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Emilia Pardo Bazán's Feminism
and British and American Culture: A Life in Contact

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to bring together Emilia Pardo Bazán's feminist works with the development of the movement in nineteenth-century Britain and America, the two coinciding approximately between 1880 and 1910. The international character of the Spanish writer, together with a particular eagerness for learning, helped her reach other cultures and languages easily, and that happened very particularly with the English language and the British and American intellectual life of her time. Taking Carmen Bravo-Villasante's *Vida y obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán* (1973) as a starting point, I have analysed those among her contributions on feminism and women that directly relate to her personal contact with and reception of the social and intellectual life of those two countries. These are shown to reflect clearly how every stage in the evolution of her feminism converged with the progress of her life-long contact with the English-speaking social and cultural world.

Keywords: Emilia Pardo Bazán, 19th century, feminism, women, Great Britain, America, biography

Resumen

El objetivo de este estudio es aunar la obra feminista de Emilia Pardo Bazán con el desarrollo del movimiento en las Gran Bretaña y Norteamérica decimonónicas, por coincidir ambos aspectos en el tiempo entre 1880 y 1910 aproximadamente. El carácter internacional de la escritora española, junto con su afán por aprender, le ayudaron a conocer otras culturas y aprender nuevas lenguas con facilidad, y eso le ocurrió con el inglés y la vida intelectual británica y norteamericana de su tiempo. Sirviéndome de la biografía escrita por Carmen Bravo-Villasante, *Vida y obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán* (1973), he analizado aquéllas de sus contribuciones sobre feminismo y mujeres directamente relacionadas con el contacto personal y recepción que mantuvo de por vida con la vida social e intelectual de esos dos países. Se aprecia que éstas reflejan de forma clara cómo cada etapa evolutiva de su feminismo convergió con el proceso de contacto que a lo largo de toda su vida mantuvo con el mundo social y cultural angloparlante.

Palabras clave: Emilia Pardo Bazán, siglo XIX, feminismo, mujeres, Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos, biografía

Table of contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1. First contact with life, 1851-1888	4
Earliest feminism: Her influences	4
Apprenticeship: First contact with the English language	6
Introduction to social life: First works with feminist nuances	8
Chapter 2. A fruitful period, 1889-1907.....	11
From a premature feminism to a militant one	11
The English-speaking world in her feminist publications	13
The impact of Pardo Bazán's works in Britain and America	20
Chapter 3. Her effort's reward 1908-1921	24
Her disenchantment with Spanish feminism	24
Recognitions and reminiscences of Emilia Pardo Bazán in Britain and America	26
Conclusion	28
Bibliography	31
Appendix	33

Introduction

The feminist movement that developed during the nineteenth century was the result of several earlier social changes such as the Industrial Revolution, the emergence of liberalism, and the development of theoretical feminism by English authors like William Petty or Jeremy Bentham during the 17th and 18th centuries. Great Britain and the United States, the more advanced countries at that time, became the home of feminism. There were two crucial events that set the pace to establish this feminist wave: in England, Mary Wollstonecraft wrote in 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in which she talked about the oppression endured by women claiming against the lack of means for their integration into society; in the United States, the Declaration of Sentiments, a document that pinpointed the rights North American women should hold as citizens, was signed in the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. In Spain, feminism developed time later, but in the 19th century, a few women writers had already started to vindicate women's rights. One of them was Emilia Pardo Bazán, a pioneer of Spanish feminism whose writings helped its further development in the 20th century.

Emilia Pardo Bazán was one of the few Spanish female writers whose works were spread and renowned internationally at that time. Literature at the time were mainly written by men since women were not considered to be educated to develop intellectual labor. That is why other female authors impersonated as men to attend university or signed their books under a male pseudonym. However, Pardo Bazán started to write her first poems at the age of nine and since then she continued writing throughout all her life without hiding herself under any pseudonym. In her writings, Pardo Bazán dealt with issues such as femicide, street harassment, female prostitution, the reproductive mandate, the inclusive language, women's right to vote, etc. Besides, she disseminated in Spain international news on the progress of women like the ones occurring in the United States and England, where the feminist struggle was one step ahead. She also wrote articles in the English language or commented English authors.

This dissertation deals with Emilia Pardo Bazán's works on the feminist question in combination with her relations with the English-speaking world: the British and North American cultures. In order to divide my dissertation into chapters, the work written by Carmen Bravo-Villasante, *Vida y obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán* (1962), has been taken as reference. Following her biography about Pardo Bazán, three different chapters have been established which include all her cultural and literary exchanges.

1. The first chapter traces her educational development, including how she learned, self-taught, the English language, the key figures that influenced her into feminist thinking and, as a result, her first feminist compositions.
2. The second chapter is devoted to her strongest feminist stage characterized, primarily, by the importance of educating women on a same level as men. This chapter includes analyses of a selection of six of her feminist writings that in one way or other are connected with Britain or the United States and their feminist advances and movements: "The Woman of Spain" (1889), "La reforma integral del traje en los EEUU" (1890), the prologue to John's Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1892), "Exposición de trabajos de la mujer en Chicago" (1893), "La mujer periodista" (1897) and "Algo de feminismo" (1899). At this period, the majority of her works had a great impact abroad: she established relations with the American publishing house Cassell and diverse influential and international communicators such as the critic Howells, and the newspaper *The Times* published notes about her.
3. Finally, the third chapter talks about how Pardo Bazán became disenchanted with the idea of introducing the feminist ideas into Spain. This was as a result of the lack of concern she found in both Spanish women and men. For that reason, she changed radically her subject matter and, instead of publishing works of feminist thought, turned to editing books on cooking. Lastly, all the public acknowledgements and recognitions that she obtained in the last years of her life are commented.

Consequently, the aims of this dissertation are to contribute to the study of Emilia Pardo Bazán's feminism and to bring together her feminist ideals with the influences of her relations with the English-speaking world, two topics that have never been related before.

The struggle of Emilia Pardo Bazán to pursue a more egalitarian society, or at least the inclusion of half of the population, the female, in many basic aspects of society was consistent during all her life. In that period, she became the first female Professor of University, the first female official member of the Ateneo of Madrid and the first female president of its Literature Section, and the first female Professor of the “Escuela de Estudios Superiores”, recognitions that were not commonly given to the women's sector. Apart from that, she separated from her husband before divorce was legal, demonstrating a rebelliousness and freedom to which women of that time were not accustomed.

Emilia Pardo Bazán’s recognitions, both national and international, were astonishing for that time. What is more, all the development of her work was influenced by her contact with the British and American cultures that aided her to build a more radical feminist thought for fighting against gender inequality and then to spread it in her native country.

Chapter 1

First contact with life, 1851-1888

From her birth, in 1851, to 1888, Emilia Pardo Bazán devoted her life, in essence, to reading and learning. In addition to developing her intelligence, she also built her feminist thought. There were several figures that contributed to her feminist ideal, the most important ones being her father, the philosopher Benito Feijóo, and Francisco Giner de los Ríos. These three male figures empowered her to become an independent woman and instilled on her the interest in studying, travelling, and dreaming, which were forbidden activities for ladies at that time. Thanks to the talents she had and the support of her inner circle, she travelled around Europe and became aware of new cultures and their respective literary tendencies. Thus, she started learning the English language and becoming a passionate of its literature. Literature, politics, and languages attracted her interest and those topics were lately reflected in her first writings. All in all, this period of her life is characterized by interest and hope, and what it demonstrates is that Pardo Bazán was a lover of letters who seized every learning opportunity.

I. Early feminism: Her influences

It is possible to find three clear references in the question of feminism in Emilia Pardo Bazán's early life. The first one, and according to Pardo Bazán herself, is her father, Mr. Jose Pardo Bazán (Bravo-Villasante, 166). Both parents had liberal thinking so Pardo Bazán, as an only child, was educated in an open-minded environment without fronting the barriers of gender that some of their colleagues could have suffered at that time. Since her childhood, she was interested in literature. Amalia de la Rúa, her mother, was the one that taught her to read (19). From there, she read all the books available in her father's library. Moreover, he encouraged his daughter to read, to study, to learn and to love literature, even more, poetry. He introduced her to the masters of literature and provided her with new books to enhance her knowledge (23). Once her father died, Pardo Bazán always asked herself whether she was a feminist because her father had instilled in her that attitude or

whether her struggle for equality arose thanks to the education her parents gave her and her own life experiences:

Guiado por ese instinto, juzgaba y entendía de un modo tan diferente de como juzga la mayoría de los hombres, que con hacer tratado yo después a bastantes de los que aquí pasan por superiores, en esta cuestión de los derechos de la mujer rara vez les he encontrado a la altura de mi padre. Y repito que así le oí opinar desde mis años más tiernos, de suerte que no acertaría a decir si mi convicción profunda fue fruto de aquélla, o si al concentrarse naturalmente la mía, a conformidad vino a corroborar y extender los principios que ya ambos llevábamos en la médula de cerebro. (Pardo Bazán *La esclavitud* quoted in Bravo-Villasante, 166-67).

“Guided by that instinct, he judged and understood in a so different way than the majority of the men judge, that after I had treated quite a few of those that broast a certain superiority regarding this matter of women's rights I have rarely found them on a par with my father. And I repeat that this is how I heard him giving his opinion since my most tender years, so that I would not be able to say whether my deep conviction was the fruit of his, or whether, as mine was naturally concentrated, it accordingly came to corroborate and extend the principles that we both carried in the medula of our brains.”¹

But what she would have always remembered are the words José Pardo Bazán said to her:

Mira, hija mía, los hombres somos muy egoístas, y si te dicen alguna vez que hay cosas que los hombres pueden hacer y las mujeres no, di que es mentira, porque no puede haber dos morales para dos sexos. (quoted in Bravo-Villasante, 15)

“Listen, my dear, we, men, are very selfish and if they ever tell you that there are certain things that men can do and women cannot, then say it is a lie, because there cannot be two morals for two genders.”

The second reference figure in terms of feminism is the eighteenth-century philosopher Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, as she started reading his works thanks to his father (Bravo-Villasante 51). In 1726, Feijóo wrote “Defensa de las mujeres,” included in his *Teatro Crítico Universal*. He was conscious of the disparity between both genders and in that work, he laid aside the prejudices against women to persuade equality. It seems clear that his work permeated Pardo Bazán’s thought and her later literary activity. Further on, Pardo Bazán would pay a tribute to Feijóo by publishing ‘Ensayo crítico de las obras del Padre Feijoo’ (1876) and also by presenting the ode ‘Al insigne filósofo Feijóo’ (1877) in the commemoration of the centenary of his birth and lastly by naming her journal *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* after Feijóo’s principal work.

¹ Like this, all translations henceforth are my own.

The last of her early influences was the pedagogist and essayist Francisco Giner de los Ríos, founder of the “Institución Libre de Enseñanza”, a friend who encouraged her to travel, to learn other languages and cultures, and introduced her to the philosophy of Krausism. The philosophy consisted of the defense of the education of the population by the secularization and spread of culture. He also promoted the inclusion of women as part of the society on a same level as men. Although Spanish Krausism meant to include women in the aspects of life only partially, giving them more intellectual freedom but at the same time placing them under men guidelines, it was thanks to Giner de los Ríos and some of the friends of Jose Pardo Bazán that she stimulated her own curiosity. Thus, it was created on her a basis for the later thought of defending women’s rights, for instance, when asking for women to learn educational disciplines on a same level than men in her memoirs, *La educación del hombre y de la mujer*, read in the Pedagogical Congress of 1882.

Apart from those three male references, she, from a very young age, took notice of powerful and independent women that surrounded her, real, mythical or historical. For instance, Countess Mina, a family friend who had a vast library where Pardo Bazán spent her time reading every extant title (Bravo-Villasante, 20). Another one is the bust of Penthesilea, the Amazon queen that led her troops to the Trojan War to fight against the Greeks. That bust was placed in a street of her neighborhood and Pardo Bazán always wondered why it was placed there and if there were more women like her (Bravo-Villasante, 17). Later, she found out what Maria Pita did for her home city in the 16th century and throughout the years she would discover new individuals that would drive her to further into the feminist thought.

II. Apprenticeship: First contact with the English language

Living in that society, Emilia Pardo Bazán never had any barrier at the time of learning, but, as Spanish women by then were not allowed to gain full access to higher education, she became a self-educated person. She decided to study every field: science, philosophy, literature, law, languages, etc., and, as an inducement, her favorite occupation was devouring all kind of books. Besides reading the most acclaimed authors of the time, she

also read some women writers that worked in that field belonged to men, for instance Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, George Sand, Madame Stäel, Saint Teresa, Luisa Sigea, La Latina (Beatriz Galindo), Fernán Caballero y Concepción Arenal (Bravo-Villasante 40). The majority of them were Spanish or French authors, which she could read due to the fact that she was educated in a French school during her family stays in Madrid.

Thanks to her passion for poetry and for reading her favorite poets she became to figure out the English language. She expended a whole year reading Shakespeare:

Un año entero, mientras aprendía la lengua inglesa, fue Shakespeare mi lectura casi exclusive, un tomo de 1.007 páginas a dos columnas, de apretados y menudísimos caracteres. (Pardo Bazán *La cuestión*, 270; quoted in Bravo-Villasante, 42)

“A whole year, while learning the English language, Shakespeare was my almost exclusive reading: a volume of 1.007 two-column pages of tight and tiny characters.”

Apart from reading Shakespeare’s poetry, the original versions (Bravo-Villasante, 23), she learnt by heart certain fragments of his plays, the ones from *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, or *Richard III* (Bravo-Villasante 42). She also liked other English poets such as John Milton and Lord Byron. The only English woman writer reference possible to find in her early readings is George Elliot (Mary Anne Evan’s pseudonym). Pardo Bazán likes her, but not her novels because she found the English novel very tedious and not as charming as English poetry or history; actually, she never liked English novels.

La novela inglesa tiene para mí el más grave de los defectos: me aburre soberanamente (hablo en general). Estoy leyendo ahora, como quien sube una cuesta muy pendiente, *The Mill on the Floss* y *Felix Holt* de G. Elliot. Ya ve Vd., es género realista, y autora muy, muy simpática para mí. Pues me aburre, y no es defecto el idioma: Byron, Shakespeare, Milton, no me aburren –al contrario-. Pero estas novelas yo no sé qué les pasa, que le hacen a uno bostezar. En fin, será culpa mía, no de ella. Los historiadores sí que me gustan en inglés. (Pardo Bazán ‘Letter to Menendez Pelayo; quoted in Bravo-Villasante, 95)

“The English novel has for me the most serious of the defects: it bores me to tears (speaking in general). I’m reading *The Mill on the Floss* and *Felix Holt* by G. Elliot. There you see, it is a realist genre, and she is a very, very nice author for me. But I get bored, and the language is not to blame: Byron, Shakespeare, Milton, do not bore me -on the contrary-. But these novels make one yawn, I don’t know what’s wrong with them. Anyway, it’s probably my fault, not hers. I do like historians in English.”

Once she handled the English language, Pardo Bazán left individual English words or phrases in her Spanish writings. For instance, the ones appearing in the chapter devoted to England in *La cuestión palpitante*: “the last minstrel” (272), “novelists” and “beefsteack” (274), “very well” (276), “misses” and “clergymen” (278). Maybe, she introduced them in her writings in order to arise an interest of the audiences in learning new languages. Moreover, she used to translate authors’ first name into the Spanish language, also possible to check it in *La cuestión palpitante*, where she talked about several English writers such as “Carlota” Yonge, “Ana” Radcliffe, (275). Conversely, she left the names that had no translation in Spanish in the original version: “Walter Scott”, “Fenimore Cooper”, “Bret Harte”, “Mark Twain”... (275).

The interest in learning foreign languages was probably motivated by the trips she made. Pardo Bazán started to like travelling when she and her family went on a trip around Europe in 1873. The trip started in the Vichy spa, in France, ending up in England. During her trips, she had the habit of taking notes of everything in her travelogues (Bravo-Villasante 28). In one of them is possible to find the English verbs “to study, to work, to think” and she wrote them as a new life project since apart from knowing about poetry she had to discover the philosophers, whom she ignored (Bravo-Villasante, 33). Over the years, Pardo Bazán learned German, Russian, Italian, French, and English (Freire) due to her curiosity of reading original versions.

III. Introduction to social life: First works with feminist nuances

Emilia Pardo Bazán married Jose Quiroga in 1868, a law student who admired her because of her intelligence and her ease of acquiring new knowledge. When they moved to Madrid, since Jose Pardo Bazán was elected a Deputy of the Spanish Parliament, she started a new intense social life. She began to relate with people of the nobility and to establish friendly relationships, such as the one with Teresa Quintanar, Countess of Santibañez, in whose house they organized colloquies (Bravo-Villasante, 29). It was in Madrid when she started to publish her writings, and in some of them is possible to find the first feminist nuances. For instance, in 1882 she published *San Francisco de Asís* where

there is a chapter devoted to the freedom of women in choosing their faith. In 1883, she published two important works *La tribuna* and *La cuestión palpitante*, the latter being the most controversial due to its naturalistic character since a Catholic woman spoke of atheistic issues.

In *La cuestión palpitante*, there is a chapter devoted to England in which she gave an opinion of the English novel and of the influential role some “authoress” had in it. For instance “miss Mary Russell Mitford, miss Austen, mistress Opie, lady Morgan, mistress Shelley” [sic] (Pardo Bazán *La cuestión*, 273). She claimed that the first English novelist was a woman Mary Anne Evan, commonly known by the pseudonym of George Eliot. In addition to extolling the role of these women of the near past in the English novel, Pardo Bazán also criticized the role new English “novelists” were taken in that period since their only interest was to produce as many novels as they could without caring about the worth of the content.

Así es que en las modernas novelistas inglesas llegó a extinguirse casi del todo aquel noble orgullo literario que aspira a la gloria ganada por medio de la concentración del talento y del esfuerzo constante hacia la perfección suma -amor propio de artista, que tan varonilmente manifestó Jorge Sand-; y lejos de aspirar a producir obras hermosas y duraderas, se lanzan al espumoso torrente de la producción rápida, porfiando no a quién lo hará mejor, sino a quién lo despachará más pronto. (Pardo Bazán *La cuestión*, 274)

"So it is that in modern English novelists, almost all of that noble literary pride that aspires to the glory gained through concentration of talent and constant effort toward the sum of perfection was extinguished -the artist's self-respect, that George Sand manifested so manly-; and far from aspiring to produce beautiful and lasting works, they throw themselves into the foaming torrent of rapid production, stubbornly quarrelling not to see who will do it better, but to who will dispatch it sooner."

She wrote “Carlota” Yonge (Charlotte Yonge), who was the daughter of a clergyman that had success with her ecclesiastical writings, as an example of this new model of novelists that were ruining the English novel.

La multitud de honradas misses hijas de clergymen, en vez de ponerse a institutrices, se ponen a novelistas, y de su prolífica pluma brotan tomos de incoloro estilo, de indecentes enredados como los cabos de una madeja. De aquí la creciente inferioridad, el descenso del género. (Pardo Bazán *La cuestión*, 278)

"The many honorable misses, daughters of clergymen, instead of becoming governesses, become novelists, and from their proliphic pen sprout volumes of colorless style, of indecent tangling like the ends of a hank. Hence, the growing inferiority, the descent of the genre."

Apart from blaming new novelists, Pardo Bazán reproached the public, who were always demanding new exemplars, for this phenomenon of producing novels quickly. In England, the novel was very popular between readers and Pardo Bazán compared the novel to the “beefsteack” effect, a staple food that made the English recover strength (Pardo Bazán *La cuestión palpitante*, 274).

Because of the controversy the work caused, her husband, overwhelmed by criticism, asked her to withdraw the book and forbade her to write again. Before that ultimatum, she traveled to Rome to prove that her book was not against ecclesiastical dogma and on her return she left her husband to dedicate herself entirely to literature (Bravo-Villasante, 96-102). In 1885, she published *La dama joven* that could reflect the situation she went through on the disjunctive between her marriage and her literary life. Then, in 1888, she published *Mi romería*, her first publication of a travel book, although it was not the first travel book that wrote. In this travel book she talked about various themes regarding the English culture; for instance, landscapes. Pardo Bazán claimed that “cada paisaje tiene su nota especial: en las landas de Bretaña suena bien la cornamusa; en las tierras altas de Escocia, el salvaje *pibroch*...” (‘each landscape has its own special note: in the heaths of Brittany the cleat sounds good; in the highlands of Scotland, the wild *pibroch*...’) (*Mi romería*, 25). She also told the amusing anecdote of “la inevitable inglesa de todos los trenes, con su sombrero budinera de paja, su cabás negro y su *chai* á cuadros” (‘the inevitable English woman of all trains, with her straw *budinera* hat, her black valise and her plaid *chai*’) that wanted to get off the train to take a walk (41). Moreover, Pardo Bazán related the richness of garments with the British: “la gente tiene toda unas trazas adineradas, elegantonas y británicas” (‘people have all these wealthy, elegant, British traces.’) (44).

At the end of this period, Emilia Pardo Bazán had already a medley of diverse knowledge, but it is not until several years later that she started talking about a deeper feminism comparing the meager Spanish movement with the more advanced English and American trends.

Chapter 2

A fruitful period, 1889-1907

It is from 1889 when her life changed drastically. Two events were the cause of her turn of life: her father's death and the impediment on entering the Academy ("Real Academia de la Lengua Española"). Thanks to that, Pardo Bazán became a more open-minded person and her feminism gained strength. Thereafter, she gained confidence and fought against women inequality, being her only purpose to defend women rights at school and the work fields. Moreover, she compared the woman situation in Spain with the existing one in other countries, such as the United States, where women fight was one step ahead. Pardo Bazán expressed all her opinions and complaints through literature; that is why a huge amount of her writings (translated by herself or by other writers) were spread internationally.

I. From a premature feminism to a militant one

From the rupture with Jose Quiroga, her husband, Emilia Pardo Bazán, according to Bravo-Villasante, "empieza a parir hijos literarios sin interrupción" ('she begins to give birth to literary children without any interruption.')(102). This period is characterized by the amount of works produced by the Spanish author. Apart from her marriage breakdown, she decided to become financially independent from her parents, her only incomes being the ones that she obtained from her works, which allowed hers and her children's maintenance (the ones from the marriage with Jose Quiroga).

Apart from that, the impossibility of getting a seat in the Academy in 1889 due to her female nature, added to her father's death at the beginning of 1890 made her life turn around. Those factors were responsible for changing Pardo Bazan's life conception regarding women struggle for equality: moving from a premature feminism to a militant one. For that reason, she started writing articles and books in which she introduced her complaints and ideals and the international trends. Pardo Bazán published her articles in diverse magazines such as *La España Moderna*, of her friend Lázaro Galdiano. But it is in

1891 when she founded her own magazine named *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*. The magazine was written and funded only by herself, taking as support the inheritance of the death of his father and its first edition was released in January 1891. She delivered 100 pages per month where she included a tale or a novel and other articles treating multiple aspects: critical studies of books, biographies, national and international necrologies, social and political studies, trips, or historical and religious writings. Thus, she reflected the intellectual, social and political panorama of her time. Unfortunately and with deep sadness, three years later, she wrote the last number of the magazine, named “Despedida”. She decided to finish her quixotic project on the grounds of the lack of funding and her own social disenchantment since, according to her “no está la Magdalena para tafetanes, ni España para literaturas, artes y ciencias” (Pardo Bazán “Despedida”; quoted in Bravo-Villasante, 190).

Three important facts happened in her life in 1892. Almost coinciding with the foundation of her magazine, she created the book series “La Biblioteca de la Mujer”, wrote a prologue and the Spanish translation of *The Subjection of Women*, and attended the International Pedagogical Congress celebrated in Madrid, which meant a direct contact with the English and American feminism.

“La Biblioteca de la Mujer” was a second project managed and funded only by herself intended to disseminate progressive ideas on women's rights among the female audience. Within its nine volumes, it is possible to find the first Spanish translation and a prologue of the *The Subjection of Women*, work written by John Stuart Mill in 1869, in the second volume, under the title *John Stuart Mill, La esclavitud femenina*.

It was in 1892, in October, when she intervened in the International Pedagogical Congress (Hispanic-Portuguese-American Congress) by reading a Memory, inspired in her colleague Concepción Arenal, regarding the equal education of men and women, which lately was published in her *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* with this title: “La educación del hombre y de la mujer (sus relaciones y diferencias)” (Bravo-Villasante, 183-184). But, in 1899 Pardo Bazán was invited to another international congress: the Women International Congress celebrated in London to which “*ladies*, duquesas, condesas de históricos apellidos, representantes de la aristocracia más entonada, más rica y sólidamente establecida de Europa” attended (Pardo Bazán *La mujer Española*, 250.). She was very pleased with the

idea of travelling to London, but she had to refuse the invitation since she had recently come back home from France even though she knew she was going to be the only Spanish representative woman (Pardo Bazán, *La mujer española* 250).

The refusal of attending the Women International Congress was not an obstacle to keep her relations with the English. Later on, in 1904, Emilia Pardo Bazán joined the Lyceum Club in London, founded by Constance Smedley-Armfield in that same year. Its aim was to defend women interests and to promote their social, educational and professional development. The entrance to the Club was restricted to literary and educated women. *The Times* was the one that announced the club opening indicating the adherence of other women such as Mrs. G. K. Chesterton, Mrs. G. B. Shaw, and the Spanish writer Emilia Pardo Bazán (Solé Romeo). The development of the first Lyceum Club in London coincided with the feminist and suffragist movement, therefore other European cities replicated the constitution of this kind of women associations, as the Paris Ladies' Club, where Emilia attended once (Pardo Bazán "Algo de feminismo"). In Spain all the new movements came quite a few years later, so it was in 1926 when in Spain the Lyceum Club Femenino was founded (Solé Romeo).

II. Feminist publications and British and American culture

As said before, Pardo Bazán stated her opinion and applied her feminist personal struggle through her writings, in which she explained the reasons why women were subjugated to men, the feminist attitude of other countries and their way of expressing it. Some of her more notable writings regarding the woman question, and which in some significant way or other involved the British and North American cultural environment, were:

- "The Woman of Spain" (1889) or "La mujer española" (1890)
- "La reforma integral del traje en los EEUU" (1890)
- Prologue to John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1892)
- "Exposición de los trabajos de la mujer en Chicago" (1893)
- "La mujer periodista" (1897) and "Algo de feminismo" (1899)

“The Woman of Spain” (1890) is an opinion piece commissioned by the *Fortnightly Review*, about the situation Spanish women were living in her present. During the whole text, she complained about women’s disadvantaged position in relation to the privileges their counterpart had. She claimed that although Spanish ideas had possibly advanced, women situation remained the same as a hundred years earlier:

“I repeat, that the social distance between the two sexes is to-day greater than it was in old Spain. Men have gained rights and privileges in which women have no share. Each new conquest made by the stronger sex in the field of political liberty deepens the moral abyss that separates it from the weaker, and makes the *rôle* of the latter more passive and ill-defined. Educational freedom, religious freedom, right of public meeting, the suffrage and the whole parliamentary system only serve to transfer to one-half of society, the masculine, the strength which the other half is gradually losing. Nowadays no woman in Spain, from the occupant of the throne downwards, enjoys the slightest political influence, and the female intelligence is but a pale reflection of the ideas suggested by men.” (Pardo Bazán, “The Woman” 155-156)

Pardo Bazán attributed the isolation of Spanish women to men since “he would place her within a crystal barrier which should separate her from the world through the help of ignorance” (“The Woman” 155). The female gender was subordinated to men’s decisions around her such as their fathers, husbands, brothers, and even their sons. Furthermore, she denounced ideological freedom imposed on them: while a woman could be only a Catholic, men had the opportunity of choosing their faith; and what is more, being a bad Catholic woman was frowned upon because “not to receive from one’s mother religious instruction is considered almost as great a humiliation as not to know who was one’s father” (Pardo Bazán, “The Woman” 156). On the contrary, being too pious was also inconvenient. Besides judging men’s influence on women, she elaborated the stereotype of Spanish women depending on their social class, “though the likeness which exists between them reveals the common stock” (Pardo Bazán, “The Woman” 157). Moreover, she made a classification of Spanish women regarding their social class: the aristocratic woman, ladies from the middle class, and common people women. Firstly, she claimed that aristocratic women “have the worst reputation of any class of women in Spain” thanks to “the spectators by whom the higher classes are always surrounded, the mob that is always on the lookout for and ready to comment on the actions, confines its attention to one sex (the

female)” (158). The aristocratic woman was seen as if they “live very superficial lives, their only thoughts being of dress, amusement and trifles” (58). But, Pardo Bazán felt unfair describing all aristocratic women in the same way since:

“many live in modest retirement, many devote themselves to their homes and superintend in person the education of their children; not a few occupy their time in charity and devotion, and some manifest a praiseworthy interest in literature, artistic or scientific questions, or even in matters pertaining to agricultural or industrial progress.” (Pardo Bazán, “The Women” 158)

She condemned as ‘erroneous’ aristocratic woman’s attitude thanks to the vanity of husbands “which incites her to extravagance and ostentation, even if his indifference and desertion do not drive her to seek forgetfulness in excitement” (160) and also blaming their “weak” and “wholly foreign” education (Pardo Bazán, “The Women” 159). On the contrary, middle-class women are depicted as if they were always imitating nobility. A middle class woman is “somewhat of a snob,” “her tendency is to vulgarity” and “as a result of the mediocrity to which she is systematically condemned by her social position, she is wanting in *aplomb*, spontaneity, and distinction” (163). Added to this, they thought that her husband was in charge of her maintenance so “the only career open to her is matrimony” (161). This was a common belief between “ladies” because their parents educated them “conformably to masculine ideas and prejudices” (162). The lack of hygiene and physiology frequently attributed to this kind of women was attached by Pardo Bazán to their being deprived of an education:

“This system of education in which half-shades prevail, and in which solidity and depth are regarded as improper, has the inevitable result of limiting, checking, and narrowing women, dwarfing their natural growth, and keeping them in continual childhood. Its character is purely superficial, it is at the most a whitewash of education, and even where it can infuse some traces and scraps of knowledge, it can never give a proper stimulus to intellectual activity.” (Pardo Bazán, “The Woman” 162)

Lastly, Pardo Bazán introduced the figure of the woman belonging to the common people. “In Spain there exist at least ten or twelve widely different popular female types,” and the greater difference between them was their place of provenance. For that reason, she established three sub-classes depending on their origin, the ones she admired: the *ouvrière* of Cataluña and the Basque woman; and one that she detested: the *chula* of Madrid.

According to Pardo Bazán, the *ouvrière* of Cataluña was “a woman of a late and civilized age in the full signification of the word”; the Basque was “the most moral and Christian woman in all Europe,” they had interests in politics and defended their traditions. The majority of the low-class in Spain was influenced by republican ideas, so riots amongst workers were regular, but they still being amenable, particularly the ones living in villages, whose “freedom” was much more reduced. On the contrary, the *chula*, similar to the Andalusian, was characterized by “an unabashed freedom of speech, a hasty and reckless temper, an intensity of feeling, and all the fervor of unbridled passions” (Pardo Bazán, “The Women” 165). She was not “governed by reflection” nor was “a model of strictness and austerity” (166). Although the *chula* was not the prototype of the modern woman, she was better than the *chulo*, since maybe all her faults were influenced by “the polluted atmosphere in which she lives” (166). In addition, she was impossible to be educated. On the contrary, new nuns or modern sisters, who did not belong to any of the groups described above, were “less conventional and more practical, dedicated by preference to teaching” they started realizing of the importance of education because “in order to teach, it is necessary first to learn” (165). All in all, what Pardo Bazán was plenty sure about was that the only women emancipation able by then was forced by the necessity:

“The poor home of the needy peasant woman, where food and firing are wanting, and where the rain and storm beat in, is almost always empty. The mistress has been emancipated by a liberator, eternal, merciless, and deaf -Necessity.” (Pardo Bazán, “The Woman” 168)

“La reforma integral del traje en los Estados Unidos (de interés para las damas)” is a defense of comfort in women’s clothing published in 1890 give publication references again. She praised the North American invention of the “divided skirt,” a skirt divided into two leglettes, that gives the appearance of a flared skirt but is divided and seamed in the manner of trousers, or the “modelbodice,” a substitute for the corset in women’s underwear. Pardo Bazán supported that women apparel hardly allowed women to “recorrer un kilómetro sin fatigarse o sin dejarse entre zarzas y espinos la mitad de las faldas,” (‘to walk one kilometre without getting tired or leaving half of the skirts between brambles and thorns’) adding that it threatens women's health due to it was designed not even to warm in winter. For this reason, she praised the use of “*turkish leglettes*, la *chemilette*, el *jersey*

fifing underwear o el traje elástico interior”, which were only sold in Germany, North America, and England, while criticizing the extended Spanish attitude against new fashions. She admitted, nonetheless, she had not the courage to wear it, but hoped that the younger woman would:

Yo, escasa de valor, elegí lo menos peligroso de tarea tan ardua: expóngolo y patentizo como puedo las ventajas del divided skirt, y aguardo a que otra dama adornada con todas las prendas de la belleza, la elegancia y la juventud, se resuelva a aclimatarlo (Pardo Bazán, “La reforma integral”)

“Me, lacking in courage, I chose the least dangerous of such an arduous task: exposing and patenting, the way I can, the advantages of the divided skirt, and I await for another lady embellished with all the garments of beauty, elegance and youth, to resolve to accommodate it.”

In 1892, Emilia Pardo Bazán published in her magazine, *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, the translation of *The Subjection of Women*, a work written by John Stuart Mill, adding to it a personal prologue in which she contextualized the work and his author. There is nothing to prove that she translated Mill’s work, but the important thing is that Pardo Bazán became aware of the existence of John Stuart Mill and his works thanks to a British friend she made in Oxford when attending the seminars of the “*Asociación británica para el adelanto de la cultura*,”. This British man showed her the Pitt Rivers Museum, where women attended regularly to see the experiments (Pardo Bazán admired the British associative capacity) (Pardo Bazán, “Prologue” 215) and revealed her the English philosophers, whose existence she had denied. It was after reading Mill’s work when she discovered the innovative and daring character of *The Subjection of Women*. Pardo Bazán considered as poetry the way in which Stuart Mill fell in love with Harriet Taylor, how he admired her and how he considered the fact of marrying a woman. Other writers like Dante o Cervantes fantasized with idealized women, but considering the real ones part of an inferior gender created to breed and to satisfy men (Pardo Bazán, “Prologue” 222-223). Stuart Mill opined that marriage between men and women was sublime when both genders had the same intellectual level and there was equity between them. For that reason, Pardo Bazán identified herself plenty with Stuart Mill since both authors acknowledged the education given by their fathers as the valid one and both defended women emancipation and

education at the same level than men. Moreover, the fact that he reminded her of her dear father supposed an added fact to praise his work:

Me siento doblemente dispuesta a creer que preexistía en el ánimo de Stuart Mill el orden de ideas que expone en su libro, porque he visto y conocido por experiencia un caso muy análogo. Mi inolvidable padre, desde que puedo recordar cómo pensaba (antes que yo pudiese asentir con plena convicción a su pensamiento), profesó siempre en estas cuestiones un criterio muy análogo al de Stuart Mill. (227)

“I feel doubly willing to believe that Stuart Mill's ideas pre-existed before reflecting upon them of his book, because I have seen and known a very similar case. My unforgettable father, ever since I can remember how he thought (before I could nod to his thought with full conviction), always professed in these matters a criterion very similar to that of Stuart Mill.”

In the end, *The Subjection of Women*, added to Stuart Mill's request in 1867 to the House of Commons for women's suffrage, the new laws supporting women's work protection and the approval of the pedagogical reform meant a before and after for the benefits of British women since “la mujer inglesa era, hasta estos últimos tiempos, una de las peor tratadas por la legislación” (‘the English woman was, until then, one of the worst treated by the legislation’), their husbands were able to punish them, women could not have the guardianship of their children... (Pardo Bazán *La mujer española*, 229).

Apart from using journals for disclosing her writings, Pardo Bazán used journals to spread the international news. For instance, at the end of the number 26 in her *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, she announced that the Junta de Señoras (Board of Ladies) under Queen's leadership was in charge of sending to Chicago the intellectual, artistic and material outcomes of Spanish women (Pardo Bazán, *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* “Crónica”, 314). Therefore, she claimed that the majority of the Spanish women devoted themselves to slave works (working in farms or factories), that fact, added to their lack of artistic style due to “una educación feminil descuidada y mezquina” (‘a neglected and mean feminine education’), made impossible to send a considerable number of industrial products. Conversely, lots of books written by brilliant Spanish women writers were sent to the Chicago World's Fair.

Finally, “La mujer periodista” (1897) and “Algo de feminismo” (1899), both written by Emilia Pardo Bazán but published in different years, are closely related as both tell a

common anecdote: an English marriage characterized by the “Mistress” superiority at the time of working in the news field. The husband, a correspondent from *The Times*, was sent to Madrid to cover the events after the revolution of September. Then, they became friends and visited together Aranjuez, the Pardo Museum... (Pardo Bazán “La mujer periodista”). What amazed Pardo Bazán was how women reporters worked in such a hidden manner:

Hay una forma peculiar del periodismo femenino que encuentro muy interesante: la que oculta la personalidad de la escritora detrás de un testaferro – marido, padre, hermano o hijo. Hace bastantes años conocí en Madrid a cierta pareja inglesa, muy ilustrada [...] La mujer, señora ya madura, [...] hablaba con reposo, y preguntaba más que el catecismo. Todos conveníamos en que, aun cuando él escribiese, ella era de doble lista? ¡Y tanto! Como que al fin y a la postre averiguamos que el verdadero corresponsal era la esposa, aunque firmase el esposo. (Pardo Bazán, “La mujer periodista”)

“There is a peculiar form of female journalism that I find very interesting: the one that hides the writer's personality behind a front man – husband, father, brother or son. Quite a few years ago I met in Madrid an English couple, very enlightened [...] The wife, a mature lady, [...] spoke with repose, and asked more than the Catechism. We all convened that, even if he wrote, she was doubly as intelligent. Sure enough! Did we not in the end find out that the real correspondent was the wife, even if the husband signed”

Thus, later on, in “Algo de feminismo”, she acknowledged that “en Inglaterra la mujer trabaja á maravilla en el noticierismo” (‘in England the woman works marvellously in the newscast’). Furthermore, in this article, she defined how feminism should be. According to her, French feminism was the most fruitful one because French people were cautious, they knew that “everything arrives at its time”, and did not want to scandalize serious people. However, the United States together with England took “the most avant-garde positions” as well as the “extravagancia que en sí toda innovación”. All in all, French people waited for society to accept new transformations in order to advance their struggle.

Yo creo que este género de feminismo es el que más promesas encierra y más fruto ha de rendir; sedimento que va depositándose y al que acumularse en el fondo del vaso hará que se desborde; pero también considero que deben estimarse los esfuerzos de las mujeres, más radicales, como es natural, y muy ingeniosas y graciosas en el modo de defender y sostener sus aspiraciones. (Pardo Bazán, “Algo de feminismo”)

“I believe that this kind of feminism is the one that holds the most promises and the most fruitful one. Where there's a will, there's a way, but I also believe that the efforts of women, logically more radical, should be appreciated, since they are very ingenious and humorous when defending and sustaining their aspirations.”

So, these five writings from Pardo Bazán represent her resounding support to the feminist struggle of that period. What she sought in them was gender equity; she defended women's intellectual capacity at the same level as men, blaming the latter of their schooling lack. Only with education and intelligence, women would achieve their own economic independence. Furthermore, as it is possible to see, those articles demonstrate that the British and American cultures had been presented in Pardo Bazán's life at the time of writing those works, what later on served her to compare the Spanish situation with the ones existing in the United States and Britain (more advance in the matter of feminism) where her literature was disseminated.

III. The impact of Pardo Bazán's works abroad: England and the usa

In the nineteenth century, Spanish narrative literature underwent a great development and arose much interest, along with the Spanish culture, which was seen as exotic in the eyes of foreigners. Although the relationship with the neighbouring England was constantly changing, the mutual interest in each other's culture, literature, and language was not influenced by political issues. At the end of the 18th century, Anglophilia merged in Spain, a tendency consisting in adoring what came from England, thus learning the English language and knowing about their culture became incredibly attractive for the Spanish intellectuals. At that time, Emilia Pardo Bazán was known in the international arena thanks to the exchanges of culture existing between countries and the scope of her works. Her concern in disseminating the most acclaimed international topics in her homeland did not stop despite criticism. She loved to know and comment on every aspect, both national and international, because she considered intercultural awareness as part of the self-education, thus missing international knowledge would had signified an intellectual loss.

A veces me ha sucedido oír censuras por mi afición a estudiar el movimiento literario extranjero y darlo a conocer en mi patria; siendo así que no tienen las letras españolas, las castizas, las de manantial, quien con más sincera devoción las ame y procure servir las. Mas esta devoción no pide la ignorancia, desprecio y odio fanático de la belleza cuando se realiza en países extraños. Nunca, que yo sepa, alcanzó la valla del Pirineo ni los mares que nos cercan a aislarnos intelectualmente del resto del orbe, y peor para nosotros si tal llegase a suceder. [...] ¿Ni cómo prosperaría la crítica si la condenasen a privarse de términos de comparación, a girar siempre en un mismo círculo, a no salir de

casa así se muera de tedio? (Pardo Bazán *La revolución en la novela rusa* quoted in Gilarranz 100)

"It has sometimes happened to me to hear censorship for my interest in studying the foreign literary movement and to make it known in my homeland; the Spanish letters, the genuine ones, those of spring, do not have a person who with more sincere devotion loves them and seeks to serve them. But this devotion does not ask for ignorance, contempt, and fanatical hatred of beauty when it is carried out in strange countries. Never, as far as I know, has the wall of the Pyrenees or the seas that surround us managed to isolate us intellectually from the rest of the world, and worse for us if that were to happen. [...] Nor how would criticism prosper if they condemned it to deprive itself of comparison, to turn always in a same circle and not to leave home even if it were to die of boredom?"

In addition to publishing news from abroad or to diffuse and comment on diverse international topics, her works also reached out across the Spanish frontiers. She collaborated in the translation of international works and writing of articles for America-based newspapers such as *La Revista Ilustrada de New York*, a monthly periodical dedicated to commerce, industry, arts, literature and other topics of interest in Spanish America, *la Revista Católica de Nuevo México*, or the weekly newspaper *Las Novedades de Nueva York*.

As regards the English language, the most important work written by Emilia Pardo Bazán that is possible to find in England is "The Women of Spain." This article was first published in London by *The Fortnightly Review* in 1889 and later reprinted by *Littell's Living Age*. The magazine commissioned Pardo Bazán to write an opinion on the matter of feminism and to explain what Spanish women thought. The article was also written in Spanish, "La mujer española," and run in that country in *La España Moderna* one year after, 1890, since for Pardo Bazán the topic was controversial and delicate for the Spanish society.

In the USA, the Spanish literature and language were spread thanks to the interest aroused by some authors like Washington Irving, the trade opening in the American continent, the periodical press boom, and the Spanish-American War in 1898 from which yellow press emerged. The latter conflict could have meant the end of the Spanish culture in America but, on the opposite, that war reinforced the interest of all that came from Spain. Boston and New York became the most important editorial focal points in the country and,

on top of that, New York was the port of entry for political refugees from the war in Cuba. In consequence, a high proportion of the international works were posted by the most prestigious magazines such as *Littell's Living Age*, *North America Review*, and “*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* or, as already mentioned *Las novedades* and *La revista ilustrada* (whose content was given exclusively in the Spanish language because of the considerable amount of Spanish-speaking subscribers). Henceforth, new critics became very popular. That is the case of William Dean Howells, who, in 1890, mentioned Emilia Pardo Bazán in the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for the first time in the United States thanks to her writing *Morriña* (Caballer, 113). Although she established relations with people from the new continent, Pardo Bazán had her own opinion about the people living there:

“Cuando escucho a los franceses designar con el nombre de americanos exclusivamente a los yankis, y prescindir de la existencia de un mundo latino al otro lado del Océano, no pierdo la ocasión de protestar. Hay dos Américas, les digo, una que descubrimos y colonizamos, a la cual infundamos nuestra sangre, y otra que gracias a nosotros, a nuestro auxilio, se hizo independiente, fuerte y rica, y nos quitó las últimas colonias. (Así paga el diablo á quien lo sirve)” (Gilarranz, 100)

“When I hear the French naming Americans exclusively to the Yankees, dispensing with the existence of a Latin world on the other side of the ocean, I never miss the opportunity to protest. There are two Americas, I assure you, one that we discovered and colonized, to which we infused our blood, and another that thanks to us, to our help, became independent, strong and rich, and took away the last colonies from us. (This is how the devil pays back the one who serves him).”

Despite Pardo Bazán's opinion on the people from the United States and after Howell's comment, *Morriña* or *Homesickness* was translated into English one year later (1891) by the Cassell Publishing House. The date in which Pardo Bazan got in touch with this Publishing House is uncertain, but through her article published in the *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* (Number 8 August 1891) it is possible to verify that she had come into contact with the Publishing House before that time. It is also known that the majority of the works written by Emilia Pardo Bazán were translated by Mary J. Serrano and Mary Springer between 1890 and 1892 and then, as said before, run by the Cassell Publishing House (Freire). Supposedly, the Spanish writer signed an agreement with both translators.

On the contrary, the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* did not release works of Emilia Pardo Bazán but of other greater Spanish authors such as Benito Pérez Galdós or Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (Caballer 114).

In conclusion, although Pardo Bazán was related with Cassell, it is impossible to assure that thanks to the first comment Howell made about her work, she got in contact with the Publishing House. What is clear is that thanks to the critics of known writers, such as Howell, some Spanish works were disclosed. What may be surprising to find out is that after this period of feminist intense literary production, Pardo Bazán stopped writing such vindictory texts. It may be said that this was on account of her loss of faith in the Spanish women.

Chapter 3

Her effort's reward 1908-1921

During her last years, although her ideals were still intensely feminist, she decided not to show them anymore through her writings due to the lack of interest shown by the Spanish society of the time (Bravo-Villasante, 280-281). As she was not conformed to the fact of getting a place for herself in the literary world, she tried, but unsuccessfully, to gain access in the political domain. Although her attempt of entering the Academy remained unattainable, all her effort and perseverance was granted with several noble, honorary, and academic titles. Indeed, all her achievements and failures made her and her work to be remembered for posterity.

I. Her disenchantment with Spanish feminism

Emilia Pardo Bazán tried to reflect her feminist ideals by revindicating women's attitudes in her writings. In order to find the ideal woman archetype, she described the multiple types of women, as in "The Women of Spain," or through the figure of "the English Mo" in *La prueba*. She look for the model of future woman, so she described women's behaviors praising those that she considered as positive or criticizing those with which she dissented. She never hid her opinion to anybody, she did not mince her words. In an interview with Caballero Audaz (pseudonym of José María Carretero Novillo), a Spanish journalist and writer, she claimed that her feminism was clearly radical:

Yo soy una radical feminista. Creo que todos los derechos que tiene el hombre debe tenerlos la mujer... En los países menos adelantados es donde se considera a la mujer bestia de apetitos y carga. Los hombres en España alardean de aparecer siempre preocupados por el amor de las mujeres, y no puede haber mayor obstáculo que éste para el avance de la mujer; porque mantiene el estado de guerra entre el macho y la hembra de los tiempos primitivos; para que la mujer adelantase aquí sería necesario, en primer lugar que ella quisiese, y en segundo que encontrase algún terreno preparado, alguna ayuda en el hombre también, y sin embargo hay que reconocer que los Gobiernos han hecho lo que han podido. (Bravo-Villasante, 287)

“I'm a radical feminist. I believe that all men's rights should be given to women... In the least developed countries, women are considered beasts of appetite and workhorse. In Spain, men always boast of being concerned about women's love, and there can be no

greater obstacle for the advancement of women than this because it maintains the state of war between the male and female from primitive times. In order for the woman to advance, it would be necessary, firstly, that she would want, and secondly that she would find a suitable environment and some help in men as well, and yet, admittedly Governments have done their best.”

Pardo Bazán did not complain about politicians since, for instance, the Minister of Public Education Julio Burriel was responsible for signing a decree allowing women to work and to hold all vacancies in the Ministry of Public Education (Bravo-Villasante 289). But the feminist disappointment arrived to Pardo Bazán when she realized that the information about the feminist international movement, published in her articles, and her own opinions about women’s rights were not of interest for the Spanish public, specifically for women. The Spanish apparent lack of concern on the issue and the unique role of women represented in literature, whereas in other countries like Britain, France or Germany it was possible to find diverse women literary representation: the heroin, the “sportswoman”, etc. (Bravo-Villasante, 289), were the triggering factors for Pardo Bazán’s stopping informing her audience. For that reason, as she explained to the director of *La Voz de Galicia* in 1913, she had changed her publications of “La Biblioteca de la Mujer” completely moving from feminist articles towards cooking recipes:

“En el prólogo del primer tomo, y único por ahora publicado de mi nuevo libro “La cocina española antigua”, explico las causas que me impulsaron a imprimir algunas de las muchas recetas que he coleccionado desde años ha, y creo que se verá que, en tan sencilla resolución trasluce la influencia de un desengaño ideal. Cuando yo fundé la Biblioteca de la Mujer”, era mi objetivo difundir en España las obras del alto feminismo extranjero, y por eso di cabida en ella a “La esclavitud femenina”, de Stuart Mill, y a “La mujer ante el socialismo” de Augusto Bebel. Eran aquellos los tiempos apostólicos de mi interés por la causa. He visto, sin género de duda, que aquí a nadie le preocupan gran cosa tales cuestiones, y a la mujer, aún menos. [...] Aquí no hay sufragistas, ni mansas, ni bravas.” (Bravo-Villasante 280-281)

“In the prologue of the first and only published volume of my new book *La cocina española antigua*, I explain the reasons that led me to print some of the many recipes that I have collected over the years, and I think you will see that this so simple a resolution shows the influence of an ideal disillusion. When I founded *La Biblioteca de la Mujer*, it was my objective to spread the works of high foreign feminism throughout Spain, and that is why I included *The Subjection of Women*, by Stuart Mill, and *Woman and Socialism*, by August Bebel. Those were the apostolic times of my interest in the cause. I have seen, without any type of doubt whatsoever, that here nobody cares much about such matters, and even less, women. [...] There are no suffragettes here, neither tame nor wild.”

Thus, when the Norwegian feminists contacted her to build associations and organize pacifist conferences in Spain in order to stop the European War (the feminist movement was in favor of disarmament) she explained that it was not of her interest because “en Europa y América avanza lo que por aquí no da señales de vida” (‘in Europe and America there are advances, while what is going on here does not show signs of life.’) (Bravo-Villasante, 281). She considered Spanish women so incapable of fighting that her only hope of change was left in men: “El derecho de la mujer ha de reivindicarlo el varón, al fin más fuerte y más ilustrado ahora” (‘Women’s rights have to be claimed by the male, in the end stronger and more enlightened nowadays’) (Bravo-Villasante, 289).

II. Recognitions and final reminiscences of Emilia Pardo Bazán

Despite her feminist disenchantment, Emilia Pardo Bazán continued writing and dedicating herself to literature. After having spent almost all her life fronting male judgements, and although her feminist cause was left aside, she reaped the rewards of her life struggle in her last years. She became the first woman member of the *Ateneo* and in 1906 she was assigned the position of President of its Literature. Two years later, in 1908, the King of Spain, Alfonso XIII, bestowed upon her the title of Countess and then in 1910 was named Public Education Counselor (Bravo-Villasante, 260).

Internationally, Pardo Bazán was not such awarded as in her homeland, but in 1913 the librarian of the Hispanic Society of New York proposed her appointment as an honorary member. He described Pardo Bazán as “la mujer más distinguida de las letras en España, y con independencia del sexo, una de las más eminentes entre los escritores actuales” (‘the most distinguished woman of letters in Spain, and regardless of gender, one of the most outstanding among current writers.’) (Parreño). The institution also awarded her the Silver Medal of Arts and Literature later on. The Hispanic Society is a museum devoted to exhibiting the art and culture of Spain, Portugal, Latin America, and the Philippines, and there it is possible to find the letter Pardo Bazán exchanged with some of its members. Added to this, its founder, Archer M. Huntington who was a passionate about the Hispanic world, commissioned Sorolla to paint some scenes of the Spanish culture, including a

portrait of the Countess Emilia Pardo Bazán. Apart from that, it is possible to find some later commendations about her as the one expressed by the critic Ronald Hilton: “While Pardo Bazán is not classified as a member of the Generation of 98, there is no other writer who gives us so sharp a picture of the mood of Spain in the decades from 1890 to 1910, and she may therefore be studied as the best expression of the spirit of 98.” (Bravo-Villasante, 275-276)

Finally, the last title given to her was in 1916 when Julio Burriel, the same Minister who sought the allowance for women to work on every charge in the Public Education Ministry, appointed Pardo Bazán Professor of Neoclassical Languages at the Universidad Central (289-290). Even though her career as University Professor lasted a very short time for lack of students attending her lectures, she was one of the few women who achieved considerable recognition for that period: “Lo difícil que es para nosotras todo, hace más valioso cualquier pequeño triunfo” (‘The difficulty that everything entails for us makes any small triumph all the more valuable’) (Bravo-Villasante, 291).

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation is to bring together the feminist works of Emilia Pardo Bazán with the starting feminism of the 19th century in Britain and the United States. Both topics are totally correlated thanks to the international nature of this Spanish author but the issue had never been brought forward. Since her childhood, Pardo Bazán was obsessed with absorbing new bits of knowledge, and thanks to her passion for literature, above all for poetry, she very soon discovered new international authors, for example, Shakespeare, Milton, or Byron, who were her favorite ones. Little by little, Pardo Bazán became aware of the inequality faced by the women of her in the academic and labor fields, and for that reason she started to claim for women's rights in her writings.

Starting from the biography of Pardo Bazán written by Carmen Bravo-Villasante, I have divided the study into three different chapters that correspond chronologically to three main stages in her life in contact with British and American intellectual life and feminism.

The first chapter, from 1851 to 1888, is devoted to her early feminist knowledge, which was mainly given by three figures: her father, Jose Pardo Bazán, the author of “Defensa de las mujeres” philosopher Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, and her friend Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who introduced her to the Krausist philosophy that promoted women’s education. Those three men were the most important figures that influenced her in the development of her premature feminism. Apart from that, her father and Giner de los Ríos animated her to learn new languages and their cultures. Regarding the English language, she started learning it thanks to her fondness for English poetry and later on she discovered the English novel, a genre she did not like as much as poetry, and the English novelist George Eliot. In these first years, she discovered her passion to travel, and all the knowledge acquired availed her to introduce in her first novels certain feminist claims. It was the period of her first contact with feminism and with English.

It is from 1889-1907 when she started to have a more “radical” feminist thought due to the death of her father and the impossibility of entering the Real Academia and where she

began to interact with British and American culture and feminist thought. Even though she collaborated with several journals, Pardo Bazán founded in 1891 her own journal named *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* and one year later she founded “La Biblioteca de la mujer” in which, at the beginning, she included international feminist news in an attempt to raise some awareness among Spanish women. Furthermore, in this second chapter, I have selected six of her texts dealing with women or feminism in which she talked about British and North American events or figures. The first one is “The Woman of Spain” (1889) commissioned by *The Fortnightly Review*, an English journal that assigned her to describe in the English language the attitudes of Spanish women. The second article is “La reforma integral del traje en los EEUU” (1890) by which she praised the new comfortable clothing that women used in the United States. Then, I added a remark on the Prologue to John’s Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women* (1892). In it, she explained how she knew of the existence of this English author who promoted the inclusion of women in the educational and labor fields on a same level as men. Pardo Bazán claimed that she identified herself with Stuart Mill since her, as well as her father and the English author, had an inner feminist thought. The fourth analysis included is the one corresponding to the article “Exposición de trabajos de la mujer en Chicago” published in *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* (1893). She used it to advertise the International World Exhibition organized in Chicago where works developed by women from all around the world were exhibited. The last texts are “La mujer periodista” (1897) and “Algo de feminismo” (1899) in which she talked about how good the English woman was as a journalist and she supported that opinion with the anecdote of an English marriage she knew in Madrid claiming that although the husband was the one that signed the articles, the wife was the one in charge of writing the content. Additionally, in the last part of the second chapter, I have incorporated Emilia Pardo Bazán’s international contacts and acknowledgements. The most outstanding is the relationship between the Spanish writer and the American publishing house, Cassell, which translated and published some of her most relevant compositions. It is also remarkable that Howells, the American critic *par excellence* of that time, published on Pardo Bazán and her work. Consequently, he could have influenced indirectly the promotion of Emilia Pardo Bazán’s work on the American continent.

In the third and last chapter, it is explained how in 1913 her feminism lost strength due to the lack of interest of the Spanish audience. In contrast, it is noteworthy that she corresponded with several members of the Hispanic Society, who proposed her as an Honorary Member of the institution.

In conclusion, what this dissertation demonstrates is that contact between the Spanish woman author and British and American intellectual and cultural life was constant, as well as the international influence Pardo Bazán had in 19th century Britain and America, along with the feminist content she disseminated in Spain trying to introduce this equalitarian current that she perceived mainly in Great Britain and the United States.

This compilation of Emilia Pardo Bazán's feminist works related to the British and American cultures had never been done before, neither the analysis of some of several works regarding the British and American influences on her feminist thought. In the end, it has aimed to be a contribution to the work of the Spanish author that may show the scope of her work in relation to Great Britain and the United States, the impact it reached, and her importance as a feminist writer, both in her native country and abroad.

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Appendix

1885	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “La dama joven”
1889	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Insolación” [pag 158]: she describes the relationships between men and women. Expresa sus sentimientos femeninos cuando nadie se había atrevido a hacerlo antes. • “Morriña” • “La cuestión académica” • “The Women of Spain” or “La mujer española” (1890)
1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “La reforma integral del traje en los EEUU (de interés para las damas)” • “La prueba” y su continuación “Una cristiana” → en las que deja claro cual es su ideal femenino
1891	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Una cristiana” (A Cristian Woman) • “Un viaje de novios” (A Wedding Trip) were translated into English
1892	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The prologue for “The Subjection of Women” written by Stuart Mill • “Del amor y la amistad” en el NTC: she defended the friendship between a man and a woman • “Una opinión sobre la mujer” • “Del amor y la amistad”
1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Concepción Arenal y sus ideas acerca de la mujer”: due to her demise. (Tiene en cuenta dos de sus obras “La mujer del porvenir” y “LA mujer de su casa”) • fue la Exposición de trabajos de la mujer en Chicago, España participó en el certamen y Emilia lo anuncia en el NTC (nº26) > denuncia la situación laboral de la mujer en su época.
1896	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Memorias de un solterón”
1897	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “La mujer periodista” published by “La Correspondencia alicantina”
1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Algo de feminismo”
1904	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Mujer maltratada”
1907	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “EPB en el extranjero” publicado en La Época el 9 de junio (balance de su obra traducida)