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(The) influence of Spanish literature on English literature, with special reference to the romances of chivalry and the romances of roguery.

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Thesis

THE INFLUENCE OF SPANISH LITERATURE ON ENGLISH LITERATURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY AND THE ROMANCES OF ROGUERY

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I General View of the Influence of Spain on English Literature

No consideration of the literary influence of one country upon another is at all adequate without some consideration of historical events and setting which may have made such an influence possible. Whether a country be invaded, or be the invader, or become involved in warfare merely at the appeal for aid from a country in distress, or whether it be at peace and the Mecca of visitors from foreign lands matters not, for when nation mixes with nation dissemination of culture is the result. This culture finds expression in so many different branches of learning---music, the fine arts, etc.---but it is especially through the literature of a people that the very soul and essence of that nation, as distinct from any other nation, is felt.

While warriors are wreaking havoc and undermining, both morally and culturally, the countries in which they fight, those who sit at home in a peaceful land find time for expanding the resources of their country, whether those resources be of a literary nature or any other sort. So Moslem Spain in the twelfth century experienced a veritable Greek Renaissance while her Christian friends fought for the precepts of Christianity. It was to her, however, that they turned at this time to find in the translations of Aristotle and Plato by the learned Averröes philosophical ideas which might support the christian theories they were promulgating. Oxford, Padua, and Paris

sent their scholars to Cordova to obtain Latin translations of the Greek works which Averröes had revived by translating them from the Hebrew into Arabic.

Because it had thus spent its time fighting the infidel, christianity offered no wealth of literary sources. When, then, the Spaniards under that most ardent scholar, Alfonso X, sometimes known as "the Learned", looked for sources, they were forced to undergo an Oriental influence as expressed in the works of the Jews and the Arabs to whom they turned for models. It was indirectly through the literature of Spain, therefore, that western Europe was destined to feel the influence of the Orient.

It seems that the first definite influence one country has upon another in the world of literature takes the form of translations or adaptations from the original. So when the brother of Alfonso X, the Prince Fadrique, adapted the Book of Sindabad, or the Seven Sages to the Spanish, it was through a translation of this work by the English Folklore Society that England became fully acquainted with it. Also "within a few years of the death of Alfonso the Learned, Poridad de Poridades, El libro de Buenos Proverbios, Flores de Filosofía, and Bocados de Oro, appeared, and Bocados de Oro was afterwards translated into English by Lord Rivers, who was in Spain during the long siege of Granada."[1]

1. Hume, Martin, "Spanish Influence on English Literature," page 35; London, 1905

Aside from a rather unimportant influence, as expressed in a few translations from Spanish adaptations, the influence of Spain on English literature was practically nil. But John Garrett Underhill "noted that in the chapter of English history which covers the end of the Middle Ages, Spain begins to play a very conspicuous part, and that France becomes less and less capable of sustaining a continued feeling of friendship with the British government."[1]

When Alfonso XI died, he left one legitimate child, Pedro I, who came to be known as "the Cruel", and five illegitimate children, the results of an affair with Leonor de Guzmán. Upon the accession of Pedro I, his mother succeeded in bringing about the arrest and assassination of Leonor, thus enraging the five illegitimate sons, the eldest of whom was Henry of Trastamara.

This, however, was not the only act of the reign of Pedro destined to raise opposition. He appointed a Portuguese, Alburquerque, as his adviser and favorite, and thus caused quite a bit of unpleasant stir. He then married the French princess, Blanche de Bourbon, and caused a sensation by leaving her almost immediately to go to the arms of his mistress, María de Padilla. At a later date, after the first marriage had finally been dissolved, he married Juana de Castro and unwittingly left her the next day for his mistress. "These events had their influence in the civil wars, for many

1. Underhill, John Garrett, "Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors", Page 2; Macmillan Company, 1899.

towns refrained from giving Pedro aid or joined against him out of disgust for his actions."[1]

In war after war Pedro had always managed to come out victorious, but in 1363, when Henry of Trastamara formed a league against him a nd marshalled to his aid strong forces of paid brigands, Pedro in fear was forced to look for outside aid. He turned to England, and after the proper concessions had been made, Edward III sent the Black Prince with his army to help in the defeat of Henry. Once he had gained the upper hand, Pedro showed what was inherent in his character and, much to the disgust of the Black Prince, dealt unmercifully with his adversaries. At a most inopportune time, then, the occasion of an insurrection brewing against him, the Black Prince deserted Pedro and returned with his army to France. Pedro finally met death at the hands of his half-brother, Henry.

Whether or not the debt which the alliance with Spain owed to the brilliant campaign of the Black Prince in the peninsula can be taken into account as important when one realizes that there resulted a temporary loss of Plantagenet power due to the failure of Pedro to take advantage of the victory won for him by the Black Prince is debatable. There cannot, however, be any doubt at all that the Black Prince's triumph at Najera was appreciated by the astounded Castilians and contributed to the fostering of an exaggerated conception of the prowess of British arms. The direct influence which such an event had upon the

1. Chapman, Charles E., "A History of Spain," page119; Macmillan Co. 1918.

formation of a literary style was seen in the romances of chivalry which, rapidly rising in popularity, now filled their pages with exaggerated descriptions of English geography. England seems to have fascinated the imagination of the Spaniards who came to look upon her as the "home of knightly courtesy."[1]

From the relations existing between England and Spain during the Middle Ages scarcely anything of importance developed except the laying of a strong foundation upon which was built a diplomatic tradition.[2] On the other hand, the beginning of the sixteenth century marks a change in the relationship between the two countries and a less superfluous and more personal note is struck by the penetration of Spain into the social life of England for the first time when she makes her presence felt in the literary products of the people. With a movement toward negotiating for peace as expressed in the offer of Henry VII of his son, Arthur, to Catharine of Aragon,[3] new conditions prevailed, and it was then that there began in England a study of the history of Spanish letters.

When Catharine of Aragon made her appearance at the court of England, she "brought with her Spanish bishops, professors, and courtiers with Spanish books and modes of thought, though Latin was the tongue in which they mostly wrote and spoke in England."[4] Spanish literature at this time was characterized by a marked tendency toward strong Latin influence. "The Spanish writers of this century nourished as well as the

1. Underhill, Page 3
2. Ibid, Page 4
3. Ibid, Page 6
4. Hume, Page 54

Italian with the milk of antiquity, transfused the spirit and vigour of these ancients into their own compositions, not with the servile imitation of the others, nor seeking to arrange their phrases and round their periods, source of languor and emptiness, so that the best Spanish prose is more flowing and harmonious than the contemporary Italian."[1]

Spanish mysticism penetrated England through the writings of the famous scholar and philosopher, Luis Vives. "The great friend of Sir Thomas More, a professor at Oxford and tutor to Mary, Queen of England,"[2] Luis received special popularity through two works translated into the English by Sir Richard Moryson and Richard Hyrde. The ladies of England found especially delightful his Instruction for a Christian Woman, translated by Hyrde, a book which was forced to appear in four editions between 1540 and the latter part of the century. Moryson's translation of the Introduction to Wisdom met with equal acclaim.

Spanish influence upon English letters thus took a mystical turn and could have found no better channel of communication than the works of a man who with his books and especially his "direct personal influence on English scholars did much to introduce the fashion of Spanish didacticism into the courts of the Tudors."[3]

The movement manifested in what may be termed "preciosity of expression" has found its way into all literatures at some

1. Hallam, Henry, "Introduction to the Litera ture of Europe", Page 447; Little, Brown, and Company, 1854
2. Hume, Page 54
3. Ibid, Page 55

time or other. It was the obscure and ornamental style of Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Mondoñedo, which won for him a marked vogue in England. Upon certain moral precepts, supposedly set forth in a manuscript of the Spanish Caesar, Guevara based his The Dial of Princes, better known as The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, which was translated into English by Edward Hellowes. "The book was considered in England as the fine quintessence of political subtlety, and its maxims were collected and repeated in the court of Elizabeth by every one who aspired to literary taste."[1] The peculiarity of Guevara's style attracted disciples who bent their efforts toward the establishment of a school "which found its first expression, in the famous novel by John Lyly called Euphues." English euphuism, then, is a product of Spanish preciosity, as Guevara expressed that tendency in his works.

Perhaps the most disastrous event in the relationship between England and Spain was the incident of the Spanish Armada, an affair which furnished subject-matter for the tracts as did other incidents, and gave to the ballad-makers a subject for their verses. Religious differences aggravated the conditions which hastened this battle in 1588, the year in which the world was to see Catholic Spain defeated at sea by Protestent England. But though the conflict had proved advantageous to them, the critical English public found extreme dissatisfaction in accounts of the fight as they were reported to be

1. Hume, Page 56

circulated in Spain. It was not long, therefore, before English translations appeared, revealing the Spanish conception of the affair to the indignant English.

But the dominance of the type of literary production represented by the various tracts and pamphlets was not of long duration, for not much time elapsed before a more refined and lasting sort of literature came into existence. Literary England now came to be transported into the realms of the scientific and the practical through treatises composed or translated to inform them on such matters. Methods of carrying on manufacturing and other industries met with adequate treatment, but medicine, that science which reached the pinnacle of its development in the early days of Spain, had sunk to such depths by the time of Elizabeth's reign that its theory was summed up adequately, in "several brief treatises", the work of Nicolas Monardes of Seville.[1]

Spanish drama found its most adequate expression at this time in the Celestina, "a novel in dramatic form". "This story is told so vigorously and with so much humour and observation and with such a sense of character, as to mark an epoch in fiction."[2] Translated into Italian and French, it was destined to meet objection in England by a Spaniard, Luis Vives, who regarded it as "a source of levity to be avoided". However great his objection may have been, it availed nothing, for in 1530 an anonymous writer produced an English translation of the work. It met with such a vogue that it was later

1. Underhill, Pages 30-31
2. Hume, Page 26

translated by James Mabbe.

Further manifestations of Spain's dramatic art were seen in the attempts of Lope de Rueda. Rather "local and colloquial" in tone and "adapted for the ignorant and the rude", his plays, despite their apparent popularity, were not of the calibre to pass outside of the peninsula. They lacked that stroke of genius which later characterized the attempts of such men as Lope de Vega Carpio, Calderón, and Alarcón.

Throughout the course of the sixteenth century, the English admired, aside from the writers of quite mediocre genres, the peninsular authors. Though the occasional literature which was represented in the less important types was popular, the writings of the peninsular writers became equally as popular. "Moral court treatises" held a certain fascination for the whole of Europe in the Renaissance period and so became most highly esteemed. The literature of etiquette as applied to the sort of life a courtier should lead gave precepts which "were mingled with the moral teachings of the ancients".[1] It was a genre essentially humanistic in nature. As Spain developed this type, her influence was felt in England through the works of such authors as Bartolomé Felipe, Frederico Furio Ceriol, and Antonio de Guevara.[2]

There were two other genres which were willingly accepted by the people---the pastoral romance and the books which dealt with chivalry. The pastoral was particularly adaptable to the

1. Underhill, Page 42
2. Ibid, Page 44

artificial style of Guevara, and so the Diana of Montemayor was written in such a vein. This work became quite popular in the English translation of Bartholomew Young, appearing in 1598. Its further popularity is attested to by the fact that Thomas Wilcox, Edward Paston, and Sir Philip Sidney set about to make "English versions of portions of it", the latter producing his Arcadia, which became known only after his death and which bears a very close resemblance to Bartholomew Young's translation of Diana. But although this work was without a doubt a masterpiece, lack of interest was evinced in a failure to consider its predecessors or successors.

It can truly be said that the romances of chivalry had a greater vogue than the pastorals though their influence on English literature is not as great as that of the pastoral. The very antithesis of the pastoral and of the type of literature expressed in the court books, they belonged to and appealed to the taste of the common people. This accounts for the fact that it is not by only one work that they were represented, but by many.[1] Among the most famous of these are the Amadís as it was translated by Thomas Paynel and Antony Munday, and Munday's translation of the Palmerín de Inglaterra and the Knight of the sun which was published under the name of Margaret Tiler, who had as co-translators two writers who are known only by the initials L.A. and R.P. With the single exception of the Amadís by Paynel, these works appear to have

1. Underhill, Page 44

received a hearty reception in London.[1] Another work, Don Beliarís de Grecia also has the initials L.A. as being responsible for the English copy.[2] It is quite apparent that "the native and Gallic Arthurian romances" had begun to decline and these books of chivalry stood out as adequate substitutes for the fast waning romances.

The end of the sixteenth century influence of Spain in English letters is seen in the Lazarillo de Tormes. The first of the picaresque novels, Lazarillo de Tormes initiated a vogue which grew to great proportions in the peninsula and in England. It was not until after 1599 that one may say that the picaresque novel came into its own, however, being freely translated at that time and widely received in England after the publishing of Gúzman de Alfarache. The Lazarillo, author unknown, "attracted much notice when it first appeared in London, and affords a suggestive parallel to the Unfortunate Traveller of Thomas Nash. Together with the romances of chivalry, it was the only literary work of an essentially Spanish type which made a strong impression upon the Elizabethans".[3]

In concluding this general survey of the influence of Spanish literature upon English letters, I should note that Spain contributed much to the enrichment of English literature. Her presence was widely felt in such works as those tinged with

1. Underhill, Page 45
2. Ibid
3. Ibid, Page 46

mysticism, such as Luis Vives offered. Preciosity of expression was in part gained from Guevara's florid style. Pastoral romances and romances of chivalry, along with the picaresque novel all had their vogue.

II

The Romances of Chivalry

The Spanish national temperament is such that it offers a fertile ground for the fostering of a type of literature such as the romances of chivalry represented. An essentially adventuresome people, with their bull-fights and their love of the marvellous and unusual, the imaginations of this people had early been carried away by tales of wonder and extraordinary events as found in the Oriental sources they studied. These romances were "books of caballeria, or chivalry, based on the extraordinary adventures of wandering knights full of the extravagant exaggeration of unbridled imagination,"[1] and they found their inception in the Amadís de Gaula, a work first appearing in the fourteenth century and which became a perfect craze in the fifteenth century in Spain. Its widespread acceptance when published in 1508, gave the impetus for further development in a literary genre destined to prove more popular still to sixteenth century enthusiasts.

There was nothing about the romances of chivalry which had an up-lifting effect, and despite the fact that they created a perfect mania, they proved rather destructive in a psychological way. "Like the reprehensible 'dime novel' of recent American life its popularity became almost a disease, resulting occasionally in a derangement of the mental faculties

1. Chapman, Page 185

of some of the most assiduous readers."[1]

The English temperament is quite a bit more practical and thorough-going than that of the Spaniard, who accepts the surface of things. The Englishman always feels the need first of all of delving beneath this surface in an attempt to "understand the works, to sound the reasons for action."[2] This may in some way account for their refusal to become exceedingly enthusiastic over a production like the Amadís which defied all rules of logic and practicality.

Further, the acceptance of any literary genre into a country is judged by the type of people who accept it. In England the majority of the cultured class found no enjoyment in a type of literature which was essentially low in form and taste. Its greatest vogue was among the low element.

The first translation of the Amadís in England represents the work of Anthony Munday. Because he was of mediocre ability and thus incapable of handling the work as it should have been,[3] Henry Thomas felt that it was rather unfortunate that this series should have first penetrated English literature through the hands of so incompetent a translator.

The first four books of the Amadís series appeared in English in 1618 and 1619, the first half, strangely enough, bearing the date 1619, while the second half bears the date 1618. Investigation, however, has revealed that Munday issued Books three and four, promising to revise Books one

1. Chapman, Page 355
2. Hume, Page 254
3. Thomas Henry, "Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry", Cambridge University Press, 1920

and two and then issue them. Some years later Book five was issued in an anonymous translation. In 1652 Francis Kirkman produced a translation of Book six, and to an author who wrote under the name of a "Person of Quality" is one indebted for Book seven in 1693, which book marks the end of the series as it was translated into English.

A vogue of abridgments followed the period of translations, and this that the Amadís might be read more quickly in briefer form. The first, that of John Shirley in 1702, proved a rather poor attempt at presentingman abridgment of Books one, two, three, and four. Southey, some time later (in 1803 to be exact), offered a very good abridgment of the same Books. And W.S.Rose, another admirer of the Amadís series, attempted the versification of Book one.

With these abridgments "the active career of the Peninsular romances of chivalry comes to an end in England. Their vogue lasted longer here than in other countries, partly because the level of their circle of readers was lower. The evidence goes to show that they never appealed to the cultured classes in this country as they did on the continent."[1]

No consideration of the romances of chivalry is complete, however, without turning to an author who has been characterized by some as having produced "the perfected novel of chivalry".[2] "Amadis at least obtained the laurel at the hands of Cervantes, speaking through the barber and curate, while so many of

1. Thomas, Pages 262-263
2. Chapman, Pages 357-358

Lobeyra's unworthy imitators were condemned to the flames."[1]

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra whose Don Quixote stands out as an example of his protest against further "contagion of bad taste"[2] managed ultimately to salvage the genre and present it in a more ideal form.

Satire, that branch of literature through which one ridicules vogues that are ridiculous and absurd, served Cervantes as the manner in which he wrote his Don Quixote. While this work is a strong satire on the romances of chivalry, still it catches something that they lacked, "the epic spirit of idealism which the novelists had wished to represent but had drowned in a flood of extravagances and impossible happenings"[3] and raises the genre to such heights that it comes to be among the best. It represents a much higher development of the literary art, and Grierson sees in this work "the parent of the modern novel."

The cultural circles of England, though they had, generally speaking, been content to ignore the romances of chivalry, considering them as a genre worthy of but very little attention, reacted quite differently to the Don Quixote. As Fitzmaurice-Kelly states it, "nowhere, perhaps, has Don Quixote been more welcome than in England. It was first translated there by Thomas Shelton in 1612."[4] When England found herself in the midst of the vogue for satire, she immediately turned to Spain to furnish her the framework into

1. Hallam, Page 388
2. Ibid, Page 442
3. Chapman, Pages 356-357
4. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James, "A New History of Spanish Literature", Page 278; Oxford University Press, 1926

which she might fit her material.

Satire is the most caustic instrument by means of which men may criticize the faults of others, but in the hands of Cervantes it was not sharp, cruel, biting, but rather humorous and infused with a strain of human compassion. His ability to write satire and at the same time make it comic and humane in tone, distinguishes him in the literary world and makes his characters live forever as delightful beings.

Among the first of the English writers to make use of any of the episodes in Don Quixote was George Wilkins, whose play entitled The Miseries of Infant Marriage, published in 1607, offered an opportunity for introducing a version of the encounter with the wind-mills. In the same year, the Five Gallants of Middleton appeared, bearing markedly the influence of Don Quixote. Though Fletcher made more extensive use of the Novelas Ejemplares as the inspiration for his plots, still the Don Quixote was not unknown to him. He finds occasion to burlesque this work in his The Knights of the Burning Pestle.

The rigidity of the Presbyterian sect in the days of Cromwell furnished a strong impetus to Samuel Butler to attempt his Hudibras, the title of which is a borrowing from The Faerie Queen, and the setting a suggestion from Don Quixote. The two works, the Don Quixote and the Hudibras offer striking similarities. Both men hold up the human race to ridicule, and yet their satire has no tinge of malice, but is rather

pleasant to read. Just as they are similar in general tone, however, they present a difference in more specific details. Cervantes is more charitable in his descriptions. He is kind enough to call the half-consumptive looking Rosinante a "steed." And Don Quixote sees in an inn an enchanted castle. Perhaps it was the vivid imagination so inherent in the character of his race which furnished him with the ability to transform the description of a very common-place object into something of beauty or grandeur. The English, on the other hand, are quite unimaginative, and herein may lie an explanation of the fact that the Hudibras is written in an ordinary, even rather sordid setting. It is thus that Butler introduces the reader to the burlesque knight Hudibras who is "the Don Quixote of Puritanism, the redresser of imaginary wrongs done to his Dulcinea", and who "has his Rozinante and his Sancho, all complete, like his Spanish progenitor".[1]

Perhaps one of the most prolific of English writers and one upon whom the influence of Spanish literature has left its indelible stamp was Henry Fielding. The eldest of five children, he was born in 1707, the son of an archdeacon and of the daughter of a magistrate. Having lost his mother at a very tender age, we find him later installed at Eton in 1719. Running away, however, in 1721, he joined his grandmother in Salisbury.

The year 1727 witnessed a reversal of family fortunes, thus forcing Fielding to be confronted with the necessity of earning

1. Hume, Page 181

his living by his pen. He is quoted as having stated at this time that he had "the alternative of becoming a hackney-writer or a hackney-coachman".[1]

In 1728 Fielding is found back in London. Here he engaged himself in the business of writing plays, for at this time play-writing had come to have a mercenary value. Despite his success in this field, however, "the traditions of the English stage hampered him, and he was destined to escape them only in the novel."[2]

Fielding began his career as a novelist at the age of thirty years. At this period in his life he is beset by creditors and seriously threatened with law-suits. It was as a means of making money, then, that he began the writing of Tom Jones. Before Tom Jones, however, which appeared in 1749, he had written his Joseph Andrews. Both of these works are of especial interest in the study of the influence of Spain on English literature for "the debt of Fielding's Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones to Don Quixote in respect to structure, incident, adventures on the road and at inns, dialogues upon all sorts of subjects not always relevant to the plot, manner, style, and spirit, can hardly be overestimated".[3]

The influence of Spanish literature upon this great English novelist may be considered as two-fold in its scope. On the one hand, he underwent the influence of a satirical trend as expressed in the Don Quixote of Cervantes, and on the other

1. Digeon, Aurelien, "The Novels of Fielding", Chapter1, Page3; George Routledge and Son, London.
2. Ibid, Page 11
3. Grierson, Pages 57-58

hand, he borrowed from the picaresque novels. Directly traceable to the Don Quixote satirical influence was Fielding's Joseph Andrews, written in contempt of Richardson's Pamela. But the literary form which this work takes is more in keeping with that employed by the authors of the picaresque novels. Joseph Andrews' adventures, as also those of Parson Adams, are certainly as varied and interesting as those of any Spanish rogue.

The figure of Mr. Adams offers a point of contrast with that of Don Quixote. Fielding says of his character when he is on horse-back that "his legs almost touched the ground when he bestrode the beast."[1] Cervantes' characterization of Don Quixote is that of a gawky figure whose legs are much too long for him.

Both Mr. Adams in Joseph Andrews and Don Quixote in the work by Cervantes are unfortunate enough to have sorry excuses for horses. But although the "steed" of Don Quixote was constructed in such a manner that "his bones stuck out like the corners of a real, and he had more faults than Gonela's horse, which tantum pillis et ossa fuit, he fancied that neither Alexander's Bucephalus, nor the Cid's Babieca, was equal to him."[2] Equally as satisfied was Mr. Adams with the horse he borrowed and which "had so violent a propensity to kneeling that one would have thought it had been his trade, as well as his master's." And although "he was often found on his knees

1. Joseph Andrews, "Works of Fielding" by Arthur Murphy, Page49 George Routledge and Son, New York.
2. Don Quixote, Chapter1 Part I, Page 5

when the rider least expected it", still "this was of no great inconvenience to the parson, who was accustomed to it."[1]

Parson Adams is the English counter-part of the Spanish Don Quixote in many respects. Both give the impression of living in worlds entirely alien to the present existence. Parson Adams in a world of true christianity and brotherly love, and Don Quixote in the ideal realm of chivalry, a world in which one is ever fighting for all that for which christianity stands. Both meet with untoward events which one might think would make them from their lethargy and make them cognizant of their surroundings. Yet at the same time they are both such lovable characters that one feels constrained to sympathize with them in even their dumbest adventures.

Very much in the manner of the picaresque novels are the adventures of Joseph Andrews. As the rogue was quite apt to meet with misfortunes and any number of untoward events in the course of his extensive travellings, so Parson Adams and Joseph Andrews meet with a number of unpleasant and startling adventures. Upon one occasion Joseph"had not gone above two miles,charmed with the hopes of shortly seeing his beloved Fanny, when he was met by two fellows in a narrow lane, and ordered to stand and deliver."[2]

We shall leave Joseph Andrews to his fortunes and misfortunes and turn to Tom Jones, another of Fielding's novels in which the influence of Cervantes and of the picaresque

1. Joseph Andrews, Page 49
2. Joseph Andrews, Page 122

novels is felt. It is quite coincidental that while the Don Quixote of Cervantes has been considered as representing the complete expression of the genius of Cervantes, the Tom Jones of Fielding, borrowed in structure and plot as it was from the Spanish, represents the height of that author's genius. And while it is the humour of Cervantes which makes him such a favorite with the people, it is this same quality in the work of Fielding which won for him a place in the high esteem of the people.

In chapter II of Tom Jones, the author warns his reader that he thinks it proper, "before we proceed any farther together, to acquaint thee, that I intend to digress, through this whole history, as often as I see occasion; of which I am myself a better judge than any pitiful critic whatever."[1] Perhaps Cervantes too felt that he was a "better judge than any pitiful critic whatever" when he frequently introduced digressions in the writing of Don Quixote.

Tom Jones, as the rogues in the picaresque novels, was introduced to the world under rather unfortunate circumstances. Found by Mr. Allworthy wrapped in coarse linen, it was true without a doubt that Tom had been born a bastard. He often got into trouble because of his mischievous disposition . As the rogues in the Spanish works, he knocked about from place to place and got to know life and met with many adventures whether it happened to be a mild one, such as rescuing Sophia

1. Tom Jones, "Works of Fielding" by Arthur Murphy, Pages 46-47

from the run-away horse or more serious and dangerous ones.

Partridge, one of the characters in Tom Jones has been characterized by Digeon as "a sort of English Sancho Panza". "Partridge, the barber and surgeon and schoolmaster is foolish, yet at the same time he is cunning, a coward and a worthy man. His utter simpleness is well-meaning; many times he comes near bringing his master to ruin,"[1] but is always forgiven, just because it is impossible to remain angry with the simple Partridge.

Partridge was a schoolmaster, but yet he was not possessed of the mentality for living a practical, sensible existence as was his master, Tom Jones. Quite the contrary is the case in the work of Cervantes, for it is the servant, Sancho Panza, who is the simple and faithful servant of the adventuresome Don Quixote, but who is possessed of a far greater amount of insight and common understanding than his master, despite the fact that he possessed the exasperating gift of nearly involving the latter in affairs which might have resulted seriously.

Cervantes and Fielding produced works, then, very much alike. The great author of Spain's siglo de oro was destined to produce the most perfect form of the type of literature which he set about to ridicule, and to sow the seeds for the novel, a type of literature which was destined to have a vogue after his day. It speaks well for Spain that she was able to influence a man who has been acclaimed the most English of the English

1. Digeon, Page 176

writers and one of the foremost novelists, Henry Fielding.

III

The Romances of Roguery

Idealistic tendencies in Spanish literature had found expression in the form of the romances of chivalry, which upon their ultimate decay gave way to a trend which was essentially realistic in nature and was developed through the romances of roguery, sometimes known as the gusto picaresco. This type of literature was destined to have a greater vogue in England than did the highly artificial romances of chivalry. We see that after a career of vagabondage at home, the Spanish rogue who took his birth in the bed of the river Tormes was naturalized abroad, in France, in Germany, in Holland, and in England."[1]

The picaresque novel is perhaps the most fascinating type of literature which Spain has created. In the Lazarillo de Tormes, author unknown, the reader is introduced to the first "and in many respects the best" of the picaresque novels. The little Lazarillo is born into this world, and early becomes a victim of the environment surrounding him. The child of parents of low moral ideals, and brought up in an atmosphere of crime and intrigue, his life story as told in "elegant, copious, and nervous Castilian" presents the "ups and downs, the trials, perils, and adventures of a boy living by his wits, sharpened by adversity."[2]

Through the medium of an anonymous writer, England's first

1. Chandler, Frank W., "Romances of Roguery", Pagel, Macmillan Company, 1899.
2. Hume, Page 135

version of the Lazarillo de Tormes appeared in 1568 as The Marvelus Dedes and Lyf of Lazaro de Tormes and in 1576, still another appeared, The Pleasant History of Lazarillo de Tormes, a Spaniard by Henry Binneman. In 1586, however, was produced the edition which was destined to be the best known, and that was the one gotten out by David Rowland of Anglesey.

Translations and adaptations, as I have stated somewhere before, serve as two mediums by which a literary genre may first be introduced into a country. Another means of determining the amount of influence a work may have had may be found in a consideration of original productions fashioned along lines similar to those found in the new work. About the first book produced which showed definitely the influence of Lazarillo de Tormes appeared about eleven years after the Lazarillo and was called The First and best part of Skoggin's Gests, full of witty mirth and pleasant shifts, done by him in France and other places, being a preservative against melancholy. Gathered by Andrew Borde, Doctor of Physic. Skoggin was a poor but learned gentleman who became a jester at court. His many amusing adventures are highly entertaining. While he lives by his wits, he is not forced to lower himself to the petty intrigues of a rather criminal nature so characteristic of the existence led by the ordinary rogue. Skoggin, unlike Lazarillo, does not knock around in places that are of a questionable nature. He stays at court, in an atmosphere conducive to the best

psychological development, and so, despite the fact that his pranks cause his banishment for a period, they are not at all in the tone of those which Lazarillo would be reduced to playing in order to make his very existence possible.

It is well to note in comparing the Spanish rogue novels with those of the English that contrast may be found in the kind of authors who wrote these works. In Spain, the authors of these romances were not themselves of the class of rogues. In England, quite by contrast, the best authors of these picaresque tales were either rascals themselves or were humanitarian to the extent of attempting to offer a caution to the rest of the citizens against such a class of people and ultimately to bring about their extinction from any social stratum.

As Lazarillo de Tormes stood out as the first rogue novel in Spanish, so the English are indebted to Thomas Nash and his Jack Wilton for their first essentially English rogue novel. It might be well to note that just as there was a contrast in the type of authors who wrote these novels in Spain and England, so there is found a difference in the type of man who becomes the rogue and hero of the story. The Spaniards went down into their very lowest strata of society and chose a rogue from amongst those whose environment was not conducive to the best moral development. The English authors, on the

other hand, chose their characters from the upper strata of English society. Jack Wilton was not the son of a "foreman in a mill,"[1] nor was he born in a mill. Quite the contrary, he was a "gentleman by birth and a page at the court of Henry VIII."[2]

Both Lazarillo de Tormes and Jack Wilton are written in the form of autobiographies. But whereas sordid, well-planned crime characterizes Lazarillo's actions because his lack of adequate home and support forces him to put his wits to use as a thief, the atmosphere surrounding Jack Wilton's pranks is of a higher tone. Jack Wilton is a scamp, more or less, but he deals in such bits of deviltry as will cause no serious harm to any one. The atmosphere surrounding him does not urge one on to crime, and his keen wit is used in the main to see how he may get the better of people and annoy them a bit.

Thomas Nash seems to have had as his main objective, the desire to amuse his readers and nothing more. It must not be misunderstood, however, that all of the rogue autobiographies in England were of this nature. There were some fashioned with the intention of showing the change of mind taking place in a rogue confined to prison and ultimately coming to possess a contrite heart as expressed in a desire to mend his ways. Spain, quite the contrary, intended her rogue literature for the entertainment of her readers. To this end, that they might not be identified as rogues, as were the English writers, they were always careful to explain just why they had written

1. Hume, Page 133
2. Ibid, Page 165

the work in question.

The authorship of the Lazarillo is unknown, but that of another important romance of roguery is known. Mateo Aleman wrote his Gúzman de Alfarache which was destined to become as famous as the Lazarillo de Tormes. As is the case with Lazarillo, Gúzman de Alfarache starts life in surroundings unhealthy for him morally. Unlike Lazarillo, however, he fares better in his adventures, for he does get into high society at one time in his career. But generally speaking, he is a scoundrel who travels and has many chance adventures.

This work met with such wide popularity that there immediately started a series of false sequels. The genuine work, however, found its way into the hands of the English people through the the translation of James Mabbe. His industry then, produced, in 1622, The Rogue, or the Life of Gúzman de Alfarache.

We have noted that the pastoral romances and the romances of chivalry all died a natural death, and so it was with the picaresque novels. After the middle of the seventeenth century, we see them gradually fading into oblivion.

IV
Conclusion

Spain's influence in the literary circles of England can be traced as far back as the days of Moslem Spain. Despite the fact that at this time her contributions to English letters consisted in the main in translations from the learned Greek philosophers, still it meant that her scholars were recognized as having something worthy of contribution.

Passing on through the centuries, English contact with Spain became one of her many international interests. Her connection with Spain came to be based upon an interest in the official measures of the government of that peninsular country. So within this period, Spanish literature which permeated north of the channel was largely determined by the influences of politics and trade in the relationship between the two countries.

Catherine of Aragon brought with her to the court at England the most learned minds of Spain. Luis Vives, with his mystical tendencies and Antonio de Guevara with his fantastic and affected style were destined to have a profound influence upon the English literature pf their day. Euphuism in England may be traced back to the influence of the florid style in vogue under Guevara.

There were any number of tracts and pamphlets written upon matters of science, but the vogue of this style of literature was not lasting. The more imaginative Spaniards

turned to producing such works as the Celestina. The Diana of Montemayor met with immense popularity and found its way into English literature in a translation by Bartholomew Young and in the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney.

The romances of chivalry, foremost among which, was the Amadís met with great favor among the lower classes of England. Its influence in that country was seen in such works as the Palmerin series. But even Spain tired of this type of literature and through the Don Quixote of Cervantes we get a satire on the genre.

Cervantes had profound influence on one of the most important English writers of the day, Henry Fielding. He inspired his Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews. The more realistic fiction also attracted Fielding, and though he undergoes the influence of Cervantes, still he fashions his work upon the style set by the rogue autobiographies or picaresque novels. Lazarillo de Tormes is the first Spanish example of this genre and is followed by the Cúzman de Alfarache of Aleman. Jack Wilton by Thomas Nash is a further indication of the extent to which the Spanish had influenced the English in their writing.

I should say that Spanish literature is not particularly broad in extent, but it has offered to the world at large, and to England in particular, examples from every genre into which she has delved. The importance of her literary attempts

has been shown by the fact that translations and adaptations of every new current in her literary career have been attempted by the English.

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