Robert Jay Glickman is a Professor Emeritus in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Toronto. His specialty is Spanish American Literature. Building upon his experience in the United States Army’s Counter-Intelligence Corps, Professor Glickman has also researched and written on political, sociological, and military issues in the Americas and has done extensive research on knowledge acquisition, transfer, and utilization in multidisciplinary environments. He has taught at the University of California (Riverside), Harvard University, and the University of Toronto, and has lectured on a variety of historical and contemporary subjects at institutions of learning such as the United States Military Academy at West Point, Brown University, and the University of Geneva. He is a member of the Royal Canadian Military Institute, Atlantic Council of Canada, American Legion, and US Army CIC Veterans. He currently focuses on diffusion of innovations within and across disciplines.
Robert Jay Glickman

Drivers of Change in the 19th Century: A Look Below the Surface

CANADIAN ACADEMY OF THE ARTS
# CONTENTS

*Acknowledgments*

Foreword

Neoclassicism

Romanticism

Realism

Naturalism

Recapitulation

An evolution in people’s view of progress

Positivism

Parnassianism

Modernism, an age of acquisition

Protectionism

Rejection of burdensome materiality

Notes

Index

Cover illustrations
Acknowledgments

It is with deep appreciation that I take this opportunity to thank those who have dedicated time and thought to reading and critiquing this work. Each of the following colleagues and friends have improved the original with their valuable contributions: Professor Rosario Gómez, Debra J. Gravelle, Professor Anita Iscove, Stewart Kirkpatrick, Donna Nicoloff, Rosalyn Palef, and Marcelo Pazán. And special thanks to my wife, Dr. Ruth J. E. Jones, who was always there with insightful questions and comments.
Foreword

Every age can be divided into periods, each of which has essential attributes that differentiate it from those that precede it and those that follow. These attributes are usually not limited to one country or region, but tend to be transnational. However, they are never totally encapsulated between specific dates. Rather, wherever they appear, they manifest themselves first by showing subtle novelties from what currently exists; then they gradually build up to a synthesis of distinguishing features; and finally, they fade away as other trends with other features take hold. This paper deals with four drivers of change in the 19th century. These drivers were: 1) a passion to be free, 2) a craving to progress, 3) an irrepressible urge to acquire more, and 4) a determined effort to move away from materiality and, by disencumbering, achieve with less.
Drivers of Change in the 19th Century: A Look Below the Surface

In literature and the arts, the 19th century is usually divided into the following periods: the decline of 18th century Neoclassicism, the growth of Romanticism, the proliferation of Realism-Naturalism, the rise of Parnassianism, and the flowering of Modernism. Although my ultimate focus will be on the Modernist era, I think that it’s important to point out some defining features of the periods that preceded it.

Neoclassicism was a widespread movement in philosophy, the visual arts, music, and literature, that began in the middle of the 18th century, reached its height around 1800, and lasted through the first third of the 19th century. As you know, this period is frequently called “The Age of Reason.”

During this time, a number of revolutionary changes took place in the Western World. Among them were:

• A revolution in thought, from the belief that real knowledge is obtained from religious sources to a conviction that real knowledge is derived from meticulous observation and the use of reason.
• A revolution in the source of energy from human and animal muscle to steam as a major source of power.
• A revolution in production from small quantities made by hand to mass production by machine.
• A revolution in transport: on the water, by the paddle-wheel steamboat; on land, by the steam-driven locomotive. Of course, the wheel had been around for a very long time. But when turned by steam, it became a source of socio-economic revolution. Its turning, however, was not only seen in boats and trains, but—even without the aid of steam—in a myriad of agricultural and industrial machines, as well as in military weapons. Indeed, as the years passed, that turning movement seemed to catch everything and everyone in its grip. It even reached the salons of the wealthy, whose members, impassioned by compositions like those of Johann Strauss, whirled round and round to the stirring rhythms of the waltz.

But getting back to the issue of revolutions during this period, we also see:
• A revolution in communications which brought about an expansion in the printing and distribution of books, newspapers, and magazines, as well as in the scope of their content.
• A series of revolutions in politics. Three of these are of major interest to us here: the American Revolution (1775-1783), in which 13 British colonies in North America fought to separate from their exploitative European motherland. The French Revolution (1789-1799), in which Gallic masses and intellectuals sought liberty, equality, and fraternity by ridding
the nation of a thoughtless, wasteful, self-indulgent monarchy. And the Spanish American movement for independence (1810-1833) in which Spain’s American colonies fought to separate from the repressive King Fernando VII.

- A revolution in ladies’ fashions from one characterized by restraints and burdens:

![Image of historical dresses]

...to one of clean, unfussy lines that reflected the clarity, precision, and rationality that distinguished this period from its monarchical precedent and would lead the Western world into the vibrant age of Romanticism.4
Romanticism held sway in the Western world from the late 18th century to the middle of the 19th. In this period, emphasis was placed on the individual, the emotional, the spontaneous, and the world of imagination. In politics, the struggle for independence—liberté, the foremost goal of Neoclassicism’s French Revolution—became a prime mover in many parts of the Western world.

In Europe and the Americas, freedom was also a principal goal of many writers. To reach this goal, they sought:

• To break free from existing restraints on thought, feeling, and expression, and affirm their individuality.
• To break free from established rules and models, and assert their originality.
• To break free from the restrictions of urban life, and immerse themselves in nature, rural environments, and folk traditions.
• To break free from spatial and temporal immobility and travel to other climes and other times.

There was also an effort to break free from mercantilism—that long-standing economic doctrine which imposed government control over all of the nation’s commercial interests—and implement a generalized policy of free and open trade. As a result of this and the Industrial Revolution, Europe and the Americas saw greater movement than ever before: an expansion of rail and water transport, a movement of rural populations to the cities, an increase in immigration from afar, a growth in the importation of goods from distant lands, and, among...
the manufacturing and commercial classes, a sense that their age of mounting wealth and comfort was one of irrevocable forward movement.

**Realism.** After the first third of the 19th century, Romanticism began to give way to Realism. Whether in philosophy or in the arts, Realism was based on the conviction that reality is independent of the human mind. It’s there whether we see it, hear it, and experience it or not. Ultimately, however, its existence can be verified by careful observation and scientific research.

Realist artists and writers didn’t idealize people, places, and things as the Romantics often did, but tended to depict them as they appeared in everyday life. In France, the novels of Honoré de Balzac offer some of the best examples of this style of writing.

Balzac (1799-1850) is famous for what he called *La Comédie humaine* (The Human Comedy, ca. 1830-1847). This was a set of nearly 100 novels, novellas, and short stories which attempted to provide detailed descriptions of all aspects of the France of his time, from the lowest levels of society to the highest. Nothing airy-fairy here.

In Spain, the novels of Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920) showed an affinity for the works of Balzac as well as those of Dickens, whose *Pickwick Papers* Galdós translated in 1868. Like other realists, however, Galdós later turned to “Naturalism” for inspiration.
Naturalism was a logical extension of Realism. Its adherents believed that the universe and its inhabitants are governed by the laws of nature rather than by supernatural ones. In literature, France’s Émile Zola (1840-1902) was one of the most outstanding exponents of this tenet. Zola and the other naturalists put special stress on the role that nature, heredity, and environment play in determining people’s character and behavior. These factors are so strong, they claimed, that neither the individual nor the group have much power to shape their fate. In good part, this belief explains why most naturalist novels are pessimistic in character.6

Recapitulation

Question. What have we learned so far?

Answer. In the 18th and 19th centuries we find that:

- A clear threat to European autocracy was being made by revolutionary forces.
- A static world, where everyone and everything occupied a designated place, was being replaced by a dynamic world of increased movement and instability.
- An art that concentrated on natural phenomena, regional social types, customs, and traditions, and emphasized the individual, the emotional, the imaginative, and the supernatural—an art we call Romantic—then evolved into a movement that produced carefully focused, detailed studies of contemporary realities.
in the world as it was in fact.

- A doubt about man’s ability to control his fate due to the crushing power of nature, heredity, and the environment.

In spite of the negative features that were painted by important artists and writers in the middle of the 19th century, there was a deepening belief that science and technology could move society along the path of progress.

**An evolution in people’s view of progress.** As indicated above, the 19th century saw an enormous increase in movement. Movement was interpreted to be a sign of progress. Initially, progress was viewed as a horizontal path similar to the one taken by boats and trains. In other words, progress was seen as moving in a straight line from *here* to *there*.

```
Here >- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ->There
```

However, progress evolved during the 19th century. Instead of following a horizontal path as it had initially, it began to follow a diagonal trajectory from below (on the left) to above (on the right).
Of course, progress didn’t change. What changed was people’s view of it. In good part, this new perspective developed as a result of the ideas of thinkers like Hegel (1770-1831), Comte (1798-1857), and Darwin (1809-1882).

Friedrich Hegel offered a method for resolving contradictory views in the search for knowledge. We know this as the “Hegelian dialectic.” It started with (1) a thesis (T) or positive statement about a given issue. This thesis would give rise to (2) a contradictory argument or antithesis (A). The conflict between the thesis and the antithesis would be resolved by means of (3) a synthesis (S) which would take parts of each argument and combine them into a better whole.

This combination would thus produce a new thesis (T) which, in turn, would generate a new antithesis (A) and, ultimately, a new synthesis (S). And so was born a movement upward toward perfection.
Charles Darwin’s contribution to the change in people’s view of progress is found in his 1859 publication *On the Origin of Species*. According to Darwin, creatures evolve over time through “natural selection.” In this process, genetic mutations occur naturally within an organism and are passed on to the next generation. If they aid in the individual’s survival, they tend to produce an improved variant of the original organism, and through the ages, can even produce new species. These changes could be shown in the form of a tree, with its branches growing ever upward.7
Auguste Comte formulated what he called “The Law of Three Stages.” According to this law, our knowledge passed through three different phases: first, the Theological; then, the Metaphysical; and finally, the Scientific or Positive. The value of each phase was that it helped mankind move further upward toward the Truth.  

**Positivism.** It was claimed that during the Positive stage, scientific observation, experiment, and comparison would lead to a revelation of the real Truth. This is what made it superior to the theological and metaphysical explanations that preceded it. This is how humanity would move upward toward perfection.

As the ideas of the positivists spread, it became commonplace for people to conceive of progress, which they initially imagined to be a flat track, as a slope moving upward toward perfection. In other words, what happened at an earlier time was thought to be inferior in quality and value, and what happened later was deemed to be superior.

The positivists’ faith in science was based on the conviction that science had the power to bring order and progress into the world.

Faith in science spread rapidly, for science and technology were beginning to touch everyone. In addition to railroads and steamships, as time passed vehicles like the underground and elevated railway, the tram, the monorail, the bicycle, and the automobile made their appearance
and changed life in many parts of the world.

In an effort to understand the universe and our place in it, astronomers probed the skies with newly created optical instruments. In addition, scientists made striking advances in physics, chemistry, genetics, biology, medicine, immunology, psychology, public health, health promotion, acoustics, statistics, and the harnessing of electricity for a multiplicity of purposes.

Who could resist jumping on the bandwagon of science? For example, in Mexico after 1892, President Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911) conferred with a group known as “Los Científicos” [The Scientists]. These were intellectuals, professionals, and businessmen who worked both within and outside of government to convince the nation’s elite, as well as foreign investors, that Mexico was stable because it was being administered in the scientific manner prescribed by the doctrines of Positivism.

Even religion, the long-standing adversary of science, joined the throng when Mary Baker Eddy established the First Church of Christ, Scientist in 1892.

And to offer a non-Hispanic sample of the importance of Positivism in Latin America, we see Brazil, on becoming a republic in 1889, choosing a flag bearing a banner with the words “Ordem e Progresso” [Order and Progress] on it.
Parnassianism. Around the middle of the 19th century, during the era of Realism and Positivism, Théophile Gautier (1811-1872)—a multitalented French writer and critic—affirmed that the only “true” art was one that stands on its own. This *art for art’s sake* would be divorced from any moral, didactic, or utilitarian purpose, and would treat its subjects with emotional detachment and impeccable craftsmanship. This was the way for art in modern times to reach Parnassus—like the Mt. Parnassus of classical Greek mythology, a symbol of inspirational and artistic perfection.

In poetry, examples of this striving appeared in *Le Parnasse contemporain* [The Parnassus of Today], three anthologies that were published in 1866, 1869, and 1876. Soon the principles of Gautier and his supporters began to inspire contemporaries in Europe and the Americas.  

A tendency of some Parnassian writers was to exalt the mountain as an icon of movement upward toward perfection, and to admire those individuals in history and myth who heroically struggled to make that climb, conquer the summit, and pull mankind up with them.

The Colombian poet Guillermo Valencia (1873-1943) offers an example of this tendency in his book *Ritos* [Rites] (1898), where he lauds outstanding figures like Moses, Caesar, and Erasmus. For Valencia, each of these individuals strived to reach the peak and contribute to the progress of civilization. For this reason, they deserve to be honored by us in special commemorative rites—*Ritos*. 
Modernism, an age of acquisition. As the trends we’ve considered changed people’s view of progress, a growing tide of acquisitiveness was taking place in the Western World. If the 18th century could be characterized by René Descartes’ assertion, “I think, therefore I am,” the 19th century could be represented by “I have, therefore I am.” Acquisition elevated the sense of self-worth of governments, commercial interests, and members of society, thus resulting in the search for new colonial holdings, new overseas markets, and greater personal wealth and possession.10

José Martí had it right when he said: “Otros fueron los tiempos de las vallas alzadas: éste es el tiempo de las vallas rotas” [Gone are the times of raised barriers; this is the time of broken barriers.] As a result, people, products, and ideas came from all parts of the world and reached large and small population centers in Europe and the Americas. Herein lie the roots of what we know as internationalization.11

Fashions in clothing were often the first to be seen and copied by the well-to-do. As in clothing, there were also fashions in home interiors—interiors so full of bric-a-brac and ornaments that to move from one room to another was often a challenge . . . especially for women wearing gowns crafted from 20 to 30 yards of fabric as is shown in the illustrations below.
Even literature was affected by what Martí called an age of “expansión, comunicación, florescencia, contagio, esparcimiento” [expansion, communication, flowering, infectious transmission, dissemination].

In Spanish America, the tendency to accumulate was omnipresent. Even the authors of this period were affected by it—not in physical form, but by filling their works with every manner of exotic object that could be found: lacquers from Japan; porcelains from ages past; divans of snow-white linen; cushions of lilac satin; azure garb bedecked with golden fleurs-de-lis . . . things, things, and more things.

And thanks to the importation of foreign publications, Spanish American literature became packed, too—packed with classical, medieval, and contemporary themes; archaic, traditional, and experimental meters; Romantic, Realist, Naturalist, and Parnassian elements. By the final years of the century, it seemed that mementos from every age and every place were everywhere in the literature of Spanish America.
The language, too, was affected. Ancient words were pulled from the crypts of time and restored to life; foreign words were imported; technical words from one field were used with new meanings in another; and countless neologisms were invented. Martí himself invented some 800 words!  

All of this increased the speed of change. In fact, during the last decades of the 19th century, change was happening so fast and in so many spheres of life that the public was left reeling! Back in 1883, Martí had noted that the omnipresence and speed of change was causing “un desmembramiento de la mente humana” [a breakup of the human mind].  

Who could stand all this? So it was not surprising that, despite the fact that accumulation continued unabated or even increased in most spheres—ultimately leading to the creation of competing imperialisms and, in 1914, a catastrophic World War—as the 19th century neared an end, two interesting phenomena manifested themselves in the Western World: the first was an ethno-nationalistic type of protectionism; the second was a turning away from burdensome materiality in literature and in other aspects of life . . . a kind of disencumbering.

Protectionism was the next step in the multifaceted process of accumulation. Let’s start with the case of businesses that needed raw materials to produce their goods. When those raw materials were found overseas, entrepreneurs realized that it was necessary to protect their sources of supply, encourage the supplying nations to import the products which they were
manufacturing, and restrict competition from goods produced in other countries.

Accumulation of wealth may have been gratifying to the foreign exporters, and accumulation of manufactured goods may have brought satisfaction to inhabitants of the nations that supplied the materials to make those goods. However, it soon came to pass that thinkers in the dependent countries began to resent seeing themselves as subservient to the advanced nations.

Martí was one of the foremost defenders of the independence and integrity of the nations of Spanish America. This is clearly demonstrated in his essay “Nuestra América” [Our America] (1891), where he stressed the need for Spanish Americans to resist imitating foreign political, social, and educational systems and urged them to highlight their own uniqueness and build upon it.

Protection of the Spanish American essence was also discussed by José Enrique Rodó (1871-1917) in his book Ariel (1900). Here, though recognizing the virtues of the United States, Rodó also warned against yielding to the lure of nordomanía [the mania to imitate the ways and values of the U.S.A.].

And who can forget the position taken by Rubén Darío (1867-1916) in his poem “A Roosevelt” [To Roosevelt] (1905), where, shouting “No” to the U.S. president—symbol of energy, materialism, and conquest—the poet highlighted the past glories and present vitality of Spanish America?
And let’s not overlook Rufino Blanco Fombona (1874-1944) and his article “La teoría de Monroe aplicada a la literatura” [Monroe’s theory as applied to literature] (1897), which suggested that a kind of Monroe Doctrine be established to protect Spanish American literature from being overwhelmed by foreign imports.15

One of the most revealing signs that the times were changing in Spanish America is the cover of Francisco Mostajo’s publication “El Modernismo y El Americanismo,” which was printed in Arequipa, Peru in 1896. The image of change is clearly visible in the fonts that were used: an elaborately decorated font for Modernismo and a simple, uncomplicated font for Americanismo.
Rejection of burdensome materiality. When we in literature think of the latter years of the 19th century, we often focus on the contributions of the Symbolists. In their works and often in their behavior, these writers tend to confirm their portrayal by Paul Verlaine as *Les Poètes maudits* (1884), the accursed poets of their time: unappreciated outcasts in a materialistic world, showing what it was like to personally experience soul-wrenching realities not unlike those being lived by characters in contemporary naturalistic novels.

A major feature of Symbolist principle was a rejection of the Parnassians’ emphasis on the materiality of their subjects as well as their insistence on unemotional expression and impeccable craftsmanship. This effort by the Symbolists to reject materiality is summed up by Verlaine in his “Art poétique” (1884):

\begin{verbatim}
De la musique avant toute chose,  
Et pour cela préfère l’Impair  
Plus vague et plus soluble dans l’air,  
Sans rien en lui qui pèse ou qui pose.
\end{verbatim}

[Music before all else, / So favor the irregular, / Vaguer and more soluble in the air, / With nothing in it weighty or fixed].

In addition to its presence in Symbolist literature, the effort to achieve desired goals by moving away from materiality is visible in many other ways during the *fin de siècle* period. For example:

• In Spanish literature, Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-
now limited himself from filling his works with dense descriptive passages as he had done before in his novels, and concentrated on dialogue to reveal the psychology of his characters.  

- In medicine, Sigmund Freud abandoned the physical examination of his patients and sought to diagnose their mental state through an analysis of their words.  
- In the world of acoustics, Edison eliminated the physical presence of the musicians and the instruments that made the music, and preserved only the sound that they produced by packaging it in can-like containers.  

And when the 20th century began, this reductionist trend continued. For example:  

- In communications, Guglielmo Marconi discovered a way to transmit messages without the help of wires (first transatlantic message in 1902).  
- In painting, the *Fauves* (1904-1908) left convention behind by creating works without clear lines of perspective, without formal details, and without the shading of colors.  
- In linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) rejected the emphasis that philologists had put on the detailed history of *la parole*, and like a radiologist of *la langue*, focused on the basic structure of linguistic communication (“Course in General Linguistics,” 1907-1911).  
- And by 1910, while other designers were introduc-
ing increased simplicity into the world of fashion, the Spaniard Fortuny showed women what freedom could really feel like by eliminating the corset with his Delphos gown and clean-cut dress: \(^{19}\)

Of course, the story doesn’t end here. A lot more can be said about change and its drivers. However, since my basic message has been stated, it’s time to end this look at the 19th century and some of the drivers that operated during that period. In closing, though, I’d like to stress that, in every age, many factors contribute to the advent of change.

Change can come about as a result of natural causes such as earthquakes, floods, tornadoes, or plagues. But change can result from man-made causes, as well.

Clearly, war is a prime man-made driver of change. More often than not, however, other factors tend to trigger it. For in-
stance, change in our world is frequently driven by the inspirations of an individual or group that lead to inventions like the steam engine or telegraph.

Declarations of belief that are accepted and acted upon by powerful leaders also serve as bases of change. One such belief was that a move from mercantilism in economics to policies of free trade would be unquestionably more rewarding—and this proved to be true.

Another driver of change is the unwillingness of an individual or group to live under conditions they deem to be onerous. When a breaking point is reached, change will make an entrance. The political revolutions at the turn of the 18th century are excellent illustrations of this.

And of course, fashion—whether in the garments we wear, the feelings we share, or the way we write—plays a constant part in bringing change to life.

So, to researchers like yourself, I suggest that, before you analyze a specific literary work, it would be well to familiarize yourself with the economic, political, and social realities that existed at the time that work came into being, as well as with the currents that existed below the surface. Armed with this information, you’ll be better equipped to appreciate not only what that work had in common with other creations of its age, but also to discern the qualities that made it unique when compared to its contemporaries.

Finally, never underestimate the power of fashion to influence your scholarly behavior—both in the subject you
choose and the analytical method you adopt. So before you go ahead, decide whether you want to be one more follower of some currently popular analytical approach and write about a topic that’s trending today, or whether you want to be an innovator, creating a new path for others to follow.
During the first decades of the 19th century, as in earlier epochs, ships were still the major vehicle for commerce. However, as the century progressed, the railroad—both in the form of major lines and spur lines—became the main carrier of people, goods, and ideas. In 1855, a rail line was built across Panama linking the Atlantic with the Pacific. In 1869, the Transcontinental Railroad simplified travel from the east coast of the United States to the west.

Through the years, railroad construction was seen almost everywhere. According to the 20 June 1895 issue of Lima’s La Neblina, a report from the German Ministry of Communications indicated that in 1895 the world had a total of 406,346 miles of railroad. That report supplied the following details: 218,871 miles of railway in America; 27,451 in Germany; 24,014 in France; 23,219 in Africa; 12,685 in Australia; and 6,769 miles Spain. In order to encourage commerce, at that time Russia was constructing the Trans-Siberian Railway. This line was designed to transport people and goods from Paris to Vladivostok in approximately two weeks. To reach Shanghai, three extra days by sea were required.

Rapid long distance travel by sea was also being planned on both sides of the Atlantic during the last decade of the 19th century. The aim at this time was to construct ships of between 8,000 and 12,000 tons that would be capable of crossing from Milford
Haven, England to Montauk Point on Long Island in five days.

2 The following are among the numerous examples which show the impact that the wheel had on weaponry: in 1836, Samuel Colt applied the movement to his revolver.

And in 1861, after years of dedication to the invention of farming machinery, Dr. Richard Gatling succeeded in applying the principle of the wheel to his multi-barrel revolving machine gun.

3 As the years passed, expansion of railroad lines, development of larger and faster steamships, increased migration, and the rapid spread of telegraph and undersea cable networks
created bigger and bigger information highways. Stories on every imaginable subject would pass directly from a given source to a chosen locale and fill the pages of the latter’s newspapers and magazines. However, because of the volume of information that was available, two things tended to happen: 1) numerous new press vehicles were founded, and 2) the press in one place borrowed material from newspapers and magazines in another, thus allowing the same piece of information, sometimes as is, sometimes in edited form, to travel long distances over and over.


Two literary works that illustrate this trend are the novel *Martín Rivas* (1862) by Alberto Blest Gana (1830-1920), where the protagonist moves from the northern mining region of Chile to Santiago, the capital; and the play *La Gringa* (1904) by the
Uruguayan author Florencio Sánchez (1875-1910). The latter work is interesting not only for focusing on the immigration of Italians into Argentina and touching on the movement of country-dwelling offspring to the capital, but also on the blending of gaucho heritage (Próspero) with Italian stock (Victoria), in which the protagonists symbolize the constituent elements of the Hegelian dialectic: Próspero = the Thesis, Victoria = the Antithesis, their future son = the Synthesis. This is shown in the words of the gringo’s son Horacio, “Mire qué linda pareja . . . Hija de gringos puros . . . Hijo de criollos puros . . . De ahí va a salir la raza fuerte del porvenir . . . .” [Look at that lovely couple . . . The daughter of pure gringos (Italians) . . . The son of pure gauchos (Creoles) . . . The strong race of the future will stem from that . . . .”] (Act IV, scene XIV).

6 Like Balzac, Zola created a series of novels with linked characters and settings. The most famous is Les Rougon-Macquart: Histoire naturelle et sociale d’une famille sous le Second Empire (The Rougon-Macquart: Natural and Social History of a Family During the Second Empire [1852 to 1870]). This series consists of 20 novels and depicts how violence, alcohol, and prostitution, which became increasingly common during the later stages of the Industrial Revolution, influenced the individual as well as society in general. Some of the strongest examples of this are found in the novel L’Assommoir (1877).

In Spain, three naturalist writers stand out, José María
Drivers of Change in the 19th Century

de Pereda (1833-1906), Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920), and Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921); and in Spanish America, Eugenio Cambaceres (Argentina, 1843-1888), *Sin rumbo* (1885) and Federico Gamboa (Mexico, 1864-1939), *Santa* (1903).

7 The German, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) is one of many late-nineteenth century writers who show the influence of the theory of evolution. As Nietzsche put it in an address to his contemporaries: “You have made your way from worm to man, and much in you is still worm. Once you were apes . . . Man is a rope, tied between beast and the Superman . . . What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not an end” [<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Nietzsche#.C3.9Cbermensch>].

Another interesting reaction to the theory of evolution was “Darwin y el mono” [Darwin and the monkey], a poem written by the distinguished Chilean author, literary critic, diplomat, and educator Eduardo de la Barra (1839-1900). Published in Santiago’s *Revista del Progreso*, 1889, pp. 233-237 [see reprint in Glickman, *Fin del siglo*, p. 135], the piece makes the following pro-Darwinian anticlerical assertion:

Más quiero yo, de ignota raíz oscura
ser la florida rama
que de un Adán perfecto
la decadente, envilecida casta.

[I would rather be the blossoming branch from an obscure
root than a descendant of the decadent, degraded stock of a perfect Adam].

One of the most disturbing offshoots of Darwin’s theory of evolution was “El porvenir de las razas en el Perú” [The future of the races in Peru], a Bachelor of Arts thesis by Clemente Palma (1872-1948) presented in 1897. [See Glickman, *Fin del siglo*, pp. 229-231.] In this work, Palma describes the “races” found in his country as inferior, each in its own way. What he seeks is a government policy to foster the immigration of several thousand Germans—a physically, intellectually, artistically, and morally superior “race”—and to encourage its miscegenation with the nation’s inferior “races” in order to produce a scientifically better product. As we know, the concept of superior and inferior races carried over into the 20th century with horrendous consequences.

8 Looking upward grew to be commonplace in the 19th century. When this subject arises, we in Spanish American literature always think of Rubén Darío and his book *Azul* (1888) and José Enrique Rodó and his essay *Ariel* (1900). The literary efforts of these men were part of a movement in science and technology that began to produce practical results a century before with the invention in 1782 of a hot air balloon by the Montgolfier Brothers and its first manned flight one year later. In 1861, during the U. S. Civil War, a Balloon Corps was formed by the Union and non-maneuverable balloons—with telegraph key and wire attached—
were used for military reconnaissance as part of the Army’s strategy. In the following years, important strides were made to make balloons maneuverable. Thanks to the Brazilian Alberto Santos-Dumont, beginning in 1898, dirigibles (i.e., maneuverable lighter-than-air machines) came into fairly frequent use. Conquest of manned flight in heavier-than-air machines, however, was finally achieved by the Wright Brothers in 1903.

9 José Martí synthesized the core principle of Parnassianism by saying that “El lenguaje ha de ser matemático, geométrico, escultórico” [(Written) language should be mathematical, geometrical, sculptural]. However, one of the most concentrated Parnassian efforts in Spanish American poetry is “Mi museo ideal: Diez cuadros de Gustavo Moreau,” ten sonnets written by the Cuban author Julián del Casal (1863-1893) and inspired by the paintings of Gustave Moreau (1826-1898). For a detailed examination of this series, which was published in Nieve (1892), Casal’s second book of poems, see Glickman, The Poetry of Julián del Casal: A Critical Edition. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978, vol. 2, pp. 178-215. Reproductions of the paintings upon which the sonnets were based are found in this discussion. The poems themselves are reprinted in vol. 1, pp. 111-123.

10 According to Eric Hobsbawm, “It is impossible not to share the mood of excitement, of self-confidence, of pride,
which seized those who lived through this heroic age . . . ,”

11 Internationalization—the predecessor of what we know today as globalization—is commonly thought of as a relatively recent phenomenon. In fact, it has had a long history and, due to the advances of technology, in the 19th century it affected many aspects of life the world over more speedily than ever. This phenomenon did not go unrecognized by the observant. For example, in his inaugural address of 1873, Ulysses S. Grant said the following: “As commerce, education, and the rapid transition of thought and matter, by telegraph and steam have changed everything, I rather believe that the great Maker is preparing the world to become one nation, speaking one language, a consummation which will render armies and navies no longer necessary.”

The trend toward orientalism during the last quarter of the 19th century offers another example of the presence of internationalization. Until 1854, Japan followed a 200-year-old policy of sakoku (national isolation) under which no foreigner was allowed to enter the country nor any Japanese to leave it. In March of 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, supported by a naval squadron, succeeded in opening two Japanese ports to trade.

As the century progressed and greater contact was made between East and West, Japan left its mark in Europe and the Americas. In Cuba, for example, poets (most of them men at that
time) would write Japanese type *haikus* in Spanish; high-class ladies would hold parties in which they dressed and took tea in Japanese fashion; and members of the lower classes would purchase Japanese knick-knacks for themselves in Havana markets.

Another example of the presence of internationalization is the report by Lima’s *La Revista Social* that in 1887 it was exchanging copies of its journal with 215 periodicals published in 25 countries in Spanish America, the USA, Europe, and Africa [see Glickman, *Fin del siglo*, pp. 121-122].

12 “El poema del Niágara” (1883).


14 “El poema del Niágara” (1883). The following is an interesting note concerning Martí’s Spanish contemporary Benito Pérez Galdós. In “La sociedad presente como material novelable,” his entry address to the Real Academia Española (1897), Galdós, like Martí, used the terms *disgregaciones* [disintegrations], *desmembración* [dismemberment], and *descomposición* [decomposition], referred to “la rapidez con que suceden los inventos, o las aplicaciones de los agentes físicos [the speed with which inventions or applications of physical agents come forth], and alluded
to the “confusión y nerviosas inquietudes” [confusion and nervous preoccupations] typical of his time. On seeing words like *disgregaciones*, *descomposición*, and *desmembración* it’s hard not to think of works by Picasso such as the following in the early 20th century:

![Picasso painting](image)

15 See the full text in Glickman, *Fin del siglo*, pp. 227, 233-234.

The Mexican Modernist author Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera offers a contrasting view of “protectionism.” In an article entitled “La protección a la literatura” [The protection of literature], which appeared in the 15 May 1881 issue of *El Nacional*, Nájera expresses concern that, unlike literature in Europe and the United States, literature in Mexico is on the decline. What is necessary, he asserts, is for the government—which “es todo y debe intervenir en todo” [is everything and
ought to intervene in everything]—to take steps to protect the growth of literature at home. Specifically, the protection that Nájera had in mind would consist of such internal efforts as the formation and funding of a national literary center and a national theater company. Thus, Nájera’s concept of protectionism in 1881 did not match the type of protectionism that Martí, Rodó, Darío, and Blanco Fombona sought in later years: namely, to defend Spanish America from excessive foreign intervention in everything—including literature.

Thirteen years later, in “El cruzamiento en literatura,” which was published in the 9 September 1894 issue of La Revista Azul, Nájera showed how far he was from turn-of-the-century protectionist ideas and how close he was to the free trade principles that preceded them. In that article, he espoused strengthening Mexican literature by exposing it to invigorating currents from literatures that were thriving abroad. All of which sounds rather similar to the 1896 proposal of Clemente Palma for improving the strength of the races in Peru by means of miscegenation from foreign sources.

16 Many translations of this stanza exist. However, the one suggested by Rosalyn Palef (trad.a./C.tran), seems to best capture the meaning and spirit of the original.

17 Evidence of this is the fact that, after 1892, Galdós turned to writing plays, the most efficient way of using dialogue in literature. From 1892 until 1910, which I consider the final

18 Edison’s phonograph and cylindrical record.


20 When we study the history of literary criticism in the last half of the 20th century, we recall what Frank Lentricchia called “the scandalously short-lived nature of recent critical movements . . .” (*After the New Criticism*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1980, p. 65).
During this period there arose a myriad of critical approaches. Among them were phenomenology, hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, feminist criticism, Afro-American criticism, Chicano criticism, deconstructionism, and so forth. Lots of change in a short time. With this in mind, let’s just remember the words of Jorge Manrique (1440-1479), slightly modified for today:

Recuerde el alma dormida,
avive el seso y despierte
contemplando
cómo se pasa la vida  |  cómo se pasa la moda,
cómo se viene la muerte  |  cómo se viene lo nuevo
tan callando.”

[O let the soul her slumbers break, / Let thought be quickened, and awake, / Awake to see / How soon this Life (Fashion) is past and gone, / And Death (The New) comes stealing on, / So silently!] Translation by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, reproduced in <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jorge_Manrique> and adapted here by Glickman.
Drivers of Change in the 19th Century

Index

acoustics 25
acquisitiveness 19
American Revolution 8
art for art’s sake 18
“Art poëtique” 24
Assommoir, L’ 32
automobile 17
Azul, Darío 34
Azul, La Revista 39

balloons
   Balloon Corps, U.S. 34
Balzac, Honoré de 11
Barra, Eduardo de la
   “Darwin y el mono” 33
bicycle 16
Blanco Fombona, Rufino
   “La teoría de Monroe aplicada a la literatura” 23
Blest Gana, Alberto 31
Boyer, Richard E. 31
Brazil 17

Cambaceres, Eugenio 33
Casal, Julián del
   “Mi museo ideal...” 35
change
   causes of 26
   speed of 21
Christ, Scientist, First Church of _ 17
Científicos, Los 17
Civil War, U.S. 34
Colt, Samuel 30
Comédie humaine, La 11
communications 8
  German Ministry of 29
Comte, Auguste 16
Course in General Linguistics 25
criticism, approaches to 41
Cuba, trade with Japan 37

Darío, Rubén 34
  “A Roosevelt” 22
  Azul 34
Darwin, Charles 15, 33, 34
  “Darwin y el mono” 33
Delphos gown 26
Descartes, René 19
dialectic, Hegelian 14, 32
dialogue, use of _ in literature 39
  to reveal psychology 25
Díaz, Porfirio 17
Dickens, Charles 11
dirigibles 35

Eddy, Mary Baker 17
Edison, Thomas 25, 40
environment 12, 13
evolution, theory of 33, 34

fashions
  in home interiors 19
  in ladies’ gowns 9
Fauves, Les 25
Fernando VII of Spain 9
Fortuny y Madrazo, Mariano 26
freedom 10
Freud, Sigmund 25
Drivers of Change in the 19th Century

Galdós, Benito Pérez 11, 25, 32, 37, 39, 40
Gamboa, Federico 33
Gatling, Dr. Richard 30
Gautier, Théophile 18
Glickman, Robert Jay
   The Poetry of Julián del Casal 35
Gordon, Alan M. 37
Grant, Ulysses S. 36
Greenfield, Gerald Michael 31
Gringa, La 31
Gutiérrez Nájera, Manuel
   “El cruzamiento en literatura” 39
   “La protección a la literatura” 38

haikus 37
Hegel, Friedrich 14
Hegelian dialectic 14
heredity 12, 13
Hobsbawm, Eric 35

immigration 10
   of Germans 34
   of Italians 32
information, volume of 31
internationalization 19, 36, 37

Japan 20, 36

Law of Three Stages 16
Lentricchia, Frank 40
Lima
   La Revista Social 37
 locomotive 8

Marconi, Guglielmo 25
Martí, José 19, 20, 21, 22, 35, 37
   “El poema del Niágara” 37
   “Nuestra América” 22
Martín Rivas 31
materiality 21, 24
mercantilism 10, 27
Mexico 17
   literature in 38
   Díaz, Porfirio 17
migration 30
Modernism 7, 19, 40
Modernismo y El Americanismo, El 23
monorail 16
Monroe Doctrine 23
Montgolfier Brothers 34
Moreau, Gustave 35
movement 13, 18

Nájera, Manuel Gutiérrez
   “El cruzamiento en literatura” 39
   “La protección a la literatura” 38
Naturalism 7, 11, 12
nature 12, 13
Neblina, La 29
Neoclassicism 7
neologisms 21, 37
Nietzsche, Friedrich 33

Origin, On the _ of Species 15

Palef, Rosalyn 39
Palma, Clemente 34, 39
Panama 29
Pardo Bazán, Emilia 33
Parnasse, Le _ contemporain 18
Drivers of Change in the 19th Century

Parnassianism 7, 18, 35
Parnassus 18
Pereda, José María de 32
Pérez Galdós, Benito 11, 25, 32, 37, 39, 40
perfection 14, 16, 18
Perry, Commodore Matthew C. 36
*Poètes maudits, Les* 24
politics 8, 10
Positivism 16, 17, 18
printing 8
progress 13, 16
protectionism 21, 38, 39

race
   superior and inferior 34
railroads 16
   construction of 26
   expansion of railroad lines 30
   Transcontinental Railroad 29
   Trans-Siberian Railway, 29
Realism 7, 11, 18
Reason, Age of 7
reductionist trend 25
religion 17
restraints 9, 10
*Revista Azul, La* 39
*Revista del Progreso* 33
revolutions 7, 8, 9
   American 8
   French 8, 10
   Industrial 10, 32
revolver 30
*Ritos* 18
Rodó, José Enrique 34
*Ariel* 22
Romanticism 7, 9, 10, 12
*Rougon-Macquart, Les* 32

Sánchez, Florencio 31
*Santa* 33
Santos-Dumont, Alberto 35
Saussure, Ferdinand de 25
science 13, 16, 17, 34
ships, construction of 29
*Sin rumbo* 33
Spanish America 20, 22, 23, 33
steam 7
  steamboat 8
  steam-driven locomotive 8
  steamships 16, 30
Strauss, Johann 8
Symbolism 24

trade with Japan 36
tram 16
transport 8, 10

Valencia, Guillermo 18
Verlaine, Paul 24

waltz 8
weapons 8
wheel 8
Wright Brothers 35

Zola, Émile 12, 32
Drivers of Change in the 19th Century

Cover Illustrations

Cover illustrations are placed in two circles as though on the face of a clock. Images located in the outer circle are identified by Arabic numbers and start at 12:00 o’clock. Images in the inner circle are identified by lowercase letters from “a” at the top to “l” in the 11:00 o’clock position. The images are roughly in historical order. The sources of the images appear beside each one.

Outer Circle


3. Early steamboat: <http://www.google.ca/imgres?imgurl=http://www.studyzone.org/testprep/ss5/b/ecotec4.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.studyzone.org/testprep/ss5/b/ecotech19l.cfm&h=199&w=264&sz=17&tbnid=6iaZNUPsCn87gM:&tbnh=90&tbnw=120&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dearly%2Bsteamboats%26tbm%3Disch%26tbo%3Du&zoom=1&q=early+steamboats&usg=__DLVCzo3ICme7Noy0mG57-xjAslw=&docid=QLqwU8PQq_-QM&sa=X&ei=Vaj5UZbMBun94APfrYH4CA&sqi=2&ved=0CDUQ9QEwAw&dur=1452>.


6. Morse telegraph key: <http://www.google.ca/search?q=telegraph+key&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=KK75UYvAKLayw4AOc6oCADQ&sqi=2&ved=0CDUQsAQ&biw=1311&bih=790#facrc=_&imgdii=_&imgrc=IAO1YqTvvWaN6M%3A%3BzPfJCme87iuNaM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Ftqn.com%252F252Fd%252Fdc%252F1%252F0%252F%252Fx%252F%252FGf%252F252Fmorse%252Ftelegraph_key.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252F252Fdc%252F252Fmorse%252Ftelegraph_key.htm%3B1000%3B787>.

7. Gatling gun: <http://www.google.ca/search?q=gatling+gun&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=bq75UfzDM9O44AOgh4GYCg&sqi=2&ved=0CDUQsAQ&biw=1311&bih=790#facrc=_&imgdii=_&imgrc=q9daIp6eC9pIsM%3A%3B5oZwdttzObx1PM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252F252Ffravenrepublic.net%252Fblog%252Fwp-content%252FUploads%252F2010%252F05%252F1-The-Gatling-Gun-1.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252F252Ffravenrepublic.net%252F252F2010%252F05%252F20%252Farmed-core-analogs-chain-guns%252F3B450%3B368>.

8. “Amor fin del siglo” [fin de siècle love]: in Robert Jay Glickman, *Vestales del Templo Azul: Notas sobre el feminismo hispanoamericano en la época modernista*. Toronto: Canadian Academy of the Arts, 1999, p. 56. The deciding factor is not the love that the lady’s suitors offer, but the bag of money [shown on top] that they will bring.
9. Late Victorian parlor.

10. Edison phonograph: 
    <http://www.google.ca/imgres?imgurl=http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-JGSJT6kimvg/TccqpWSKnLI/AAAAAAA AAAAs/ZyaHjbaoYE/s1600/230pxEdisonPhonograph.jpg&imgrefurl=http://jordanhalepvhs.blogspot.com/2011/05/1877edisons-phonograph.html&w=230&h=225&sz=12&tbnid=zwH5iiJy-IrMM:&tbnh=90&tbnw=92&prev=/search%3Fq%3Decison%2Bphonograph%26tbm%3Disch%26tbo%3Ddu%3D%3D1%3Dusg=__dpi8ky8gPAe09K_PxrycocdSD2Q=&docid=pJ9agZDNeNMXAM&sa=X&ei=sLj5UdTsI5PW8gSSvYDgDg&ved=0CDwQ9QEwAw&dur=182>.


**Inner circle**

a. Underclothes for 1780 dress: 

b. Hussars ca. 1800: 

c. Giacomo Leopardi: 
   <http://www.google.ca/search?q=leopardi&tbo=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=EjP5UcrNDOwz4AOwmyCgCw&ved=0CJsBEIke&biw=1311&bih=790>.

d. Victor Hugo: 
   <http://www.google.ca/search?q=victor+hugo&tbo=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=jzP5UYPNOrLI4AON84HAAg&ved=0CI8BEIke&biw=1311&bih=790>.

e. Frederic Chopin: 
   <http://www.google.ca/?gws_rd=cr#gs_m=23&gs__ri=psy-ab&cp=6&gs_id=21&xhr=t&q=Chopin&es_nrs=true&pf=p&sclient=psy-ab&oq=Chopin&gs_l=&pbx=1&bav=on.2,or.r_qf.&bvm=bfv.49967636,d.>
f. Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer: <http://www.google.ca/imgres?imgurl=http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/b/fotos/becquer_gustavo_adolfo.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/b/becquer.htm&h=208&w=242&sz=1&tbnid=DNBMQbeJi6t9sM:&tbnh=172&tbnw=200&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dgustavo%2Badolfo%2Bb%25C3%25A9cquer%26tbm%3Disch%26tbn%3Du&zoom=1&q=gustavo+adolfo+bécquer&usg=__g2rSvHDe5jm-jLKikC-d_Nkqc9E=&docid=IY0d1kJAo37c_ZM&itg=1&sa=X&ei=0DT5UZSSFsKSyAGF_4DYDQ&sqi=2&ved=0CIsBEPwdMAo>.

g. Émile Zola: <http://www.google.ca/search?q=émile+zola&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=NjX5Ue20DNWs4APw64HAAg&usg=__HUXBAgLseqRmZqEiSXzWopDMw78=&docid=6Azt1GhQkFX83M&sa=X&ei=1zX5UfajGOvc4APBk4GgBA&ved=0CI4BEIke&biw=1311&bih=790>.


i. Brazilian flag, 1889.

j. Dress ca. 1885.

k. Sigmund Freud: <http://www.google.ca/imgres?imgurl=http://www.iep.utm.edu/wp-content/media/freud-214x300.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.iep.utm.edu/freud/&h=300&w=214&sz=20&tbnid=QFMMMpYnDF7XaM:&tbnh=90&tbnw=64&prev=/search%3Fq%3DSigmund+Freud,%2Bimages%26tbm%3Disch%26tbn%3Du&zoom=1&q=Sigmund+Freud,+images&usg=__OMIEDuMJgNgy9uQHNd4fYW_

HJ4M=&docid=PAi7kjsngY88MM&sa=X&ei=X6P5UezSIta654APP0ID4BA&ved=0CDsQ9QEwBQ&dur=8393>.
Vestales del Templo Azul: notas sobre el feminismo hispanoamericano en la época modernista


Algunos de los temas tratados: la mujer ideal, educación intelectual y física, amor, vida en el Templo Azul, modas, reforma del traje femenino, factores económicos, emancipación de la mujer, profesiones científicas para la mujer, oposición al feminismo.

Lo que han dicho los lectores:
“Vestales del templo azul is a “must read” for any student of late nineteenth century feminism and/or Modernist literature. Readers will thank the Organization of American States, the Interamerican Commission of Women, and the Canadian Academy of the Arts for their support to publish Glickman’s work.” Suzanne S. Hintz, Northern Virginia Community College. *Hispania*, December 1998.
Dirigido a los estudiantes de español en nuestras academias y universidades, este librito ofrece una variedad de datos y conceptos esenciales para una comprensión de las repúblicas hispanoamericanas y nuestras relaciones con ellas.
Además de la información presentada en el texto, el libro contiene:
- Extensas notas clarificadoras
- Un Índice-Enciclopedia que es, en sí, un pequeño curso en Historia y Humanidades
- Una serie de ejercicios sugestivos para individuos y grupos
- Una lista de lecturas básicas para los que quieran ahondar más en los temas del libro
Algunos de los temas tratados: valores familiares; papel de los sexos; educación; drogas; ciencia: criminología, radiología, ambientalismo, astronomía; medicina: higiene pública, inmunología, transfusión de sangre, trasplante de órganos; invenciones: fotografía, telegrafía sin hilos, televisión, refrigeración, aire acondicionado; transporte terrestre, acuático y aéreo; comercio libre y protecciónismo; sindicalismo; inmigración; socialismo; anticlericalismo; antisemitismo; terrorismo; militarismo; imperialismo; artes y letras; reforma ortográfica; lenguas sintéticas; figuras célebres.

Lo que han dicho los lectores:

“*Fin del siglo* capta un retrato fiel de Hispanoamérica, y lo hace con gran precisión, claridad e inteligencia. Es una contribución esencial e impresionante a la literatura crítica del siglo XIX”. Cathy L. Irade, Vanderbilt University.