, sino emblemas, signos jeroglíficos que explican algo más hermoso y más verdadero que el seco relato del fiel testigo? Y si carecéis de estas aficiones, de estas convicciones, no vengáis á Santillana, porque no entenderéis lo que dicen [...] estos palacios en que todavía viven y resisten la invasión de los tiempos democráticos los biznietos de los que ganaron estas divisas y estos cuarteles. (58-59)

From Santillana, "punto central desde donde se pueden hacer excursiones muy variadas á distintos pueblos de la provincia" (60), Pardo Bazán travelled on foot to Villanueva de la Barca, "en una tarde lluviosa, de celaje algodonáceo y gris, por caminos impregnados de humedad" (64). However, the beauty of the landscape offered some consolation to the visitors: "El robledal y los prados de Villanueva estaban divinos, cuando un rayo de sol vergonzante hacía reflejarse los diamantes colgados de cada hoja y cada mata de hierba" (65). While in Villanueva, the author visits the "casa solariega" of
yet another celebrated writer, Calderón de la Barca, and after
-touching briefly on the legend surrounding the origins of his
family name (66-67), she proclaims her undying admiration for
the author of El mágico prodigioso, who she regards as the
most Spanish and Catholic of any of Spain's writers. Indeed,
for Pardo Bazán, Calderón symbolizes the "soul" of Spain:

Tal vez se necesitó esa serie de progenitores que
tenían el espíritu nacional difundido en las venas y que
ofrecieron sus vidas en holocausto á la patria y á la
religión, para producir el gran poeta más español y más
católico de nuestro Parnaso. Calderón era España, ó por
lo menos era uno de los aspectos principales del alma
española; su aspecto más estético quizás. La misma savia
que en el guerrero, el marino, el mártir se transformó en
acción, en el poeta produjo el drama teológico,
monárquico y patriótico, y el auto sacramental. (67-68)
The Galician writer's devotion to this playwright is thus
linked to the fact that for her Calderón represents some of
the principles which she regards as paramount: Spanishness,
casticismo, Catholicism, and patriotism.\(^6\) However, Pardo
Bazán's admiration is no doubt also associated with her own
longing for the past, since Calderón embodies the period of
greatest glory and prestige for Spain in literary, artistic,
and military terms.\(^7\)

\(^6\) In En torno al casticismo (1895), Unamuno, too, sees
Calderón as "cifra y compendio de los caracteres diferenciales
y exclusivos del casticismo castellano", and as the most
emblematic castizo playwright (Unamuno, 1942, I: 53, 55).

\(^7\) Whereas the 1898 writers looked for the "soul" of Spain
in the arid Castilian landscape, Pardo Bazán also seems to be
searching for the true values of Spain, but in the great
writers of the past and, in particular, of the Golden Age.
After returning to Santillana, the author travels on foot along a "bonito camino que, serpeando por entre montes, llanuras, praderías y arboledas, nos conduce á Comillas" (68). The piece on Comillas is particularly interesting because it provides further evidence of Pardo Bazán's attachment to the past and her aversion to the present. Indeed, she is at pains to sever, although temporarily, her emotional links with the past in order to confront the present in the shape of Comillas, a now prosperous, modern town thanks to its commercial activity:

Al dirigirnos á Comillas, propúseme echar en olvido la afición á lo viejo, y reconciliarme temporalmente con la vida actual. Fuera fantasmas; atrás linajes caducos y glorias sepultadas entre polvo secular diez veces; lo que ha engrandecido á Comillas es la gran actividad de nuestro siglo, el comercio: los timbres y blasones de Comillas están forjándose á golpe de pico, en el momento presente [...] Aceptemos la juventud en los pueblos como en el individuo, y resignémonos á que, si todo acaba, todo ha de empezar alguna vez. (69)

In Pardo Bazán's opinion, although Comillas is an industrial and mining centre, it lacks the solera of older places. Its history is too recent, it does not go back far enough: "Sería inexactitud decir que Comillas carece absolutamente de recuerdos históricos; pero son de ayer. Aquí los recuerdos, lo mismo que los edificios, necesitan patina.... y acaso sea lo único que necesiten" (70). Indeed, for the author the passage of time gives buildings elegance and beauty by toning down the lurid colours of new materials. Thus, speaking of the Comillas family's vault, she observes:
"Hoy aún desafinan los colores: cuando el tiempo amortigüe el rebrillar de los bronces y la blancura excesiva del mármol y de la piedra, tendrá el encanto que le falta. Empresa imposible la de adelantarse á los años, y gran artista, superior á todos los artistas, el viejo Kronos que se traga las edades" (76-77).

In addition, Pardo Bazán uses the piece on Comillas to underscore and praise the generosity of some Spanish aristocrats who, aware of their privileged position, use their money for the benefit of others:

Los marqueses de Comillas procuran gastar en su país, y en beneficio de su pueblo natal, gran parte de sus millones. Ni son ellos el único ejemplo que en España existe, de capitalistas que se consideran depositarios del caudal y dan á los trabajadores y á los pobres el usufructo. Ahí están mis amigos los marqueses de Linares, que han hecho de su palacio de Madrid una nueva casa dorada, [...] y han protegido, al decorarla, á los más insignes artistas contemporáneos. (72)

These remarks are interesting in the sense that they involve some name-dropping on the part of the author, who is determined to underline her connections with Spain's old aristocracy, and also because they present certain members of the Spanish nobility as both philanthropists and patrons of the arts.

In the last essay of the Santander section, the author visits the recently discovered Altamira caves and their prehistoric paintings.® She begins her account by referring

® The Altamira caves were discovered by Marcelino de Sautuola in 1875.
to the controversy surrounding the authenticity of the works. However, her impression "como de persona profana en la materia" (78) favours their legitimacy. She notes how the risks involved in the descent, of which she was given fair warning, added excitement to her incursion into the earth's entrails: "Al combinar la excursión parecía que no faltaban en ella riesgos que la hiciesen más atractiva" (79). Indeed, although the first chamber posed little difficulty, the so-called "catedral" of the caves was protected by a "tajado precipicio" (79).

Accompanied by a group of local peasants equipped with rudimentary tools, Pardo Bazán and her daughter Blanca enter Altamira. The space available in the first chamber is so restricted that, in order to inspect the paintings, they are forced to lie on a bench carved in the wall. However, the spectacle that then unfolds in front of their eyes in the flickering light of the torches makes them forget any physical discomfort: "Por las infractuosidades de la amarillenta bóveda corre y retoza una gigantesca manada de animales antediluvianos --bisontes, renos, corzos, caballos, jabalíes-- y sus rojizos corpachones, á la dudosa claridad que nos alumbra, parecen animados por una vida fantástica" (81).

The perfection of the paintings is such that Pardo Bazán begins to harbour some doubts about their authenticity: "Declaro que las encuentro demasiado bien hechas para la fecha que se les atribuye. [...] Y si aquí no hay trampa, reconozcamos que en las cuevas de Altamira existió el Apeles de las edades prehistóricas" (82). However, she then moves on to tell how the caves were discovered by Marcelino Sautuola some twenty years before, and in so doing she appears to want
to convince herself and her readers of the genuineness of the pictures: "Admitida la exactitud de este relato, no cabe ni sospechar engañifa en las pinturas" (83).

Pardo Bazán and her companion continue their exploration of Altamira, dismissing the risks, the physical discomfort involved, and the warnings of their guides:

Aseguran los guías que para semejante atrevimiento "se requieren pantalones;" pero yo sé que damas tan pulcras como las hermanas de Alfonso XII han realizado la aventura, y no la creo superior á mis fuerzas ni á las de Blanca [...].

Animo pues; agacharse y enjaretarse como se pueda, de lado ó de rodillas, por un pasadizo salpicado de fragmentos de roca que nos conduce á una estancia de mediana altura, de suelo blando, resbaladizo y húmedo. (85-86)

Although the passageway to the "catedral", guarded by a precipice, is steep, slippery, and dangerous, the treat that awaits the explorers makes it all worthwhile. Indeed, for Pardo Bazán the sight amounts to a spiritually rewarding experience: "Allá á lo lejos, entre medrosas sombras, ábrese algo que parece abismo, y no es sino la catedral, con su bóveda de diez metros de elevación y su lindo púlpito de estalactitas y estalagmitas.... [...] La inmensa altura de la bóveda, contrastando con lo ahogado de los pasadizos, eleva el alma" (86). And when it is time to leave the caves, the author, although physically exhausted, is reluctant to abandon such an enchanted place: "Y sin prisa, sin deseo alguno de acabar esta peregrina excursión, sí bien algo fatigadas, salimos [...] á disfrutar otra vez la claridad del día" (87).
The piece on Altamira is particularly interesting because it suggests the adventurous side in Pardo Bazán's make-up as a traveller. Although aged forty-three at the time, she is prepared to forfeit the comforts to which she is normally accustomed as a privileged traveller in order to undertake a difficult and potentially dangerous journey below ground to satisfy her artistic and journalistic curiosity.

4. Castile

At Easter 1891, Pardo Bazán travelled from Madrid to Alcalá by train, enjoying the benefits of "un día alegre y delicioso, templado, límpido, de esos días castellanos en que el sol viste de gala y derrama sobre el árido y desnudo terruño los rojos tonos de la maremma sienesa" (89-90). While visiting Alcalá's archives, the author remarks on the poor state of the building and criticizes the Spanish government's passivity for allowing some of the best treasures of the country's historical records to fall apart:

En los tres años que llevo de visitar con alguna asiduidad este rico monumento donde viven tantos recuerdos y tantas glorias, nunca veo que adelanten las obras de restauración, en buen hora impulsadas, después de la visita del rey Alfonso XII, por el conde de Toreno. La muerte de este prócer debió de contribuir á paralizarlas, y no hay esperanzas de que las active el actual ministro de Fomento, que, según propia confesión, está dispuesto á dejar arruinar ¡el claustro de San Juan de los Reyes, nuevamente restaurado! fundándose en que "las naciones pobres, como las personas de mala
posición social, no deben poseer joyas ni galas." (91)
For Pardo Bazán, a woman who was constantly calling for the cultural, artistic, and social regeneration of Spain, the defeatist attitude of some of its politicians was obviously difficult to comprehend or come to terms with.

As in the piece on Comillas, the concept of time as a kind of neutralizing or harmonizing agent, which bestows character and beauty on the new additions to historic buildings, is also present in the episode dedicated to Alcalá's archives: "Los preciosos ventanales, rehechos conforme al modelo antiguo, no dejan que desear, y únicamente los modernos vidrios de colores y la viveza de los oros y pinturas lastiman algo la pupila. El tiempo los amortiguará, y entonces todo el edificio adquirirá la armonía que hoy le falta" (92). Time is therefore presented in Por la España pintoresca as the past's ally in the achievement of the distinction, grace, and solera Pardo Bazán regards as essential requisites in the creation of aesthetically pleasing monuments and artefacts.

The author's taste for the macabre and gruesome, already present in previous travel collections, re-emerges during her visit to the crypt of Alcalá's cathedral. Indeed, she relishes the possibility of seeing the relics of two young martyrs and the mummified body of San Diego de Alcalá:

El cuerpo --según mi sacristán-- hallarse en apariencia de vida, flexible, natural; su carne cede á la presión de los dedos. "Nadie de este mundo lo ve", añade, paseando su cirio por la piedra teñida por la sangre de los mártires y que conserva la señal de sus rodillas, mientras á mí se me hace agua la boca, de ganas de
The author and her companions travelled to Guadalajara by train on Maundy Thursday, and there they encountered the city's governor, an old family friend of Pardo Bazán, who facilitated their access to three major monuments in the city (95-96). After describing in detail the palace of the Infantado (96-100), the author visits the chapel of the Urbinas family, where she is saddened to find that this beautiful building is now possibly used as a stable. The family coat of arms lies on the floor buried in dirt and straw. This seems to be a symbol of the decline of the Spanish aristocracy in the nineteenth century, and in any case Pardo Bazán calls upon the local government to buy and restore the chapel before a developer flattens it in order to erect some inelegant construction. As usual, for the Galician writer the nineteenth century is characterized by its lack of taste and aesthetic values:

Por el suelo, entre paja, lodo é inmundicias, puede verse todavía el blasón de los Urbinas [...]. Para mayor dolor, la capilla de los Urbinas está en venta, y si la compra alguna persona ajena al arte y la derriba y levanta allí una casa de cinco pisos, al seductor estilo urbano del siglo XIX, nos lucimos como hay Dios. Bien podrían el Municipio ó la Diputación provincial de Guadalajara adquirir este bibelot [...] para restaurarlo convenientemente y devolverlo al culto. (100)

Pardo Bazán's visit to the pantheon of the Osunas (also in Guadalajara) provides, as in the case of the Urbinas chapel, a sad reminder of the decline of Spain's nobility (102), and the decay of this social class appears to have
concerned her. Indeed, in an article entitled "Sangre azul", published in *La Ilustración Artística* of 3 August 1903, the author speaks of the decline of Spain's aristocracy, which is now no longer a leading social force nor an integral part of the "patria". In order to regain its prominent role in the life of Spain, the nobility, she suggests, must recover its self-esteem and regenerate itself by adopting a wholesome and exemplary way of life. She also adds that the Spanish aristocracy should emulate the irreproachable conduct of its British counterparts, the role model *par excellence* (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 167-68). This lack of principles is also addressed by the author in a study published in 1908 on Father Luis Coloma, the author of *Pequeñeces* (1890), in which she speaks of a Spanish aristocracy "sin norte fijo, con creencias religiosas medio dormidas en el alma, con una devoción de cascarilla y buen tono, pero incapaz de austeridades, abnegaciones y sacrificios" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1449). In fact, Coloma's satirical work is mentioned in *Por la España pintoresca* when, referring of the decline of the nobility, the author observes: "El panteón de Osuna sugiere más ideas amargas sobre la desdicha de nuestra aristocracia, que puede sugerir la famosísima novela del Padre Coloma" (102).

Pardo Bazán's apparent desire for the rehabilitation of a badly discredited Spanish aristocracy is understandable considering the ill repute and decline that haunted much of nineteenth-century European nobility, which had seen its former power and influence undermined by the development of trade and the ambitions of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, in his article "Joven aristocracia" [1899], Darío presents the French aristocracy, with its poor standards of morality, as a prime
example of the decline of this social class. The French republic has nothing to fear, he claims, from a nobility that is both intellectually and morally exhausted (Darío, 1987: 283). Although the Spanish aristocracy is apparently not as enfeebled as that of France, Darío argues that Spain can expect very little from its nobility. Instead of investing time and money in its lands with the aim of introducing technological advancements or new machinery, it tends to rent its estates out to administrators whose only concern is to enrich themselves (Darío, 1987: 284). Overall, the Nicaraguan writer presents a bleak, pessimistic, and unappealing portrayal of the Spanish nobility as a group of corrupt, cruel, self-centred, and good-for-nothing individuals who waste their lives away in the pursuit of pleasure and self-indulgence (Darío, 1987: 285-89).

Given the above, Pardo Bazán's objective of contributing to the rehabilitation of Spain's aristocracy was a challenging one, and Por la España pintoresca constitutes a good example of her endeavours to counteract the increasing ill repute of this social class by foregrounding its humanitarian and altruistic pursuits during her visit to Comillas (72-73) and Alcalá (91), and, while in Guadalajara, by reminding her readers that the local "Asilo de Huérfanos" owes its establishment to the good offices and generosity of the Marquess of Novaliches (99).

After fruitless attempts to see the mummified body of Doña María Coronel, supposedly housed in Guadalajara's convent of "las Claras" (yet another indication of the author's penchant for the macabre and gruesome) (102-03), Pardo Bazán and her female companions travelled that night to Sigüenza by
train. At the station, they were met by the town's mayor who escorted them to a nearby inn (103), and after a restful night's sleep they woke up "con el afán del que llega á un pueblo desconocido, y ansía la hora de echarle el primer vistazo" (104). Pardo Bazán's first port of call is the cathedral, and in the account of her visit there is again an insistence, as in the episode on the Urbinas chapel (100), on the inherent tastelessness of the nineteenth century:

Debajo del túmulo del doncel de Arce, como irrisoria mueca hecha á nuestro antiestético siglo, se vé la sepultura del último marqués de Bedmar. Una verja digna de honrar el balcón de una casa de huéspedes, una lápida que lo mismo podría servir para cubierta de un velador, algunas guirnaldas de horribles siemprevivas y violetas de trapo.... ahí está lo que nuestra edad pone bajo las bóvedas de la catedral de Sigüenza, para hacer juego con los sepulcros de filigrana y las estatuas yacentes de mármol purísimo. [My italics] (106-07)

In his *Viajes por España* Alarcón, too, speaks of the "profanaciones" to which Salamanca's Casa de la Salina has been subjected in an attempt to transform it into a modern building. He calls upon the local government to remove the tasteless new additions in order to restore the building to its former glory, "derribando todo lo moderno y postizo que hay en él, reforzando lo viejo y monumental" (Alarcón, 1968: 1158).

While in Sigüenza, Pardo Bazán and her companions go exploring in "las tortuosas calles de la ciudad alta, en los barrios de duendes llamados la Judería y la Morería" (107), which eventually leads them to the city's fortress. In the
account that follows, there is again the suggestion, as in the piece on Santillana (58-59), that the modern age and its democratic trappings are a threat to the last vestiges of feudalism and all the attendant privileges, but this time the threat is to the clergy. Indeed, the author claims that in a society where traditional tenets have been undermined, the people of Sigüenza are still aware and respectful of tradition. The bishop is no longer the powerful warrior of the Middle Ages; his former fortress is now empty and forlorn, but the local people are still in awe of him and, in her opinion, quite rightly so (108-09). As a traditionalist, devout Catholic, staunch monarchist, and member of the ruling classes, Pardo Bazán took personally any attacks made by the democratic process of the nineteenth century on the highest echelons of Spanish society: the monarchy, the aristocracy, and even the Church. Hence, the aversion often expressed in her writings to the constitutional monarchy, the parliamentary system, and the anti-clericalism in vogue in Spain at the time. Obviously, for the author the nineteenth century typified a society whose traditions, tenets, principles, and hierarchical organization had been totally subverted by the advances of democratic institutions and values.

On Good Friday, Pardo Bazán and her companions attended a service at Sigüenza's cathedral officiated by the bishop, and later they joined him for lunch at his palace (109). Their visit to the town concluded with a leisurely walk through its streets prior to their departure on the four-thirty train bound for "la corte de las Españas" (110).

The notion of *Por la España pintoresca* as an artistic pilgrimage becomes evident during Pardo Bazán's stay in
Valladolid, to which she refers as "objecto de peregrinación", for it is the home to a magnificent collection of old wooden sculptures (111). Indeed, her first visit, accompanied by her daughter Blanca, is to the provincial museum, where she reviews and comments in detail on the works of Juan de Juni, Alonso Berruguete, and Gregorio Hernández (112-21). The author's relentless attacks on the inadequacies of modern art, already present in the pieces on Guadalajara (100) and Sigüenza (106-07), continue during her stay in Valladolid. But this time, she also adds that the tastelessness of nineteenth-century Spanish art indicates the country's lack of religious inspiration which, she argues, has been sacrificed to industrial progress (114-15). In effect, art of earlier periods, in this century of spiritual barrenness, seems to have become, as mentioned in Chapter 4 (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 141), some kind of surrogate "religion" for the author, at least in aesthetic terms.

When Alarcón travelled to Valladolid in 1858, the city apparently had a well-established reputation for the production of paper, textiles, porcelain, silverware, haberdashery, and other items (Alarcón, 1968: 1180). However, in Pardo Bazán's piece on the city, entitled "Los Santos de Valladolid", there is no mention of these flourishing industries. In fact, her description focuses exclusively on the museum of old wooden sculptures (111-21), and the omission of reference to the city's commercial activity is rather surprising for someone who was always advocating progress and industrial development. Yet the Valladolid section seems to confirm that in Por la España pintoresca the author is more preoccupied with Spain's past than with what the future may
hold for her country. In effect, she is sorry to leave this city which for her epitomizes Spain's artistic heritage, but other commitments as a traveller demand her attention: "Valladolid [...] tiene por blasón su hueste gloriosa de santos viejos. Yo me pasaría un mes sin otra ocupación que registrar esta corte celestial... si no tuviera que ir á Medina de Rioseco, á Tordesillas, á Villalar, á Simancas, donde veré algo que tal vez merezca contarse" (121).

It is not clear whether Pardo Bazán visited Toledo before or after she went to Valladolid in 1891. However, on a sunny day in June 1891, unusually fresh for that time of year (138), the author travelled by train from Madrid to Spain's ancient capital in the company of some friends whose names and occupations she provides (134). The reader is punctually informed that the pieces dedicated to Toledo in Por la España pintoresca are entitled "Días toledanos" in honour of Galdós and his work Angel Guerra (134), a copy of which also accompanies Pardo Bazán in her visit to "la emperatriz de las ciudades" (133). Soon after their arrival, the author and her friends realize that they are ill-equipped to visit the city: "Como no éramos turistas de raza sajona, francamente, íbamos mal pertrechados. Nadie [...] iba provisto de su correspondiente Guía; observé que tampoco ninguna de las señoras se había resuelto á enfundar los pies en el calzado que se llama en los Estados Unidos calzado de sentido común" (136). This lack of preparation is striking in Pardo Bazán, the seasoned traveller who had apparently visited Toledo on previous occasions (133). In search of "guidance", they purchase Viscount Palazuelos's Guía, humorously described by Pardo Bazán as a "rollizo mamotreto de manejo imposible"
(136), weighing between two and three kilos (137), and which instead of aiding the exploration of the city hinders their progress. Moreover, one learns later that the author's visit to Toledo was marred by the unsolicited services of a self-appointed guide to the city, a "moscón insufrible" (159), as she terms him, who placed the Galician writer in a position to which she was unaccustomed: that of defenceless tourist: "Todos nuestros gustos toledanos nos los amargó [...] un cicerone de oficio, de esos que aguardan emboscados en la estación la llegada de los trenes, y como pegajosa garrapata se adhieren á sus víctimas" (158).

During her visit to San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, Pardo Bazán's attacks on the apparent inadequacies of nineteenth-century art continue. Furthermore, it seems that the author's displeasure at what she regards as the nineteenth century's aesthetic poverty is intensified when she sees contemporary artists attempting to copy the style of bygone centuries: "San Juan de los Reyes [...] se halla entregado á restauradoras manos, muy inteligentes por cierto: las de Arturo Mélida. Pero ni Mélida pudo, ni en rigor puede nadie evitar la mezquindad que aflige al arte arquitectónico moderno, al intentar una imitación del estilo del XV" (139). In fact, it would appear that for Pardo Bazán late medieval art remains unsurpassed, regardless of any worthwhile endeavours by modern artists to emulate the architectural achievements of that particular period.

The author uses the occasion of her visit to Toledo's cathedral to foreground the religious indifference which, in her opinion, characterizes the nineteenth century. She laments that on Sundays Toledo's cathedral is not a place of worship
but a place to see and be seen. Men and women alike, dressed in their best clothes and indifferent to the architectural beauty and mysticism of the temple, parade in front of each other as a prelude to a romantic relationship (142-43). Although Pardo Bazán is aware of the lack of social distractions in Toledo, she regards this irreverent use of the cathedral as a kind of profanation:

En las poblaciones que tienen Catedral y donde escasean teatros y bailes, la basílica metropolitana es el amadero: en ella se exhiben las niñas bonitas y bullen los amartelados galanes. Yo no declamaría jamás --si fuese moralista-- contra las fiestas profanas. En cambio azotaría con pencas al que en la catedral de Toledo fijase siquiera los ojos en un rostro de mujer. (143)

Although she may see herself as no moralist, the punishment Pardo Bazán would have inflicted on the irreverent people of Toledo could well have been inspired by the painting La purificación del templo, by Toledo's greatest artist, El Greco.

Elsewhere in this piece, the author recommends that visitors to the city should attend one of its procesiones. But judging by the terms she uses to describe these religious manifestations, they are little more than profane and theatrical spectacles which, although visually attractive, lack religious content:

¡Con qué gusto presenció una procesión en Toledo! Hay quien teme ir á Toledo en días solemnes; y es gran yerro, porque allí cualquier ceremonia reviste soberana magnificencia. ¿Qué vale la fría y pobre mise en scène de los teatros al lado de este lujo secular, de estos
Here, as in *Mi romería*, it transpires that the Galician writer is particularly attracted to the pomp and ceremony of religious ceremonies, even if their exotic flavour often transforms them into near-pagan displays of devotion. Indeed, another example of this Christian-pagan dichotomy in Pardo Bazán's understanding of the religious experience and of her fascination with the luxurious trappings of Christian festivals, is found in her description of the spectacle in Toledo's cathedral that marks a special celebration:

¡Cuán diferente ver, en aquellas naves inmensas, alumbradas por los espléndidentes reflejos de la vidriera, sobre el fondo de las rejas de maravillosa labor, pasar lenta y majestuosa, entre incienso y cánticos, la manga de brocado de oro con figuras y medallones de recamo de seda, la cruz de cincelada plata, y detrás los canónigos con sus mucetas carmesíes, los niños vestidos de ángeles barrocos, con sus diademas y plumajes dignos de un auto sacramental, y el Deán luciendo su oriental vestidura, agobiada la cabeza por el peso del superhumeral constelado de oro, perlas y pedrería! (144-45)

In fact, there are striking similarities between the above passage and the author's description of Leo XIII's arrival in St Peter's as presented in *Mi romería* (Pardo Bazán, 1888: 81-82).

While in Toledo, the Galician writer also pays homage to the author of *Don Juan Tenorio*, one of her favourite Romantic writers. She appears to have liked "El Cisne", as she often called Zorrilla, since her youth. Indeed, in the "Apuntes
autobiográficos" she refers to him as "el mago Zorrilla, el rey de la melodía, el Verdi de nuestros poetas" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 704), and in Por la España pintoresca she reaffirms her affection for the bard thus:

Para la poesía toledana [...] nos basta algo de lectura de crónicas, unos cuantos recuerdos.... y Zorrilla. Si vuelvo á Toledo juro no llevarme conmigo ni á Amador de los Ríos, ni á Quadrado, ni á Pedro de Herrera, ni á Ambrosio de Morales, ni menos al señor vizconde de Palazuelos, el del robusto misal. Me llevaré al poeta, al hoy casi olvidado y que ya restauraremos como restauran sus admiradores franceses á Lamartine. (154-55)

While thinking of Zorrilla's writing, Pardo Bazán also acknowledges, in rather poetic terms, the mixture of cultures (Christian and Moslem) to be found in Toledo:

No siempre es la Toledo cristiana [...] la que inspira al poeta; también es la nostalgia de la Toledo morisca, nostalgia que yo sentí en el Tránsito. ¿Qué sería la Toledo árabe, con sus alfombras, sus alcatifas, sus mujeres encerradas y veladas que Zorrilla describe en versos que tienen la claridad y el vivo color de un paisaje con exceso de luz, genuinamente oriental? (155)*

In the Santander section of Por la España pintoresca Pardo Bazán had gone on "pilgrimage" to the roots of Quevedo and Calderón, and her stay in Toledo involves another pilgrimage to the Golden Age of Spanish literature in the shape of "el mesón del Sevillano", where Cervantes set his

* Here, as in the Toledo section of Por la Europa católica, the author fails to acknowledge the Jewish influence on the city's cultural make-up.
novel La ilustre fregona (156-57). The setting provided by the mesón is in fact ideal for a sentimental trip to the past: there is music playing in the background, the night is calm and mild, and "el lugar propicio á todo juego de la fantasía; uno de esos lugares que tientan á darle gracias al tiempo, el gran destructor, porque nos los ha respetado" (157). Overcome by her romantic attitude to the past and enjoying her imaginary journey back in time, the author is prepared to accept the authenticity of a document supposedly written by Cervantes, and she even sees some physical similarities between one of the mozas of the mesón, and Constancica, the "ilustre fregona" (157-58).

Pardo Bazán's final visit is to the church of Santo Tomé and to El Greco's El entierro del conde de Orgaz, which she sees as the perfect communion between heaven and earth, and refers to as "el placer mayor que debí al arte en Toledo" (160). This concluded her literary, historical, and artistic pilgrimage to Toledo and she then took the train back to Madrid (162).

5. Galicia

The first essay of the Galician section of La España pintoresca finds Pardo Bazán in the city of Orense. There she meets some old friends who had accompanied her on previous excursions and rejoices at the prospect of exploring new places with them and sharing the excitement of the journey ahead. Moreover, there is an emphasis on the physical activity involved in the journey of exploration that awaits them: "Tres años hacía ya que no peregrinábamos reunidos, alpenstock en
puño, máquina fotográfica en cinto, anteojos marinos al costado, vaso de cristal en bolsillo para aprovechar las fuentes" (163).

The distance that separates Orense from Puebla de Tribes is travelled by omnibus, under an overcast sky compensated by "la deliciosa temperatura neutra del otoño galiciano" (166). Leaving their vehicle behind and guided by two local youths, the visitors begin their ascent to the temple of San Pedro das Rocos, high up in the Orense mountains (166-67).

In this section of Por la España pintoresca, Pardo Bazán reveals better than in any other her skills at landscape descriptions and thereby provides further evidence of her position as one of the most accomplished paisajistas of nineteenth-century Spain. Her fascination with the beauty of Nature and its creations is no doubt responsible for the fine landscape descriptions often found in her novels and travel works, and the fact that she spent much of her childhood and youth surrounded by the luscious vegetation and beautiful scenery of her native Galicia must have contributed to her penchant for the observation and depiction of the natural environment. Indeed, speaking of her summer stays in Galicia in the late 1860s, Pardo Bazán notes in her "Apuntes autobiográficos" that she used to invest her time in:

Excursiones encantadoras, que empezaron a convertir mis ojos hacia el mundo exterior, me revelaron el reino de la Naturaleza y me predispusieron a ser la incansable paisajista actual, prendada del gris de las nubes, del olor de los castaños, de los ríos espumantes presos en las hoces, de los prados húmedos y de los caminos hondos de mi tierra. [My italics] (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 707)
In effect, in *Por la España pintoresca*, in the pieces describing the province of Orense, the author simply explores and observes the countryside. In the following description, Nature is presented as if, emulating human endeavours, it had constructed its own fortresses, towns, churches, and villages:

Formando anfiteatro majestuoso, perfilábase sobre el horizonte un hemiciclo de montañas, coronadas por fantásticos peñascales, que vistos desde regular distancia, producían completa ilusión de ciudades, castillos y murallas ciclópeas, remedando, hasta un extremo de verosimilitud increíble, fortalezas desmoronadas, torreones agrietados, almenas rotas, parapetos y contraescarpas, baluartes con abiertas brechas, vaporosas agujas de catedral y extraños obeliscos. (167-68)

The message the author conveys in this description is that Nature, when it so chooses, can imitate and surpass human creativity provided, of course, that the human eye and mind are complicit.

Another aspect of Pardo Bazán's *paisajismo* is that it often involves various sensory perceptions. As one critic mentions of her approach: "En contacto con una naturaleza agudamente observada, almacena colores, murmullos, olores, paisajes" (Carballo Picazo, 1965: 354). Indeed, in the prologue to *La dama joven* (1885) the author recalls some sensory experiences of ten years earlier:

Todavía engaña mi memoria a los sentidos, y trae al olfato el virgiliano perfume de las colmenas suspendidas sobre el río Avieiro, o el olor de la madura pavia y racimo almibarado, y al paladar el dejo de la miel y de
And in *Por la España pintoresca*, as in *De mi tierra* (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 51), the contact with her native Galicia in the last section of the work also stimulates Pardo Bazán's sensory perceptions of Nature. Before setting off on her exploration of the province of Orense, she describes the Galician mountains and the scent of wild flowers that pervades the air. In this particular passage, it is the sense of smell which prevails over all others:

Los aromas son puros, intensos, firmes, el aire seco y templado; hay limpias auras, cefirillos que son verdaderas bocanadas de esencia: la menta, la retama, el pino, el brezo, la manzanilla, el helecho, el heno segado, la hierba fresquisima, el aterciopelado liquen, la orquídea salvaje, todo trasciende, todo esparce, á manera de invisible pulverizador, fragancia exquisita [...]. De los cinco sentidos corporales el que más goza durante una excursión montañesa es, sin género de duda, el olfato, y seguramente es el que padece más con el contraste del regreso á la vida urbana. (165-66)

Although the subsequent climb to the temple of San Pedro is arduous, the experience is rewarding and exhilarating: "¡Excelsior! El grito de los alpinistas resonaba en nuestro corazón y llenaba nuestros pulmones [...]. No pensamos al pronto sino en el júbilo de encontrarnos dueños ya de la montaña" (169). However, San Pedro has little to offer to the cultured tourists (174) and the rest of the afternoon is spent
by the visitors resting in the shade of nearby trees, enjoying a hearty lunch, and chatting. As the sun begins to sink beyond the horizon, they start their descent, but not without turning their heads back and relishing once more the beauty of Orense's mountains (179-80).

The last piece of the Galician section finds Pardo Bazán in the north of Galicia, in the small town of Betanzos (La Coruña) in July (191). She arrives on foot, and the sights she encounters along the way indicate that the town is celebrating its country fair (184). During her visit, the author focuses her attention on the empty palace of the Andrades, Betanzos's founding family, which is presented as symbolic of the decline of the rural aristocracy, a feature, of course, of Los pazos de Ulloa (1886) and La madre Naturaleza (1887). She moves on to lament that many of Betanzos's noble families have now left, with only their long-dead ancestors staying behind to "guard" the town. Pardo Bazán, with a touch of vanity on her part, takes this opportunity to associate herself with the illustrious families of Betanzos:

¡Cómo han ido volando lejos las familias ilustres que en otro tiempo residieron en Betanzos! [...] Aquí mantienen fielmente su puesto de honor los que duermen, armados de punta en blanco, bajo las bóvedas de la iglesia de San Francisco; los vivos se han dispersado, nos hemos dispersado, pudiera decir, pues casi todos esos nombres son de parentela más ó menos próxima. (187)

In De mi tierra, too, the author had touched on the decline of Galicia's rural aristocracy: "Los goterosos pazos, que se derrumban y fenecen como la aristocracia campesina á quien sirven de refugio" (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 125), and
Clémessy notes that although in the early nineteenth century the Galician pazos were still prosperous and thriving enclaves, in the following fifty years the decay of the old Galician aristocracy became evident. Thus, by the time Pardo Bazán got to know this social class, its decline was complete, as reflected in the abundance of unoccupied and derelict pazos scattered across the Galician landscape (Clémessy, 1981, I: 408).

If in the pieces on Comillas (72-73), Alcalá (91), and Guadalajara (99) Pardo Bazán had attempted to counteract the ill repute of a badly discredited Spanish aristocracy by underscoring its altruistic and humanitarian pursuits, it also appears that the author believed that the rehabilitation of Spain's nobility could be aided by persuading its members to play an active part in the restoration of the country's sadly neglected heritage. Indeed, in De mi tierra she argues that the aristocracy should return to their country seats and invest the money obtained from taxing the peasants in the refurbishment of their now derelict ancestral homes (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 249). And in Por la España pintoresca the author invites the Alba family, the current representative of the Andrades, to finance the restoration of the church of San Francisco, the burial place of the Andrades:

Si por casualidad los duques de Alba llegasen á tomar en sus manos el número de El Imparcial donde vea la luz este artículo, no olviden que ellos representan hoy la estirpe de Andrade [...]. Sin excesivo dispendio se prolongaría la vida de la iglesia de San Francisco de Betanzos, y se colocaría á su cabeza, en el verdadero lugar que le corresponde, el sepulcro del huésped y grande amigo del
Coincidentally, in Viajes por España Alarcón also exhorts the Duke of Alba to safeguard the nation's artistic heritage, this time by meeting the cost of restoring one of Ribera's paintings housed in Salamanca's Iglesia de las Agustinas (Alarcón, 1968: 1157). So, both writers are asking Spain's aristocracy, and not just the government, to accept responsibility for the upkeep and restoration of the nation's artistic monuments and treasures. Noblesse oblige, appears to be the message here.

Although in her travels through the Pas valley Pardo Bazán's search for local colour had been unsuccessful, her quest for costumbrismo is finally fulfilled in her native Galicia. Indeed, during her stay in Betanzos she visits its country fair, and the description which ensues constitutes a classic costumbrista and colorista cuadro, full of local colour and local stereotypes:

Imaginaos pueblo de tal interés arquitectónico y de tan pintoresca situación, inundado por una muchedumbre vestida como aquí visten, no sólo en día festivo, sino á diario, aldeanos y aldeanas; con un derroche de colorines vistosos y gayos, pañolones amarillos, anaranjados, rosa vivo con flores verdes, fajas moradas y rojas, trajes de percales claros y chillones, en las mozas; camisas y calzones blancos limpios en los mozos; figuraos los puestos de mercería, cintas y cordones, el inmenso armatoste del buhonero que expende calendarios americanos; la exposición de cacharros, ollas y cuncas, cuyo vidriado reluce al sol; [...] --y difícil será que así y todo forméis idea de la alegría y vida de estas
It is interesting to note that this passage, with its heavy reliance on enumeration, far from being the standard kind of account, contains a direct invitation to the reader to picture these scenes. The author is in fact eager to have the reader join her in the enjoyment of this typically colorista and costumbrista scene which presumably embodies for her much of the popular essence of her native Galicia.

Pardo Bazán's visit to Betanzos also involves an encounter with her childhood. Indeed, in the village square she comes across "señora Rufina de Souto, rica labradora, que me conoció de pequeñita" (190), and this fortuitous meeting with her Galician roots makes the author feel young and alive again. It is as if tradition had turned back the clock, transporting Pardo Bazán to the days when she was a rapaciña. Moreover, she again encourages the reader to join her in this nostalgic trip: "A ti, lector, te sucederá lo propio. Estas cosas de la tradición tienen un perfume divino: huelen á incienso y á cedro; diríase que nos rejuvenecen" (190). Finally, the author leaves Betanzos and her childhood behind as she accompanies some locals on their pilgrimage to the shrine of their patron, Santa Aya (191).

6. Conclusions

The tone of Por la España pintoresca is much more relaxed than that of Pardo Bazán's chronicles on her Italian trip or of

10 An indication, perhaps, of the influence of Naturalism on Pardo Bazán.
those dealing with the 1889 Universal Exhibition. She is not on guard or on the defensive, ready to rebuff any unwelcome foreign criticism of her beloved Spain, as was the case in the Parisian chronicles. She is on home ground, she feels at ease, and this tranquillity comes through in the narratives, for in this collection the author apparently travels solely for pleasure and recreation. In effect, *Por la España pintoresca*, together with the travel section of *De mi tierra*, provides a prime example of "la noción estética" of travelling, as discussed by Pardo Bazán in her essay on Alarcón's travel works (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1400) and mentioned in Chapter 1. Similarly, in her article "El viaje por España" she observes: "El viaje por España es tal vez el más deleitable que puede realizar una persona dotada de cultura y de conocimientos en arte y en historia" (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 76). Indeed, although in *Por la España pintoresca* Pardo Bazán's versatility as a travel writer is evident, in most of the pieces she behaves very much like an ordinary tourist (albeit an erudite and knowledgeable one) and tends to do that which is expected of tourists: visit the sights, attend the local fairs, explore the museums, go on local excursions, and so on.

The four-year time-frame of the various journeys described in *Por la España pintoresca* presumably accounts for Pardo Bazán's different approach in the three sections. While aesthetic, artistic, and cultural considerations are a common feature of the entire collection, in the pieces on Santander the author foregrounds her social contact with the people she encounters on her travels. The section on Castile is more concerned with physical descriptions, and the account of her journeys through her native Galicia contains a significant
amount of landscape descriptions.

Pardo Bazán's chagrin at the derelict condition of Spain's artistic heritage is possibly stronger in this particular travel collection than in any other. Indeed, there are constant lamentations at the sight of priceless monuments which are now in a deplorable condition because of lack of funding or interest on the part of the Spanish government, but also on the part of the aristocracy, whose members she holds responsible for the upkeep of their artistic heirlooms and heritage. And yet, the author appears to enjoy wallowing in the morbidezza that neglected historic buildings inflict on her.

The notion of the nineteenth century as a period of aesthetic poverty is a recurrent theme in many of Pardo Bazán's travel works, and Por la España pintoresca is no exception. In effect, it seems that for the Galician writer any artistic creation of the nineteenth century is no match for what was produced in bygone centuries and, in particular, during the late Middle Ages, an epoch which is frequently recalled in this travel collection through numerous references to medieval monuments, noble lineages, and to one of the literary genres which typified it: the chivalric romances. Pardo Bazán's aversion to the nineteenth century, which she regards, inter alia, as a time of spiritual barrenness and religious indifference, could well stem from the longing for the past that permeates many of her travel collections. Indeed, if in the 1889 Paris Exhibition, in the midst of machinery and technological achievements, the author came across as an anachronism, this is also valid for her general outlook on the nineteenth century, since, as it transpires in
her travel writing, her heart, beliefs, principles, and artistic concerns were very much set in the distant past and, in particular, in the late Middle Ages and the days of the Empire.

Por la España pintoresca is not the result of diligent research on the part of Pardo Bazán. In fact, although at times she refers to and quotes from various writers’ works -- Enrique Flórez’s La España sagrada, Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos’s España, sus monumentos y artes, Amós Escalante’s Costas y montañas, among others -- the information she provides on the monuments or the places visited is not always accurate. On occasions, she is content to go by hearsay or local gossip: a good example of such laxity (or what Muggli terms “nonjournalistic inexactitude” (Muggli, 1992: 190)) being the information she ventures on the palace of Soñanes in the province of Santander, and the way she is not prepared to verify the truthfulness of the legend associated with the building:

Se cuenta que tan opulento edificio fué erigido con la plata que remitía desde Lima un virrey. Quiso un día el virrey enterarse de cómo marchaba la obra, y al verla, ordenó indignado que la quemasen inmediatamente, partiendo para no volver nunca. Ignoro si debe creerse el hecho; lo cierto es que, por fortuna, el palacio no ardió, pero quedó sin terminar su monumental y tética escalera. [My italics] (24)

Generally speaking, then, Pardo Bazán is more preoccupied with the sentimental charm of local legends and popular beliefs than with scientific, and historical evidence: "Para gozar en una excursión como ésta, conviene saber algo más que patrañas,
Adams claims that durable travel works are rather subjective, and that the more subjective they are the more readable and "valuable" they become (Adams, 1983: 280). It is true that in the case of Pardo Bazán one of the more refreshing aspects of her travel writing is the personal approach she tends to adopt, for, as she herself noted in her essay on Alarcón, the written travel account should be regarded as the reflection of the temperament of the viajero and nothing else, because the travel writer imprints her own character on the descriptions of the places visited (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1400). Indeed, in Por la España pintoresca the Galician writer realizes that the only way of saying something new about those places which have been the subject of countless travel accounts is by looking at them from a purely subjective perspective:

De Toledo, Roma y Jerusalén, ¿qué cosa nueva podrá decirse? [...]

Lo único posible para no ahogarse en el océano de tantas maravillas, es traducir fielmente una impresión personal, lírica, sentida y gozada con sibaritismo; y en vez de hablar del Toledo monumental y artístico, hablar de nuestro Toledo, del que nos ha tocado en suerte. (133, 134)

Similarly, in his Viajes por España Alarcón argues that the first visit to a historic town must be made without a cicerone or a guidebook so that the traveller may forge his own independent and personal impressions (Alarcón, 1968: 1135).
Henry James, too, in his *Italian Hours* (1909) speaks of the difficulty of adding something new to the description of well-known places (Venice, in his case). But he justifies his account on his affection for the Italian city: "It is a great pleasure to write the word; but I am not sure there is not a certain impudence in pretending to add anything to it. [...] I do not pretend to enlighten the reader; I pretend only to give a fillip to his memory; and I hold any writer sufficiently justified who is himself in love with his theme" (James, [1959]: 1). In the case of Pardo Bazán, it could be argued that she, too, was in love with her theme: Spain and its artistic treasures, as depicted in *Por la España pintoresca*.

Because of this subjective approach, Pardo Bazán's travel collections are far removed from the stereotypical guidebook which usually conveys matter-of-fact, neutral, impersonal, and comprehensive data. Thus, in *Por la España pintoresca* Viscount Palazuelos's *Guía* to Toledo is presented by the author as a prime example of the average guidebook which eschews aesthetic concerns in order to provide prosaic and run-of-the-mill information that centres on names and dates of interest for the ordinary tourist: "Claro está que no hemos de pedirle á una *Guía* la impresión estética de Toledo; sólo sí que nos sirva de compañero prosaico, con buena memoria de fechas y nombres, para que saquemos de nuestra excursión el mayor jugo posible" (137).

Digressions (it has been pointed out) are a hallmark of Pardo Bazán's travel writing, and *Por la España pintoresca* is no exception. However, although in this collection, as in the Parisian chronicles, the author often gets sidetracked from
the matter at hand, the asides are not so noticeable or disruptive because they tend to fall within the general historical background that accompanies most of the descriptions of the places visited. Indeed, Adams defends the use of digressions in travel writing in the shape of physical descriptions and historical information by arguing that "the more popular break in most récits de voyage comes when, for a time, story becomes guidebook information" (Adams, 1983: 212). Certainly, in Por la España pintoresca digressions tend to add something of interest instead of stealing valuable space away from the subject under discussion, as was the case in Pardo Bazán's French chronicles of 1889.

In her travels through Spain Pardo Bazán tends to focus on religious monuments, and Por la España pintoresca confirms this predilection. Indeed, in this collection the author visits many churches, convents, monasteries, and cathedrals. However, she appears to be particularly interested in the chapels dedicated to the memory of Spain's ancestral aristocracy and the pantheons or burial places which house the remains of the country's noble families, those who in bygone centuries contributed to making Spain a great and glorious nation. Pardo Bazán justifies this morbid pursuit by arguing that travels across Spain tend to centre on the dead, because it is on their tombstones and graves that the history of Spain has been carved for posterity: "Los viajes por España son, en su mayor parte, visitas á los muertos. Ellos se llevan lo mejor de nuestras impresiones: nuestra historia está escrita en los sepulcros" (102). Indeed, if when surrounded by machinery and modernity at the 1889 Exhibition Pardo Bazán felt uneasy, in Por la España pintoresca she is very much in
her element as she explores, exalts, and delves into Spain's past and that of its noble families.

In view of this, *Por la España pintoresca* is not just an artistic trip to a number of Spain's most outstanding monuments or works of art. Nor is it simply a literary journey to the roots of some of the country's most prestigious writers of past and present; nor is it a mere *costumbrista* quest for local colour or an immodest display of accomplished paisajismo. *Por la España pintoresca* is very much a pilgrimage to Spain's historic past and to the resting places of the nation's glorious dead, because for Pardo Bazán, the "amiga de las piedras ennegrecidas por el tiempo" (43) and declared enemy of the nineteenth century, the future prosperity of the country was to be found in the emulation of its past artistic and military achievements.
CHAPTER 7

ANOTHER DISASTER FOR SPAIN: CUARENTA DIAS EN LA EXPOSICION

1. Introduction

In the summer of 1900 Pardo Bazán spent several months in Paris reporting on the Universal Exhibition held from 14 April to 12 November of that year. The ensuing chronicles were first serialized in the Madrid newspaper, El Imparcial, from 16 August to 3 December 1900, and then published that same year as Cuarenta días en la Exposicion, a collection of thirty-nine pieces. For the author, the event represented the "llave de oro con que cierra Francia el siglo XIX, en medio de la paz, del jubilo, del himno triunfal del progreso y la energia humana" (Pardo Bazán, [1900]: 281). And while Darío saw the Exhibition as "la exaltacion del gozo humano, la glorificacion de la alegría, en el fin de un siglo que ha traído consigo todas las tristezas, todas las desilusiones y desesperanzas" (Darío, 1950: 381), for César Silió (the editor of El Norte de Castilla) the Paris display was "la cosecha de un siglo de trabajo, de inteligencia y de tenacidad imponderables" (Silió, 1900: 87).¹

In the fourth piece of this collection, Pardo Bazán, as in previous travel chronicles, voices one of her advertencias.

¹ Similarly, the correspondent of The Times assessed the event as "the greatest effort produced at the end of the past hundred years by the genius of arrangement and good will concentrated on a single point of the globe" ("France", The Times, 14 June 1900, p. 5).
She states she has travelled to the French capital with an open mind and without preconceived ideas because she intends to form her own independent opinion of the Exhibition. She is going to take her time and plans to concentrate on the educational side of the event rather than focus on the amenities and the cosmopolitan aspect of the display. Although the author's attitude to progress can at times be ambivalent (as was the case in her French chronicles of 1889), in this instance she claims to have come to Paris guided by her faith in progress, which has been emphasized by Spain's recent misfortunes (23). Subsequently, she also announces that she intends to be selective with the information conveyed to her readers. Leaving aside the technological aspect of the Exhibition (as she did in 1889), she will focus on only those features which are of interest to her (30). This subjective and partial approach is again emphasized near the end of her account, when Pardo Bazán notes that with so much space at the Exhibition dedicated to artistic pursuits she has been forced to be selective with her reporting. Thus, she has concentrated on those artistic aspects which have impressed her the most (259).

The end of the first chronicle depicts the author leaving the past behind and heading for the present, for modern times, for scientific and industrial advancement, and because of her emotional attachment to the past she is not looking forward to this change of scenery:

¡Voy en busca de algo que se parece tan poco a estas antiguallas hermosas! Voy hacia la vida moderna, hacia

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2 A reference to the Spanish-American War of 1898.
las últimas revelaciones de la industria, de la ciencia, de la realidad... Y no sin melancolía --porque el pasado vive tenazmente en mí-- veo borrarse del horizonte las finas siluetas de los largos chopos. (10)

2. The Travel Experience
From the beginning, the narrative addresses travel. Indeed, train travel and the impression of movement feature strongly but only in the first three sections as Pardo Bazán recounts her itinerary from La Coruña to Paris (with stopovers in León and San Sebastián). In the opening piece, which finds the author in La Coruña ready to board the train for León, the Galician writer refers with humour and irony to some of the hitches of the journey and to the apparently ludicrous timetables that delay passengers in León for fifteen hours before they can catch the next train to the French border (5-6).

In the second chronicle, which covers the route from León to San Sebastián, Pardo Bazán recounts another snag in her itinerary. On this occasion, without prior notice, the passengers are asked to change trains. Not even the carriage reserved for the ladies is spared, and this lack of consideration angers the author, who suggests that women in Spain are not treated with the courtesy and decorum their sex deserves. She also takes the opportunity to give her blessing to women travelling on their own unescorted by a chaperon (11-12).

Subsequently, Pardo Bazán issues yet another reminder of the problems of train travel, in this case of journeying on
the luxury train known as the "Sud", which takes her from San Sebastián to Paris (17). First she resents the absence of a carriage reserved for the exclusive use of women (18); then she complains about the jolting of the "Sud" shortly after Bayonne, which makes her feel queasy (20), and finally she recounts how due to the shaky ride her seat became disconnected from the floor throwing her against the wall of the compartment (20-21). After such an eventful journey, it comes as no surprise when Pardo Bazán claims to have had enough of the unexpected excitement of modern train travel, and with a note of humour concludes: "Los únicos viajes cómodos y seguros son los que se hacen en tierra firme, de la butaca á la cama --siempre que la butaca no tenga ruedas y se desboque" (21).

Once in Paris, while reviewing the latest advances in modern transportation, the author launches yet another scathing attack on the inefficiency and discomfort of travel by train. In fact, there are echoes of Mi romería in the following remarks:

Ya se ha aplicado la idea del automovilismo al viaje colectivo, y hay trenes automóviles muy acelerados. Acaso venga por aquí la muerte de los ferrocarriles. Cada quisque se organizará libremente su tren, y no tendrá que aguantar vejámenes y chinchorrerías. Irá adonde le parezca y se detendrá donde se le antoje. Nos emanciparemos de las Compañías, la tiranía más insufrible. Será de las formas hermosas y simpáticas de la libertad individual, á la cual atentan los viajes colectivistas, con su férrea disciplina calculada en ventaja de las empresas. (145)
Moreover, contrary to what she states in *De mi tierra* (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 241), in *Cuarenta días* the author does not regard the train as a tool of progress and civilization which opens up the world to a civilizing influence. Indeed, she presents train journeys as a necessary evil to be endured by those who need to move around.

As in other travel chronicles, in *Cuarenta días* Pardo Bazán is in a privileged position when she travels, and she endeavours to make her readers aware of it. In effect, she enjoys recounting the preferential treatment she often receives in her journeys through Spain and abroad. On occasions, she is vain and pedantic, and this attitude can involve some name-dropping. For instance, the author proudly announces that during her stay in León her cicerone was Gumersindo de Azcárate (7), and that her cousin, who happens to be a count, is also the mayor of San Sebastián. Furthermore, she claims that although the President of the government, Francisco Silvela, arrived on the same train as she, the mayor "abandonó al Presidente para cumplir conmigo los deberes del afecto y de la hospitalidad" (13). In addition, she notes that while in San Sebastián she spent one afternoon as the guest of the politician, Francisco Romero Robledo, in his hotel overlooking the bay (15).

Also, Pardo Bazán feels no qualms about proclaiming that she travels on de luxe trains, stays at the best hotels, and enjoys the company and friendship of local dignitaries. Indeed, her readers are promptly informed that the journey from San Sebastián to Paris was made on the luxury train known as the "Sud" (18); that during this leg she was accompanied by the Marquess of Angulo, the military attaché to the Spanish
Embassy in Paris (20); that in Irún she was presented with a bouquet of flowers by an admirer (18); that she ranks among those travellers who "adquieren billetes tan caros y se permiten tanto confort" (18); and that in Paris she stayed at the Hôtel du Louvre (24), frequented by "los parroquianos de los hoteles de lujo" (25).

Yet in the stopovers between Galicia and Paris, Pardo Bazán behaves very much like a tourist. Indeed, while in León she samples the excellent local chocolate, visits the cathedral, the factory that makes the stained glass windows for the temple, and the city's museum (6-10). During her stay in San Sebastián -- something she presents as an oasis of calm prior to the Exhibition (13) -- the author socializes with the locals and joins in the activities of other visitors: there are walks along the Concha's promenade, lengthy tertulias in the city's fashionable cafés, and a night at the casino (13). Pardo Bazán's physical description of San Sebastián is kept to a minimum because, as she modestly observes, "no [se] me ocurre decir más de San Sebastián, mil veces descrito en crónicas periodísticas" (13). Later, when she arrives in Paris, she makes some fleeting references to the high costs of Parisian hotels and to the efficiency of the city's public transport (24-26), but once settled into the French capital, she concentrates on her journalistic duties.

In Cuarenta días the author's life-style is considerably less peripatetic than in the previous travel collection, Por la España pintoresca, where there was a great deal of hopping between places and the use of different means of transportation. Indeed, apart from walking around the Exhibition, the only excursion Pardo Bazán makes during her
stay in Paris is to Ville d'Avray, where she attends the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Balzac's death. She travels by train, but there are neither comments on the short journey nor any description of the trip (113-16). In fact, in Cuarenta días the travel experience is presented as an entremés, as a kind of introduction to the author's arrival in Paris and to her reporting on the Exhibition. Thus, the account of her journey from Spain to the French capital is used by Pardo Bazán to ease her readers psychologically into the narrative and to whet their appetite for the main course of her chronicles: her impression of the 1900 Universal Exhibition.

And yet, as in the case of the 1889 chronicles, the notion of travel is implicit within the Exhibition itself, to where most countries of the world have "travelled" and made themselves available for visitors to explore. Indeed, for Darío the Exhibition is "una vuelta en el camino que anda, es hacer un viaje a través de un cuento" (Darío, 1950: 383).

Furthermore, the attractions featured at the display offer international travel without stepping outside Paris. For instance, in Section 26 Pardo Bazán speaks of the attraction known as "Vuelta al mundo" (a kind of "Around the world in one afternoon"), where visitors can admire the landscapes of many countries (183); she comments on the trans-Siberian train which, although stationary, creates the impression of travelling through the Russian countryside (181); and mentions the "Aldea suiza", a piece of Switzerland's rural

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3 The correspondent of The Times referred to this attraction as "the most original and ingenious object which may yet be seen at the Exhibition" ("France", The Times, 14 June 1900, p. 5).
life in the middle of Paris (181-82), "où les longues ravines des pâturages alpestres se prolongeaient si adroitement dans la plaine de Grenelle" (Vogüé, 1900: 391). All these attractions, the author observes, "reproducen el aspecto de países lejanos y comarcas desconocidas" (182). Moreover, Pardo Bazán subsequently notes how the exhibition of retrospective French art at the Petit Palais allows visitors to admire the achievements of artists whose works have been dispersed all over the world. Without it, she adds, "se necesitaría viajar largo, y por sitios poco atractivos, para admirar á costa de gastos y fatigas lo que aquí se puede ver en tres horas" [my italics] (188).

3. The 1900 Paris Exhibition: An Overview

Pardo Bazán's first sight of the Exhibition is its main gate or "Puerta monumental", designed by René Binet, which announces that the Paris event has been conceived in an avant-garde style with Eastern overtones (26-27). It seems that this "Puerta" has replaced the Eiffel Tower in the author's considerations as the epitome of the Exhibition of 1900:

Pero la hermosura de la puerta no se ve de día. Hay que admirarla de noche, cuando los enormes cabujones que la tachonan se iluminan interiormente y resplandecen como el manto de una emperatriz bizantina; cuando las dos columnas monumentales que la flanquean se convierten en cetros de amatistas y topacios, y en su cima fulguran los

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4 Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé described this style as "cette innommable mixture de rococo viennois et de cambodgien" (Vogüé, 1900: 389).
grandes focos eléctricos, dirigiendo movibles rayos á alumbrar la proa del barco de Lutecia, que, con el gallo galo, blasona orgullosamente el frontón. (27-28)

A similar description is provided by Darío, who also prefers to admire the Gate at night: "Por la noche es una impresión fantasmagórica la que da la blanca puerta con sus decoraciones de oro y rojo negro y sus miles de luces eléctricas, que brotan de los vidrios de colores. Es la puerta de entrada de un país de misterio y de poesía habitado por magos" (Darío, 1950: 385-86).

Interestingly, there are striking similarities between Pardo Bazán's description of this "Puerta" and her depiction of the Eiffel Tower, also at night, in Por Francia y por Alemania:

De día, la Torre tiene algo de rudimentario y tosco, algo que es como el boceto de una idea arquitectónica [...]. En cambio, de noche, las líneas se funden, la materia se unifica, y engalanada con orla de diamantes alrededor de cada arco de los que la soportan; ceñida en su primer plataforma con un cinturón de pedrería; coronada por su vaporoso faro tricolor, la Torre es la maga de la Exposición, la reina indiscutible del gran Certamen. (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 21-22)

And in both cases the author personifies the tower and the gate by attributing to them the characteristics of a beautiful queen or empress. Pardo Bazán is also taken aback by the immensity of the Exhibition area, which she claims is ten or
twelve times larger than that of 1889, and the prospect of
having to cover so much ground fills her with trepidation: "Al
conSIDerar que es preciso recorrer tal extensión, los pies
hormiguean y duelen las junturas" (30).

The author notes that in this Exhibition, contrary to
what had been the case in 1889, the artistic element prevails
over industrial and scientific developments. Indeed, she
speaks of the way art has been vindicated at the end of the
nineteenth century, and of how it now occupies a deserving
place in the life of the individual (31). This impression is
corroborated by Darío, who observes: "Se advierte en ésta
[Exposición] la ventaja de lo pintoresco. En la del 89
prevalecía el hierro; [...] en ésta la ingeniería ha estado
más unida con el arte" (Darío, 1950: 382). Horticulture, Pardo
Bazán adds, also features prominently at the Exhibition in the
shape of gardens, nurseries, and so on. It is as if Nature had
invaded the ground hitherto reserved for technology and
industry (31). Moreover, she argues that the latter part of
the nineteenth century has witnessed a rapprochement
between
the individual and his natural environment, and the
consequences of this new outlook are visible at the Paris
event (171).

Subsequently, Pardo Bazán's description of the fruit,
vegetables, and flowers on display at the Palace of

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5 In fact, the Exhibition covered an area of 549 acres
(The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences,
Literature and General Information, Eleventh Edition, New

6 Vogüé also remarks how "les question d'art [...] ont
été traitées à cette place avec une abondance et une justesse
d'aperçus qui ne laissent plus rien à dire" (Vogüé, 1900: 388).
Horticulture provides a prime example of her pictorial tendencies and her facility as a colorista writer:

Las berengenas relucen como jaspe; las coles y coliflores están más rizaditas que el pellico de un San Juan; los tomates, coral puro; hay remolachas del color del granate; hay judías y tirabeques que brillan como raso. [...]

En días de concurso, son las rosas el talismán del Palacio. [...] En las novedades de este año veo la Alianza franco-rusa, rosa amarilla; el heroico Comandante Marchand, rosa carmín y anaranjada; la Condesa de Baidi, amarillo canario; la Princesa Troubetzkoi; otra Francia y Rusia, rojo carmín; la dulce reinecita de Holanda (textual), amarillo narciso brillante. (176, 177)

On the altogether different subject of machinery and technology, and overcoming her natural aversion to mechanical artefacts, Pardo Bazán acknowledges that modern inventions and discoveries are all for the better, and that they have contributed to making life more pleasant and less arduous (141-42). And although she does admit that when discussing the intricacies of modern inventions she tends to borrow her material from outside sources -- "en tales materias no hablo nunca por cuenta propia" (146) -- she is proud to bear witness to the technological achievements which are bringing such significant changes to mankind's existence (147). This represents a dramatic change in her attitude to technological progress and advancement, which in her visit to the 1889 Paris Exhibition she had regarded with reticence and even hostility. Subsequently, however, it transpires that the author has not yet fully come to terms with machinery and, as in 1889, when
progress looms threatening, she still seeks refuge in the bosom of Mother Nature:

Mientras las galerías de Exposición de máquinas --lo confieso-- me aburren considerablemente, en este Palacio de la Naturaleza me encuentro como en mi casa. Las montañas y el mar, grandes amigos de mi juventud, me acogen y me revelan los tesoros guardados en su vasto seno. La esencia de los pinos dilata mis pulmones. Estamos en el campo, que da salud y fuerza. (239-40)

During her visit to the Rue des Nations, where the national pavilions of the countries attending the event are situated (43-45), Pardo Bazán provides an overview of these pavilions, awarding the top place to Spain, followed closely by Belgium (45). The author also looks at the Trocadéro, the location of "todo aquello que no tenía colocación airosa ni fácil, principalmente lo ultraexótico" (49). She is particularly interested in the pavilion of the Transvaal -- "ese país, desconocido hasta que le echó la zarpa el codicioso leopardo" (51) -- which she admires for its simple lines and utilitarian purposes (51). Pardo Bazán's animosity towards Britain, "el perro grande" (53), is reflected in the way she underscores the support expressed by the French people who, incensed by "el abuso de la fuerza" (53), crowd the Transvaal's pavilion.

Later, the author tours the museum of clothing, where the fashion of the last one hundred years is displayed to the

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7 The Transvaal pavilion was inaugurated on 10 June 1900 ("The Paris Exhibition", The Times, 9 June 1900, p. 8).
8 The Boer War, which had begun in 1899, did not end until 1902.
delight of the female visitors, including Pardo Bazán herself: "Las mujeres acuden á la ropa como moscas á la miel, extasiadas ante los escaparates seductores de los modistos célebres" (94). While reviewing the section that houses high fashion, the author is particularly impressed by the stand dedicated to Lyon's silk industry, a prime example, in her opinion, of the successful combination of art, industry, and Nature (101). She also visits the jewellery pavilion -- "No será cosa que sorprenda si digo que no hay nada tan llamativo en la Exposición para el público, y sobre todo para las mujeres" (209) -- and as during her review of the haute couture collections, Pardo Bazán, the journalist, is superseded by Pardo Bazán, the woman, whose feminine side succumbs to the allure of the Boer diamond and the creations of France's celebrated jewellery houses (210-14).

Whereas in Por Francia y por Alemania Edison is indicated as representing the embodiment of technological progress, at the 1900 Exhibition the author focuses her admiration on another savant, the medical genius Louis Pasteur, whom she presents as the most remarkable man of the nineteenth century (253-54).* The Hygiene Section of the Exhibition is located in the same building that houses the war pavilion, and realizing this ironic juxtaposition Pardo Bazán compares life with death, and destruction with the preservation of life. In her opinion, none of the military victories of Europe's rulers can equal Pasteur's achievements in the field of peace (254). In fact, the author's occasional belligerence in the 1889

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* Alexandre Millerand, the French minister of commerce, referred to Pasteur in his speech at the opening of the Exhibition as "a pure benefactor of mankind" ("The Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 16 April 1900, p. 3).
chronicles (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 186) has been replaced eleven years later by her admiration for scientific and medical pursuits leading to the preservation of life, a change of attitude possibly linked to the recent events of 1898, which resulted in many Spanish casualties from both bullets and disease.

The symbolism of war is further exploited when the author presents Pasteur as a military leader, as a warrior. Yet in his case the adversary is not a human army but the awesome empire of bacteria and viruses, and the object of the fight is not to kill but to preserve human life. She notes that Pasteur's victory is the more laudable for having defeated an invisible army which occupies the air around. What in principle seemed a Utopian enterprise, has become a sublime reality in the hands of the French savant: potentially lethal micro-organisms are now contained and imprisoned in glass jars as the trophies of war of Pasteur, the greatest warrior of all (254-55).

Some pieces in Cuarenta días are dedicated to artistic pursuits, such as, for example, the exhibition of retrospective French art at the Petit Palais (187-93) and the display of French sculpture, where Pardo Bazán reviews, in a knowledgeable way, the creations of France's major artists (195-200). The author also looks at the works of foreign sculptors, showing special interest in the oeuvre of two Russian artists: Prince Troubetzkoi and Mark Antokolsky (202-04). Finally, she turns her attention to Auguste Rodin, the enfant terrible of French sculpture, whom she admires because of his innovative and rebellious spirit and the way he seeks inspiration in the classical sources of Ancient Greece and in
the observation of Nature itself (245-47). It is possible that the author is especially attracted to Rodin because she sees him as a kindred spirit in that both of them are not unfamiliar with controversy and criticism because of their boldness in artistic matters. Thus, of Rodin she observes: "En su larga carrera no ha llegado á ponerse de acuerdo con el sentido general del público, y sus obras más recientes son las que han arrancado mayores protestas y armado alboroto que dura, polvareda visible aún entre el inmenso remolino de la Exposición" (246).

During her tour of the Exhibition, Pardo Bazán goes to the theatre. Indeed, she attends the Japanese production Kesa, a drama reminiscent, in her opinion, of Othello, Los amantes de Teruel, or Curro Vargas (225). She is particularly impressed by the Japanese actors' use of gestures and their bodies to convey the tragic element of the play (227-28), and praises the way they cover proficiently a wide spectrum of emotions and situations in the short space of one hour (224). The author is mesmerized by Sada Yaco, the heroine of the Japanese production, whose enchanting physique she describes thus: "Su cara oval y sus facciones menudas; sus oblicuos, luengos ojos, y su pelo de raso liso y negrísimo; su elegante y estrecho cuerpo; su aire de bibelot de cristalera,

10 This Japanese company performed at the Coronet Theatre in London on its way to Paris. However, the review in The Times was not as enthusiastic as that of Pardo Bazán: "The players [...] all have the appearance to a Western eye of grotesque mechanical toys. None of their movements resemble ours, their faces seem bizarre masks, and their voices have the peculiar metallic timbre of the 'gramophone.' The question whether they are expressing joy or sorrow, fear or exultation, is for the audience often the merest guesswork" ("Japanese Players at the Coronet Theatre", The Times, 24 May 1900, p. 10).
de juguete de marfil aristocrático y frágil [...]. No hay damisela de tapiz antiguo más exquisita y más ideal" (226-27). Interestingly, there are certain similarities between this description and the author's depiction of the dancers from Java at the 1889 Exhibition, as quoted in Chapter 5 (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 162).

After all these commentaries, Pardo Bazán begins her summing-up of the Exhibition on a note of vanity, which is not uncharacteristic in her. Indeed, she claims that her chronicles, with a little help from El Imparcial, have contributed in no short measure to the favourable response of the Spanish public to the Paris event (278). She goes on to argue that an exhibition is a failure when the exhibits are poor, vulgar, or uninteresting; when the exhibitors do not contribute vigorously to the brilliancy of the event. In the Paris display, however, Nature, art, industry, and science have paraded their most priceless treasures and their best-kept secrets have been revealed. Indeed, all aspects of human interest have been represented at this Exhibition, even though, she adds, some uncultured and frivolous Spaniards have attempted to denigrate it by focusing exclusively on its entertaining aspects (278-79).

As in Al pie de la torre Eiffel, there is a reminder that the Exhibition has been boycotted by some nations. In 1889 the main reason for this rebuff was, according to Pardo Bazán, the tactlessness of the French government in making the display coincide with the centenary of the French Revolution. This, she argued, had deeply upset some monarchies, resulting in their absence from the event (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 12-13). In Cuarenta días, however, the author robustly (and, in the case
of Britain, incorrectly) criticizes those countries which have, she claims, boycotted the Exhibition for political reasons or through sheer envy of France's ability to bring such a stunning end to the century:

But despite the malice of some, and despite some

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11 In fact, Britain was represented by a "Royal Pavilion", inaugurated on 24 May 1900, and situated between the Hungarian and the Belgian pavilions in the Rue des Nations. The British pavilion, built by Messrs John Aird and Son from the designs of the architect Edwin Lutyens, represented an old English manor house, and was furnished and fitted "with the modern appliances of a country house" ("The Paris Exhibition", The Times, 11 April 1900, p. 6). However, it is true that owing to the Boer War, a large number of old-established British industrial and trading companies declined to participate, for "the attitude apparently taken by the French public against England made them afraid of a competition, the judges in which they suspected, rightly or wrongly, of having their minds prejudiced" ("The Paris Exhibition", The Times, 3 November 1900, p. 6).

The absence of British visitors was possibly due to the fact that it proved "impossible for Englishmen to forget the attitude taken up, not in France alone, but in other countries, towards the British Army in South Africa" (The Times, 16 April, 1900, p. 7).
organizational hitches, the author believes that the 1900 Exhibition, like that of 1889, has been a roaring success, as demonstrated by the numbers of people that flooded into the Exhibition grounds daily (279-80). The Galician writer's triumphant appraisal is corroborated by Silió, who states:

No puede calificarse de fracaso, sino de éxito colosal, una Exposición [...] en que la arquitectura ha levantado construcciones maravillosas, enriquecidas por el arte con un ejército de esculturas; en que cada país ha procurado descollar sobre los otros, movilizando todas sus energías; en que Francia ha mantenido el cetro del buen gusto y de la esplendidez; en que la agricultura, la industria y el comercio, las artes y las ciencias [...] se manifiestan no en forma de esperanzas halagadoras, sino en forma de frutos, de substanciosas realidades. (Silió, 1900: 87)

Pardo Bazán regards as puerile and groundless the criticism of some Spaniards who accuse the French government of having overspent the taxpayer's money on the embellishment of Paris for the Exhibition. As far as she is concerned, all the money invested in the French capital is amply compensated by "la nombradía y la gloria y la satisfacción de haber cincelado esta llave de oro con que cierra Francia el siglo XIX" (281).

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12 The Exhibition was visited by an estimated 51 million people (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 20: 822).

13 The balance-sheet for the Exhibition showed receipts amounting to 114 million francs, and expenditure of 116 million francs ("France", The Times, 17 December 1900, p. 6).
4. Spain at the 1900 Universal Exhibition

Understandably, Pardo Bazán is particularly interested in finding out whether her country has responded adequately to the challenge presented by the Exhibition. She regards Spain as a nation both defeated and in disarray following the "Disaster" of 1898. However, she avoids referring to the events of 1898 by their proper name, opting for the euphemisms "aquel" and "enfermedad aguda y breve" to describe Spain's defeat by the United States. But in any case, she is optimistic that the Exhibition will herald Spain's regeneration and places her hopes in "las fuerzas nacionales" (33).

Pardo Bazán is proud of the Spanish national pavilion, to which she awards top marks, arguing it is the best in the international area. However, this is not just a patriotic response: she is especially taken by the simple lines of the building that reflect the architecture of the Renaissance, a period she regards as the most representative of Spain's glory and of its cultural, artistic, and scientific activity. She sees this pavilion as Spain's contribution to the brilliancy of the Exhibition and as a token of gratitude for France's support in recent critical moments for her country (43-46).

Yet, Pardo Bazán laments that the Spanish pavilion is the embodiment of Spain's past achievements, a kind of melancholic

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14 Spain's pavilion was formally opened on 8 May 1900, "in the presence of a distinguished company invited by the Spanish Royal Commissioner, the Duke of Sesto" ("France", The Times, 10 May 1900, p. 7).

15 The President of France, Emile François Loubet, was apparently most impressed by the pavilions of Germany, Britain, and Spain ("The Opening of the Paris Exhibition", The Times, 16 April 1900, p. 3).
and nostalgic trip into a glorious past: "¡Sino eterno de España! En el Palacio nuestro, el Palacio del pasado, sólo encuentran atmósfera propia Carlos V y Boabdil..." (48). Indeed, she stresses that Spain should stay abreast of times instead of stagnating in the past (48). This is, of course, a striking response from someone who had shown herself to be such an admirer of the artistic heritage of the past. But possibly the modernity that surrounded her at the Exhibition made her realize the need to focus on the future instead of looking back towards bygone centuries.

And yet, in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 8 June 1908 Pardo Bazán contradicts herself when her longing for Spain's glorious past re-emerges. Remembering the splendid tapestries which adorned the Spanish pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exhibition, she claims that although these tapestries were the only worthwhile exhibits at the Spanish stand, their magnificence and beauty sufficed to give visitors a clear indication of Spain's triumphant days:

Dondequiera que se tienden esos radiosos trapos, y cubre las paredes esa serie de figurones majestuosos, de la fábula y la leyenda, adquiere todo un tinte de solemnidad y lujo grave, que seduce al artista. Así estaba nuestro pabellón en París, durante la Exposición de 1900, y aunque desnudo de cualquier otro atractivo, con sólo los tapices tenía bastante para ostentar regio señorío y magnificencia; para dar cumplida idea de lo que fue nuestro pasado. (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 262)

Luis Bonafoux, the Paris correspondent of the Heraldo de Madrid, also praises the architecture of the Spanish pavilion but, like the Galician writer, he regards its content as an
exaltation of the past instead of a display of Spain's industrial and commercial potential:

Nos causa profundo desconsuelo no ver en el pabellón nada que indique nuestro renacimiento industrial, nada que señale nuestra potencia comercial.

En vez de mirar al presente y al porvenir, sólo se ha mirado al pasado, y los organizadores no se han cuidado más que de acumular allí gloriosas ruinas de nuestra historia. (Bonafoux, 1900c: 2)\(^{16}\)

Similarly, Silió argues that unlike the Italians, who have managed to combine their past achievements with their progress in modern times, the Spanish pavilion:

Es un estanque: los tapices, las armaduras, las paredes, hablan de nuestra historia, del pasado, de la leyenda de oro que habíamos convenido en abandonar. [...] El extranjero que en él entre saldrá diciendo cuando más: ¡ah!... ¡qué España ésta del siglo XVI!... ¡qué grande era!... Pero... ¿y la España de hoy?... ¿No hay hoy España? -- ¿No tenemos presente ni porvenir? -- ¿No podemos presentarnos al mundo más que así, como evocación

\(^{16}\) For Vogüé, the content of the Spanish pavilion evoked images of a vanquished knight-errant: "La maigre et noble Espagne nous est apparue tout entière, dans ces salles vides où elle exposait fièrement ses seules richesses, la tunique de Boabdil, les tapisseries des Flandres, les armes de Charles-Quint. Telles nous nous représentions la maison de don Quichotte. On le voyait, ce cher homme, on le comprenait mieux, on était tenté de le relire, dans la locanda démeublée où il n'avait daigné apporter que ses haillons splendides, ses rondaches et ses armets" (Vogüé, 1900: 389).
In fact, Pardo Bazán's initially favourable impression of Spain's presence at the Exhibition begins to subside as she continues to visit other sections of the event. She is disappointed by the scarcity of foodstuffs on display at the Spanish food pavilion, the perfect reproduction of Granada's Alhambra. She claims there is too much drink on show and not enough food, and this imbalance, in her opinion, presents Spain as a country lacking a wide-ranging variety of foodstuffs (56-59). Indeed, Spanish wines did manage to obtain five out of the seventy-six major prizes given under Class 60 ("Productos alimenticios de origen vitícola: vinos y aguardientes de vino"), a limited success, however, when considering that France, one of Spain's main competitors, received forty-one commendations ("Recompensas de la Exposiciôn", IV, Heraldo de Madrid, 23 August 1900, p. 1).

Silió, for his part, was pleasantly surprised by the Spanish food offering: "Nuestra secciôn [...] me pareciô realmente espléndida, de lo mejor que allí se ve" (Silió, 1900: 53-4). But, coinciding with Pardo Bazán, he also adds: "Un defecto tiene nuestra secciôn alimenticia que ya dejo apuntado. El de no ser completa. Lo que exhibimos está bien presentado, hasta con lujo; pero ¿exhibimos todo lo que tenemos?" (Silió, 1900: 55).

17 And yet, the correspondent of The Times had nothing but praise for the Spanish pavilion, for it was "crowded with masterpieces of every sort, with arms, precious samples of old gold and silver ware, fine and artistic costumes, damascene work of the Middle Ages, tapestries in gold thread, and finally all those fantastic products of the period of the Moorish domination which the sumptuous taste of those old Monarchs has left to a Europe still astonished at the spectacle" ("France", The Times, 10 May 1900, p. 7).
Pardo Bazán moves on to rebuke the Spanish government for the disappointing show of her country's exhibits, claiming that either the government did not fully support the pavilion, or it did not provide sufficient encouragement to the Spanish exhibitors. In her opinion, the scarcity of Spanish foodstuffs has conveyed the opposite message to that which was intended: "Hemos venido aquí á indicar que todavía duran [...] las epopeyas de la tripa vacía cantadas por la literatura picaresca" (61). Similarly, the Heraldo de Madrid also blamed the government's indifference and lack of assistance for the inadequate display of Spanish foodstuffs and manufactured goods at the Exhibition, the perfect showcase for the promotion of Spain's produce abroad:

Era hora de que se juzgara en el Extranjero del verdadero estado social de España por su estado intelectual, por el brillo de sus mercaderías, de sus frutos, de sus manufacturas, de sus industrias. [...] 

A tal fin hubiérase necesitado de una activa propaganda, especialmente por el Estado: que éste hubiera cogido de la mano á los productores españoles, obligándoles por todos los medios á concurrir al certamen internacional. En vez de ello, nuestros expositores sólo han encontrado dificultades y un enemigo en la acción oficial. ("Recompensas de la Exposición", III, Heraldo de Madrid, 22 August 1900, p. 1)

Anticipating some criticism for her negative comments when her chronicles reach Spain, Pardo Bazán claims that patriotism in her home country is understood as a self-flattering exercise devoid of any constructive self-criticism. If Spain remains complacent and does not acknowledge the need
to promote its image abroad, the rest of the world will not alter the poor opinion it has formed after the "Disaster" of 1898 (68). Again, she uses a euphemism, "recientes desventuras", to refer to the Spanish-American War. These sentiments are also shared by the Madrid newspaper, that regarded the Paris event as the ideal venue for Spain to present itself as a nation which through sheer effort and hard work had overcome its recent misfortunes: "En ninguna ocasión como en ésta, tras el desastre, nos importaba demostrar que los industriales no cedían en energía á los artistas, y habernos presentado cual un pueblo que, por el trabajo, trata de redimirse" ("Recompensas de la Exposición", III, Heraldo de Madrid, 22 August 1900, p. 1).

Influenced by her gloomy impressions of the Spanish food section, Pardo Bazán anticipates some kind of disappointment as she makes her way towards her country's stand at the Craft Industries pavilion (77). But despite her fears, and although she believes there is still room for improvement, the author is pleasantly surprised by the variety and quality of Spain's craft industries, especially those of Eibar and Toledo, and the works of certain Spanish artists (Ignacio Zuloaga, Francisco Santos, Antonio Oliva, Federico Masriera, and others) (78-83). Silió's views echo those of Pardo Bazán: "Los trabajos de Eibar y de Toledo [...] y los bronces fundidos por Masriera, con su primor habitual, son lo mejor de la sección española. [...] Pero el conjunto es pobre; indica falta de producción ó encogimiento, ó ambas cosas" (Silió, 1900: 81).

In a way, Pardo Bazán's visit to the Craft Industries pavilion helps compensate for her dissatisfaction with the Spanish food section. However, the Galician writer's spirits
are dampened as soon as she sets foot in the section that features Spain's textile and clothing industry. Indeed, she claims that the display is not representative of the wide range of products manufactured by Spain's textile sector, adding that the distribution of the Spanish exhibits amongst several buildings disguises the inadequacy of the samples sent to Paris (85-86). The exception here are the handmade shoes displayed by Villarejo, the best in the entire Exhibition, she claims (89).

In the chronicle entitled "Clase primera", Pardo Bazán affirms that education is the indicator of the standard of living and prosperity of a country. She also adds that the world's leading nations regard education as being of paramount importance for their progress and advancement (119). This exaltation of education is possibly a veiled criticism of the Spanish government's neglectful attitude towards educational issues, as acknowledged by the Liberal politician, the Count of Romanones, who, in his Notas de una vida: 1860-1912, admitted that the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública was "el menos interesante y llamativo de todos los ministerios, para quienes eran llamados al cargo entre los políticos de la monarquía" (cited in Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 521).

Indeed, education in late nineteenth-century Spain showed all the symptoms of sheer neglect: In 1887, 61.5% of males were illiterate compared to 81.2% of females (71.6% of the total population). In 1900, the figures were 55.8% for men and 71.5% for women (63.8% of the population). In 1910, the levels remained at 52.6% for the males, and 65.8% for the females (59.4% of the population) (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 124). The percentage of illiteracy in Spain given by Gabriel Tortella
for 1900 is 56%, compared to 19% in Belgium, 17% in France, 3% in Britain, 48% in Italy, and in Russia 81% (Tortella, 1994: 12). By the end of the nineteenth century, only 1.5% of Spain's budget was dedicated to state education, compared to 14% in the United States, 10% in Britain, 12% in Germany, and 8% in France (Scanlon, 1976: 50).

The deficiencies of the Spanish education system are also identified and robustly criticized by Darío in his article "La enseñanza" (8 September 1899), in which he refers to the high number of illiterate people and argues that education in Spain is more neglected than in any other European country. Indeed, he believes that the teaching vocation is non-existent in Spain and that the average teacher joins this profession because he lacks the intellectual ability to pursue other careers. This, he affirms, explains the sorry state of primary education in Spain (Darío, 1987: 230-31). Secondary education, Darío adds, is also inadequate because teachers are ill-prepared to do their job, and although university education is slightly better, the lack of preparation and instruction of the students prevents them from taking full advantage of the tuition on offer (Darío, 1987: 232).

In Cuarenta días Pardo Bazán argues that a good standard of education is not dependent on the economic wealth, size, or power of a particular nation. She notes how some Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark) much less populated than Spain regard the education of their people as indispensable for prosperity (120). The author was apparently right to emphasize the importance given to instruction by these nations, for as the first paragraph of the section entitled "Education" in Norway's official catalogue for the 1900
Exhibition reads: "It has been clearly seen that in a democratic community like ours, it is to the interest of individuals, as well as of society at large, to improve the education of the people" (Konow, 1900: 266).

During her visit to the Exhibition's Education Section and despite her anti-American attitude, Pardo Bazán praises the educational materials and the libraries for children displayed in the pavilion of the United States. It is particularly painful for her to admit that this young nation, which has defeated Spain on the battleground, is also far superior in the field of education (125). The fact that the United States' illiteracy rate in 1900 was only 10.7% compared to 63.8% in Spain (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 124, 125), amply justifies the author's pessimism. Darío, who also visited the American pavilion, does not suppress his admiration at the way this country promotes the notion of *mens sana in corpore sano*:

En el palacio de las Artes liberales muestran el estado de su enseñanza, vistas de sus escuelas primarias y secundarias, fotografías de sus Universidades, Exposición de sus interesantes métodos, sus edificios ricos y elegantes, sus jardines y parques, sus instrumentos de cirugía, sus planos y mapas, y sus grupos de estudiantes, en sus ejercicios, nutridos de ciencia y fuertes de *sport*, helenistas, y remeros, y que van con Aristóteles y Horacio a una partida de football. (Darío, 1950: 429)

In contrast, the education materials sent by Spain are apparently so poor that Pardo Bazán prefers to omit all comments: "Nosotros también hemos remitido material escolar. Allí lo diviso, en un escaparate. ¿Les parece á ustedes que
hablemos de otra cosa?" (125). The inadequacy of the Spanish exhibits and the failure to obtain any prizes is underlined by the utter pessimism of the chronicle published at the time by the Heraldo de Madrid:

Pueblos minusculos, gentes tenidas por semibárbaras, han obtenido grandes premios en las diversas secciones del grupo de la enseñanza, y nosotros ninguno. [...] En instrucción pública, por falta de instituciones privadas, por decadencia de las oficiales y por incuria del caciquismo burocrático, figuramos en París en una situación depresiva y humiliante que el rostro nos enciende de sonrojo. ("Recompensas de la Exposición", Heraldo de Madrid, 18 August 1900, p. 1)

For Silió, Spain's representation at the Education Section "es pobre, mezquina, 'insignificante'. Verdaderamente decorosa no recuerdo más que una instalación: la de Escuela de Arte y Oficios de Bilbao, que exhibe un gran mueble, primorosamente tallado, y aún mejor concebido --obra de la 'Escuela',-- y, en él, enormes álbumes que atestiguan el grado de adelanto de sus alumnos" (Silió, 1900: 48).

While visiting the Transport Section of the Exhibition, Pardo Bazán notes with chagrin that some of the vehicles displayed as museum pieces are still very much in use in Spain: "Es triste pensar que bastante de lo aquí expuesto en clase de fósil, es lo que todavía más comúnmente encontramos en España, lo que sabe Dios cuándo pasará á los Museos. Al presente, en España los automóviles son todavía una novedad peligrosa y sospechosa. Nos hemos empantanado en la bicicleta" (143-44). Indeed, Miguel Martínez Cuadrado speaks of the hesitant development of Spain's motor industry in the early
part of the twentieth century, adding that although by 1911 over one thousand vehicles were being registered annually, the efforts to establish a prosperous automobile industry were undermined by the country's late industrialization. Thus, the company Hispano-Suiza, that in 1904 built a car-manufacturing plant in Barcelona with Swiss capital, failed to evolve beyond the stages of a select cottage industry, and although at its peak it was turning out five hundred cars per annum, it never matched the production of similar firms in the United States, France, Britain, Germany, or Italy (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 168, 169).

During her visit to the Palace of Belona, the pavilion of the armed forces, Pardo Bazán decides as an afterthought to review the Spanish war exhibits, so limited in size and number that they are housed in a small display cabinet. The author's contrived silence and frugal description are significantly more eloquent and effective to convey her disappointment and anger than any derogatory commentary she might have made:

El envío de España es una cristalera como de tres metros de alto, y en sus tres estantes se acomodan tres roses, doce condecoraciones y quince ó veinte puños de espadas y sables de honor. A derecha é izquierda de la cristalera, dos mapas con los uniformes del ejército español, entre los cuales figuran todavía los que usaban nuestras fuerzas en la isla de Cuba.

Nada más. ¡Ah! Se me olvidaba. Las condecoraciones y puños de espada que exponemos no son de fabricación española. Ni sombra de comentario. (170)

Again, the Galician writer's pessimistic observations are
Nuestra instalación es la nota más soberanamente ridícula que puede hallarse en toda la Exposición. España exhibe en el palacio de la fuerza, un armario raquítico con unas cuantas condecoraciones, dos ó tres teresianas, y varias joyas de Eibar ó de Toledo. [...] En lugar de armas, exhibe España cruces que se hicieron para simbolizar virtudes heróicas y que allí simbolizan nuestro calvario, un calvario sembrado de recompensas, en el cual sólo falta la imagen del país crucificado por gobernantes sin conciencia de su misión. (Silió, 1900: 75, 76)

Throughout Cuarenta días there are constant indications of the author's bitterness every time she encounters a reminder of the decline of Spain or of its defeat by the United States. Indeed, as it transpires from Silió's quasi-religious terminology above, Pardo Bazán's tour of the display is implicitly presented as a kind of via crucis during which each stop produces yet another painful demonstration of a Spain that is no longer great.¹⁸ For example, while reviewing the Horticultural Section of the Exhibition she observes:

Nosotros en esta sección no estamos representados. ¿A no ser que consideremos representación nuestra las naranjas de Valencia... cultivadas y expuestas por los yanquis! Dos columnas altísimas, que revestidas de naranjas parecían dos estelas de oro, me recordaron aquellas de nuestro escudo, las del Plus Ultra... (174-75)

In spite of Spain's inadequate show in most of the

¹⁸ In effect, the author remarks before visiting the clothing and textile section: "El mal camino andarlo pronto" (85).
sections of the Exhibition so far reviewed, Pardo Bazán expects that her country, enjoying a privileged geographical location and rich in flora and fauna, will be properly represented in the pavilion of Nature. But to her chagrin, the Spanish exhibits are scarcely demonstrative of the generosity Mother Nature has bestowed on her country. Thus, Pardo Bazán's visit ends once again in disappointment:

Una vitrina con armas de Eibar y Orbea --en su mayor parte revólveres--; unas fotografías de féretros incorruptibles --como si, á semejanza de los egipcios, sólo la muerte estimulase nuestro genio inventor--; unos aros de cribas; algunas labores de esparto, no de las más delicadas; dos lágrimas de goma virgen; una inmensa rueda del tronco de un olivo; la Torre de Oro en corcho... y ahí tienen ustedes cuanto ha remitido España de lo que la Naturaleza cría en su suelo y en las costas que la cercan y estrechan en doble abrazo. (244)

Silió's comments are equally damning:

Representa los bosques de nuestra patria un castillo de corcho: --el alcornoque es el único árbol que exhibimos. [...] De pesca, ni vestigios hay en nuestra sección; no hemos querido dejar sin pobladores al mar que ciñe nuestras costas. De instrumentos de pesca, ni una "traíña" de esas que hoy meten tanto ruido en las rías gallegas. Y, representación de la fauna terrestre nacional, preside el grupo una hermosa cabeza de toro. (Silió, 1900: 64-65)

The next stop in Pardo Bazán's "calvary" is the Hygiene Section, well sponsored by most European nations, and, in her opinion, their presence indicates the importance they attach
to maintaining high standards of cleanliness. Regrettably, the name of Spain is absent from the list:

Austria, tan próxima a los países de Oriente, que envían los miasmas; Italia, la de las pestilentes maremmas y de las estancadas lagunas; Suiza, a pesar de la pureza de su aire de montaña; Holanda, que expone el microscopio más antiguo del mundo; Inglaterra, la de las viejas tradiciones de pulcritud; hasta Portugal, que en Oporto recibió tan terrible lección el año pasado por este tiempo, tienen sus Exposiciones de Higiene pública. Y Francia, en este caso de honra, echa el resto. (257)¹⁹

In the last section of her chronicle, aptly called "Balance", Pardo Bazán minces no words in her assessment of Spain's representation at the Paris Exhibition:

El balance español... ¡Ah! Este, no tengo valor para formalizarlo. Yo esperaba de España un arranque viril ó una abstención cauta y prudente, fundada en nuestro luto. Los que quieran saber á qué atenerse después de mis reiteradas indicaciones, consulten la serie de artículos titulados "Nuestro fracaso" insertos en el periódico el Heraldo de Madrid, si no leen el libro que prepara César Silió sobre igual asunto. En los artículos del Heraldo, allí, con guarismos, datos estadísticos y comprobantes,

¹⁹ In June 1899, there was an outbreak of bubonic or Asiatic plague in Oporto. The disease was believed to have been brought to the city in packages from Bombay landed by the British steamer City of Cork ("The Plague", The Times, 15 August 1899, p. 4). Although the plague was identified as early as 12 July by Dr Jorge, of Oporto's Bacteriological Institute, no official announcement was made by the Portuguese government until 15 August ("The Plague", The Times, 25 August 1899, p. 4). After reaching its peak in October 1899, the epidemic finally ended in February 1900. Overall, there were 310 cases, 114 of which were fatal (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 21: 701).
verán nuestros desastres en la paz. (283)

Indeed, the conclusions reached by the correspondent of the Heraldo de Madrid could not have been more damning of the Spanish exhibits and of the negligence of the Spanish government:

Nadie nos podrá tachar de pesimistas. Son más tristes los hechos en sí que todos los comentarios que acerca de ellos pudiéramos escribir. El único comentario posible es un grito de indignación contra un Gobierno que se llama regenerador, que había venido á rehabilitarnos ante el mundo y que hace que aparezcamos en la gran feria internacional por bajo de pueblos que tienen tres ó cuatro millones de habitantes. ("Recompensas de la Exposición", IV, Heraldo de Madrid, 23 August 1900, p. 1)

Silió, for whom the débâcle of 1898 was also fresh in his mind, returned from Paris: "Tan admirado del hermosísimo, imponderable alarde que la Exposición significa, como entrístecido y confuso del papel que allí hacemos. Aunque me duela mucho la confesión, habré de decírlo: no somos Europeos" (Silió, 1900: 16-17). Subsequently, he noted:

Nuestra "leyenda de oro" quedó borrada hace dos años con la paz de París. La "leyenda negra", la que nos pinta como un pueblo de toreros y chulos, refractario á la moderna cultura, más africano que europeo, debió haber muerto ahora en París también y no hemos acertado á matarla. (Silió, 1900: 52)

Pardo Bazán's chronicles on the Paris Exhibition end on a note of utter pessimism, impotence, and even despair. This time, her ardent patriotism fails to act as a smokescreen or to colour her appraisal of Spain as a country which has been
defeated both in war and in peace. But for the author, the responsibility for the "Disaster" of 1898 and the fiasco of 1900 lies not with the Spanish people, whom she regards as inherently good and wholesome, but with those who are supposed to lead the nation and imbue it with the energy and will to fight on. Perhaps, she wonders, God will find it in His heart to provide Spain with the leadership and the zest for life it so badly needs (283). Similarly, Silió blames the Spanish government (and not the people) for the Paris débâcle: "Con un poco de iniciativa y voluntad directoras, España habría logrado presentarse en París como una esperanza; despertar simpatías, cobrar alientos. Mas la pereza ó la ineptitud oficial se extendieron como la mala hierba" (Silió, 1900: 90-91).

Five years after the Paris Exhibition, the failure of Spain's participation was still haunting Pardo Bazán as a vivid reminder of the shame of Spain. In an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 24 April 1905 she draws a parallel between the inadequacies of the celebrations in Madrid of the third centenary of Don Quijote and the poor show of the Spanish exhibits in Paris in 1900. For the author, these deficiencies reflect the indifference and apathy that characterize modern Spain, but what she laments most is that both events have contributed nothing to improving Spain's image abroad (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 219). Indeed, for someone like the Galician writer, who had spent many years of her journalistic career defending Spain against gratuitous foreign criticism, her country's disappointing performance must have been particularly painful to deal with.
5. The Colonial Issue and the "Disaster" of 1898

Jover Zamora notes how in the 1880s, when Spaniards were enjoying the cultural enrichment and development of the "Edad de Plata", the problems stemming from the mismanagement of Spain's foreign policy were to culminate in a major material and moral catastrophe unprecedented for Spanish society since the first decades of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the term desastre, used to designate the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines in 1898, became part of the political vocabulary of that time following the naval defeat of Cavite, widely reported on by the national press of 3 May 1898 under the headline "El desastre de Manila" (Tortella [Jover Zamora], 1981: 384-85).

Soon after Cánovas del Castillo's death on 8 August 1897, the Conservatives were succeeded in office by the Liberals led by Sagasta, who replaced in Cuba the radical General Valeriano Weyler with a negotiator, General Ramón Blanco, and granted the island autonomy in a series of decrees published on 25 November 1897. But Madrid's concessions did not appease the Cuban rebels or their ally, the United States, whose demands became tougher. The presence of the American war fleet in Cuban ports was followed by the blowing-up of the warship Maine on 15 February 1898, possibly carried out by the Cubans or the American secret service, and this incident provided President McKinley with a pretext to go to war with Spain (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 373).

The Spanish-American War did eventually break out in late April 1898, when Spain was left with little choice but to declare war on the United States. Subsequently, part of the Spanish fleet was sunk in the battle of Cavite, in the
Philippines, on 1 May 1898, followed by the swift destruction of the Atlantic fleet near the coast of Santiago de Cuba on 3 July 1898, overpowered by the superiority of the American warships. The Spanish army, stranded in the middle of the island and out of communication with the metropolis, could do little to compensate for this defeat (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 373). It is estimated that Spain's casualties among soldiers and officers alone during the war in Cuba and the Philippines ranged between 75,000 and 100,000 (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 85).

The protocol signed in Washington on 12 August 1898 set out the conditions for Spain's withdrawal from Cuba, but Spain's final humiliation came with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898, from which it emerged stripped of its last New World colonies and of its ranking as a middle-sized European power. As a result, the Cubans and the Filipinos were left under the tutelage of the United States (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 373-74). At the beginning of 1901, the Madrid newspaper, El Imparcial, published on its front page a map of Spain's former empire under the brief but poignant headline "Hemos perdido todo" (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 243).

In 1898 Pardo Bazán witnessed the Cuban disaster "con el corazón, despedazado de dolor y henchido de lágrimas ardientes" (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 114). Indeed, during the opening of the Cortes in April 1898 the Galician writer listened with horror to the laughter and cheers of the crowd as Spain declared war on the United States. She was mortified by this irresponsible attitude because the crowd was unaware of "el momento más negro de nuestra historia, la agonía de
España" (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 102). Although many Spanish intellectuals had asked the government to grant Cuba its independence in order to avert a potentially disastrous confrontation with the United States, their plea had gone unheeded. In this regard, in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 7 August 1899 Pardo Bazán remembers that prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War she had repeatedly warned of the catastrophic consequences this armed conflict would have for Spain, and how her sincerity and her refusal to be blinded by a misplaced patriotism had earned her the title of "mala española" (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 75). Valera, like the Galician writer, had also predicted Spain's downfall in the event of war. Indeed, in his article "Los Estados Unidos contra España" (1896) the Andalusian novelist had warned:

Una nación aislada, como lo está España, con menos de la cuarta parte de habitantes que tienen los Estados Unidos y con muchísimos menos recursos pecuniarios para comprar o fabricar los costosísimos medios de destrucción que hoy se emplean, incurriría en un heroico delirio y cometería un acto de inaudita temeridad en provocar a dichos Estados. (Valera, 1958, III: 1005)

It would be difficult to overestimate the psychological scars the events of 1898 left on Pardo Bazán. It is possible that, as a Galician, her experiences of the Spanish-American War were more vivid than those of most Spaniards. Indeed, Hilton claims that Galicia was one of the Spanish regions worst affected by the hostilities, for it was called upon to supply large numbers of recruits. With their departure, and often their death, Galicia was depleted of a significant
percentage of its active male population. Within this region, La Coruña was touched even more directly by the conflict as it witnessed the arrival of hospital ships which landed their morbid cargo of injured and dead. Moreover, for a brief spell it looked as if the war was going to be carried into Galicia. Commodore Watson, in charge of a section of the American fleet, threatened to bombard the fortified towns on the Spanish coast, and as the news reached La Coruña, a significant percentage of its population abandoned the city (Hilton, 1951: 336). In De siglo á siglo Pardo Bazán describes the exodus thus:

El bando de los asustados, semejante á un bando de palomas, alza el vuelo y se dispersa. Vénse las carreteras atestadas de carros, carromatos y zorras, con carga de muebles; es el ajuar de las familias que emigran en busca de un asilo, lejos, lo más lejos posible de la costa, donde no llegue ni el estampido ni el proyectil, ni aun las noticias del estrago. (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 129-30)

Rumour has it that when some friends of Pardo Bazán asked to use her country home in order for them to escape the expected shelling of La Coruña, the reply given by the author was: "Yo voy a la Coruña, donde si se confirma lo que ustedes temen, habrá que hacer frente a la situación y curar a los heridos" (Fernández Almagro, 1951: 6).

The account of Pardo Bazán's visit to the Paris display in Cuarenta días is interspersed, as noted earlier, with painful reminders of the events of 1898, to which she refers through the use of various euphemisms such as "horas luctuosas" (168). And one of the more poignant moments is
when, during her visit to the painting exhibition, the author speaks of the pain and reflexive tranquillity she felt when confronted by Theobald Chartran's work depicting the signing of the Spanish-American peace protocol: "La sacudida de la realidad la encuentro en otro lienzo de Chartran, de historia y de retratos. Se titula Firma del protocolo de paz entre los Estados Unidos y España. ¡Con qué impresión de dolor y con qué reflexiva y concentrada calma me detuve ante ese cuadro!" (264-65).

The loss of Spain's remaining New World colonies shortly before the Exhibition coincided with the imperialist expansion of its main European rivals: France and Britain. Indeed, at the Paris display, as described by Darío, both Britain and France proudly parade their status as colonial masters: "La Exposición puede ser mirada, en un sentido, como un gigantesco anuncio del hecho --que el mundo a veces olvida-- de que Francia es una de las más grandes potencias coloniales" (Darío, 1950: 419).²⁰ The Nicaraguan poet goes on to say of British imperialism: "En grupo vienen desde la tierra negra de Fidji hasta Gibraltar colonias de todas clases, [...] Australia, el Canadá, Santa Elena, Jamaica, Nueva Guinea, y más, y más, y más tierras. [...] Sale uno de ver todas estas cosas convencido de que la superioridad de los anglosajones es innegable, aunque no sepa a punto fijo en lo que consiste... Rule Britannia!" (Darío, 1950: 421).

The absence of Spain from the "Exposición colonial" of

²⁰ Vogüé proudly remarks: "L'héroïsme de la race se dépense actuellement dans ces nouveaux empires [...]. Il fallait leur faire la part très large dans l'Exposition jubilaire; il fallait renseigner abondamment notre peuple sur ses acquisitions récentes et trop peu connues" (Vogüé, 1900: 388).
the Paris Exhibition is noted and lamented by Silió:

Destacándose sobre el conjunto abigarrado de construcciones de tan varios estilos, flotaban las banderas de Inglaterra, de Francia, de Alemania, de Holanda, de Portugal, ¡las metrópolis educadoras de esos pueblos, que parecían ampararlos!

¡Tampoco allí ondeaba nuestra bandera! --Después de descubrir un nuevo mundo, y de regar con nuestra sangre y libertar del salvajismo más tierras que ninguna otra nación, estamos sin colonias, reducidos al solar viejo que produjo tantos conquistadores y navegantes. (Silió, 1900: 44)

As for Pardo Bazán, her visit to the pavilions of Portugal and France's colonies continues to evoke painful memories of the events of 1898. While foregrounding the way France nurtures its relations with its domains, the author alludes implicitly to what she regards as Spain's neglect of its former possessions, resulting ultimately in their loss (136). A similar sentiment had in fact been expressed by the author in her article "Siempre la guerra" (June 1898), in which in no uncertain terms she had accused Spain of having neglected the Philippines over the years and of having possessed them without sparing a thought for the inhabitants: "No hemos poblado esas comarcas; las hemos recogido y poseído como dueño indiferente de mujer hermosa, que no le dirige una mirada siquiera" (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 118).

Spain's apparent uncaring attitude towards its former colonies is also underscored by Darío in his article "Madrid" (4 January 1899), in which he argues that Spain's disregard for what the New World has to offer has undermined the
cultural relations between the "madre patria" and Latin America. Moreover, Darío accuses Spanish intellectuals of showing no interest in the literary output of Spanish-American authors, adding that this indifference sadly extends to everything produced outside Spain itself. (Darío, 1987: 48-49).

6. Latin America and its Representation at the 1900 Exhibition
In the section of Cuarenta días entitled "La América latina", Pardo Bazán voices her opinion on the political situation of some Latin-American countries and reviews the national pavilions of those young republics present at the Exhibition. The author begins by explaining that many Latin-American nations are not represented at the Paris event for internal, political, and economic reasons, or because of disagreements with the organizers (216-17). And although Cuba features as part of the Latin-American contingent, the author refers to this island in derogatory terms, by depicting it as a kind of hybrid: through its veins runs Latin blood, but regardless of the appearances of freedom, Cuba is very much under the political and military yoke of the United States (217). Indeed, it would appear that Cuba has changed one master for another (as was certainly the case economically speaking), and in practical terms its colonial status remains unaltered. Moreover, while commenting on the Cuban pavilion, Pardo Bazán notes how tobacco, Cuba's main product, was the reason for the

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21 The most conspicuous absentees were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and some other South and Central American Republics (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 10: 70).
island's annexation by the United States. In her opinion, Cuba is still very much a colony, and as such it features at the Exhibition (220).

The author's affection for Spain's former possessions was already apparent in her French chronicles of 1889 (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 25), and in Cuarenta días she reaffirms her emotional and fraternal links with these young nations. In effect, there is even a touch of sadness as she recognizes that the Latin-American republics, which she would like to continue to regard as the offspring of the mother country, are now entitled to their full identity and independent political status:

Como interesan al hermano mayor que se quedó solo, sujeto en la casa paterna, los destinos del hermano aventurero y joven que cruzó el mar en busca de fortuna y gloria, nos interesa á nosotros el progreso de la América latina, en todo caso, y en este certamen. No sé si nos expresábamos con exactitud al llamar hijas nuestras á esas Repúblicas: hoy, en efecto, es hora de dejarse de paternidades é inaugurar la fraternidad. (215)

Subsequently, Pardo Bazán identifies two Americas: one imbued with Spanish blood, and the other, a treacherous one, that repaid Spain's assistance during its fight for independence by taking away its last colonies (215-16). In fact, the betrayal and treachery of which the author speaks was foreseen by the Count of Aranda, one of the negotiators of the 1783 Treaty of Paris that established the independence of the United States. In a letter written to his sovereign, Carlos III, Aranda warned that the new republic would forget the help received from France and Spain, which had made its
independence possible, and would only occupy itself with its own greatness (Murray, 1864: 379).

As in the chronicles of the 1889 Exhibition, Pardo Bazán does not appear to hold any grudges against the Latin-American countries for having fought Spain for their freedom. On the contrary, she admires their tenacity and fighting spirit, and acknowledges their independent status and democratic political systems. Considering the author's numerous attacks on Spain's democracy, which she often presents as a charade, this latter assertion is surprising. She goes on to compare the apathy and lethargy that hinder Spain's progress with the enthusiasm and resolve of these young nations determined to forge a prosperous future for themselves (216). And yet, a few paragraphs later Pardo Bazán proceeds to dismantle this idealized vision of the new republics, by presenting them as being torn by internal conflict, civil unrest, and economic penury:

El opulento Brasil, por la difícil consolidación de su nueva forma de Gobierno; la progresiva Argentina, por los ahogos de su Hacienda y los gastos y quebraderos de cabeza que le origina el pleito de sus límites occidentales [...]; el laborioso Chile, el de las sabias instituciones, porque aún no están cicatrizadas las heridas de la lucha civil de 1891, ni restablecida la normalidad monetaria; el fértil Uruguay, por el criterio de ahorro que á sus gobernantes inspira; el heroico Paraguay, el Transvaal de hace seis lustros, por las dificultades financieras que le crea su situación mediterránea; la sufrida Bolivia, por su reciente lucha entre federales y unitarios, que le impide tener capital
Murray, too, paints a very bleak picture of these young countries, from Mexico, which "has only exchanged the misgovernment of Spain for a worse evil --that of a chronic, interminable, and hopeless anarchy" (Murray, 1860c: 307), to Peru, plagued by "civil wars, misappropriated finances, [...] and a general state of turbulence and insecurity". Nor does he forget Chile, shaken since its independence in 1810 by "two popular revolutions in four years, and a prolonged civil war", while in all of them prevails "a state of material as well as of moral desolation" (Murray, 1860c: 309).

The notion of a fraternal and friendly relationship between Spain and Latin America conveyed by Pardo Bazán in Cuarenta días is also present in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 1 April 1901, in which the author maintains that the independence of Spain's former colonies has not resulted in hatred or resentment. Moreover, she claims that Spain's affection for its old domains has been reciprocated by signs of encouragement and friendship following the war of 1898. What she does lament is that Spaniards refuse to look to these new nations in search of inspiration for the regeneration of their country, since, in her estimation, Spain has a great deal to learn from its former possessions (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 113).
7. Pardo Bazán's Attitude to France

One of the more striking features of Cuarenta días is its pro-French tenor, which should not be overlooked after the overtly Francophobic attitude of Al pie de la torre Eiffel and the ambivalence suggested in Por Francia y por Alemania. Indeed, whereas some passages in the earlier chronicles were vitriolic diatribes against France, Cuarenta días, in contrast, is scattered with positive comments that leave no doubt as to Pardo Bazán's admiration for Spain's most controversial and pugnacious neighbour.

Soon after her arrival in Paris, the author attaches a symbolic meaning to the monuments that line both sides of the Esplanade des Invalides, arguing they are an exaltation of the glory of France as both a warring and civilizing nation. She also adds that France's leading role in industry and other non-belligerent activities has made it possible for this country to regain its place as one of Europe's most prominent powers following its defeat by the Prussians (37). Of course, with these comments Pardo Bazán could be implying that had Spain been an industrial power prior to the events of 1898, the consequences of the war would not have been as catastrophic as was the case. Also, the fact that France recovered from its military and moral defeat to become strong again is presumably regarded by the author as a lesson for Spain.

Later in Cuarenta días, while touring the pavilion that houses haute couture clothing, Pardo Bazán praises the entrepreneurial spirit and the marketing skills of the French, who have transformed this product into one of their major exports (99-100). Elsewhere, she proclaims her admiration for
a country which through instruction and education is rebuilding itself, expanding its territories, and conquering the present "mal sino" which afflicts Latin countries (128).

During her visit to the exhibition of French art at the Petit Palais, Pardo Bazán is highly complimentary about eighteenth-century French art which she sees as reflecting the good taste, culture, and elegance of the nation (187). Also, in the piece dedicated to Rodin, she compares the active interest of the French in sculpture and other artistic pursuits with her fellow Spaniards' indifference towards art, something she regards as an indication of their lower cultural level (246-47). Furthermore, in Cuarenta días, as in the chronicles of 1889, Pardo Bazán presents Paris as the centre of the art world, a place where many foreign artists converge in order to learn and improve their technique (261).

Indeed, it appears that what most attracted Pardo Bazán to France was its cultural and artistic wealth, especially when contrasted with the cultural isolation and xenophobic attitude of many Spanish intellectuals of her time, bitterly denounced in her 1899 lecture "La España de ayer y la de hoy":

Fue bueno y simpático el escritor cuando se hizo apostóloga de la inmovilidad española contra el movimiento europeo: renegar de la cultura extranjera, alardear de españolismo exclusivista y celoso, era camino para abrir á los libros el hogar, y al escritor los salones y la Academia: y he oído alabar en un novelista [...] el mérito de ignorar los idiomas extranjeros más usuales y de no haber abierto en su vida una novela francesa. No por eso deja de ser España un país donde las novelas francesas se leen bastante, sobre todo cuando
meten ruido, y donde se imita, arregla y adapta sin cesar del francés: lo que pasa es que nadie reconoce que ha bebido en las fuentes malditas. (Pardo Bazán, [1899]: 81)

Moreover, the influence that French culture had on the author did not go unnoticed by some of her contemporaries. For example, Enrique Gómez Carrillo went so far as to characterize her as "par l'esprit et par la culture, une véritable Parisienne" (Gómez Carrillo, 1906: 457).

In Cuarenta días, during her visit to the painting exhibition, Pardo Bazán laments that the Spanish subjects depicted by French painters are limited to flamenco and bullfighting scenes, the sad legacy, she claims, of Mérimée's romantic view of Spain (273-74). However, contrary to her position in the 1889 chronicles, in this instance not a single word of criticism flows from Pardo Bazán's pen concerning the apparent lack of knowledge the French have of Spain, its customs, traditions, and history.

This very restricted vision of Spain abroad in the late nineteenth century, focusing largely on its flamenco and bullfighters, is also noted by Darío in an article published on 24 July 1899. But the Nicaraguan poet, unlike Pardo Bazán, sees this unfamiliarity with Spanish culture as a direct result of the decline of the country, and he notes that Spaniards themselves remain oblivious to the sorry state of their nation. In addition, Darío suggests that Spaniards' airs of superiority are unjustified:

Doña Emilia Pardo-Bazán no ha vacilado en hacer de Víctor Hugo un émulo de Campoamor. Por lo general, aquí se compara lo propio con lo extranjero, cuando no con aire de superioridad, con un convencido gesto de igualdad. No
se dan cuenta de su estado actual.

No se dan cuenta de que quitando a Cajal y a algunos dos o tres más en ciencias, y a Castelar en su rareza oratoria, no les conoce el mundo más que por sus toreros y sus bailadoras. Pongo naturalmente a un lado a los pintores. (Darío, 1987: 181)

In her summing-up of the Exhibition Pardo Bazán no longer presents France as Spain's traditional foe, as she did in Al pie. Indeed, whereas in the 1889 work she denied any possible fraternal links between the two nations and scorned the notion of "pueblos latinos" (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 7-8), in Cuarenta días she reverses this opinion and adopts a conciliatory attitude towards France by depicting it as a role model for Spain: "Nuestra gran hermana latina, esa Francia que en nosotros tanto influye, y que más debiera influir en distinto terreno que en el de moda variable, porque Francia no es sólo una tienda de modas literarias ó femeniles" (277). This fraternal notion is underscored by Silio, who also seemed to feel a kind of grudging admiration for the French nation. There is no longer resentment but the fervent wish that Spain might one day emulate France's achievements: "La Exposición es un prodigio, es un portento de grandeza y de arte. [...] Me sentí pequeño, muy pequeño, ante aquel soberano alarde de vitalidad, de arte y de riqueza, y sentí envidia, mucha envidia como español, de ese gran pueblo, nuestro vecino y nuestro hermano, capaz de tales obras. ¡Ah, si nosotros las hiciéramos!..." (Silio, 1900: 24).

In the closing pages of Cuarenta días Pardo Bazán speaks of the way in which France, through sheer hard work and initiative, has found the means to recover both emotionally
and financially from its defeat of 1870. And although she acknowledges that France is beset by significant domestic problems and that its future looks bleak, she argues that France is at least alive, as its internal struggles demonstrate. For the author, this activity is preferable to the indifference, stagnation, and paralysis of Spain, where, she states, selfish and personal interests prevail over the common good of the nation (281-82).

On top of all this, Pardo Bazán exalts France for having put aside its domestic problems to offer the world the spectacle of the Exhibition. This unity, she argues, is proof of the magnanimity of the neighbouring nation, which remains untouched by the decadence that affects the countries of Latin Europe, and which continues to occupy its deserving place as an advanced and leading power (282). And contrary to the sentiment expressed in Al pie (Pardo Bazán, [1889]: 7-8), in Cuarenta días France is presented by the author as holding the key to the prosperity of the Latin race.

8. Conclusions

In Cuarenta días, unlike the 1889 French chronicles, digressions are kept to a minimum. In effect, excluding the opening three sections, which deal with Pardo Bazán's journey to Paris, Section 17, in which she recounts her day-trip to Ville d'Avray, and Section 22, in which the author discusses the feminist congress held during the Exhibition, all the other pieces of the collection touch on the Paris event or on matters relating to it. Therefore, Cuarenta días does not suffer from the fragmentation or disorder of Pardo Bazán's
previous French chronicles, in which she often became sidetracked from the main topic.

The author's aversion to machinery and technological advances is as strong in Cuarenta días as in the Paris chronicles of 1989. Indeed, when overwhelmed by the technological feats that surround her at the Exhibition, she seeks solace and refuge in the pavilion of Nature where she feels totally at ease. And although her negative attitude to progress and modern inventions appears to have mellowed with time, the only way Pardo Bazán can come to terms with technological and scientific advancement is by identifying a particularly remarkable figure or savant who embodies it. In 1989 this figure was Edison, the magician of light, and in Cuarenta días the epitome of progress is represented by Pasteur, the medical genius, the conqueror of disease.

It is significant how in Cuarenta días, compared to previous chronicles, Pardo Bazán's attitude to France has changed dramatically. In fact, with the passage of time the author appears to have shifted from being a Francophile in Al pie, to suggesting ambivalence in Por Francia, to finally becoming a Francophile in Cuarenta días. In this last work, France is no longer depicted as Spain's political enemy or predatory foe, for that role is now played by the United States. It is likely that this change of heart was triggered by France's support in critical moments for Spain (46), but, in any case, by the late 1890s Pardo Bazán appeared to feel more at home in Paris than in Madrid, where she had often been the target of intolerance, xenophobic prejudice, and narrowmindedness, especially after her Paris lecture of 1899, "La España de ayer y la de hoy", as she admitted in her 1906
interview with Gómez Carrillo: "Je suis très communicative et c'est en France que j'ai trouvé la Société intellectuelle qui correspond le mieux à mon goût. Après ma conférence de Paris, je fus couverte de fleurs; chaque conférence que j'ai donnée en Espagne ne m'a valu que des déboires: cela n'a pas peu contribué à me rendre française" (Gómez Carrillo, 1906: 460).

The colonial issue and the "Disaster" of 1898 feature strongly in Cuarenta días as a kind of motif that runs through most of the collection. Indeed, against the backdrop of Spain's recent débâcle, many of the European countries present at the Exhibition parade their colonial assets as they continue to expand their empires. Pardo Bazán is painfully aware of her country's humiliating new status in the eyes of the world, and her shame and frustration permeate a considerable part of the narrative. In effect, on occasions the tone of Cuarenta días is tense and sarcastic, indicative of repressed anger, impotence, and embarrassment. A clear example is the observation made by the author on the inadequacies of the Spanish food pavilion: "Nótese el vacío de la indiferencia, de la apatía, el profundo agujero donde lo dejamos caer todo para que se lo lleve el diablo" (65).

In 1900 Spain was still licking its wounds after the events of 1898. In fact, the author refers to Spain as a country in mourning, and so, it would appear, was the Galician writer, whose sadness, disappointment, and despair at Spain's decline are foregrounded in Cuarenta días. Moreover, there is little doubt that as far as Pardo Bazán is concerned the wounds inflicted by the war of 1898 are still open sores, and the Paris Exhibition, to her dismay, seems to be interspersed with painful reminders of Spain's defeat. There is resentment
and bitterness everytime the term "yanquis" flows from her
pen. It could be argued that Pardo Bazán has not forgiven and
has no intention of ever forgetting. Indeed, in an article
published in La Ilustración Artística of 7 August 1899 the
author welcomes the difficulties encountered by the Americans
in their invasion of the Philippines, Spain's former
possession. She hopes that, with time, the accumulation of
negative factors, coupled with the resistance of the
indigenous population, will result in the expulsion of the new
colonial masters (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 75).

In Cuarenta días the author presents the United States as
the agent of Spain's colonial misfortunes and international
humiliation. However, in this instance her objectivity is
blurred by her patriotism and the pain of the recent defeat.
So what the reader hears is not the voice of a detached
observer or impartial journalist, but the opinion of a staunch
Spanish patriot expressing a great deal of resentment towards
a country she perceives as Spain's mortal enemy. Indeed, at
one point in Cuarenta días Pardo Bazán refers to the United
States as "nuestros enemigos los yanquis" (205). In a way, and
in comparison with Al pie, the Americans have replaced the
French in the author's heart as Spain's quintessential foe.
However, her animosity towards France never reached the same
level of hatred revealed towards the United States in Cuarenta
días.

Pardo Bazán went to Paris in 1900 clutching the fervent
hope that Spain would salvage some of its badly tattered
honour in the eyes of the world after the events of 1898. Like
Silió, she wanted to see Spain ranking among "los pueblos
grandes, sabios, trabajadores y fuertes" (Silió, 1900: 16).
And although her intuition told her otherwise, she was expecting to bear witness to and to report on the rehabilitation of Spain in the shape of a dignified representation. Indeed, of the thirty-four pieces that deal with the Exhibition, twenty either refer to the Spanish participation or touch on Spain from different perspectives. It could in fact be argued that the author's reporting on the Paris display is dominated by Spain and by her views on her country. Regrettably, the Galician writer's chronicles reflect the despair felt by many Spaniards who like her saw their hopes dashed as Spain's participation in the Universal Exhibition culminated in "otro desastre más", the eloquent title of Silió's chronicles. But however painful, this new fiasco, she argued, had to be aired and brought into the open, regardless of the consequences: "Obligada estoy á decir la verdad, y conozco que al decirla tal vez no logre sino crearre enemigos" (68). By the time Pardo Bazán left the French capital, she was painfully aware of the poignant contrast between the Paris Exhibition as France's "más victoriosa prueba de lo que pueden la idea y el trabajo de los pueblos" (Darío, 1950: 381), and Spain, the ghost of a formerly glorious nation, ready to step into the new century morally, spiritually, financially, and militarily defeated.
1. Introduction
In July 1901 Pardo Bazán left Meirás, her Galician country home, for Belgium, where she remained until early 1902. Por la Europa católica is a compendium of the impressions of her journey around Belgium in 1901, of her stay in the south-west of France in 1895, of her visit to Portugal in 1898, and of her travels at various times between 1887 and 1899 through Castile, Aragón, and Catalonia. Her Belgian chronicles were serialized in the Madrid newspaper, El Imparcial, from 12 August to 30 December 1901, while her pieces on France, Portugal, Castile, Aragón, and Catalonia appeared in several newspapers and reviews between 1887 and 1899, before the entire collection was published in book form in 1902. The work is divided into six sections: "Bélgica", "Provincianos franceses", "Notitas portuguesas", "Castilla", "Aragón", and "Cataluña", each one consisting of several essays.

In the "Advertencia al que leyere", which introduces this collection, the author points out that her articles are going to have two "plots" or perspectives: a social and an artistic one. For the social angle she will focus on Belgium, an advanced nation which, she argues, practises an active, coherent, and purposeful Catholicism (Pardo Bazán, [1902a]: 5). However, she admits that her fondness for art and artistic pursuits has taken up some of the time and space she intended
to dedicate to the social study of the countries visited. Had she had her way, she would have devoted many pages to Belgian and Dutch painting. But since other literary commitments demanded her attention, she kept to herself some of the impressions gathered during her journey (5-6).

Pardo Bazán claims that her articles stirred the social conscience of some Spanish organizations which, encouraged by the example of Belgium's social institutions, decided to try new ways, other than military force and incarceration, of maintaining Spain's social fabric. Some worthwhile attempts have been made in this direction, but she argues that a great deal more needs to be done in order to extricate Spain from its social stagnation (6). In fact, the government's concern regarding the situation of the industrial proletariat and the unrest of Spain's working classes in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had resulted in the emergence in 1883 of the Comisión de Reformas Sociales, charged with preparing the necessary legislation to regulate and improve the working conditions of the proletariat (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 519). The Ley de Accidentes del Trabajo (30 January 1900) and the establishment of the Instituto de Reformas Sociales in 1903 marked the beginning of the State's intervention in labour relations with the aim of curtailing the abuses perpetrated hitherto by management (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 323). Social security was an aspect of labour relations much improved in the early part of the twentieth century with the creation of the Instituto Nacional de Previsión in 1908 and the establishment of the Ministerio de Trabajo on 8 May 1920 (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 324-25).

In the second essay of the collection, Pardo Bazán
announces that during her travels abroad she intends to concentrate on what she terms the religious question, a problem inherited from the nineteenth century and which affects other Latin countries. So, she is going to look at France and Belgium, two prosperous nations much more advanced than Spain. In her opinion, Belgium's example demonstrates that Spain's present ills cannot be blamed on Catholicism but on the way Spaniards practise and understand this religion (20-21). But the author does not want to anticipate any conclusions or allow any preconceived ideas to blur her judgement, and will reserve her final opinion until after her journey of study and learning is concluded: "Pero no adelantemos los sucesos [...] ni llevemos opinión hecha y preconcebida [...] A estudiar se ha dicho, y á referir lo que se aprenda" (21).

2. Travel and Spain's Europeanization
In Clémessy's opinion, Pardo Bazán's fascination with Europe emerged during her first European tour of 1871: "Ofrecióse Europa llena de múltiples seducciones a los ojos ávidos de la pequeña gallega, dejándole unas impresiones imborrables. A partir de aquel entonces Europa iba a ejercer poderoso atractivo en su espíritu" (Clémessy, 1975: 9). Indeed, in 1889 the Galician author confessed to Galdós: "Tú habrás soñado mucho con el esquinazo europeo: más que yo, es imposible" (Pardo Bazán, 1975: 71). And on her way to Belgium in 1901, she wrote to her friend Blanca de los Ríos: "Deseo salir de esta atmósfera, todos los años, algún tiempo, europeizarme, que dice mi amigo Joaquín Costa" (cited in Bravo-Villasante,
Moreover, the fact that Europe became a recurrent theme in Pardo Bazán's journalistic writing is further proof of her determination to persuade her readers to look outside Spain, beyond the Pyrenees, so that they could keep abreast of European progress (Clémessy, 1975: 21).

In fact, the idea of travel as a vehicle for the modernization of Spain was already present as early as 1895 in Pardo Bazán's article "El viaje por España", published in La España Moderna of November of that year: "A los españoles nos conviene mucho salir de nuestra casa para rectificar prejuicios, para adquirir tolerancia, amplitud de miras y bien entendido espíritu moderno" (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 97). Indeed, in the second essay of Por la Europa católica (dedicated to the Count of Romanones, Spain's education minister) the author presents travel as part and parcel of the process of Europeanization, as a cultural duty to be performed at least once a year, especially by those who live in a retrogade or stagnant society, like that of Spain:

¡Europeicémonos! --A pesar de los cambios que ya están mucho más arriba de las nubes, al nivel de las estrellas; á pesar del miedo que nos meten hablando de calores senegalianos, de gente que se cae muerta de insolución fulminante en las calles de París, hemos tenido el arranque de dejar nuestras frescas rías gallegas y asomarnos á ver qué pasa en el mundo, aunque sea por un agujero. Manda la Iglesia confesarse una vez al año, y antes si hay peligro de muerte. Manda la cultura viajar sin aparente necesidad una vez al año, y más si hay estancamiento y tendencia regresiva --manía de andar hacia atrás, que no falta entre nosotros. (17)
Carlos Blanco Aguinaga has suggested that "el problema de España" was the struggle between those who favoured the country's Europeanization and those who opposed it. He notes how after a while the members of the so-called Generation of 1898 were also divided by this disparity of opinion (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 7).^1 Blanco traces Spain's ideological and historical isolation, from which he claims "el problema de España" stemmed, to the rule of Felipe II (1555-98) (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 8), and argues that Spain's determination to adhere to the values that reflected the period of its greatest glory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led eventually to its marginalization from the rest of Europe (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 17). In this regard, those Spaniards who in the nineteenth century proclaimed the need to "import" European values, while rejecting some traditional Spanish tenets, were deemed unpatriotic (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 13).^2 Pardo Bazán for one endured the criticism of some of her fellow Spaniards who had a faulty concept of the casticismo Unamuno was to examine at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, her detractors misinterpreted her European tendencies, claiming they denigrated Spain (Clémessy, 1975: 17).

Hilton affirms that the tragedy of 1898 added momentum to the "Europeanization" movement of Spain (Hilton, 1952c: 306).

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^1 It has been pointed out that the men of 1898 did entertain "un ideal mixto de españolismo y europeización" (Melchor Fernández Almagro, Vida y obra de Ángel Ganivet, p. 135, cited in Lain Entralgo, 1997: 65).

^2 Pedro Lain Entralgo recalls how the writers of 1898 were accused by Spanish traditionalists of being "europeizantes, extranjerizados, antiespañoles" (Lain Entralgo, 1997: 61).
Indeed, in her article "Desde el extranjero" (May 1899) Pardo Bazán herself admits that prior to the events of 1898 the Europeanization of Spain was regarded with suspicion by most Spaniards, but after that date public opinion was almost unanimous on the need to Europeanize the country. She also laments Spaniards' anachronistic attachment to what they regard as "castizo", and their reluctance to embrace foreign customs and values, a sign, she argues, of Spain's backwardness and ignorance (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 168-69). Of Spain's xenophobic or anti-European attitude she observes: "La perpetua queja de los castizos contra el extranjerismo, envolvía la afirmación tácita de que no tenemos nada que aprender de nadie. [...] El suponer que abundando en nuestro propio sentido caminábamos derechos, equivalía á abrazarnos al error, con tal que hubiese nacido en casa" (Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 170).

Spain's opening-up to Europe was also advocated by most of the writers of 1898, who, like the Galician author, claimed that Spain's cultural isolation should come to an end and that the old glories of a long-gone past should be laid to rest in order for the country to progress. Indeed, Clémessy sees Pardo Bazán as heralding some of the tenets of the men of 1898, even before the "Disaster" (Clémessy, 1971: 140). This parallelism is also suggested by Joaquín de Entrambasaguas in his prologue to Cuentos de la Condesa de Pardo Bazán: "No deja


4 Lain Entralgo also believes that "Clarín y la Pardo Bazán preludian en buena medida el llamado 'espíritu del 98'" (Lain Entralgo, 1997: 77).
de ser extraño y curioso que sin pertenecer doña Emilia Pardo Bazán a la generación del noventa y ocho, [...] presente no pocos puntos de contacto con ella en su individualismo, sus anhelos europeizantes y su posición renovadora" [my italics] (Entrambasaguas, 1952: xii). In fact, the author's interest in the writers of 1898 is noted by Azorín himself: "De los maestros, los dos que se acercaron a nosotros [...] fueron don Juan Valera y doña Emilia Pardo Bazán. [...] Doña Emilia estuvo siempre atenta a lo que hacíamos" (Azorín, 1982: 900). Furthermore, it appears that Pardo Bazán's pro-European attitude influenced the outlook of some younger Spanish-speaking writers. For example, Eduardo Marquina wrote in recognition of the Galician author: "Mis primeras lecturas en prosa hacia horizontes abiertos fuera de España las hice en libros de D.â Emilia Pardo Bazán" (Marquina, 1921: 65), and the Argentine novelist Manuel Gálvez acknowledged Pardo Bazán's internationalism thus:

No sólo fué doña Emilia de su tiempo, sino que fué un escritor europeo. [...] Son raros los escritores españoles que concilian lo español y lo universal. Hay en ellos un excesivo apego al terruño, antipático para los extranjeros. Aunque no lo digan, revelan un desprecio a lo extranjero, un orgullo sin fundamento, una suerte de "no conformismo" con la civilización y la modernidad. [...] Los casticistas de la derecha, que creen alabarse llamándose a sí mismos españolísimos y rancios, condenan a doña Emilia por su curiosidad universal, por su espíritu europeizante. [My italics] (Gálvez, 1921: 33, 34).

Pardo Bazán argued that travel, as a contributing factor
to Spain's Europeanization, had to be a two-way process: not only should Spaniards be encouraged to travel, but foreigners should be enticed to visit the Peninsula. Indeed, in her article "El viaje por España" the author urged the Spanish government to attract foreign visitors to Spain because, by acquiring a direct knowledge of that country, they would also assist in the Europeanization of Spain. Unfortunately, it was pointed out by Pardo Bazán, many foreigners never rid themselves of their false romantic perception of Spain (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 97, 94-95).

In Por la Europa católica the author claims that travelling on the continent is not an essential prerequisite for achieving the longed-for Europeanization. It can also be attained through intellectual pursuits, such as reading and thinking. But whatever the method, the process of Europeanization, she concludes, must be selective, concentrating solely on the worthiest attributes of European culture (18). Indeed, it is true, as Hilton notes, that Pardo Bazán's Europeanizing tendencies were somewhat limited (Hilton, 1952c: 299). For instance, she did not suggest that the world should become a uniform, monochrome, and homogeneous entity, for she argued that below the surface of society there remained irreconcilable differences regarding race, origin, civilization, religion, and ideals, and the combination of all these factors determined, according to Pardo Bazán, a nation's concept of life ("El país de las castañuelas", Pardo Bazán, [1902b]: 50-51). Spain's selective Europeanization was also advocated by the Krausist, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, one of Pardo Bazán's mentors, during his inauguration speech of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza in 1876. In his address, Giner
spoke of the necessity to redeem the national spirit. This so-called redemption was to become the cornerstone of the teaching programme of the Institución, and it involved giving Spaniards the confidence to absorb foreign ideas while, at the same time, adjusting them to Spain's needs without undermining the positive qualities of the Spanish character.

Adna Rosa Rodríguez notes how Spain's Europeanization becomes a constant theme or motif in much of Pardo Bazán's "obra ensayística", but always with a constructive intention:

La autora intentaba hacer que los españoles miraran más allá de sus fronteras y se enteraran de lo que ocurría en el resto de las naciones europeas. Le interesaban el progreso, los adelantos y cambios sociales que ocurrían en Europa. Era evidente que España no estaba entre los países aventajados. Sus escritos los inspiraba siempre un amor profundo por su tierra. Su crítica fue constructiva y jamás deploraba lo nacional por lo extranjero. Su anhelo era que España se igualara en todos los niveles al resto de Europa. (Rodríguez, 1991: 60)

Indeed, Pardo Bazán's pro-European views did not at any time compromise her Spanishness. Speaking of the Galician writer's "profundo hispanismo", Clémessy notes: "La novelista era partidaria de una inspiración extranjera moderada y adaptada al genio nacional; la imitación servil que veía practicar a sus compatriotas en detrimento de la originalidad española la ofendía pues, con toda justicia" (Clémessy, 1981, I: 489). The author's uncompromising Spanishness was corroborated by Azorín when he wrote: "Ha sido netamente española Emilia Pardo Bazán, y ha tratado siempre de injerir lo extranjero, como elemento fecundador, en lo nacional" (Azorín, 1963: 1395).
It seems that Pardo Bazán saw this process of Europeanization as a cure for Spain's plight. In other words, she suggested that although her country's problems should be resolved by Spaniards themselves, the remedy for Spain's malaise was to be found abroad and not in Spain itself. Indeed, in *Por la Europa católica* she admits that in her European travels she is constantly searching for a magic cure for Spain's self-inflicted blindness to its current ills:

Sintiéndome tan acérrima española, cada vez propendo más á buscar fuera de España remedios y lecciones. ¿Se acuerda alguien de uno de los primeros y muy discutidos dramas de Echegaray, en que el enamorado de una beldad ciega va á conseguir en remotos países el medicamento ó filtro que devuelva luz á las amadas pupilas? España es tan hermosa como la Princesa de la más romántica novela de caballería; pero sus ojos están cubiertos de membrana obscura; la lumbre de este sol radioso no penetra en ellos sino al través de brumas y sombras seculares. Viajemos. ¿Quién sabe si daremos con el filtro mágico? (19)

Spain's "blindness" or chauvinistic and introspective attitude was also lamented by the Galician writer in a letter written to Narcís Oller on 12 October 1886:

En España creo ser una de las pocas personas que tienen la cabeza para mirar lo que pasa en el extranjero. Aquí, a nuestro modo somos tan petulantes como pueden serlo los franceses, y nos figuramos que más allá del Ateneo y de San Jerónimo no hay pensamiento ni vida estética; ¡error peregrino cuya enormidad nos asusta así que atravesamos el Pirineo!... (Narcís Oller, *Memòries literàries*, Aedos,
And in *Por la Europa católica* the author continues to present Spain as an isolated and self-centred country preoccupied exclusively with national minutiae. She regards as patriotic and praiseworthy the work done by the newspaper *El Imparcial* and some Spanish writers, including herself, in an attempt to bring "soplos de aire exterior" into Spain's rarefied cultural atmosphere (19-20). In effect, Darío described the Galician writer in 1899 as a breath of fresh air in the otherwise culturally stagnant and depleted Spain. She had, he argued, the courage of her convictions and was not afraid to voice her opinions, even if they were deemed scandalous by some. Thus, the Nicaraguan refers to her as "un personaje simpáptico y gallardo, esta brava amazona que en medio del estancamiento, del helado ambiente en que las ideas se han apenas movido en su país en el tiempo en que le ha tocado luchar, ha hecho ruido, ha hecho color, ha hecho música y músicas" (Darío, 1987: 123).

Finally, and dealing with rather more practical concerns, Pardo Bazán ends the second essay of *Por la Europa católica* on a note of frustration at the long wait that travellers arriving from the north-west have to endure in Venta de Baños before catching the train to the French border. In her opinion, a good, reliable, and fast train service is also part of the process of Europeanization Spain so badly needs (21).

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5 Here Pardo Bazán could be recalling the recommendations voiced by Unamuno in 1895: "Sólo abriendo las ventanas a vientos europeos, empapándonos en el ambiente continental, [...] europeizándonos para hacer España y chapuzándonos en pueblo, regeneraremos esta estepa moral" (*En torno al casticismo*, Unamuno, 1942, I: 125).
3. On the Way to Belgium

Indeed, in the first essay, touching on a subject already discussed in Cuarenta días, on her way to Belgium by train under "la llamarada del sol de Julio" (19), Pardo Bazán speaks of the hardship and discomfort of train travel in Spain due to a deficient railway network, the poor management of the system, and bad planning. Thus travelling the same distance in Spain as in other European countries takes three or four times longer (9-10). Similarly scathing comments were made by César Silió, the editor of El Norte de Castilla, during his journey to Paris for the 1900 Exhibition:

Yo hice el viaje desde Valladolid hasta Burdeos, en el sud-exprés; de Burdeos á París, en un tren rápido. Pues, toma nota de estos datos y compara y deduce:

De Valladolid á Hendaya, el tren recorre 392 kilómetros. De Hendaya á Burdeos 233. El sud-exprés emplea en el primer recorrido 10 horas y 31 minutos --37 kilómetros por hora--; en el recorrido francés 2 horas y 52 minutos --82 kilómetros por hora--. (Silió, 1900: 18)

The Galician writer continues her diatribe against railway travel in Spain by pointing out that the deficient service is indicative of the backwardness of the nation, which remains untouched by modern times. She adds that train services run much more efficiently in industrialized regions, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, than in those areas where the benefits of industrial development are not yet felt (10).

On a more positive note, Pardo Bazán also speaks of the mysterious attraction that travel holds for man since time immemorial, and which makes him forget its inherent dangers and discomfort. She states that whereas in the distant past
travel was a collective enterprise involving entire tribes and populations, nowadays the individual tends to travel on his own. She claims that the lack of communication between the different communities, which only come together through the violence of war, provides another incentive for the individual to travel (10-11). She also affirms that the most enriching and enjoyable aspect of travel is the visual experience, to see for oneself that which one has only read about. But travelling is not only about learning, she claims; it also encompasses the spheres of the spiritual and the emotional, contributing on occasions to the inspiration of the artist (11).

In her article "El viaje por España", the author states that Spaniards do not regard travel as a recreational or cultural activity, and, in consequence, they fail to understand the reasons that motivate people like her to travel (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 83-84). Similar sentiments are repeated in this early part of Por la Europa católica:

En España la afición á viajar sin objeto determinado, por el viaje sólo, no se ha difundido todavía. Causa cierto asombro que yo la profese. Quizás no se explican que por ver un edificio viejo, menos aún, el lugar donde ocurrió un hecho memorable, donde surgió un recuerdo ó se escribió una página de historia, ande nadie rodando por trenes y fondas y estaciones, gastando tiempo y dinero, y privado de esas "comodidades de su casa" sin las cuales mucha gente no comprende la vida. (11)

Spaniards' alleged disregard for travel is also emphasized by Alarcón in his Viajes por España (1883): "Los españoles tenemos pocos asuntos fuera de casa, y los que tenemos no nos
interesan hasta el extremo de hacernos emprender largos viajes. Nuestra filosofía moruna, ascética, o como queráis llamarla, da de sí esta magnánima indiferencia [...]. Viajan, sí, por mero placer, los elegantes y los fantaseadores, los bañistas de afición y los amantes de la naturaleza" (Alarcón, 1968: 1129).

The first stopover in Pardo Bazán's journey to Belgium was the village of Sarria, near the border between Galicia and Castile (13). From there she travelled to Venta de Baños (21) and then to Paris on the "expreso" (23). Once in the French capital, she caught the eight o'clock train to Brussels and announced that the rest of her itinerary (Louvain, Malines, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend) would be covered by her "billete circular" (31).

4. Belgium
Pardo Bazán's arrival in Belgium reawakens in her remembrances of the glorious days of the Spanish Empire and of its fight against Protestantism "en tierra de herejes" (32). But what makes Belgium special and eternal for the author is the artistic production of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Flemish and Dutch painters that she plans to admire in her visit to several museums in Holland and Belgium (32-34). However, what the author defines as her "peregrinación" (37) to Belgium begins, after an eight-hour train journey from Brussels to Dené Maredsus (38), with a close look at that country's social Catholicism.

While Bravo-Villasante argues that Pardo Bazán's interest in what she terms "cristianismo social" emerged when she was
writing San Francisco de Asís (1882) (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 75-76), Hilton claims that once the Galician author realized that the revival of the archaic Catholicism advocated by the neo-Catholic movement was unfeasible, she had to look elsewhere for the catalyst that would bring about a religious renaissance. For some years she believed she had found it in what was generally called Christian Socialism (Hilton, 1954: 14).6

And as soon as Pardo Bazán sets foot in Belgium she heads for the monastery of Dené Maredsus, where she is delighted to experience at first hand the kind of vigorous, coherent, and purposeful Catholicism she had advocated in the "Advertencia" or introduction to Por la Europa católica. Indeed, she stresses the dedication of the monks to the education of middle-class students and to the vocational training, free of charge, of poor children (39). In Cuarenta días she had already argued that religious orders, instead of leading a life of unproductive retirement from the world, had an important social role to play in the field of education. Moreover, she had opposed an inactive, pessimistic, and inquisitorial Catholicism, for she claimed that the Catholic Church should be highly influential in the instruction of the people and in the support of the needy (Pardo Bazán, [1900]: 129, 130).

6 It would be an exaggeration to refer to social Catholicism as Christian Socialism, for it repudiated the basic principles of socialism (the abolition of private property, the class struggle), and attempted to provide those workers attracted to anarchism, Utopianism, or Marxist materialism with an alternative ideology (Droz [Guichonnet], 1985: 375). "Catolicismo social" is in fact the term used by Pardo Bazán herself to describe the activities of Belgian Catholics (96).
Pardo Bazán's first impression of Liège (to where she travelled by train), as an industrial city covered in coal dust and with little to offer to the artistic pilgrim (45), is far removed from the bucolic scenery of Maredsus. But the object of her visit is to continue to explore Belgium's social Catholicism during her meeting with the Bishop of Liège, who explains how the Church and the Catholics of Belgium, guided by the Encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891), are trying to alleviate the problems of the exploited proletariat (46-47). However, he is reluctant to admit that their action is directed at halting the spread of socialism in Belgium, preferring to refer to this ulterior motivation as "un fin indirecto, un resultado natural [...] de nuestra obra" (47).

In Spain, too, as Martínez Cuadrado notes, the conciliatory and prudent tenor of this encyclical, issued by Leo XIII, prompted some members of the clergy to achieve a rapprochement with the country's working classes. Their object was to promote social action within Spain's incipient industrial sector. Hence, the emergence in 1892 of the Cajas Rurales, the establishment in 1895 of several associations for the protection of the rights of the working classes, and the clergy's persistent efforts, often criticized by socialist and anarchist trade unions that accused the Church of operating under the influence of management (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 361).

Pardo Bazán's encounter with the Bishop corroborates what she had learned during her visit to the pavilion of the Catholic Missions at the 1900 Exhibition, that is, the strength of Catholicism as a social force: "Y al cruzar el silencioso jardín, volviéndome una vez más para saludar de
lejos á Su Ilustrísima, [...] resonaba dentro de mí la afirmación oída en París: 'El Catolicismo es una fuerza social enorme'" (52). The enthusiastic tenor of the account of her meeting with the Bishop appears to confirm Bravo-Villasante's claim that in Belgium Pardo Bazán found the kind of Catholicism she desired for Spain: "En Bélgica observa un catolicismo más sincero, de activa intención social. [...] Observa atentamente un cristianismo socialista, una acción social católica conforme a la Encíclica de Rerum Novarum" (Bravo-Villasante, 1973: 244-45). Indeed, a few years later, in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 25 January 1904, Pardo Bazán was to praise the initiative of the Marquess and Marchioness of Casa-Torre, founders of one of Madrid's healthcare centres for infants, because their understanding of Christianity included the duty of good Catholics to aid the underprivileged. As in her observations in Por la Europa católica, there is the notion of Catholics playing an active role in the betterment of society and in the alleviation of human suffering, as indicated by Leo XIII's encyclical: "La noble pareja bilbaina ha realizado un bien y presentado un modelo de acción católica [...] al impulso de las repetidas enseñanzas de León XIII" (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 192).

Unusually, in the piece dedicated to her encounter with the Bishop of Liège, Pardo Bazán acts as a mere scribe, recording the opinions of this clergyman. Although she usually welcomes controversy and argument, she does not query any of the Bishop's statements. Perhaps she is being naïve and gullible, or possibly she is in awe of this religious figure whose words and authority she dares not question. But whatever
the reason, the author's reverent attitude to "Su Ilustrísima" is reminiscent of her idealized and awe-inspiring perception of Pope Leo XIII in Mi romería. Yet what escapes her, or what she refuses to discuss, is the thorny issue of the true motivations of Belgium's Catholics. It would be legitimate to ask whether the action taken by Belgian Catholics to alleviate the plight of the proletariat is in fact born out of an uneasy Christian conscience, or whether it stems from the need to control the spread of socialism in order to preserve a status quo which benefits the Catholic Church. What she also omits to consider is whether the social action of the Belgian clergy has perhaps been prompted by Belgium's latent anti-clericalism. As Murray observed: "In few Roman Catholic countries does the power of the priesthood excite more jealousy or inspire greater precautions against its abuse" (Murray, 1862c: 396).

But what is more interesting here is the question of Pardo Bazán's social conscience. Indeed, did she have one or did she regard pauperism, as some of her contemporaries did, as a burdensome but inevitable social phenomenon? García Guerra, for instance, argues that the Galician writer was never particularly sensitive towards the plight of the working class that sought a fairer social order (García Guerra, 1990: 183). He claims that on the few occasions when in her non-fictional writing Pardo Bazán does foreground the appalling living conditions of the working classes, she is not advocating a more egalitarian society for the future. On the contrary, he adds, she is looking back towards the past, towards a longed-for pre-industrial society (García Guerra, 1990: 208-09). In fact, in La revolución y la novela en Rusia
(1887) the author does evoke ancient forms of ownership in Castilian society, claiming that the landownership system of Russia's agricultural townships represents an "elocuente lección para los que creen haber enmendado la plana a los siglos pasados" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 784). García Guerra concludes that Pardo Bazán regarded the poverty of the peasants as part of the medieval society for which she yearned and in which "los individuos deben conformarse resignada y felizmente con el lugar en que les ha colocado la Providencia". He also speaks of Pardo Bazán's opposition to social mobility and of her annoyance at those individuals of the lower classes who attempt to improve their social station (García Guerra, 1990: 249).

Certainly, some three years after her return from Belgium, Pardo Bazán's apparent lack of sympathy for the plight of the needy and underprivileged is revealed in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 17 July 1905. Here, the people who would appear to be the victims of an unjust socio-economic order are presented by the author as little more than a group of parasites that haunt well-to-do madrileños:

A un lado, el cesante de cinco años; a otro, la viuda con doce chicos; a la derecha, el artista sin trabajo, que postula en voz cavernosa, como si os amenazase con el saqueo y el incendio; a la izquierda, el ancianito desdentado, que se alaba de ochenta años y de una existencia sin pan; y en todas direcciones, enhebrados por todas partes, los granujillas, los golfos y las golfas, el que tiene más hambre que un oso y el que no se ha desayunado desde hace seis días, el que nunca tuvo
padre ni madre y los mil que seguramente no han visto una palangana desde que nacieron... (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 227)
The author finds these "undesirables" to be a nuisance and the solution she advocates to keep them at bay is police control and restrictions on the exercise of street charity. Also in this article, and despite her suggestions in *Por la Europa católica* regarding the duty of good Catholics to alleviate human suffering, Pardo Bazán admits that charity is often prompted not by Christian feelings, but by the need to get rid of the "pedigüeño de turno". What follows can hardly be regarded as an endorsement of social Catholicism:

Yo reconozco que el limosneo no se hace por caridad, ni por altruismo, ni por filantropía, ni por ninguno de los sentimientos elevados y puros, llámense como se llamen, sino meramente por librarse de una molestia, de un mosconeo que interrumpe la conversación, no deja comprar en la tienda, no permite mirar en paz un escaparate; por alejar al mamón que berrea, a la borracha que hiede, a la vieja que representa la estampa de la herejía, al obrero que os enseña un muñón del brazo, al lisiado que se lamenta, al ciego que rasguea el guitarrillo... (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 228)

Pardo Bazán travelled from Brussels to Louvain by train (81), and here she visits the city's Catholic University, of which she is given a private tour by "Monseñor Mercier, director del Instituto superior de Filosofía" (70). The Galician writer stresses that this university has managed to combine traditional beliefs with modernity and scientific advancement without subverting in any way the teachings of the Mother Church. The Instituto's aims are to end the ostracism
of Catholic scientists, to bridge the gap between religious dogma and science, and to promote the development of scientific pursuits, thus demonstrating the respect of the Catholic Church for human reason (71-72). Here Pardo Bazán could be recalling the isolation and criticism endured by Father Feijóo, the eighteenth-century Galician savant greatly admired by her, whose theories and work were regarded with suspicion by his contemporaries simply because they were too revolutionary for his time. In effect, in her essay "Examen crítico de las obras del padre Feijóo" (1876) Pardo Bazán had defended the monk against those who doubted the sincerity of his Catholicism, and in De mi tierra (1888) she was to reiterate the compatibility of Feijóo's research and scientific work with Catholic dogma (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 148).

During her visit to Louvain's Catholic Guild where, as in the case of the city's university, Pardo Bazán is taken on a private tour by the secretary of the institution (77), the author speaks enthusiastically of the humanitarian and social work done by Belgium's Catholic guilds. She stresses how both Catholics and socialists, putting aside their ideological differences, fight together for the eradication of alcoholism and other social ills, and adds that Belgium's clergy has undertaken the arduous task of bringing moral standards and a wholesome way of life into the rural communities (78-81). To understand Pardo Bazán's enthusiasm for Belgium's Catholic guilds, one needs to refer to her work La revolución y la novela en Rusia, in which she speaks of her admiration for the "mir", the pre-Revolution Russian rural community not dissimilar from the Belgian guilds. The "mir" is presented by the author as the antithesis of and the remedy for the
potential dangers posed by a discontented proletariat hostile to the State and to the ruling classes in other European nations (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 783-84). Earlier in this work, she speaks of her fear of a socialist revolution that would overthrow the bourgeois state so painstakingly established by the middle classes:

Agitase en la masa popular, amenazadora y oscura, la idea de reivindicaciones socialistas y hace explosión parcialmente, de tiempo en tiempo, con huelgas y motines; en cambio, la clase media, dueña de la situación en casi todas partes, desea un entreacto largo, muy largo, que le permita disfrutar del nuevo orden social creado por ella y para ella. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 763)

Indeed, fears of a social revolution were still haunting the author in 1908. In an article dedicated to José María Gabriel y Galán, who died in 1905, she paints the following gloomy picture:

Con el poeta, lamentemos que se hayan ido para siempre los pastores apacibles, [...] y en su lugar queden, en la majada, sobre el lecho de lentiscos, los pastores que blasfeman, los que maldicen de la fortuna de sus amos, los que gruñen rencorosos como amarrados perros, venteando los placeres y blandiendo los cayados amenazadores. (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1357)

The steady development of socialism in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century would explain Pardo Bazán's preoccupation with a possible social revolution and with the need to curtail the further expansion of this political ideology that threatened the survival of the conservative and
Catholic society she epitomized. Blanco Aguinaga traces the emergence of Spain's "proletariado militante" back to 1840 when some workers' organizations were already in existence. He speaks of an important insurrection in Barcelona in December 1842 and of the city's strike of June 1855, adding that from 1854 the government found it increasingly difficult to control Spain's workers' movement, especially after it gathered momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century fuelled by its accession to the First International in 1869 (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 24). In La Alpujarra (1874), Alarcón describes the advancement of socialism in Spain in the following negative terms: "Turbas más feroces, más impías, más antiespañolas, más anticristianas que los agarenos, pululan en los desertos de la incredulidad, sedientas de pillaje y de exterminio, de oro y de sangre, de groseros goces y de salvaje independencia.... La Internaciona va apoderándose de España" (Alarcón, 1968: 1645). Indeed, during the debate held in the Cortes in 1871 the legality of the International ("el más grande peligro que hayan corrido las sociedades humanas", according to Cánovas) was put into question. Finally, this legislature declared the International unconstitutional on 10 November 1871 (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 31).

However, in the wake of the relative "aperturismo" of General Martínez Campos's government (March-December 1879), Pablo Iglesias and other followers of the First International founded secretly in Madrid on 2 May 1879 Spain's first socialist workers' party (Partido Democrático Socialista Obrero Español), which during its founding congress held in Barcelona in August 1888 was to become the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 358). The
legalization by the Liberals in 1881 of the right of association opened the doors to the establishment in Spain of workers' trade unions and associations. Hence the emergence in Barcelona in 1881 of the anarchist trade union Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española, which by the following year had a membership of 57,934. Moreover, coinciding with the celebration in Barcelona of the Universal Exhibition of 1888, the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) was founded in that city in August (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 359). The PSOE, for its part, represented by Pablo Iglesias and José Mesa, participated in the creation of the Second International in July 1889 (Droz [Vilar], 1985: 428).

During the celebrations of Labour Day in 1890, 30,000 workers marched in Madrid, as many in Barcelona, and 99% of Bilbao's workers went on strike. The so-called "proceso de Montjuich" (1897) was followed by strikes, mutinies, and insurrections, leading ultimately to the dramatic events of Barcelona's Tragic Week (26-31 July 1909) (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 25). In its expansion throughout Spain, socialism was aided by its opposition to the colonial wars of 1895-98 (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 484). In an attempt to control the increasing power of the socialist movement, the governments of the Restoration resorted to the declaration of "estados de excepción y de guerra para contener las reivindicaciones de las clases sociales discrepantes del orden burgués, total o aisladamente" (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 514). Thus, the regime established by Cánovas in 1875 was confronted in the last

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7 This trial of several anarchists resulted in the execution of five of them. The tortures to which the prisoners were subjected and the irregularities of the trial were met by international condemnation.
quarter of the nineteenth century by what this politician had termed in 1871 "la grande, la inmensa cuestión del proletariado" (Blanco Aguinaga, 1970: 25).

After Louvain, Pardo Bazán travelled to Ghent, a city that for her evoked memories of the glorious days of the Empire. Indeed, she speaks of "un sol de victoria, un sol para Carlos V" (83) as she makes her way to Ghent's "Vooruit" or collectivist co-operative. Contrary to her experiences in Louvain, this time she is not the privileged visitor being taken on a private tour: "Nadie me acompañaba. La casualidad quiso que los socialistas intelectuales para quienes llevé cartas, anduviesen de viaje de vacaciones" (83).

The opening lines of this chronicle are interesting because they confirm the assumption that the social action taken by Belgium's Catholic institutions was prompted by the growing popularity of socialism. Perhaps it was not so much a matter of social conscience, as Pardo Bazán suggests, as a question of survival: "No se comprendería lo que llevo dicho de la acción social católica en el país belga, á no recordar las causas que determinaron el movimiento, los estímulos que actuaron sobre la conciencia. En nación alguna brotó con tal vigor el socialismo" (83). The "Vooruit" is presented by the author as the antithesis of Louvain's Catholic Guild. She sees it as being particularly symbolic of socialism because it was Ghent's weavers who formed the country's first general workers' union (84-85). Indeed, Belgium's Socialist Party was born in 1879, following the amalgamation of the socialist groups of Ghent and Brussels (Droz [Rebérioux], 1985: 441). By 1886, Belgium's Workers' Party (POB), founded in 1884, had a membership of 40,000, and its newspaper, Le Peuple, began
publication in December 1885 (Droz [Rebérioux], 1985: 442). When the POB participated in its first elections in 1894, it achieved 316,000 votes, one fifth of the total, and in the municipal elections of 1895 the POB consolidated its position in Belgium's industrial centres: Liège, Ghent, and Brussels (Droz [Rebérioux], 1985: 444).

On the question of suffrage, in Por la Europa católica Pardo Bazán lends her support to a restricted franchise, whereby only those citizens with a basic standard of education are eligible to vote. This is the case in Belgium, she adds, where socialists work to ensure that people are educated so that they can exercise their voting rights (86). Indeed, Ghent's "Vooruit", founded in 1880, was one of Belgium's "Casas del Pueblo", the temples of socialism that acted as a catalyst in the social and cultural life of Belgium's working classes with an emphasis on the education of the country's proletariat: "En cada Casa del Pueblo hay una biblioteca [...]. El partido desarrolla, en efecto, unos objetivos educativos propios: ante todo se trata de elevar el nivel cultural de un proletariado muy rudo" (Droz [Rebérioux], 1985: 449).

A similar educational approach was also adopted by Spain's socialists. In effect, one characteristic of the initial stage of socialism in Spain was what Pierre Vilar terms "el asociacionismo con fines culturales", that is, the emergence of "circulos", "casinos", and "ateneos" for the entertainment and instruction of the working classes. Some of the better known institutions were the Ateneo Catalan de la Clase Obrera, and Madrid's Fomento de las Artes (Droz [Vilar], 1985: 403).
In *Por la Europa católica* Pardo Bazán laments that the citizens of Spain (a country, in her opinion, much less advanced than Belgium) enjoy the benefits of universal male suffrage, whereby any man can vote regardless of his standard of education (86). Some years later, in 1908, in an article dedicated to Campoamor, the author continued to voice her reservations about universal male suffrage in Spain: "Este país donde la cultura general deja tanto que desear, y el abandono y lastimoso estado de la instrucción pública justifican toda desconfianza y recelo acerca de los beneficios del sufragio universal, que no es universal siquiera" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1327). But the Galician writer was by no means alone in her opposition to universal suffrage in Spain. Indeed, Cánovas for one saw it as "un peligro de incalculables consecuencias para la supervivencia del sistema social y de la nación como entidad histórica" (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 55). In Britain, too, in 1860, some major reservations were held against the implementation of universal male suffrage: "Station, position, mental capacity, and pecuniary circumstances, are all of them elements which must needs be regarded" (Murray, 1860a: 225). Just as in Britain, restrictive suffrage was much more appealing to Spain's oligarchy, concerned less with democracy than with excluding the masses from the running of the nation. Pardo Bazán, like most members of Spain's conservative Establishment, presumably did not believe in the ability of the populace to govern itself, and Alarcón, in his travel work *La Alpujarra*, observes of the development of democracy in Spain: "Las nobles, justas y sinceras ideas de nuestro siglo, [...] lejos de domesticar, de civilizar, de dignificar más y más cada día a las clases
bajas (como nos dignificaron a nosotros), las han hecho retroceder a la primitiva barbarie" (Alarcón, 1968: 1546).

In the closing stages of the Belgian section Pardo Bazán is eager to exalt and stress the co-operation between Belgium's Catholics and socialists for the greater good of the nation and for the improvement of the living conditions of the proletariat. Indeed, in this particular case she enthusiastically advocates collaboration instead of confrontation in the political arena (88), and concludes that in Belgium both Catholicism and socialism run a parallel course with a common objective in mind, the betterment of society:

Frecuentemente [...] he creído ver el suelo belga rayado por dos surcos, uno rojo, otro azul, que parten de la frontera desde extremos opuestos, y, sinuosos, pareciendo que se desvían, llegan por fin á juntarse. La dirección de ambos surcos converge fatalmente. Son el catolicismo social y el socialismo. Van derechos á la entraña y en el calor de sus pliegues habrán de reunirse. (96)

The above appears to confirm Hilton's claim that largely because of her visit to Belgium, Pardo Bazán became a convert to Christian Socialism, although such a party had not yet been formed in Spain. Furthermore, she realized that Catholicism would only survive by embracing socialist principles, indeed, by leading the way to social reform (Hilton, 1954: 15).

In the last essay of the Belgian section the author claims to have had enough of social and economic concerns, for it is, she states, an arid and barren scenery that tires the soul and the spirit. It is now time, she adds, to seek solace and refreshment in art, the most sublime of human creations
(99). In effect, after having taken care of her duties as a researcher-reporter, Pardo Bazán relaxes and indulges in her duties as a "viajero que se respeta" (100). She visits Ghent's most famous sights, which she briefly enumerates, and saves for last what she regards as the city's jewel in the crown, "lo que en Gante más me preocupaba" (99): the Van Eycks' Cordero místico. The narrative now takes a sudden turn as the author delves into the second theme of her chronicles: art. Her quest for artistic "refreshment" takes her to Ghent cathedral, where she joins a group of ordinary tourists and becomes transfixed by the sight of the Van Eycks' triptych, painted in the fifteenth century. The description of this masterpiece in Por la Europa católica (103-05) is very similar to that offered by Silvio Lago, the protagonist of Pardo Bazán's novel La Quimera (1905). Both Silvio and the Galician writer speak of their almost mystical ecstasy when confronted by the painting (Pardo Bazán, 1943: 910, 912). Like Pardo Bazán, Silvio also kneels down in front of the triptych and studies the central panel. In both cases, there are references to the "primaveral vegetación" recreated by the artist to the last minute detail (Pardo Bazán, 1943: 911). For Silvio and Pardo Bazán, the Cordero místico is representative of the revelation and of redemption, of a triumphant and militant Church (Pardo Bazán, 1943: 911). In both works, Nature is said to be presented in the painting as being in communion with the supernatural and the spiritual (Pardo Bazán, 1943: 912). And also in both texts, Silvio and Pardo Bazán, in their contemplation of the masterpiece, are transported from the mundane to the realms of the spiritual.
5. France

Only three essays of *Por la Europa católica*, a total of just twenty pages, are dedicated to France. In the first essay Pardo Bazán is in Bordeaux, with no indication of how she travelled there. However, she is quick to announce that while in Bordeaux she will be staying at the "Hotel de France, el mejor de la capital, donde se aloja S. A. la duquesa de Montpensier" (110), and attending some of the congresses held during the 1895 Universal Exhibition (112) as the special guest of the *Société philomatique* (115).

The author observes that France has hardly changed since the fall of the Empire. In fact, it appears to be set in its own customs and remains unshaken, untouched by the passage of time (109). And to substantiate her observations concerning France's temporal stasis, Pardo Bazán describes the backwardness of most French inns where electric lighting is often the exception rather than the rule (109-11). Focusing her attack on the hotels of Bordeaux, the author laments the poor quality of the food served in the city's inns and guesthouses (111), and as in previous travel works (in particular), there is the suggestion of the greed of French hoteliers who cheat tourists by offering little value for their money (111). For the author, France's stagnation or "amaneramiento", as she prefers to call it, is also reflected in the inadequate furniture of hotel rooms, the poor quality of the construction of the houses, the antiquated transport system, and so on (112). A similar sentiment is also expressed in her article "El viaje por España" (1895), in which she observes: "En muchísimas cosas encuentro á Francia estacionaria y hasta opuesta al progreso, y que, por otra
parte, Francia ni es, ni ha sido nunca, nación amiga de viajar y entendida en cómo se viaja bien" (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 86). In *Por la Europa católica* the author argues that France's unwillingness to solve these deficiencies shows it to be a nation lacking in initiative and with a tendency to transform tradition into bad habits. Tradition, in Pardo Bazán's opinion, should be limited to upholding exclusively that which is good, wholesome, and beautiful in a particular nation or historical period (112). Her ambivalence towards the neighbouring country is seen, though, when she admits that, despite her previous criticism, France is essentially a refined and cultured nation: "Un pueblo refinado y culto, como á pesar de estas observaciones mías no ha de negarse que es el francés" (113).

On the subject of the impracticality of a universal language, something discussed during the congress of Romance languages held in Bordeaux to coincide with the 1895 Universal Exhibition, the author's elitist attitude emerges. She claims that the equality advocated by communism is totally unfeasible in intellectual terms, because some individuals are destined to remain ignorant and unlettered all their lives (117). This is a surprising statement coming from someone who frequently stressed the importance of education for the progress of nations and the fulfilment of the individual.\(^8\)

While in Bordeaux, the delegates attending the various congresses were invited to take a tour of the region's wine cellars and vineyards, which involved a journey to the Médoc by "ferrocarril vinatero" (121). Upon her arrival in Pavilliac,

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\(^{8}\) See, for example, Section 18, "Clase primera", pp. 119-25, in *Cuarenta días en la Exposición*. 
Pardo Bazán produces the following bucolic description of the surrounding landscape:

La bodega y el castillo dominan amplia extensión de feraz llanura formada por esas graves pedregosas, en apariencia infecundas, y donde en realidad se produce el mejor vino. El verdor alegre de los viñedos, donde el racimo aún no negrea, contrasta con el tono de acero del caudaloso Gironda, que corre sesgo y apacible al pie de Pavillac. (121)

In her account of the banquet offered by Pavillac's mayor to the delegates, the author foregrounds the pride displayed by the French in the promotion of their local riches, wine in this case, and confesses to being envious of this attitude which contributes, in her opinion, to the aggrandizement of the country as a whole. Pardo Bazán regards this show of national pride as a demonstration of patriotism, an attribute Spaniards seem to lack: "Este espíritu local [...] es una fuerza y permite a una región engrandecerse, ayudando a engrandecer la patria. No empleo la ironía para describir aquella fiesta típica y curiosa; si algo sentí fue envidia. De estos banquetes deseo muchos para España" (124). After lunch, Pardo Bazán and the other delegates were taken to several caves to continue with their wine-tasting, and after four hours of travelling around the Médoc and visiting several châteaux, they returned to Bordeaux by riverboat.

6. Portugal

When Pardo Bazán arrived in Lisbon in October 1898, she indicated her fondness for the Portuguese capital with the
short but warm description of Lisbon's bay at dawn, dusk, and night, and with a picture of the city basking in the autuminal sun (133-34). Costumbrista description, which is normally confined to Pardo Bazán's travel works on Spain where she feels relaxed and at ease, makes an appearance here because for the author Lisbon is a home away from home. Hence, her depiction of the colourful attire of the city's "pescadoras" and "aldeanas":

Derechas como troncos de pinos marítimos; descalzo el airoso pie, ó calzado con la curva chinela veneciana y oriental; arrolladas las azules sayas y ceñidas en torno á la cadera con la faja obscura que da á la vestimenta el plegado de un helénico ropaje; gallardamente tocada la cabeza con el bonito sombrero de terciopelo negro, bajo el cual flota el pañuelo y se destacan los enormes aretes de filigrana de oro, estas sardineras, estas ribereñas, son todavía de lo poco pintoresco que queda en el mundo. (135-36)

What also transpires in this section is Pardo Bazán's affection for Portugal as a whole, presumably because of its historical and cultural associations with the author's home region, Galicia. Indeed, in De mi tierra she had referred to Portugal and Galicia as "un país mismo" (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 26), and in Por la Europa católica there is the clear indication that, as far as the author is concerned, the Portuguese and the Spanish belong to the same race: "Cuantas veces vengo aquí, otras tantas me llevo la impresión de que nada efectivo y real nos separa á españoles y portugueses; de que somos un pueblo mismo, una misma raza" (129).

Supported by the conclusions of the Portuguese writer
Oliveira Martins, Pardo Bazán argues that although Spain and Portugal decided to part, their destiny remained the same. It is easy to split a country in geographical and political terms, she claims, but the division of a common soul and tradition is always more problematic. Both Spain and Portugal enjoyed moments of glory, but they also endured a simultaneous decline, a simultaneous death, in Pardo Bazán's pessimistic estimation (130). The fact that these impressions were collected during the trip taken in the fateful year of 1898 no doubt accounts for these gloomy thoughts of death and irretrievable decline. However, as the author notes, Portugal's future is not as bleak as that of Spain, because Portugal is at least aware of its backwardness and strives to become a modern and advanced European nation instead of adhering to a harmful and outmoded casticismo (130).

Pardo Bazán also laments the coldness that characterizes Portuguese-Spanish relations, for each country believes that at present there is nothing to gain from its contacts with its neighbour (132). Indeed, in Por Francia y por Alemania the author had argued that Portuguese literature was little known in Spain and that, whilst both Portuguese and Spanish bookshops were full of French works, Portuguese writers were inadequately represented in Spanish bookshops and vice versa (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 237-38). However, in Por la Europa católica, succumbing to what she terms "flaquezas de literatos", she proudly announces that while in Portugal she met someone who read her chronicles "como el árabe lee el Korán..." (132). Darío, in his article "Libreros y editores" (14 July 1899), also speaks of the poor choice of foreign works on sale in Madrid bookshops. It is, he argues, as if
Spaniards were totally uninterested in the works published outside their country: "El que no encarga especialmente sus libros a Francia, Inglaterra, etc., no puede estar al tanto de la vida mental europea. Es un mirlo blanco un libro portugués" (Darío, 1987: 171).

During her stay in Portugal, Pardo Bazán attended the Fifth International Press Congress and other events attached to this gathering. Subsequently, she affirms in a way dismissive of Spain that in some respects Portugal already surpasses her own country: "Prestábanse estos espectáculos á observaciones y comparaciones que no omití, y eran inevitables: resumiéndolas diré que en varios respectos, ya nos pone el pie delante hasta Portugal" (137). The use of the preposition "hasta" is obviously derogatory, suggesting the view held by a significant number of Pardo Bazán's contemporaries that Portugal had been Spain's poor relative.

Darío, like the Galician writer, also draws a comparison between turn-of-the-century Spain and Portugal to the detriment of the former. In a lecture delivered at the Buenos Aires Ateneo in 1896 on the Portuguese poet Eugenio de Castro, Darío compares Spain's self-imposed cultural and mental isolation with the attraction that Portugal, Spain's energetic neighbour, offers to the rest of the world:

Mientras nuestra amada y desgraciada madre patria, España, parece sufrir la hostilidad de una suerte enemiga, encerrada en la muralla de su tradición, aislada por su propio carácter, sin que penetre hasta ella la oleada de la evolución mental de estos últimos tiempos, el vecino reino fraternal manifiesta una súbita energía, el alma portuguesa llama la atención del mundo. (Darío,
Certainly in Por la Europa católica Pardo Bazán exalts Portugal's entrepreneurial spirit and its attempts to promote its industry and agricultural produce abroad, and also makes the suggestion that Spain acts as a geographical barrier which hinders Portugal's efforts to join the community of Europe's prosperous and modern nations:

Cada muestra de entusiasmo, cada ingeniosa idea, cada gasto y cada esfuerzo, quería significar algo por este estilo: "Somos un pueblo de reducido territorio y exigua población, por tierra arrinconado, y tenemos a España atravesada en el camino de Europa. No obstante, poseemos, no sólo monumentos y recuerdos gloriosos, sino industria y agricultura, y aspiramos á acrecentarlas". (137-38)

Furthermore, in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 3 September 1900 Pardo Bazán speaks of her admiration for Portugal, a small country which in some respects has embraced modern times with greater proficiency than Spain, and which encourages and safeguards the education of its people (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 89).

In the last essay of the Portuguese section of Por la Europa católica the delegates attending the press congress are taken by train to Thomar, where a lunch is served in the incomparable setting of its medieval monastery. And yet, Pardo Bazán, who has problems accepting this juxtaposition of the past and present, regards the presence of the journalists as an intrusion in the solitude and tranquillity of the ancient building: "Aquella mole de granito dorado y esmaltado por el tiempo [...] pide suspirando que respeten su soledad" (139).
After lunch, the delegates walk around Thomar and are treated to a sight full of local colour provided by the picturesque attire of some local girls:

Pañuelo de vivos colorines atado atrás en la cabeza, plegada y repulgada camisa de lienzo, justillo de terciopelo negro, saya roja amapola con múltiples bordados de carácter oriental, escarcela recamada de canutillo, arracadas y patena de filigrana de oro, y cautivo el pie en calada media y en curvo chapín de tafílete que decoran ramos de hilo de plata. (141)

The roads are dusty and the heat suffocating, but Pardo Bazán happily endures these discomforts as she is shown some of Thomar's artistic treasures. What she does object to is to being taken away from Thomar's medieval monastery to visit a nearby textile factory. However, forgetting her inherent dislike of machinery, the author concedes that factories and industrial activity are necessary for the advancement and prosperity of nations: "Y yo le digo al artista que se subleva dentro de mi alma: 'Los recuerdos y la belleza pura son patrimonio de pocos... Se necesitan ahora muchas fábricas, mucha actividad, mucho trabajo, mucha vida moderna... A saludar á esas máquinas; tienen razón...'" (142).

7. Castile

Nine essays of Por la Europa católica are dedicated to Castile, and in this section of the work Pardo Bazán voices some of her concerns as a seasoned traveller and tourist. Her diatribe now focuses on the deficiencies in the furniture, food, and services of inns in general, and suggests some
solutions to correct these inadequacies (143-45).

Speaking of what she regards as Spaniards' aversion or reluctance to travel, the author affirms that her compatriots travel for two reasons. First out of necessity, often to take care of some unpleasant business, and second because social etiquette requires travel at certain times of the year. The third option open to travellers, that is, to travel for travel's sake or for recreation, is, she argues, unknown to Spaniards and regarded as eccentric. Reiterating an opinion already voiced in her essay of 1892 on Alarcón's travel works and in her article "El viaje por España" (Pardo Bazán, 1895b: 83), the author notes that generally Spaniards tend to equate travel with hardship, vexation, and expense, and that in some cases they are justified in doing so (145-46). Indeed, Fernando Díaz-Plaja speaks of the discomfort inherent in travel in Spain in the early nineteenth century, which resulted in many Spaniards staying at home. However, as it became fashionable to travel, some Spaniards headed for France, the Mecca of good taste. Furthermore, the Carlist wars and other political upheavals prompted Spaniards to travel, and with time the means of transportation improved significantly (Díaz-Plaja, 1969: 199-200).

The Galician writer also stipulates the conditions that, in her opinion, the "perfect" traveller ought to fulfil. He must be well educated in cultural, historical, archeological, and artistic terms. He must be polite, reserved, and respectful. He must assess any potential dangers and act accordingly. Finally, he must be communicative but without meddling in other people's business. She also claims that Spaniards tend to be too gregarious, opening their heart to
total strangers and seeking opinions which hold no value or interest for them (146-47). With these comments Pardo Bazán is, of course, presenting herself as a role model to be emulated by the average Spaniard, in the shape of the seasoned, knowledgeable, and cultured traveller who knows how to obtain the maximum benefit out of the travel experience by being assertive and yet polite, reserved and yet inquisitive, and by displaying her savoir-faire, prudence, and polished education. A difficult act to follow, indeed, for the inexperienced Spaniard contemplating his first trip abroad.

One of the Castilian cities visited by Pardo Bazán is Segovia, to where she travelled by train, in August, from her native Galicia (155). Yet again she is the privileged traveller feted by the Count of Cheste, an old friend (149), and the Marquess of Miranda, who acts as her guide (153, 158). In this third essay, which is a reprint of her article "De viaje", published in La Ilustración Artística of 14 September 1896 (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 46-53), the author speaks of the austerity and solitude of Castile in the summer compared to the turmoil of the holiday resorts of northern Spain at that time of year. Castile watches silently as the historic monuments that represent its glorious past fall apart, and the average Castilian, both stoical and indifferent, carries on with his life oblivious to the progress, activity, and speculation that take place in other Spanish regions:

[Castilla], envuelta en su capa de paño pardo, silenciosa y altanera, ve cómo se van reduciendo á polvo sus históricos torreones, sus incomparables templos, toda su grandeza fenecida. Indiferente y estoico, el castellano vegeta sin acordarse de que más allá hay movimiento,
industria, progreso, especulación y lucro. A él le basta con sus rudas vestimentas, iguales en verano que en invierno, y su sol de oro, que tan regiamente amortaja las viejas piedras, testigos del pasado. (156)⁹

In the above passage Castile's decline is possibly suggested as symbolic of the backwardness of Spain as a whole, with Pardo Bazán drawing a parallel between the indifference of Castilians and the apparent disregard of Spaniards in general for the industrial activity, progress, and advancement enjoyed by some foreign nations. In fact, during her visit to Louvain's University she had used the simile of the arid Castilian landscape to illustrate the intellectual, cultural, and scientific barrenness of Spain as a whole: "La idea y la imagen de la patria no se apartaban de mí [...]. Tenía sed. Veía por las anchas ventanas flamencas, entreabiertas, la viva verdura del jardín, pero dentro de mi alma se desarrollaba una procesión de eriales, de mesetas amarillentas, calcinadas por el sol, sin riego, sin árboles, sin casas. ¡Sequedad, sequedad infinita!" (75).¹⁰

Paraphrasing Caspar Núñez de Arce, as she also does in La España de ayer y la de hoy (Pardo Bazán, [1899]: 68), the author notes that in solitary Castile, in the summer, one can pay homage to Spain's glorious dead who, she claims, are the only ones truly alive in this nation:

Venir en esta época del año á Castilla es, pues,

⁹ Strikingly similar sentiments are expressed by Antonio Machado in Campos de Castilla (1907-17): "Castilla miserable, ayer dominadora,/ envuelta en sus andrajos desprecia cuanto ignora./ ¿Espera, duerme o sueña?" (Machado, 1955: 107).

¹⁰ In En torno al casticismo (1895), Unamuno also draws a parallel between the "sequia de los campos" and the "sequedades del alma" (Unamuno, 1942, I: 44).
como ir á una aldea donde se puedan contemplar soberbios monumentos. Si en las provincias halláis gentío, [...] aquí saludáis á los muertos gloriosos --los únicos que realmente viven en España, según frase feliz de un ilustre poeta.--- (156)\(^{11}\)

Pardo Bazán justifies her morbid pilgrimage to the resting places of Spain's great men of the past by arguing that, since the country's political leaders can offer no solace or hope for the future, Spaniards, following the Cuban insurrection and the current war in the Philippines, are forced to seek refuge and comfort in the Old Spain epitomized by Castile (157). Some years later, in her lecture "La España de ayer y la de hoy", she was to warn repeatedly of the dangers of subscribing to Spain's "Golden Legend" instead of looking purposely and with determination towards the future: "Esa funesta leyenda que ha desorganizado nuestro cerebro, ha preparado nuestros desastres y nuestras humillaciones" (Pardo Bazán, [1899]: 62).

On a lighter note, the author adds a touch of local colour to the narrative by introducing some local folklore. She speaks of the legend whereby in the times of Enrique III some Segovian Jews apparently experienced God's wrath after desecrating the Host (159-60). Pardo Bazán, with an unabashed display of anti-Semitism, claims that Jews all over the world still indulge in similar abominable practices against Christianity, and with these arguments she attempts to justify

\(^{11}\) Similar associations are made by Alarcón when in his Viajes por España he claims that during his visit to Toledo's cathedral he heard the skeletons of Spain's dead heroes turn in their graves, incensed by the country's decline and tarnished prestige (Alarcón, 1968: 1189).
the horrific punishment endured by Segovia's Jews in the fifteenth century: "La más reciente de estas historias no se remonta á más allá de los años 1870 ó 1875. Son actuales. Sirva de excusa á nuestros antepasados de 1410, y no se les tache de loco fanatismo ni de credulidad nimia" (161). In this regard, Hilton claims that the Galician writer epitomized the traditional Spanish attitude to the Jews. He adds that although Islam had been the official enemy of Christianity, Pardo Bazán, like many of her contemporaries, could not suppress a feeling of admiration for the Arabs. Conversely, he argues, she could only feel repugnance towards the Jews (Hilton, 1954: 8). Pardo Bazán's indictment of the Jewish race in *Por la Europa católica* appears to support Hilton's claims.

The author ends her visit to Segovia by doing what she enjoys most as a traveller: getting lost in the maze of its history-laden streets and depicting some of the artistic treasures encountered on the way. Indeed, she sketches, "á modo de apunte de dibujante" (161), Don Alvaro de Luna's old house, the Gothic palace of the Marquess of Alpuente, and describes in detail the alabaster statues of the Marquesses of Villena kept in a local church (162-63).

During her stay in Toledo, Pardo Bazán, guided by "un respetable canónigo de la Santa Iglesia primada" (182), explores its picturesque and narrow alleys and presents this city as a place to be enjoyed both with the eyes and with the spirit: "Lo mejor de Toledo [...] son sus rincones, sus calles angostísimas, pendientes [...]. A Toledo se viene á perder el rumbo y á encontrarse gratamente sorprendido por mil detalles que no se sospechaban" (180). She also visits some of Toledo's sights, including the church of Santo Tomé, which houses El
Greco's *El entierro del conde de Orgaz* (185-86), and the Zoco or local market, and what results here is a costumbrista scene in which Pardo Bazán's colorismo and pictorial tendencies are given full rein:

Inundado de fruta, rebosando fruta, queda Toledo. Nota de color para impresionistas. Los melones, de un verde sombrío y aterciopelado, se desparraman por la acera. A su lado amontonanse los melocotones color de paja y carmín; las acerolas del rosa más fuerte; las azofaifas de aventurina; las almecinas, granitos de oro; las marjoletas, gruesas cuentas de coral, y sobre las uvas transparentes revolotean las avispas, zumbando, ebrias de azúcar, y la bermeja piel de los pimientos reluce como bruñido jaspe. (186-87)

While for Alarcón it is Toledo's Puerta del Cambrón that embodies the blend of cultures which typifies the city, because on it "han puesto mano Wamba, los moros y Carlos V" (Alarcón, 1968: 1188), for Pardo Bazán it is the Zoco, together with many of Toledo's secluded streets, that represents the amalgam of the two cultures or religions (Moslem and Christian) which converge and coexist in this city (186). As in *Por la España pintoresca*, and despite the significant Jewish presence in medieval Toledo, the author only acknowledges the Moslem and Christian influence on the cultural make-up of the city. However, this omission is later partly rectified when in the piece on Zaragoza she admits that Spain is a blend of the three cultures. Moreover, she laments that instead of profiting from this cultural wealth by amalgamating all three races, her country decided to expel the infidels "como el mar arroja el cuerpo muerto" (213).
Pardo Bazán's visit to Toledo involves yet another incursion into Spain's past. This time, she goes back to the times of the Reconquista and of Alfonso VI, as she recounts the vicissitudes experienced by Toledo's mozárabes in their attempts to retain after their liberation the ritual of the misa mozárabe or isidoriana, which had been emblematic of their faith during the Arab occupation (165-68). The author leaves the church where she has attended the misa mozárabe yearning longingly for the legendary Toledo of the past, whose citizens had epitomized the valour and determination of the entire Spanish race (169-70).

While in Toledo, Pardo Bazán succumbs to the charm of local legends (a predilection also found in Por la España pintoresca), and justifies her outmoded attraction to local folklore thus: "Diréis tal vez que las leyendas no encajan bien en el marco de la vida contemporánea. Es un error. Nuestra vida está hecha [...] de la tela de nuestros sueños" (171). These remarks are used to introduce a further journey into Spain's distant and legendary past with the Visigoths and Don Pelayo (the initiator of the Reconquista), in the shape of the legend surrounding the circumstances of his birth (172-79).

In the last essay on Toledo, Pardo Bazán voices her outrage at the recent robbery of the jewels of the Virgen del Sagrario (189). What is interesting about this piece is that it contains the author's hypothesis as to how the burglary took place (190-94). Thus the chronicler is superseded by the fiction writer, who inserts into a hitherto supposedly factual account a piece of speculative writing. And her hypothesis, however feasible and riveting, fits uneasily into what should
be a factual travel chronicle. But, on the other hand, Pardo Bazán is possibly attempting to liven up the narrative by introducing into her account, as novelists often do, suspense and a dramatic touch.

While in Castile, Pardo Bazán visits the Escorial, which she regards as the ideal place to retire to at Easter in order to express one's devotion (196-97). She praises the way Felipe II managed to capture the austerity of the natural surroundings in the stern architecture of the building, but she also claims that the Escorial inspires melancholy and depression. She sees it as the creation of a poet in despair who, disillusioned with life, the world, and the flesh, sought solitude and retirement from a mundane existence. The author presents the Escorial as a pyramid built for the eternal rest of the austere monarch, a kind of poem turned into stone (198). Alarcón, too, associates the "triste mole" of the Escorial with death in his Viajes por España. Indeed, he sees the building as an epitaph to Spain's glorious past (Alarcón, 1968: 1180).

Hilton claims that whereas Unamuno and some other writers of the so-called Generation of 1898 saw the solemnity and severity of the Escorial as the epitome of the noblest expression of the Castilian soul,¹² Pardo Bazán regarded this sobriety as a flaw only relieved by the sunlight that drenched the stones (Hilton, 1951: 333). Indeed, in Por la Europa católica the Galician writer argues that had the Escorial been built in a damp and sunless country, the depression it

¹² And yet, Unamuno referred to the monastery in 1924 as "el gran artefacto histórico de El Escorial, aquel hórrido panteón que parece un almacén de lencería" (Paisajes del alma, p. 98, cited in Laín Entralgo, 1997: 233).
inspires would have been overwhelming. However, the sun that
cares the building bestows a warm feeling on the bare
stones and the deserted cloisters (199). A similar view had
been expressed by the author in *De mi tierra*, in which she
refers to the building as a "sombría mole" that weighs on the
soul and causes sadness (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 200-01). And in
*Por la España pintoresca* she had said of Juan de Herrera, the
architect of the Escorial: "No soy entusiasta de Herrera, y
sólo le reconozco la monótona grandeza" (Pardo Bazán, [1895c]:
130).

In *Por la Europa católica* the author praises the pagan
overtones of the courtyard of the Evangelistas, whose
cheerfulness, she claims, helps alleviate the austerity,
tedium, and sobriety that the Escorial inspires:

Y hay un patio, el de los evangelistas, que tiene todo el
carácter de paganismio grandioso y poético de los
monumentos romanos. [...] Todo es puro Renacimiento
italiano, con su arrogante hermosura, que hace irrupción
entre la displicencia aburrida del monasterio español, y
ofrece al espíritu un lugar risueño donde se puede leer
á Platón ó al Tasso. (199, 200)

For Hilton, this exaltation of one of the more humanistic
aspects of the monastery "involves the repudiation of all that
is typically and essentially Castilian in the Escorial". He
suggests that for Pardo Bazán the barrenness of Castile,
reflected historically in the pompous melancholy of the
Habsburgs, was one of the less desirable features of Spain's
past and present, even during the much-praised Golden Age
(Hilton, 1951: 333). Indeed, although in *Por la Europa
católica* Pardo Bazán shows some interest in the legends and
historical episodes of the region, the topic of the "soul" of Castile, as expressed in its landscape, is almost totally ignored by her, apart from the previously mentioned reference to Castilians' stoicism. Moreover, she remains unmoved by what Azorín once termed in his novel La voluntad (1902) "la emoción del paisaje" (Azorín, 1982: 99).

While still in El Escorial, Pardo Bazán takes yet another melancholic trip into Spain's past as she heads for the Hall of Battles. In effect, the paintings that adorn the walls reflect the most glorious days of Spain's military history. Speaking of a wound that will never heal, the author is probably alluding to her grief at Spain's relentless decline as a world power:

El salón de Batallas en el Escorial es otro tema nostálgico. ¡Qué de gloria sobre aquellas paredes, en aquellas secas y agrias pinturas; cuánto caballo, cuánto arnés, qué de ballestas, arcabuces y mosquetes; qué ordenado caminar de las haces españolas contra el enemigo, y cómo vienen á tierra los moros y los franceses y los salvajes y cuantos se oponen á nuestro arresto y bizarría y al esfuerzo de nuestro vigoroso brazo! Mezcla de involuntario orgullo y de dolor en la nunca cerrada herida se apoderó de mí al cruzar aquella especie de tubo [...] en que dos vallas de hierro defienden las pinturas restauradas, de tan mediano interés para el arte como dignas de respeto á título de ejecutorias de la nobleza nacional. (201)

Pardo Bazán ends her piece on the Escorial by exalting Claudio Coello's painting, the Santa Forma, which for her represents the spirit of Spain during the reign of Carlos II
Although by that period, she argues, Spain, shrouded in mysticism and fear, had turned its back on the human side of existence and was beginning to decline, it was still capable of displaying an energy that is no longer there.

Finally, the last essay in the Castilian section involves another journey back to Spain's glorious past. This time to the Golden Age of Spanish literature and Cervantes. Pardo Bazán visits Esquivias, the village where the writer found happiness and tranquillity in the person of his wife, Doña Catalina de Palacios y Salazar. Pardo Bazán arrived there in May, "desviándome con placer del camino de hierro, al trote de dos poderosas mulas que arrastraban el coche". She is so eager to make contact with the past that she claims to have found Esquivias just as Cervantes left it in the seventeenth century, and she even relives some of the scenes of La Galatea.

Pardo Bazán's attraction to local folklore resurfaces in this piece as she announces that legend has it that one of Esquivias's hidalgos inspired Cervantes's most memorable character, Don Quijote. She is adamant that the lack of documentary evidence to corroborate this legend will not spoil her visit, for documents can often be misleading or misinterpreted: "Esta carencia de unos cuantos papelotes apolillados no me aguó el placer de la visita á Esquivias. Si engañan las consejas y las tradiciones, también engañan los documentos, también inducen á confusión, también mienten deliberadamente en ocasiones, también se suelen interpretar de un modo fantástico". It seems that what attracts the author to legends is not their degree of veracity, but the
charming and romantic stories they often tell.

8. Aragón

During her third visit to Aragón's capital, "sin más objeto que satisfacer el gusto de estar en Zaragoza unos días" (211), Pardo Bazán proudly speaks of the resistance put up by the city during the War of Independence and laments that the ardour and courage which prevented Zaragoza from falling into French hands are no longer attributes of the Spanish character: "La resistencia, allí [...] la hizo la constancia, el tesón inquebrantable de la raza; ese resorte que nosotros perdimos" (211-12). She also affirms that the devotion inspired by the "Pilarica" (Zaragoza's patron) stems from the fact that this effigy represents those virtues and qualities of the Spanish race which in former times contributed to making Spain a great nation. In what follows, the author implies that the dwindling congregations that attend mass in Zaragoza's basilica, El Pilar, are an indication of the ever-diminishing faith of Spaniards in themselves, in their own worth:

[El Pilar], último emblema de cualidades y virtudes propias del alma española, que poderosamente contribuyeron al antiguo engrandecimiento de la patria. [...] Y por eso me sorprendió no encontrar la Basílica más concurrida. (216)

What the above passage also suggests is that there is a direct correlation between Spain's downfall, Spaniards' lack of confidence in themselves, and the decline of their religiousness.
While in Zaragoza, Pardo Bazán, accompanied by Basilio Paraíso (president of Zaragoza's Chamber of Commerce and Assembly), has lunch in a picturesque spot while enjoying "el sol espléndido, el día dorado y tibio, de dulce otoñada" (217). As she looks down on the city, the author concludes that Zaragoza is no longer the heroic enclave of the War of Independence. Indeed, Zaragoza has evolved with time and, in an attempt to emulate Catalonia, is becoming a centre of industrial activity (217).

Coinciding with "los últimos días radiantes del verano" (220), Pardo Bazán travelled to the "enchanted" place of the Monasterio de Piedra, in the outskirts of Zaragoza, which she is quick to recommend to any late visitors and to Spaniards in general, whom she accuses of underestimating some of the marvels of their own country (220). The beauty of this feat of Nature takes her by surprise. Indeed, although the monastery is situated in the middle of a "páramo de tierra roja" (221), inside the precinct, the luscious vegetation hides rapids and waterfalls the grandiosity of which, the author claims, can only be matched by those of Niagara (222) (a risky observation, considering that Pardo Bazán never visited North America). Although Valera in his essay "Una expedición al Monasterio de Piedra" (1877) is also in awe of the beauty of the monastery, unlike Pardo Bazán he does not believe that its waterfalls are as magnificent as those of Niagara: "Aunque [las cascadas] no alcancen, ni con mucho, la grandeza y

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Basilio Paraíso Lasús (1849-1930), Spanish industrialist, lawyer, and economist, and one of the initiators of the political-economic movement of 1889 known as Unión Nacional, over which he presided. He was also a prolific writer on economic matters.
The River Piedra is presented by Pardo Bazán as an accomplished craftsman who has carved beautiful shapes in the surrounding rocks and trees through which it flows: "El Piedra [...] no sólo pinta y decora, sino que esculpe; y no hay crestería gótica ni encaje flamenco de más complicados dibujos, de calados más primorosos que los que labra el Piedra petrificando raíces, hojas y ramas" (223). Interestingly, Valera also personifies the River Piedra as he describes its might and the beautiful spots it encounters in its course through the monastery:

El río Piedra, [...] harto, sin duda, y hasta enojado, de recorrer campos estériles y de no topar con un solo árbol que le dé sombra y que se mire en el tranquilo espejo de sus aguas, se divide de repente en varios brazos y se precipita como un loco por un barranco abajo. De este arrebato de desesperación, de esta locura del río, resultan las cascadas, la frondosidad, las grutas admirables de estalactitas y todas las bellezas y portentos que en el fondo del barranco y en las laderas que hay a un lado y otro se contienen y se adiman. (Valera, 1958, III: 1335)

Acknowledging an observation that she tends to see Nature through the eyes of literature, Pardo Bazán states that the Lago del silencio of the monastery does indeed remind her of the passages of some chivalric romances:

Algunas veces me ha dicho un crítico eminent [ ... ] que yo miro la naturaleza al través de la literatura. En el
Lago del silencio comprendió que no carece de exactitud la observación. No podía yo abstraer la idea del lago de la de los libros de caballerías, donde hay lagunas subterráneas con palacios de cristal en el fondo, y en los palacios alguna encantada damisela, guardada por un dragón de abiertas fauces... (225)

The grotto of the monastery is particularly appealing to Pardo Bazán because it appears inaccessible to the visitor. And as in the episode of the Altamira caves in Por la España pintoresca, the potential danger involved in visiting it adds excitement to the adventure and to the otherwise placid contemplation of Nature: "Esa gruta atrae al viajero porque parece, no sólo peligrosa, sino inaccesible. Importa advertir que si bien en Piedra no se corre el menor riesgo, [...] no falta nunca un picorcillo de miedo agradable que realza las sensaciones generalmente plácidas de la hermosura natural" (227).

Overall, the monastery is presented as an enchanted enclave, and Pardo Bazán's descriptions are often reminiscent of those found in fairy-tales: "Cuando vayáis á Piedra, si lográis la suerte de gozar un día despejado, sabréis lo que son los muros del tocador de las hadas, viendo desde la gruta, á eso de las cuatro de la tarde, refractarse un rayo de sol al través del agua que se precipita al abismo" (227). Valera, too, is spellbound by the near-magical quality of the place and describes the monastery's grotto as a bewitching or enchanted location inhabited by gnomes, mermaids, and other imaginary creatures (Valera, 1958, III: 1336). So in the case of both writers, their stay in the monastery transports them from the mundane into the realms of the fantastic.
9. Catalonia

Pardo Bazán pulls the reader out of the state of reverie induced by her description of the Monasterio de Piedra with her arrival in Mataró and consideration of more prosaic subjects: Catalonia's textile industry. Martínez Cuadrado notes that the textile industry was the most prosperous sector of Spain's economy during the nineteenth century, and that Catalonia's industrial development had pivoted on this particular manufacture since 1840. Spain's textile industry (cotton, wool, and silk) was in fact located almost exclusively in Catalonia, and its monopoly of this sector was fundamental in the development of other industrial activities. Hence, in the late nineteenth century this region was better prepared and equipped than the rest of Spain when it came to new energy sources, means of communication, processing plants, and so on. As a result, by the turn of the century Barcelona and its hinterland were the most prosperous and developed areas of Spain (Martínez Cuadrado, 1973: 175-78).

It was presumably attracted or intrigued by this driving spirit and technological advancement that Pardo Bazán decided to visit Catalonia. Indeed, in an article published in La Ilustración Artística of 1 April 1901 she speaks of the industriousness and energy of the Catalan people and presents Catalonia as the most advanced Spanish region, a kind of miniature Europe within Spain: "Nuestra única Europa" (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 112). Then, in Por la Europa católica the author exalts the entrepreneurial spirit of the Catalans as an example for the rest of Spain to emulate. In her opinion, four qualities characterize Catalonia: initiative, activity, skill, and perseverance, and they all bring prosperity and wealth to
the region (235).

But the Galician writer was not alone in her admiration for Catalonia. Dario, in his article "En Barcelona" (1 January 1899), also praises the commercial vigour of Catalonia, a region of poets and artists, but also of feverish industrial activity. Catalonia, he observes, set to work soon after the War of Independence, and after the interruption of the Carlist wars in the 1830s it continued the task of modernization and industrialization. It is through sheer hard work, dedication, investment, and the strength of its convictions that Catalonia, Darío concludes, has forged a prosperous future for itself (Darío, 1987: 38).

In Por la Europa católica Pardo Bazán readily admits that in her despair at the sorry state of Spain she has sought solace in Catalonia, because Catalonia, she emphasizes, is Spain, regardless of the claims of some separatists (235). Indeed, there is the clear indication that, despite its importance, the author does not wish to discuss in any depth the issue of Catalonia's separatist movement, preferring to gloss over it as she confirms later in the work: "Y no me dejaría en el tintero la Doctrina catalanista... si no valiese más no meneallo" (240). And yet, subsequently, she makes a fleeting reference to the intransigence of Catalan regionalism, which she regards as unpatriotic and anti-Spanish:

Parece que Santa Eulalia se ha convertido --de fijo sin pretenderlo-- en patrona del regionalismo intransigente y antiespañol. Por cierto --ya que toco este asunto de pasada, de pasada lo diré también-- que un periódico de Barcelona que á raíz de mi conferencia de París me trató
This view was also shared by Valera, who in his article "Las dos rebeliones" (1896) portrays separatism as an unpatriotic crime, as a retrograde step in the lives of those who support it (Valera, 1958, III: 1034). Darío, for his part, recounts how during his brief stay in Barcelona in January 1899 he experienced at first hand the strong separatist feeling shared by the Catalans who, thinking themselves in a way superior to or at least different from the rest of Spaniards, did not wish to remain part of an amorphous Spain:

En todos está el mismo convencimiento, que tratan de sí mismos como en casa y hogar aparte, que en el cuerpo de España constituyen una individualidad que pugna por desasirse del organismo a que pertenecen, por creerse sangre y elemento distinto en ese organismo, [...] se encuentran en el punto en que se va a la proclamación de la unidad, independencia y soberanía de Cataluña, no ya en España sino fuera de España. (Darío, 1987: 36)

In her article "Respirando por la herida", published in La Ilustración Artística of 7 August 1899, Pardo Bazán confirms her sympathies for regionalism but also her total opposition to separatism, which she sees as stemming from the disasters and ills that beset the country. She argues that if all Spanish regions were as prosperous, industrious, and hard working as Catalonia, the evil of separatism would have never appeared (Pardo Bazán, 1972: 79-80). Indeed, in Por la Europa católica, and despite her condemnation of Catalan separatism, she sees the autonomous or individualistic tendency of the region as a reflection of its inner strength and self-
sufficiency: "Esta raza que tiende á la autonomía porque es fuerte para valerse y no necesita andadores" (241).

Although in De mi tierra the author had indicated her abhorrence of factories and machinery (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 277-78), in Por la Europa católica she seems to have overcome this aversion. Indeed, while in Catalonia she tours a textile factory in Mataró, comments extensively on the manufacturing process, and embarks on a detailed and almost affectionate description of the machines that "populate" the factory. And as is customary with her, she even personifies these machines by attributing to them human intelligence and breeding abilities:

Las máquinas, que con una inteligencia misteriosa, con una especie de comunicación magnética del alma humana, desempeñan esos complicados oficios, son en su mayor parte variaciones sobre el tema de la humilde y casera máquina de coser. [...] 

La infatigable costurera de hierro, acero y palo, ha visto acrecentarse su estirpe y nacerle un sinnúmero de hijas y nietas más mañosas, más activas aún que ella misma, que ejecutan mil habilidades y gracias. (231-32)

In fact, the Mataró factory represents for the author the perfect communion between man and machine: "En pocas manufacturas se disfrutará mejor el espectáculo de la colaboración de la máquina con la mano. La máquina teje, calceta, cose; la obrera corta, prepara, coloca, remata, dobla, marca y empaqueta" (232). Furthermore, Pardo Bazán, who in previous chronicles had adopted an ambivalent or contradictory attitude to progress, is so taken by the entire spectacle that she ends the first piece on Catalonia with the
following hymn to progress: "No tengo pizca de ganas de que volvamos al estado primitivo, y sé reconocer al progreso hasta en una fábrica de géneros de punto" [my italics] (234).

While in Barcelona, Pardo Bazán travelled to the outskirts of the city by car, accompanied by Barcelona's governor, who, she notes, encouraged her to visit the region and to become acquainted with its industrial activity (242). During their trip, the author and her companion are entertained by the industrialist Eusebio Güell, in whose country house "descansamos y almorzamos los expedicionarios" (236). Pardo Bazán moves on to praise the entrepreneurial spirit of Juan Güell,¹⁴ Eusebio's father, the founder of an important textile factory. She argues that in times of crisis for Spain, Güell found the courage to fight and risk his own capital to develop the manufacture of corduroy, a product hitherto unknown in Spain. The author does not hesitate to refer to Güell's behaviour as heroic, in view of the obstacles he had to surmount in his time.

After describing some of the functions performed by the machines in Güell's factory, Pardo Bazán enthusiastically informs her readers that Güell's workers live in a colony of chalets built by the Catalan industrialist's son in the neighbourhood of the factory, and that the inherent vices and shortcomings normally associated with the industrial proletariat have been excluded from this colony. In this rural

¹⁴ Juan Güell y Ferrer (1800-1872) was born near Tarragona, and as a young man he emigrated to Cuba where he made his fortune. In 1833 he returned to Europe, and after extensive travels through several industrialized countries he established himself in Barcelona in 1840. As Pardo Bazán observes, Güell was the pioneer of Catalonia's textile industry, and he introduced corduroy into Spain. He was also a prolific writer on economic questions (Hilton, 1951: 342).
setting, surrounded by the peace of the countryside, Güell's workers, she claims, prosper and enjoy a healthy and wholesome life-style. Pardo Bazan also proudly announces that in Güell's self-contained colony all physical, spiritual, and intellectual needs of the work-force are catered for, from churches, to schools, to theatres (239-40). It could, of course, be argued that Güell's self-contained colony is an instrument used by capitalism to control the proletariat in physical, ideological, and psychological terms in order to avert the threat of a social confrontation. Hence the location of Güell's colony "en el campo, bastante desviada de la metrópoli" (236), which could indicate the industrialist's desire to isolate his workers from the pernicious influences of Barcelona as one of the enclaves of socialist and anarchist unrest. However, in this chronicle Pardo Bazán also saw capitalism as the instrument of benevolent paternalism, as a father-figure, as a provider who had some moral and social obligations towards the proletariat. Indeed, the author states that the move of Güell's factory from Barcelona to the countryside "obedeció á propósitos altamente humanitarios y moralizadores" [my italics] (237).

In her travels, Pardo Bazán is constantly attracted to religious monuments, and her trip to Catalonia is no exception. In effect, during her brief stay in Barcelona she visits three churches, which she refers to as "amistades que no se han extinguido" (244). Also, as in other travel collections, the author speaks of her fondness for the past, which at times resembles an "enfermedad moral", and admits that although her attention should be focused on the turbulent problems of the present, she prefers to dwell in the past,
because, unlike the present, this never upset her: "Las antigüallas no nos traen penas, como las traen lo presente. Vivamos entre los muertos" (246).

During her stay in Catalonia, Pardo Bazán travelled to Girona, drawn by Galdós's Episodio nacional and play dedicated to this city which during the War of Independence managed to repel the French invaders. As was the case in Aragón, she is travelling back in time as she looks for the courageous, heroic, and brave Spain that no longer is: "Quería recorrer la ciudad generosa que, puesta al ingreso de España, supo detener al enemigo" (253). This time unaccompanied, the author loses herself in Girona's picturesque streets and delves into the city's past, from Roman times to the French invasion (254-56).

While visiting Girona's cathedral, which she regards as the spiritual centre of the city's heroism, Pardo Bazán is engulfed by a feeling she fails to identify as religiousness or anguished patriotism for until recently, she argues, both these sentiments were inseparable. She laments that at present there is a tendency to dissociate religion from the concept of the homeland because people fail to see that patriotism is another form of religion or moral energy which contributes to the greatness of a nation (256). This notion of patriotism as a kind of religious feeling was also emphasized by the Galician writer some years later in her lecture "El porvenir de la literatura después de la guerra" (1916), in which she argued that prior to the outbreak of World War I: "Otra reacción estaba iniciada en diversos países, y era la religiosa. Era algo distinto del misticismo decadente; era un sentido religioso enlazado estrechamente con el social y patriótico" (Pardo Bazán, 1973: 1548).
The author's quest for the heroic Spain of the past continued during her stay in Figueras, where she arrived at night on the express train that came south from France (258). She is unimpressed by the town, "poblacho sin bellezas ni recuerdos" (257-58), and by the basic accommodation and food offered by the local inn, where "apenas se habla castellano; el que quiera hacerse entender ha de chapurrear catalán" (258). In the morning, Pardo Bazán heads for the Castle of San Fernando and for the focal point of her visit: the prison cell once occupied there by Mariano Alvarez de Castro, a Spanish General who distinguished himself in the defence of Girona against the French (257-58). Using a pseudo-religious language, the author refers to the visitors to the castle as "devotos" and to the cell where the General perished as a "reliquia" (260). In fact, her description of Alvarez de Castro's "calvario" is reminiscent of the Passion of Christ, and in a narration full of patriotic ardour she "canonizes" the figure of the General, transforming him into a kind of martyr for the homeland:

Es innegable el trato cruel dado á D. Mariano en su calvario, desde Gerona á Perpiñán y de Perpiñán á Figueras, donde se le trajo para que muriese lejos de sus amigos, en la sombra y el silencio [...] Aquí se elevó al cielo su alma diamantina; aquí acabó solo, abandonado, y el suelo en que pongo los pies bebió el sudor de su agonía y sostuvo sus nobles despojos... [My italics] (261)

The emotion of the moment transforms Pardo Bazán into an ordinary citizen who in a puerile way decides to carve her name for posterity on the wall of the cell where the "martyr"
perished: "Algo que momentáneamente me convertía en pueblo, en persona sencilla, sin crítica ni escepticismo. Con el alfiler del broche empecé á trazar mi nombre de pila sobre el yeso" (262). In effect, during her trip to Figueras, Pardo Bazán, the privileged traveller, is momentarily superseded by the pilgrim who travels to the shrine of Alvarez de Castro, the hero who epitomizes the patriotism and courage of the Spanish people at the time of the French invasion: "Figueras representaba la Meca á donde va el creyente con el sentimiento antes de ir en caravana peregrinando" [my italics] (257).

The author's final visit is to Sitges, to where she travelled from Barcelona by train, enjoying "un paisaje digno de las costas de Italia ó de Grecia" and the particularly intense blueness of the Mediterranean sea and sky. (264). She proudly announces how the artist Santiago Rusiñol, the creator of the Cau ferrat, rushed to meet her once he learned of her desire to visit this place that serves as his home, studio, and museum. Indeed, upon her arrival in Sitges Pardo Bazán is ushered into the Cau by Rusiñol himself, and presents this unusual construction as a kind of hybrid, part castle part ship, moored on the Mediterranean coast (266). For the author, Rusiñol's artistic sanctuary resembles a kind of unreal world, a feverish nightmare, and in her description she combines Romantic elements with the ingredients usually found in the Gothic novel (267-68).

Michel Butor notes how travellers will often leave their mark at the site of their pilgrimage, because: "To leave a trace of our passing is to belong to a spot [...]; therefore, we do it not only to return home with the light of these place-ideograms within us, but also to make our very existence a hopefully indelible 'stroke' on a visited spot" (Butor, 1992: 68).
It is a hot August evening, so Pardo Bazán and the other visitors decide to stay awake till dawn to admire, from the tower of the Cau perched over the sea, the sunrise over the Mediterranean. The setting is idyllic: the horizon gradually changes colour, a violin is playing in the background, and the murmur of the sea provides its own accompaniment. When it is time to return to Barcelona, Pardo Bazán is suddenly returned to reality and concedes that the Cau is something unreal, the dream of an August night: "Y aquella música, que en el último instante reemplazó á la conversación, y lo precipitado del regreso, parecido á un brusco despertar, me confirmó en la idea de que el Cau ferrat es algo que no tiene existencia real, el sueño de una noche de Agosto" (269). Here, as in the last piece on Aragón, the author allows her fantasy to transport her from reality into the world of reverie.

10. Conclusions
In the preface Pardo Bazán warns about the lack of unity of Por la Europa católica: "Aun reducidos á tan mínimas proporciones, mis apuntes de viaje carecen de unidad" (5). Indeed, excluding the Belgian section, whose cultural, political, religious, and social concerns provide a thematic thread that strings all the essays together, the rest of the collection could be described as a medley of newspaper-length travel pieces, with their own individual shape, and put together as an afterthought. The chronological gap (1887-1901) between the different essays is indeed noticeable, and the absence of a continuous itinerary renders this collection rather fragmented.

In Por la Europa católica, as in Mi romería, Pardo Bazán
plays yet again the role of pilgrim. Indeed, in the Belgian account she rates herself as part of the "peregrinos españoles de la cultura" (19) and refers to the journey through Belgium as her "peregrinación" (37). But this time her pilgrimage is not religious but journalistic, with a special focus on Belgium's educational institutions, political scene, and social Catholicism. In the rest of the collection, however, she is largely motivated by aesthetic, historical, folkloric, and artistic concerns, displaying the behaviour often associated with a cultured tourist.

In this collection the author's journey through a now derelict and decrepit Castile becomes a trip to Spain's glorious past, in which she seeks solace from the present decline of her country. Indeed, she stresses that Castile allows her to numb the pain that stems from Spain's latest misfortunes (157). However, contrary to the men of 1898, Pardo Bazán does not exalt the virtues of Castile as reflected in its landscape, but belittles the region by weak approval (Hilton, 1951: 336). What the author does grant Castile is the role of repository of Spain's past glories. And yet, there is the suggestion that this adherence to the past, as epitomized by Castile, is what is holding Spain back.

Catalonia, on the other hand, is presented as the Spain of the future and as the antithesis of Castile, and while the old Castile remains firmly entrenched and stagnant in bygone days of glory, as reflected in its delapidated historic buildings, the energetic Catalonia looks decisively forward, towards Europe, and towards progress. If in Castile and its glorious past Pardo Bazán finds comfort for the ills that beset Spain, in the feverish industrial activity of Catalonia
she finds hope, the hope that if Catalonia has forged a prosperous future for itself so can the rest of Spain. Catalonia's commercial vigour appears to be contagious for Pardo Bazán, whose previous aversion to machines and factories experiences a dramatic reversal. This change of heart is certainly significant, considering that in *De mi tierra* she had observed:

Mándenme recorrer cien iglesias viejas, destartaladas, oscuras, ó cien museos y colecciones artísticas poco importantes, [...] y no me metan, por Dios, una hora en una fábrica de hilados y tegidos [sic], con aquel polvillo cotonáceo que se atraviesa en la garganta y debe de producir irritaciones en la laringe; con aquel nauseabundo olor á aceite; con aquel calor intolerable; con aquel ruido que rompe el cráneo. [My italics] (Pardo Bazán, 1984: 277-78)

Apart from this exploration of what the future may hold for Spain, Pardo Bazán's travels to Catalonia, particularly to Girona and Figueras, also involve, as in the case of Aragón and Castile, the quest for Spain's former heroism, bravery, and courage against adversity. In effect, in her pilgrimage through all three Spanish regions she is searching for a legendary Spain that no longer is. In a way, the author is emulating the men of 1898 in that she, too, is looking for the "soul" of Spain, for the true values of the country in order to find a cure for its present indifference, decline, and
prostration.\textsuperscript{16} In \textit{Por la Europa católica} Pardo Bazán strives to remind herself and her fellow Spaniards of the valour that once was the embodiment of Spain itself, the Spain of the Reconquista, of the Empire, and of the War of Independence. If only Spaniards could be persuaded to recapture and relive the heroism and courage that had characterized their race, there would still be hope for the nation.

\textsuperscript{16} For Butor, the term pilgrimage designates "first of all, the journey to the tomb of a saint, next to the spot of a vision, an oracular site; one carries his question there and expects a response, a curing of the body or soul. The sanctified spot [...] is the skylight onto paradise" (Butor, 1992: 61).
Murray claims that "we form a clearer idea of the writer of the most unpretending book of travels than we do of her who gives us the most striking work of imagination" (Murray, 1845d: 100). This is certainly true of Pardo Bazán's travel works, which provide a clear indication of the author's ideology and personality. For in her chronicles she voices, with apparent frankness and candour, her preferences, dislikes, concerns, preoccupations, hopes, aspirations, and disillusionments.

The image that emerges from these writings is that of an erudite and knowledgeable woman, but also of a highly opinionated one who attempts to impose her views on others and who shows little tolerance of any cultural weaknesses on the part of her readership. Indeed, most of her chronicles belong to what has been termed "el periodismo culto y literario que contribuye á difundir la instrucción y hacer grata [...] la exposición de hechos, de doctrinas ó, en general, de conocimientos útiles" [my italics] (Gómez de Baquero, 1901: 137-38). So what in principle could be mistaken for airs of superiority or arrogance, is, in effect, an attempt to educate and broaden the cultural horizons of a nation (Spain) which, time and time again, she presents as culturally, politically, and socially backward. This is a constant that runs through all the collections, from De mi tierra, in which Pardo Bazán strives to remind Galicians of their intellectual and creative potential in order to make them proud of their cultural
heritage, to Por la Europa católica, where she exhorts Spaniards to emulate Belgium and its vigorous, coherent, and purposeful Catholicism, in order to extricate their country from its social stagnation.

And yet on occasions she can be conceited and vain, deriding ordinary Spaniards contemplating their first trip abroad, name-dropping to emphasize her position as a privileged traveller, and often attempting to associate herself with Spain's ruling classes and, in particular, with the country's old aristocracy. Indeed, humbleness is not a quality that can be attributed to Pardo Bazán's character. Moreover, as a woman of strong beliefs and firmly held convictions, she sometimes dismisses offhand those views or opinions which she does not share. In fact, on occasions Pardo Bazán's travels acquire the characteristics of a crusade which she pursues with determination and with little room for flexibility or compromise.

Also thrown into relief are Pardo Bazán's unshakeable patriotism or Spanishness (which was often questioned back home because of her pro-European tendencies and her resolve to denounce in her writings Spain's many flaws), her heartfelt Catholicism (even if undermined on occasions by the pagan overtones of her religiousness), and her staunch conservative views, which were at odds with her more liberal outlook in some areas (for example, feminism and internationalism). Her "terco y vivaz patriotismo" (Pardo Bazán, [1890]: 81), which only falters during her visit to the 1900 Paris Exhibition (this will be discussed later) and then re-emerges full of ardour during her visit to several Spanish regions in Por la Europa católica, is a common denominator to all her
collections. Her political views, on the other hand, appear to have evolved from her unequivocal support of Carlism at a young age, to a more liberal stance in the latter part of her life, once she realized that Carlism was not a viable option for the political future of Spain. However, throughout her chronicles she continues to voice her opposition to the parliamentary system, constitutional monarchy, and universal suffrage, and conveys her outrage at the way the advances of democracy have eroded the powers of the absolute monarchy and the privileges of the aristocracy and the Church.

The travel narratives also show Pardo Bazán as a woman torn by ambivalence and conflicting emotions. Probably the most surprising theme, considering Pardo Bazán's credentials as a woman of her time, is her anachronistic longing for the past, particularly the Middle Ages, as well as the glorious days of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the heroic Spain of the War of Independence. This explains her interest in Gothic art, chivalric romances, and the Reconquista, her exaltation of the Conquistadors and the writers of the Golden Age, and her recollection of the ardour, valour, and determination of Spaniards in their fight against the Napoleonic invaders.

Part and parcel of the author's attachment to the past is her constant criticism and rejection of the nineteenth century, another recurrent theme in her chronicles. Delfín García Guerra argues that "la Condesa se equivocó de siglo" (García Guerra, 1990: 207), and, indeed, this would explain her condemnation of the aesthetic and artistic canons and achievements of the century of her birth -- "siglisco de cartón" (Pardo Bazán, 1888: 167) -- which she also saw as
lacking in religious and spiritual attributes. In addition, she regarded the democratic and anti-clerical ways of the nineteenth century as a threat to the values, tenets, and principles of the conservative and Catholic Establishment that an important part of her epitomized. A further undesirable by-product of the nineteenth century was, according to the author, separatism and the dangers it posed to the nation's unity, which she deemed sacred and inviolable.

Also connected with Pardo Bazán's longing for the past is her defence of tradition, folklore, and local customs. In a way, and this is particularly noticeable in her Spanish travel works, she sets out to capture and treasure in her writings some picturesque local characters, costumbrista scenes, and local legends before they are irretrievably submerged by the changes of modern times.

Another significant feature in Pardo Bazán's travel writings is her almost pathological abhorrence of machines and, at the very least, her reservations about technological developments and scientific progress. Indeed, in De mi tierra she does not hide her detestation of machines and factory work, while in her Parisian chronicles of 1889 she is shown to be ill-equipped to report on the industrial side of the Exhibition. Moreover, apart from remaining unmoved by feats of technology (unless they are aesthetically pleasing), she blames technological advancement for the malaise and anxiety of modern man. And yet, in her travel writings she often advocates progress and regeneration, principally in the context of a backward Spain.

What the above indicates is that there is a striking and unresolved contradiction in Pardo Bazán's emotional attachment
to the past, her aversion to mechanical artefacts, and her abhorrence of the machine age, as opposed to her reluctant acceptance of her country's need to modernize and become an industrialized nation. A further contradiction which is never resolved is that involving the author's repeated exhortations to preserve and restore Spain's artistic heritage, versus her almost Romantic or morbid inclination to wallow in the nostalgia and sadness that decrepit, forlorn, and derelict buildings and monuments inflict on her. Moreover, she tends to be highly critical of those attempts that are made to restore these buildings to their former glory, arguing that new additions or alterations always undermine the original beauty of a structure.

But where Pardo Bazán's feelings of ambivalence are possibly strongest is in her love-hate relationship with France, which is a recurrent theme in several of her chronicles. Her conflicting emotions towards this nation centre on her admiration for France's cultural might and her perception of the neighbouring country as Spain's historical foe. However, she did eventually manage to achieve a personal reconciliation with France. Indeed, the overt Francophobia of Al pie, evolves into unequivocal Francophilia in Cuarenta días.

So did the passage of time and the events of history contribute to resolving the ambivalence and contradictions displayed by the author, or indeed reveal any progress in her thought and opinions in the areas mentioned above? With regard to Pardo Bazán's anachronistic obsession with the past, the answer is in the negative. For although shortly after the "Disaster" of 1898 she warned about the dangers of dwelling on
Spain's past in the shape of its "Golden Legend" instead of moving forward into the future, her attachment to the past is just as strong in Por la Europa católica, in which she travels back in time to the Spain of the Reconquista, the Empire, and the War of Independence, as it is in De mi tierra, where she delves into the Celtic origins of the Galician race. It is only in Cuarenta días that she briefly finds the courage to repudiate the past, but solely because the modernity that surrounds her at the 1900 Exhibition makes her realize how harmful for Spain the adherence to bygone centuries of glory had been.

As was mentioned in Chapter 7, it would be difficult to overestimate the emotional and psychological impact that the "Disaster" of 1898 had on Pardo Bazán. And, in effect, judging by her chronicles and by other writings produced during or shortly after the event, this débâcle can be safely identified as a major catalyst for the author's change of stance in several areas. One prime example is France, for whereas her Parisian chronicles of 1889 are full of resentment and distrust towards Spain's age-old enemy and most pugnacious neighbour, during her visit to the 1900 Universal Exhibition she succumbs to France's technological, cultural, and artistic superiority. Moreover, the part of Spain's quintessential foe is now assumed by the United States, which she presents as the agent of her country's international humiliation. Also, she becomes more tolerant of what prior to 1898 she had regarded as some of the less desirable qualities of the French. Indeed, in Cuarenta días there is no mention of the neighbouring nation's alleged immorality, chauvinism, treachery, subversive influence on European politics, or lack of knowledge of
Spain's culture, traditions, and history. She even appears to forget the scars left on Spain by the Napoleonic invasion, this being a highly sensitive issue prior to the support received from France during her country's armed conflict with the United States. It is true, however, that in *Por la Europa católica* she speaks of France's stagnation or "amaneramiento". But the trip during which these comments were made took place in 1895, three years before the "Disaster".

Pardo Bazán's patriotism is another issue that experiences a significant change following the fiasco of 1898. Indeed, the unwavering patriotism of earlier chronicles seems to falter in *Cuarenta días* due to Spain's humiliating contribution to an international exhibition which the author had hoped would herald her country's regeneration. It is in this chronicle that she displays the kind of "amor amargo" for Spain that Laín Entralgo associates with the men of 1898: "Todos aman a una imagen y a un ensueño de España, y todos repudian la España que sus ojos descubren. Aman a España con amor amargo" (Laín Entralgo, 1997: 190). In effect, her later travel works can be considered to come under the category of "literatura de regeneración" (Gómez de Baquero, 1901: 133). What, however, remain unchanged by the 1898 débâcle are Pardo Bazán's romantic concept of the homeland or patria, sacred in its unity, and her overt condemnation of the evils of separatism which, she believed, threatened to fragment Spain. These sentiments are just as strong in *De mi tierra* as in *Por la Europa católica*.

The author's almost pathological abhorrence of machines and factories also shows a dramatic reversal after the eventful year of 1898. Indeed, although some hostility is
still present in the French chronicles of 1900, during her stay in Catalonia in Por la Europa católica she appears to enjoy her visit to several factories and even speaks with uncharacteristic affection of the machines that "inhabit" one of Mataró's textile mills. However, in this collection, as in previous ones, there is the indication that the author continues to feel intimidated when surrounded by machinery. Hence her tendency to personify the machines, as if she could only face these metal monsters after having "humanized" them.

Pardo Bazán's final acceptance of the need for Spain to embrace industrialization becomes evident during her visit to the 1900 Exhibition. For it is then that she implies that had Spain been an industrialized nation prior to the conflict of 1898, the consequences of the war would not have been so catastrophic. Indeed, in Aragón, in Por la Europa católica, she praises the efforts made by the region to emulate Catalonia and become industrialized. In addition, she presents Catalonia, despite its separatist inclinations, as emblematic of the Spain of the future, of the Europeanized, prosperous, and industrially powerful Spain Pardo Bazán fervently hoped her country would become.

The author's reservations about the advantages of progress, voiced in her French chronicles of 1889, are much subdued during her visit to the Paris Exhibition of 1900. On this occasion, she claims to have come to the French capital guided by her faith in progress, which has been emphasized by Spain's recent war with the United States. Moreover, leaving behind her occasional belligerence in the chronicles of 1889, she voices her admiration for scientific and medical pursuits leading to the preservation of life, a change of attitude
possibly linked to the many Spanish casualties of the conflict of 1898. And during her visit to Catalonia in *Por la Europa católica* she goes as far as to end the first essay on the region with a surprising and unprecedented hymn to progress.

So, even allowing some room for coincidence, it seems that the year of 1898 and the events attached to it were crucial in Pardo Bazán's change of attitude in some fundamental areas and also in partly resolving her previous ambivalence regarding certain issues. What, on the other hand, predates the "Disaster" of 1898 and shows little variation after that event is the author's fascination with Europe, which, as mentioned in Chapter 8, can be traced back to her first European tour of 1871. With time, Europe became a recurrent theme in her journalistic writing, and in her foreign travel chronicles Pardo Bazán's interest in Europe and in what Europe had to offer continues to increase until her final outburst in *Por la Europa católica*, when she presses for Spain's selective Europeanization and presents travel as a vehicle for her country's much-needed modernization. And yet, there are still irreconcilable differences between her calls for a "European" and modern Spain, and her anachronistic attachment to the past. And this was to remain a contradiction that even the effect of the War of 1898 could do little to resolve.

But despite such contradictions and inconsistencies, Pardo Bazán's travel chronicles are valuable commentaries on contemporary Spain and fascinating assessments of various aspects of other continental countries at the turn of the century. Following her death in 1921, some contemporary writers paid homage to her oeuvre, her knowledge, and her
contribution to the opening-up of Spain's culture to beneficial foreign influences. The eulogy of the Argentine novelist, Manuel Gálvez, is as follows:

Muerto Galdós, era la condesa de Pardo Bazán la primera figura literaria de la actual España. Lo era por la vastedad, la solidez y la trascendencia de su obra; por su contribución incesante a la modernización de la prosa castellana; por su gran talento y su inmenso saber; por la influencia que ejerciera sobre los escritores de las generaciones que vinieron después de ella; y aun por su obra de cultura, mediante la cual España trabó conocimiento con los mejores espíritus de las grandes naciones europeas. (Gálvez, 1921: 34)

This is a fitting epitaph to a woman who witnessed and subsequently captured in her writings some of the most dramatic moments of nineteenth-century Spanish history. She travelled tirelessly, sometimes for pleasure but more often in search of the Promised Land, the ideal place she fervently hoped Spain would emulate in order to regain its former importance and eminence. And after her "pilgrimages" through several European nations in search of a cure for the ills that beset her country, Pardo Bazán finally set her hopes on France, a Latin, Catholic, advanced, and cultured nation, which through sheer hard work and determination had forged a prosperous future for itself, the kind of future Pardo Bazán desired for Spain.
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In Search of the Promised Land: The Travels of Emilia Pardo Bazán (PhD Thesis - University College, London)

ERRATA.

Page

5 Contents page: Chapter 7; section 5: 'Colonial' for 'Colonical' ✓ ✓
9 9 lines from bottom: 'costumbraba a beber' Read 'acostumbraba'? ✓ ✓
16 2 lines from top: 'possibilities' for 'possibilites' ✓ ✓
59 3 lines from bottom: (Azorín quote): 'ha escrito doña Emilia la Naturaleza'. Read 'ha descrito'? ✓

81 5 lines down: 'predecessors' for 'predecessors' ✓ ✓
110 5 lines from bottom: 'impartial' for 'imparcial' ✓ ✓
131 5 lines from top: 'for political reasons' instead of 'because of political reasons' ✓ ✓

153 about mid-page: Julio Busquets, El militar de carrera en España should read 'La carrera de militar?' ✓
160 9 lines from top: 'Independence' for ' Independence' ✓ ✓
212 footnote, line 4: 'ignore' for 'ingnore' ✓ ✓
236 7 lines from top: 'Estados Unidos' for 'Estado Unidos' ✓ ✓
251 10 lines from top: 'a good example' for 'good example' ✓ ✓
260 6 lines from bottom: 'same train as she' for 'same train as her' ✓ ✓
269 about mid-page: 'juxtaposition' for 'antithesis'? ✓ ✓
272 9 lines from bottom: 'through sheer envy' instead of 'for sheer envy' ✓ ✓
286 5 lines from bottom: 'unas fotografías' for 'unas fotografía' ✓ ✓
291 3 lines from top: 'catastrophe' for 'catastrophy' ✓ ✓
297 7 lines into new paragraph: 'for...reasons' instead of 'owing to...reasons' ✓ ✓
307 middle of page: 'indicative of repressed anger' for 'typical of repressed anger' ✓ ✓

330 11 lines from bottom: 'Feijóo' for 'Feijoo' ✓ ✓
335 5 lines from bottom: 'right to vote' or 'voting rights' for 'voting right' ✓ ✓
337 13 lines from bottom: 'their voting rights' for 'their voting right' ✓ ✓
346 5 lines from bottom: 'of its medieval monastery' for 'if its medieval monastery' ✓
349 7 lines from bottom: 'inexperienced' for 'unexperienced'

384 7 lines from bottom: 'fitting' for 'befitting' ✓ ✓
Dear Abigail and Winston,

This is just to inform you that Gloria has resubmitted her thesis. She has modified along the lines that you suggested (but it's obviously for you to make the final judgement on this) and has asked me to send to you the following:

a) An indication of where she has made cuts in the body of the thesis

b) The Errata sheet, with a response to two of the suggested corrections/queries (pp. 59, 153).

All the best,

[Signature]

14 February 2000
CUTS TO THESIS

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1 Chapter 1 and the Conclusion chapter are not included because they have been rewritten almost in their entirety.