

**Uneven Modernities, Uneven Masculinities: Manliness and the
Galician Hinterland in the Novels of Emilia Pardo Bazán (1882-1896)**

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
Romance Studies in the Graduate School
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

The late-nineteenth-century realist canon in Spain is filled with male characters who are physically weak, effeminate, ineffectual, infantilized, or impotent, and, thus, decidedly “unmanly,” which indicates a collective societal anxiety about masculinity in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century. I argue that this anxiety about masculinity stems from another societal worry about Spain’s backwardness with respect to its more modern European neighbors and the uneven rate of modernization with its own borders. I explore these issues in four novels by Galician-born realist author Emilia Pardo Bazán: La Tribuna (1882), Los Pazos de Ulloa (1886), La Madre Naturaleza (1887), and Memorias de un solterón (1896). I analyze these texts in light of historical and theoretical work on post-Enlightenment masculinity by scholars, such as George Mosse, John Tosh, Christopher Forth, and R. W. Connell.

In the first chapter, I trace the development of the post-Enlightenment, Western, model of manliness, a primarily urban, bourgeois phenomenon, which privileged rational intellect and individual hard work. I then compare the pace and extent of modernization in Spain and England to show how Spain lacked the material conditions that would allow most Spanish men to embody modern masculinity in the late nineteenth century. For the remaining chapters, I turn my attention to Los Pazos de Ulloa, La Madre Naturaleza, and Memorias de un solterón. Each of these novels shows, in different ways, how the modern masculine ideal coexists and conflicts with other pre-Enlightenment models of manliness—based on aristocratic leisure, military prowess, or brute force. I argue that

the problems faced by the male characters in these novels are a direct result of this clash of masculinities, which in turn reflects Spain's economic stagnation in the nineteenth century. In Chapter II, I show how the refusal of the rural, Galician aristocracy to embrace certain hallmarks of the modern masculine ideal, such as hard work and Enlightenment thought, leads to a destabilization of feudal hierarchies in Los Pazos de Ulloa. I then argue that this destabilization results in the pervasiveness of violence in the novel. Chapter III focuses on La Madre Naturaleza. I contend that its narrator recognizes that change must come to rural Galicia and, thus, makes a gesture toward reconciling traditional and modern values, as well as pre-Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment models of masculinity. I then show how this reconciliation ultimately fails because the narrator condemns the social mobility upon which modernization and modern masculinity depend. In Chapter IV, I discuss the importance of marriage and fatherhood to the enactment of modern masculinity in Memorias de un solterón. I then illustrate how, in the Galician provincial capital in which the novel is set, social and economic conditions make life as a bourgeois husband and father undesirable at best, and ruinous at worst.

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At its core, this project is largely about the relationship between manliness and hard work. For that reason, I dedicate it to my father, Walter Erwin, the hardest-working man I know.

Introduction

“Manly” Literature and “Unmanly” Characters

According to Andrés Zamora Juárez, the novel has long been considered a “manly” genre. He writes that “la virilidad se ha erigido a través de diferentes generaciones de escritores, a lo largo de escuelas y movimientos literarios, como uno de los valores supremos de la novela” (21). Moreover, he notes that the concept of virility was particularly significant with regard to the late-nineteenth-century Spanish realist novel: “el adjetivo ‘viril’ o cualquiera de sus sinónimos aparecen con una frecuencia más que contumaz en la reseñas, las críticas y los escritos teóricos del periodo realista” (21). More specifically, Zamora Juárez writes that, with respect to Spanish novels at the end of the nineteenth century: “lo viril es sinónimo de la calidad artística, y lo femenino un índice derogatorio” (93). For example, he cites a commentary on Emilia Pardo Bazán’s literary oeuvre by a contemporary of hers, the critic, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.¹ In that commentary, Menéndez y Pelayo shows his appreciation for Pardo Bazán by saying that her overall work “no se puede medir con otros criterios que con los que aplicamos a la literatura más varonil y entera” (Menéndez y Pelayo 27-28; quoted in Zamora Juárez 21). In this way, he sets Pardo Bazán’s writing apart from nineteenth-century domestic fiction, written by women for women. Her literary production, by contrast, is more

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo’s remark was originally part of the prologue he wrote to the second edition of Pardo Bazán’s San Francisco de Asís, published in Paris in 1886 (Menéndez y Pelayo 27 n. 1).

“manly” and “intact” (read: uncastrated) than those other works. Thus, Menéndez y Pelayo implies that Pardo Bazán’s books are worthy of praise, essentially because she writes “like a man” in novels primarily aimed at a male reading public.²

Given this perceived link between masculinity and the late-nineteenth-century Spanish novel, it is striking that so many male characters in the realist canon seem decidedly unmanly because they are physically weak, effeminate, ineffectual, infantilized, or impotent. Often, the reader need not delve far into a particular novel to find such a character. For example, in the first chapter of Clarín’s La Regenta (1884-85), Fermín de Pas’s first appearance is preceded by the rustling sound of his priestly manteo which evokes the image of a lady’s dress and thus feminizes the character even before his physical aspect or personality are described by the narrator (1: 99).³ And in the opening scene of Pardo Bazán’s Los Pazos de Ulloa (1886-87), which I will discuss in detail in Chapter II, we learn that Julián Álvarez is delicate, lymphatic, and scarcely able to control the horse he is riding (94). In addition to these characters, others in realist fiction,

² According to Lou Charnon-Deutsch, nineteenth-century Spanish women were encouraged to read spiritual texts, like Fray Luis de León’s La perfecta casada (1583), instead of novels, which were thought to be a “perfidious” for women (Charnon-Deutsch 8). At the same time, writes Charnon-Deutsch: “book writing was defined as a manly occupation; if a woman made a mark, it was for her virile style, a distinction that always bore a price” (8, original emphasis). Joyce Tolliver points out the particular “price” paid by Pardo Bazán: she was praised for the supposedly “masculine” quality of her writing, in works like Los Pazos de Ulloa, but skewered for what her contemporaries saw as her less-than-feminine personal qualities—what Tolliver calls her “transgressions of the norms of feminine propriety” (22-23).

³ The Diccionario de la Real Academia Española defines “manteo” as both a “[c]apa larga con cuello, que llevan los eclesiásticos” and “[r]opa de bayeta o paño que llevaban las mujeres.”

who are impotent, infantilized, or somehow feminized by fragility or over-sentimentality, include Luis de Vargas in Juan Valera's Pepita Jiménez (1874); Maxi Rubín, Santa Cruz's foil in Fortunata y Jacinta; Víctor Quintanar in Clarín's La Regenta (1884-85); and Bonifacio Reyes in Su único hijo (1890), also by Clarín. Other such "unmanly" characters in Pardo Bazán's novels include Gabriel Pardo in La Madre Naturaleza (1887), Rogelio Pardiñas in Morriña (1889), and Mauro Pareja in Memorias de un solterón (1896).

When I began to read these novels several years ago, two questions arose that became the driving force behind my approach to them. First, how was "real" manliness defined and constructed in late-nineteenth-century Spain? And secondly, why were "unmanly" characters such a prominent feature in the novels of the day? According to Jo Labanyi, the realist novel reflects the "collective anxieties" of late-nineteenth-century Spain (5). She writes that the novel is an excellent venue in which to address these anxieties, "for it can invent its stories, tailoring them to highlight specific concerns" (5). By inventing stories about "unmanly" men, Spanish realist authors "highlighted" a societal concern about manliness and masculinity in the late nineteenth century. This dissertation explores the roots of that anxiety.

Masculinity Studies and the Spanish Realist Novel

The construction and representation of masculinity in the Spanish realist novel have up to now received very little critical attention. The last two decades of the twentieth century saw the publication of several valuable and influential studies of gender

in the late-nineteenth-century Spanish novel, written or edited by scholars such as Alicia Andréu, Bridget Aldaraca, Lou Charnon-Deutsch, Catherine Jagoe, Jo Labanyi, Stephanie Sieburth, and Noël Valis.⁴ These works, however, focus mainly on the treatment of women in Spanish realism and women's roles in nineteenth-century Spain, leaving much still to be said about men and masculinities. For example, Labanyi and others have noted the important role women played in the consolidation of the State during the Restoration, even though they had very little political and economic power. Labanyi notes that women were "subject to the father if unmarried, to the husband if married" (39). As Geraldine Scanlon writes:

La mayor parte de los derechos que asistían a la mujer soltera desaparecían inmediatamente con el matrimonio. Las presiones sociales y psicológicas ejercidas sobre la mujer para que cumpliera su destino matrimonial... creyeron la irónica situación de que un número enorme de mujeres se entregaran voluntaria e incluso entusiastamente a la esclavitud legal. (Polémica 126)

In other words, these scholars emphasize the fact that late-nineteenth-century women were basically powerless compared to men. But given that men had total legal power

⁴ These works include Andréu's Galdós y la literatura popular (1982); Aldaraca's El ángel del hogar: Galdós and the Ideology of Domesticity in Spain (1992); Valis and Carol Maier's In the Feminine Mode: Essays on Hispanic Women Writers (1990); Charnon-Deutsch's Gender and Representation: Women in Spanish Realist Fiction (1990) and Narratives of Desire: Nineteenth-Century Spanish Fiction by Women (1994); Jagoe's Ambiguous Angels: Gender in the Novels of Galdós (1994), as well as La mujer en los discursos de género: Textos y contextos en el siglo XIX (1998), which Jagoe co-edited with Cristina Enríquez de Salamanca and Alda Blanco; Stephanie Sieburth's Inventing High and Low: Literature, Mass Culture, and Uneven Modernity in Spain (1994); Labanyi's Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel (2000); and the volume co-edited by Labanyi and Charnon-Deutsch, Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain (1995).

over their wives, and men governed society, an important questions arises: why do we find such consistent portrayals of unmanly, helpless, unfulfilled men in Spanish realist fiction?

By the mid-1990s, critics, such as James Adams, Herbert Sussman, and Karen Waters were already exploring the construction of masculinity in the literature of Victorian England.⁵ And as early as 1987, scholars examined masculinity in nineteenth-century French texts. For instance, in that year, Annelise Maugue published L'identité masculine au tournant du siècle: 1871-1941. But only recently have critics, such as Eva María Copeland and Mark Harpring, begun to study male characters in the Spanish realist novel from a gender studies perspective that focuses specifically on masculinity.⁶ Other studies of male characters in Spanish realism, such as Gloria Ortiz's The Dandy and the Señorito: Eros and Social Class in the Nineteenth-Century Novel (1991) and Peter Bly's The Wisdom of Eccentric Old Men: A Study of Type and Secondary Character in Galdós's Social Novels, 1870-1897 (2004) have focused on certain "types" of male characters, but not through the lens of gender studies. And feminist critics, including Maryellen Bieder, Beth Wietelman Bauer, and Leigh Mercer, have seen effeminate male

⁵ See the studies by these authors in the bibliography.

⁶ The only previous book-length studies of masculinity in the Spanish realist novel are the 2004 dissertations of Harpring and Copeland, entitled "The Bachelor at the Crossroads of Gender and Class in the Late Nineteenth-Century Spanish Novel" and "Varones y degenerados: The Construction of Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century Social Hygiene Movement and in Three Realist Novels by Benito Pérez Galdós," respectively. Since 2004, Harpring and Copeland have both published articles based on their dissertation research (Harpring, "Homoeroticism"; Copeland, "Galdós's El Amigo Manso").

characters in the works of Clarín and Pardo Bazán as destabilizers of male-female gender binaries in general, without addressing how these characters shed light on the intra-gender dynamics of masculinity (Bieder, “Capitulation”; Wietelmann Bauer, “Something Lost”; Mercer, “De la madre”).⁷

Masculinity in Theory

To understand my approach to masculinity in the Spanish realist novel, and specifically in the novels of Pardo Bazán, it is important to understand the theories that underpin contemporary masculinity studies. According to Hugh Campbell et al., the study of masculinity—or rather, masculinities—must start with the problem of “the general invisibility of masculinity as a whole” (8). They cite as an example the way we talk about “politicians” vs. “women politicians,” to which we could certainly add, “Spanish writers of the nineteenth century” vs. “Spanish women writers of the nineteenth century” (8). As Campbell et al. put it, masculinity “has often hidden itself from our eyes using the disguise of “the norm.” (8). For that reason, Stephen Whitehead has referred to man as “the invisible gendered subject” (351). Some writers, academic and non-

⁷ The lack of attention to masculinity in the Spanish realist novel is a symptom of a larger tendency in Spanish literary studies as a whole. In addition to Copeland and Harpring, over the last decade several other PhD candidates, such as Nerea Aresti (2001), Gary Lee Atwood (2006), and José Ignacio Álvarez García (2008) have explored masculinities, mostly with respect to the twentieth century, in their dissertations. But as of this writing, the only book on the construction of masculinity in Spain’s literature of any period was published only two years ago. And it deals with Early Modern texts: José Cartagena Calderón’s Masculinidades en obras: El drama de la hombría en la España Imperial (2008). It should be noted that, while there is some overlap, as in the case of Harpring’s work, I am differentiating here between masculinity studies and queer studies.

academic, began to focus on “men as men” as early as the 1950s, but in two different ways: some saw men as a “problem,” while others saw men as “having problems” (Campbell et al. 8, emphasis in the original). The former group saw the study of masculinity as “an adjunct to feminist analysis” that sought to make masculine gender roles less “invisible” in order to shed light on their part in the patriarchal oppression of women (Campbell et al. 9). The latter group, on the other hand, highlighted the ways in which men and women were both “oppressed” by patriarchy. According to this formulation, “men were equally—although in inevitably different ways—‘co-victims’ of gender (Campbell et al. 9). Several key academic studies appeared in or after 1987 by scholars, such as R. W. Connell, Michael Kimmel, and Harry Brod that marked the “maturity” of social science research on masculinity.⁸ Some of these works follow the “feminist critique” current. And others follow the “co-victim” current.⁹ Though these studies may differ in approach, they share the idea of gender as a social construction, which manifests itself differently in distinct social, spatial, and historical contexts. By consequence, the studies also share the idea that “masculinity has never been an

⁸ The fact that masculinity studies have only recently caught on in the field of Spanish literature can, in part, be attributed to the relative newness of masculinity studies themselves.

⁹ These studies include R.W. Connell’s Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics (1987) and Masculinities (1995), Jeff Hearn’s The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism (1987), and Michael Kimmel’s Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity (1987) and Manhood in America: A Cultural History (1996), all following the “feminist critique current.” Michael Kaufman’s The New Patriarchy: Essays by Men on Pleasure, Power, and Change (1987) and Harry Brod’s The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies (1987) follow the “co-victim” vein (Campbell et al. 9 n. 6-8).

unchanging monolith writ in biological and social necessity” (Campbell et al 9). Instead, it is “as various and variable as society itself” (Campbell et al. 9). Because masculinities are socially constructed, all the aforementioned studies sought to “understand the changing contexts in which particular representations and practices of masculinity emerge” (Campbell et al. 10, original emphasis).

The plural term, “masculinities,” so prominent in titles by Connell and Brod above, reflects a notion of the variability and heterogeneity of masculine gender roles. In terms of social practice, as Campbell et al. put it: “Not all men enact the same constellation of masculine ideas and practices, nor does any one man enact the same constellation at all times” (10). As for “hegemonic masculinity,” Tim Carrigan, R. W. Connell, and John Lee originally coined the term in their 1985 Theory and Society article, “Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity,” which was then widely anthologized in collections edited by Rachel Adams and David Savran, Harry Brod, Michael Kaufman, and Peter Murphy. But since 1985, the term has become most associated with the work of Connell, a proponent, as I noted above, of the “feminist critique” current in masculinity studies. Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Masculinities 77, my emphasis). There are two important points to be made about this definition. First, the “currently accepted” nature of hegemonic masculinity implies that it, like all masculinities, responds

to a particular cultural and historical context. As Connell explains, hegemonic masculinity “is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same” (Masculinities 76). Instead, it is “the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations” (Masculinities 76). Secondly, the hegemony referred to in the term is hegemony over women. And that hegemony is enacted through the maintenance of the patriarchal order.

While Connell emphasizes the submission of women in his model of masculinity, he also acknowledges that hegemony “relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole,” such that there are specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men,” as well (Masculinities 78). Because the hegemony of one or more masculinities entails the subordination and marginalization of others, according to Connell’s scheme, this model of hegemonic masculinity recognizes a hegemony, not just of men with respect to women, but also of men with respect to other men. According to this model, “the enactment of privileged masculinities will enable most men to dominate over most women” but it will also enable “some men to dominate over some other men” (Campbell et al. 10). Therefore, the concept of hegemonic masculinity unites the two over-arching trends in masculinity studies because it can further a feminist critique of patriarchy while also showing men to be “co-victims” of the patriarchal order and of gender norms. Historian John Tosh’s strong language in his Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain (1988) drives this point home. For him, hegemonic masculinity “makes socially crippling distinctions not only between men and women, but

between different categories of men” (44, my emphasis). Tosh also contends that, in Victorian England, “manliness was fundamentally a set of values by which men judged other men, and it is a mistake to suppose that those values were exclusively—or even mainly—to do with maintaining control over women.” From this idea, he concludes that “masculinity is as much about homosociality as it is about patriarchy” (5).

The degree to which a man enacts hegemonic masculinity is significant because it depends on a hierarchy of manliness. As Campbell et al. note, while hegemonic gender relations “empower some over others,” their interactions also “help constitute them in the first place” (11). In this way, “the tough guy and the sissy, for example, cannot exist without one another” (11). Historian George Mosse contends that subordinated or marginalized masculinities act as a “convex mirror” for hegemonic masculinity (Image 6). Thus, he highlights the importance of visibility and interpretability in the construction of masculinity, and it also emphasizes the way in which one masculinity is constructed based on a comparison and contrast with another. For Mosse, masculinity is like a mirror. But it is also like “a placard, hung up on the wall to be read” (Image 7). And what is “read” on that “placard” is then “judged,” as Tosh would have it, to classify one man’s masculinity, but also the masculinity of other men, by comparison and contrast. In this way, men are situated relative to one another on a continuum of manliness.

Uneven Modernity, Colliding Masculinities, and Pardo Bazán’s Novels

The term “uneven modernity,” to which I refer in the title of this project, might, in a sense, seem meaningless. After all, every country, region, or person will always be

more “modern” or more “backward” than another. Modernity is always “uneven” because it is always relative. And even the term “modern” is itself a relative one.¹⁰ For the purpose of this dissertation, however, modernization implies the rise of capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, and representative government, as well as an increase in literacy rates among the general population and the implantation of a dominant bourgeois ideology. It also implies the related decline of feudal social hierarchies and an agriculturally based economy. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter I, by any and all of these metrics, Spain was slower to modernize than countries like England and France. And within its own borders, modernization proceeded at an uneven rate, as well. Cataluña and the Basque Country were the fastest regions to modernize. And Galicia, which is the setting for all the texts on which I focus in this dissertation, was one of the slowest.

Along with an anxiety about manliness in the realist novel, we can also see an anxiety about Spain’s uneven modernization. This is the anxiety that leads the narrator of Galdós’ El doctor Centeno to say of one of its characters, Federico Ruiz: “¡Oh! Sin ir más lejos... si él hubiera nacido en Inglaterra o en Francia [habría tenido] entusiasmo por la ciencia... porque seguramente ganaría mucho dinero con la ciencia; ¡pero aquí, en este perro país!...” (390). In other words, if he had been born in a more modern country, he would have had better access to knowledge and better economic opportunities, but not in

¹⁰ As Jürgen Habermas notes, “Modern in its Latin form ‘modernus’ was used for the first time in the late fifth century in order to distinguish the present, which had become officially Christian, from the Roman and pagan past” (“Modernity” 98; quoted in Saldívar xiii).

the “perro país” that is nineteenth-century Spain. This is also the anxiety, morphed into prejudice, that prompts Los Pazos de Ulloa’s Manuel Pardo to say that, compared to more urban environments, life in rural Galicia “envilece, empobrece, embrutece”—that it has an “impoverishing” and “vilifying” effect on its inhabitants (113).

Like the concept of uneven modernization, masculinity is also built on comparisons, between men and women, and between men and other men. By consequence, we can think of masculinity as inherently uneven, too, and just as anxiety-producing. But as we see in Pardo Bazán’s novels, Spain’s uneven modernization had a more concrete relationship to—and impact on—masculinities in the late nineteenth century. In a country that remained predominantly rural throughout the century, the emergence of a bourgeois sensibility (and a bourgeois masculinity) certainly did not signal the disappearance of the aristocracy or the peasantry, as Pardo Bazán illustrates in her representation of rural Galicia as a pre-modern site of feudal land use and class structure. Thus, in an unevenly modern Spain, an urban, bourgeois ideal of masculinity coexists with other pre-modern (pre-Enlightenment) forms of manliness. And, indeed, Pardo Bazán explores the conflict that occurs when distinct forms of hegemonic masculinity come into contact with one another, be they rural or urban, aristocratic, bourgeois, or working-class. In this way, Pardo Bazán offers a more subtle and complete picture of the gamut of masculinities of her era and of Spain’s uneven modernity than any other single realist novelist. Galdós wrote mainly about Madrid, Clarín wrote about provincial capitals, and Pereda wrote about the country. But Pardo Bazán’s novels show

how male characters from each of these three spaces—and the masculinities they represent—interact and collide with one another, sometimes with violent results. For that reason, I contend that these novels illustrate a crisis of masculinity in late-nineteenth-century Spain.

I use the term “crisis of masculinity” purposefully, even though there is some debate about its validity within the field of masculinity studies. For example, Michael Kimmel devotes several chapters in Manhood in America: A Cultural History to what he calls “The Contemporary ‘Crisis’ of Masculinity” (viii). But Lynne Segal suggests that masculinity entails an inherent, never-ending crisis, which makes the term redundant. According to Segal, manliness implies the power of one or more men over women and other men—a power that is constantly under threat, due to even small shifts in the gender hierarchy (239; quoted in Tosh 20-21). R. W. Connell, on the other hand, disputes the idea of any crisis of masculinity, never-ending or otherwise. For Connell, a crisis “presupposes a coherent system of some kind, which is destroyed or restored by the outcome of the crisis” (84). For that reason, Connell contends that masculinity cannot logically be in crisis because it is not a system as such, but rather, a “configuration of practice within a system of gender relations” (84, original emphasis). According to this view, masculinity may find itself in a state of “disruption” or “transformation,” but not in crisis (84). Connell does say, however, that we may “logically speak of the crisis of a gender order as a whole, and of its tendencies toward crisis” (84).

In his book on early modern Spanish masculinities, however, José Cartagena Calderón defines a crisis of masculinity as

una situación histórica en la que las formas tradicionalmente dominantes de la masculinidad se han vuelto tan imprecisas, modificadas o contestadas que los hombres (y las mujeres) debatan entre sí o tratan de redefinir que es lo que significa ser un ‘verdadero hombre’, ya sea en respuesta a cambios sociales, políticos y económicos y/o por nuevos modelos desafiantes de masculinidad (y feminidad) que emergen a partir de dichos cambios. (9-10 n. 1)

In other words, a crisis of masculinity arises when socioeconomic and political changes bring about a transformation or a questioning of traditionally dominant forms of masculinity. As Pardo Bazán’s novels show, differing ideals of manliness create a tug-of-war between masculinities based on aristocratic leisure or a distant, chivalric, martial heritage, on the one hand, and a middle-class ideal, based on productive work and family formation, on the other. And, as we shall see here, it is often a tug-of-war that no one wins.

My first chapter explores what “modern masculinity” means and the historical and economic factors that make an embodiment of that model of manliness difficult in late-nineteenth-century Spain. I then devote separate chapters to three novels: Los Pazos de Ulloa, La Madre Naturaleza, and Memorias de un solterón. In these chapters, I lay out the system of competing masculinities in each. In this way, my analysis is influenced by Jurij Lotman’s concept of the “model of the world” reproduced by a particular text.¹¹

Each of the novels I treat here displays a distinct model of the world. Los Pazos is set in

¹¹ See Jurij Lotman, The Structure of the Artistic Text, trans. Gail Lenhoff and Ronald Vroon (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977).

rural Galicia at the conflictive time of the Revolution of 1868. Madre unfolds in the same place, but during the more peaceful early years of the Restoration. And Memorias takes place in the provincial city of Marineda, Pardo Bazán's fictionalized version of La Coruña, in the 1890s. But regardless of the differences we see in these novels, all of them show the embattled struggle for modernity in late-nineteenth-century Spain and its concomitant crisis of masculinity.

It is important to note that uneven modernization and the crisis of masculinity in late-nineteenth-century Spain are not simply two parallel problems. Rather, each feeds and exacerbates the other. As we see will see in the chapters that follow, when these problems come together in Pardo Bazán's texts, they lead to murderous violence on the part of aristocrats, peasants, and bourgeois caciques; idle, dreamy aristocrats unable to find a purpose in life; competent middle-class professionals unwilling to marry or fully dedicate themselves to honest work; and incestuous family relations that ultimately derail any hope of a brighter future.

I. The Struggle for Modern Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Spain

Two “Typical” Men

At the beginning of the fifteenth chapter of Pardo Bazán’s La Tribuna (1882), the narrator calls Baltasar Sobrado “un hijo, no de este siglo, sino de su último tercio, lo cual es más característico y peculiar” (136). In other words, the character is set up as an exemplar of the late-nineteenth-century man—in Baltasar’s case, more specifically, the late-nineteenth-century bourgeois Spaniard. In the long paragraph that follows, the narrator then lays out the attributes that make Baltasar so typical of that most “characteristic and peculiar” era, first by specifying how others see him: to “las señoras,” he is “atento”; to his friends, a “muchacho corriente y agradable”; to his uncle, a “chico listo y con el cual se podía departir acerca de asuntos de comercio” (136). Meanwhile, his mother judges him to be a “mozo de gran porvenir y altos destinos” mainly because he saves his money and thus never finds himself “sin un duro en el chaleco” (136). With such glowing appraisals from those around him, it is no surprise that Baltasar, according to the narrator, has a healthy respect for public opinion (136).

The omniscient narrator’s own assessment of Baltasar’s character, however, is markedly less positive than the outward perception of him by his friends and family. The narrator does highlight, if not exactly praise, the character’s temperance and moderation: “Su temperatura moral no subía ni bajaba a dos por tres... la fiebre de la mocedad no le había causado una hora de franca y decelerada calentura. Ni juego, ni bebidas, ni mujeres le sacaban de quicio” (136). Yet, we are also told that “no se le conocía ardor ni

entusiasmo por ninguna cosa” (136). Rather than a man strong enough to control his passions, Baltasar seems more like a man with no passions at all. He is no coward, the narrator tells us, citing as proof Baltasar’s impending career in the military. But we then learn that the draw of that career has more to do with familial pressure than actual vocation (136). Politically speaking, he is “generalmente doctrinario,” yet he is a man of weak convictions—loath to challenge his tenuously held beliefs, “como si fuesen un diente próximo a caerse y con el cual evitase morder cortezas duras” (136). What’s more, Baltasar is lazy. He comes from a family who has worked hard to rise into the middle class from below, as a tobacco factory worker indicates later in the novel: “Me parece a mí que los de Sobrado no son de allá de la aristocracia [...] Aún hay quien los vio cargando fardos en el almacén de Freixé, el catalán; que por ahí empezaron [...] Hijos de trabajo como tú y yo” (193). But, though he may be an “hijo del trabajo,” he abhors work himself, preferring instead “los ascensos a la gloria,” and better still “una buena renta que disfrutar sin moverse de su casa” (136).¹ In other words, instead of working hard, as his ancestors did to provide the comforts he now enjoys, Baltasar would rather live off the work of others. He is also vain, even if his vanity is, as the narrator puts it, “encubierta y en cierto modo solitaria” (136). And for all his moderation, his guiding principle—“la ley y norte de su vida”—remains “el placer, siempre que no riñese con el bienestar,” even though he hides that fact from the world “con cautela suma” (136). The general sense is that of an indolent man of little substance or strength of character—

¹ As the lazy son of a family who worked hard to gain middle-class success, Baltasar brings to mind another such character from the Spanish realist canon: Juanito Santa Cruz from Benito Pérez Galdós’s *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1886-1887).

completely self-centered, yet bereft of his own ideas and easily swayed by others—who still maintains the approval, and even praise, of those around him.

Even so, Baltasar’s failings are not entirely hidden below the surface. The narrator peppers the description of the character’s face and body with qualifiers that make it seem just as weak and lifeless as his personality. His height is “mediana”; his blond hair, “apagado”; his chin, “chica y sin energía”; and his lower body, “corta y poco noble” (137). The narrator explicitly marks the weakness of Baltasar’s features as feminine, stating that his thin lips resemble those of his mother and that, in its totality, “su rostro pareciera afeminado, a no acentuarlo la aguda nariz, diseñada correctamente, y la frente espaciosa, predestinada a la calvicie” (137). In other words, the narrator backhandedly asserts that Baltasar’s face avoids effeminacy thanks, in part, to male-pattern baldness.

In Pardo Bazán’s La madre naturaleza (1887), written some four years after La Tribuna, we first encounter Gabriel Pardo, who will later appear in Insolación and Morriña (both from 1889). Gabriel and Baltasar Sobrado share a good deal in common: each is from a well-to-do family, and each has been brought up in a Galician city—Santiago de Compostela in Gabriel’s case and Marineda, Pardo Bazán’s fictional stand-in for La Coruña, in Baltasar’s. Gabriel comes from aristocratic stock, while Baltasar is a member of the upper middle class. But in many ways, societal expectations for both men are similar. Moreover, just as Baltasar is dubbed “un hijo de su siglo,” Gabriel is, according to the narrator of La madre naturaleza, “un hombre moderno en toda extensión de la palabra” (213). In this way, both characters are styled as typical men of late-nineteenth-century Spain.

But even with all that Baltasar and Gabriel share in common, the differences between them are striking. An upper-class gentleman, who pursues a military career and fights twice against the Carlists, Gabriel has alternated between the soldier's life "de acción y de lucha," on the one hand, and polite society functions on the other—what the narrator calls "ese baño delicadísimo que sobre la corteza [del hombre] derrama el trato con damas y el ingreso familiar en círculos selectos" (167, 164). As a young man, he is "el brillante y frívolo mancebo a quien tan especiales agasajos y tan lisonjera acogida dispensaron las damas de alto capote" (163). But as time passes, he becomes increasingly uncomfortable with what he sees as the superficial and pointless nature of high-society obligations, eventually looking upon them with a sense of dread. As the narrator of Madre says of Gabriel: "abominaba de saraos y de visitas de cumplido, de andar poniéndose el frac y el ramito en el ojal, de saludos en la Castellana y bailes por todo lo fino" (163). Unlike Baltasar Sobrado, who courts public favor and skillfully navigates society functions, Gabriel has come to despise them.

While Baltasar is a passionless cipher that cares much more about appearances than ideas, Gabriel has a complex inner life. He is often lost in his own thoughts, as we see in the eighth chapter of La madre naturaleza, in which a mature Gabriel slips into "una especie de niebla mental," reflecting on his life before the events of the novel (152). As the narrator tells us, he is subject to dizzying flights of fancy—the sort of person for whom "la viveza de la fantasía y de la sensibilidad hacen pasar, durante una existencia relativamente corta, por muchas y muy variadas fases psíquicas" (162-163). And his imagination is so active that, just by glancing at an object or hearing a single word, he is

able to fashion “un poema entero, un sistema, una teoría vasta y universal, llegando siempre a las últimas consecuencias” (176). Perhaps it is Gabriel’s vivid imagination that makes him such a sensitive man, who cares deeply about his country, his beliefs, and the people around him. While the “ley y norte” of Baltasar Sobrado’s life is his own pleasure, leading him repeatedly to seduce and abandon women—most notably Amparo in La Tribuna and Rosa Neira in Memorias de un solterón (1896)—Gabriel is passionate when it comes to women, capable of great love and of great heartache. We first find evidence of his deep love for a woman during childhood. While his relationship with his father was always strained, given that the two men “perteneían a dos generaciones muy diversas, y en realidad no se entendían” he fondly remembers the close bond he shared with his deceased sister, Nucha—who reared him and whom he thinks of, even in adulthood, as his “mamita” (Madre 173, 213). Later in life, Gabriel is repeatedly the victim of love gone wrong. Even before the action of La madre naturaleza begins, we are told, he has already had his heart broken at least twice: once by the widowed sister-in-law of a cousin, “dotada de oro, ingenio y blasones” and once by a young brigadier’s wife, a “deidad murciana, de árabes ojos” (164, 170). The first of these heartbreaks even led him to briefly contemplate violence while staring at a pair of English pistols with “ojos foscos y extraviados,” though it’s not clear whether the idea, however fleeting, was to do violence to himself or to someone else (164). Later, the events of both La madre naturaleza and Insolación bring him even more romantic disappointments. In La madre naturaleza, he fails to successfully woo and marry his niece, Manolita, the implications of which I will discuss later in this chapter and in the next chapter. In Insolación, he

considers the widow, Asís, a candidate for his affections, but later decides that she is unworthy, lamenting, “Me ha engañado la viuda,” because of her affair with the Andalusian Pacheco (210).

After his first heartbreak, Gabriel tries to drown his sorrows in alcohol, but because his tolerance for liquor is too high, he gets “drunk,” instead on books, especially, “obras de filosofía alemana” in which he, “más sediento de doctrina que de placer, no se entretenía con la forma; íbase al fondo, a la médula” (Madre 165). Gabriel wanders through “el mundo del pensamiento,” in works by Kant and by the followers of Krausism, searching for “algún asidero firme”—for some sense of philosophical or scientific certainty (Madre 168). Unfortunately for Gabriel, however, that sense of firmness and certainty never emerges. He finds “relaciones lógicas y armoniosas entre lo creado,” we are told, but nonetheless, “el enigma seguía, el misterio no se disipaba” (Madre 169). As a result, he is eventually just as frustrated by philosophy and science as he is by love.

While at first, he opposes the Revolution of 1868, Gabriel’s readings in philosophy lead him to think differently. Thus, he becomes a “republicano teórico,” in the words of the narrator (168). And he holds fast to these newfound beliefs in the face of gentle ribbing, and even open hostility, from other members of his largely reactionary high-society milieu (167). In this way, he is a far cry from Baltasar Sobrado and his “creencias vacilantes y endebles.” Even so, when it comes to politics, Gabriel is frustrated yet again—not by love or by philosophy, but by history. Specifically, his sense of disillusionment comes with the ultimate failure of the Revolution, leading eventually

to the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875. That failure brought an end to Spain's First Republic, in favor of the nominally parliamentary, yet largely oligarchical, political system of the Restoration. On a smaller scale, these events, as Madre's narrator tells us, "le cortaron las alas del espíritu a Gabriel Pardo" (168).

In Baltasar and Gabriel, we see two "exemplary" men of late-nineteenth-century Spain. For his part, Baltasar is a shiftless, selfish, dithering fellow, who thinks only of himself, and whose physical features border on effeminate. He may talk a good game and seem attentive, intelligent, and even prudent to those close to him. But underneath his public façade, as the narrator's description indicates, he is generally weak. For his part, Gabriel is capable of the active, rugged life of the soldier and strong enough to hold onto his convictions in the face of disagreements from his peers. But in essence, he is a bookish, sensitive dreamer, who thinks and feels so much about the world around him that he is easily wounded and often left in a state of malaise and disenchantment—with his intellectual and emotional wings clipped, as it were.

If these two characters represent "typical" men of their era, then the outlook for Spanish manhood in the late nineteenth century seems rather bleak. Indeed, we might even point to a "crisis of masculinity," as I defined it in the Introduction, following José Cartagena Calderón. In the pages that follow, I will trace, using England as an example, the development of a modern masculine ideal based on post-Enlightenment notions of gender difference, as well as bourgeois ideas about work and family. I will argue that, while it arises outside of Spain, based on conditions that do not exist in that country, this ideal still affects notions of manliness in nineteenth-century Spain. From there, I will

discuss the difficulties in living up to the modern masculine ideal for various characters in Pardo Bazán's oeuvre. I will argue that the modern masculine ideal, which depends on being "modern," created a double bind for men in nineteenth-century Spain, many parts of which were still organized around a pre-industrial, feudal ideology. In other words, I will show how social and economic changes clashed with a persistence of Ancien-Regime patterns in Spain to create a crisis of masculinity.

Post-Enlightenment Gender Difference and the Modern Masculine Stereotype

To appreciate how Baltasar Sobrado and Gabriel Pardo differ from the ideal of manliness in the period, it is necessary to establish what constituted that ideal. To do that, we must first understand the concomitant conception of sexual difference—a conception that changed in the late-eighteenth century. Until then, Thomas Laqueur explains, what we think of today as the "opposite sex" did not exist (13). Men and women were not considered qualitatively different. Instead, women were simply seen as inferior or underdeveloped versions of men, both physically and intellectually.² But the discovery of physical sexual difference led to a sea change. By the nineteenth century, says Laqueur, the sexes are not only different, "but they are different in every conceivable aspect of body and soul" (5). G. Encinas's La mujer comparada con el hombre: Apuntes filosófico-médicos, published in Madrid in 1875, just a few years

² As Laqueur notes in Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, "For two millennia, the ovary, an organ that by the early nineteenth century had become a synecdoche for woman, had not even a name of its own. [Second-century Roman physician] Galen refers to it by the same word he uses for the male testes, orcheis, allowing context to make clear which sex he is concerned with" (4-5).

before La Tribuna and La madre naturaleza, reflects that change, asking rhetorically, “¿Será acaso que la mujer teniendo las mismas facultades, son éstas en ella más débiles é imperfectas?” (20).³ This idea, says Encinas, would mean that woman “ha sido tratada hasta ahora con notoria injusticia” (20). He prefers the prevailing notion that, precisely because men and women possess distinct abilities, “en unas de ellas, el hombre es superior y la mujer lo es en otras” (20). He then goes on to lay out the qualities he sees as distinctly masculine and feminine: the former being “la fuerza, la majestad, el valor y la razón”, and the latter, “la belleza, la gracia, la finura y el sentimiento” (24). Repeatedly emphasizing women’s “extrema sensibilidad,” Encinas goes even further to mark rational intelligence as the dominion of men: “Las ideas abstractas y generales, los sistemas metafísicos y filosóficos, son casi indiferentes a la mujer, y sólo hay un medio de hacerlos compatibles con su inteligencia, que es de hacerlos pasar por su corazón” (48-49).⁴ In essence, according to this formulation, men think, but women only feel. Victor

³ Pardo Bazán had a copy of Encinas’s text, in her personal library, though that copy bears no annotations in her own hand. The handwritten inscription on the inside front cover dedicates the volume to “Fabiana” from “Luis.”

⁴ Encinas’s text was neither the only, nor the first, in Spain to use this sort of rhetoric to discuss the differences between the sexes. Perhaps the most famous such text was Severo Catalina’s La mujer: Apuntes para un libro, first published in 1858. In it, Catalina addresses his implied female readers thus: “Dejad que el hombre, organizado física é intelectualmente para el trabajo, cumpla en la tierra su misión: vuestras manos son muy delicadas; la vivacidad de vuestro rostro y la ternura de vuestra frente peligran en el frío clima de la abstracción metafísica” (367-368). Catalina does not deny women’s ability to study and write, given the right education, citing Santa Teresa de Jesús and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz as examples of successful, if exceptional, female thinkers (372-373). But he does say, “Dadas las condiciones de la actual sociedad, no es preciso que la mujer sea sabia: basta con que sea discreta; no es preciso que brille como filosofía: basta brillar por su humildad como hija, por su pudor como soltera, por su ternura como esposa, por su

Seidler discusses the same idea as it relates to the Kantian opposition between reason and nature. Ascribing rationality to men and sentimentality to women meant that women were not only more sentimental, but also closer to nature, and therefore only able to access rational thought through men. As Seidler notes, nature itself was conceived as a woman—“la madre naturaleza” in the parlance of Pardo Bazán’s novels—to be “tortured” into submission and cultivated by man (16). According to this logic, man is not wild, but rather rational and controlled. He is not the untamed, but rather the tamer.

If, after 1800, as Laqueur claims, men and women were seen as different in “every conceivable aspect of body and soul,” it is important to note that, by this point in history, body and soul had also become inexorably linked. According to George Mosse, during medieval and early modern times, “most men believed that a living soul inhabited an inert body,” but Enlightenment thought saw the body and the soul as interconnected (Image 24). Likewise, before the Enlightenment, clothing had been the key marker of rank and status. But the eighteenth century brought with it the idea that physical features expressed character traits (Mosse, Image 24). As Encinas puts it:

Entre la psicología, que estudia al hombre moralmente, y la fisiología, que investiga y analiza la organización para encontrar las leyes de la vida, hay tan íntima relación que no es posible señalar el límite de cada una, ni se puede decir dónde termina ésta para comenzar aquélla. (1-2)

Here, physical strength and reason (“la fuerza” and “la razón” in Encinas’s terms) are not

abnegación como madre, por su delicadeza y religiosidad como mujer” (368). In other words, because men are made for physical and intellectual work, the contemporary woman is free to focus on qualities like delicacy and tenderness that Catalina describes as feminine strengths—qualities that might be considered weaknesses in a man.

merely two parallel and unrelated masculine characteristics—one physical and the other intellectual (or “moral,” as Encinas would have it). Instead, they are interrelated. We see the same idea in Émile, published in 1762, over a century before Encinas’s text, in which Jean-Jacques Rousseau writes: “Once make him a man in vigor, and he will soon become a man in understanding” (Rousseau 122; quoted in Mosse, Image 27). Here, there is not simply a link between masculine strength and masculine reason; Rousseau implies a causal link, whereby strength leads to reason. But according to Johann Kasper Lavater’s Essai sur la Physiognomy (1781), this cause-and-effect is not necessarily a one-way proposition. If Rousseau sees manly vigor as a precursor to manly understanding, Lavater asserts that certain moral attributes, in turn, make a man physically beautiful, such as love of work, moderation, and hygiene (Mosse, Image 26).⁵ Thus, the causal link between moral and physical masculine traits is reciprocal. This “harmony of bodily and moral beauty,” to use Mosse’s phrase, constitutes the ideal of modern manhood—or in his words, the “modern masculine stereotype” (4).

What does the physical manifestation of inner masculine virtues look like? How

⁵ According to Graeme Tytler, Lavaterian physiognomy’s main impact on literature began around the 1770s and lasted until the 1880s, but began to lose purchase by the late nineteenth century, in part due to a disillusionment in the 1860s and 1870s with what Tytler calls its “sister science,” phrenology (xiv-xv). Even so, he writes, “physiognomy persisted in the novel long after it had ceased to be a universal vogue” (xvi). He cites Émile Zola and other naturalists, as well as Thomas Hardy and Henry James, as authors whose works showed a continued resonance of physiognomy (xvi). To this list, we can add Pardo Bazán, herself a follower of naturalism. Meanwhile, physiognomy also continued to have a major impact on the field of criminology—then called “Criminal Anthropology”—at the turn of the century, as evidenced by such works as Cesare Lombroso’s L’Uomo Delinquente (1897) and Havelock Ellis’s The Criminal (1901) (Fernández Cifuentes 300 n. 16).

do qualities, such as rationality, self-control, moderation, and work ethic imprint themselves on the body? What constitutes the manly beauty inherent in the modern masculine stereotype? While Encinas states that woman outstrips man “en atractivos, siéndole inferior en fuerzas,” the author still lays out the features that make up masculine beauty: “[u]na organización fuerte con rasgos bien pronunciados, ojos vivos y animados que revelan genio y valor de espíritu, cierto aire de grandeza, de dignidad y templanza, una fisonomía franca y severa” (23). The standard for male beauty largely takes its inspiration from the sculpture of ancient Greece, which became widely disseminated in Europe via engravings during the second half of the eighteenth century, thanks primarily to the efforts of German archeologist and art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (Mosse, Image 28-29). The Greek ideal became part of the modern masculine stereotype in part because it reflected the anxieties of the time. As Mosse says, the “speed with which Europe was being transformed into an industrialized society frightened many people at the beginning of the nineteenth century, just as it seemed to threaten chaos at the century’s end” (Image 34). Faced with the breakdown of Ancien Regime social hierarchies, modern society “needed order, but it needed a certain dynamic as well” (Image 34). The ideal represented in Greek sculpture balanced order and movement: it “allowed for virility—a certain dynamic—as well as for the harnessing of untoward movement through bodily harmony and proportion” (Image 35).⁶ In other words, this

⁶ Mosse claims that nationalism, a movement which “began and evolved parallel to modern masculinity... adopted the masculine stereotype as one of its means of self-representation,” precisely because of the combination of dynamism and order it exhibited (Image 7). Modern manliness, the historian explains, “symbolized the nation’s spiritual

ideal reflected the desire for strength and motion, but also for control and restraint—both in terms of the body and of the body politic.

Unmanly Men, Unmanly Nation

Returning to the description of Baltasar Sobrado in La Tribuna, we can now appreciate just how far off the mark of the modern masculine stereotype that character falls. True, he may be temperate, and even, in some ways, rational. But he lacks the striking, well-proportioned physical features and the steadfast moral character that underpin them. Given the narrator's description of him, Baltasar's surname, Sobrado, seems at once incongruous and utterly appropriate. Among the definitions of "sobrado" given by the Real Academia Española's dictionary, we find "demasiado," "que sobra," "atrevido," and "audaz." Inasmuch as the name implies greatness, be it in size or in daring, it is ironic when applied to a man so slight of character and fine of features. To the extent that it implies superfluosity, it fits Baltasar like a glove.

Baltasar may be a typical man of his time, but he is not, according to modern standards of masculinity, a manly man. And neither is Gabriel Pardo, although for different reasons. While he does feel weak later in La madre naturaleza by comparison to the muscular Perucho, as I will discuss further later, the initial description of Gabriel in the novel paints him as neither physically weak nor outwardly effeminate. Instead, we are told that he has experienced the physical vigor of the soldier's life, and he has delved

and material vitality. It called for strength of body and mind, but not brute force—the individual's energies had to be kept under control" (Nationalism 23).

into the particularly masculine domain of “las ideas abtractas y generales, los sistemas metafísicos y filosóficos,” as Encinas puts it. But his thoughts also stray into the realm of fantasy and imagination, far from the disciplined logic of masculine rationality. Moreover, Gabriel’s acute sensitivity in matters of love, philosophy, and politics—the “extrema sensibilidad” that Encinas associates strongly with women—situates him squarely in the realm of the feminine, according to nineteenth-century ideology. And even though he has known the active life of the battlefield, he repeatedly describes himself as a victim—acted-upon rather than active. In a self-pitying summation of his feelings of disillusionment in chapter eight of *La madre naturaleza*, Gabriel asks himself: “¿Es culpa tuya si el amor es distracción frívola, la ciencia nombre pomposo que disfraza nuestra ignorancia trascendental y la política farsa más triste y vil que todas?” (173). In other words, “frivolous love,” “transcendental ignorance”, and “farcical politics” have conspired to shape the man he has become, through no fault—but also through no action—of his own.

Gabriel’s use of the plural possessive in “nuestra ignorancia” is significant in that it makes his victimhood not individual, but collective. A few paragraphs later, he makes this point even more explicit: “Yo soy víctima de mi época y del estado de mi nación, ni más ni menos. Y nuestro destino corre parejas. Los mismos desencantos hemos sufrido; iguales caminos hemos comprendido, y las mismas esperanzas quiméricas nos han agitado” (176). His path is Spain’s path, and his problems are Spain’s problems. As a result, the “feminine” sensibility that condemns Gabriel to disillusionment becomes a microcosmic example of a larger societal issue.

In Benito Pérez Galdós's 1870 essay, "Observaciones sobre la novela contemporánea en España," the author makes a similar point. He calls Spanish society a collection of "idealistas desaforados," and says of them (and of himself): "más nos agrada imaginar que observar... Somos en todo unos soñadores que no sabemos descender de las regiones del más sublime extravío" (106). He then links this overly imaginative, dreamer quality to what he sees as Spain's lack of modernization with respect to other European countries: "en literatura como en política nos vamos por esas nubes montados en nuestros hipógrifos [sic], como si no estuviéramos en el siglo XIX y en un rincón de esta vieja Europa, que ya va aficionando mucho a la realidad" (106). In other words, while Spain has its head in the clouds, somehow stuck in the past, the rest of Europe is firmly grounded in the reality of the present moment.

Gabriel Pardo echoes this idea in more than one Pardo Bazán novel. In Insolación, he makes a scathing, essentialist comparison between Spain and the rest of Europe, painting his countrymen (and himself) in a decidedly less than modern light: "De los Pirineos acá, todos, sin excepción, somos salvajes, lo mismo las personas finas como los tíos" (77). By accusing everyone on the Spanish side the mountains of being savage, Gabriel implicitly claims that the same is not true on the "other side," that is, in France and other parts of Europe. In doing so, he echoes the famous assertion that Africa begins at the Pyrenees.⁷ After Gabriel makes his own journey across those mountains, to travel

⁷ There is some question as to the origin of the phrase, "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," though an 1883 article in La ilustración española y americana attributes the phrase to French novelist and playwright Alexandre Dumas (Prat 166). In any case, the association between Spain and Africa is symptomatic of a broader link between Southern European

in France, England, and Germany, his return to Spain is, according to the La madre naturaleza's narrator, a jarring disappointment. By comparison to the other countries he has visited, Gabriel sees Spain as “una casa venida a menos, en una comarca semisalvaje, donde era postiza y exótica y prestada la exigua cultura, los adelantos y la forma de vivir moderno, donde el tren corría más triste y lánguido, donde la gente echaba de sí tufo de grosería y miseria” (171). Next to the more “civilized” parts of Europe, Spain seems uncultured, slow, backward, and downright poor. Even Madrid, with its “calles estrechas, torcidas, mal empedradas” and its “desanimado comercio,” reminds him of “uno de esos prehistóricos poblachones de Castilla, fosilizados desde el tiempo de los moros” (Madre 172). Thus, the city seems more like a primitive village than a vibrant, modern European capital along the lines of London or Paris.

Two important ideas arise from this comparison between Spain and its European neighbors. First, the use of words like “salvaje” and “prehistórico” imply that Spain's collective feminization is not just due to over-sentimentality or idealism. According to the post-Enlightenment scheme of gender difference, these words also figure Spain as the uncivilized female, rather than as the male civilizer. Second, the allusions to its overall poverty, its slow trains, its lackluster commerce, and its “poblachón” of a capital all

nations, in general, and non-European, supposedly less civilized, lands. Indeed, according to Roberto M. Dainotto, this link is crucial to the formation of what he calls “a modern European identity.” As he says in Europe (in Theory) (2007), that identity “begins when the non-Europe is internalized—when the south, indeed, becomes the sufficient and indispensable internal Other: Europe, but also the negative part of it” (4, original emphasis).

couch Spain's relative dearth of civilization in economic terms. The implication is that for a nation to be considered civilized, and thus "manly," it requires more wealth, more robust commerce, faster trains, and a more metropolitan capital than late-nineteenth-century Spain can boast. Put another way, civilization in this context means industrialization. According to this logic, a more industrialized nation is a manlier nation. Thus, as Gabriel Pardo decries Spain's beleaguered commerce and languid trains—adding those failures to a list that already includes "transcendental ignorance" and "farcical politics"—he implicitly calls his country's collective virility into question.

Modern Bourgeois Masculinity in England: A Script Enacted Elsewhere

The correlation we see in La madre naturaleza between industrialization and manliness is no coincidence. I purposefully use the word "correlation" here to make clear that the relationship is not a causal one. Even if we accept the notion that a manly nation is an industrialized nation, we cannot then assume that industrialization causes manliness, or that a manlier man will necessarily be the product of a more industrialized nation. In fact, as I will discuss later, in some ways, the opposite is true. But there is an important relationship between industrialized society and the idea of modern manliness. The modern masculine ideal is largely associated with the urban, bourgeois society that came into being as result of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism (Connell 194; Mosse, Image 17). As a result, this ideal evolved alongside, and became imbued with, the urban, bourgeois ideology of the nineteenth century. In this way, it came to reflect not just the post-Enlightenment scheme of gender difference, which framed manliness in terms of controlled strength and rationality, as opposed to supposedly

feminine qualities, like fragility and sentimentality. As industrialization advanced, the modern masculine ideal also absorbed middle-class norms regarding work, family, and men's place in the larger society.

Perhaps nowhere is this process more evident than in nineteenth-century England, considered to be a sort of template, against which other countries' processes of industrialization and modernization are measured. In fact, as Adrian Shubert notes, many historians judge Spain's industrial progress by its ability (or lack thereof) "to hold to an already scripted scenario which, it is believed, was successfully acted out elsewhere" (3). And Jordi Nadal tells us explicitly where that "elsewhere" was. He begins his study of the Spanish economy by stating: "Mi punto de partida ha sido, en este caso, la incidencia sobre la economía española del modelo clásico, a la inglesa, del desarrollo" (9, my emphasis). It would be circular to ask what made England such an industrial success when that country represents the "classic model" of industrialization, that is, the very standard by which industrial success is judged. But we can ask, without fear of circularity, what laid the groundwork for England's industrialization. And we can ask what economic, political, and social changes occurred there in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that, in turn, influenced ideas about manliness, both inside and outside England itself.

By most accounts, the Industrial Revolution began in England around 1780, centering on the cotton industry (Mitchell 3). From the beginning, several factors favored industrial growth. The climate lent itself to the growing of textile fibers. The subsoil was rich in coal and iron-ore deposits. And a large network of internal waterways

facilitated the transport of goods and raw materials. The nation was also strategically situated at the intersection of seafaring trade routes. And after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, England dominated the seas (Bédarida 10; Mitchell 3). These conditions, as well as the peace and stability of the later nineteenth century, made way for sweeping economic changes. Heavy industry, mining, building, and transportation all steadily increased, while the overall impact of agriculture declined (Mitchell 40-41). At the turn of the nineteenth century, farming was still the driving force of the economy, and the majority of the population lived in rural areas. But at mid-century, industry had overtaken agriculture as the economy's most important sector (Mitchell 68). And by 1881, farming only accounted for about one tenth of the English economy (Bédarida 27). In 1845, the majority of the population had moved away from the country (Bédarida 16). And ten years later, some 75% of Englishmen lived in cities and towns (Bédarida 17). Commerce boomed in the last half of the nineteenth century, as well; while only about 130,000 men held commercial jobs in 1861, that number had more than tripled to nearly 450,000 thirty years later (Mitchell 68). All this meant that the national income in 1900 was eight times what it had been one hundred years earlier—twice the rate of population growth (Bédarida 8).

The shift from rural to urban, and from agriculture to industry and commerce meant a shift, as well, in work patterns. Farm labor remained an important source of jobs for the working class. But other common working-class occupations now included factory jobs, mining, transportation, building, and domestic service. Middle-class jobs tended to be divided into three different categories. Members of the traditional

professions, such as clergymen, military officers, lawyers, doctors, professors, high-ranking civil servants, civil engineers, and architects made up the bourgeois upper echelon. The second group consisted, in part, of a “newer” middle class that arose as a direct result of the Industrial Revolution, such as large-scale merchants, manufacturers, and bankers, but also accountants, insurance agents, local government workers, journalists, and police inspectors. The third group, generally considered the “lower” middle class, or the *petite bourgeoisie*, included small-scale shopkeepers and “black-coated”—“white-collar” in today’s parlance—clerical workers (Mitchell 18-20).

Even though the agricultural sector represented an ever-decreasing percentage of the national income in nineteenth-century England, it did undergo changes that allowed it to remain viable, especially during the so-called “Great Victorian Prosperity” of 1851-1873, considered the apogee of England’s nineteenth-century economic boom. Those years saw a gradual modernization of equipment and farming methods that reflected a general drive toward innovation in other sectors of the economy, as well (Bédarida 31, 10). And even more noteworthy, perhaps, was the development of what François Bédarida calls “a highly capitalist agriculture” that emerged “within the framework of an earlier structure, that is to say, the feudal and aristocratic system” (27). At the same time, the landed aristocracy diversified its holdings by investing in commerce and banking (127).

While the work that people did and the wealth they acquired is central to our discussion of England’s economic and social evolution in the nineteenth century, the way they thought about their work and their wealth is even more essential to understanding

the way these changes affected standards of masculinity. For Bédarida, nineteenth-century England was guided by a “moral conviction,” heavily influenced by the Protestant work ethic, that “exalted individual initiative, idealized riches, and praised as cardinal values saving, work, mobility, and creative energy” (12). Not coincidentally, all these values blended seamlessly with capitalism. Moreover, said values also came to be seen as “virile qualities,” according to Bédarida (118). In this way, they were incorporated into the modern masculine ideal, becoming part of the constellation of manly characteristics that already included physical strength and intellectual rationality.

A clear departure from Ancien-Regime notions of feudal servitude and social hierarchy, this new bourgeois ideology gave a moral justification for the middle-class lifestyle, in which a man, regardless of station, could—and indeed should—improve himself and his lot in life through his own hard work and talents. As English author Samuel Smiles writes in his 1859 bestseller, Self-Help: “It is the diligent hand and head alone that maketh rich—in self-culture, growth in wisdom, and in business” (quoted in Mitchell 262). But, as Sally Mitchell points out: “Hard work was a moral good in itself; if wealth followed, it was a fitting recognition of a man’s virtue” (263). In other words, what mattered most was the diligence, not the riches, as Smiles might put it. But in bourgeois terms, riches were a sign of that diligence. And, as such, they were also a sign of manhood.

The bourgeois conception of manliness that encompassed strength and reason, but also work, creativity, and self-improvement, was part of a larger middle-class family dynamic. As Bédarida says, “It was up to the man, a being of superior action and

command, to protect the woman—frail flower, feeble creature, born to submission and devotion. The one and only feminine vocation was maternity and the home” (118). Here, Bédarida points to what Jürgen Habermas has described as a bourgeois separation of the public and private spheres, whereby the public sphere of earning and politics became the domain of men, whereas the women’s domain was the private sphere of the homemaking and the rearing of children.⁸ This separation, which resulted from industrialization and urbanization, represents a significant departure from the rural, agricultural model, in which members of both sexes work together to put food on the table. As a result of this separation, manliness became inextricably bound up with marriage, and the financial support of a wife and family. Consequently, as John Tosh explains, the “fully masculine man” in Victorian England was the man who could set up a new household as paterfamilias, and who could, through his own work, become the breadwinner for his wife and children (36). Moreover, adds Tosh, that work “had to be absolutely free from any suggestion of servility or dependence of patronage” in order to be considered dignified (37). In other words, the “fully masculine man” was a self-made husband and father. In this way, marriage, fatherhood, and the individual support of the family became part of the modern masculine ideal, as well.

This notion of self-determination, so important to bourgeois ideology and bourgeois manliness, was bolstered in nineteenth-century England by national and local

⁸ For a more detailed explanation of the separation of the public and private spheres, please see Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

reforms that strengthened the political role of the middle class at the expense of aristocratic authority. For instance, the Reform Bill of 1832 doubled the eligible number of voters to one million, which included large numbers of middle-class voters for the first time. And another Reform Bill in 1867 doubled the electorate again to include a majority of middle-class and even some working-class men (Mitchell 10). Local governments were overhauled in 1888, and elected councils (voted on by men and women) replaced older, aristocratic institutions (Mitchell xi). Meanwhile, a recruitment exam was instituted in the Civil Service, and the purchase of army officers' commissions was abolished. In this way, says Bédarida, "Merit became more important than social rank, and competence than birth" (130). Moreover, a reorganization of the political parties in the last quarter of the nineteenth century turned them into what Bédarida calls "great organized machines," which "made it much more difficult for a small oligarchy of peers and squires to control the party" (130). These reforms are symptomatic of a gradual shift in the balance of power away from the landed gentry, and toward the middle class, extending the bourgeois idea of self-help into the political arena.

In addition to increased wealth and political authority, the English middle class also exhibited its power in another way, by imposing middle-class values on the nation as a whole. For example, even the aristocracy, accustomed to what Mitchell calls a "life of pure leisure and dissipation," gradually became subject to the bourgeois moral imperative of work (21). As time went on, landowners were increasingly expected to make themselves useful by participating in politics or charity. And the younger sons of the gentry, who did not inherit land, were likewise expected to join a profession, like the

clergy or the military (Mitchell 21). The nobility's influence and way of life certainly did not disappear in nineteenth-century England. But, as Bédarida says, "every day it became more and more a middle-class country" (125). Consequently, the largely urban, middle-class ideal of masculinity, which emphasized physical vigor, reason, individual initiative, and the support of a family through work, became more than just an urban, middle-class ideal. It became the masculine ideal for the whole society.⁹

The Persistence of the Old Regime in Spain

As mentioned before, England represents the "classic model" of industrial success, to recall Nadal's phrase. As such, it has often been the standard against which Spain's industrialization and modernization have been judged, by historians and literary characters alike, as we have seen in the case of Gabriel Pardo. But if England is indeed the standard for success in this regard, Spain will inevitably come up short in a comparison between the two countries. For that reason, historians who have made such comparisons have called Spain a "failure," at worst, and a "laggard," at best.¹⁰ And for that same reason, Gabriel Pardo sees Spain as "una casa venida a menos" after traveling

⁹ Lest the reader get the idea that the masculine ideal described here was merely a nineteenth-century phenomenon, consider sociologist Erving Goffman's 1963 description of the ideal American man: "a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports" (128; quoted in Kimmel 4). A man who fails to live up to these requirements, continues Goffman, "is likely to view himself—during moments at least—as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior" (128; quoted in Kimmel 4).

¹⁰ "Failure" here refers to the title of Nadal's study, El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España (1814-1913). "Laggard" is the term used by Shubert in A Social History of Modern Spain (11).

in England. Nevertheless, a comparison between Spain and England is in order here. My purpose, however, is not to beat a laggard horse. Rather, I will show that Spanish men were influenced by the same modern masculine ideal that became prominent in England, along with other, pre-Enlightenment ideals of manliness, which still held sway in Spain. But the economic and social conditions that made it possible for nineteenth-century Englishmen to reach for, if not necessarily achieve, that modern ideal did not exist to the same degree for Spaniards, which made it all the more difficult to break free from Ancien-Regime models.

To begin with, on a national level, Spain's industrialization began much later—some fifty years later, according to Nadal (24). Mass industry and urbanization did develop in peripheral regions, like Cataluña and the Basque Country. But whereas England was already a predominantly urban, industrial country by 1850, the same was not true of Spain. According to 1877 census data, 70% of the active population still worked in agriculture, while 11% worked in industry, and 19% in commercial and service-related fields. In 1887, the percentage of agricultural workers had dropped to 66.5%, and industrial and service-related workers numbered 14.6% and 18.7%, respectively. But as late as 1900, a full 66.35% of the workforce earned its living through agriculture, compared to a paltry 16.33% in industry and 17.32% in commercial and service jobs (Tuñón de Lara 156-157). In other words, by century's end, agriculture was still the dominant force in the Spanish economy, and ruralism remained the norm. At the same time, besides being a symptom of Spain's tardy industrialization, this dependence on agriculture hindered the economy in other ways, as well. The farms of

the Mediterranean coast were often flexible enough to keep pace with market conditions. But most other parts of the country suffered from several significant hindrances to agricultural growth (Carr 401). These included primitive farming techniques; landlord absenteeism; and poor distribution of land, in parcels either too big (the latifundia) or too small (the minifundia) to be managed productively (Valls 15; Carr 25). The problem of the minifundia even contributed to widespread emigration from Galicia to the New World, simply because there was not enough food to support the population.

Meanwhile, transportation of goods across long distances and over mountainous terrain was difficult, and the expansion of the railroad was slow. Spain's first rail line appeared in 1848, connecting Barcelona and the nearby city of Mataró. But by 1855, there were only 456 kilometers of track in the whole country. The pace quickened somewhat after the passage of the Railway Law of 1855. And, by 1868, Spain had nearly 5,000 kilometers of rail lines (Shubert 17). But by contrast to England, this pace was indeed a languid one, as Gabriel Pardo might put it. England's railway system began some thirty years earlier and grew much faster, especially during the 1840s (Mitchell 73). By 1850, two years after the construction of the first Spanish rail line, 6,000 miles (around 9,700 kilometers) of track already crisscrossed England. And by 1870, that number had more than doubled, to 14,000 miles (nearly 23,000 kilometers), well over four times Spain's total in 1868 (Bédarida 9). Moreover, while railroads reached most parts of England by 1850, certain areas of Spain (particularly in Galicia and Asturias) remained without railway access until the 1880s (Mitchell 6; Lentisco 199).

As for Madrid, it was far from a "poblachón de la vieja Castilla" at the end of the

nineteenth century, having ballooned between 1840 and 1885 from a population of 160,000 to 400,000, with immigrants flooding in from all over the country (Plà et al. 12ff; quoted in Sieburth 28). But unlike other European capitals, like London and Paris, which were centers of both production and government, nineteenth-century Madrid never developed a significant industrial sector (Cruz 16; Ringrose, Madrid 99). And the manufacturing concerns that did appear there were mostly small artisan-based operations (Shubert 129; Cruz 55). Thus, an emigrant who left his or her home in rural Spain—itsself deficient in mass industry—was likely met with a paucity of industrial jobs in Madrid, as well. Instead, the city's economy became increasingly service-oriented and dependent on its function as the national capital (Ringrose, Madrid 99). In fact, for the first half of the century, only two occupational groups in Madrid actually grew: domestic servants and bureaucrats. And the number of bureaucrats continued to increase throughout the century (Shubert 113). But even as the bureaucracy grew dramatically, those seeking government jobs in the capital, or pretendientes, always far outstripped the actual demand (Shubert 115).

Apart from the bureaucracy, Madrid also saw a rise in other middle-class professions, such as medicine, law, and pharmacy (Shubert 113). But, in general, Spain's lack of industry severely hamstrung the development of a strong, independent middle class. And the middle class that did exist did not necessarily embody a systematic departure from the attitudes and practices of the pre-industrial Ancien Regime. For example, whereas English bankers augmented their wealth by investing in manufacturing, Madrid's bankers invested in foreign exchange, money orders, and speculation with State

funds, following pre-industrial patterns (Cruz 73). Likewise, Madrid's merchants and other business owners maintained old-regime practices. Seldom "self-made" men, they were generally immigrants from other parts of Spain, who worked under the auspices of a patron and relied on family or regional connections to sustain their businesses (Cruz 86). We see an example of these regional connections in Pardo Bazán's Morriña (1889), set in Madrid, in which Aurora Pardiñas insists on taking cabs driven only by her fellow Galicians. Here, we see a distinct contrast to the bourgeois ideal of individual effort and hard work that prevailed in England at the time. In nineteenth-century Madrid, success often depended instead on long-established social networks and favoritism. In other words, the key factor in business was not what a man did, but rather who he was and whom he knew.

A similar phenomenon occurred with respect to the bureaucrats, as is illustrated by the figure of the cesante. Akin to the pretendiente, who came to Madrid looking for a government job, but frequently failed to find one, the cesante was a man who had succeeded in gaining employment in the government only to then be relieved of his post. The pathetic Ramón Villaamil in Galdós's Miau (1888) is perhaps the most famous literary example of the cesante. But nearly forty years before Galdós's novel, Antonio Gil de Zárate describes the figure, in Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (1851), as the government functionary who, "en virtud de una reforma, de un capricho ministerial, de una recomendación parlamentaria, de la indicación de un club subterráneo, ó del decreto de una jaula revolucionaria," has lost his post (44). In other words, a functionary could lose his job regardless of his loyalty, hard work, or innovative ideas—such as Villaamil's

plan to institute an income tax, for example. Functionaries were at the mercy of others, and if they fell out of favor, they lost their jobs and became cesantes. Unexpected forces, often arbitrary and always beyond their own personal control, could thus separate them from those jobs, robbing them of their ability, to support their families according to middle-class standards as happens in Miau. While the figure of the cesante existed long before the late-nineteenth-century, the ever-shifting ministries of the turno pacífico made the cesante an even more recognizable figure in the Madrid of Restoration—so much so, in fact, that the 1880s even spawned a magazine entitled El cesante (Shubert 116).

If bourgeois Spaniards made no significant break with the aristocratic values of the past, it was because, to a large degree, they themselves did not represent a significant break with the aristocracy. Many Spaniards that we might classify as members of the middle class in the nineteenth century, according to income or profession, actually had hidalgo origins (Cruz 15). This fact does not mean that the era saw no social mobility. But it does mean that such mobility was often more horizontal than vertical. As Cruz says, “the beneficiaries [...] were essentially the same groups that were well established in power circles of the eighteenth century” (165, my emphasis). And even when members of the Spanish middle class did not have aristocratic roots, they often gained entry into the aristocracy. In fact, most of the Spanish upper middle class in the last half of the century acquired noble titles (Tuñón de Lara 178). Of course, it should be noted that a similar phenomenon occurred in England. Between 1886 and 1914, some 200 peers were created in that country, granting noble titles to many bourgeois captains of industry and business (Bédarida 129). But, according to historians, the consequences of

middle-class inroads into the aristocracy were different in the two countries. With respect to England, Bédarida calls these inroads the “embourgeoisement [...] of the aristocracy by businessmen,” whereby the nobility became permeated with bourgeois ideology (128). According to Manuel Tuñón de Lara, the opposite was true in Spain. For him, “esta integración progresiva en la nobleza se acompaña, naturalmente, de un fenómeno de integración ideológica: género de vida, contactos con la Corte y antigua nobleza, aceptación de los valores establecidos por el ‘viejo orden’” (178). In other words, instead of inculcating the aristocracy with bourgeois norms and attitudes, as in the English case, the Spanish ennoblements infused aristocratic values and social practices into the middle class.

Meanwhile, the Spanish political system did little to reflect or to strengthen a sense of self-determinacy among its citizenry. On the one hand, the nineteenth century saw a constant tug-of-war between liberal regimes and reactionary ones. On the other hand, even when power was in the hands of politicians who vaunted ideals like freedom and egalitarianism, there was a disconnect between rhetoric and praxis. As Cruz says, “in their social practices most of them favored authority, familism[,] patronage, and hierarchy,” all of which are hallmarks of pre-industrial, feudal societies (196). Again, we see a system that favored social relationships and favoritism over the power of the individual man.

During the Restoration, Spain did adopt a British-style parliamentary government, and even instituted universal male suffrage in national elections (Álvarez Junco and Shubert 123). But these reforms simply masked what was essentially an oligarchical

system, dominated at the local level by caciquismo, or bossism. In his 1901 essay, Oligarquía y caciquismo como la forma actual de gobierno en España: urgencia y modo de cambiarla, Joaquín Costa defines the phenomenon (quoting Azcárate) as “feudalismo de un nuevo género, cien veces más repugnante que el feudalismo guerrero de la Edad Media, y por virtud del cual se esconde bajo el ropaje del Gobierno representativo una oligarquía mezquina, hipócrita y bastarda” (24, original emphasis). In other words, caciquismo is tantamount to the feudal system of the Ancien Regime, but more insidious because it is disguised within a parliamentary system. Indeed, as David Ringrose explains, caciques were simply one cog, though a very important cog, in the workings of a central government that looked like the British system, but that completely short-circuited the electoral process:

By the Restoration of 1874, elections were administered locally and brokered through the Ministry of the Interior in collaboration with the caciques. When a ruling cabinet reached a stalemate because of a scandal or an economic crisis, the monarch met with the leaders of the main parties, who negotiated the composition of a new government. The monarch then appointed the preselected new cabinet and dissolved parliament. The newly appointed Minister of the Interior (Gobernación) then set about ‘making the elections,’ arranging a parliamentary majority to match the composition of the preselected new cabinet. (Spain 357)

Caciques were not necessarily those with land or money of their own, but rather those who knew how to manipulate the electoral system, as well as manipulating local electors themselves, in order to maintain State authority at the local level (Labanyi 269). Besides the obvious drawback of caciquismo—that it made a mockery of the electoral process—it also took another important toll on Spanish society. As Jo Labanyi says, caciquismo “depoliticized the rural electorate,” and thus impeded “the development of a healthy,

critical public sphere” (270). We see this point reflected in Pardo Bazán’s Los pazos de Ulloa (1886), in which the narrator describes rural politics: “Las ideas no entran en juego, sino solamente las personas, y en el terreno más mezquino: rencores, odios, rencillas, lucro miserable, vanidad microbiológica” (327). By making elections about the greed and intimidation visited upon them by the cacique—by making the system about people and their petty grievances and desires—caciquismo prevented local electors from developing and critiquing broader political ideas.

It should be noted, however, that the development of a “healthy, critical public sphere” was hindered also by Spain’s inability on the national level to create a well-informed, well-educated populace. In 1857, the Ley de Instrucción Pública, commonly referred to as the Ley Moyano, made primary education officially obligatory (and free for those unable to pay) for all children between the ages of six and nine, unless equivalent instruction was given at home or in a private institution (Cuesta Escudero 12).¹¹ But until the 1870s, central government funding was miniscule (Shubert 182). By 1880, there were 1,640,000 primary school students in Spain (Valls 248). But the application and enforcement of the Ley Moyano were still spotty at best, as illiteracy rates show. In spite of the Ley Moyano, some 70% of the Spanish population was still illiterate in 1877, and that number had only dropped to 63% by 1901 (Carr 472 n. 1). These numbers seem markedly high when compared to illiteracy figures for England. Already in 1850, only

¹¹ The 1857 Ley Moyano, though it was subject to numerous modifications over the years, continued to be the foundation for legislation regarding primary education in Spain for nearly a century, until the passage of the Ley de Educación Primaria in 1945 (Cuesta Escudero 10).

about a third of men in that country were illiterate. By 1871, illiteracy rates for English males and females were 20% and 27%, respectively. But by 1897, the total illiteracy rate (for males and females) had fallen to a scant 3%, a full sixty percentage points less than Spain's illiteracy rate in 1901 (Bédarida 157).

In sum, the differences between England and Spain in the nineteenth century are stark. England underwent sweeping economic, social, and political changes that transformed the people's lives, but also their attitudes. Aristocratic privilege and feudal hierarchies did not disappear. But in the urban, literate society that emerged, they began to lose purchase. Instead, a new, bourgeois mentality based on merit, hard work, innovation, and individual achievement arose, which would reset the national agenda. Spain, on the other hand, remained largely rural and largely illiterate. The middle class that did exist did not transform society and wrest the ideological reins from the old aristocracy. Instead, it remained to a great degree tethered to a pre-industrial, feudal mentality that eschewed innovation and often rewarded cronyism over diligence and merit. England represented a social and ideological break with the past and the entry into modernity, while Spain represented the persistence of the Old Regime.

The Modern Masculine Ideal and the Anxieties of the Spanish Realist Novel

Even though Spain did not experience the same degree of industrialization that occurred in England, and even though it did not produce a new, dominant bourgeois class and a new, dominant bourgeois ideology of its own, Spain did fall under the sway of certain bourgeois social norms and ideals that took hold in England. Bridget Aldaraca has written extensively about el ángel del hogar, the bourgeois feminine ideal based on

what she calls the “ideology of domesticity” in nineteenth-century Spain. She claims that the “material pre-conditions for the realization of the ángel del hogar” include “a house in which the Angel can perform her duties,” where she lives with a man who can support her “at a level of middle-class decency throughout her life” (63). The man described here is one who can marshal his own strength, rationality, and hard work to earn a living that will provide said support for his wife and their family. Thus, we can think of the modern masculine ideal as the male counterpart to el ángel del hogar. Aldaraca confirms my assessment that the Spanish nation lacked the “wide-spread circumstances that would sustain the habits and customs of European bourgeois family life in Spain” (19). But, she says, Spain still saw “rhetorical support” for bourgeois ideals (19).¹² This raises an important question, though: why would a country that still lacked a dominant bourgeoisie be influenced by a bourgeois ideology that conflicted with its own more feudal, pre-industrial ethos? Jesús Cruz points to two reasons: on one hand, many Spaniards “were simply attracted to the message of modernization and progress that underlay middle-class ideals” (276). Others, on the other hand, “wanted to follow the example of countries like England or North America, where the new system seemed to be producing positive results” (276). At the same time, says Cruz, most “embraced liberal ideas for both reasons, because they truly wanted to improve Spanish society and because it was economically and socially beneficial to do so” (276). In other words, Spaniards looked to bourgeois norms even in the absence of a dominant bourgeoisie of its own in order to

¹² Not coincidentally, Aldaraca’s term, el ángel del hogar, which she takes from a nineteenth-century Spanish women’s magazine, originally appeared in an English long poem, The Angel of the House (1854), by Coventry Patmore (Mitchell 266).

emulate those countries where a strong middle class was either the cause or the result of positive changes.

In this context, let us consider Gabriel Pardo's questions to himself in the eighth chapter of La madre naturaleza: "¿Fue estéril todo? ¿Hemos perdido malamente el tiempo? ¿Sentenciados vivimos a no producir ni fundar cosa alguna?" It is no wonder that his thoughts turn to time wasting and sterility, both of which he relates to a lack of production. Time wasting signals an unwillingness to produce. And sterility implies a sheer inability to do so. Here we see an implicit anxiety about Spain's failure to industrialize, just as we did in Gabriel's reaction to Spain's relative backwardness. But we also see in the allusion to time wasting, a related anxiety about Spain's lack of work ethic, as prescribed by the modern masculine ideal. Further, the mention of sterility implies a third anxiety, about the rearing of children and the support of family according to bourgeois norms and expectations—both key elements of the modern masculine ideal.

In terms of late-nineteenth-century Spanish literature, these anxieties are not unique to Gabriel Pardo. As I noted in the Introduction, there are many male characters sprinkled throughout the Spanish realist canon that also embody these worries. According to the modern masculine ideal, an inability to either build a family, or a failure (or unwillingness) to support that family through one's own work essentially rob a man of his raison d'être as a man. In this way, the manhood of characters, like Gabriel, is called into question. And even more important is the relationship—until now all but unexplored in scholarship on the Spanish realist novel—between these characters' questionable manliness and Spain's uneven modernization in the nineteenth century. The

characters are judged against a masculine ideal that formed because of modernizing processes that occurred outside Spain. But they fall short compared to that ideal precisely because Spain has yet to sufficiently modernize in the period, which makes adherence to that ideal impossible.

For Gabriel Pardo, only modernization and regeneration can combat Spain's backwardness, sterility, and overall laziness, of which he is "victim," and propel it into the future, so that it may join the ranks of more modern countries, like England and France. As the narrator of La Madre Naturaleza tells us, upon his return from abroad, Gabriel talks to everyone who will listen, "proponiendo una campaña activísima, especie de coalición de todos los elementos intelectuales del país a fin de civilizarlo e impulsarlo hacia senderos donde no quería el muy remolón sentar el pie" (172). And by extension, this "civilizing" of Spain will "masculinize" it, by making it productive, while, at the same time, curing it of its overly sentimental idealism and imposing the rationality, work ethic, and familial norms of the modern masculine ideal.

Gabriel's own personal contribution to the modernization and masculinization of his country hinges on his plan in La Madre Naturaleza to travel to rural Galicia and marry his niece, Manolita. I will discuss Gabriel's journey to Galicia in more detail in Chapter III, but it is worth noting his motivations for that journey here. Gabriel sees his proposed marriage to Manolita as a way, not just to civilize her—putting his education to a useful purpose by cultivating the "terreno inculto"—but also as a way of building, through that cultivation, a family that can regenerate the nation. He feels an obligation to "crear una familia, ayudando a preparar así la nueva generación que ha de sustituir a ésta tan

exhausta, tan sin conciencia ni generosos propósitos” (176, original emphasis). His appeal to a “new generation,” suggests a break with the past, and with the persistence of antiquated ideas and practices in Spain. Moreover, we can think of his plan to marry and form a family as an assumption of his role as paterfamilias, according to the mandates of the modern masculine ideal. But Gabriel is still an aristocrat who hopes to marry within his own family, in a move that seems much more feudal than bourgeois—a move that surely smacks of incest and the possibility of sterility. Gabriel still operates under the pre-industrial, aristocratic ideology that dominates Spain, even as he tries to live up to the modern masculine ideal, informed by a bourgeois ideology that arose elsewhere. In the space between these two competing ideologies, we find a crisis of masculinity, both for Gabriel, and for late-nineteenth-century Spain.

II: The Violence of Competing Masculinities in Los Pazos de Ulloa

Feminine Weakness and Masculine Violence

As Los Pazos de Ulloa (1886) opens, Julián Álvarez, the novel's principal focalizer, winds his way on horseback through the Galician wilderness toward the Ulloa estate, near the fictional village of Cebre, in order to take up his post as the estate's new chaplain. We learn in the first two paragraphs of the novel that Julián is boyish and weak, as signified by his smooth, hairless face and his "miembros delicados" (94). In fact, says the narrator, the young cleric, "pareciera un niño" if not for his priestly attire (94). The narrator also pointedly notes that his complexion is "no como un pimiento, sino como una fresa," a shade that is "propio de personas linfáticas" (94). According to nineteenth-century physiological and psychological discourses, a ruddy, pepper-like shade would indicate a sanguine temperament, characterized by strength and robustness (Hemingway, Emilia 33). But the pinkish strawberry-like tinge of Julián's skin serves as a physical indicator of his lymphatic character, which, in turn, signals physical weakness. And, as G. Encinas writes in his La mujer comparada con el hombre: Apuntes filosófico-médicos (1875): "en la mujer predomina el temperamento linfático," whereas "lo que llamamos el temperamento sanguíneo puede decirse que pertenece exclusivamente al hombre" (33). Consequently, the initial description of Julián not only marks him as immature and fragile, but also as decidedly feminine. The narrator later reinforces this idea by describing the "endebles de su temperamento linfático nervioso" as "puramente femenino" (115). And in the same paragraph, the narrator also notes that the young priest

“[no se descosió] jamás de las faldas de su madre sino para asistir a cátedra en el Seminario,” thus linking his feminine quality to his status as a mama’s boy (115). And later still, Juncal, the local doctor, comments on what he perceives to be Julián’s “trazas de mujercita”—not just a woman, but a diminutive one at that (275).

In the novel’s opening sentence, the narrator emphasizes Julián’s physical weakness by describing the young priest’s inability to control his horse: “Por más que el jinete trataba de sofrenarlo...con todas sus fuerzas...el peludo rocín seguía empeñándose en bajar la cuesta a un trote cochinerero” (93). Even with all his might—limited as it is—Julián is helpless to manage the animal.¹ Moreover, he is visibly afraid of the horse: “leíase en su rostro tanto miedo al cuartago como si fuese algún corcel indómito rebosando fiereza y bríos” (94). In other words, this beast is not exactly a wild, bucking steed. But as far as Julián is concerned, it might as well be. Meanwhile, as he rides, his fear of the horse competes with other fears; he frets over stories he has heard about “viajeros robados” and “gentes asesinadas” in rural Galicia. And these worries gain

¹ Several scholars have noted an intertextual reference to the beginning of *La vida es sueño* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) in *Los Pazos*’ own opening scene, parting from what Alfred Rodríguez and Newell Morgan see as Julián’s “unrestrained steed” (33). And in this intertextual reference, they see a breakdown in the social and gender hierarchies that sets the tone for the rest of the novel. In Calderón’s play, Rodríguez and Morgan write, “the dramatic world we are entering is one in which everything is out of sorts, in which the harmonious order of human society has been irrationally subverted, in which fathers are hardly fathers and princes are hardly princes” (36). They see the same idea at work in *Los Pazos*, which they describe as “characterized by the breakdown of harmonious human and social relationships,” as exemplified by, among other things, “the unpriestly priest, gun in hand” and “the ignoble ‘marqués,’ so inadequately plebeian” (36). For other references to the Calderonian intertext in the opening scene, see Bieder, “Between” 134 and Labanyi 355.

credence when he comes upon a cross, erected to mark a violent death (97). At the thought of such violence, Julián exclaims to himself, “¡Qué país de lobos!” (98). The narrator then continues the canine imagery, stating that, while Julián stops to pray at the cross, the horse pins his ears nervously, “sin duda por olfatear algún zorro” (98).² Then, as if to reconfirm the violent nature of the area, two gunshots ring out nearby while Julián prays at the cross, spooking both the cleric and the horse.

These gunshots serve as our introduction to a hunting party consisting of Pedro Moscoso, the de facto Marquis of Ulloa; Primitivo, his self-appointed majordomo; and the boorish abbot of Ulloa. Julián’s depiction as weak and effeminate contrasts starkly with descriptions of these other male characters. The narrator describes Pedro, from Julián’s perspective, as still young—“representaba veintiocho o treinta años”—yet certainly mature enough to be “bien barbudo” (98). Unlike Julián, Pedro possesses a “complexión robusta,” and he cuts an imposing figure with a double-barreled shotgun resting on his left shoulder (98-99). In sum, says the narrator of Pedro, “no hay duda que así, varonilmente desaliñado, húmeda la piel de transpiración, terciada la escopeta al hombro, era un cacho de buen mozo” (100). In other words, his robust physical aspect, the perspiration on his skin that indicates vigorous activity, his clothing, and even the phallic rifle come together to give him a decidedly virile appearance.

² By “canine imagery,” I mean references to animals in the “dog family” of carnivores, also known as Canidae, which includes the wolf, the fox, the domestic dog, and many other species, such as the jackal and the coyote (Clutton-Brock 8-9).

Julián immediately identifies Primitivo as a man of “condición baja,” that is, a “criado o colono” because of his comparatively shabby clothes and his much older gun (99). The young priest also notices the majordomo’s facial expression “de encubierta sagacidad, de astucia salvaje, más propia de un piel roja que de un europeo” (99). Primitivo is an intelligent man. But his is not the rational intelligence championed by post-Enlightenment gender discourse. Instead, his “encubierta sagacidad” and “astucia salvaje, más propia de un piel roja” immediately mark his intellect as devious, uncivilized, and violent, which in turn makes him frightening in the eyes of Julián. At the same time, however, the priest also notes that Primitivo, possesses “enérgicas facciones rectilíneas” which are themselves coded as manly (99). Thus, the majordomo’s manliness is linked not to the modern masculine ideal, but rather to a decidedly backward, savage masculinity, even before Julián (or the reader) learns the old man’s name, which serves to strengthen that link. And as the novel progresses, the majordomo’s sly, savage, predatory nature is emphasized through his repeated comparison to a fox. Both Pedro Moscoso and the cacique, Trampeta, refer to him numerous times as a “zorro” (172, 344). Because Primitivo and the other men are out hunting partridges rather than foxes in opening scene, we can read the nervousness of Julián’s horse “por olfatear algún zorro” as a foreshadowing of the majordomo’s violent actions. Moreover, in the fifth chapter, the narrator says, “Julián se juzgaba blanco de hostilidad encubierta por parte del cazador...tenía algo de observación y acecho, la espera tranquila de una res, a quien, sin odiarla, se desea cazar cuanto antes” (139, my

emphasis). In other words, if Primitivo represents the fox, driven to hunt by instinct, Julián sees himself as his prey.

The narrator provides less physical description of the gun-toting abbot than of the other hunters in the novel's first scene. We are told only that Julián recognizes him to be a cleric immediately, not because of his clothing, nor in a particular physical feature, but rather in undefinable qualities—"en no sé qué expresión de la fisionomía, en el aire y posturas del cuerpo, en el mirar, en el andar, en todo"—qualities, says the narrator, that not even the fires of hell could cancel out (99). But as the narrator tells us a bit later, the abbot is exasperated by Julián, referring to him derisively as "mariquitas" (145). According to the abbot, "la última de las degradaciones en que podía caer un hombre era beber agua, lavarse con jabón de olor y cortarse las uñas" (145). For him, all of these traits amount to nothing more than "afeminaciones" (145). Furthermore, the abbot thinks that "la virtud en el sacerdote, para ser de ley, ha de presentarse bronca, montuna y cerril; aparte de que un clérigo no pierde ipso facto, los fueros de hombres, y el hombre debe oler a bravío desde una legua" (145). By contrast, he says, "Ahora se estila ordenar miquitrefes... Y luego mucho de alzacuellitos, guantecitos, perejiles con caserola... ¡Si yo fuera el arzobispo, yo les daría el demontre de los guantes" (103). Here, the abbot gives voice to a generalized anxiety in late-nineteenth-century Spain about the softening, feminizing effects of the priesthood, of which Julián Álvarez serves as just one example.³

³ Other notably feminized clerics (or aspirants to the clergy) in the Spanish realist canon include Luis de Vargas in Juan Valera's Pepita Jiménez (1874) and Fermín de Pas in Clarín's La Regenta (1884-85).

And by his words and actions, he explicitly distances himself from those effects. He is described by Julián as a “sobrado bebedor” who much prefers alcohol to water (113). Moreover, as María de los Ángeles Ayala points out, the abbot’s use of the word miquitrefes, instead of the more proper mequetrefes, denotes informal, vernacular language on the part of the abbot (Pardo Bazán, Los Pazos 102 n. 17).⁴ Thus, even his word choice indicates a repudiation of conventional priestly education. By comparison to what Julián and other supposed “miquitrefes” are not, then, the abbot, via the narrator, elaborates a model of what a man (specifically a priest, who by his very nature must be male) should be: a hard-drinking, obstinate, poorly groomed, musky type, who eschews the trappings of education and refinement. The implication is that the abbot is a real man, but Julián is not.

For his part, Pedro Moscoso concurs with the abbot’s assessment of Julián, pointedly calling the young priest “rapaz”—the Galician term for a male youth—and remarking to the abbot at the end of the first chapter: “¿Verdad que no mete respeto?” (103). From its beginning, then, Los Pazos de Ulloa compares its male characters, shows them comparing themselves to one another, and invites the reader to compare the masculinities represented by each. For that reason, it is very much a novel about manliness. And by juxtaposing the prayerful, lymphatic, feminized Julián with the

⁴ The Diccionario de la Real Academia Española defines the term, mequetrefe, as an “[h]ombre entremetido, bullicioso y de poco provecho.” Meanwhile, “perejiles” (the plural form of the Spanish word for parsley) are what the DRAE calls an “[a]dorno o compostura excesiva, especialmente la que usan las mujeres en los vestidos y tocados.”

supposedly more virile, weapon-wielding hunters in the novel's first chapter, Los Pazos, from its very beginning, associates manliness with violence.

In this chapter, I will explore the connection between masculinity and violence in Los Pazos. I will illustrate the precariousness of the Galician agrarian economy and the feudal social order in the novel, as well as the failure to substitute, or even to complement, the existing Ancien-Regime values and methods with more modern ideas. I will argue that, in Los Pazos, we see a desire on the part of the narrator, as well as other characters, to uphold aristocratic wealth and privilege and to maintain the hegemony of the aristocratic model of masculinity. But I will also show that the novel demonstrates, through the narrator's discourse, the need for aristocratic men to adopt certain components of modern, bourgeois masculinity in order to preserve their wealth and power. For the landed gentry, this means embracing Enlightenment thought, taking an active interest in their estates, and working to maintain them, rather than spending their time on leisure activities. But because these bourgeois values fail to take hold in Los Pazos, the Galician feudal hierarchy is destabilized, which leads to the collapse of the aristocratic ideal of manliness. And this collapse, in turn, leads to the rise in the novel of a brutish model of manliness, which I will call cacique masculinity. Finally, I will argue that this notion of cacique manliness pervades Los Pazos, transcending class lines and creating an overarching atmosphere of brutality.

Violence, Civilization, and the Breakdown of the Social Order

Much of the previous criticism of Los Pazos has focused on the degree to which it follows or rejects the tenets of literary naturalism as elaborated by nineteenth-century French author Émile Zola.⁵ Also, among the critics who see Los Pazos as an example of deterministic naturalism in the vein of Zola, some have sought to parse out whether that determinism lies more in the characters' heredity or in environmental factors.⁶ While no

⁵ Donald Fowler Brown sees Pardo Bazán's naturalism as a distinctly "Catholic" variety because of her disavowal of Zola's absolute determinism in La cuestión palpitante (1883). But in spite of Pardo Bazán's repudiation of determinism in theory, Brown contends that, "at the time of writing Los Pazos de Ulloa at least, she was a thorough-going naturalist" (99). In a similar vein, Maurice Hemingway writes that, by the end of the Los Pazos, the reader sees that "nature and instinct have triumphed over civilization and religion" ("Grace" 341). For his part, however, Mariano López takes the opposite view, roundly disputing any sort of materialistic determinism in the novel. For López, Los Pazos "es un relato vinculado a una posición doctrinal, según la cual la vida temporal del hombre está condicionada por la providencia de Dios a un destino eterno" (363). Akin to this view, though less categorical in its approach, is Robert Lott's notion of a "mitigated naturalism" in the novel, which, as he puts it, provides "freedom from pseudo-scientific discourses" by "allowing room for spiritual forces" (3). For just a few more of the many studies dealing with the novel's relationship to naturalism, see works by Fernando J. Barroso, Nelly Clémessy, Sherman Eoff, Mercedes Estreros, Carlos Feal Deibe, Juan Oleza, Robert Osborne, and Benito Varela Jácome in the bibliography.

⁶ Generally, most critics give heavier weight to the nurture side of the nature/nurture debate when analyzing the novel. For example, Walter Pattison writes that the "most important Naturalistic factor is the deterministic force of the environment" (54); Mariano Baquero Goyanes sees the novel as primarily "un estudio de ambiente, en que el protagonista fundamental [es] un paisaje bárbaro y violento" (14, my emphasis); and Jo Labanyi notes that in the novel, "educated characters are shown as sympathetic while the villains are uneducated" (349). Here, the "educated" characters, of which Labanyi writes, include the lowborn cleric, Julián Álvarez (a housemaid's son), and the middle-class doctor, Juncal. Meanwhile, the "uneducated" characters are peasants, like Primitivo, but also aristocrats, like Pedro Moscoso. In this way, she counters José Blanco Amor's statement that, in Los Pazos de Ulloa, "Los de arriba son buenos, los de abajo son malos. La vileza está en el pueblo, la virtud en los señores" (10). A more nuanced approach to

previous study has systematically analyzed the various models of masculinity at play in Los Pazos, several important feminist studies have focused on Julián's feminized character as a destabilizer of gender categories or as a civilizing influence in rural Galicia. For example, as Maryellen Bieder writes of the novel's opening scene, "nature and appearance clash in Julián, the male [sacerdotal] attire in conflict with the feminine sensibility and the weakness of his lymphatic-nervous, purely feminine temperament" ("Between" 134). According to Lou Charnon-Deutsch and Jo Labanyi, civilization is coded as feminine in Los Pazos (Charnon-Deutsch, Narratives 131; Labanyi 239). Thus, the female character, Nucha, and the feminized Julián are the purveyors of civilization. At the same time, both these scholars also emphasize male violence in Los Pazos. In addition to equating civilization with the feminine, says Labanyi, the novel also paints "man as 'brute'" (339). Thus, she says, Los Pazos "invert[s] normal suppositions about gender roles (339).⁷ And according to Charnon-Deutsch, "the underlying message" of the novel, at least with regard to gender, is that "women's gift for fomenting progress by

the novel shows that "la vileza," as Blanco Amor puts it, runs the social gamut in the rural world depicted therein. For his part, David Henn sees Los Pazos as a sort of "thesis" novel, whose thesis (and that of its sequel, La madre naturaleza, 1887) is that "while the environment is not the creator of man's deficiencies, it certainly exploits not only inherited weakness but also, and particularly, inadequacies of upbringing and education" (56). In other words, Henn claims an important role in the novel for both nature and nurture. But he places greater emphasis on environmental factors.

⁷ These "normal suppositions" refer to the post-Enlightenment scheme of gender difference, which views the male as rational and civilized and the female as uncultivated and in need of civilizing.

raising humanity to a more moral and civilized plane falters in the face of male violence” (Narratives 132). Meanwhile, Labanyi also connects gender and modernization in Los Pazos. She writes that Julián’s role as the chaplain of Ulloa represents an attempt not just to civilize the Galician countryside, but also “to implant a modern, central State apparatus in a backward rural country” (353). She also sees the cacique, as embodied in the novel by characters like Barbacana, Trampeta, and Primitivo, as an agent of the State, who helps the “rural populace to relate to the State through an individual representative who [makes] its abstract nature more manageable by personalizing it” (348). According to this formulation, both the effeminate, civilized Julián and the masculine, violent Primitivo can be read as tools of the modern Spanish State.

Donald Fowler Brown does not couch his study in terms of gender or masculinity.⁸ But his analysis of Los Pazos can help us understand the relationship between gender and class in the novel. Brown writes that Los Pazos “starts from the initial assumption of the decay of Galician noble houses,” which we can read as the breakdown of feudal society in rural Galicia (94). Thus, he echoes Pardo Bazán’s own statement of her aims with regard to the novel: to show “la montaña gallega, el caciquismo y la decadencia de un noble solar” (“Apuntes autobiográficos” 81). According to Brown, “the novel shows Don Pedro’s attempt to lift himself from the domination of his majordomo, to raise his self-respect by taking an honorable wife, to

⁸ Brown’s actual aim is to show the naturalist quality of Los Pazos. In spite of Pardo Bazán’s claim in La cuestión palpitante that the primary goal of the novelist is aesthetic rather than scientific, Brown sees Los Pazos as prime example of a Zola-style “experimental novel” (Pardo Bazán, La cuestión 248; Brown 94).

preserve his lineage with a legitimate son (94). But for Brown, the marquis's "efforts fail and he falls lower than before...[b]ecause of the final rottenness of the very ideal of his caste. The tradition of pride and of doing as one pleases is not likely to instill self-discipline in a young man" (94, my emphasis). Furthermore, writes Brown, "with the downfall of the house of Ulloa must fall a whole order in Spanish society; old ideals must make way for new" (94, my emphasis). If we follow Brown's logic, living up to the ideal of his aristocratic caste means that Pedro must be the proud master of his own domain. On the one hand, this status implies the ability, in a general sense, to do as he pleases. On the other hand, it also implies dominance over peasants, like Primitivo, rather than submission to them. Moreover, embodying this aristocratic ideal also means being part of an "honorable" marriage that produces a legitimate, necessarily male heir. As the narrator says, "Entendía don Pedro el honor conyugal a la manera calderoniana, española neta, indulgentísima para el esposo e implacable para la esposa" (200, my emphasis).⁹ For Pedro, an "honorable" marriage is one in which he can stray from the marriage bed, as he freely does with Sabel in Los Pazos. But it is also one in which even the suggestion of infidelity on the part of his wife puts her honor and her very life at risk, as happens when Pedro suspects an affair between Nucha and Julián.

⁹ This reference to Calderón pertains specifically to his tragedias uxoricidas, in which husbands murder their innocent wives because of supposed (but not actual) extramarital affairs. Calderón's wife-murder plays include El médico de su honra, El pintor de su deshonra, and A secreto agravio, secreta venganza. Critics have noted varying degrees of culpability for the wives in these plays, from "the unlucky Serafina" in Pintor, to "the innocent Mencía in Médico, to "the imprudent Leonor" in Secreto (Casa 19). But the guilt or innocence of each of the wives is ultimately irrelevant because, in all three plays, the wife is killed.

It is no coincidence that Brown associates the aristocratic caste model, which he considers to be “rotten,” with an “old ideal.” Nor is it coincidental that he opposes this aristocratic caste model to a “new ideal” that favors “self-discipline.” We can think of this new ideal as the post-Enlightenment, bourgeois, modern masculine ideal, dependent as it is on self-help, hard work, and rational control. Meanwhile, we can think of the older, aristocratic ideal, with its focus on pre-capitalist class hierarchies, so-called “Calderonian” marriage, and male-male inheritance, as a specifically aristocratic ideal of manliness, particular to the landed class. Borrowing R. W. Connell’s term, I will refer to this ideal as “gentry masculinity” (Masculinities 190). Therefore, we might reinterpret Brown’s conclusion regarding Los Pazos—that “old ideals must make way for new”—as a call in the novel for the modern masculine ideal, if not to replace, then at least to modify, an older, decadent ideal of gentry masculinity. There is no wholesale condemnation of gentry masculinity in Los Pazos. Its insistence on “Calderonian” honor and male-male inheritance is certainly condemned. But there is also a sense of regret on the part of many of the characters, as well as the narrator, with respect to the erosion of the feudal class authority that underpins gentry masculinity. At the same time, the novel depicts the feudal order’s breakdown as a direct result of its failure to incorporate certain aspects of modern, bourgeois masculinity, such as individual hard work. In terms of masculinity, however, I argue that Los Pazos shows what Bridget Aldaraca might call a “rhetorical support” for certain aspects of the modern masculine ideal on the part of the narrator, even as characters, like Pedro Moscoso, Ramón Limioso, and Julián Álvarez resist those ideas, and even as that same narrator also shows regret at the breakdown of

the feudal order. Modernity's influence is felt in the rural environment of the novel, but not enough to change the aristocratic ethos of that environment. For that reason, Pedro Moscoso cannot live up to his idea of pre-Enlightenment gentry masculinity because it eschews, instead of embracing, post-Enlightenment principles. This failure to incorporate modern principles contributes to the destabilization of feudal hierarchies. And this destabilization creates a crisis of masculinity in Los Pazos, which, in turn, leads to the prominence of the caciques and the prevalence of what I will call violent, cacique masculinity in the novel.

Los Pazos in Context: Revolution and Inertia

Los Pazos is set in the period just before and just after the Revolution of 1868. In the twelfth chapter, news of the Revolution comes belatedly to Cebre, thanks to “los pocos periódicos que se recibían en aquellos andurriales” (226). As the narrator says, “La marina se había sublevado, echando del trono a la reina, y ésta se encontraba ya en Francia, y se constituía un gobierno provisional, y se contaba de una batalla reñidísima en el puente de Alcolea” (226). Said battle, in the province of Córdoba, took place on September 28, 1868. And it marked the decisive triumph of revolutionary forces over Queen Isabel's troops, causing her go into exile in France two days later (Carr 299; Clarke 305). The first Galician revolutionary junta—or, more properly, xunta, as it was called in the region—had formed in Ferrol just a few days before the battle of Alcolea, and the second in La Coruña on September 29. And by the first of October, just after the queen's exile, as historian Carmen Fernández Casanova puts it, “se extiende el

entusiasmo revolucionario por las restantes ciudades de Galicia,” including Vigo, Tui, Santiago, Pontevedra, and Lugo (Fernández Casanova 133). The promulgation of the Constitution of 1869 led to uprisings in Orense and La Coruña by working-class citizens who disliked the notion of a constitutional monarchy and favored the establishment of a federal republic, instead. And protests against the revolutionary government were not limited to the cities. Between 1869 and the Restoration of the monarchy in 1875, popular protests also sprang up periodically in the Galician countryside, spurred on by both federalists and Carlists, groups on opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, who nonetheless opposed, for different reasons, the central government in Madrid (Fernández Casanova 134). And between 1872 and 1875, during the Third Carlist War, what Fernández Casanova calls “[el] carlismo político” in Galicia was also accompanied by “el carlismo bélico, organizado en partidas,” albeit, as the historian puts it, “con poco respaldo,” in all four Galician provinces (Fernández Casanova 137).¹⁰ Thus, throughout the so-called Sexenio Revolucionario, neither urban nor rural Galicia was immune to conflicts arising from revolutionary fervor and reactionary zeal.

¹⁰ In her “Confesión política,” published in Mi romería (1888), Pardo Bazán discusses her own conversion to Carlism after the Revolution. She grew up, she says, in a “familia liberal” and was initially in favor of the Revolution. But what she calls “los excesos de la gloriosa” drove her to “la reacción completa,” in part because, as she says, “mi juventud y mi carácter vehemente y fogoso me inclinaban a los extremos” (109, original emphasis). In the “Confesión,” Pardo Bazán also recalls going as a young woman to see Carlist troops “en el campo de batalla,” which she describes, from the perspective of her younger self, as an exciting, romantic experience (109). There, she felt “esperanzas de regeneración para la patria (109). And she saw “una libre y romancesca esfera de actividad, en la cual cabían ciertos elementos épicos y dramáticos que a veces faltan en la vida vulgar y apacible” (109).

It is significant, however, that in Los Pazos, news of the Revolution comes to the out-of-the-way village of Cebre—“aquellos andurriales”—several weeks after the revolutionaries’ victory and the queen’s exile, when the provisional government is already being constituted.¹¹ This time lag gives the Revolution a sense of distance in the novel, as if it had little effect on the rural community. Equally significant is the fact that, just two paragraphs before Julián learns of the Revolution, he worries about his inability to make substantive reforms on the Ulloa estate because of Primitivo’s resistance to change. Expressing the young priest’s thoughts in free indirect discourse, the narrator says, “No hay fuerza comparable a la inercia” (225). Thus, revolutionary upheaval might be present in faraway cities and towns. But at the Ulloa manor, nothing seems to change. In fact, Julián learns of the Revolution for the first time when he goes to see Eugenio, the abbot of Naya, for advice about the stagnant situation on the Ulloa estate. But the narrator says, moving in and out of free indirect discourse to express the abbot’s thoughts:

Don Eugenio andaba, de puro excitado, medio loco, proyectaba irse a Santiago sin dilación para saber noticias ciertas. ¡Qué dirían el señor Arcipreste y el abad de Boán! ¿Y Barbacana? Ahora sí que Barbacana estaba fresco: su eterno adversario Trampeta, amigo de los unionistas, se le montaría encima por los siglos de los siglos, amen. Con el embullo de estos acontecimientos, apenas atendió el abad de Naya a las tribulaciones de Julián. (226)

¹¹ The provisional government was officially formed in Madrid on October 19, 1868, under the leadership of General Francisco Serrano y Domínguez (Fernández Casanova 133).

This passage emphasizes the remoteness of Cebre, given that the abbot feels the need to travel all the way to Santiago in order to confirm the news of the Revolution, as though the few newspapers that do manage to reach the village are not only slow in coming, but also less trustworthy than papers read in the city. At the same time, we also see how detached Julián feels from the Revolution. While Eugenio is too wrapped up in these distant happenings to take note of the chaplain's problems, Julián sees the abbot's talk of the Revolution as a mere distraction from more tangible, immediate concerns.

Even Eugenio's frantic worries about the Revolution can be read as a sign of continuity in Los Pazos, rather than change. He focuses primarily on people rather than political ideology, giving credence to the narrator's statement later in the novel that, in the Galician countryside, "[l]as ideas no entran en juego, sino solamente las personas y en el terreno más mezquino; rencores, odios, rencillas" (327). Specifically, for Eugenio, the Revolution means a possible shift in the balance of power between Barbacana and Trampeta, the main cacique rivals in Los Pazos. The struggle for power between these two "eternal adversaries" precedes the Revolution, and the election that takes place just a few months later in Los Pazos shows that the coming of the Revolution changes that struggle very little. Barbacana and Trampeta do ostensibly represent opposite ends of the political spectrum. But as the narrator says, "ninguno de los dos adversarios tenía ideas políticas, dándoles un bledo de cuanto entonces se debatía en España; mas por necesidad estratégica representaba y encarnaba cada cual una tendencia y un partido" (330). In other words, their party affiliations are about expedience rather than ideology. For that reason, these affiliations are mutable. Barbacana is "moderado antes de la Revolución,"

then later “carlista” (330). Meanwhile, Trampeta’s political position evolves from “unionista bajo O’Donnell” before the Revolution, to “el ultimo confín del liberalismo vencedor,” afterward (331). Trampeta’s candidate does win the election in the novel, which takes place after the September Revolution. In doing so, he beats out Pedro Moscoso, the presumably Carlist candidate supported by Barbacana. But Trampeta’s victory has little to do with “el liberalismo vencedor.” Instead, Pedro is defeated because of Primitivo’s manipulation of the election.

Thus, in the novel, the so-called political process works in the same corrupt, violent way before the Revolution as it does afterward. As a result, there is a sense of stasis in Los Pazos against a backdrop of revolutionary flux occurring in other parts of the country. Changes might be happening elsewhere, but Cebre and its surrounding area are, in a sense, frozen. There is conflict there, to be sure, because of the caciques’ continuing struggle for power. But it is not a conflict that is born of a revolutionary break with the immediate past. Instead, it predates the Revolution of 1868. Indeed, historians Julio Prada and Rogelio López Blanco contend that the birth of caciquismo “puede retrotraerse al instante mismo del nacimiento del Estado liberal” (349). Thus, we can date the beginnings of caciquismo to around 1833, some thirty-five years before the September Revolution (Vincent 1; Fernández Casanova 103). Moreover, Los Pazos implies that the caciques’ conflict will last long after the revolutionary period has ended, which makes sense from an historical standpoint, given that, while it began much earlier,

caciquismo is most closely associated with the Restoration period, which lasted until 1923.¹²

The Galician Rural Economy: Decadence and Resistance to Innovation

Prada and López Blanco write that caciquismo is far from “un fenómeno exclusivamente gallego, sino extendible a la totalidad del Estado, como corresponde a un país donde la gran mayoría de su población continúa viviendo en el campo” (349). In other words, they emphasize the link between the development of caciquismo and Spain’s largely rural population and the slow pace of urbanization and industrialization. At the same time, however, they add that, because Galicia remained even more rural than other parts of Spain throughout the nineteenth century, it was particularly susceptible to the influence of caciques (349). Thus, Prada and López Blanco point to Galicia’s backwardness with respect to other parts of nineteenth-century Spain, as have many other historians, as well as nineteenth-century commentators themselves. For example, in an 1867 treatise, entitled Galicia: su mal y su remedio, Manuel García Quijano called the region “una de las mas [sic] atrasadas de la península” (12). According to Jaime García-Lombardero y Viñas, Galicia did not remain wholly untouched by economic

¹² Prada and López Blanco write that caciquismo “se perfecciona y generaliza alcanzando una dimensión tal que no resulta infrecuente su identificación con el propio sistema restauracionista” (349). Moreover, Sharif Gemie points out that, of the twenty-one parliamentary elections held in Galicia between 1876 and 1923, nearly all of them “were won by candidates supported by caciques from either the Liberal or Conservative parties” (37). For their part, Ramón Villares et al. even quote a long passage from the novel as a primary source document to illustrate “[o] caciquismo da época da Restauración” in their Textos y materiales para a historia de Galicia, even though the novel clearly depicts a pre-Restoration, and indeed, pre-Revolution caciquismo (199).

modernization (266-267). But its modernization process was a limited and uneven one, owing largely to a system of land use, which had, as García-Lombardero writes, “una gran capacidad de reacción defensiva ante los procesos innovadores” (266-267). García-Lombardero writes that the predominant economic model in nineteenth-century Galicia was, not surprisingly, that of the Ancien Regime: a subsistence economy that favored a reliance on human labor (267).

Yet this model was plagued by a number of significant problems, which hindered Galicia’s ability to modernize. I will briefly discuss four of these problems here. The first was the prevalence of the minifundio, a result of the complex foro system of land distribution. As Sharif Gemie explains, the foros began in the fourteenth century, when the Black Death caused a labor shortage in rural Galicia. Under this system, whose fundamental aim was to maintain the power of the nobles, land was divided into two sections: one under the direct control of the landowner; and another, which the landowner controlled indirectly, but for which he could charge dues. Over time, contracts governing these indirectly controlled parcels became increasingly long, until, as Gemie notes, they were “effectively hereditary” (35-36). Consequently, peasants retained the right to use the lands their family had traditionally worked even if the rents or the ownership of the land changed hands. But as the foros were passed down through generations, they were subdivided again and again, forming minifundios, or “handkerchief plots,” which were often too small to farm productively (Carr 27-28). As Gemie says, “Even when ambitious and enterprising peasants managed to acquire enough farmland to guarantee their families’ livelihood, these plots were often scattered across several parishes” (36). Furthermore,

writes Gemie, this “patchwork pattern made it difficult to implement any substantial modernization of agriculture” (36).

The second major problem was a reliance on outmoded farming techniques. And for Maneul Colmeiro, the lag in farming innovation was inseparable from the undereducation of the Galician populace. In an 1843 treatise, he wrote of the need to improve primary education in rural villages in order to give peasants a strong base for further studies (40).¹³ He also advocated the teaching of modern agricultural techniques, both to university students and to rural farmers (40). Nearly two decades later, however, the lack of sufficient agricultural education in Galicia was still a major issue. Pardo Bazán’s own father published a treatise with the Count of Pallares, entitled Memoria sobre la necesidad de establecer escuelas de agricultura en Galicia (1862). In addition to augmenting instruction in new farming techniques, these men also proposed various measures to modernize agriculture, increase productivity, and reverse what they called the rapidly approaching “completa decadencia” of the Galician agricultural economy (Pallares and Pardo Bazán 45-47; quoted in Villares et al. 174). These measures included the use of machinery in order to conserve manpower, as well as taking better advantage of the land through a more effective balancing of grain cultivation and animal husbandry (Pallares and Pardo Bazán 45-47; quoted in Villares et al. 174). Furthermore, in 1867, García Quijano called for an expansion of the railroad that would better connect Galician

¹³ A heavily annotated copy of Colmeiro’s Memoria sobre el modo mas acertado de remediar los males inherentes a la estremada subdivision de la propiedad territorial de Galicia (1843) can be found in Pardo Bazán’s archive at the Real Academia Galega. The marginal notes, however, are in her father’s hand, not her own.

products to markets in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula (19). But as noted in Chapter I, Galicia was not fully integrated into the Spanish rail system until the 1880s (Lentisco 199).

The Galician economy's third problem can be traced to the landowners, who were often either absent from their lands altogether, or who simply showed little personal interest in the running of their estates. During the Early Modern period, the wealthiest of the Galician aristocrats had left the region, either moving to Madrid in order to be closer to the Crown, emigrating to Portugal because of long-standing Luso-Galician cultural ties, or colonizing the New World (Gemie 34). Thus, says Gemie, from the sixteenth century onward, Galicia was controlled by less wealthy, minor nobles (Gemie 33). But even the minor hidalgos who stayed in Galicia often paid little attention to their land holdings (Gemie 36). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they frequently lived in nearby villages rather than on their estates, serving merely as rentiers who collected duties from the peasants but invested little time and money back into the land (Gemie 36). This phenomenon was partly due to what Gemie calls a "strict sociocultural code which forbade them from working with their hands" (34). According to Manuel Colmeiro, this prohibition among the aristocracy against work was a major worry. He wrote in 1843: "[l]a mejor constitución posible es aquella que obliga al propietario á residir cerca de sus tierras, y á labrarlas con sus propias manos" (15). But because of their failure to work their own lands, or at least take a major interest in the cultivation of those lands, the hidalgos both hindered overall profitability and failed to spur agricultural innovation (Gemie 34).

What made Galicia's subsistence economy truly untenable, however, was its fourth major problem: overpopulation. By 1840, a century of steady population growth meant that there were simply too many people in Galicia to live off the land. Three years later, Colmeiro suggested several possible remedies for this problem, including "disminuyendo el número de labradores, empujando el exceso [sic] de la población agrícola hacia las artes y el comercio" (18). But industry and commerce were slow to develop in Galicia. As a result, the region saw a massive wave of emigration to the New World, which García-Lombardero calls "un fenómeno endémico" in the second half of the nineteenth century (267). During that time, over 350,000 Galicians left for the Americas (García-Lombardero 270). Furthermore, emigration was, thus, a "válvula de escape" necessitated by Galicia's failure to industrialize (García-Lombardero 271).

In sum, the overall picture of the nineteenth-century Galician economy shows a continued dependence on agriculture at the expense of industrial and commercial development, as well as the persistence of feudal land distribution, out-of-date farming methods, a largely uneducated peasant workforce, and a hands-off approach to estate management on the part of the gentry. As a result, profits were low for landowners, and peasants were often forced to leave Galicia altogether in order to make a living for their families.

"Medieval" Galicia and Gentry Masculinity

Like the nineteenth-century Galician economy, the world of Los Pazos—both on the estate and in Santiago de Compostela—functions according to an Ancien-Regime,

feudal model. And the gentry masculinity Pedro Moscoso represents, is a product of this model. As such, it depends on the maintenance of the feudal order. Pedro places particular emphasis on his role as the lord of a landed estate as a marker of power and influence. When asked why he does not move from the rural manor house to the city of Santiago de Compostela, he says, “Yo estoy muy acostumbrado a pisar tierra mía y a andar entre árboles que corto si se me antoja” (171, my emphasis). He later proudly points out to Nucha, as they approach the pazo for the first time as a married couple, that the fields they pass belong to him: “¡Foro de casa, foro de casa! No corre por ahí una liebre que no pade en tierra mía” (233, my emphasis). It is significant, however, that for all his repeated claims about his land, he is not the real marquis of Ulloa. During the events of the novel, says the narrator, “el marqués de Ulloa auténtico y legal...se paseaba tranquilamente por la Castellana” (133-134). This “authentic” marquis of Ulloa, who possesses numerous titles, is known in Madrid, where he presumably lives, like many absentee Galician landlords of the nineteenth-century, as the “duque de algo” (134). In other words, Pedro’s gentry masculinity is tied explicitly to land ownership, yet because he is not the land’s legal owner, his embodiment of gentry masculinity begins unavoidably from a position of weakness and illegitimacy.

But even though Pedro holds the title of marquis only “por derecho consuetudinario,” his right to the title goes unquestioned by the peasantry, who, according to the narrator, “no entendían de agnaciones” (134). And for him, control (if not possession) of the land equates to control over the locals. For example, of the abbot of Ulloa, he says, “Ese es tan mío como los perros que llevo a cazar... No le mando que

ladre y porte porque no se me antoja” (233). And when Juncal, the doctor, deems Nucha incapable of nursing her newborn daughter because, as a lymphatic person, she, like Julián, lacks the “*complexión vigorosa y predominio del temperamento sanguíneo,*” which he deems necessary for breastfeeding, Pedro decides to conscript a local caretaker’s daughter to serve as wet nurse (262). The doctor, Juncal, raises the possibility that the woman’s parents might refuse to let her perform the task. But the marquis scoffs at such an idea. He calls the nameless woman a “[g]ran vaca,” in a nod to her physical strength and her capacity to provide milk, and retorts: “*Si hace ascos la traigo arrastrando por la trenza... A mí no me levanta la voz un casero mío*” (263). Here we can see an example of what R. W. Connell calls the often “brutal relationship with the agricultural workforce” that characterizes gentry masculinity (191).

Commenting on the forced conscription of the wet nurse, Juncal emphasizes the feudal ethos at work in rural both in rural Galicia and in Spain as a whole. He also emphasizes the clash between that feudal ethos and the ideals of the Revolution of 1868. He asks rhetorically, “*¿Cuándo se convencerán estos señores de que un casero no es un esclavo? Así andan las cosas en España: mucho de revolución, de libertad, de derechos individuales... ¡Y al fin por todas partes la tiranía, el privilegio, el feudalismo!*” (263-264). He also adds, “*Supóngase que la muchacha se encuentra mejor avenida con su honrada pobreza*” (264). For Juncal, the Revolution’s rhetoric of freedom and human rights are fighting a losing battle with what he sees as the tyranny of feudal control.

In Santiago, Pedro feels that his status and authority is threatened. He cannot stand what the narrator calls “*la nivelación social que impone la vida urbana,*” whereby

he feels like little more than “un número par en un pueblo, habiendo estado de nones en su residencia feudal” (232).¹⁴ At home on his rural estate, he says, “es uno rey de la comarca” and “uno es alguien y supone algo” (171, 233). But in the city, his status depends not on his title or his land holdings, but on his relationship to others: he is merely the nephew/son-in-law of Manuel or the husband of Nucha. It is as though his title has simply dissolved; as the narrator says, “El marquesado allí se había deshecho como la sal en el agua” (232). And unbeknownst to him, he is even made fun of at the Santiago casino for not being the authentic marquis of Ulloa.

Though it is, by definition, what the narrator calls the “metrópoli arzobispal,” or the seat of the archbishop, Santiago de Compostela is depicted as far from being what we—or Pedro Moscoso—might think of as a modern metropolitan center (190, my emphasis). As the narrator says, Pedro “discurría y fantaseaba a su modo lo que debe ser una ciudad moderna” (190). For him, a real modern city evokes images of “calles anchas, mucha regularidad en las construcciones, todo nuevo y flamante, gran policía” (190). Instead, says the narrator, “Parecíale, y con razón, estrechas, torcidas y mal empedradas las calles, fangoso el piso, húmedas las paredes, viejos y ennegrecidos los edificios, pequeño el circuito de la ciudad, postrado el comercio y solitarios casi siempre sus sitios públicos” (190). He is even unimpressed with the city’s artistic and architectural heritage, which to him only makes the city seem older and less modern. Of the cathedral’s twelfth-century Pórtico de la Gloria, for example, “Vaya unos santos más

¹⁴ In the parlance of rural Galicia, as represented by Pardo Bazán’s rural novels, the term “pueblo” refers to a city, such as Santiago. The country village is the “aldea.”

mal hechas y unas santas más flacuchas y sin forma humana!, ¡unas columnas más toscamente esculpidas!” (191). Thus, Pedro comes off as a rube for his ill-informed assessment of what the narrator calls the “alta poesía y profundo simbolismo” of the medieval Pórtico (191). But, at the same time, the narrator’s parenthetical “y con razón” confirms the marquis’s opinions about the city’s crumbling streets, its old, dank buildings, and its lackluster commerce.¹⁵ The comment also shows a shifting, ambivalent opinion on the part of the narrator, who at times pokes fun at Pedro’s backward, provincial attitudes and, at other times, agrees with them.

At the same time, though, the depiction of Santiago in Los Pazos shows that feudal values are just as prevalent there as they are in the country.¹⁶ Indeed, even the population seems old; as the narrator says, Manuel Pardo, Pedro’s uncle, spends most of his time during the afternoon paseo “conversando con algún señor mayor, de los muchos que existen en le pueblo compostelano, donde por ley de afinidad parece abundar más que en otras partes la gente proveccta” (192). And Manuel himself is a perfect example of the feudal, Early Modern influence in the city. Indeed, he illustrates the disaster that

¹⁵ Not coincidentally, the characterization of Santiago in Los Pazos uses terminology nearly identical to Pardo Bazán’s description of Marineda’s Barrio de Arriba from De mi tierra (1888), which I will discuss in Chapter IV. But unlike Marineda, however, Santiago does not contain a correspondingly more modern, bustling Barrio de Abajo to offset its sleepy backwardness.

¹⁶ In her “Apuntes biográficos,” which were published with the first edition of Los Pazos, Pardo Bazán describes her earlier novel, Pascual López, autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina (1879), thus: “di alguna idea de la vida escolar y de la Galicia vieja, medieval, representada por Santiago” (81, my emphasis). In other words, Pardo Bazán states explicitly that, for her, “medieval Galicia” is not just rural Galicia. This idea continues from Pascual López to Los Pazos.

ensues when gentry masculinity is not directly connected to the land. The narrator describes him thus: “Magnífico ejemplar de una raza apta para la vida guerrera y montés de las épocas feudales, se consumía miserablemente en el vil ocio de los pueblos, donde es que nada produce, nada enseña, ni nada aprende, de nada sirve y nada hace. ¡Oh dolor! Aquel castizo Pardo de la Lage, naciendo en el siglo XV, hubiera dado en qué entender a los arqueólogos e historiadores del XIX” (182). According to the narrator, Manuel is “superior” to his nephew, thanks to “el barniz de la educación adquirido en dilatados años de existencia ciudadana” (227). But he is just as subject to “el orgullo de su nacimiento y apellido” as Pedro (227). For that reason, he also seeks aristocratic matches for his daughters; as the narrator says in free indirect discourse, “sería contrario al orden providencial que no apareciese tronco en que injertar dignamente los retoños del noble estirpe; pero antes se queden para vestir imágenes que unirse con cualquiera, con el teniente que está de guarnición, con el comerciante que medra midiendo paño, con el médico que toma el pulso; eso sería, ¡vive Dios!, pero profanación indigna” (185). He even balks at the idea of marrying his daughters off to a rich member of the middle class—“un ricachón plebeyo,” as he puts it (185). For that reason, he prefers suitors like Víctor de Formoseda—a law student originally introduced by Pardo Bazán in her first novel, Pascual López, autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina (1879)—not because Formoseda is a future lawyer, but because he is “de muy limpio solar montañés, y no despreciable caudal” (192). Similarly, Manuel sees a marriage between his daughter and his nephew as the perfect match, and Julián shares this idea. As the narrator says, expressing Julián’s thoughts, “Aquellas proyectadas bodas entre primo y prima le

parecían tan naturales como juntarse la vid y el olmo. Las familias no podían ser mejores ni más para en una” (192). It is interesting to note here that a marriage between one of the Pardo daughters and a middle-class man strikes Manuel as a profane act “against providential order.” But a union between two aristocratic first cousins seems desirable to Manuel and “natural” to Julián, even though the latter marriage requires a papal dispensation in order to be recognized by the church.¹⁷

Gentry Masculinity and Narratorial Critique

For all Pedro’s insistence on his connection to the land and the power and authority it confers upon him, he serves little useful purpose on the estate. In this way, he subscribes to the “strict sociocultural code,” of which Gemie writes, that forbids aristocrats from working with their hands—a code that is an important element of gentry masculinity. But in Los Pazos, the narrator implicitly criticizes Pedro for his refusal to work, which implies an inherent disapproval of gentry masculinity’s prohibition of work. Instead of working, Pedro spends his time either in complete idleness or pursuing what the narrator considers to be trivial tasks. For example, when Julián finds him strolling

¹⁷ Interestingly, as Ayala notes, Article 69 of the 1870 Ley de Casamiento, passed some two years after the principal events of the novel, removed the legal prohibition against marriage between first cousins (Pardo Bazán, Los Pazos 213 n. 210). This would mean that the cousin-marriage of Los Pazos is slightly anachronistic, perhaps an error on the part of Pardo Bazán. Even after the legal prohibition of these cousin-marriages ended, however, “la iglesia no lo aceptaba y para ello se necesitaba la dispensa papal,” according to Ayala (Pardo Bazán, Los Pazos 213 n. 210). Jo Labanyi writes that, in both rural sequel novels, “incest occurs across the board because...almost everyone is trying to keep the outside world of modernity out” (341). I will discuss the issue of incest in more detail in my analysis of La Madre Naturaleza in the next chapter.

aimlessly through its dilapidated gardens, the narrator notes that he does so “con las manos en los bolsillos, silbando distraídamente como quien no sabe qué hacer con el tiempo” (120). When Julián suggests that he and Pedro might work together to organize the estate’s archives, the marquis heartily agrees. But the next day, he goes hunting instead, leaving Julián, as the narrator says, “para siempre jamás amen... a bregar con los documentos” (123). Moreover, when Julián visits every part of the estate in an attempt to understand its inner workings and the cultivation and sale of its crops and livestock, he finds nothing but “abusos y desórdenes,” and, lacking the required “malicia y gramática parda,” that he presumably would need to effectively communicate with the estate hands, he is powerless to make positive changes (136). But the marquis is nowhere to be found on these visits, as the narrator tells us with no shortage of irony: “harto tenía que hacer con ferias, cazas y visitas a gentes de Cebre o del señorío montañés” (136). In other words, Pedro, who has already been characterized as a man that does not know what to do with his own time, is suddenly too “busy” with trifling recreational and social activities to attend to the problems of his estate. After the marquis marries, and his daughter is born, Julián assumes that Pedro will begin to take more responsibility for his family and his land holdings, but the opposite is true. As the narrator says, “en vez de mostrarse más casero y sociable, volvía a las andadas, a su vida de cacerías... Pasábase a veces una semana fuera de casa de los Pazos de Ulloa” (286). The implication here is that there is real work to be done on the estate in order to take control of its records and assets and to counteract the mismanagement that runs rampant there. And instead of walking aimlessly through the garden, making social calls, or hunting, Pedro should be

there to both attend to his family and to do that work, or at least oversee it. But he does neither.

The continued reference to Pedro's hunting in the novel is important for two reasons. On the one hand, hunting is a key marker of gentry masculinity. On the other hand, as we have just seen, it serves as repeated reminder of Pedro's neglect of his duties as the marquis of Ulloa. As Margaret Greer explains, since the cultivation of the soil and the domestication of animals that began in the Neolithic Age, hunting has been less about sustenance and more about power dynamics. And beginning in thirteenth-century France, "a series of taboos and rights developed around hunting, a whole courtly ceremony of hunting that underlined the social distinction of hunters" (202). These rituals, she says, "marked the aristocratic status of the hunter, but also his or her relative position within the degrees of nobility" (202). In Early Modern Spain, the "theoretical justification for their privilege rested on the nobility's function as the military 'arms' that defended the monarchy, and...hunting was considered the best training for that function" (203). As the Duke says in *Don Quijote*, "La caza es una imagen de la guerra: hay en ella estratagemas, astucias, insidias para vencer a su salvo enemigo" (288; quoted in Greer 203). According to J. A. Mangan and Callum MacKenzie, this phenomenon continued into the nineteenth century. Mangan and Mackenzie write that, in Victorian England, a period when middle-class sensibilities were changing notions of ideal masculinity, hunting "symbolized historic advantage and represented the traditional virility of the bucolic gentleman" (56). We can see this idea at work in *Los Pazos* as well: Pedro spends so much time hunting because the hunt is a symbolic call-back to his martial,

aristocratic heritage, and, thus, a key marker of his noble status and gentry masculinity. But, at the same time, the novel questions this model because the narrator, as we have just seen, implicitly condemns the marquis's hunting escapades as an unproductive waste of time. In other words, while Pedro subscribes to an aristocratic model of masculinity, the narrator advocates instead for the productive work associated with the bourgeois modern masculine ideal.

The Limioso Estate: A Cautionary Tale

During Pedro and Nucha's visit to the once-grand Limioso manor, we see in the narrator a certain respect for the nobility and their chivalrous heritage. At the same time, however, the visit proves that dependence on unchanging aristocratic values and gentry masculinity are not enough to save a crumbling estate or, for that matter, an aristocracy in decline. The Limioso family's "pazo, palacio," as the locals respectfully call it, is the undisputed "casa más linajuda" and "más vieja" of the area (251, original emphasis). But it is now a prime example of what the narrator calls "esplendor pasado" (248). Shrouded in cobwebs and plagued by cracking, uneven floors, it has fallen into even greater ruin than Pedro's own manor house. In an implied comparison with the Ulloa manor and its broken window glass, the narrator says of the Limioso house, "no faltaban vidrios en las vidrieras, por la razón plausible de que tales vidrieras no existían, y aun alguna madera, arrancada de sus goznes, pendía torcida, como un jirón en un traje usado" (251). There, Pedro and Nucha are met by the living embodiment of the house's decline, a mastiff with trembling paws and yellow decaying teeth—so old, the narrator

tells us, that he cannot even manage to bark (251). Similarly, when the two elderly Limioso sisters greet Nucha, she feels as though their hands are skeletal—“despojadas de carne, consuntas, amojamadas y momias”—almost like those of a decomposing corpse (254). Meanwhile, the lord of the manor himself, the brother of the old women, is so ancient and paralytic that he can no longer leave his bed, having become more like “un mito, una leyenda de la montaña” than an actual person (254).

For his part, Ramón Limioso, the lord’s son, is only about twenty-six years old, but even he seems much older. As the narrator says, “sus cejas, su cabello y sus facciones todas” give him an air of “gravedad melancólica” (251). And just like his home, he is depicted as a leftover from a bygone era, albeit one whose aristocratic honor and dignity the narrator respects. Referring to Ramón, the narrator asks rhetorically: “¿Quién no conoce en la montaña al directo descendiente de los paladines y ricohombres gallegos, al infatigable cazador, al acérrimo tradicionalista?” (251).¹⁸ Here, the narrator uses distinctly positive terms to talk about Ramón and noble lineage. For example, the

¹⁸ Ramón Limioso also appears in Pardo Bazán’s *Bucólica* (1885), a short novel published the year before *Los Pazos* and set, like the rural sequel novels, in and around the fictional village of Cebre. Pilar Faus sees in Limioso a reflection of the author’s real-life husband, José Quiroga. After quoting descriptions of the character in both *Bucólica* and *Los Pazos*, Faus asks rhetorically, “Sin forzar mucho la imaginación, ¿no nos recuerda esta pintura algo de lo que nos ofrecen los retratos de Don José Quiroga?” (1: 110-111). Faus also writes: “Don José es un idealista y convenido seguidor de don Carlos, como lo serán buena parte de los hidalgos gallegos de tierras adentro, algunos de los cuales serán magistralmente descritos por la escritora en las novelas que tienen por escenario las agrestes tierras orensanas, en donde ha nacido y tiene su pazo familiar don José” (1: 109). Limioso is also one of these “hidalgos gallegos de tierras adentro.” Thus, the description of him in *Los Pazos* as an “acérrimo tradicionalista” can be read as a Carlist political bent.

use of the word “paladines” implies that Ramón is, according to the narrator, a “direct descendent” of strong, brave knights.¹⁹ Also, while Pedro’s hunting is coded as a sign of laziness and the dereliction of duty, the description of Ramón as an “infatigable cazador” connects his hunting with vigor and perseverance. Furthermore, while emphasizing Ramón’s impoverished surroundings and his shabby clothes, the narrator still notes that Ramón seems to exude a sort of innate nobility: “Donde quiera que se encontrase aquel cuerpo larguirucho, aquel gabán raído, aquellos pantalones con rodilleras y tal cual remiendo, no se podía dudar que, con sus pobres trazas, Ramón Limioso era un verdadero señor desde sus principios—así decían los aldeanos—y no hecho a puñetazos, como otros” (252, original emphasis).²⁰ And he also possesses a certain “naturalidad galante” that Pedro lacks (252). But in spite of his noble character and supposedly glorious heritage, Ramón’s is nonetheless a “dignidad algún tanto burlesca para quien por primera vez lo veía” (251-252). In other words, even aristocratic dignity, when set against Ramón’s threadbare finery and run-down “palace,” makes him seem, even for an admiring narrator, both anachronistic and a bit ridiculous. He may be a fine example of

¹⁹ The Diccionario de la Real Academia Española defines a “paladín” as a “[c]aballero fuerte y valeroso que, voluntario en la guerra, se distingue por sus hazañas.”

²⁰ I see two possible interpretations of the opposition here between “el señor hecho a puñetazos” and “el verdadero señor desde sus principios.” We might read it as a swipe at Pedro’s less-than-authentic claim to the marquisate of Ulloa. But we might also read “el señor hecho a puñetazos” as the cacique, who commands the obeisance of the noble lord without a noble title of his own—based on violent intimidation rather than past martial glory. In other words, he is the man who gains power and influence with the brute force of his bare hands, rather than with the skillful maneuvering of the sword or the bow, thus setting the cacique apart from the aristocratic “paladines” of Limioso clan.

noble blood and gentry masculinity. But his poverty shows that neither an aristocratic heritage, nor a purely aristocratic model of manliness is sufficient to maintain wealth and power in nineteenth-century Galicia.

As Pedro and Nucha leave the Limioso ruined estate to return to their own decaying home, the narrator says, “Salieron del goteroso Pazo cuando ya anohecía, y sin que se lo comunicasen, sin que ellos mismos pudiesen acaso darse cuenta de ello, callaron todo el camino porque les oprimía la tristeza inexplicable de las cosas que se van” (254). In other words, Pedro and Nucha feel a strong sense of sorrow at the decline of the Limioso family and its estate. The narrator shares this sorrow, and the reader is meant to do so, as well. At the same time, this episode can also be read as a cautionary tale, to show Pedro and the reader the depths to which his own estate could fall if he fails to take action. It is a warning, however, that, at least for the duration of Los Pazos, goes unheeded.²¹

Enlightenment Thought and the Mismanagement of Inherited Wealth

In the Ulloa manor house’s archive, which is featured in Chapter IV of the novel, we see an important illustration of past and present neglect of the estate by its owners, as well as the resulting economic consequences. But as Julián sifts through the archive, we also see his attempt to repair the damage done to Pedro’s wealth and aristocratic authority due to that neglect. The young chaplain reveres Ancien-Regime values and feudal

²¹ In La Madre Naturaleza, we do see a much older Pedro actively participating in, or at least overseeing, the farming of his estate.

privilege. And he abhors what he sees as anti-clerical, Enlightenment thinking. But even he points to the need for an educated, working professional to fix the problems of the Ulloa estate. Meanwhile, in the discussion of Pedro's family history, the narrator links professionalization and Enlightenment thought, implying that both are necessary for the maintenance of the Ulloa estate's (and Pedro's) wealth.

The archive serves as a microcosm for the whole estate, described by the narrator, from Julián's perspective, as "una ruina, una ruina vasta y amenazadora, que representaba algo grande en lo pasado, pero en la actualidad se desmoronaba a toda prisa" (129). As the chaplain walks into the archive for the first time, it is in such disorder that the floor is strewn with papers—some of which represent, like the archive as a whole, "algo grande en lo pasado," but have now been reduced to mere refuse. For example, to his horror, Julián inadvertently steps on an "ejecutoria de nobleza," as he walks into the room (122-123). As the narrator tells us, "Desde niño le había enseñado su madre a reverenciar la sangre ilustre, y aquel pergamino escrito con tinta roja, miniado, dorado, le parecía cosa más venerada, digna de compasión por haber sido pisoteada, hollada bajo la suela de sus botas" (123). Julián is all too aware that the parchment represents the family's noble authority, and that its gold leaf and red ink symbolize inherited wealth, passed down through noble bloodlines. But the document has been left on the dirty floor, to be trodden on by the chaplain, a product of peasant stock. Thus, it serves as a metaphor for the wealth and control that Pedro has let peasants, such as Primitivo, take from him. In other words, it is a physical sign of the breakdown of the feudal order.

In addition to estate records, Julián discovers books in the archive—“la biblioteca de un Ulloa...de principios del siglo”—including volumes by the likes of Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (125-126). Voltaire’s works were prohibited by the Church in 1762 and were still on a list of expurgated books published in Madrid in 1844, a mere quarter century before the action of the novel (Pardo Bazán, Los Pazos 126 n. 63). And while the narrator specifies that the young chaplain “no era en extremo intolerante,” we are told that, “lo que es Voltaire, de buena gana le haría lo que a las cucarachas” (126). In other words, as far as Julián is concerned, the French Enlightenment thinker is no better than a cockroach scampering around in the study, and just as worthy of being crushed under foot. For that reason, he quickly shelves the books with a look of pain and disgust—“con los labios contraídos y los ojos bajos como siempre que algo le hería o escandalizaba”—without even passing a rag over their dusty, worm-eaten spines (126). Here, we see, on the part of Julián, both a healthy respect for feudal authority and a strong distaste for Enlightenment ideas that might disturb that authority—closely linked in Los Pazos to church authority. But the fact that he finds the books caked in dust and riddled with wormholes and insect bites also shows that, if the old order is under threat at the Ulloa manor, the new order, ushered in by the Enlightenment, has yet to take hold in its place. Moreover, because these are French books, the Enlightenment itself is coded as a French phenomenon, but not a Spanish one.

In the archive, Julián also finds a notebook, in which the abbot formerly in charge of the estate’s finances has written “los nombres de los pagadores y arrendatarios de la casa, y al margen, con un signo inteligible para él solo, o con las palabras más

enigmáticas aún, el balance de sus pagos” (127). So confusing and undecipherable are the records and so intricate are traditional Galician land rights, that he gets lost in “un dédalo”—a labyrinth—“de foros y subforos, prorrateos, censos, pensiones, vinculaciones, cartas dotales, diezmos, tercios, pleitecillos menudos y pleitazos gordos, de partijas” (128). According to Labanyi, “the lamentable state of the title deeds and leases, half-devoured by vermin” represents here the “conversion of the land into paper,” signaling the breakdown of aristocratic authority and the onset of a more modern economy (344). But, as I noted earlier, the complex foro system that has led to this “lamentable state of the titles and deeds” was a fourteenth-century creation designed to preserve the power of the nobility. For that reason, I see the effort in Los Pazos to better manage the documents as an attempt to maintain the feudal order. In this way, as Jeremy Squires writes, Julián’s task is to “reconnect...los pazos to its historical roots through restoring the house’s archive” (45).

Even so, Julián realizes that he is out of his depth in trying to organize and understand the estate’s business. For that reason, he tells Pedro, “Aquí vendría bien un abogado” (128). In other words, the chaplain recognizes the necessity of an educated professional in Los Pazos, who might be able to help Pedro himself take better control over his estate and its finances, which, in turn would help alleviate the abuses of the system by the peasantry. Significantly, the narrator then tells us that, if not for the death of his father when Pedro was very young, the marquis “acaso hubiera tenido carrera” (129). After all, “los Moscosos conservaban desde el abuelo afrancesado, enciclopedista y francmasón que se permitía leer al señor de Voltaire, cierta tradición de cultura

trasañeja, medio extinguida ya pero suficiente todavía para empujar a un Moscoso a los bancos del aula” (129).²² The same was not true on Pedro’s mother’s side of the family: “en los Pardos de la Lage al contrario era axiomático que más vale asno vivo que doctor muerto,” which is not surprising, given Manuel Pardo’s attitude toward the professional classes (129). After the death of his father, Pedro was raised by his uncle, Gabriel Pardo (Manuel Pardo’s brother and the namesake of Pedro’s cousin, Gabriel Pardo, the main focalizer in La madre naturaleza). Moreover, we are told, Pedro idolized his uncle Gabriel, whom the narrator describes as “groseramente chistoso, como todos los de la Lage” and as a sort of “señor feudal acatado en el país que enseñaba al heredero de los Ulloa el desprecio de la humanidad y el abuso de la fuerza” (131). In other words, the Pardo side of the family, in general, has always been anti-intellectual. And Pedro’s role model, Gabriel, in particular, was rude, contemptuous, and violent. The narrator condemns these negative attributes and codes as positive, by comparison, the enlightened ideas and professionalization favored by the Moscoso branch of the family. Thus, the narrator implies that, had Pedro been raised by his Moscoso father under the influence of Enlightenment thought, instead of by his “grosero” uncle Gabriel, the marquis could have become an educated professional, such as a lawyer, who could then manage his own estate, rather than spending his time hunting. In other words, Pedro’s own professionalization could have saved his gentry authority. As noted in chapter I, the

²² Ayala notes a possible allusion to one of Pardo Bazán’s own relatives in this “abuelo afrancesado.” (Pardo Bazán, Los Pazos 125 n. 61). In her “Apuntes autobiográficos,” Pardo Bazán mentions “mi tío general de Artillería don Santiago Piñeiro, tipo muy curioso de hidalgo volteriano” (25, my emphasis).

English aristocracy, which had been accustomed to what Sally Mitchell calls a “life of pure leisure and dissipation,” gradually became subject to the bourgeois moral imperative of work in the nineteenth century (21). As time went on, landowners were increasingly expected to make themselves useful. And even aristocrats began to adopt professions (Mitchell 21). We see in Los Pazos, a similar “moral imperative” applied to Pedro, yet he refuses to be bound by it, or even to recognize it. Summing up all the problems plaguing the estate’s finances, the narrator says, “Dada la complicación de la red, la subdivisión atomística que caracteriza la propiedad gallega, un poco de descuido o mala administración basta para minar los cimientos de la más importante fortuna territorial” (132). The use of the phrase “un poco” here is surely ironic because there has been more than “a little” mismanagement and neglect with respect to the Ulloa landholdings. And along with the intricacies of Galician property rights, these factors have sapped what should be the estate’s “importante fortuna territorial.” Thus, the narrator suggests that, if the estate had been actively managed by a hardworking, educated marquis—instead of being ignored by the lazy rube, Pedro—the foundations of its “important landed fortune” might still be intact. There would still be other problems to address, like the “subdivisión atomística que caracteriza la propiedad gallega,” which we can read as the minifundio, but at least an educated, professional lord of the manor might be better able to address them.

Treachery, Violence, and the Upending of the Social Order

It is important to note that the Ulloa estate's decline is not solely attributable to neglect, mismanagement, laziness, or lack of education on the part of Pedro and his ancestry. Treachery and violence have also been major contributors to its financial difficulties. The narrator recounts that, when Pedro was a child, he and his uncle, Gabriel, were out hunting one day, "según costumbre, a cuatro o seis leguas de distancia de los Pazos, habiéndose llevado al criado y al mozo de cuadra" (131). During the hunt, the house was invaded by a band of "veinte hombres enmascarados," who overpowered Pedro's mother, Micaela, and the then-chaplain, making off with a cache of money and valuables that represented a large portion of Micaela's wealth (131). While the perpetrators were never apprehended, the narrator says, "se afirmó que los criminales no eran bandidos de profesión, sino gentes conocidas y acomodadas, alguna de las cuales desempeñaba cargo público" (131). Furthermore, adds the narrator, "entre ellas se contaban personas relacionadas de antiguo con la familia de Ulloa" who knew when the house would be left unprotected—"sin hombres" (132). The narrator never explicitly implicates Gabriel in the robbery. But it is not difficult to imagine his complicity in it. Afterward, he pilfered most of the rest of Micaela's money, then undertook "un casamiento secreto" with the daughter of Cebre's jailor, eventually bequeathing those spoils to the three children that resulted from that union (132). To Pedro, on the other hand, he left nothing—"ni reloj de memoria" (132). As a result, by the time of the events of the Los Pazos, the estate sits "enmarañada y desangrada"—subject to a mortgage, in spite of what should, at least according to Pedro, be a productive farming operation (132).

But the treachery and violence in the novel is certainly not limited to aristocratic family members or “gentes acomodadas.” The peasantry is seen not as a group of loyal workers who do the hard work of the estate, but rather as a constant threat to Pedro’s wealth and control. The best example of this threat is the “savage,” fox-like predator, Primitivo. Pedro may be the nominal “lord” of the manor. But the real power—what the narrator calls the “real omnipotencia” lies in the peasant majordomo (136). While the laborers treat Pedro with a certain “respeto adulador” by virtue of his social rank, their attitude toward Primitivo is one of “sumisión absoluta” (136-137). And he is able to take charge of its daily operations and of the hunt principally because Pedro is too helpless and ignorant to do it himself. As Pedro says to Julián: “¿Y los perros? ¿Y la caza? ¿Aquellas gentes, y todo aquel cotorro, que nadie me lo entiende sino él... sin Primitivo, no me arreglo yo allí...” (220). The marquis’s evocation of “la caza” here is particularly significant given that his ability to hunt is a sign of his noble authority, and yet, he cannot do so without the peasant Primitivo. Moreover, with no oversight, Primitivo pilfers resources from Ulloa holdings, then loans them back to Pedro—as well as to poor renters in the region—thus gaining economic power as a usurer (343-344).

Meanwhile, the old man is not the only peasant stealing from the Ulloa estate. As Pedro laments to Julián: “A esa mujer [Sabel], a Primitivo, a la condenada bruja de la Sabia con sus hijas y nietas, a toda esa gavilla que hace de mi casa merienda de negros, a la aldea entera que los encubre, era preciso cogerlos así (y agarraba una rama del castaño triturándola en menudos fragmentos) y deshacerlos. Me están saqueando, me comen vivo” (168-169). As the local governor points out to the cacique, Trampeta, the estate is

full of resources and should, by all rights, make money: “a pesar de sus buenas rentas está siempre a la quinta pregunta” (342). Pedro expresses the same idea to Julián. And while we might attribute this lack of profitability to the estate’s mortgage or to the other problems inherent in the nineteenth-century Galician agricultural system, Pedro blames the peasantry instead, and is never contradicted by the narrator. Specifically, the marquis accuses peasants of stealing and failing to pay rents on time:

¿Piensa usted que yo ahorro un ochavo aquí en este desierto? Vive a mi cuenta toda la parroquia. Ellos se beben mi cosecha de vino, mantienen sus gallinas con mis frutos, mis montes y sotos les suministran leña, mis hórreos les surten el pan; la renta se cobra tarde, mal y arrastro; yo sostengo siete u ocho vacas, y la leche que bebo cabe en el hueco de la mano; en mis establos hay un rebaño de bueyes y terneros que jamás se uncen para labrar mis tierras; se compran con mi dinero, eso sí, pero luego se dan a parcería y no se me rinden cuentas jamás... (170)

At other points in the novel, however, peasants are clearly victimized by Pedro, as when he conscripts the local girl to serve as wet nurse for Nucha, or when he brutally beats Sabel for her supposed infidelity to him. And while the reader is not meant to approve of these actions, they are consonant with Pedro’s role as lord of the manor and with the model of gentry masculinity which he strives to embody. But here, the tables are turned. Pedro represents himself as the victim of the peasantry. And the narrator affirms this judgment. As the peasants usurp both his authority and his wealth, the social order is upended. This reversal has important consequences for Pedro’s manliness, as well. As we have already seen, his laziness precludes him from embodying the modern masculine ideal. But the gentry masculinity he strives to represent depends on a strict, feudal hierarchy, in which the lord controls the land, its resources, and the people who work on

it. And Pedro lacks that control and, thus, fails to meet even the most basic requirements of gentry masculinity. As a result, he is neither a modern man, nor a real man according to the Ancien-Regime, aristocratic scheme. In this sense, he is no man at all.

Violence, Cacique Masculinity, and the Absence of Power

As we have seen, Los Pazos begins on a note of violence. And violence and treachery run throughout the text, culminating in the cold-blooded murder of Primitivo, Barbacana's henchman, el Tuerto, near the end. I argue that it is precisely the breakdown of social hierarchies that leads to the prevalence of violence in the novel. This breakdown, in turn, erodes gentry masculinity, as we have seen, in large part because of a failure to adopt the values of post-Enlightenment masculine principles of hard work, reason, and self-discipline. But even though there is support in the novel for certain aspects of the modern, bourgeois masculine ideal, that model does not arise as a viable replacement for a gentry masculinity in decline. In fact, the only real middle-class professional who works for a living in Los Pazos is Juncal, the doctor. But, while he plays a key role in La Madre Naturaleza, Juncal is a marginal figure in Los Pazos. He espouses post-Enlightenment ideas to the other characters, but they uniformly fall on deaf ears. And once he disappoints Pedro by delivering him a daughter rather than a son, he is essentially banished from the Ulloa estate.

In the absence of a more modern masculine model, the replacement for the aristocratic notion of hegemonic masculinity in Los Pazos is what I call cacique masculinity, exemplified by, but not limited to, "el señor hecho a puñetazos," the cacique

himself. At least in the Galician case, as represented in the novel, the cacique comes either from the bourgeoisie or from the peasantry, but takes control over both peasants and aristocrats alike, through violence and intimidation, and makes a mockery of both feudal privilege and any semblance of a modern electoral system. According to Labanyi, “Pardo Bazán saw caciquismo as endemic to Galicia given the peasantry’s lack of education; the cacique had a crucial function because he enabled the rural populace to relate to the State through an individual representative who made its abstract nature more manageable by personalizing it” (348). Mary Lee Bretz makes a similar point. Thanks to caciquismo, she says, the Ulloa estate “is no longer isolated from the urban world of Santiago, nor from the political pressures that emanate from Madrid” (“Masculine” 48). Inasmuch as caciquismo connects the rural world of Galicia to the national government in Madrid, I argue that it is less a sign of the centralizing power of the State and more a sign of the failure of Spain, on a national level, to modernize its politics and its country as a whole. As Joaquín Costa writes in a passage from 1901, already quoted in Chapter I, caciquismo is “feudalismo de un nuevo género, cien veces más repugnante que el feudalismo guerrero de la Edad Media, y por virtud del cual se esconde bajo el ropaje del Gobierno representativo una oligarquía mezquina, hipócrita y bastarda” (24, original emphasis). According to this formulation, while caciquismo degrades traditional feudal hierarchies, it still perpetuates Old-Regime, rural values and extends them into the city, rather than bringing a supposedly modern ethos into the country.

The two principal caciques, Trampeta and Barbacana, are both educated professionals. Barbacana is a lawyer and Trampeta is the local “secretario del

Ayuntamiento” (330). But as the narrator says, “esta villita y su región comarcana temblaban bajo el poder de entrambos. Antagonistas perpetuos, su lucha, como la de los dictadores romanos, no debía terminarse sino con la pérdida y muerte del uno... la crónica de sus hazañas, de sus venganzas, de sus manejos, fuera cuento de nunca acabar” (330). In other words, while each is an educated bourgeois, they gain influence not by honest work, but rather by corruption and intimidation. For his part, Primitivo is described as a “cacique subalterno” because he uses his influence to promote one (or both) of the two caciques, depending on which will be most advantageous to him (333). Nevertheless, the cacique’s hegemony is always an unstable one, precisely because his power is always ex officio. He might pull the strings of the lord of the manor, who serves him as a puppet political candidate or as a hapless meal ticket. But there is no official legitimacy to back up that power. And alliances and power dynamics can change quickly, as seen in the elections in Los Pazos, in which Trampeta suddenly prevails over Barbacana because of a betrayal on the part of Primitivo, who, in turn, ends up brutally murdered by el Tuerto at the behest of Barbacana.

It is important to understand that cacique masculinity in Los Pazos goes far beyond the caciques themselves, be they the main bourgeois caciques, Barbacana and Trampeta, or the peasant subaltern cacique, Primitivo. Because the cacique’s power is taken, rather than earned or inherited, and because it is based on violence and brutishness, I see cacique masculinity as a useful framework to describe the violent negotiations of masculinity that take place throughout the novel. These negotiations do include the actual caciques. But they also include aristocrats, like Pedro and Ramón Limioso; other

peasants, like Barbacana's henchman, el Tuerto; and clergymen, like the boorish abbot of Boán and even the delicate Julián. At one time or another, all these men fall under the sway of the violent manliness that characterizes cacique masculinity.

In elaborating his theory of "hegemonic masculinity," Connell emphasizes the importance of the submission of women to masculine hegemony. And we can see obvious examples of this phenomenon in Los Pazos, such as Pedro's spousal abuse of Nucha or the brutal beating of Sabel. Connell also acknowledges that hegemonic masculinity involves "dominance and subordination between groups of men" (78). And as gentry masculinity declines in Los Pazos, making way for violent, cacique masculinity, these relationships of dominance and subordination are often negotiated and renegotiated on a scene-by-scene basis.

We can see these negotiations, for example, in the hunt scene in chapter XXII of Los Pazos. On a macro level the hunt is, as I have noted, the supposed domain of gentry masculinity in the novel, though Pedro's dependence on Primitivo to carry out the hunt undermines the marquis's gentry manliness. On a micro level, the hunt also illustrates the small ways in which the participating men exert, confirm, and contest their own manliness and that of others. As Greer says, "We usually think of the hunt as an activity in which human beings confront the animal world, an exercise in which more or less civilized man measures his strength against nature in its pristine force. But it is also the terrain in which man tests his powers against man" (201-202). The negotiations of power and manliness displayed in the hunt do not involve violence among male characters in Los Pazos, but they do make use of violence toward animals as a means of comparing

and evaluating manly skill. As we have already noted, various characters from a range of social classes confirm and exert their own virility by calling Julián's manliness into question, thus "subordinating" his masculinity to their own. The hunt scene is another example of such subordination. The chaplain's lack of hunting clothes and gear makes him a target of mockery—the "blanco de las bromas de los cazadores"—before the hunt even begins (315). And once the hunt is underway, says the narrator, "ocurrióseles a los cazadores que sería cosa muy divertida darle a Julián una escopeta y un perro y que intentase cazar algo" (315). In other words, Pedro and his companions know that Julián has little experience or skill at hunting, and they insist that he participate just so that they can take pleasure in his incompetence. Try as he might to refuse, he eventually gives into this peer pressure because, as the narrator says, "Quieras o no quieras, fue preciso conformarse" (315-316). He then becomes the target of ridicule by the narrator as well, when the retriever provided for Julián, an expert hunting dog, described as an "hidalgo animal," is confused by the chaplain's incorrect commands (316). In other words, Julián is even less "manly," in a sense, at least in terms of gentry masculinity, than the so-called "hidalgo" dog. According to Robert Lott's analysis of the hunt scene, the chaplain's "utter ineptness, in the midst of primitive manly virtues, makes him the butt of ridicule" (4). But by extension, his ineptness also highlights the "primitive manly virtues" of the other hunters. Thus, he shores up their manliness by displaying his own lack thereof.

Another, more complex, scene in which masculine dominance and subordination turn into violence, or at least, abuse, is the one in which Primitivo, Pedro, and the abbot inebriate the toddler, Perucho. When Julián tells the men that he has little familiarity

with wines and generally prefers to drink water, he receives a disdainful look from the drunkard abbot, who believes, as we have already seen, that “el que no bebe, no es hombre” (108). Feeling obvious pressure to redeem himself, Julián sheepishly adds, “Es decir... con el café, ciertos días señalados, no me disgusta el anisete” (108). When one of the dogs then snaps at Perucho, causing the child to cry, Julián comforts him. But Pedro scolds him for such a show of weakness, exclaiming, “¡A callarse y a reír ahora mismo! ¿En que se conocen los valientes?” (107). He then hands his wine glass to the boy, who eagerly gulps it down, prompting applause from Pedro, and a shout, ironically, of “¡Retebien! ¡Viva la gente templada!” (107). When Julián objects to giving such a small child alcohol, the other men take his objection as a challenge. Pedro exclaims, “¡Si es un veterano!” turning to Perucho and adding, “¿A que te zampas otro vaso...?” (110). The marquis, the abbot, and Primitivo then goad the boy into gulping down alcohol until he is nearly too drunk to continue: “Volvióse hacia la botella y luego, como instintivamente dijo que no con la cabeza” (111). But, says the narrator, “No era Primitivo hombre de darse por vencido tan fácilmente,” and the majordomo offers Perucho a copper coin to keep drinking (111). This prompts Julián to put aside his natural “masedumbre y timidez,” to stand up, and to confront Primitivo in defense of the boy (111). But the majordomo prevails:

Primitivo, de pie también, mas sin soltar a Perucho, miró al capellán fría y socarronamente, con el desdén de los tenaces por los que se exaltan un momento. Y metiendo en la mano la moneda de cobre, y entre sus labios la botella destapada, y terciada aun de vino, la inclinó, la mantuvo así hasta que todo el licor pasó al estómago de Perucho.” (111)

As the scene begins, Julián's manhood is called into question, after which he lamely (and unsuccessfully) tries to appease his tormenters by admitting to drinking an occasional anisette. Then, the chaplain's comforting of Perucho serves as a sort of challenge to Pedro and the others, and they use the child as a pawn to prove that Julián is even less manly than a toddler, which then prompts the meek Julián to rise to the challenge in a possible physical confrontation with Primitivo that ends not in fisticuffs, but rather in a bribe, which seals Primitivo and Pedro's victory and "proves" Julián's lack of manliness. This is a game of one-upsmanship, of victimization of the weak and defenseless, of negotiating anxieties about manliness, and ultimately of corruption. In this way, we can see the scene as a microcosm in the novel of the socio-political dynamic in rural Galicia. Still, we should not assume that Primitivo's violence toward Perucho (and, indirectly, toward Julián) is necessarily a sign of Primitivo's power over them. According to Hannah Arendt in On Violence, political theorists of all stripes seem to agree that "violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power (35).²³ But Arendt counters this idea. Instead, she says, "Power and violence are opposites; where one rules absolutely, the other is absent" (56). As a result, writes Arendt, violence "appears where power is in jeopardy" (56). Similarly, violence in Los Pazos stems from a perceived threat to power and dominance.

²³ For example, Arendt quotes C. Wright Mills, who says, "All politics is the struggle for power," and "the ultimate kind of power is violence" (Mills, The Power Elite 171; quoted in Arendt 35).

Perhaps the best example of this idea can be found in a scene near the end of the novel. After the election, Barbacana's supporters gather in his office to lick their collective wounds from the electoral loss. The group includes Barbacana's henchman, el Tuerto, who will eventually murder Primitivo; the abbot of Boán; Don Eugenio, the parish priest of Naya; and Ramón Limioso. Pedro, the losing candidate himself, is not present, a fact which indicates his role as a mere pawn in the political games of the cacique and his coterie. Outside the office, a crowd of drunken revelers—"un alboroto grotesco," according to the narrator—can be heard chanting an "enjambre de mueras y vivas" (361). In addition to laudatory cries of "¡Viva Cebre y nuestro diputado!" and "¡Viva la Soberanía Nacional!" the crowd also shouts, with increasing fervor: "¡Mueran los curas!...¡Muera la tiranía!...¡Muera el marqués de Ulloa!...¡Muera el ladrón faucioso Barbacana! (361).²⁴ At this, the men bristle, anticipating a violent altercation. And, in a scene that seems more appropriate to a spaghetti Western than to a late-nineteenth-century, Spanish realist novel, Barbacana extracts from his desk drawer, two "enormes pistolas" (362). The other men take this move as a sort of call to arms:

...el cura de Boan y el señorito de Limioso, unidos al Tuerto, formaban un grupo lleno de decisión. El señorito de Limioso, no desmintiendo su vieja sangre hidalga, aguardaba sosegadamente, sin fanfarronería alguna, pero con impávido corazón; el abad de Boán, nacido con más vocación de guerrillero, que de misacantano, apretaba con júbilo la pistola, olfateaba el peligro, y a ser caballo, hubiera relinchado de gozo; el Tuerto, encogido y crispado como un tigre, se situaba detrás de la puerta a fin de destripar a mansalva al primero que entrase. (362)

²⁴ These cries highlight the violent tenor that plagued Spanish political life throughout the nineteenth century; commenting on this violent tone, the narrator calls the muera "un clamor que en España siempre tiene mucho de trágico" (361).

When Limioso realizes that the people outside are merely dancing and pose no actual threat, the men decide to go outside and to clear the crowd anyway just for fun—not with guns, so as not to “ensuciar un arma que uno usa para el monte, para las perdices y las liebres,” but rather “a palos y latigazos” (363). And afterward, the narrator describes these men as “héroes de la gran batida,” and says, “salieron a caballo hacia la montaña. No iban cabizbajos, a fuer de muñidores electorales derrotados, sino lleno de regocijo, con gran cháchara y broma” (366). It is precisely their defeat in the election—that is, their lack of power, leads them to violence—not in self-defense, nor, properly speaking, in battle, nor even on the hunt—but rather as a means of recuperating a lost sense of power and manhood. And, tellingly, these men are of differing classes, from Limioso with his “sangre hidalga” to the bourgeois lawyer, Barbacana, to the animalized peasant, el Tuerto. They fight alongside one another to exorcise their anxieties and to feel heroic and manly again. But this scene is not one of triumph. It shows that, within the world of Los Pazos, a class-crossing group such as this one can only express its manliness through brutishness and violence.

Julián Álvarez and the Achievement of “Real” Manhood

According to Lou Charnon-Deutsch, Julián Álvarez undergoes a “ritual-like gender rebirth” when he begins to care for Nucha’s baby (118). Because he is “scorned by men for lacking authority and hunting skills and for being too effeminate,” she says, “he is ceremoniously admitted into a feminine circle of holding and touching” (118). For Charnon-Deutsch, Julián’s real manhood lies in “his willingness to be different from

what a real man was presumed to be in terms of nineteenth-century Spanish rural society” (117). Thus, she says, “he stands in marked contrast to country landowners who hunt, drink, argue about national affairs, seduce servants, and beat their wives” (117). But in Julián’s attempt—albeit a failed one—to overcome his natural timidity and to challenge Primitivo in defense of Perucho, we have already seen that even the chaplain is not immune to the violent tendencies that permeate Los Pazos. And at the end of the novel, as Julián looks back on its events from ten years later, he remembers his final encounter with Pedro Moscoso, in which the marquis accuses him of sleeping with Nucha, threatens him, then banishes him from the estate. The narrator says:

No olvidará aquellas inesperadas tribulaciones, valor repentino y ni aún de él mismo sospechado que desplegó en momentos tan críticos para arrojar a la faz del marido cuanto le hervía en el alma, la reprobación, la indignación contenida por su habitual timidez; el reto provocado por el bárbaro insulto; los calificativos terribles que acudían por vez primera de su boca, avezada únicamente a palabras de paz, el emplazamiento de hombre a hombre que lanzó al salir de la capilla... (393, original emphasis)

While the confrontation does not rise to the level of a physically violent encounter, it does constitute a conflict and a challenge—a “reto provocado por el bárbaro insulto.” It is only because of this challenge that the Julián finally overcomes his supposedly feminine qualities like timidity and acquires certain “valor repentino” that allows him to address Pedro “man to man” for the first (and only) time. Moreover, as he flees the estate, his newfound manly qualities persist, as he speedily saddles a horse “con sus propias manos” and rides away, “desplegando una maestría debida a la urgencia” (394). And when we see the more mature Julián, ten years later, at the novel’s conclusion, he is

a different man. The narrator calls him “más varonil” and says that he is in the midst of “la edad viril” (400). According to Jeremy Squires, in “his final form, Julián is portrayed approvingly by Pardo Bazán,” and “the dwindling away of androgynous traits seems to be welcomed” by the narrator’s repeated use of words like “varonil” and “viril” to describe him (51). Because of this transformation, Darío Villanueva calls Los Pazos a bildungsroman, in which the hero is Julián (126). Seen in this way, Julián has learned to become a man because of his threatening, if not physically violent, conflict with Pedro. He may not be a real man “in terms of nineteenth-century Spanish rural society,” like the “country landowners who hunt, drink, argue about national affairs, seduce servants, and beat their wives,” to use Charnon-Deutsch’s terms, but then, as I hope to have shown here, even those hunting, wife-beating, country landowners, like Pedro, fail in their attempt to be “real” men, as well. Just as Galicia remains mired in an agricultural economy that falters due to its lack of innovation and modernization, Pedro holds fast to an outdated model of gentry masculinity. He too fails to modernize, remaining uneducated, lazy, and uninterested in his estate. As a result, his aristocratic authority disappears and his gentry masculinity becomes meaningless. In a world in which the lord is no longer the lord, brutal, treacherous, caciques and devious peasants jockey for power and dominance, creating an environment in which the only real marker of manliness, even for the once-meek Julián, is violence.

III. The Old, the New, and the Irreconcilable in La Madre Naturaleza

One Setting, Two Worlds

When Pardo Bazán published her “Apuntes autobiográficos” at the beginning of the first edition of Los Pazos de Ulloa in 1886, she was still in the process of writing La Madre Naturaleza (1887). In the “Apuntes,” the author discusses her aims for both novels. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, she states that her goal in writing the earlier novel is to explore “la montaña gallega, el caciquismo y la decadencia de un noble solar” (81). By contrast, she writes that, with Madre, “doy rienda á mi afición al campo, al terruño y al paisaje” (81). Both novels are set in the same milieu and populated, for the most part, by many of the same characters, even though Madre takes place in the mid-1880s, years after Los Pazos, making its characters a good deal older in the second novel.¹ But as scholars John Rutherford and David Henn have noted, and as we might expect from Pardo Bazán’s descriptions of the two novels in the “Apuntes,” the tone is quite different in each (Rutherford 291; Henn 59). The opening scene of Los Pazos shows the countryside to be dangerous, sinister, and violent—“un país de lobos,” as the narrator puts it (98). In La Madre Naturaleza, the same area is depicted as a place of

¹ Unlike Los Pazos, whose events largely coincide with the Revoultion of 1868, Madre is a bit more difficult to situate in time. The second novel is not completely without references to historical events, however, especially in the eighth chapter. Using these references as clues—especially what he calls an “alusión indirecta a la muerte de Alfonso XII”, which took place in 1885, in the eleventh chapter—Ignacio López dates the action of Madre to a point not long before the time of its actual publication in 1887. And while Los Pazos takes place over a period of years, López notes that the entire action of Madre encompasses a mere six days (“Introducción” 43).

beauty, fertility, and protection, associated with the Garden of Eden. There are even direct allusions to Genesis in the first chapter, in which the now grown Perucho (Pedro Moscoso's illegitimate son with his former maid, Sabel) and Manolita (Pedro's legitimate daughter with his wife, Nucha) take shelter from the rain under a great "árbol patriarcal" that evokes the biblical Tree of Life (84). Later in the novel, when Perucho and Manolita consummate their relationship, unaware that they share the same father, Gabriel Pardo explicitly compares the couple to Adam and Eve (386). According to the narrator, the Galician landscape in which they live is the young couple's "protector y cómplice" (89-90).² For his part, Gabriel, who grew up in Santiago and has lived his life in cities like Madrid is taken with the beauty of the area upon his arrival. As he says to the doctor, Máximo Juncal, "Estoy encantado con mi tierra...es de los países más poéticos y hermosos que se pueden soñar...y lo poco que ya he visto me seduce" (184). However, Gabriel's journey from Santiago to Cebre in Madre is marked by a stagecoach accident, when the driver falls asleep at the reins, and the uncontrolled team of horses runs the coach into a ditch. During the accident, Gabriel suffers a slight injury to his arm. In this

² While it is more prevalent in La Madre Naturaleza, the idea of nature as Perucho and Manolita's protector is not completely absent in Los Pazos de Ulloa, specifically at the end, when the young Perucho hides with the infant Manolita in the hórreo, an omnipresent feature of the rural Galician landscape to this day, and often, given the pagan symbols that appear as architectural features of the hórreo, a reminder of Galicia's pre-Christian past. The narrator of La Madre Naturaleza alludes to the previous novel's scene in the hórreo, as well. As they take shelter from the rain under the large tree, the narrator says, "No era la primera vez que se encontraban así, juntos y lejos de toda mirada humana, sin más compañía que la madre naturaleza, a cuyos pechos se habían criado" (88). Mary Lee Bretz has discussed the hórreo scene as a symbolic return to the womb, a sort of feminine space outside of male-centered, teleological time (52-53).

way, his arrival mirrors Julián Álvarez's entry into the area on a barely controlled horse at the beginning of Los Pazos. But in Los Pazos, as we have already seen, Julián is greeted by gunshots from Pedro Moscoso's hunting party, followed directly by the disquieting scene in which Pedro and Primitivo inebriate the toddler, Perucho. By contrast, once Madre's Gabriel arrives in Cebre, he receives great warmth, attentiveness, and care from Juncal and his wife, Catuxa. When the doctor treats Gabriel's arm, and Catuxa ties it up in a sling, fashioned from a silk scarf, the wife asks, "¿Queda así a gustiño, señor?" (150, original emphasis). And a broad smile crosses Gabriel's face. The narrator explains: "El diminutivo, el calor de la seda...le produjeron el efecto de una caricia del país natal, a donde volvía por primera vez después de una ausencia muy prolongada" (150). Gabriel is delighted by his homecoming. And Catuxa's use of the term, "a gustiño," doubly emphasized both by the text's italics and the narrator's commentary, associates Gabriel's pleasure and contentment, on a linguistic level, with Galicia and the country folk who speak the Galician language. Meanwhile, the reader, like Gabriel, "comes back" to rural Galicia in La Madre Naturaleza, but it is no longer the violent, frightful world of Los Pazos de Ulloa. Instead, its initial impression, at least, is one of beauty and protection.

While many of Los Pazos's characters carry over to Madre, some are depicted differently in the two novels. Pedro Moscoso and Julián Álvarez are two examples. The violent Pedro, so menacing in Los Pazos, is no longer a threat in Madre. It is true that, as an older man, Pedro is just as uncouth as ever, owing, as Juncal says, to an upbringing influenced by his equally uncouth maternal uncle (also Gabriel Pardo's paternal uncle

and namesake). Echoing a similar comment he made about the younger Pedro in Los Pazos, Juncal says of the now more mature marquis: “Sería mejor que se educase él solito o con los perros y las liebres que en poder de aquel tutor animal” (189). But as Gabriel muses when he first meets Pedro, “Yo que le tenía por un castillo...Pero también los castillos se desmoronan” (208). Much like the manor house in which he lives, Pedro is now a ruin of his former self. He is so overweight and gout-stricken that he can scarcely even go hunting, as he so often did in his younger years. It is, perhaps, his inability to practice the leisure activities of his past that makes him take a greater interest in the workings of his estate. But even now, he is more an observer than a participant, leaving the managerial duties to Ángel Barbeito, Primitivo’s successor as majordomo. Pedro also leaves the hard work to various farmhands, as well as, on occasion, his offspring, Perucho and Manolita.

The mellowing of Pedro Moscoso in Madre is further evidenced by the fact that he has allowed Julián, whom he violently banished from his estate at the end of Los Pazos, to return as its current abbot. And just as Pedro’s depiction has evolved from the earlier novel to the latter, so too has Julián’s. He is still described as a pious man, but gone are the descriptions from Los Pazos of the priest as effeminate and sanctimonious. In Madre, even the anticlerical Juncal, who once spoke of Julián’s “trazas de mujercita,” now has only positive things to say about him. As Juncal says to Gabriel, “Se quita la camisa por dársela a los pobres: no alza los ojos del suelo...Apenas quiere cobrar a los feligreses ni oblata, ni derechos, ni nada, y su criado (porque ese no entiende de amas ni de bellaquerías) está que trina, como que les falta a veces hasta para arrimar el puchero a

la lumbre” (183). In other words, Julián is a generous man, who lives a humble, almost impoverished, life and cares deeply about others. And he shares his house with a manservant, thus avoiding the appearance of any sort of sexual impropriety that might result from living with a female maid.

The androgyny of that servant, Goros, however, is explicitly highlighted by the narrator. Goros is described as “uno de esos fámulos eclesiásticos...que reúnen todas las buenas cualidades del varón y de la hembra” (258-259). Moreover, the narrator then describes the two men’s living situation thus:

Si por hogar se entiende, no la asociación de seres humanos unidos por los lazos de la sangre o para la propagación y la conservación de la especie, sino el techo bajo el cual viven en paz y en gracia de Dios y con cierta afectuosa comunicación de intereses y servicios, el cura de Ulloa había reconstruido con Goros el hogar que perdiera al fallecer su madre. Y en cierto modo, hasta donde puede aplicarse la frase a dos individuos del mismo sexo, Goros y él se complementaban. (261)

In other words, Julián has created a home and, in a sense, a family with Goros, in which they live, for all practical purposes, as though they were man and wife, in what Samuel Amago has called “conjugal symbiosis” (58). By consequence, as Ricardo Krauel notes, “las líneas definitorias de los géneros se distorsionan y entrecruzan” (463). In other words, the couple blurs the line between gender roles, and in so doing, calls the post-Enlightenment model of gender difference into question. With his penchant for cleaning and his interest in childrearing for much of Los Pazos, Julián takes on a feminized persona, at least until the confrontation with Pedro at the end of the novel, which marks his entry into what the narrator calls “la edad viril” (400). But in Madre, while Julián prays, reads, or performs other priestly duties, Goros performs the stereotypically

womanly tasks: he cooks and keeps house. Thus, Julián's role is the more "husbandly" of the two.

While La Madre Naturaleza presents us with an idyllic environment, much different from the violent world of Los Pazos de Ulloa, the end of Madre is still a tragic one. The clash between Ancien-Regime ideology and modern, liberal thought we saw in the conflictive, brutal political environment of Los Pazos is alive and well in the more peaceful setting of the sequel, where rural political conflict disappears in favor of the doomed, incestuous love triangle of Perucho, Manolita, and Gabriel Pardo. Just like in Los Pazos, Madre shows us the struggle between an aristocratic model of masculinity and the post-Enlightenment model, based on reason and logic. As I will argue in this chapter, however, Madre shows an attempt on the part of the narrator and of Gabriel Pardo, the principal focalizer, to reconcile traditional and modern values, instead of simply ignoring modern ideas, as Pedro Moscoso does in Los Pazos. Furthermore, I contend that this reconciliation is physically embodied in the "perfect" manliness of Perucho. But the joining of the traditional and the modern in Madre ultimately falters, as does Perucho's seemingly perfect masculinity. Even in the nonviolent, edenic world of Madre, modernity cannot truly take hold because, for Gabriel Pardo and for the narrator, the impetus toward modern values still remains secondary to a reliance on Ancien-Regime ideas.

Nature and Culture, Naturalism and Romanticism

Several critics have written about the conflict between nature and culture in La Madre Naturaleza, and in some cases, more specifically, between nature and religion. As Maurice Hemingway points out, the advocates of nature in the novel are Antón, the bonesetter, and Gabriel Pardo, while the principal spokesman for religion is Julián (“Grace” 34). Antón subscribes to what Ignacio López calls a “tesis materialista correspondiente al poder omnipotente de la Naturaleza,” whereby man is more or less equal to other members of the animal kingdom (“Introducción” 48). As the bonesetter says, “un hombre valerá...más que los animales; pero poder...no puede más que un buey; y cuando le llega de cerrar el ojo, aunque sepa más que el rey Salimón, lo cierra, y abur” (Madre 109). In other words, man might have a certain attribute that other animals lack, such as knowledge. But the opposite is also true, as in the case of the ox’s brute strength. And all animals, human or otherwise, are equal in death. Catholicism plays little part in this formulation. Nor does it resonate in Gabriel’s statement, in the novel’s thirty-fifth chapter, that nature, rather than God, is “lo más sagrado y respetable que existe” (401). But Julián enunciates the opposite view when he says, “La ley de la naturaleza, aislada, sola, invóquenla las bestias; nosotros invocamos otra más alta...Por eso somos hombres, hijos de Dios y redimidos por él” (401).³ And, perhaps surprisingly, given Pardo Bazán’s

³ It is interesting to note, here, that, according to Julián, what makes a man is not knowledge or strength, both of which contribute to the modern masculine ideal, but rather faith in God.

own religious views, Toni Dorca contends that the Catholic argument fails.⁴ Writing about the end of the novel and the “tragic event” of Perucho and Manolita’s incest, Dorca says, “La madre naturaleza hace hincapié en la futilidad tanto de las leyes de la sociedad como de la doctrina cristiana a la hora de enmendar las consecuencias del trágico suceso” (139). For his part, Hemingway writes: “although Pardo Bazán does not endorse the advocates of nature, neither does she endorse the Catholic view as expressed by Julián” (“Grace” 37-38). Thus, he sees no clear winner between nature and religion in the novel.

Parallel to the nature vs. culture discussion of the novel’s theme, we also find a more formalist critical debate, as with Los Pazos, focused on whether Madre can rightfully be considered a naturalist novel. According to Donald Fowler Brown, Madre is indeed a naturalist, experimental text that owes a great debt to Zola’s La Faute de l’Abbé Mouret (1875). The two works, says Brown, share the same experimental hypothesis: “put a pair of healthy, young human animals in the bosom of nature with no restraints but their innocence, and sooner or later, inevitably, they will go the way of the flesh” (106). But, writes Brown, Pardo Bazán’s conclusion differs from that of Zola: La Faute “presents religion as an unnatural and tragic artificiality that separates the two lovers,

⁴ Pardo Bazán was a devout Catholic. This fact led Émile Zola, in a statement later included in the fourth and subsequent editions of La cuestión palpitante, to express his wonderment at Pardo Bazán’s ability to be both a “fervent, militant Catholic” and a naturalist novelist (Pardo Bazán, La cuestión 120; quoted in Brown 44). According to Donald Fowler Brown and Andrés González Blanco, however, to call Pardo Bazán a “militant Catholic” is inaccurate. González Blanco calls her Catholic belief “enérgico sin agresividades, tolerante sin transigencias acomodaticias” (421; quoted in Brown 44). And Brown writes: “Her religious viewpoint was unswerving but certainly not fanatical or militant” (44).

while in Pardo Bazán's version, it is presented more sympathetically" (106).⁵ Similarly, for Harry Kirby, the "thesis" of the novel is that "man, being a part of nature, must necessarily succumb to animal instinct when left to his own devices and unguided by social restraint and prohibition" (736). Thus, we can think of this "thesis" as the confirmation of the novel's so-called "experimental hypothesis."

Other scholars have disputed the claim that Madre is a naturalist novel. For example, Armand E. Singer sees in Madre a manifestation of the romantic idyll, influenced by Jaques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's romantic novel, Paul et Virginie (1787), which Madre's narrator references explicitly when he calls Perucho and Manolita "Pablo y Virginia" in the first chapter (85). Following Singer, Mariano Baquero Goyanes has pointed out what he calls Madre's "intenso proceso de literaturización" (75). As Baquero Goyanes writes: "Su dependencia de Pablo y Virginia resulta bastante significativa, sobre todo teniendo en cuenta que la novela francesa se halla cargada de recuerdos artísticos, literarios" (75). Moreover, says Baquero Goyanes, "La Madre Naturaleza que, en su tiempo, pasó por ser la más escandalosa expresión del naturalismo español, es uno de los más artificiosas y menos naturalistas relatos del siglo XIX" (75, my emphasis). According to this view, Madre cannot be a truly naturalist novel because of its romantic intertext, as well as its explicit use of artistic and literary artifice.

⁵ In her article on Madre, Diane Urey writes of nature's "corruption by culture" in the novel, which would seem to put the message of Madre closer to that of Le Faute than Brown indicates.

For his part, Dorca analyses Madre in light of the Bakhtinian “idyllic chronotope,” in which the cyclical life of the country is opposed to both city life and historical time (Dorca 13).⁶ To explain the idyllic chronotope, Dorca quotes Michael Squires’ commentary on the pastoral novel. According to Squires, the pastoral novelist writes “sympathetically about the virtues of peasant life and offers the rural world as the best place to locate value because of its unity and simplicity, its intimate communion with nature, and its freedom from sophistication” (11; quoted in Dorca 18 n. 13). For Dorca, Madre makes a gesture toward the idyllic chronotope in several ways. These include the novel’s depiction of humans at harmony with nature and agricultural work, its relatively compressed space and time, its intertextual references to other idyllic literary works by the likes of Fray Luis de León and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the conflict it shows between nature and religion (141). But, he writes, the novel also “destroys” that idyll, just as its prequel does, but in a different way: “Mientras que en Los Pazos de Ulloa, la destrucción del idilio se produce a causa de la omnipresencia del mal, en La madre naturaleza, la responsabilidad mayor de la desgracia cabe atribuirle a la extemporánea irrupción en los pazos de un quijote de pacotilla” (142). Dorca’s assertions about Los Pazos are questionable for two reasons. First, there is little idyll to be destroyed in the world of that novel. And second, the tragedy of Los Pazos stems not from evil, per se, but rather, as I argued in the previous chapter, from the breakdown of

⁶ See M. M. Bakhtin, “Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Toward a Historical Poetics,” The Dialogic Imagination, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981) 84-258.

the feudal order in rural Galicia, coupled with a failure to incorporate key values of the modern masculine ideal. In terms of Madre, however, Dorca's description of Gabriel Pardo as a sort of "second-rate Quijote" is instructive in the discussion of masculinity in the novel. Gabriel, like Cervantes' Alonso Quijano, is well read to a fault, as well as a dreamer, given to elaborate flights of fancy.

Nonetheless, from the perspective of Juncal, Gabriel Pardo is nothing short of a hero. As the narrator says, "Juncal se extasiaba encontrando tanta sencillez y llaneza en aquel hombre cuya superioridad intelectual, social y hasta psíquica le había subyugado desde el primer instante" (182). A few paragraphs later, the narrator further describes why Juncal is so enthralled with Gabriel:

...el médico reparó en lo bien cuidada (sin afeminación) que traía la barba el comandante. Cada pormenor acrecentaba la simpatía en el médico, que estancado en la cultura de los años universitarios, arrinconado en un poblachón, olvidado ya, a fuerza de bienestar material y de pereza mental, de sus antiguas lecturas científicas, y sus grandes teorías higiénicas, conservaba no obstante la facultad de respetar y admirar, en un grado casi supersticioso, cuando veía en alguien la plenitud de circulación y el oxígeno intelectual que él había ido perdiendo poco a poco. (185)

In Los Pazos, he was the new, young doctor in the village of Cebre, and he loved to debate and argue politics (264-265). But the time Madre begins, he has lived in the sleepy village of Cebre for many years among uneducated bumpkins. And he feels completely bereft of intellectual stimulation. He sees in Gabriel a true gentleman— unheard of in a place where crude men like Pedro Moscoso pass for the elite—and an intellectual equal that might rouse him from his long-established cerebral laziness. The description of Gabriel, from Juncal's perspective ends with the narrator voicing even

more praise for Gabriel: “¡era tan cortés, resuelto, despejado y afable aquel señor!” (185). But, while the doctor sees him as courteous, affable, and even resolute, Gabriel proves at various points in the text to be anything but clear-headed.

Caught Between the Old Spain and the New

As pointed out in Chapter I, Gabriel falls into what the narrator calls “una especie de niebla mental, una nube confusa” on his first night in Cebre, during which he recalls his life so far (152). The narrator recounts these recollections, which last for most of the novel’s eighth chapter, in free indirect discourse from Gabriel’s perspective. As he remembers, Gabriel takes stock of the many disappointments he has suffered over the years, which include his extreme grief after the death of Nucha, the beloved sister who raised him and whom he remembers as his “mamita”; his frustration with Spain’s backwardness compared to other European countries; and his disgust with the Spanish political landscape during the revolutionary period and the beginning of the Restoration, which he calls “[la] farsa más triste y vil que todas” (168, 173). A further discussion of Gabriel’s early life is in order here, since the narrator’s description of it is key to contextualizing the crisis of masculinity Gabriel represents in the novel.

As a student in the military academy in Segovia, Gabriel “[s]entía un odio profundo hacia las ideas nuevas y la revolución” (159). As far as he is concerned, the September Revolution “[echó] a perder su España, la España histórica condensada en su cabeza de estudiante asiduo y formal, una España épica y gloriosa, compuesta de grandes capitanes, monarcas invictos, cuyos bustos adornaban el Salón de los Reyes en el

Alcázar” (159, my emphasis). In other words, his Spain is a decidedly Ancien-Regime country, strongly linked to the past. Specifically, this past is populated by heroic kings and their warrior knights and structured around feudal hierarchies as regimented as Gabriel’s strict, “formal” mind. Moreover, it is worthy of medieval epic poetry. For that reason, though they are not mentioned in Madre, it is not difficult to imagine epic figures, such as Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (from El cantar de Mio Cid) or Fernán González (from the heroic poem bearing his name), as the “grandes capitanes” described in Gabriel’s vision of Spain’s glorious past. Meanwhile, the narrator says, “Gabriel se tenía por heredero directo de aquellos héroes acorazados, esgrimidores de tizona. Arrinconados el montante y la espada, la artillería era el arma de los tiempos modernos. ¡Qué de ilusiones y de fermentaciones locas producía en Gabriel el solo nombre de batalla!” (159). As both an aristocrat and as an artilleryman in training, then, he sees himself as the nineteenth-century embodiment of Spain’s feudal, martial past.

The narrator calls these ideas “fantasías heroicas,” explicitly marking them as the excited musings of an innocent, immature Gabriel who has yet to experience the harsh realities of life. But when historical events intervene, and the young artilleryman is sent to the front “en las rudas montañas de Vasconia” during the Third Carlist War, his excitement soon vanishes, as do his “fantasías heroicas” (159).⁷ Instead of a struggle between “la sagrada bandera de la patria” and “el odiado pabellón extranjero,” Gabriel

⁷ The Third Carlist War lasted from 1872 to 1876. It is also sometimes referred to as the Second Carlist War by those who deem the previous Carlist uprising (from 1846 to 1849) a minor conflict rather than a full-fledged war (Jensen 29).

must do battle with his own countrymen. As the narrator says, “Aquellas aldeas en que entraba vencedor, eran españolas; aquellas gentes a quienes combatía, españolas también” (159). Thus, the conflict pits the “patria” against itself. The only difference Gabriel sees between the warring factions is one of nomenclature: his adversaries are “carlistas,” while he is, at least officially, an “amadeísta” (159). And as a member of Amadeo I’s army, Gabriel must fight in the name of a foreign king chosen by a revolutionary government that he reviles.⁸ As a result, says the narrator, “A menudo hasta le sucedía a Gabriel dudar si el deber y la patria estaban del lado acá o del lado allá de la trinchera” (161). In other words, the war leaves him ambivalent and confused.

After his first of two stints at the front, Gabriel leaves behind his disillusioning experience in the trenches for a life of leisure in Madrid, befitting his aristocratic station. There, his time is filled neither with productive work, nor with physically vigorous military activities, but rather with the aimless pastimes of the capital’s elite, such as formal dances, social calls, and promenading on “la Castellana,” all of which he abhors (163). He only endures such activities, according to the narrator, in order to pursue a wealthy widow, with whom he falls in love (164). Once she breaks his heart, however, he turns away from “el gran mundo” and its “pompas y vanidades,” even more disillusioned and confused than before. He seeks solace (and answers) in solitary study, focusing mostly on books by eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century German

⁸ After the September Revolution, Spain became a constitutional monarchy. Amadeo of Savoy, the Duke of Acosta, was chosen by the Cortes as the new king. His reign lasted from 1870 until his abdication in 1873.

philosophers, Immanuel Kant and Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (164-165). Thanks to those books, says the narrator, “la inteligencia de Gabriel se abría” (165). And as his mind opens, his politics evolve, leading to what the narrator calls “sus nuevas ideas liberales” (166). And eventually, Gabriel becomes a “republicano teórico” (168). Thus, the young soldier, who once idolized the “monarcas invictos” of Spain’s remote past, now opposes the idea of monarchy altogether. And as he turns away from the “pomp” and “vanity” of his high society milieu, he also rejects his former belief in a strict, aristocratic social and political hierarchy.

By this point, Amadeo’s abdication of the throne has led to the proclamation of Spain’s First Republic. For that reason, and because and “los carlistas medran, pululan, brotan por todas partes con armamento y municiones,” Gabriel decides to leave behind his sedentary life of reading in the city and returns to the war, this time with conviction and enthusiasm (166). As the narrator says: “Gabriel bate el cobre con fe, persuadido de que el orden y la libertad están en las negras entrañas de los cañones de su batería; fraterniza con bandidos contraguerrilleros, lee con afán los periódicos políticos, vive de acción y de lucha, y todas las mañanas se levanta determinado a salvar a España” (167). This time, Gabriel sees a stark difference between the warring factions. He feels that he is genuinely fighting for the future of his country and that only a defeat of the Carlists, can “save” Spain. But this Spain is not the feudal, supposedly glorious, old Spain that Gabriel once considered “his.” Rather, it is a new Spain, which breaks with the past to embrace freedom and representative government. Nevertheless, while he is at the front, the Bourbon monarchy is restored, and Alfonso XII becomes king. Most of the army, or

“el noble cuerpo,” as the narrator calls it, is overjoyed (167-168).⁹ But the Restoration is a devastating blow to the now republican Gabriel. As the narrator says, “Al otro día de recibir el grado de comandante, viendo la guerra próxima a su fin, desilusionado más que nunca y gusto para pelear, recordaba haber tomado el camino de la corte” (168). His hopes and convictions are once again rocked by Spain’s political reality. As a result, he once again loses his enthusiasm for the war and abandons the battlefield.

Back in Madrid, Gabriel once again retreats into reading and study, searching for “algún asidero firme” to shore up his shaken beliefs (168). This time, he spends “cosa de medio año” at “seis horas diarias” buried in scientific texts, influenced by the “experimentalismo” of positivist discourses (168). In the scientific literature, Gabriel discovers “relaciones lógicas y armoniosas entre lo creado, leyes impuestos a la materia por voluntad al parecer inteligente, dependencia y conexión en los fenómenos” (169). But, says the narrator, none of this newfound knowledge can dispel his overwhelming sense of uncertainty: “el enigma seguía, el misterio no se disipaba, la sustancia, no parecía, la cantidad de incognoscible era la misma siempre” (169). Reading leaves him wiser, perhaps, but no less confused and destabilized than before. And this state of confusion is further exacerbated by yet another failed love affair, this time with a married woman (170).

We might say that, as a reactionary during the Revolution and a republican during the Restoration, Gabriel is at odds with his historical moment. But in another way, the

⁹ The coup d’état of General Manuel Pavía in 1874 brought an end to the First Republic and paved the way for the Bourbon Restoration on December 29th of that year.

ideological dissonance from which Gabriel suffers is a perfect representation of his era because, in the historical moment in which he lives, and indeed for most of the nineteenth century in general, Spain is at odds with itself. As Pardo Bazán writes in her “Confesión política” (1888), published a year after Madre: “Naciones hay, y en el número cuento a Alemania e Inglaterra, donde la escisión entre el pasado y el presente político...es apenas sensible, y se han llegado a juntar en haz apretadísimo las voluntades, obteniendo la unidad del pensamiento patriótico” (110). But Spain, according to Pardo Bazán, is not one of these nations. She continues: “Otros países, verbi gracia España, pueden ofrecerse como tipo y modelo de la zozobra perpetua, del desacuerdo consigo mismo. Desde principios del siglo harto sabemos que no ha lucido para nosotros un día sin guerra civil, ya desembozada y en armas, ya latente en el parlamento, en la prensa, en el libro, en el alma, que es peor” (110). Furthermore, she says, nineteenth-century Spain has been fractured into two specific parts: “la Vieja y la Nueva España, hermanas irreconciliables” (110). And while “[l]a Nueva España gana terreno a cada instante...la Vieja posee una fuerza estática y una energía inmanente que la hacen en cierto modo eterna e invencible” (110). In other words, no matter how advanced Spain becomes, it will never be able to fully shed its traditionalist roots.

Some critics have seen Gabriel Pardo as a “mouthpiece” for Pardo Bazán’s own personal political and philosophical views, or as her “raisonneur,” in Brown’s terms (106). For Robert Knox, this stems from what he sees as “Gabriel’s experience and sophistication and his penchant for converting emotional crisis into subjects for intellectual consideration” (70). In terms of politics, however, the author’s own views

run in an opposite trajectory to those of Gabriel Pardo in Madre. Unlike Gabriel, who begins as a reactionary, opposed to the Revolution, and evolves toward liberalism, Pardo Bazán began as a liberal, then became a Carlist after what she saw as the “excesos” of the September Revolution, though she does not specify what those excesses were in the “Confesión” (Pardo Bazán, “Confesión” 109). She writes: “Claro que si consulto mis simpatías personales, están con la Vieja España, retrocediendo, por supuesto al período de nuestra mayor grandeza” (113, original emphasis). But she accuses the Carlist Party of suffering from a “calavérica rigidez” (112). And she denounces certain reactionary aspects of Carlist “ortodoxia,” such as “previa censura para el libro, restablecimiento de la Inquisición y una especie de federación foral bajo el cetro de un monarca absoluto” (113). Furthermore, she says, “Interpreto, pues, este doble fenómeno—una Vieja España impotente para triunfar, una Nueva España incapaz de aprovechar el triunfo,—como prueba de que a ninguna de las dos aisladas, sino a las dos reconciliadas y unidas, toca remediar los males contemporáneos y abrir los gloriosos horizontes venideros” (112).¹⁰ Thus, she advocates a blending of Carlism and liberal values—a blending of “the Old Spain” and “the New Spain”—as the only path toward solving the nation’s problems. But the fact that she has already called these two Spains “hermanas irreconciliables” makes the possibility of such a blending seem remote and unrealistic.

¹⁰ This conciliatory position earned Pardo Bazán harsh criticism in the Spanish press from both liberals and Carlists alike (Faus 1: 428-430).

Regardless of whether or not Gabriel is Pardo Bazán's raisonneur, what we see in both Madre and the "Confesión" is the notion of a Spain torn asunder by the clash between the Old Regime and the New. And Gabriel Pardo is a microcosmic representative, as well as a casualty, of that clash. As he says to himself in Madre's eighth chapter: "Yo soy víctima de mi época y del estado de mi nación...Y nuestro destino corre parejas" (176). To borrow Pardo Bazán's language from the "Confesión," Gabriel, as a young reactionary, is like "la Vieja España" in that he is "impotente para triunfar." And later, as a studied liberal, he is like "la Nueva España" in that he is "incapaz de aprovechar el triunfo." Gabriel, in particular, and nineteenth-century Spain, in general, are trapped in a lose-lose battle with themselves.

As I discussed in Chapter I, Gabriel's subsequent travels in France, Germany, and England lead him to the conclusion that, by comparison, Spain is "una casa venida a menos, en una comarca semisalvaje, donde era postiza y exótica y prestada la exigua cultura, los adelantos y la forma de vivir moderno, donde el tren corría más triste y lánguido, donde la gente echaba de sí tufo de grosería y miseria" (171). In other words, Gabriel sees his homeland as a sad, backward country in dire need of modernization, beginning with improvements in Spain's infrastructure. But when he expresses this opinion to his friends, they belittle him. They regard both his desire for reform, and the possibility of enacting such reform, as the silly musings of a dreamer. For example, one of them tells another: "Siempre dije yo que [Gabriel] se guillaba; pero ahora me ratifico...Chifladísimo" (172). And in the face of these negative attitudes, he once again begins to question himself, saying: "¿Será cierto, Gabriel? ¿Serás tú un chiflado, un

badulaque que se mete a arreglar lo que no entiende, que todo lo intenta y de todo se cansa y se acerca ya a la madurez sin encontrar donde amarrar el bajel de la vida?” (172-173). After years of trying again and again to find solutions to his own problems and those of his country, he has simply grown tired of the search and discouraged about the likelihood of positive change.

Mental Disorders and Collective Anxieties

Since Gabriel and his associates question his sanity, perhaps it is appropriate that critics have also discussed his disillusionment and mental fatigue in terms of psychological disorders. For example, Jo Labanyi contends that Gabriel suffers from neurasthenia, or what she calls “over-stimulation of the brain by modern city life” (369, 372).¹¹ Furthermore, she writes: “In deciding to abandon Madrid for the countryside, he is adopting the remedy for neurasthenia prescribed in contemporary health manuals” (369). She adds: “As a neurasthenic, he is degenerate: because of his adulterous affair, because he is mentally exhausted and prematurely aged, and because his hypersensitivity has feminized him” (369). It is true that Gabriel has suffered from failed love affairs,

¹¹ Neurasthenia, also known as a “disease of civilization” was first described by George Beard in the 1870s as a particularly American condition, which, according to historian Christopher Forth, later became “widely cited across the Western world” (149). In his La neurasthénie: maladie de Beard (1891), French alienist Fernand Levillain described the disorder thus: “It’s at every instant and at every step the noise of carriages which roll noisily by across the cobblestones, the whistling of locomotives and other steam engines, tram horns, the cries of merchants, the roar of public meetings and the various sounds of the crowds that constantly deafen the ears. It’s the sight of the most diverse objects, the most gaudy colors, of the strangest forms of almost perpetual movement of men and things, of electric lights, of dazzling shop windows, etc.” (31; quoted in Forth 149).

mental exhaustion and premature aging. His manliness is also problematic, as I will discuss further below. But it is difficult to see these misfortunes as the result of a disease associated with the “modern city,” especially given that Gabriel has lived his life in Spain, which he considers to be poor and backward compared to the more modern countries he has visited. For his part, Hemingway more convincingly associates Gabriel’s condition with another mental disorder: abulia.¹² The critic, however, writes of “Generational abulia,” rather than personal abulia (“Grace” 41).¹³ Thus, he uses the term, not in its psychological sense, but rather in the sense preferred by members of the Generation of 1898, such as Miguel de Unamuno and Ángel Gavinet, to denote Spain’s collective “political and spiritual malaise” at the turn of the century (Jurkevich 181).

It should come as no surprise that Gabriel Pardo foreshadows that collective abulia because the political and economic problems that underpin its fin-de-siècle version date back to the mid-1880s, that is, to the time in which Pardo Bazán wrote Madre, and also the period in which the action of the novel takes place. According to Catherine

¹² French psychopathologist Théodule Ribot described aboulia in his Les maladies de la volonté (1885) as a disorder in which the individual will is overwhelmed by apathy (Jurkevich 183).

¹³ Similarly, Dorca calls Gabriel a “[d]ecadente español avant la lettre” (137). The critic writes: “Gabriel reúne en su persona los rasgos del hombre inconstante en las voliciones, hastiado de la vida y prematuramente envejecido característicos de la mentalidad finisecular” (137). To these characteristics, Dorca also adds “una sexualidad inmadura y pervertida a la vez, centrada en la relación edípica con ‘la mamita’” (137, original emphasis). Gabriel has had several romantic (and most likely sexual) relationships prior to the events of Madre. And even though each of these relationships has, in some way, contributed to his sense of disillusionment, there is no textual evidence in the novel that he necessarily suffers from an “immature and perverted sexuality.”

Jagoë, the supposed “tranquility” of the Restoration’s *turno pacífico*, which began in 1886, “masked escalating anxieties about socio-political instability and imperial decline, as well as intractable social problems” (120). And to these social and political problems, we can add economic ones. The first few years of the Restoration were relatively prosperous, thanks in part to new advancements in steel production and an outbreak of the grapevine disease, phylloxera, in France, both of which greatly increased the demand for Spanish iron ore and wine (Carr 390). But this prosperity proved short-lived when wine and wheat prices fell drastically between 1885 and 1887 (391). During these years, Spain suffered, along with the rest of Europe, from a continent-wide agricultural crisis. Thus, by 1887, the early economic success that had “underwritten the political stability of the Restoration,” according to Raymond Carr, “was turning into depression” (390).

The Soldier, the Scholar, the Dreamer: Competing Masculinities and Feminization

Just as Gabriel is continually buffeted about by the crashing waves of the Old Spain and the New, so too is he caught between two distinct models of masculinity. One is the aristocratic, feudal model, based on class hierarchy and martial prowess. The other is the post-Enlightenment model, based on rationality and logic. And even though Gabriel rejects the Ancien-Regime model of government by adopting liberal political views, he still maintains a symbolic connection to hierarchical, martial masculinity through his aristocratic social rank and his military service. At the same time, Gabriel’s studies in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophy and science mark him as a rational, post-Enlightenment man, as well. Thus, in his early life, at least, he swings

back and forth on the pendulum of masculinity between that of the soldier and that of the scholar. But ultimately, he abandons the soldier's life. And his studies make him less manly in Madre, even by post-Enlightenment standards, because they rob him of the physical vigor and well-proportioned body that accompany and reflect the rational mind in modern masculinity.

It might seem counterintuitive that, while rational thought is a key hallmark of post-Enlightenment masculinity, too much thinking—to the detriment of vigorous physical activity—is just as dangerous. Long before the Enlightenment, notes historian Christopher Forth, the changing social role of the nobility had begun to shift from military functions to more practical pursuits. For the humanists of the Renaissance, it was study, rather than combat, that could help a man reach his full potential. “By likening disputation to a form of battle,” says Forth, “the rift between education and learning (and thus between real and symbolic warriors) was imaginatively smoothed over” (30). In his Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), English vicar Robert Burton even prescribed studying as a cure for melancholy for “those that are otherwise idle, troubled in mind, or carried headlong with vain thoughts and imaginations, to distract their cognitions...and divert their continual meditations another way” (1: 349; quoted in Forth 31). This should, of course, remind us of the post-Enlightenment dichotomy between (a) logic and reason, coded as masculine and represented here by “study,” and (b) the sensitivity and overly imaginative thinking that are associated with the feminine. What is interesting, however, is that Burton also considered studying a cause of melancholy—in part because scholars “live a sedentary, solitary life... free of bodily exercise,” as Burton

puts it, but also because studying too much was itself considered a cause of madness (2: 107; quoted in Forth 31).

Two centuries later, in 1849, we find the following passage in English author Edward Bulwer-Lytton's The Caxtons:

There has been a pastoral age and a hunting age and a fighting age. Now we have arrived at the age sedentary. Men who sit longest carry all before them—puny, delicate fellow, with hand just strong enough to wield a pen, eyes so bleared by the midnight lamp that they see no joy in that buxom sun... Where can these stalwart limbs, and this broad chest, grow of value and worth, in this hot-bed of cerebral inflammation and dyspeptic intellect? (430-431; quoted in Forth 84-85)

To this passage, we can compare the one in La Madre Naturaleza, which tells how Gabriel goes off to war for the second time after a long period of philosophical studies in Madrid:

Y con el bienestar físico que producen el ejercicio y la actividad después de una vida contemplativa y sedentaria; y la reacción violenta, propia de los temperamentos nerviosos y los caracteres impresionables, a los pocos días el teniente no se acuerda de Kant, da al diablo los Mandamientos de la humanidad, y muy a gusto se deja arrastrar a las distracciones del compañerismo, a los lances de la campaña y los episodios de alojamiento. (167)¹⁴

In these passages, we see a stark contrast between the sedentary life of study, which produces frail men, “nervous dispositions,” “impressionable characters,” and even “cerebral inflammation” and indigestion, on one and hand, and the “bienestar físico” of

¹⁴ The Mandamientos de la Humanidad were first written by Krause in 1808, but were not immediately published. Nearly five decades later, Julián Sanz del Río incorporated them into his Ideal de la Humanidad para la vida (1860). They were published again in Spain fifteen years later by Guillaume Tiberghien (Vázquez Ramil 70 n. 24). See Guillaume Tiberghien, Los mandamientos de la humanidad, ó, La vida moral en forma de catecismo según Krause, trans. Alejo García Moreno (Madrid: Administración, 1875).

an active life out-of-doors, “muy al gusto,” on the other, where “stalwart limbs” and a “broad chest” can grow, not just in size, but in “value” and “worth.” If “a man in vigor,” to recall Rousseau’s phrase, is also “a man in understanding,” here we see that the reverse is not necessarily true: too much understanding, that is, too much study, thwarts the strong, rational body and mind of the modern masculine ideal (Rousseau 122; quoted in Mosse, Image 27).

In addition to his penchant for studying science and philosophy, Gabriel also has a tendency to get lost in his own imagination. As I will show in Chapter IV, there is a similar tendency toward fantasy in Memorias de un solterón’s Mauro Pareja. It is a tendency present in novels by Pardo Bazán’s Spanish contemporaries, as well. For example, the narrator of Galdós’s El doctor Centeno (1883) calls Alejandro Miquis a “soñador de empuje y que en todas las ocasiones iba más allá de la realidad presente” (434). The predilection for fantasy and imagination among male characters in the Spanish realist novel is coded as effeminate, according to post-Enlightenment notions of gender difference, as opposed the more masculine qualities of reason and logical thinking. As the narrator says of the protagonist in Jacinto Octavio Picón’s Juan Vulgar (1885), “tiene más imaginación de la que conviene al hombre” (15; quoted by López in Pardo Bazán, Madre 194 n. 185, my emphasis). Thus, we see a double bind for Gabriel in Madre. His excessive study, at the expense of physical activity, makes him less manly than he would otherwise be. But also his fantasizing undermines his masculinity because it ascribes to him a supposedly feminine quality.

We have already seen some examples of Gabriel's overactive imagination, as when he lapses into "una especie de niebla mental, una nube confusa" at the beginning of the eighth chapter, and when he fantasizes about the "monarcas invictos" and the gallant knights of olden times. Later, when Gabriel starts to imagine meeting his niece for the first time, of whom, the narrator tells us, he has already begun to think as "su novia," he experiences a strong physical response: "la circulación se le paralizó un momento y sintió que le enfriaban las manos, como sucede en los instantes graves y decisivos" (194, original emphasis). Lest the reader think this nervous anticipation is normal reaction, though, Gabriel then says to himself, "¡Fantasía, fantasía!...¡Cuidado no empieces ya a hacer de las tuyas!" (194). He recognizes—and, indeed, even fears—his own tendency to be overtaken by fantasy and imagination, yet he seems ultimately powerless to control it. Often, his imagination serves as an escape from the disappointing reality that surrounds him and as a way to recreate that reality in a more pleasing image. As Dorca puts it, Gabriel "es víctima de un idealismo recalcitrante que lo impele a urdirse a una realidad alternativa desde dentro de su conciencia" (137). For example, the narrator says in Chapter XI, "En la fantasía incorregible del artillero, los objetos y los sucesos representaban todo cuanto el novelista o el autor dramático pudiese desear para la creación artística" (197). But the narrator also adds: "Si la realidad no se arreglaba después conforme al modelo fantástico, Gabriel solía pedirle estrechas cuentas; de aquí sus reiteradas decepciones" (197-198). His fanciful escapism from reality's struggles, likened to the creation of art or literature, only produce a vicious cycle because reality always pales in comparison to his dreams, making his real life all the more disappointing.

The Past that will “Save” the Future

It is significant that much of Gabriel’s imaginative thinking is oriented toward—or stimulated by—the past, whether he is vividly remembering the events of his life so far, or imagining the glories of a bygone era. In spite of his increasingly modern politics and his interest in modern philosophy and science, his imagination continually draws him back into the past. For example, while Gabriel is walking the halls of the Pardo de la Lage family’s old, empty “caserón solariego,” he remembers his dead father and older sister, Nucha, who raised him. And his imagination once again overtakes him. The narrator says: “Varias veces había notado don Gabriel la irresistible tendencia de su imaginación viva, ardorosa y plástica, a construir, con la vista de un objeto, sobre la base de una palabra, un poema entero, un sistema, una teoría vasta y universal, llegando siempre a las últimas y extremas consecuencias” (175). And the “system” or “universal theory” that he discovers in these imaginings is, for him, a solution to his own personal abulia and to backwardness and stagnation of his country. That solution is, as the narrator says, in Gabriel’s voice: “[I]a esposa, el hijo, la familia; arca santa donde se salva del diluvio toda fe; Jordán en que se regenera y se purifica el alma” (175). Gabriel realizes that “todo sujeto válido, todo individuo sano e inteligente, con mediano caudal, buena carrera e hidalgo nombre está muy obligado a crear una familia, ayudando así a preparar la nueva generación que ha de sustituir a ésta tan exhausta, tan sin conciencia ni generosos propósitos” (176, original emphasis). Furthermore, Gabriel asks himself: “¿valdrías hoy para fundar casa, para contribuir en la medida de tus fuerzas a la

regeneración de la sociedad y a la depuración de las costumbres...?” (177). With its emphasis on the “founding” of a home, the “creation” of family and the “regeneration” of Spain through the rise of a “new” generation, the program enunciated is a forward-looking one, oriented toward the future. At the same time, however, the Biblical allusions—to both Noah’s Arc in Genesis and the New Testament baptisms in the river Jordan—also frame the all-important family unit as an institution firmly rooted in the ancient past. Meanwhile, the repeated emphasis on purification implies a stripping away of unclean elements to get back to a state of unspoiled, original purity—what we might also think of as a natural, edenic state. According to this logic, advancement into the future requires a return, at least symbolically, to the past.

To borrow the language of Pardo Bazán’s “Confesión política,” this process means “retrocediendo” to a period of “mayor grandeza” in order to “remediar los males contemporáneos y abrir los gloriosos horizontes venideros.” On a national level, we can think of it as gesture, at least, toward reconciling the Old Spain and the New. And on an individual level, we can see it as Gabriel’s attempt to merge his post-Enlightenment values with his Ancien-Regime heritage. It is important to note, however, that Gabriel chooses to “found a household” and “create a family” with his niece, Manolita, whom he strongly associates with his deceased sister and mother figure, Nucha. This fact undermines the forward-looking, future-oriented thrust of his plan. Regardless of what he might tell himself (and the reader), his aim is not to build a new household or a new family, but rather simply to augment and consolidate a family—and indeed an aristocratic family—that already exists. Thus, for all his pretensions toward liberalism and

modernity, Gabriel is just as conservative, or even reactionary, as the Ancien-Regime values he decries in Madre—the Ancien-Regime values that, according to Pardo Bazán’s “Confesión,” are ultimately both “eternal and invincible.”

Class, Manliness, and Narratorial Conservatism

Like Gabriel Pardo, Madre’s narrator makes a gesture toward balancing pre-Enlightenment values with more modern ideas. But the narrator, even more than Gabriel, favors the status quo and takes a negative view toward any real change or social advancement when it comes to secondary male characters, like Ángel Barbeito, Juncal, and Antón. Let us first examine Barbeito, the peasant bagpiper-turned-majordomo of the Ulla estate, also referred to in the novel as Ángel de Naya, or by the nickname of el Gallo. If Gabriel is too intellectual to embody real manliness, then Barbeito represents the other extreme. As the narrator points out, he possesses the strong, handsome, physical traits of his peasant farmer origins. But his claims to class and education are false ones. Because he lives with his wife, Sabel, at the Ulloa manor house and works as the majordomo of the estate, Barbeito is, according to the narrator, a “[p]aisano transplantado a una capa superior” (218). He has bought land with the money his wife inherited from the usurious Primitivo. But, as the narrator says of Barbeito, “su sueño dorado era subir como la espuma, no tanto en caudal, sino en posición y decoro” (220). In other words, he is not content with his current social rank. And in a significant departure from his dead father-in-law, the appearance of class, refinement, and education matter more to him than money. He shares with Sabel “una simpatía general de

epidermis grosera y alma burda,” which makes their marriage “el más dichoso del mundo,” but which also implies a sort of coarseness or crudeness in them that is both superficial and profound (217). Even so, the husband, we are told, outmatches his wife in “en inteligencia, en carácter, y hasta en ventajas físicas” (217). While her once-great beauty has now wilted, he maintains his “tipo de majo a la gallega y su triunfadora guapeza de sultán de corral,” characterized by “el andar engallado, el ojo claro, redondeado y vivo, las rizosas patillas” (217).¹⁵ He is likened to a “sultán,” but his domain is the “corral”; he may be a “majo,” but he is a “majo a la gallega.” As a result, his positive physical characteristics are tied to the rural periphery and to farming, as is his nickname, el Gallo, which can be read as a sort of truncated form of gallego, and which also evokes the image of a rooster, strutting around the barnyard. The narrator points out that, “Nadie le obligaría coger una horquilla o una azada: dirigía la faena agrícola, nunca tomaba parte activa en ella” (218). Thus, his managerial position removes him from the manual labor of farming. But even so, whatever beauty he possesses is a farmhand’s beauty. Therefore, the narrator links Barbeito’s positive traits explicitly to his peasant origins.

Meanwhile, the majordomo does his best to transcend those peasant origins. And the narrator disparages these attempts. For example, Barbeito displays, as the narrator

¹⁵ The narrator says, “Las aldeanas, aunque no se dediquen a labrar la tierra, no conservan, pasados los treinta atractivo alguno,” adding one paragraph later, that “Sabel no desmentía la regla. A los cuarenta y tantos años, era lastimoso andrajado de lo que algún día fue la mejor moza diez leguas en su contorno” (216-217).

snidely says, “la fachenda en vestir y el empeño de presentarse con cierta dignidad harto cómica” (217, original emphasis).¹⁶ The majordomo is proud, then, of his clothes, yet the narrator undercuts whatever “dignity” he might display in wearing them, by calling that dignity “comical.” When we are told that Barbeito orders his garments from Orense in order to dress “de señor, en lo que se dice de señor,” the italicized de señor crackles with sarcasm (217, original emphasis).¹⁷ The narrator also pokes fun at Barbeito’s efforts to improve his speaking, reading, and writing skills. For example, he endeavors to suppress his native Galician tongue in favor of what he considers to be more proper Castilian Spanish, which would be “muy correcto,” according to the narrator, if not for “las innumerables jadeas, contracciones, diptongos, barbarismos y otros lunarcillos de su parla selecta” (220). And much like his clothing, he orders from Orense elegant monogrammed stationary, which he uses to write innumerable letters “a todo bicho viviente,” including the local press (219). But the principal purpose of these letters is not to relate ideas, but rather “para ejercitar la letra” (219). In this way, the narrator likens Barbeito to child practicing his penmanship. And when the majordomo reads the newspaper in an attempt to stay well informed of current events, the narrator points out

¹⁶ The Diccionario de la Real Academia defines “fachenda” as “vanidad, jactancia,” and, as Ignacio López notes in his edition to Madre, the word generally carries a derogatory connotation (Pardo Bazán, Madre 217 n. 207).

¹⁷ It is significant, too, though not explicitly stated in the novel, that his supposedly “dignified” attire comes from the relatively nearby Galician city of Orense, rather than from more fashionable and distant cities, like London, Madrid, or even La Coruña/Marineda, where the men wear English brands, as we see in Memorias de un solterón.

more than once that his reading skills are poor. He stumbles over some words or cannot understand others, making what he reads aloud nearly incomprehensible to even the most sympathetic listener. As the narrator says, the majordomo “suprimía radicalmente puntos y comas, se comía preposiciones y conjunciones, se merendaba pronombres y verbos, casaba sin dispensa palabras y repetía cuatro y seis veces sílabas difíciles” (218-219). The narrator also says: “saber leer no es conocer los signos alfabéticos, nombrarlos, trazarlos; es sobre todo poseer las ideas que despiertan esos signos,” implying that even if he could read aloud with smoothness and clarity, Barbeito could never truly understand the words because they, like his overly fancy clothing and monogrammed writing papers would be empty signifiers. The narrator however, does not reserve this judgment for Barbeito alone, but rather applies it to the whole of the peasant class: “hay quien se ríe oyendo que para civilizar al pueblo conviene que todos sepan escritura y lectura; pues el pueblo no sabe leer ni escribir, aunque lo aprenda” (218).¹⁸ In other words, the narrator is deeply mistrustful of the peasantry and deeply pesamistic about the possibility of blending farmers’ tradicional strength and know-how with enlightened culture and refinement. For that reason, in spite of every attempt to appear educated and refined, Barbeito cannot escape his origins. And, as the narrator implies, his pretensions at higher social rank serve only to highlight his lowborn status:

¹⁸ As we see here, La Madre Naturaleza’s narrator comes down squarely on the “nature” side of the nature/nurture debate, implying that the peasantry is born ignorant and will remain so no matter how much education it receives. This deterministic message represents a departure from some of Pardo Bazán’s other novels, however. As I noted in the previous chapter, most critics see environment and education, not innate traits, as determining factors in the behavior of the characters in Los Pazos de Ulloa.

¡Y cuanto más se empeñaba en sacudirse de los labios, de las manos, de los pies el terruño nativo, la oscura capa de la madre tierra, más reaparecía en sus dedos de uñas córneas, en sus patillas cerdosas y encrespadas, en sus muñecas huesudas y en sus anchos pies, la extracción, la extracción indeleble, que le retenía en su primitiva esfera social! (220)

Thus, his bony hands, horn-like fingernails, and wide feet reveal his peasant roots. But interestingly, so do his sideburns, which, a few paragraphs before were evidence of his “guapeza.” Here, they are not just “rizosas,” but rather “cerdosas y encrespadas”—the handsome curls now likened to the hair on a pig. Adding insult to injury, the narrator then says, “Si él lo comprendiese sería muy infeliz. Por fortuna suya creía todo lo contrario” (220). In other words, according to the narrator, not only is Barbeito’s social mobility a failure, but he is also too ignorant, albeit blissfully so, to realize it. He may possess some degree of intelligence, character, and physical attractiveness—at least more than that of his wife. But he is no gentleman, in spite of his ridiculous efforts, according to the narrator, to appear elegant and cultivated.

As critics, such as Ignacio López and Jo Labanyi have noted, Barbeito is depicted with such disdain, not because of his ignorance or lowly class status as such, but precisely because of his desire for social advancement. As López puts it, “hay en La madre Naturaleza una visión de la sociedad rural en la que a menudo sorprende el desdén con que Doña Emilia vio la movilidad social de las clases tan característica del siglo XIX” (“Introducción” 63). According to Labanyi, the social climbing of both Barbeito

and Primitivo are presented as “intolerable” in both rural sequel novels.¹⁹ She writes: “Although acknowledging modern mobility, Pardo Bazán portrays a hankering for a world in which personal status is based on birth or innate worth, and not on imitation” (354). In other words, Madre shows the persistence—the “eternal and invincible”—nature of Ancien-Regime social hierarchies in late-nineteenth-century Spain.

It should be noted that, while Barbeito is eviscerated in the novel because of his middle-class pretensions, the same is not true, according to López, for the ensconced, educated bourgeois, Juncal; as the critic writes: “la escritora presenta el hogar del médico Juncal y Catuxa...como modelo apacible, siendo su matrimonio lo más cercano a la felicidad y el bienestar que presenta doña Emilia” en Madre (Pardo Bazán, Madre 144 n. 115).²⁰ It is also significant, given Pardo Bazán’s feminist perspective, that this happy union is made up of a husband and wife who both have jobs. Catuxa, we are told, the former panadera of Cebre, convinced her husband to buy a gristmill, where she continues to work. As the narrator says:

Mientras el marido leía o descansaba, la buena de Catuxa, que así llamaba todo Cebre a la señora de don Máximo, era dichosa ayudando al molinero

¹⁹ In this way both Ángel Barbeito and Primitivo joins the ranks of a long succession of characters in the Spanish realist novel, and the Spanish novel in general, who are denigrated for moving up the ranks of society and, even more, for merely pretending to do so. Obvious examples include the Squire in Lazarillo de Tormes (1554), Alonso Quijano in Cervantes’s Don Quijote (1605, 1615), and Isidora Rufete in Galdós’s La desheredada (1882).

²⁰ Abigail Lee Six echoes this idea. She delineates two types of bourgeoisie in Madre, represented at “the intellectual top end of the spectrum by Máximo Juncal, the doctor, and at the bottom end by the social-climbing peasant, El Gallo” (1021).

a cobrar las maquilas, midiendo el grano, regateando la molienda a sus antiguas colegas, charlando con ellas a pretexto del negocio, y viviendo perpetuamente en la atmósfera de fino polvillo vegetal” (144).

Here, we see a hint at the sort of marriage of equals that Pardo Bazán later explores in Memorias. But Juncal is already a middle-class man, not a peasant struggling to gain entry into the bourgeoisie. And while Catuxa works, her job is consistent with her own rustic origins. If they garner praise from the narrator, it is because neither is attempting to climb the social ladder.

Antón, the local bonesetter—described alternately as “el algebrista” or “el atador” in the novel—comes, like Ángel Barbeito, from humble origins. And for that reason, he is subject to gentle ribbing by both the narrator and other characters, like Perucho and Manolita. For instance, his taste for alcohol is repeatedly mentioned, as when the narrator says, “Nunca se le encontraba que no estuviese bajo la alegre influencia del jarro” (107). But Antón is generally depicted in a positive light. And even the fact of his frequent drunkenness is softened by the positively tinged adjective in “alegre influencia del jarro.” Antón has a “verdadero cráneo céltico,” which immediately associates him explicitly with a prehistoric, pre-Christian, Galician heritage (107). But at the same time, he is not a complete stranger to culture and reading. He is never seen without an anatomy book in his pocket, even if it is old, filthy, and tattered—“emplastado en pergamino, cuyas esquinas habían roído los ratones y cuyas hojas atesoraban grasa suficiente para hacer el caldo una semana” (95). As the narrator tells us, half of Antón’s personal “filosofía” comes from his own observations of the natural world, mixed with “viejas ideas cosmogónicas, bocetos confusos de panteísmo y restos de cultos y creencias

ancestrales” (107). But the other half derives from “tres o cuatro librotos viejos, en tomos descabalados de Feijoo, en el Desiderio y Electo” (107).²¹ Because of this mixture of folk wisdom and book learning, the narrator says, Antón “solía decir muchos y muy peregrinos despropósitos, mezclados con dictámenes y sentencias” (107). But unlike Barbeito, who is criticized for his poor speech and empty ideas, Antón’s confused pronouncements are excused because his actions speak louder than his words. According to the narrator, there are many bonesetters in rural Galicia, “pero ninguno tan acreditado y consultado en todas partes como el atador de Boán (106, original emphasis). Furthermore, the narrator informs us that Antón is thought to be better than all the doctors in Santiago and Orense, though we are not told who actually thinks so (106). Moreover, says the narrator, people have even come all the way from Madrid on the stagecoach to have a bone set by him (106). Additional praise comes from what might seem to be an unlikely source: the university-educated doctor, Juncal, a spokesman for Enlightenment scientific thinking in both rural sequel novels. Juncal declares that he scoffed at bonesetters like Antón when he arrived in Cebre, but now, he can see the merits of traditional healing: “me fui convenciendo de que la naturaleza, así como es madre, es maestra del hombre, y que el instinto y la práctica obran maravillas” (147). In other

²¹ Here, the understandably abbreviated “Desiderio y Electo” refers to Fray Jaime Barón y Arín’s Luz de la fe y de la ley: Entrenamiento christiano entre Desiderio, y Electo, maestro y discípulo, en diálogo, y estilo parabólico, adornado con varias historias, y moralidades para la enseñanza de ignorantes en la doctrina christiana (1717). According to José F. Montesinos in his Introducción a una historia de la novela en España en el siglo XIX, Barón y Arín’s book was a popular one, published first in Alcalá and later “otras infinitas veces en otros lugares” (43 n. 91).

words, he freely admits that Antón, with in-born knowledge and real-world, rural experience, knows how to “works miracles.” Moreover, says the narrator:

No desvanecían al vejete las glorias científicas, pero sí le daban pretexto a descuidar la labranza de sus tierras y entregarse a sabrosa vagancia por riscos y breñas...recorría los senderos del país, sintiendo en la cabeza y en la sangre la doble efervescencia del aire puro y vivo de la montaña y la libación de mosto o aguardiente hecha a los dioses lares de cada enfermo. (106)

Rare is the passage in Pardo Bazán’s novels in which the narrator lauds “vagancia” or any hint of laziness. Nor would we expect, after the condemnation that Pedro Moscoso receives in Los Pazos de Ulloa, that a character in Madre would be excused for ignoring his cultivated lands.²² The sense here, however, is not one of shiftlessness or dereliction. Instead, the implication is that Antón’s communion with the natural Galician environment, including its fresh mountain air, and even his daily indulgence in homemade wine and brandy somehow keep his medical skills sharp. For that reason that the narrator excuses his lack of attention to his crops. The work he does as a bonesetter offsets the work he leaves behind at home. Meanwhile, says the narrator, “No había viejo mejor conservado, más templado y rufo que el señor Antón” (107, original emphasis). Even at his advanced age, he is strong and vigorous, which implies that his time exploring nature not only improves his effectiveness as an algebrista, but also keeps him healthy and robust. Whereas Barbeito fights against his rural background, striving to pull himself up into middle-class decency with the trappings of elegance and education,

²² Antón is clearly a peasant, not a member of the aristocratic, landed class. Thus, we can only assume here that his lands are rented, perhaps in perpetuity, due to the complexities of the Galician foro system.

Antón embraces his country heritage and learns what he needs to know in order to practice it well, without a hint of pretence or fanfare. But he is also content to stay in his place, showing no interest in rising in the social ranks. Thus, like Juncal, Antón is positively portrayed by the narrator.

“Perfect” Masculinity: The Reconciliation of the Old and the New?

While Antón is described as strong and vigorous, in spite of his advanced age, there is no stronger, more well-proportioned body in Madre than that of Perucho. Once a grubby child crawling around in the muck amongst a pack of hounds, as we see in Los Pazos, he is portrayed in Madre in no fewer than five extended passages as both strong and physically beautiful. For example, the narrator describes what Manolita sees as she contemplates her former playmate upon his return from his first year of university study in Orense:

El brazo del mancebo era membrudo, atendida su edad, y la cuadradura de sus músculos se diseñaba enérgicamente; sobre el cutis, fino como raso... aquella cabeza cubierta de ensortijados bucles, aquellas perfectas facciones trigueñas y sonrosadas, aquel cogote juvenil y fuerte come testuz de novillo bermejo, aquellas espadas fornidas... (100)

Juncal exclaims that Perucho is “tan fuerte como un toro,” and that, despite his studies in the city, he is still “[u]n hijo verdadero de la naturaleza” (200). The comparisons of Perucho to a “novillo bermejo” and to a “toro” are particularly significant because they prefigure imagery in a later Pardo Bazán novel, Morriña (1889), a discussion of which will help us understand the masculinity embodied by Perucho in Madre.

In Morriña, Rogelio Pardiñas, the scrawny, twenty-year-old law student is

convinced that living in Madrid with his overbearing, widowed mother has stunted his progress into manhood. Even though Madrid is characterized as a backward place in La Madre Naturaleza, Rogelio sees the city as a site of modernity by comparison to his native Galicia. And though he only knows his homeland through vague, cloudy memories of early childhood, he is sure that, were he to set foot in the Galician countryside, he would be transformed into a “becerro bravo,” a fierce young calf—not yet fully mature, perhaps, but wild and vigorous, and well on the way to becoming a bull of a man (189). Similarly, his mother, Aurora, also frets about Rogelio’s lack of physical maturity, thinking to herself: “Anda, fortaléceme a ese niño. Dale fibra, dale sangre, dale huesos. Házmele robustote, varonil, patrón. Que se vuelva un torito... aunque fuese así, a modo de un bárbaro... no importa, mejor, ¡ojalá!” (76). She thus expresses a wish that her son, still a “niño” even at twenty years old, grow into a man, and specifically, a manly—“varonil”—man. Even an uncivilized man—“un bárbaro”—would be better than the “tipo delicaducho, tan diferente del ideal de las madres gallegas” she sees before her (75).

The use of the word “ideal” is significant here. Both Rogelio and his mother allude to an ideal of manliness that he fails to embody. And both use a similar bovine metaphor to evoke that ideal: the “becerro bravo” and the “torito,” respectively, which suggest fierceness and untamed brute force. But this ideal of a seemingly uncontrolled, even barbarous, manliness seems to contrast sharply with the modern masculine ideal. While the latter emphasizes an inner civilizing rationality and restraint, as well as an outer strength and muscularity, able to “harness untoward movement,” in George

Mosse's terms, the former glorifies an unfettered strength and even barbarism. The modern masculine ideal is primarily an urban, bourgeois ideal. But the manly ideal of Rogelio's "becerro bravo" and Aurora's "torito" is a markedly rural one—related explicitly to Galicia in Morriña by the narrator, who calls it the ideal of "las madres gallegas," and by Rogelio, who believes that only a journey to rural Galicia would bring him closer to the embodiment of that ideal. We seem to be faced, then, with two distinct and opposing models of masculinity: a rational, civilizing "city masculinity" and a more untamed, forceful "country masculinity." But these two models do not necessarily conflict. And, indeed, as Perucho shows in Madre, they in fact complement one another. In essence, Perucho is exactly the kind of man Rogelio longs to be.

Perucho's looks are described in Madre as if they were both a product of nature and a work of art: "Aquella cabellera magnífica, tan artísticamente colocada por la naturaleza, tan rica de tono que estaba pidiendo a voces la paleta de un pintor italiano para copiarla" (298). And his beauty even takes on religious overtones. The narrator, from Gabriel's point of view, says that, in Perucho's face, "un pintor encontraría acabado modelo para la cabeza del discípulo amado" for a painting of the Last Supper (360). In other words, his very body is, in a sense, a fusion of nature and culture.

Moreover, Perucho possesses both bodily strength and rational intelligence. Thus, we can recognize him as the embodiment of the modern masculine ideal. According to Maryellen Bieder, "the projection of Perucho as the model of classical beauty, the invocation of sculpture and painting to authenticate the portrait" connote an appreciation for a "physical perfection unspoiled by bourgeois aesthetics" ("Female" 108). I contend,

however, that Perucho's classically influenced body is part of the bourgeois aesthetic embedded in the modern, bourgeois manly ideal. At the same time, an exemplar of that distinctly modern ideal, Perucho can be seen as a bridge between the past and the future, that is between "la Vieja España" and "la Nueva España": his well proportioned, "orderly" body is a nod to the fixed social hierarchies of the Ancien Regime, but the "dynamism" of his physical strength is an outward sign, not of an untamed natural state, but rather of an inner rationality. As such, he represents the idea of modernity as "domination of masculine qualities of reason, productivity, repression," to recall Rita Felski's description, even as he is the antidote to "the feminization of Western society" that modernity induces (4-5).

Next to Perucho, whose physique he sees as perfect model "[p]ara el escultor y el anatómico," and whose head is like that of a "joven deidad olímpica," Gabriel feels threatened, especially since Perucho is his rival for the affections of Manolita (212-213).²³ When he sees Perucho throw off his jacket, roll up his sleeves, and begin to unload a cart, "mostrando deleitarse en la actividad muscular," Gabriel is filled with a confusing desire to "echar haces a la meda," though he does not act on that desire—a desire he sees as "ridículo" (214-215). At one point, he even wistfully imagines himself "hecho un aldeano" (198). But he eventually realizes that, in the rural, agricultural

²³ The length and detail of the descriptions of Perucho's physical form, specifically from Gabriel's point of view, are good illustration of a phenomenon described by Eve Sedgwick in Between Men—a phenomenon we also see with respect to Mauro-Feita-Ramón relationship in Memorias de un solterón: in a male-female-male love triangle, the preoccupation between the two men with one another is at least as strong as the link between either man and the woman (21).

environment, he is “un ser inútil”—just as useless as the poor, jobless, and outmoded aristocrat, Benicio Neira, in the urban environment of Memorias de un solterón (250).

In fact, Gabriel is less hearty even than Manolita. In spite of her aristocratic blood, the young girl is a self-described “montañesa” (101). And in Gabriel’s words, she is “un marimacho” (229). He sees Manolita as a child of nature, like her half-brother Perucho. She is a “un terreno inculto” (229), which he can cultivate, that is, to which he can bring culture. But Gabriel, the educated city dweller, even fails at that, saying, “¿De qué me sirven aquí filosofías ni matemáticas? Me convendría mucho, para conquistar a esta criatura, pescar anguilas” (250). He is out of place in the country, where little value is placed on rational education, especially by a woman who has grown up flouting the post-Enlightenment model of gender difference that would situate her in a submissive position, as the receiver of the particular brand of culture that Gabriel can provide.

In an implicit comparison between himself and Perucho, Gabriel says, “¡Ay, y qué cansado estoy de estas dislocaciones de la razón, de este afán de comprenderlo todo! La calamidad de nuestro siglo. Quisiera tener el cerebro virgen, ¡qué hermosura! ¡Pensar y sentir como yo mismo; con energía, con espontaneidad, equivocándome o disparatando, pero por mi cuenta! (386). He then says of Perucho: “Ese montañés me ha inspirado simpatía, cariño, envidia, admiración. Él se cree el hombre más infeliz de la tierra, y yo me trocaría por él ahora mismo. ¡Con qué sinceridad y entereza siente, piensa y quiere! (386). According to Hemingway, these passages suggests that “Perucho represents for Gabriel, in a yet another fantasy, an integrated self, energetic, spontaneous and unintrospective, a self which in Gabriel’s case has been destroyed by a corrosive

intellect” (42). In other words, he sees Perucho as his opposite. Gabriel assumes that he himself is the thinker—and indeed the over-thinker—who has lost touch with the natural world and rural landscape. And he assumes that Perucho, the perfect blend of nature and art in his physical body, is a sort of rational tabula rasa, still free of tiresome thought and knowledge, like Adam before the fall. But as Abigail Lee Six has noted, Perucho is educated (1020). Julián taught him to read in Los Pazos de Ulloa, and now, he is a law student at the University of Orense. He may not have been “destroyed by corrosive intellect,” to borrow Hemingway’s phrase. But his vigorous, rational body houses an equally rational, enlightened mind.

We can also read Gabriel’s bemoaning of “las dislocaciones de la razón,” his nostalgia for a “cerebro virgen,” and his envy of Perucho differently. Instead of a “corrosive intellect,” what Gabriel truly laments are the vicissitudes of Spain’s political history during the revolutionary period and the beginning of the Restoration that led to his confusion, his anxiety, and his fruitless search for certainty. In other words, his intellect is not itself corrosive; it has been corroded by his historical circumstance. And while rural Galicia represents a violent, historically charged world in Los Pazos de Ulloa, it is presented in Madre more as an edenic shelter, outside of historical time. Thus, if Perucho is a tabula rasa of sorts, it is not because he is “unintrospective.” Rather, it is because he has been largely protected from the slings and arrows of history by this protective, timeless environment. In this way, we can think of Perucho not just as Gabriel’s opposite, but also a sort of mirror. Perucho is the sort of man Gabriel could

have been, had he also been stayed in Galicia rather than venturing out into the wider world.

Gabriel and Perucho also mirror one another in that they both want to marry Manolita. But neither succeeds. In fact, since Gabriel views Nucha, Manolita's mother, as his "mamita," we can, in a sense, see the resolution of Madre as the failure of two possible marriages between a brother and a sister.²⁴ For Abigail Lee Six, Perucho and Manolita's incest prevents a cross-class marriage. But, she asserts, it also short-circuits any sense of regret on the part of the reader at the failure of their union (1026). These claims are dubious, however. First, it is difficult to see Perucho and Manolita's love as a strictly cross-class romance, given that, until the incest is discovered, Perucho is Pedro's presumptive heir, if not in title, then at least in practice. Meanwhile, the young man is also the beneficiary of a significant inheritance, according to Pedro's will, at least until he angrily repudiates any claim to Pedro's wealth and flees the Ulloa manor. Moreover, in terms of bloodlines, Perucho and Manolita are more than just half-brother and sister. Because their father was Nucha's first cousin, they each share both Pardo and Moscoso aristocratic lineage. Perucho is, of course, the son of Sabel, the maid, but he is also the son and first-born child of the marquis. As shown in Chapter IV, in Memorias de un solterón, Ramón Sobrado, is presented as assuming his rightful place as a member of the haute bourgeoisie upon the marriage of his rich father and working-class mother. It

²⁴ In this sense, it is interesting that with his parting statement—"Naturaleza, te llaman madre... Más bien deberían llamarte madrastra"—Gabriel closes the novel with a word denoting a family relationship that involves no blood tie (405).

makes little sense, then, to relegate Perucho automatically to his mother's class status when his father's aristocratic blood also flows through his veins. Secondly, the sense of regret the reader feels at the failure Perucho and Manolita's union is far from "short-circuited" by the half-siblings' incest. Indeed, it is a devastating tragedy for all concerned, and we, as readers, are meant to share in their sadness. When Gabriel leaves the Ulloa estate, he is in a similar state of disillusionment with the world as when he arrived. He is still the "quijote de pacotilla," to borrow Dorca's term. But he now has the added burden of knowing that his scheme to regenerate himself and his country, through the formation of a family unit, has failed. Manolita becomes gravely ill before joining a convent without vocation. And Perucho, the perfect embodiment of modern masculinity, sees his masculine traits dismantled and defused at the end of the novel. Gabriel has given him money and sent him to Madrid to work as a petit-bourgeois shopkeeper, in a move that, according to Labanyi, "signifies the transition to bourgeois modernity" (353). By leaving, he loses the woman he loves. And the move also deprives him of his connection with the land, as well as the completion of his education. Thus, he also loses the key foundations of modern masculine appeal. As a result, he no longer represents the fusion of the past and the future, or the hope for a reconciliation of Ancien-Regime values and post-Enlightenment thought in late-nineteenth-century Spain. Ultimately, in the world of La Madre Naturaleza, that reconciliation proves impossible.

IV: Competing Masculinities and Escapism in Memorias de un solterón

Memorias that are not Memoirs and the “Confirmed” Bachelor that Marries

As the title suggests, Memorias de un solterón (1896) is ostensibly the memoir of a confirmed bachelor, Mauro Pareja, who serves as the narrator. But the title is misleading in several ways. First, the novel is not the story of the narrator’s life as he retrospectively remembers it. As Maurice Hemingway has pointed out, Mauro does not narrate the events of the novel “from a fixed point in time after they have occurred,” nor is his narration “informed by hindsight” (Emilia 135). Instead, argues Hemingway, “the narrator changes as his memoir progresses, and he lets his story lead him where it will, being no less surprised by its final destination” than the reader (Emilia 135). Secondly, the novel is not so much Mauro’s autobiography as it is the presentation of his own story along with the continuation of stories about other characters from two previous Pardo Bazán novels.¹ One of these novels is La Tribuna (1882). The other is Doña Milagros (1894), which, together with Memorias, constitutes Pardo Bazán’s Adán y Eva cycle. Like these two earlier novels, Memorias is set in the Galician provincial capital, Marineda, Pardo Bazán’s fictional stand-in for La Coruña.

To understand my own approach to the novel, as well as previous scholarly trends with respect to Memorias, it is important to have a general sense of its three interlocking

¹ The Real Academia Española’s dictionary defines the plural “memorias” as a book or other written account in which “el autor narra su propia vida o acontecimientos de ella” (my emphasis).

plotlines and the principal characters of each. From Doña Milagros comes Benicio Neira, a henpecked husband and father of twelve whose financial hardships have pulled him down into the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie, in spite of his aristocratic roots. Memorias shows the ongoing fiscal and familial woes of a now widowed Benicio. He has no job, and his assets are mortgaged to Baltasar Sobrado, the lazy scoundrel from La Tribuna, who has now become a successful businessman, due in large part to usurious lending practices. Moreover, Neira's only son, Froilancito, is described as, "inepto para el estudio," and thus unable to make himself financially useful as a professional (251). As a result, the fate of the Neira household is pinned largely on the marriage prospects of Benicio's daughters. In part to attract a wealthy husband, who might alleviate the family's economic problems, one of these daughters, Rosa, accrues a sizeable bill at La Ciudad de Londres, an expensive clothing store owned by Baltasar. She then begins an affair with the businessman in the hope that he might marry her. The store extends her credit as long as the affair with Baltasar lasts. But when he abandons Rosa, the bill comes due, and Benicio is faced with an even greater debt. Meanwhile, Benicio's other daughter, Argos, is also seduced and dishonored by Luis Mejía, the local civil governor. As a result, near the end of the novel, Benicio confronts and kills Mejía, running him through with a sword in an act of rage.

Alongside these events runs the parallel story of Ramón—often referred to in Memorias de un solterón as el hijo Sobrado or el compañero Sobrado—the illegitimate son of Baltasar and La Tribuna's title character, Amparo Rosendo. Ramón is just an infant at the close of La Tribuna, but in Memorias, which is set around 1894, he has

grown up to become a socialist, who works nights as a typesetter in a printing press.²

And in Memorias, Ramón threatens Baltasar with violence until he agrees to marry Amparo and to recognize the young man as his son.

Baltasar Sobrado is common to both these plotlines, but he is mostly a behind-the-scenes figure in Memorias de un solterón—more talked about by other characters than seen. Mauro Pareja's own story is the glue that holds these other two plotlines together. He is a friend of Baltasar's—serving, in fact, as a go-between in communications between Baltasar and Ramón before the father officially recognizes the son. Mauro is also Benicio Neira's closest confidant and, as the novel progresses, he becomes increasingly friendly with Feíta, another of Benicio's eleven daughters. The first four chapters of Memorias constitute Mauro's careful defense of his hedonistic, self-centered, bachelor lifestyle, giving an ironic tinge to a surname that denotes couplehood. Nevertheless, he gradually falls in love with the independent-minded Feíta and sees Ramón Sobrado, who also befriends her, as competition for her affection. Mauro eventually proposes to Feíta, but she at first refuses, stating that she has no desire to marry anyone. She relents, however, after her father's death, and the two do get married,

² While there is no explicit indicator in Memorias of the year in which it takes place, Mauro says of Ramón Sobrado, whose birth in La Tribuna coincides with the Revolution of 1868, “veintiséis años contaría” (230). Assuming that we can trust Mauro's rough approximation of Ramón's age, this situates the action of Memorias in 1894, two years before the novel's publication in 1896.

revealing yet another way in which the title is deceptive: Mauro remains a bachelor until the final chapter, to be sure. But in the end, he is no solterón.

Feíta and Mauro: La mujer nueva and the “New, Bourgeois Man”?

Most scholars have focused on feminist aspects of Memorias de un solterón. Some, such as Teresa Cook and Nelly Clémessy, have read the novel as what Mary Lee Bretz calls an “explicitly feminist text” (“Text” 83).³ This interpretation is based on its depiction of Feíta as la mujer nueva—the modern woman—who earns money as a private tutor, dreams of living on her own in Madrid, and advocates for women’s independence and self-determination. In this way, Feíta has been seen as a mouthpiece for Pardo Bazán’s own feminist ideas.⁴ At the same time, for some critics, Feíta’s marriage to Mauro represents a mitigation of the novel’s feminist message, both as a plot device and as a narrative strategy. For example, Lou Charnon-Deutsch writes: “Feíta’s renunciation of the ‘free life’ in Madrid typifies Pardo Bazán’s tactical retreat from what she knew readers would consider either an impossible utopia or an undesirable one” (29). Still, Elizabeth Ordóñez has argued that Pardo Bazán subverts patriarchy within what the critic calls the “conventional marriage ending,” by changing the terms of marriage itself (161).

³ See Cook 262 and Clémessy 255-260.

⁴ Carmen Bravo-Villasante goes so far as to claim that Feíta is a sort of self-portrait of the author: “Allí está definitivamente la mujer nueva. Por curioso procedimiento la Pardo no ha tenido más que recordar sus años juveniles para encontrarla. Ella es la mujer nueva” (210). Bravo-Villasante then adds, “Qué interesante para el biógrafo cuando ve que la protagonista Feíta...es la adolescente Pardo Bazán!” (210).

In Memorias, Mauro pledges to Feíta: “Yo seré ese hombre racional y honrado, ese que no se creará dueño de V., sino hermano, compañero... y qué diablos, ¡amante!” (261, original emphasis). In this arrangement, Ordóñez sees a marriage of “coequals,” inspired by the union of English philosopher John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, about which Pardo Bazán writes admiringly in an 1892 essay on Mill (158-161).⁵ As Ordóñez puts it, “Pardo Bazán molds her spouses to insure that her version of matrimony will be grounded on revised values and attitudes” (147). And according to Maryellen Bieder, this new version of matrimony, “grants a measure of freedom to the female partner” (“Capitulation” 107). Moreover, Beth Wietelmann Bauer and Bieder have also argued that Pardo Bazán subverts male authority through Mauro’s narration. As Wietelmann Bauer writes, the author “constructs a man, a male narrator through whom she reinforces the desirability of her new, androgynous woman” (“Narrative” 29). And by her very use of a male-voiced narrator, says Bieder, Pardo Bazán “opens up a space within which a woman embodies and voices authority” (“En-Gendering” 491). Thus, these critics have shown how the novel advances Pardo Bazán’s feminist agenda in both its content and its form, in spite of—but also because of—Mauro and Feíta’s marriage.

In keeping with the frequent focus on feminism in Memorias, scholars have tended to write about the novel’s male characters primarily as they relate to Feíta and her

⁵ For Pardo Bazán’s essay, see “Stuart Mill,” La mujer española y otros escritos, ed. Guadalupe Gómez-Ferrer (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999) 215-230. As Gómez-Ferrer points out in a footnote to the essay, it was originally published in Pardo Bazán’s magazine, El nuevo teatro crítico in 1892, then served as her introduction to Mill’s La esclavitud femenina in the Biblioteca de la mujer (215).

status as la mujer nueva. Wietelmann Bauer's already-quoted statement that Pardo Bazán "creates a man...through whom she reinforces the desirability of her new, androgynous woman" is just one example. In a similar vein, Charon-Deutsch says: "Mauro does not grow in our eyes...rather he is willed into becoming what the female subject, Feíta, requires that he be in order for her to be substantiated and validated as a subject" (28). Seen in this way, Mauro's own evolution in the novel serves only to shed light on the development of Feíta. Maurice Hemingway and Mark Harpring are two exceptions to this trend. According to Hemingway, Mauro is a character of complex psychology, who does indeed "grow" in his own right. Referencing what Mauro himself calls his "yo esencial y profundo" and his "yo verbal superficial," Hemingway describes a conflict between the character's conscious and unconscious selves: the conscious Mauro is "a man who by a rational process has decided that he does not wish to marry," whereas the unconscious Mauro "needs to love and be loved and whose longed-for companion is...Feíta" (Pardo Bazán, Memorias 220; Hemingway, Emilia 144). As the novel progresses, says Hemingway, "the Unconscious imposes itself on the conscious self to such an extent that by the end it has entirely supplanted it" (Emilia 144). Moreover, Hemingway writes that the lives of the male characters in Memorias "have been trivialised by social prejudices as much as the female characters' lives" and that Mauro, just like Feíta, "struggles to find his dignity in a society that frowns on such an enterprise" (Emilia 142). Thus, concludes Hemingway, the novel's feminist argument "is part of a broader argument" about gender expectations for both men and women (Emilia 142).

For his part, Harpring presents a queer reading of the novel. He sees same-sex desire in Mauro's relationships to his friend, Primo Cova; to Ramón Sobrado; and, interestingly, even to Feíta, due to her supposedly masculine qualities ("Homoeroticism" 202). According to Harpring, same-sex desire is ultimately displaced, however, by Mauro's love and marriage to Feíta, which, he writes, represents "the bachelor's initiation into heterosexual bourgeois manhood" ("Homoeroticism" 199). For that critic, Ramón Sobrado is "initially the quintessential man" because he is "virile, assertive, hard working"—qualities Harpring calls "the defining markers of working-class manliness" ("Homoeroticism" 208). In middle-class men, like Mauro, however, these attributes are, as Harpring puts it, "sacrificed to a more effeminate character...thus creating more equality between men and women" ("Homoeroticism" 208). In this way, writes Harpring, "Pardo Bazán proposes a new gender model for the bourgeoisie that evens out many of the inequalities based on gender" ("Homoeroticism" 208). Furthermore, Harpring concludes that Mauro "fits the mould for the new, bourgeois man that Pardo Bazán presents in the novel" ("Homoeroticism" 208).

I agree with Harpring and other scholars before him, who have noted an attempt by Pardo Bazán to "even out" gender inequalities in Memorias. But it is difficult to see Mauro as a prescriptive model for the "new, bourgeois man," in part because my own notion of prescriptive middle-class masculinity differs markedly from Harpring's. According to him, Pardo Bazán's "new, bourgeois man" must be feminized in order to make men and women more equal. Meanwhile, the critic sets his model of middle-class manliness in opposition to assertiveness and hard work, which he ascribes exclusively to

the working class. My definition, by contrast, corresponds to the modern masculine ideal. As explained in Chapter I, this model eschews any perceived effeminacy and values hard work, self-determination, and family formation. Thus, living up to this model requires both the ability and the willingness to maintain a middle-class lifestyle for a wife and children through productive work. For that reason, my analysis of masculinity in Memorias will explore the characters' economic means and attitudes toward work, which have been largely ignored by other critics. As I will show in this chapter, Mauro and other middle-class characters in Memorias live in a society that does ostensibly value the precepts of the modern masculine ideal. But alongside that ideal is a competing, Ancien-Regime model of manliness based on aristocratic privilege and leisure. This competing model, along with the slow pace of economic modernization in Spain compared to other countries like England and France, makes life as a wage-earning, middle-class paterfamilias in Memorias undesirable at best and ruinous at worst. As I will illustrate, there is no male character that genuinely and convincingly conforms to the modern masculine ideal in the novel. I argue that Mauro Pareja's purposeful refusal to live up to the mandates of modern, bourgeois masculinity represents an anxiety about Spain's backwardness with respect to other countries, as well as an attempt to escape from an economic system that he finds unworkable. I also show how Benicio Neira is caught between two different classes and two different models of masculinity (the old and the new), but cannot successfully navigate either. Furthermore, I contend that any newly found manliness that Benicio and Mauro display at the end of the novel is textually

marked as fictional or false, which ultimately highlights the crisis of masculinity in Restoration Spain, rather than solving it.

Egotism and Economics; Fashion, Feminization, and Freedom

An unrepentant egotist at the beginning of the novel, Mauro Pareja is a firm believer in what he calls, “el culto de mi propia persona” (87). Moreover, he says, “Me atrae todo lo que es comfort, bienestar, pulcritud, decoro. Como que de esas condiciones externas pende y se deriva, en muchos casos, la paz del espíritu y la armonía del carácter” (87, original emphasis).⁶ In other words, he is primarily concerned with his own happiness and peace of mind, which he can achieve through external pleasures, like personal comfort and the appreciation of beauty. At the same time, for Mauro, comfort and well-being often equate to aimless leisure. Mauro is an architect, but he practices his profession “sosegadamente, a sus horas”—without any sense of obligation or urgency, and, essentially, only when the mood strikes him (95). And according to the daily routine he describes, that mood strikes very seldom. Instead, he spends most of his time eating; taking long walks around Marineda; perusing newspapers and magazines in a comfortable chair at the city’s men’s club, La Pecera; or simply “killing time” at the

⁶ Here, Mauro’s use of the English word, “comfort” implies a preference for a particularly English concept, as well—a preference that Pardo Bazán herself did not share. By putting the word “comfort” in his mouth, she suggests a certain pretentious nature in Mauro. Referencing an 1895 article by Pardo Bazán in *La España Moderna*, Ronald Hilton writes: “Doña Emilia disliked...the introduction of English ‘comfort’ into Spanish houses and hotels, as exemplified, in her time by the then new and much admired Terminus Hotel at Bilbao. She argued that this stuffy ‘comfort’ was unsuited to the Spanish climate, which requires the simple furniture that has always characterized Spanish houses and is a natural product of the conditions of life in Spain” (326).

theater, to which he refers explicitly as a “matadero de horas” (104). Fortunately for him, the income from his half-hearted architectural work is supplemented by what he calls his “humilde patrimonio,” probably from land rents or an inheritance (95). As a result, he has just enough money to live comfortably—“con desahogo”—without working very hard, and even to enjoy certain luxuries, such as high-priced Henry Clay cigars (95).⁷ In essence, Mauro is a middle-class professional who lives, not according to bourgeois values of individual effort and hard work, but rather according to an aristocratic ethos of leisurely comfort. For that reason, his relaxed lifestyle runs directly counter to the modern masculine ideal.

Mauro’s egotism extends to his descriptions of himself, which emphasize, for example, his “buenos ojos,” his “frente ancha y majestuosa,” and his “barba siempre recortada en punta” (86). He then adds that these handsome features make him look “más francés que español” (86). He also highlights his habit of dressing “con esmero y según los decretos de la moda” (86). But just because he keeps up with fashion trends, he cautions the reader, “no por eso se crea que soy de los que andan calzados de la última forma de solapa, o se hacen frac colorado si ven en un periódico que lo usan los gomosos de Londres” (86). Still, even if he is not the type of man to mindlessly copy English

⁷ As María de los Ángeles Ayala explains in a footnote to her edition of *Memorias*, the Henry Clay cigar was a fine Cuban variety that, around two pesetas apiece, was one of the most expensive cigar brands available in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century (102 n. 38). Interestingly, the Henry Clay cigar was originally created in the 1840s by an Asturian emigrant in Cuba, named Julián Álvarez, according to his 1885 *New York Times* obituary (“Death of Julian Alvarez”). That Julián Álvarez bears no relation, however, to the character of the same name in Pardo Bazán’s *Los pazos de Ulloa*.

fashion trends, Mauro says, “mi indumentaria suele llamar la atención en Marineda, y se charló bastante de unos botines blancos míos” (87). Thus, he stresses that his flamboyant fashion sense sets him apart from other Spaniards. Furthermore, it is important to note here that, when Mauro says that his attractive features make him “more French than Spanish,” he implies also that what is French is beautiful, but what is Spanish is not. Similarly, the fact that there are Spanish men who take their sartorial cues from “los gomosos de Londres,” even if Mauro is purportedly not one of them, associates England with the setting of fashion trends, and implicitly labels Spaniards as imitators—behind the fashion curve. This idea is further reinforced by the fact of Marineda’s premier clothing store is called La Ciudad de Londres.

In the world of Memorias de un solterón, that is, in the fictional world created by Mauro Pareja’s narration, the references to both “French” good looks and English fashions code England and France as appealing and advanced, while they code Spain as ugly and backward. This reminds us of Gabriel Pardo’s characterization in La madre naturaleza—borne out by an historical analysis, as we have already seen—of a laggard Spain struggling to keep up with its more “modern” and economically prosperous European neighbors. But by pointing out his supposedly “French” features and highly developed sense of fashion, Mauro distances himself from his own countrymen and allies himself, instead, with those wealthier nations. When he and his fellow Spaniards buy clothes that follow “decrees of fashion” that come from places like England, they certainly may be doing so in order to stand out from the crowd and stroke their own egos. But, at the same time, they are imitating the men in more affluent countries in an attempt

to escape, at least symbolically, from Spain's less desirable economic system. In Memorias de un solterón, ego and economics are closely linked.

Mauro understands that his focus on fashion and grooming—as a means of emulating foreign trends—leaves him vulnerable to the charge of effeminacy. As he says to readers in direct address: “No crean, señores, que me acicalo por afeminación” (87). Here, Mauro's need to clarify that his grooming habits do not make him effeminate indicates that, according to the implied reader, they do indeed feminize him. And even if Pardo Bazán sought to “even out” gender inequalities in Memorias de un solterón, as Harpring argues, any sign of effeminacy in men is still coded as negative in the novel. For example, when describing the talentless music teacher, León Cabello, Mauro says with biting humor—and no small measure of irony given his own effeminate traits—that Cabello reminds him “no ya de una madamita, sino de una vejezuela” (142). Moreover, when the highly sympathetic Benicio Neira confronts Luis Mejía for the unscrupulous civil governor's affair with his daughter, Argos, the lace accents on Mejía's green corduroy robe are described as an “afeminado atavío, que hizo pasar por las venas del desdichado padre un escalofrío de repugnancia y de ira” (288). In other words, within the novel, male effeminacy is met with humorous disdain at best, and sheer disgust and rage at worst, all of which the implied reader is meant to understand and even share.

If the beginning of the novel is a defense of Mauro's comfortable, leisurely, self-centered lifestyle, it is even more a sort of manifesto against marriage and family. A man's role as paterfamilias is a key element of the modern masculine ideal, vital to a man's status as “fully masculine,” to recall John Tosh's statement about manliness in

Victorian England. But Mauro sees marriage and fatherhood as a dangerous trap in late-nineteenth-century Spain. And even at thirty-five years old when the novel begins—well into his marriageable years—he has assiduously avoided that trap. As he says, “Soy solterón, y lo soy con deliberado propósito y casi, diría que por convicción religiosa” (87). Mauro cites late-nineteenth-century Spanish society’s rhetoric, which states that only in marriage can a man live “con tranquilidad, y hasta con un poco de poesía doméstica” (91). But for him, that rhetoric is little more than an “absurdo sofisma”—a fallacy designed to lure men into an institution that leads not to peace, but rather to “agonías y estrecheces y sonrojos y miserias” (91). Furthermore, he says:

Digan lo que digan, y aunque Pereda, de quien soy lector constante, haya declamado contra el buey suelto, nunca poseemos un interior más pacífico y más estrictamente arreglado para recrear en su serenidad el alma, que cuando podemos hacerlo todo a nuestra imagen, y no según las exigencias, siempre algo prosaicas, de la vida familiar. (92, original emphasis)

Here, “Digan lo que digan,” refers again to public opinion that encourages marriage.

Meanwhile, the mention of Pereda refers to José María de Pereda’s El buey suelto (1877), which roundly condemns bachelorhood, comparing the unmarried man, as the title suggests, to an animal on the loose. Countering Pereda, Mauro sees marriage as the prosaic enemy to a man’s inner peace and personal freedom rather than the path to “domestic poetry.” Gedeón, the protagonist of El buey suelto, whom Mauro describes as “un vicioso burdo y sin miaja de pesquis,” might need a wife like a child needs a “niñera” because he is simply too unintelligent to cope with his own freedom (92). But, according to Mauro, the immoral and idiotic Gedeón is the exception, rather than the rule; any man with a modicum of sense—“con mediano criterio”—can and should avoid getting

married (93). As an example of how marriage infringes on male freedom, Mauro asks readers: “¿Conocen ustedes algún hombre casado que a los ojos de su mujer tenga derecho a invertir peseta y media o dos pesetas en un puro?” (102). In other words, marriage jeopardizes a man’s “right” to a good cigar, which Mauro sees as a worthy “investment” in his own pleasure, because being married makes him subject to the needs and opinions of others. Instead of living with a wife who might place demands and restrictions on him, Mauro prefers to live unattached in the boarding house run by Doña Consola, who still waits on him and sees to his material comforts, but who otherwise stays out of his affairs.

According to Lou Charnon-Deutsch, Mauro’s arguments against marriage as an impediment to male freedom are merely “the stock in trade clichés of the nineteenth-century misogynist” (39). For his part, David Goldin sees Mauro’s refusal to marry as a simple desire to avoid any real responsibility (45). While there is truth to these claims, the problem of freedom (or lack thereof) for Mauro is about more than sexism or laziness. Rather, it is a symptom of larger social and economic issues in late-nineteenth-century Spain. His opinion of Doña Consola is illustrative in this regard: she is preferable to a wife, but also to most Spanish landladies. Because she has previously worked as a maid in England, unlike the “clásicas patronas” of Spain, Mauro says, Doña Consola “ha aprendido...a respetar al modo sajón la libertad del individuo” (88, original emphasis). This statement privileges “individual freedom,” which Mauro sees as threatened by marriage. But it also associates that freedom with “the Saxon way,” which we can read here as the English way. Thus, according to Mauro’s worldview, freedom, like fine

clothing and even personal comfort, is more English than Spanish. And, as he later tells Feíta, freedom for women is also a foreign concept in Spain. Referring to her “revolutionary” feminist ideas, he tells her: “Todas las novedades que la bullen a usted en esa cabecita revolucionaria... serán muy buenas en otros países de Europa o del Nuevo Mundo; lo serán tal vez aquí en 1980; lo que es ahora... ¡desdichada de usted si se obstina en ir contra la corriente!” (260).⁸ There is clear irony here, as Wietelmann Bauer has noted, in that Mauro warns Feíta against “going against the flow” of societal expectations, even as he himself enthusiastically flouts convention (“Narrative” 27). But, at the same time, Mauro again highlights the extent of Spain’s backwardness with respect to other countries, even going so far as to quantify that backwardness in years. If Spain’s reliance on foreign standards of fashion highlights its economic backwardness, Mauro’s characterization of Spanish men—and women—as less free than the people of other nations shows an acute awareness on his part of Spain’s social and political backwardness, as well.⁹

⁸ History shows Mauro’s statement about “otros países” to be true. As early as 1867 in England, for example, John Stuart Mill, a man greatly admired by Pardo Bazán, proposed an amendment to the Reform Bill, which would have granted women the right to vote. Even though that amendment failed, the status of women greatly improved over the course of the late nineteenth century. As Sally Mitchell writes: “The Married Women’s Property Act of 1870 gave wives some control over their own earnings. Nursing schools were formed, paid positions in social work developed, and improved secondary schooling led to formal qualifications for teaching” (10-11). And by century’s end, English women had gained the right to vote in municipal elections (Mitchell 91-92).

⁹ To speak only about “Spanish backwardness” as it is reflected in Memorias de un solterón would be to ignore the specifically Galician setting of the novel. I will address the social and economic history of Galicia later in this chapter.

Money and Marriage

Even in Mauro's worry that marriage would deprive him of fine cigars, we see concerns that go far beyond a self-centered urge to preserve his own comfort and pleasure. In Memorias de un solterón, a cigar is not just a cigar.¹⁰ For Mauro, it also represents economic tensions surrounding marriage and family. Were he married, he says, he would scarcely be able even to light a cigar before his hypothetical wife complained that "los niños necesitan esto, y que ella carece de lo otro, y que es no tener vergüenza ni corazón derrochar en humo y vicios el pan de la casa" (102). In other words, as a married father, Mauro would have to choose between smoking cigars and feeding his family, due to financial constraints. This choice between cigars and food (read: personal gratification and family sustenance) might sound like the supposed exaggeration of an imaginary, nagging wife, which would certainly qualify as a "misogynist cliché," to borrow Charnon-Deutsch's term. But Mauro adds:

Soy capaz de probar con argumentos firmes y sólidos que más amo yo a la esposa que no tomo y a los hijos que no tengo, que todos los casados y padres de familia del mundo a sus hijos y consortes. Porque amo a esta tierna compañera, no quiero verla convertida en ama de llaves, en sirviente o en nodriza fatigada y malhumorada; porque idolatro a esos niños

¹⁰ According to Mark Harpring, "Cigars were enjoyed almost exclusively by men in the nineteenth century, and their obvious phallic significance underscores their relationship to masculinity" (201). We see this relationship, for example, in a particularly memorable passage from Leopoldo Alas's La Regenta (1884-1885). As Ana Ozores looks at her impotent husband's half-smoked cigar, she thinks of "el marido incapaz de fumar un puro entero y de querer por entero a una mujer" (2:10). In other words, the cigar functions as a metaphor for Don Víctor Quintanar's virility and reproductive potential (or lack thereof). According to Harpring, Henry Clay cigars also serve a metaphorical purpose in Memorias because they allow Mauro to "neutralize" his "typically feminine behavior" (201).

encantadores, a esos ángeles rubillos, no quiero procrearles, no pudiendo untarles con manteca y azúcar las tortitas que han de merendar. (94)

On the one hand, he loves his non-existent wife too much to condemn her to an exhausted, ill-humored, servile life of cleaning house and nursing babies. Marriage, then, as he understands it, robs women, as well as men, of freedom. On the other hand, he loves his non-existent children too much to bring them into a world in which they might suffer poverty and privation. Mauro's income might indeed provide him with enough money to lead a comfortable, even luxurious life as a single man. But the implication here is that, were he to marry and produce offspring, not only would he suffer the loss of his own personal luxuries—like cigars—but that the entire family would suffer for lack of sufficient economic resources.

As if anticipating his implied readers' counterargument that a modest, thrifty lifestyle could stave off money troubles, Mauro says, "No me salgan por el registro de la modestia y el arreglo en el hogar" (95). Modesty and thrift are key elements of middle-class family decency.¹¹ But, according to Mauro, the bourgeois ideal of modesty is little more than empty rhetoric in Restoration Spain, much like the "absurd fallacy" that only marriage and fatherhood can make men truly happy. He says, "Hoy nadie puede pasarlo modestamente; es decir, nadie que sea burgués; y hasta a los mismos proletarios se les imponen necesidades y refinamientos que antes desconocían" (94-95, original emphasis).

¹¹ Nancy Armstrong traces the idea of bourgeois thrift and modesty back to eighteenth-century English conduct manuals, which depict the middle-class wife's ideal role as that of a "wise spender and tasteful consumer"—a complement to the husband's duty as "earner and producer" (59).

In other words, middle-class Spaniards of the late nineteenth century and even the working class, to some degree, are now expected to maintain a standard of living previously known only to wealthy aristocrats. And these newly imposed “refinements” are closely associated, not only with aristocratic models, but also with goods produced in more “modern” European nations—like English and French fashions, for example. But, says Mauro, the ever-heightening standards of refinement and respectability for the middle class discourage modesty and thrift. Instead, they lead to just the opposite: what Mauro calls “un ansia de riquezas y de goces desfrenada”—an unrestrained desire for the trappings of wealth and luxury (95). Even worse, this desire can then lead to “la corrupción política y administrativa,” thus reaching far beyond the economics of the family to implicate politics and government (95). In countries like England and France, modernization and industrialization in the nineteenth century gave the middle class the necessary economic resources to pay for an increased standard of living. Spaniards, on the other hand, says Mauro, want a new, more refined, more luxurious lifestyle, as exemplified by English and French models. But the vast majority of them simply cannot afford that lifestyle because Spain lacks the economic base to generate the required wealth.

It is important to note that, even as Mauro seems to reject the role of paterfamilias, a key element of the modern masculine ideal, this rejection is not altogether an attack on its basic premises. He does see marriage as an encumbrance to male freedom and as a recipe for female dissatisfaction. But, at some level, all these complaints stem from a potential scarcity of financial resources, specifically within the

context of Restoration Spain. The underlying message is that, in the economic climate of late nineteenth century, it is simply not possible to be a “manly” Spaniard as prescribed by the modern masculine ideal—that is, to provide for a wife and family in a dignified fashion without accruing debt or creating other hardships.

Reading the Romance: Courtship and Literature as Escape

While Mauro rails against marriage and the economic problems it might cause, he is certainly not averse to romantic relationships. In fact, he feels that no man’s body or spirit can withstand a life completely devoid of female companionship (112). Before the events of Memorias, he has had “diez o doce novias” (110). But of these ten or twelve noviazgos, none has resulted in marriage. He calls courtship an “idilio prematrimonial” which, as he says, provides “la dulce fiebre del sueño amoroso, lo más bonito, la irisada sobrehoz del amor” (117, original emphasis; 111). The wedding ceremony, however, signals “su amargo y turbio sedimento” (111). In other words, courting is the brilliant, colorful mask that covers the bitter face of actual married life. Courting is also an idyllic dream, and as such, it represents an escape, while matrimony is the ugly reality from which Mauro flees.

In this sense, courtship is inseparable from another form of escapism for Mauro. As his statement that he is a frequent reader of Pereda’s works indicates, he, like so many other characters in the Spanish realist canon, including La madre naturaleza’s Gabriel Pardo, is an avid reader. But whereas Gabriel searches for philosophical and scientific truths in works by Kant and the Krausists in order to better understand the world around

him, Mauro avoids weighty, intellectual subjects. As he says, “con los administrativos, económicos y científicos, no me atrevo nunca,” and while he enjoys “el movimiento literario ameno,” he balks at anything too taxing; the only kind of book he is interested in is “el que no fatiga el cerebro” (99). In particular, he prefers poetry and fiction by the likes of Ramón de Campoamor, Alphonse Daudet, Leo Tolstoy, Benito Pérez Galdós, Paul Bourget, and Henrik Ibsen (105-106). Ironically, while each of these authors is associated with nineteenth-century realism or naturalism, Mauro reads their works not to understand the “real” world, but rather to evade it. On nights when there is nothing new to see at the theater, he curls up in bed with his cat and a book that can transport him to a world of fantasy, more interesting than the one he and his neighbors inhabit in everyday life. Thanks to reading, he says, he can travel “lejos del mundo real” and surround himself with “una cohorte de seres extraños, fantásticos, pero de vida más intensa y ardiente que la de los hombres y mujeres de carne y hueso que recorren las calles de Marineda” (106-107). As he reads, he says, “Ya estoy donde quiero y como quiero” (106-107). In other words, reading does not just transport him; it transforms him into one of the strange and fantastical characters, about which he reads. It gives him the freedom to be wherever and however he pleases, unconstrained by real life and real responsibilities.

Mauro explicitly links the escapism he seeks in courting to the escapism he finds in literature. As he says, “Mientras duraba uno de esos idilios,” that is, one of his courtships, “yo no necesitaba leer novelas, ni poesías; bastante tenía para soñar a mi modo” (111). In other words, courtship allows him to enter a world of fantasy just like

literature does. Whether he is fleeing from everyday reality in books or fleeing from marriage in some doomed engagement, Mauro's escapism calls to mind Galdós's critique of Spanish society in his essay, "Observaciones sobre la novela contemporánea en España," which I discussed in Chapter I. We can see Mauro perfectly in Galdós's description of his countrymen as "unos soñadores que no [saben] descender de las regiones del más sublime extravío," who are stuck in the past even as their European neighbors are firmly grounded in the "reality" of the late nineteenth century (106). As both a reader and a suitor, Mauro is just one man in a whole country full of "soñadores," and this dreamer quality associates the character and his nation once again with the feminine, as opposed to the supposedly masculine quality of rational intellect. Moreover, it also associates Mauro with Spain's backwardness, in spite of his repeated claims to European looks and sensibilities.

According to Maryellen Bieder, Mauro plays a "dual role" in Memorias. Because "he both voices and rejects the traditional attitude toward the woman's place in society," she writes, "he alternately alienates and attracts the reader's sympathy" ("Capitulation" 101). This alienation from/attraction to the implied Spanish reader extends beyond his stance on women's roles. His self-characterization as an effeminate, egotistical lay-about with a supercilious attitude toward his fellow Spaniards and a preference for fantasy over reality is markedly unsympathetic. And Mauro, as narrator, is fully aware of this fact. For that reason, he states in the novel's first paragraph that his purpose in telling the ensuing story is "para vindicarme ante la posterioridad," a stance that shows him to be on the defensive from the start (86, my emphasis). But if his personal attributes

alienate Mauro from the implied reader, his discourse on marriage likely served the opposite purpose for actual readers when the novel was published, according to Hemingway, who writes that the “middle-class reader would probably see truth in Mauro’s description of the economic trials of marriage and their distasteful side effects” (Emilia 146). At the same time, adds Hemingway, the reader “would probably accept Mauro’s claim (he could not decently do otherwise) that his ‘idilios’ are preferable to the activities of an adulterer, seducer, or slanderer” (Emilia 146). In other words, if Mauro flees from the modern masculine ideal’s mandate to marry, contemporary readers of the novel could probably find little fault with him for doing so. Nor were they necessarily supposed to, contends Hemingway: “there is no indication in what Mauro says [about these economic trials marriage] that the novelist intends us to disagree with him” (Emilia 146). I would also add that even his unsympathetic characteristics, most of which, like his reading habits, mark him as unmanly in some way. And all are a reaction against a social and economic system that frustrates his ability to embody modern masculinity. Aware that he cannot beat the system, Mauro seeks to escape from it altogether through short-lived love affairs and literary flights of fancy.

Benicio Neira: Financial Troubles and the Crossing of Class Lines

Benicio Neira was not born into the bourgeoisie, but he is the principal example of the middle-class husband and father in Memorias de un solterón. As such, he serves as a living illustration for Mauro’s abstract claims about the “economic trials and distasteful side effects” of marriage and family life, to borrow Hemingway’s phrase. In other

words, Neira shows us why and from what Mauro feels the need to escape; his considerable financial struggles have been both caused and compounded by his status as paterfamilias. Because Neira was born a landowner, according to Mauro, his income could have been enough for him as a single man to maintain a “vida de archipámpano...o mejor todavía,” but instead of living the easy bachelor life that Mauro has cultivated, Neira chose to marry at a young age (123). Since then, says Mauro, “pesan sobre él mil y una calamidades, y su vida es un prolongado purgatorio,” due to a nagging, jealous wife, Ilduara, who turned him into “un sumiso,” thus proving for Mauro that “el matrimonio es incompatible con la dignidad del hombre” (124). In other words, while being head of household might make for a “real man” in Victorian England, it robs Spaniards during the same period of their very dignity. Neira’s situation is even worse given the large number of mouths he must feed. It is significant that Mauro refers to the fertility of the deceased Ilduara as “el vicio de parir” (124). Whereas Gabriel Pardo, the wealthy aristocrat in La madre naturaleza sees procreation as a means to regenerate both his family and the Spanish nation, having children for the middle class in Memorias de un solterón is repeatedly characterized as a liability that either causes new economic woes or exacerbates existing ones.¹²

¹² Mauro’s statement that Neira’s dead wife was guilty of “el vicio de parir” is also noteworthy for its blatant misogyny; it paints childbirth as a malevolent, uncontrollable urge on the part of the wife—like a gambling habit—the results of which her husband falls victim without his own complicity and participation. This characterization contrasts starkly with the reverential way Benicio speaks about his wife’s fertility in Doña Milagros: “esta fue otra excelencia y cualidad singular de mi esposa: rendir

Neira's economic problems are not just due to his large family, however. As we learn in Doña Milagros, Benicio's father was "antojadizo y terco y bastante libertino," and he lived a "vida rota y relajada," spending money without care or prudence (13, 16). Later, a legal fight with Benicio's brother-in-law over his father's will—largely precipitated by a bitter feud between Ilduara and Benicio's sister—greatly reduced the Neira family's already dwindling financial resources. In Memorias, Feíta traces the Neiras' past in the landed aristocracy and its downward slide into the ranks of the lower middle class:

Somos una familia de origen noble: convenido. Tenemos un escudo donde campean un aguilucho, unos roeles y no sé qué más zarandajas heráldicas. Allá en el siglo XV y en el XVI un Neira fue señor de algún castillejo, y puede que hiciese barbaridades en la guerra. Pero faltó el guano, y cuando mis padres se trasladaron a Marineda, veníamos ya a reducirnos, a dejar nuestro papel de señores de pueblo. Desde que abandonamos la casa solariega y vendimos los trastos viejos y alquilamos un pisito en la capital, entramos en la clase media. De clase media fueron nuestras relaciones, de clase media nuestro modo de vivir. ¡Y ni aun de clase media ilustrada! No; de esa clase media que ni dirige ni sube. (250)

Having gone from lord of the manor to petit bourgeois head of household, Neira now staddles the line between two classes. And even though he is now a member of the middle class, Neira still thinks and acts according to Ancien-Regime values—which he inherited from his highly traditionalist mother. As he tells us in Doña Milagros, "Mi madre era mujer chapada a la antigua, e hizo predominar en mí el elemento tradicional

infaliblemente su cosecha anual. Fecundidad semejante es extraordinaria aun en Galicia misma" (19).

sobre el innovador” (14). As a result, he adds, “no cabía en sus facultades equilibrar los dos de tal manera que yo me encontrase en condiciones favorables para vivir en la época que Dios había señalado a mi paso por el mundo” (14-15). In other words, Neira is living in the wrong century, and could only have been happy, according to Mauro, “naciendo dos siglos antes” (Memorias 281). Neira is an ideological throwback, holding fast to his family’s glorious aristocratic past, when martial prowess equated to power, wealth, and manhood. But, ironically, in his own century (and in the middle class to which he now belongs), Neira is, according to Mauro, “inútil para la vida, para la lucha”—useless as a nineteenth-century, middle-class father because he does not work to support his family (281). Though he studied law at the University of Santiago de Compostela, a practice not uncommon amongst the Galician aristocracy, he has never worked as a lawyer (Doña Milagros 16). And, as Feíta laments: “Papá, no [se decidió] nunca a... a hacer algo, a solicitar un puesto, a jugar los codos. Su honradez, su modestia, su decencia, le estorbaban...” (Memorias 250-251). In other words, ideas of aristocratic “honor,” “modesty,” and “decency,” which militate against wage-earning work, keep him from searching for a job.

This is not to say that his dire financial straits have not led Benicio at least to consider looking for work. Mauro says, expressing Neira’s thoughts through free indirect discourse: “¡Si él pudiese trabajar, desempeñar un destino! Pero ¡a su edad, quién le protegería, quién le colocaría!” (281). In other words, he does recognize the fundamental importance of wage-earning work to his role as a middle-class father. But even if he did want a job, he has waited too long; he is now too old and too inexperienced

to land a position. Moreover, the question of “quien le colocaría” points to the importance of personal connections, like patronage and familial ties, in finding work in nineteenth-century Spain, as I discussed in Chapter I. The narrator of Galdós’s Tormento (1884) reflects this point as well, describing late-nineteenth-century Spain as a society “no vigorizada por el trabajo, y en la cual tienen más valor que en otra parte los parentescos, las recomendaciones, los compadrazgos y amistades” (32). While hard work might prevail “en otras partes”—like England, for example—in Spain, “la iniciativa individual es sustituida por la fe en las relaciones. Los bien relacionados lo esperan todo del pariente, a quien adulan o del cacique a quien sirven y rara vez esperan de sí mismos el bien que desean” (Galdós Tormento 32). In other words, helpful relationships matter more than personal initiative in securing work in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately for Neira, he possesses neither.

In fact, Neira’s social and business relationships are a key source of his troubles. His assets are heavily mortgaged to Baltasar Sobrado, who also owns the family’s rented house in Marineda. And when Baltasar seduces and abandons Rosa, he leaves Neira not only large preexisting debts, but also a dishonored and now unmarriageable daughter, as well as a bill for expensive clothes that had supposedly been gifts from Baltasar to Rosa. As Mauro’s friend, Primo Cova, says, “Sobrado tiene al padre y a la hija cogidos por medio del dinero; al uno le presta a réditos, y va haciéndose poco a poco con sus bienes; a la otra la facilita esos trapos, por los cuales es capaz de echarse de cabeza en la boca del infierno (213). In this way, Neira is doubly victimized by Baltasar’s stranglehold on his family’s finances. Meanwhile, Argos, in her zeal to find a husband that might ease the

economic strain, is also seduced and abandoned by a prominent, yet decidedly shady member of the Neiras' social circle, the civil governor, Mejía; unbeknownst to Argos, Mejía is already married, with a family of his own in the Philippines. This affair leads to Argos's dishonor, as well, and later to Mejía's death at Neira's hand. Here, we see that Benicio is caught in a cycle of misfortune; his traditionalist notions of aristocratic honor have ultimately exacerbated his middle-class penury, which in turn has led to even more debt, as well as the economic desperation and resulting dishonor of two of his daughters. Thus, Memorias shows us a battle between work-based, middle-class masculinity and status-based, aristocratic notions of how a man should live. And Benicio Neira is caught up in that battle.

It is appropriate then, as María Ángeles Ayala has noted, that Neira's rented house in Marineda sits on the Plaza de Marihernández, the dividing point between the Barrio de Arriba and the Barrio de Abajo (Pardo Bazán, Memorias 111 n. 57). Just as Neira straddles the line between the aristocracy and the middle class, by its very location in this city, so does his house. In her essay, "Marineda" from De mi tierra (1888), Pardo Bazán describes the city, blurring the distinction between it and the historical La Coruña; she writes in her own voice and makes specific reference to descriptions of Marineda as a fictional place in her novel, La Tribuna, while also referring to it as her own native city. In the essay, she describes the Barrio de Arriba, which corresponds to La Coruña's Ciudad Vieja, as primarily the home of Marineda's aristocracy. Furthermore, she says, "Esta es la Marineda vetusta, la Marineda de la defensa contra el inglés, la Marineda donde, al deshacer un lienzo de pared medianera, encontramos todavía incrustadas balas

de las culebrinas y morteros de Draque” (267). “Draque” here refers to Sir Francis Drake, the English admiral, who led a 1589 naval attack on La Coruña as part of a large-scale offensive against Spain in answer to the previous year’s Spanish Armada.¹³ By alluding to the victory over English forces by this “upper” part of the La Coruña, Pardo Bazán connects Marineda’s Barrio de Arriba to a glorious moment in early modern Spanish history, a moment in which Spaniards prevailed over outside invaders. In the old neighborhood, writes the author, “á veces, la hierba brota por las junturas del empedrado,” which communicates a sense of decline and decrepitude (266).¹⁴ But she nostalgically describes it also as a peaceful and quiet place—never defiled by what she describes with distaste as the “mancha” of “el trabajo comercial” (266-267).

Marineda’s commercial and industrial activity happens, instead, in the Barrio de Abajo—or La Pescadería—which corresponds to La Coruña’s Ciudad Nueva, the home and workplace of the city’s middle class. La Pescadería was once, not surprisingly, an “hijo del mar,” wholly dependent on the fishing and shipping trades (“Marineda” 270). But now, writes Pardo Bazán, “los azares marítimos ceden el puesto á especulaciones

¹³ In Drake’s attack on La Coruña, as W. H. Davenport Adams writes: “Many ships were burned, and the lower portion of the town was captured, but an attempt on the upper was repulsed by an overwhelming force” (357-358).

¹⁴ This description of grass coming up through the pavement cracks in the Barrio de Arriba evokes the image of the once-great manor house in Los pazos de Ulloa that has become a crumbling “ruina” (132). In both cases, these details represent the decadence of the old aristocracy in late-nineteenth-century Galicia.

industriales” (270).¹⁵ And in addition to shops, and these industrial concerns, the Barrio de Abajo houses the theater, casinos, luxurious cafés, the local press, and public gardens and promenades. There, sums up Pardo Bazán, “bulle y fermenta todo cuanto en Marineda puede fermentar y bullir” (270-271). By contrast to the unspoiled—if somewhat dilapidated—atmosphere of the aristocratic Barrio de Arriba, the Barrio de Abajo is a center of bustling commercial and social activity. Moreover, because of the growth of this neighborhood, “Marineda es menos Marineda á cada paso” (270). The evolution of the Barrio de Abajo, in other words, is slowly changing the essential character of the city. Thus, in the Barrio de Arriba and the Barrio de Abajo, we see a spatial representation of the struggle in nineteenth-century Spain between two competing social and economic systems: a declining, yet persistent Ancien Regime of aristocratic privilege is juxtaposed with an incipient middle class, taking tentative steps toward industrialized modernity. And in Memorias, we see Benicio Neira, who lives on the border between these two spaces, but fails to fit comfortably in either. He, like the neighborhood-straddling location of his house, represents the coexistence—and indeed the clash—of the the old socioeconomic system and the new.

As Pardo Bazán explains in her description of Marineda in De mi tierra, this conflict between the old and the new plays out even within the Barrio de Abajo. While

¹⁵ While the city’s factories are concentrated in the Barrio de Abajo, Pardo Bazán notes that the Marineda’s now “abundant” working-class population lives neither in the Barrio de Abajo, nor in the Barrio de Arriba, but rather on the outskirts of the city: “En los suburbios marinedinos abunda ya ese tipo hijo de nuestra edad, el obrero” (“Marineda” 270).

she calls that neighborhood the home of “industrial speculation,” Pardo Bazán writes not about the city’s existent industries, but rather about the growth that has yet to emerge: “me alegraría mucho de que Marineda se cubriese de fábricas, siempre que no tuviese yo que recorrerlas...Marineda debe fomentar ¿quién lo duda? el desarrollo fabril, procurarse la vida de la industria” (278). Here, she stresses the importance of industrial development in the city, while also implying that such development has not yet taken hold.

Of commerce in Marineda, she says, “Con dolor lo declaro: lo que llevo de vida basta para haber conocido dos fases de él, tan distintas en literatura como la escuela clásica y la escuela romántica” (273). The old phase “representaba muy á lo vivo el carácter peninsular, refractario al ejercicio de vender ya desde el tiempo de la invasión cartaginesa” (273). Pardo Bazán again seems to wax nostalgic about this most traditional and most Spanish mode of commerce, but her nostalgia is tongue-in-cheek because she then describes rude, haughty, and contentious behavior on the part of poorly groomed, old-style shopkeepers. For example, “La clase de tenderos antiguos de que voy hablando, era, según se considere, tan cerril ó tan hidalga, que en algunos establecimientos no entraba la gente sin encomendarse á todos los santos de la corte celestial implorando valor” (273-274). In the new phase, however, “La artificiosa Francia...vino a borrar este tipo tan característico del celtíbero,” and behind the shop counter, customers now find “sonrisas de miel ó cortesías muy tiesas al estilo británico” on the faces of perfectly coifed clerks (276). In other words, the old way of doing business is decidedly Spanish, whereas the new way takes its cues from France and England. And, while the Barrio de

Arriba remains the aristocratic “Marineda de la defensa contra el inglés,” the Barrio de Abajo, which is transitioning into a more modern society, follows foreign models.

Nevertheless, Pardo Bazán points out that, as with Marineda’s industrialization, its commercial transition is hardly complete: “Si aquí no se ha iniciado aun aquel mortífero combate entre el comercio en grande escala y el pequeño, que tan de mano maestra describió Zola en Au bonheur des dames, al menos sobrevino una nueva generación que echó á pique á la antigua, de la cual todavía subsisten algunos ejemplares” (273). In other words, the newer system of commerce in Marineda may be gaining ground, but it has yet to supplant the older one. Meanwhile, the evocation of Au bonheur des dames is significant. The novel was published in 1883, five years before De mi tierra, but it takes place in 1860s Paris. By citing Zola’s text and the “deadly combat” between large-scale and small-scale commerce that it depicts, Pardo Bazán further illustrates the lag between Spain’s modernization process and that of France.

The halting nature of modernization we see in Pardo Bazán’s depiction of the fictional Marineda is consonant with historians’ accounts of nineteenth-century Galicia. To understand the difficulty for characters like Neira break free of Ancien-Regime values and to embody modern, bourgeois masculinity in Memorias, it will be helpful to understand Galicia’s historical struggle for economic modernization during the period in which Memorias is set. Jaime García-Lombardero y Viñas posits that “mass industrialization” did not take place there during the nineteenth century because, as he says, “no surge del sector agrario una demanda interna suficiente de productos industriales, ni tampoco se dan las condiciones para que las nuevas iniciativas pudieran

aprovechar mercados más amplios por medio del comercio exterior” (282). One of these “nuevas iniciativas,” according to Xoán Carmona Badía and Jordi Nadal, was the paper industry, which was not comparable by a long shot to those in Cataluña, Valencia, or the Basque Country, but which did see some measure of mechanization (90). Another was the glass and ceramics industry in La Coruña. In fact, as Carmona Badía and Nadal note, that city’s glass factory was the most important one in Spain for two decades in the mid-nineteenth century (95). Still, the success—and even survival—of these sectors was short-lived. Galicia lacked skilled laborers (and the schools to train them), as well as nearby sources of combustible fuels, which meant that both of these resources had to be brought in from other parts of Spain (Carmona Badía and Nadal 95).

The A Palloza Tobacco Factory, of major importance in La Tribuna, was an important part of La Coruña’s economy throughout the nineteenth century, but it should not be considered, according to Carmona Badía and Nadal, an example of modernization as such. The factory was established in 1804 by the royal treasury, which had a monopoly on the sale, manufacture, and distribution of tobacco products. By 1819, over a thousand women worked in the factory, and by 1835, that number had more than doubled. But during the nineteenth century, the tobacco industry in La Coruña did not just mean jobs in the factory itself. It also meant more business for tobacco importers in the city, as well as higher port traffic. In fact, Carmona Badía and Nadal estimate that, during the period, as much as half of the port’s activities were related in some way to the tobacco leaf (107). Still, as important as the A Palloza factory was, the process of mechanizing it did not begin until the 1880s, until which point the cigars were manufactured exclusively by

hand—as described in detail in La Tribuna, whose events take place in 1868. Moreover, as Carmona Badía and Nadal note, the factory “no pasó de ser una manufactura centralizada al estilo XVIII,” in which, “la reunión de cientos de trabajadoras no perseguía el aumento de la productividad,” but rather “la solución de problemas de supervisión y control. For that reason, claim the two historians, the factory was not “una fábrica moderna” (107). Seen in this way, it was more a sort of Foucauldian disciplinary tool than an example of modern industrialization.

The only sector that saw true modernization and lasting success, according to García-Lombardero, was the fish canning industry (282). The first modern canning factory in Galicia was built in 1842. By 1880, there were five more. Also in the 1880s, advances in packaging, storage, and transportation (i.e. trains), as well as a fortuitous change in herring migration routes, caused a boom in the Galician canning, such that, by 1905, there were eighty-two fish-processing plants in the region, with Vigo as the center of the canning industry (Ringrose, Spain 238). Nevertheless, according to Sharif Gemie, even that industry cannot be thought of as a truly Galician success story; he points out that—just like the tobacco factory in La Coruña run by the Spanish State—the canning industry was mostly financed and controlled from outside Galicia—by Catalan, Basque, and British investors (45).

Because of Galicia’s relatively limited industrialization, its rate of urbanization proceeded more slowly than that of the Spanish nation as a whole. García-Lombardero notes that in 1857, only 3.48% of Galicians lived in population centers of 10,000 people or more. By 1920, that number had only risen to 11% (270). Adrian Shubert gives

figures for the whole country, and though he does not cite a number for 1920, we can compare data he does give for 1910 (34.7%) and for 1930 (42.5%). In any case, it is clear that Galicia remained much more rural than the national average. Gemie puts these numbers in terms of actual cities, noting that in 1860, only three cities in Galicia had more than 10,000 inhabitants, and by 1900, there were only two more. There was a “sudden urban growth” in the ports, like Vigo and La Coruña, owing as we have seen to industries like tobacco and canning (Gemie 44). But Isidro Dubert characterizes nineteenth-century inland cities, like Lugo, Orense, and Santiago, as “classic pre-industrial cities”—“centres of consumption” and local “market towns” (quoted in Gemie 44). And even when these cities grew in size, says Gemie, “it was often by absorbing the surrounding peasant population” that did not necessarily give up its agricultural roots in favor of commercial and industrial work as it moved into urban areas; Gemie notes an actual increase in urban-based farming in Galicia during the nineteenth-century (44). Along with these urban-farming peasants, lived aristocratic and bourgeois landlords—Shubert’s “agrarian elite”—whose incomes were also based on agriculture (44). These cities—more like “big villages” according to Gemie—were also the home of “a handful of bureaucrats and officials”; “lawyers and doctors”; and, especially in Santiago, students (44-45). They were, sums up Gemie, “the places where the carriage routes and—after the 1880s—the trains ended, but they were not centres of economic or cultural modernization” (45). As a result, he adds, they failed to stave off caciquismo: “elsewhere in Spain, cities as Barcelona, Bilbao, Madrid and Valencia were in the vanguard of pushing back the forces of caciquismo and creating independent public spheres of debate

and criticism. No such urban centre existed in Galicia”—not even in a city like La Coruña (45).

In other words, Galicia was even slower than the rest of an already lagging country at substituting urbanization, industrialization, and individual political articulation for a system that favored agriculture and the control of local bosses. Thus, the overall picture of the nineteenth-century Galician social, political, and economic evolution in many ways reflects a double lag, sharing Spain’s backwardness compared to countries like England and France, but even more backward than other Spanish regions. And if that lag in the Spanish nation as a whole hindered the development of a healthy, independent, wage-earning middle class, as we saw in Chapter I, the same was even truer of Galicia. It is no wonder, then, that Pardo Bazán’s texts show the great difficulty for middle-class characters, such as Benicio Neira and Mauro Pareja, to break free of the Old Regime and to live up to bourgeois norms of masculinity.

Nevertheless, we cannot assume that bourgeois manliness was a complete impossibility in nineteenth-century Galicia, even if it seems elusive in Memorias de un solterón. According to Elvira Lindoso Tato and Jesús Mirás Araujo, La Coruña saw a significant economic upsurge in the 1890s—precisely the period depicted in Memorias—in terms of both the number of companies in business and the amount of capital invested in those companies. This expansion led to what they call “el despegue industrial coruñés,” even though they note, not surprisingly that the so-called industrial take-off

was “modest” compared to other parts of Spain (4).¹⁶ Meanwhile, the fact that there is a relatively prosperous, middle-class side of town in the fictional Marineda that supports some commerce and industry seems to indicate that middle-class, commercial success should be possible in the world of the novel—and that a life as a hard-working bourgeois husband and father might not be totally out of reach. But still, no such character exists in Memorias. The only real commercial and industrial success we see in the novel belongs to Baltasar Sobrado, who, in addition to lending money and owning shares in La Ciudad de Londres, is also an investor in La Industrial Marinedina, an oil refinery. But, as we have seen, Baltasar is depicted as a malevolent, usurious scoundrel, whose money comes mostly from capitalizing on the misfortunes of others, rather than any real, hard work on his part. Thus, even his middle-class success does not translate into bourgeois manliness according to the modern masculine ideal.

Ramón Sobrado and Modern Masculinity

The character in Memorias that comes closest to embodying bourgeois masculinity is, ironically, the working-class Ramón Sobrado. His night job in a printing press makes him one of the only male characters in Memorias who does honest,

¹⁶ See Elvira Lindoso Tato and Jesús Mirás Araujo, “La trayectoria de una economía urbana, A Coruña (1868-1936),” El Republicanismo corunés en la historia (La Coruña: Ayuntamiento de la Coruña, 2001) 31-38. I consulted an on-line version of the book chapter, available at: <http://ruc.udc.es/dspace/bitstream/2183/829/1/Republicanism.doc> (last access June 1, 2010), which numbers the pages from 1-14. The page number cited here refers to the on-line version of the text.

productive work.¹⁷ And in spite of his working-class background and his reputation among Mauro's middle-class milieu as a leftist political rabble-rouser, Feíta describes Ramón as "un ilustrado," noting, albeit with surprise, that he is thoughtful and well read, with insights into the Bible and works by French economist Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Russian anarchist Peter Alekievich Kropotkin, and German socialist August Bebel (205-206 n. 278-280).¹⁸ In other words, he is not just a hard worker; he is also, according to Feíta, a man of educated reason and intellect.

Furthermore, even though he wears the shabby clothes of his working-class upbringing, Ramón is a man of great physical beauty, and his good looks are referenced repeatedly throughout Memorias. They are of particular importance to Mauro given that he sees Ramón as his rival for Feíta's affections. Mauro describes the young socialist thus:

...sus facciones expresivas, que apenas empezaba a marchitar el trabajo nocturno, tenían alma, unida a esa corrección de líneas que se observa en los modelos italianos; su bigote chico descubría una boca fresca, unos dientes blancos e irreprochables; su pelo se rizaba y se caía gracioso sobre la lisa frente, y sus ojos negrísimos, algo tristes, cuando hablaba despedían

¹⁷ The only other productively employed male character in the novel—the physician, Dr. Moragas—makes only a scant appearance. Dr. Moragas's significance lies in the fact that he supports Feíta's desire to work and finds employment for her, both in Marineda and in Madrid. In other words, as Bieder writes, "Moragas does for Feíta what no other character does, not even Mauro: he takes her ideas seriously and aids her in working them out on the level of reality" ("Capitulation" 97). The fact that Feíta works brings up an important point: while Ramón Sobrado and Moragas are the only male characters with an honest, productive job in Memorias, we should not forget the other two characters with productive employment: Feíta and Doña Consola.

¹⁸ While Feíta is impressed with Ramón's choice of reading material, it should be noted that these texts also fuel his rabble-rousing reputation.

fuego. Una blusa azul, casi nueva y mal cortada, desfiguraba las buenas proporciones de su cuerpo, que así y todo se adivinaba nervioso y robusto. En suma, mi presunto rival había salido guapo e interesante... En lo físico y lo moral me pareció—y al notarlo me reconcomí de despecho—que el mozo era pintado para ocupar la imaginación de Feíta. (230-231)

Ramón has a well-proportioned, muscled body that recalls classical forms, comparable to both sculpted and painted works of art. His features bring to mind George Mosse's description of the Greek-influenced, post-Enlightenment model of the vigorous, yet restrained, male body that reflected inner rationality and strength of character—the model inherent in the modern masculine ideal. We can see that Ramón is the perfect physical manifestation of that ideal. Therefore, we can add his physical appearance to his rational intellect and hard work in the constellation of his manly characteristics. Nevertheless, as a proletarian, Ramón can never fully embody the modern masculine ideal, which, by definition, is a bourgeois ideal. His “blusa azul casi nueva y mal cortada” is an unmistakable signifier of his working-class status. Its ill fit visually “disfigures” the pleasing lines of Ramón's finely proportioned body, spoiling his manly appearance.

When Ramón finally coerces Baltasar into recognizing him as his son, the young man casts off both the “blusa azul” and the working-class status it connotes and becomes a bona fide member of the bourgeoisie. Commenting on Ramón's assumption of his rightful place in the Sobrado family, as well as on Spain's overall class hierarchy, Mauro calls his transition “la demostración más clara de que, hasta en los partidos que tienen por bandera el colectivismo, sólo la acción individual conduce a resultados prácticos. Sin meetings, sin conjuras ni auxilio de nadie, el compañero [Ramón] se había valido a sí propio...” (279, original emphasis). In other words, regardless of his socialist,

collectivist politics, he has achieved his rightful class status by putting into practice a key middle-class value. According to this logic, Ramón has become a member of the middle class, not through collective protest or external favors, but through his own individual effort. Of course, we must remember that Ramón's successful ascension into the bourgeoisie is only possible because he is the biological son of a middle class man. For that reason, Mauro's praise for Ramón's hard work is probably more a jab at working-class socialism on the part of Pardo Bazán than an exaltation of individual effort and self-help.

What is crucial is that, even when the seemingly ideal Ramón becomes a member of the middle class, he still fails to embody a bourgeois masculinity based on work. Mauro assumes that, as a handsome, wealthy member of the middle class, he will now become the clear winner of Feíta's affections: "Ramón Sobrado era para la hija de Neira lo que se llama un partido, un hombre joven, guapo, hacendado, el sueño de la muchacha casadera, el novio que envidarían las demás señoritas de Marineda, seguramente..." (279, original emphasis). But Mauro is wrong; in Feíta's eyes, Ramón's new upper-middle-class lifestyle actually disrupts the manly qualities that helped him achieve that lifestyle. In other words, Ramón's ascension to the middle class actually makes him less manly, and thus less attractive, than he was as a working-class socialist. Feíta says, "quizás me hacía gracia cuando gastaba blusa," she says, making another reference to his working-class garb, but "ahora me parece un tipo de lo más vulgar. Ese no tenía fe... Buscaba lo que hoy posee: dinero, comodidades, holganza... Ya lo consiguió" (303). In other words, as a principled, idealistic, worker, he was attractive. But as a wealthy man who has cast

off his principles and given up hard work in favor of laziness, he is no better than his shiftless father. Essentially, for Feíta, this former workingman has abandoned the very work ethic that was once a key feature of his manly appeal. Thus, she advocates for a model of masculinity that reflects the modern masculine ideal in that it requires middle-class men, like Ramón and her father, to be hard-working, productive members of society. But Ramón's adoption of a lazy, privileged lifestyle, as well as Mauro's assumption that "el sueño de la muchacha casadera" is "un hombre... hacendado" are further evidence that, in Memorias, a competing, Ancien-Regime notion of manliness based on wealth and status still prevails, not just among aristocrats, but among the middle class, as well.

The Mauro-Feíta-Ramón Love Triangle: Manliness as Competition

While Ramón's manliness diminishes in Memorias, according to modern bourgeois standards, Mauro seems to become manlier over the course of the novel, thanks in large part to the rivalry he feels with Ramón. That rivalry inspires him to change his attitudes toward work and marriage, and to conform more closely to a socially acceptable form of masculinity. As I noted earlier, several scholars have discussed Mauro's change in attitude toward Feíta, leading to his eventual proposal of marriage. At first, he describes her as "un monstruo" and "la extravagante" (164, 213). But later, he says, "todo lo que al principio me pareció en Feíta reprobable y hasta risible y cómico dio en figurárseme alto, merecedor de admiración, y aplauso" (219). But it is important to consider the initial spark that spurs Mauro to see Feíta in a new light. When he wonders

to himself (and to readers) exactly how he could have changed his mind so radically—“¿Al través de qué lente pude analizar de los sentimientos que me inspiraba Feíta?”—his answer is “¡Los celos!” (221). He then posits the general principle that “Muchas veces... ignoraríamos que estamos enamorados si no estuviésemos celosos” (221). In other words, his jealousy of Ramón Sobrado plays a vital role in instigating Mauro’s love for Feíta.

This should come as no surprise, given Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s analysis of the love triangle in nineteenth-century literature in Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire. She writes that “in any erotic rivalry, the bond that links the two rivals is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of the rivals to the beloved,” and that there are “many examples in which the choice of the beloved is determined in the first place, not by the qualities of the beloved, but by the beloved’s already being the choice of the person who has been chosen as a rival” (21). Moreover, says Sedgwick, the bond between two rivals in a love triangle is often “even stronger, more heavily determinant of actions and choices, than anything in the bond between either of the lovers and the beloved” (21). Given Mauro’s preoccupation with Ramón in Memorias, his detailed descriptions of Ramón’s physical attractiveness, and his jealousy of Ramón as a determining factor in his love for Feíta, it is not difficult to see that the bond that Mauro feels with Ramón is at least as strong, if not stronger, than his bond with Feíta. Mark Harpring sees homoerotic tendencies in Mauro’s relationship to Ramón, as I already noted. In my view, however, what is most significant in their relationship is how Mauro’s rivalry with Ramón becomes a “determinant” of his “actions and choices,” to

use Sedgwick's words. Not only does that rivalry cause him to love, and eventually, to marry Feíta, thus neutralizing his same-sex desire, according to Harpring ("Homoeroticism" 203-204). But it also encourages him to take his work more seriously. As Mauro says, "desde que soñaba en bodas...el trabajo me atraía" (296). In other words, a sense of competition with Ramón, who, for most of the novel, is the closest example of the modern masculinity, leads Mauro to renounce his former objections to modern bourgeois manly principles and, instead, to embrace them. Here, Pardo Bazán shows in Memorias the importance of male competition in the construction of masculine gender identity—that manliness in the nineteenth century, as Tosh has argued, "was fundamentally a set of values by which men judged other men" (Manliness 5).

Writing the Romance: The Narrative Shift and Neira's Manly Act

As I discussed earlier, Mauro reads fiction so that he can travel "lejos del mundo real." In books, he can be whoever and live however he pleases, surrounded by "una cohorte de seres extraños, fantásticos," whose lives differ markedly from the "los hombres y mujeres de carne y hueso que recorren las calles de Marineda" (107). And yet, when he describes these "fantastical beings," some of them remind us of the characters in Mauro's own life. For example, his mention of "heroínas emancipadas que huyen de su hogar" evokes Feíta and her plan—albeit frustrated and abandoned—to move to Madrid and earn a living as a teacher (107). In this way, Feíta is likened to the fantastical characters that populate the novels Mauro reads. And, conversely, this link emphasizes the fictional quality of the characters—including Mauro himself—in the story

he narrates. Thus, if Mauro's reading takes him "lejos del mundo real," then so does his own narration. He does not just read about "seres extraños y fantásticos"; he also creates them. This maneuver exemplifies what Bretz has called "the interdependence of the fictional and the real" in Memorias ("Text" 83). And, more specifically, it hints at a novelistic, and thus overtly fictional, character of Mauro's supposed memoir.

Mauro makes this novelistic quality more explicit at the beginning of Chapter XXII. He addresses the reader directly, announcing what he calls "una ligera variante formal" (263). In order to relate events that he has not personally witnessed, says Mauro, he will make a transition from first-person narration (which he has used in every chapter so far) to omniscient, third-person narration, thus taking a more novelistic and less memoir-like approach. As he says, "Opto...por imitar a los novelistas, que no explican cómo se las compusieron para averiguar los íntimos pensamientos y el secreto resorte de las acciones de sus héroes" (263, my emphasis). Such novelists, he says, "jamás nos presentan los comprobantes y justificantes de sus profundas y sutiles observaciones," perhaps, he adds, "por no aburrirnos" with the details (264). And were he to explain exactly how he came to know all the details of the events he is about to recount, he says, "tendría que emplear un tiempo incalculable y llevarte por caminos tan largos y enfadosos, que sin duda tu buena voluntad se agotaría" (263). He then continues narrating in the third person until the novel's twenty-sixth (and final) chapter, in which he says, "Aquí vuelvo yo a danzar en los anales de la familia de Neira," signaling his return to the story as an eyewitness, as a participatory character, and as its first-person narrator (295).

Harpring sees the transition from first-person to third-person narration in chapters XXII to XXV as “Mauro’s adoption of realist narrative techniques” (“Homoeroticism” 204). But Bretz takes the opposite view; as she rightly observes, Mauro’s explicit focus on the way he narrates in Memorias “destroys the myth of the ‘disinterested observer’ and, consequently, breaks with the central tenet of realism/naturalism” (91). Moreover, the confrontation between Benicio Neira and Luis Mejía in Chapter XXV, which serves as the climax of novel, has a distinctly romantic, feuilletonesque quality, as Bretz has noted (“Text” 87, 90). Thus, it further distances Memorias from the realist paradigm. At the same time, the episode shows once again how an Ancien-Regime model of masculinity competes in the novel with the modern masculine ideal.

When Benicio Neira goes to the civil governor’s official residence, he does not find him working in his office. Instead, Mejía is still ensconced in his private apartment, not yet dressed for the day. The governor’s study, in which he receives Neira, is described as “análogo al de casi todos los solteros preciados de galantes y espadachines” (289). A Japanese pitcher sits on his writing desk, and the fabric covering the walls sports a “gracioso dibujo oriental” (289). The walls are also adorned with two sets of weapons: “una de pintorescas armas joloanas, y otra de pistolas, escopetas de caza y floretes modernos de ensayo y duelo” (289). Meanwhile, photographs “de mujeres, algo ligeras de ropa y seguramente más de cascos” are scattered around the room (289). And through the open door that connects the study to Mejía’s bedchamber looms his “lecho amplio” (289). In general, Neira finds in Mejía’s apartment “los indicios de una vida voluptuosa y sin freno” (290). Moreover, Mejía’s relaxed attire and attitude; his

photographs of scantily clad, loose women; the prominence of his bed in the scene; the phallic weaponry on the wall; and the exotic décor create an overall picture of a globetrotting, womanizing, swashbuckling faigure. The governor harkens back to the aristocratic “galantes y espadachines” of romantic and Early Modern literature, like the archetypal Don Juan, whose manliness is based not on work and the support of family, but rather on conquest—of men in combat and of women in the bedroom. In fact, as Bretz has noted, even Luis Mejía’s name is a direct, intertextual reference to the title character’s rival seducer in José Zorilla’s Don Juan Tenorio: Drama religioso fantástico (1844), based on the Tirso de Molina-attributed comedia, El burlador de Sevilla (1630), and set “por los años 1545, últimos del Emperador Carlos V” (Bretz, “Text” 90; Zorilla 76). The literary and temporal link between Memorias and these earlier works is further cemented by Mauro’s likening of Neira to “esos viejos de ópera y drama, que van a pedir reparaciones, a concertar por fuerza bodas,” like, for example, don Gonzalo in both Don Juan Tenorio and El burlador (290). In other words, the scene turns Neira into one of the “fantastical” characters of the literature Mauro reads.

Mauro says at the beginning of Chapter XXII that, in his memoir, “hasta este momento nada ocurre de eso que la gente llama sucesos dramáticos,” highlighting a general lack of suspense in most of the novel (263). But in the feuilletonesque Neira-Mejía confrontation, the tone changes drastically. When Neira first enters the room, we are told that, were it not for his self-control, “entraría hecho un vándalo; entraría destrozando, pateando y echando por el balcón muebles, retratos, bibelots y flores” (290). But in the face of Mejía’s defiance and condescension, Neira’s his self-control dissipates

as his anger (and the suspense of the scene) grows. Finally, the old man reaches the breaking point, lashing out in violence and killing Mejía: “enseguida saltó como un gato al diván y arrancó de la panoplia un florete de desafío; y antes que Mejía tuviese tiempo de prevenirse a la defensa, se lo pasó impetuosamente al través del pecho, a la altura de los pulmones” (294). In other words, as the scene progresses, the frustrated, but generally passive Neira quite quickly and suddenly becomes an “espadachín” of sorts, momentarily “sin freno,” thus taking on some of Mejía’s own characteristics. Later, Mauro calls the murder Neira’s only real “manly” act in the novel—“una hombrada” and “la sola acción significativa y poderosa de su vida” (297, 299). And other citizens of Marineda also laud the killing, as well: “Se le perdonó y hasta en voz baja se le ensalzó y glorificó. Fue héroe en sus postrimerías” (299). But if he has become a man, and even a hero, by murdering Mejía, the manliness he embodies is marked in the text as “fantastical” and lacking in credibility. And because of its association with Early Modern Spain and aristocratic martial prowess, it is also anachronistic. Thus, Neira remains a relic of the Ancien Regime even in his one “manly” moment.

A Spurious Victory for the Modern Masculine Ideal

In the novel’s final chapter, Mauro does marry Feíta and express a desire to dedicate himself more fully to his profession. Thus, he ends the novel on a happy note, stating, “Tal vez, ya que emborroneé las Memorias de un solterón, merezcan...escribirse las de un casado... con mujer tan singular como la que me tocó en suerte” (303). But Memorias does not represent a triumph of the modern masculine ideal in late-nineteenth-

century Spain for two reasons. First, every seemingly happy ending in the novel is marred by violence, or at least the threat of violent acts on the part of male characters—acts which run directly counter to the principles of controlled rationality and order inherent in the post-Enlightenment model of masculinity. For example, Baltasar only recognizes Ramón as his son and marries Amparo Rosendo after being physically threatened by him. And Ramón’s particular brand of self-help, in this case, is more about the threat of destruction than productive self-improvement. Meanwhile, even though his murder of Mejía makes Neira a “man” in the eyes of Mauro and a hero to others in Marineda, the beleaguered father is far from emboldened by the incident. After the murder, says Mauro, “No pudo aquel hombre, saturado de ideas cristianas, predispuesto a la santidad, olvidar que había teñido sus manos en sangre” (299). So ashamed is Neira, in fact, that he simply gives up on life—“ya no levantó cabeza,” as Mauro puts it—and dies (300). Moreover, Feíta only agrees to stay in Marineda and marry Mauro as a result of her father’s demise, which makes us question the degree to which she loves Mauro. In this sense, even Mauro’s apparent embrace of the modern masculine ideal is precipitated by a violent act that results in two deaths and seems, like Neira’s attitude toward productive work, more appropriate to the Siglo de Oro than to the late nineteenth century.

Secondly, Mauro’s transition from marriage-hating lay-about to potentially hardworking husband is unconvincing, even if that transition is spurred on by his rivalry with Ramón Sobrado. Most critics of the Memorias assume that Mauro and Feíta’s marriage is a harbinger of economic security, as the novel’s ending implies. According to Bieder, the nuptials allow Feíta to share in Mauro’s “sound economic future”

(“Capitulation” 102). And, for Harping, the “marriage redeems the Neira household by restoring Benicio’s children to their proper social and economic station, thus consolidating the middle class’s role in the nineteenth century” (106). But just because Mauro decides to assume the role of ersatz paterfamilias (as a father figure to Feíta’s siblings, rather than as a father himself) does not mean that the systemic economic problems, either created or exacerbated by married life, have disappeared by the end. Or, if they have disappeared, it is because they have been erased or simply ignored by Mauro. As a result, we might perhaps reconsider Hemingway’s statement that Mauro “changes as his memoir progresses, and he lets his story lead him where it will” (Emilia 135). Just as he suggests a retroactive revision of the title in the novel’s last sentence, Mauro gives us an ending that, in a sense, rewrites the beginning. He turns his life, in which social and economic factors put modern, bourgeois masculinity out of reach, into a fantasyland, where those factors no longer seem to matter. As a result, his newfound manliness, predicated on modern ideas about work and family, comes across as every bit as false and illusory as the Ancien-Regime brand of manliness that Neira achieves by killing Mejía. In the unevenly modern world of Memorias de un solterón, caught between the old and the new, neither model is sufficient.

Conclusion

Masculinity, Uneven Modernization, and Hard Work

In this dissertation, I have shown how Emilia Pardo Bazán's novels—mainly Los Pazos de Ulloa, La Madre Naturaleza, and Memorias de un solterón—illustrate the crisis of masculinity in late-nineteenth-century Spain. I have also shown the ways in which Spain's uneven modernization contributes to that crisis. In each of these novels, we see a “rhetorical support,” to once again borrow Bridget Aldaraca's term, for the values that underpin modern, bourgeois manliness, or what I call the “modern masculine ideal.” Principal among these values are rational intelligence, family formation, and most important of all, hard work. As I have shown, this rhetorical support comes sometimes from the narrator of a particular novel, or at other times, from certain characters. But the overarching message is clear: a real man, regardless of his station in life or the degree of his wealth, is an active man, who works, be it in a law office or an architectural firm, in order to support a family according to middle-class standards of decency; on a country estate in order to maintain aristocratic hegemony over the land and the wealth it produces; or even on the battlefield. Active work can stave off “feminine” fantasizing, bodily dissipation, the intellectual malaise that comes with a purely sedentary life, or the deadly violence that accompanies the destabilization of social hierarchies.

In the novels discussed here, however, most of the male characters do not work. And some of those who do work, like Ramón Sobrado, eventually cease to do so. Or when a character like Mauro Pareja decides to work harder, his decision is textually

marked as unrealistic and is, thus, unconvincing. In general, the male characters in these texts are either stymied by the economic realities of a backward, underindustrialized Spain, or they are discouraged from working by a persistent, Ancien-Regime ethos that encourages a life filled with aimless leisure, recreation, and high-society obligations, instead of a hard day's work. Hence, they are caught in a vicious cycle. Spain's uneven modernity, in one way or another, prevents these characters from working. But because they fail to work, Spain can neither maintain its supposedly glorious feudal past, nor advance into a modern future, to join the ranks of its more industrialized neighbors, like England and France. Pardo Bazán's novels show a deep pessimism about men's ability and desire to work in the Spain of her era. As a result, they also paint a bleak picture of Spanish masculinities and Spain's prospects for modernization at the end of the nineteenth century.

Future Research

In this project, I have explored city-country interactions in Los Pazos de Ulloa, La Madre Naturaleza, and Memorias de un solterón. We have seen the fish-out-water experiences of the city-born men, Julián Álvarez and Gabriel Pardo, in the rural Galician environment. And we have seen the rural aristocrats, Pedro Moscoso and Benicio Neira, equally ill at ease in Santiago de Compostela and Marineda, respectively. In a future project, I hope to explore the experience of the rural peasant in the urban environment. This project will include a discussion of Galdós's El doctor Centeno, in which the title

character, from an Austurian mining village migrates to Madrid. But it will begin with Chinto, the rural peasant-turned-factory worker in Pardo Bazán's La Tribuna.

In that novel, after a brief description of Chinto's physical attributes, the narrator then sums up his general appearance as "la fealdad tosca de un villano feudal" (90). Having just arrived in the city to work as an apprentice for the barquillero, Chinto, this "feudal peasant" from the outskirts of the city, is thus immediately labeled as an outsider, both spatially and temporally; he is out of place in the urban environment of Marineda and out of time in the late nineteenth century. Chinto's link to feudalism recalls similar comments about Manuel Pardo, Pedro Moscoso and Benicio Neira by the respective narrators of Los Pazos and Memorias. But it is difficult to see Chinto as a residual trace of some idealized masculinity in La Tribuna. In fact, upon his arrival in the city, his clothes, his hair, his brutish way of walking, and his use of gallego, referred to by the narrator as "su puro dialecto de las rías saladas," all make him an object of ridicule, not just for the middle- and upper-class citizens of Marineda, but also for the working-class natives of the city (90). And as with Primitivo in Los pazos de Ulloa, the narrator of La Tribuna repeatedly refers to Chinto in bestial terms, though at times, the use of animal imagery to describe Chinto seems more compassionate, and even admiring, than derisive.

A closer look at Chinto will help me to further elucidate the depiction of working-class masculinity in Pardo Bazán's oeuvre that I have begun here in my chapter on Memorias de un solterón. It will also allow me to explore yet another important class-crossing love triangle: the rivalry between Chinto and the young Baltasar Sobrado for the hand of Amparo, the novel's title character. According to Geraldine Scanlon, Pardo

Bazán follows literary convention by giving Amparo the choice between two suitors of distinct class and moral character: an upright man of her own class (Chinto), and an unprincipled man of the upper middle class (Baltasar Sobrado), mirroring a similar choice in Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton (1848) and George Elliot's Adam Bede (1859). Scanlon writes that while Amparo's acceptance of Baltasar is "clearly foolish," her "spurning of Chinto seems more understandable" than the rejection of the good man in favor of the rich man in the two English novels ("Class" 140). Chinto, she continues, "although hard-working, loyal, and devoted to Amparo, always seems rather brutish" ("Class" 40). Thus, he lacks the potential for social mobility possessed by the working-class suitors in Gaskell and Elliot's works ("Class" 140). Leaving aside the wisdom, or lack thereof, of Amparo's choice, it is worth comparing her two options. First, the wealthy, yet lazy Baltasar Sobrado who seduces her with a promise of marriage, only to later abandon her and their unborn child in favor of the rich Josefina. Secondly, the hard-working, long-suffering Chinto, who offers to marry Amparo and raise her child as his own even after she has already rejected him once. Chinto is far from the enlightened man of the modern masculine ideal. And while the Baltasar is educated and wealthy, he falters when it comes to two of the major hallmarks of bourgeois manliness in the nineteenth century: hard work and family formation. Faced with either Baltasar or Chinto, Amparo's is not a choice between two men, but between two half-men, each representing a piece of the modern masculine puzzle, but neither living up to the whole.

Several times in this dissertation, I have touched on the prevalence of the "mama's boy," in the realist canon, of which Julián Álvarez, Gabriel Pardo, and

Morriña's Rogelio Pardiñas are examples in Pardo Bazán's novels. We also see this phenomenon in characters by Clarín and Galdós, such as Fermín de Pas in La Regenta and Juanito Santa Cruz in Fortunata y Jacinta. While these characters are symptomatic in general of the anxiety about masculinity in late-nineteenth-century Spain, I hope to do further work, in a second future project, on the "mama's boys" themselves, as well as their domineering or overly dotting mothers in order to shed light on the social and economic context of these mother-son relationships, as well as the ways in which both masculine and feminine gender roles are subverted by them.

A third future project will focus on the masculinity of the indiano in works by Galdós, such as the novel, Tormento (1884), and the play, La loca de la casa (1893). Like the other future projects already mentioned, an exploration of the indiano and his relationship to other male characters in Galdós's works will help me expand on the work I have done here in order to broaden my understanding of masculinities in late-nineteenth-century Spain.

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Biography

Zachary Erwin was born in Corsicana, Texas, on July 16, 1977, and grew up in Ennis, Texas. He graduated from St. Mark's School of Texas in Dallas in 1996. Zachary was a Robert W. Woodruff Scholar at Emory University and graduated summa cum laude with a Bachelor of Arts from Emory in 2000. Before enrolling in the doctoral program in Romance Studies at Duke University, he taught high school Spanish at Woodward Academy in College Park, Georgia, and St. Andrew's Episcopal School in Austin, Texas. He also briefly attended the University of Texas Law School. As a Duke graduate student, Zachary received a Departmental Fellowship and a Departmental Dissertation Research Award from the Department of Romance Studies. He was also awarded the Walter L. and Isabel Craven Drill Fellowship and the Kline Family Fellowship from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, as well as a summer travel grant from the Center for European Studies. In 2007, he was given a grant by the Xunta de Galicia to study Galician language and culture at the University of Santiago de Compostela. Zachary has delivered papers at various graduate student conferences, as well as the 2010 Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies Conference in Austin. In the fall of 2009, he taught language courses at Oxford College of Emory University in Oxford, Georgia. In 2010, he joined the faculty of the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at Swarthmore College in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, as Visiting Assistant Professor of Spanish.